

ABSTRACT

As the smoke began to dissipate over the small town of Gettysburg on July 3, 1863, what was revealed was a scene of unimaginable carnage. The battle that lasted for three long days had left a scar on the town and its residents.

It is well known that the Battle of Gettysburg was the turning point of the Civil War. Lesser known are the ways that the event changed Gettysburg from a small and beautiful town surrounded by nature to a place that commemorates and commodifies the battle. Other towns also saw extensive changes, but change in Gettysburg was unique: the site of a national historic park, with some 20 museums, countless tourist shops, and one to two million visitors from the 1980s to 2010s, Gettysburg still carries the legacy of that bloody battle.

This project explores how tourists, activists, and others interested in the meanings of narratives of the Civil War centered on Gettysburg. By examining guidebooks, maps, and newspaper articles, I analyze the remaking of Gettysburg in relation to heritage tourism, civil rights struggles, and politicians' rhetoric about American exceptionalism. Times of commemoration and division — the World Columbian Exposition, the battle's 1913 reunion, and the Vietnam War — prompted Americans to revisit Gettysburg, to reclaim their citizenship, national memories of the war, or a romanticized past.

To understand the development of Gettysburg tourism in recent decades, how current residents engage the town's history, and the battle's resonance in relation to contemporary political struggles, I conducted oral history interviews with 18 Gettysburg residents and Gettysburg College students. These accounts highlight some of the recurring issues in modern American society, such as the presence of right-wing militia groups in the context of political polarization and the challenge of teaching accurate American history. Gettysburg continues to serve as a battleground in contests over the Civil War and its legacies.

Haunted by the Past:
Battles over Civil War Myth-Making in Gettysburg

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
4	
INTRODUCTION	6
CHAPTER ONE	13
Manufacturing Nostalgia: Americans' Production and Commodification of a Romanticized Gettysburg Amidst Post-Civil War Societal Change	
CHAPTER TWO	49
From White Reconciliation to Civil Rights: An Evolving Battleground of Meaning	
CHAPTER THREE	84
Still a Battleground: The Recent History of Gettysburg in Politically Polarized America	
EPILOGUE	122
BIBLIOGRAPHY	125

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INTRODUCTION

It was an early summer day in Gettysburg. The big lecture hall was packed with people and camera crews for a lecture by the prominent historian of Civil War studies, Jim Downs. Gettysburg College hosts an annual summer conference for Civil War enthusiasts and academic scholars from all over the country aiming to deepen their understanding of Civil War history. I was fortunate enough to join the 2022 summer conference. During the Q & A session, an old man grabbed a mic and started to talk about some unknown general's military tactics in the Battle of Gettysburg for three minutes. While other participants did not pay any attention to the man, I was stunned. I had never seen anyone speak that passionately about a very niche field of the Civil War. Even after the lecture was over, the man was still trying to talk to other Civil War enthusiasts, some of whom even wore Civil War uniforms and caps. By sitting with those who love the Civil War and listening to scholars' narrowly-focused historical accounts, I gained insight and experiences that I otherwise would not have encountered in Western Massachusetts.

Once I stepped out of the beautiful Gettysburg College campus, I walked to downtown Gettysburg. Some restaurants were named after famous Civil War soldiers and events, such as “One Lincoln” and “Blue & Gray Bar and Grill.” Across the street was a souvenir shop that carried General Lee, toy soldiers, and uniforms. In the parking lot, many school children got off a white bus. It looked like they had a school trip. From children to old individuals, Gettysburg attracts diverse groups of people. As the conference ended, I wondered why Gettysburg – a small town in Pennsylvania – still fascinates people. This question stuck in my head even after I came back to Boston.

Many Americans would agree that the Civil War was one of the biggest turning points in American history. The National Park Service reports that the number of deaths caused in the Civil War from 1861 to 1865 was estimated at 620,000, which was almost equal to “the total of American fatalities in the Revolutionary War, World War I, World War II, and the Korean War, combined.”¹ Drew Gilpin Faust’s book, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*, argues that the Civil War was the first time in American history when American people tried to cope with their loving families’ “un-Christian” way of death, vengeance, and mourning. She further explains that the war eventually brought new technological and medical advancements – the modernization of the country.² The Civil War also impacted international relations. In *These Honored Dead*, historian Thomas Desjardin points out that after the Civil War, Americans came to consider the nation a successful model of democracy, and they thought that their country

¹ “Death and Dying--Civil War Era National Cemeteries: Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel Itinerary.” National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. Accessed April 24, 2023. https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/national_cemeteries/death.html#:~:text=The%20number%20of%20soldiers%20who,and%20the%20Korean%20War%2C%20combined.

² Drew G. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

was better than any authoritarian European monarchy.³ By hosting the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, the United States of America boasted about its democracy and modernization to the world.

Even after 180 years, the catastrophe still fascinates Americans and is integrated into Americans' everyday life. In 2018 alone, the National Park Service recorded that 3.1 million people visit five major Civil War battlefields— Gettysburg, Antietam, Shiloh, Chickamauga, and Vicksburg.⁴ Especially, Gettysburg is distinct from any other Civil War battlefield in the United States. For many Americans, Gettysburg is where charismatic President Abraham Lincoln made his famous speech. Gettysburg is also where many politicians, like Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, and Dwight Eisenhower, visited, made speeches, and, sometimes, had a restful weekend in a farmhouse next to the battlefield. Gettysburg also inspired writers and artists. *The Killer Angels*, written by Michael Shaara, portrayed the human drama of famous Civil War soldiers during the famous three-day battle in Gettysburg, which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1975. Eighteen years later, the movie *Gettysburg* was based on *The Killer Angels*. It is 4 hours and 18 minutes long (one of the longest American movies), and the audience has to witness 50,000 Americans dead and wounded. Yet, *Gettysburg* has attracted Civil War enthusiasts and movie lovers.⁵ Why do many Americans still care about or even

³ Thomas A. Desjardin, *These Honored Dead: How the Story of Gettysburg Shaped American Memory* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2004), 45.

⁴ Cameron, McWhirter, "Civil War Battlefields Lose Ground as Tourist Draws." *The Wall Street Journal*. Dow Jones & Company, May 27, 2019. Accessed April 24, 2023. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/civil-war-battlefields-lose-ground-as-tourist-draws-11558776600>.

⁵ David J. Fox, "Turner's 'Gettysburg' Beating Some Tough Odds : Movies: With Only 200 Prints, the Four-Hour Release Breaks the Marketing Rules, Earning \$7.5 Million to Date." *Los Angeles Times*, December 1, 1993. Accessed April 24, 2023. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-11-25-ca-60887-story.html>.

romanticize the Civil War? This simple yet complicated question led to this year-long project.

I ask how residents, state and local governments, civic and political organizations, regional and national businesses, journalists, activists, and tourists-imagined the town of Gettysburg and shaped narratives of the Civil War in connection with it. As Americans faced numerous social changes, including the Gilded Age and overseas conflicts after the Civil War, individuals revisited Gettysburg and made emotional attachments to the old battle. Along the way, they shared their versions of the Civil War to serve their political and economic agendas. These narratives have coexisted and contradicted each other at different times, weaving themselves into every aspect of American social, political, and cultural life. They reformed the bedrock of the country's most fundamental values, such as freedom and democracy.

The historiography of the Civil War demonstrates that historians have focused on narrow topics with special interests in the Confederate army. Aaron Sheehan-Dean, the author of “The Long Civil War: A Historiography of the Consequences of the Civil War,” argues that historians have conducted extensive research on the Civil War. into the Civil War, uncovering the war itself with accuracy and sophistication. However, Sheehan-Dean writes, “the ever-increasing size and sophistication of the secondary literature [create] its feedback loop...,” which results in their narrowly focused studies rather than delving into the overall implications of the war.⁶ “The Long Civil War” is a new concept that introduces the idea that the effects of the Civil War are still present today. It was not until

⁶ Aaron Sheehan-Dean. “The Long Civil War: A Historiography of the Consequences of the Civil War.” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 119, no. 2 (2011): 111. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41310737>.

the 2000s that Civil War historians began to look at the “Long Civil War” and the more comprehensive history of the Civil War, to look at the long Civil War, with expanded coverage of women’s and African Americans’ social history. In 2010, Stephanie McCurry wrote a book called *Confederate Reckoning* that looked at how women and civilians were affected by the American Civil War.⁷ Her new approach influenced the work of other historians, such as Robert E. Bonner and Thavolia Glymph. David Blight’s work, *Race and Reunion*, published in 2001, pioneered the memory studies of the Civil War.⁸ Sheehan-Dean urges the necessity of examining the social and cultural implications of the war in the long term, and demonstrates that there are more mysteries to solve, despite the vast amount of research done so far. I acknowledge this historiography and attempt to encompass the history of Gettysburg from the end of the Battle of Gettysburg to the 2020s to examine the idea of the Long Civil War.

In my research, I investigated multiple primary and secondary sources. The national newspaper articles, such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and Black newspapers like *The Chicago Defender*, immensely informed my research. In addition, to investigate the relationship between heritage tourism in Gettysburg and the Civil War, I studied past guidebooks, souvenirs (spoons and souvenir views), hotel brochures, advertisements, posters, and maps. I also conducted my oral history interviews with 18 Gettysburg residents and students to ask about their living memories of the town. These interviews helped me grasp more about the recent political issues pertaining to the legacy of the Civil War, such as the use of Confederate flags and monuments in public and the rise of white nationalism.

⁷ Sheehan-Dean, “The Long Civil War,” 134.

⁸ Sheehan-Dean. “The Long Civil War,” 142.

In chapter one, I examine how past individuals and large businesses conceptualized the myth of Gettysburg and created the tourist industry there. By looking at the early creation of the tourist industry and commodification of the Gettysburg battlefield, I will investigate how Gettysburg veterans, a tour guide, and a photographer followed the trend of mass consumerism and industrialization and profited from Civil War goods. The Civil War-themed exhibitions at the World's Columbian Exposition allowed the audience to acknowledge American Exceptionalism and feel nostalgic for an imagined past. The World's Columbian Exposition Commissioners and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company profited from the mass audience's fascination with the Civil War, and promoted their imperialistic visions.

Chapter two starts with the 1913 Reunion. Setting veterans' health aside, the state and federal governments attempted to celebrate the sectional reconciliation between the North and South. The prevailing view of the white reconciliation narrative impacted African Americans' civil rights. As society rapidly transitioned from World War I to the Vietnam War, different racial groups revisited Gettysburg and imagined their own battlefield images. While white supremacists and the tourist industry spread the glories of the white Civil War soldiers' valor, African Americans and activists overturned the meaning of the Civil War through activism and new travel marketing.

Lastly, chapter three looks at current Gettysburg residents' collective memories of the Civil War and current tensions surrounding the battle. Although the tourist industry and Civil War history enthusiasts sustain the historical side of Gettysburg, they also add new meanings to the town of Gettysburg. Recent fights in Gettysburg College Campus and Gettysburg Battlefield over reproductive rights and white supremacists' political

demonstrations encapsulate the legacy of the Civil War: state versus federal power and citizens' bodily autonomy and freedom. The town of Gettysburg continues to be an ideological battleground, representing a microcosm of America.

CHAPTER ONE

MANUFACTURING NOSTALGIA: AMERICA'S PRODUCTION AND COMMODIFICATION OF A ROMANTICIZED GETTYSBURG AMIDST POST-CIVIL WAR SOCIETAL CHANGE

Where It All Began

In the early afternoon of June 30th, 1863, Gettysburg residents began to flee from their village and take up positions on the heights overlooking the plains. They remained vigilant, sensing that the enemy was approaching. Countless horses marched down the roads, kicking up dust in the air.⁹ Although the residents knew that the field would become a battlefield, no one could have expected that the ensuing battle would be one of the bloodiest in US history.

Before the Civil War, Gettysburg was a small town with farms and orchards.

⁹ Samuel A. Drake, "The Battle of Gettysburg." The Library of Congress. Accessed March 30, 2023.
<https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcmassbookdig.battleofgettysbu00drak/?st=pdf&pdfPage=undefined>, 60.

With its little hills and mountains, residents and visitors could look over the whole village. As the sun shone through the valley, they adored the view.¹⁰ Gettysburg was also “the seat of justice of the county,” as early Civil War historian Samuel Adams Drake called it in 1892.¹¹ The Lutheran Theological Seminary was founded in 1826; Pennsylvania College, later called Gettysburg College, opened its doors in 1832.¹² In the mid-19th century, residents also worked as farmers, craftsmen, lawyers, doctors, and teachers like in any other town. Drake continues, “Gettysburg seems in all things so entirely devoted to the pursuits of peace, there is so little that is suggestive of war and bloodshed.”¹³

The last day of the battle, July 3rd, which historians would later call Pickett’s Charge, was complete carnage. Both sides approached as close as a hundred and fifty yards when the order was made to fire. Men covered with blood and dirt rushed and roared, followed by showers of cannons and musketry.¹⁴ “Individual example and heroism were the only things that could count here, and neither was wanting,” the author wrote.¹⁵ The battle continued for an hour.¹⁶ After the smoke cleared, the Confederate’s Pickett was finally destroyed. This signaled the Union’s victory.

Right after the battle, Gettysburg residents quickly worked on the reconstruction of their town. It was a hot day, and the battle caused more than 20,000 injured men at hand. They were in a hurry to take care of the mess; otherwise, they thought it could

¹⁰ Drake, “The Battle of Gettysburg,” 10.

¹¹ Drake, “The Battle of Gettysburg,” 10.

¹² Margaret S. Creighton, *The Colors of Courage: Gettysburg's Forgotten History: Immigrants, Women, and African Americans in the Civil War's Defining Battle* (New York: the Perseus Books Group, 2005), 4.

¹³ Drake, Samuel A. “The Battle of Gettysburg,” 10.

¹⁴ Drake, Samuel A. “The Battle of Gettysburg,” 145.

¹⁵ Drake, Samuel A. “The Battle of Gettysburg,” 145-146.

¹⁶ Drake, Samuel A. “The Battle of Gettysburg,” 145-146.

cause a potential secondary disaster, including diseases.¹⁷ Women were busy nursing wounded soldiers. One local woman noted that nursing was “do or die” labor, and others commented that they could almost die from nursing.¹⁸ Under the intense working conditions in hospitals, some women cried for help. One woman said, “My health broke down and the doctor said I must take a rest.”¹⁹ However, given the emergency, the nurses were not able to get a proper break. The woman wanted to take a break instead of taking care of a particular colonel and she “begged [...] to find another place for [the] Colonel, but she eventually ended up taking care of the wounded soldier.”²⁰ The rest of them fixed their homes and helped others to rebuild theirs. One record suggests that Black women found blood-soaked uniforms, repaired them, and sent them back to soldiers.²¹ The residents’ help was indispensable to the rehabilitation of Gettysburg.

On July 6th, 1863, a reporter from the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* visited the battlefield, and left his encounter with the carnage left on the battlefield:

I visited this morning the cemetery hill, and for nearly a mile beyond, where the greatest storm of the battle took place. Here many of the rebels are dead yet lie unburied, every one of their pockets turned inside out. Many rebel wounded lie in the wood adjacent, and the air is polluted with a heavy sickening, disgusting stench. Thanks for the heavy rain we have had, carrying off much of the blood, otherwise I do not see how people could live here. As it is, it is the most disgusting atmosphere I ever breathed, or thought it possible human beings could live in.²²

Another reporter from the *Chicago Tribune* visited Gettysburg to cover the aftermath of the battle. There, he met James Warner, a wounded Confederate soldier from

¹⁷ Creighton, *The Colors of Courage*, 150.

¹⁸ Creighton, *The Colors of Courage*, 150.

¹⁹ Creighton, *The Colors of Courage*, 151.

²⁰ Creighton, *The Colors of Courage*, 151.

²¹ Creighton, *The Colors of Courage*, 152.

²² John S. Patterson, *A Patriotic Landscape: Gettysburg, 1863-1913*, 317.

Virginia.²³ Upon questioning, he asked the reporter to rub his hands and said, “won’t you tell my mother, when you get an opportunity, that I am happy, and expect to meet her in heaven. Will you give me a drink, and then I shall die easy?”²⁴ These emotional cries to his family were disseminated in newspapers, which enhanced the horror of the war for readers. Drew Gilpin Faust’s book, *This Republic of Suffering*, tells a story about how Civil War soldiers knew what was a good way to die and what was not. The concept of the “good death” came to prevail in mid-nineteenth-century America, and Americans understood traditions of how to die gracefully: death had to be anticipated, and when someone was dying, their loved ones had to stay by their deathbeds.²⁵

As the traditions permeated American society, many unprecedented causes of death during the Civil War triggered strong emotions among many Americans back home. They believed that this was a foundational threat to the core cultural value of what was the correct way of death.²⁶ Some people created mourning to reconcile with the trauma. For example, a song called *Rescue the Perishing* was produced in 1870 and became popular among Americans. The song is a cry for Jesus Christ to save those who died in the Civil War.²⁷ The hymn caught attention even after the Civil War as the American people were still coping with the collective trauma and massive carnage left behind by warfare. The Civil War was so ingrained in the everyday lives of Americans that it was almost impossible to separate the two.

It did not take long for civilians and veterans to start commemorating the

²³ “Reporter’s Incident at Gettysburg.” *Chicago Tribune*, July 12, 1863.

²⁴ “Reporter’s Incident at Gettysburg.” *Chicago Tribune*, July 12, 1863.

²⁵ Drew G. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 11.

²⁶ Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 18.

²⁷ W. H. Doane, *Rescue the perishing*. Accessed March 30, 2023.

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/sm1870.x0018.0?r=-0.936,0.536,2.873,1.316,0>.

battlefield. The federal and local governments prepared Gettysburg to be a place that had no direct association with bloodshed. Instead, they aimed to create a sacred place. By March 1864, the War Department transported 3,354 bodies to Cemetery Hill and buried them in the ground for the Soldiers' National Cemetery.²⁸ In September 1863, local leaders, such as David McConaughy, founded the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association to preserve the battlefield.²⁹ The Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association later purchased Cemetery Hill, Little Round Top, and Culp's Hill for commemoration use.³⁰ African Americans also purchased lands and buried soldiers there, as the U.S. military had a strict racial segregation policy. In 1866, a group later called the Sons of Good Will, started to express the need to bury dead African American soldiers.³¹ The Sons of Good Will, originally led by Basil Biggs, Nelson Mathews, and Thomas Griegsby, purchased land on the battlefield for their graveyard a year later.³² Different organizations gained cooperation from the local community and consecrated their dead soldiers.

The Rise of Middle-Class Purchasing Power in the Gilded Age: Stirring American People's Fascination with Gettysburg through Consumer Goods

After the Civil War ended, Americans were fascinated by the Battle of Gettysburg and attempted to figure out its implications. They wondered, why did so

²⁸ Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 43.

²⁹ Gless W. LaFantasie, "Gettysburg in the American Mind," *American History*, (August 2003): 60.

³⁰ LaFantasie, "Gettysburg in the American Mind," 60.

³¹ Stephanie McIlwee, *Welcome to Olde Getty Place...Where History Hides: A Walking Tour* (Gettysburg: the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Department of Community & Economic Department, 2011), 1.

³² McIlwee, *Welcome to Olde Getty Place...Where History Hides: A Walking Tour*, 1.

many soldiers die in a supposedly peaceful town? The post-Civil War society also brought an economic boom in the North and a corresponding rise in middle-class consumerism. Historian Stuart McConnell argues in his book, *Glorious Contentment*, that the experience of the war impacted different aspects of American culture.³³ In literature, writers like Ambrose Bierce and Henry James wrote literary works inspired by the Civil War. Magazines and journals featured “the tales of camp and battle” recalling the war.³⁴

With economic growth and the emergence of mass consumerism, the town of Gettysburg grew to be a popular tourist destination. In 1864, Professor Michael Jacobs of Gettysburg’s Pennsylvania College noted, “Many thousands of visitors have come for the purpose of taking a view of this now sacred locality.”³⁵ Over the course of the Gilded Age, how did individuals and large businesses conceptualize a myth of Gettysburg and create the tourist industry in Gettysburg, and what was the purpose? The Civil War ushered in a multitude of societal changes, ranging from the implementation of the free labor system to the development of the transportation system. The nostalgic image of Gettysburg was the result of many individuals' and groups' collective emotional reactions to these social changes. Gettysburg's myth-making process was an amalgamation of conscious and unconscious decisions by different groups of stakeholders.

James Martin and Caroline E. Janney's book, *Buying and Selling Civil War Memory in Gilded Age America*, articulates that there has been a recent movement

³³ Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: the University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 16.

³⁴ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 16.

³⁵ Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine*, 43.

among historians to research how the pattern of the Civil War fits into the consumer culture of the nineteenth century.³⁶ Prominent historians such as Robert J. Cooks, Henry Gates, Eric Foner, and David Blight have written about how the American people conceptualized the memory of the Civil War. However, their works primarily examine how Reconstruction politics shaped that memory, rather than delving into how an economic boom in the Gilded Age contributed to the memory-making process. While acknowledging the significant importance of continuing to research how Reconstruction politics shaped the Civil War memory, I investigate how the Gilded Age led American people to create a myth of Gettysburg. Historian Joanna Cohen argues in her article “You Have No Flag Out Yet?” that entrepreneurs in the North produced various Civil War-related consumer goods to satisfy consumer desire to express patriotic feelings even during the Civil War.³⁷ Following the Civil War, the sense of patriotism held by people in the Union turned into a feeling of nostalgia. Entrepreneurs developed a tourist town in pursuit of profits.

As industrialization brought mass manufacturing, buyers took advantage of Gettysburg to profit through the sale of relics. Civil War’s relic-selling was a lucrative business. People’s fascination with the war and mass consumerism teamed up together to intensify the mystical aura surrounding Gettysburg. *The New York Times* article, “Our Gettysburg Correspondence: The Last of the Dead Buried– Condition of the Wounded– The Battle-field and Relic Gatherers,” offers us an insight into why people came to Gettysburg. Written on July 15th, 1863, the article claims though some people

³⁶ James Martin and Caroline E. Janney, *Buying & Selling Civil War Memory in Gilded Age America* (Atlanta: University of Georgia Press, 2021), 5.

³⁷ Joanna Cohen. ““You Have No Flag out Yet?”: Commercial Connections and Patriotic Emotion in the Civil War North.” *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 9, no. 3 (2019): 378–409. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cwe.2019.0050>.

visited there as a pilgrimage, the majority of visitors came to Gettysburg out of “sheer curiosity.”³⁸ They particularly set their eyes on relics left in the town. Despite residents' efforts to clear up the aftermath, they were unable to clean up all of the military supplies left on the ground. After the Confederate army retreated from Gettysburg, visitors scavenged thousands of dollars worth of guns and pieces of cannons from the ground and sold them at shops.³⁹ In fact, *Harper's Weekly* captures another moment at a relic store in Gettysburg where children sold used bullets, canteens, and other debris found on the battlefield.⁴⁰ While some individuals mourned the tragedy that had occurred on the battlefield, others were indifferent to the atrocity and instead saw an opportunity to gain economic power. The illustrations in the article also revealed a stark class difference in the two ways of enjoying the battlefield: one picture depicted American gentility, dressed in their finest attire and sipping wine while taking in the magnificent view of the battlefield before them, while the other showed children and workers cutting down trees and scouring the ground for buried relics.⁴¹ These people from various social classes all set their eyes on Gettysburg, and intentionally or unintentionally, they became involved in Gettysburg's myth-making process in diverse ways.

³⁸ “Our Gettysburg Correspondence: The Last of the Dead Buried--Condition of the Wounded--The Battle-Field and Relic Gatherers.” *The New York Times*, July 15, 1863.

³⁹ “Our Gettysburg Correspondence,” *The New York Times*, July 15, 1863.

⁴⁰ “The Gettysburg Monument,” *Harper's Weekly*, July 17, 1867, 457.

⁴¹ “The Gettysburg Monument,” *Harper's Weekly*, July 17, 1867, 457; Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine*, 34-35. The illustrations above are from *Harper's Weekly*, and the contextual note below is from Weeks. Gettysburg was also famous for hot springs, and the combination of battlefield and hot springs caught the attention of wealthy Americans. The hotel was located in a place where tourists could look out over the battlefield. The activity became popular among veterans and widows who wanted to feel transcendence. Jim Weeks argues that Gettysburg provided tourists with a transcendent experience like a medical pilgrimage. Not only veterans and widows, but also Christian devouts in the late 19th century saw Gettysburg as a “hallowed ground” with spiritual connotations.

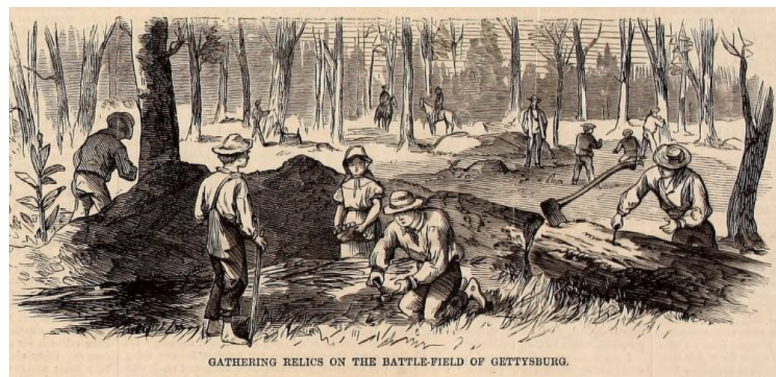


Figure 1.1. *Gettysburg Spring* (Above) and *Gettysburg Relics on the Battlefield of Gettysburg* (Below). "The Gettysburg Monument," *Harper's Weekly*, July 17, 1867, 457.

Another way of looking at America's fascination with Gettysburg is in the context of the advent of photography. Even though photographers took pictures of previous conflicts in the United States, the Civil War was the first major conflict in which photographers actively documented warfare. In other words, for the first time in American history, American people on the home front witnessed the catastrophe of

warfare.⁴² Gettysburg was not an exception. Right after the three-day battle, photographers captured bloody moments and disseminated them into American society. The photographs visualized the carnage and amplified the horrors Americans left in their homes.⁴³ The novelty of such images caused Americans to feel triggered, as much as they stirred curiosity about Gettysburg.

Even after the Civil War ended, American people continued to be attracted to photographs of the battlefield as a form of escapism. For example, *Gettysburg America's Greatest Battlefield* published in 1899, compiled photographs of different places associated with the Battle of Gettysburg. While introducing famous battle events and generals, such as Pickett's Charge and "Stonewall" Jackson, the publisher also took some bird's-eye views on what soldiers would have seen on the battle day.⁴⁴ Social conditions contributed to the appeal of such photographs. The industrialization of America led Americans to move to big cities and brought urbanization. By 1900, forty percent of Americans lived in cities. While the number of factories increased in cities, Americans living in these cities suffered from poor living conditions.⁴⁵ The overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions prompted them to imagine a romanticized view of an agrarian past. The Civil War, and especially Civil War battlegrounds like Gettysburg, became a target of escapism. Yet, a trip to Gettysburg

⁴² "Photography and the Civil War." American Battlefield Trust, March 26, 2021. Accessed April 20, 2023.

<https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/photography-and-civil-war#:~:text=While%20photographs%20of%20earlier%20conflicts,in%20ever%20larger%20quantities%20nationwide>.

⁴³ "Photography and the Civil War." American Battlefield Trust.

⁴⁴ *Gettysburg America's Greatest Battlefield*. Library of Congress. American Souvenir Co., 1899. Accessed April 20, 2023.

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcmassbookdig.gettysburg00phil/?sp=3&st=image>.

⁴⁵ Foundation, CK-12. "12 Foundation." CK. Accessed April 9, 2023.

<https://flexbooks.ck12.org/user:zxbpc2rzczwmthaz21hawwuy29t/cbook/episd-2019-2020-us-history/section/2.17/primary/lesson/pa-3%3A-the-gilded-age-urbanization/>.

was unaffordable to middle-class Americans.⁴⁶ Photographs came to be one of the ways for them to interact with the battlefield. While looking at the now-cleared roads and houses, they conjured up an image of a beautiful pre-war agrarian society that existed before the war and industrialization. One characteristic of Romanticism was the glorified depiction of a nation's natural wonders, and photographs accurately captured the nature of Gettysburg.⁴⁷ The romanticized image of Gettysburg was disseminated to a wide audience with the help of new technologies. Cohen argues that the developing science of photography offered daguerreotypes, tintypes, and ambrotypes, as well as albums.⁴⁸ Entrepreneurs found new ways of using photography to create more profits.

⁴⁶ “Personally Conducted Tours, 1899-1900.” Library of Congress, 1899. Accessed April 29, 2023.

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcmassbookdig.personallyconduc00penn/?st=pdf&pdfPage=undefined&r=-0.081%2C0.61%2C1.166%2C0.509%2C0>.

The following contextual note was based on the same source.

According to one of the guidebooks called *Personally Conducted Tours, 1899-1900* published by the Pennsylvania railroad company, the tour from New York to Gettysburg, Luray, and Washington D.C. cost at least \$25.00 (about \$890 today). Tickets included round-trip transportation, hotel accommodations, a carriage drive at Gettysburg, and admission to the caverns at Luray still, the almost two-month trip took a toll on tourists.

⁴⁷ Muffet Jones. “Romanticism.” Introduction To Art. Accessed April 9, 2023.

<https://boisestate.pressbooks.pub/arhistory/chapter/romanticism/#:~:text=Key%20Points-,The%20Industrial%20Revolution%20also%20influenced%20Romanticism%2C%20which%20was%20in%20part,the%20scientific%20rationalization%20of%20nature>.

⁴⁸ Cohen. ““You Have No Flag out Yet?, ”” 378–409.

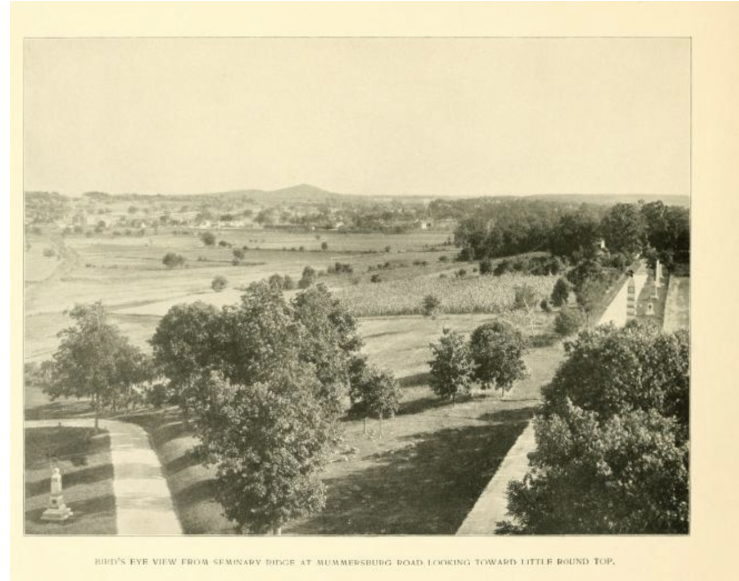


Figure 1.2. *Bird's Eye View From Seminary Ridge at Mummensburg Road Looking Toward Little Round Top.* "Gettysburg: America's Greatest Battlefield." Library of Congress. American Souvenir Co., 1899 Accessed April 23, 2023. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcmassbookdig.gettysburg00phil/?sp=3&st=image>.

Guidebooks of Gettysburg also highlight its connection to an emerging culture of consumerism. Right after the Battle of Gettysburg, various publishing companies issued guidebooks to showcase how what was once a small town became one of the most famous battlefields in the United States. For example, *The Battlefield of Gettysburg; how to see and understand it. The tourist guide and handbook, with an explanatory map and roster of the armies*, was published in 1863. There, they advertised Gettysburg souvenir spoons, sword pins, cannons, and other novelties to get extra profits from tourists and potential buyers.⁴⁹ Visiting Gettysburg held significant social status for Americans, and purchasing souvenirs was seen as a way to boast about one's social class to others.

Following the trend, entrepreneurs in Gettysburg prepared to equip a battlefield

⁴⁹ Luther W. Minnigh, "The Battlefield of Gettysburg; How to See and Understand It. the Tourist's Guide and Hand-Book, with Explanatory Map and Roster of the Armies." The Library of Congress. Mt. Holly Springs, Pa., Holly Spring Stationery and Printing Company, 1863, Accessed April 23, 2023. <https://www.loc.gov/item/06016514/>.

photographer and a tour guide. As we will discuss later, W.H. Tipton started a photography business to capture monuments and places of visitors' choice. He turned photographs into souvenir albums and lantern slides, which tapped into higher-end consumers' purchasing power.⁵⁰ With the rise of mass consumer culture, the American people were fascinated by Civil War battles and contributed to the commodification of Civil War history.

Gettysburg guidebooks focused more on historical narratives than on practical guides of where to eat and stay. At present, *Destination Gettysburg*, a website created by Gettysburg's tourism department in Adams County, features information about hotels and restaurants aside from historical tours.⁵¹ Visitors in the late nineteenth century saw more of the historical side of Gettysburg than visitors do in the present. In fact, the guidebook then devoted almost all of its pages to the famous three-day battle and gave speculative statistics about deaths caused by each battle. That is to say, the guidebook served as an early history book for visitors.

The late nineteenth-century Gettysburg guidebook was a critical tool to influence visitors' interpretations of the battle. The major actor in this story was Luther W. Minnigh, who wrote several guidebooks for Gettysburg and published them through different publishing houses. Unfortunately, as no scholars in the past have ever researched his life, we know relatively little about his contributions. Yet, the guidebooks themselves show that he was a Gettysburg native born in 1849 and served in the first

⁵⁰ Minnigh. "The Battlefield of Gettysburg." <https://www.loc.gov/item/06016514/>.

⁵¹ Destination Gettysburg. "Home Page." Destination Gettysburg, March 28, 2023. <https://destinationgettysburg.com/>.

Pennsylvania Reserves during the Civil War.⁵² After his retirement, he started to conduct a battleground tour and wrote 23 books about Gettysburg and its history.

Minnigh attempted to glorify the battle and highlight the heroism of soldiers during the Civil War. His “Gettysburg: ‘What They Did Here,’” appeared in 1905. He presented the major events that defined the battle and conveyed some of his experiences living in Gettysburg, and researching the history of the battle, after the war. In the introduction, he states that he aims to make the book easily accessible to regular citizens, as many history books on the Battle of Gettysburg in the market contained too much information that he felt citizens were unwilling to examine.⁵³ He began the narrative in May 1863, when the Confederate army was determined to invade the North. On May 26th, Gordon’s division (Confederate) arrived in Gettysburg but retreated soon after they were attacked by the Union. There, the author described the first victim of the Union army at the fight where “[his] blood baptized this historic field.”⁵⁴ His poetic narratives conveyed the sacrificial nature of the soldiers and demonstrated a reverence for the battlefield to the readers.

At the end of his book, he included a section called *Reminiscences of Gettysburg* and collected prose and poetry from other writers. One poem, “The Hero of Gettysburg,” written by G.D.T., shows how the writer shaped Gettysburg as a place of heroism and glory.⁵⁵ The writer told a story of their experiences visiting Gettysburg to gather knowledge of the battlefield.⁵⁶ While looking at monuments and markers of the different

⁵² Jennifer M. Murray, “‘Far Above Our Poor Power to Add or Detract’: National Park Service Administration of the Gettysburg Battlefield, 1933-1938.” *Civil War History* 55, no. 1 (2009), 68.

⁵³ Minnigh, Luther W. “Gettysburg: ‘What They Did Here ... ” Historical Guide Book.” The Library of Congress. Accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.loc.gov/item/04033641/>, 12.

⁵⁴ Minnigh, “Gettysburg...Historical Guide Book,” 21.

⁵⁵ Minnigh, “Gettysburg...Historical Guide Book,” 109.

⁵⁶ Minnigh, “Gettysburg...Historical Guide Book,” 109.

generals and soldiers, the writer noted, “Such strong emotions filled my mind – My eyes were filled with tears, / When nearing still another group, / These words fell on my ears.”⁵⁷

The following quote exemplifies that G.D.T. appears to envision a glorified version of the battle, displaying strong emotional reactions to the sacred battlefield and the deceased soldiers. The poet later visits Cemetery Hill and thinks of who is the best hero in the Battle of Gettysburg. He says, “So I have come to the conclusion, / That the hero of the fight / Was each man who did his duty, / And I know you’ll say I’m right.”⁵⁸

Minnigh decided to publish this poem to promote the heroic version of the battle and battlefield, rather than to discuss the bloodshed or highlight the presence of African American soldiers and civilians. Minnigh as an early historian of the Gettysburg battlefield held an influence in spreading a glorified view of the battle, as well as kindly inviting readers to visit Gettysburg. Historian Johanna Cohen explains that during the Civil War, patriotic songbooks became popular among middle-class Americans. Songwriters emerged to satisfy this demand, creating a new economic opportunity.⁵⁹ While leaving some patriotism behind, Minnigh attempted to imagine Gettysburg as a romanticized and sacred place for heroes. By compiling different poems into this book, Minnigh unlocked a new market opportunity.

Minnigh was also a popular tour guide on the battlefield. “Descriptive and Illustrated Lectures on the Battle of Gettysburg” in one guidebook, called *A Gettysburg Knapsack*, specifically caught readers’ attention. The book reviews show that Minnigh

⁵⁷ Minnigh, “Gettysburg...Historical Guide Book,” 109.

⁵⁸ Minnigh, “Gettysburg...Historical Guide Book, 109.

⁵⁹ Cohen. ““You Have No Flag out Yet?”” 392.

received quite a few positive responses. For example, *The Hartford (Connecticut) Daily Times* notes, “precise in detail, dramatic and impressive in manner,” and *The Orange (New Jersey) Chronicle* mentions, “famous guide, interesting talker, fluent and well posted.”⁶⁰ Many testimonies came from Northeastern states like Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey, suggesting the possibility that Southerners still had a stigma about visiting Gettysburg, where the Union’s victory became decisive. In addition, the high cost of the tour and transportation hindered them from visiting the battlefield. As the tour cost fifty dollars (about \$1,794 today), it was far from affordable.⁶¹ On top of that, transportation to Gettysburg was very expensive, and perhaps in part as a result, the tourist industry had a difficult time attracting people from the South. Costs might have been a deterrent to northern travelers as well, but Minngh gained a high reputation as a tour guide among Northerners.

While working with visitors, he also collaborated with a non-profit organization’s fundraising efforts. In December 1900, a group of citizens founded an orphanage in Topton, about 116 miles northeast of Gettysburg.⁶² Walter Bieber, who became a trustee of the orphanage, spearheaded the idea of planning a trip to Gettysburg as a fundraiser. In order to raise money, Bieber planned a train trip to the Gettysburg battlefield, and he set the round-trip fare as \$1.75.⁶³ Bieber thought Minngh was a perfect tour guide. He continues, “The captain [Minngh] became eloquent as he narrated the events of the battle.

⁶⁰ “The Gettysburg Knapsack,” 30.

⁶¹ “The Gettysburg Knapsack,” 30. See Martin and Janney, *Buying & Selling Civil War Memory*, 5, for information on how expensive it was to travel to Gettysburg.

⁶² Frank Whelan, *Morning Call*. “Orphans Found a Haven in the Lutheran Home at Topton.” July 21, 1991, 3rd edition.

⁶³ Whelan, “Orphans Found a Haven.”

He received many congratulations from the excursionists.”⁶⁴ As a result, 360 people participated in the trip.⁶⁵

We do not know how much Minngh knew about the fundraising campaign, yet, his battlefield tour satisfied so many visitors and even contributed to orphans’ rights. Given the fact that Minngh took a substantial amount of money from visitors for tours, he, like other relic gatherers and photographers, wanted to make money off of the battlefield. Nonetheless, his contributions to writing an accessible history book for middle-class Americans and giving the battlefield tour for the fundraising event highlight his sheer passion for teaching and spreading the history of the battlefield. During the Gilded Age's economic boom, entrepreneurs attempted to portray Gettysburg as a romanticized past and propagated this narrative for their economic gain. Minngh’s example highlights how he profited from commodifying and disseminating the history of the battle to a larger audience, demonstrating that entrepreneurs' motives for selling the Civil War stories were not just about money-making.

Veterans' Fallen Status and Efforts to Regain the Glory of the Battle

As the Civil War soldiers in the North and the South became demobilized, veterans faced the question: “Where was [their] place in a postwar society?”⁶⁶ At first, veterans did not foresee the hardships of transitioning back to civilian life. In the North, where the mood was jubilant after their victory, Northerners tended to appreciate the army's contributions to victory and overall national growth and held them in higher

⁶⁴ Whelan, “Orphans Found a Haven.”

⁶⁵ Whelan, “Orphans Found a Haven.”

⁶⁶ Martin and Janney, *Buying & Selling Civil War Memory in Gilded Age America*, 49.

respect.⁶⁷ The war parade, especially, allowed veterans to assume that civilians respected them, and they did not feel extra anxious about transitioning back to civilian life.⁶⁸ *The Soldier's Friend*, a newspaper based in Atlanta, GA, published an article after the surrender of the Confederate Army and noted a couple of "rules" for soldiers to follow after demobilization. It stated, "'Preserve a soldierly bearing' to impress employers and show them that not all soldiers are dirty tramps. 'Select quickly some fitting employment,' leaving nothing 'to luck or chance.' ... And especially for disabled soldiers, 'what you have lost in body, try and make up in energy, decision, and mental rigor.'"⁶⁹ Despite the fact that veterans showed some hope in post-Civil War society, the United States Sanitary Commission reported that soldiers "lost the momentum of previous industrial enterprise." They continued, "[They] must begin anew the task of settling themselves" for new civilian life.⁷⁰

As it turned out, the transition was not as smooth as veterans thought it would be. One challenge that veterans faced was that they lacked practical skills, as they missed out on schooling during the war. The panic of 1873, an economic recession, especially hindered their smooth transition back to civil life. Soldiers usually enlisted in their late teens to their early twenties, so they missed the whole period of schooling and vocational training to get a job.⁷¹ Some veterans confessed that they felt they missed out on important times in their life. For example, one soldier called his war experience a

⁶⁷ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 21.

⁶⁸ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 21.

⁶⁹ James Martin, *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union and Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America*

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 49.

⁷⁰ Martin, *Sing Not War*, 49.

⁷¹ Martin, *Sing Not War*, 54.

“terrible waste of time.”⁷² The feeling of having lost years of their lives later induced mental health issues, such as alcoholism and what would later be called post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Christopher B. Frueh and Jefferey A. Smith state that the suicide rate among veterans skyrocketed after the Civil War. The glories of the victory were brief; veterans had to face a harsh reality.⁷³

Historians have studied the roles and historical significance of veterans' organizations in the Gilded Age and beyond. James Martin and Caroline E. Janney argue that veteran organizations both in the North and South had an immense impact on much of the postwar society.⁷⁴ Stuart McConnell points out that both civilians and veterans created literature and other cultural productions, inviting them to have conversations with each other about the implications of the war, and the war became integrated into their everyday lives.⁷⁵ He emphasizes the idea of how much veterans played a role in shaping post-Civil War society and creating the Civil War collective memory. Simultaneously, David Blight points out how the idea of veteranhood intertwined with post-war consumerism and served as a crucial component in regaining veterans' political and economic status and reshaping the nation's collective memory of the Civil War. He explains how *Century Magazine* became a prominent press for veterans and civilians to retell the valor of Union soldiers.⁷⁶ *Century* publications include drawings, maps, and photographs to tell the veterans' war experiences.⁷⁷ By contributing letters and readers'

⁷² Martin, *Sing Not War*, 54.

⁷³ Christopher B Frueh and Jeffrey A. Smith, “Suicide, alcoholism, and psychiatric illness among union forces during the U.S. Civil War.” *The Journal of Anxiety Disorders* 26, no. 7 (2012): 771. 10.1016/j.janxdis.2012.06.006.

⁷⁴ Martin and Janney, *Buying & Selling Civil War Memory in Gilded Age America*, 4.

⁷⁵ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 16.

⁷⁶ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2001), 176.

⁷⁷ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 177.

experiences of the war to the magazine, *Century* demonstrated mass consumerism and people's fascination with the war.⁷⁸ Acknowledging the substantial amount of research that has been done on the history of Civil War veterans and their organizations, I delve into the questions of how veterans romanticized the past and how mass commercialization played a role in the process. Faced with economic depression and the need to adapt to a new social environment, veterans conceptualized an imagined past and attempted to regain their status through lobbying and pilgrimages to Gettysburg. Photographers like Tipton capitalized on the veterans' demands.

The establishment of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) in 1866 was one of the ways for retired soldiers to regain their glory and social status. McConnell argues that despite the notion that GAR's initial purpose was to form "a broad brotherhood of veterans," the main founder of the GAR established it to be a voting machine.⁷⁹ In fact, a soldier-politician and a core member of GAR, Norton P. Chipman, gained support from the GAR and became a Secretary and representative of Congress in the District of Columbia. Other officers in GAR had similar passions.⁸⁰ With its political bargaining power, GAR started lobbying for multiple political campaigns, such as pension reform.⁸¹ For example, in 1880, GAR pushed Congress to pass the Dependent and Disability Pension Act, which President Benjamin Harrison later signed into law on June 27th, 1890.⁸² One of the characteristics that GAR held was a consistent inner hierarchy from the military period. According to McConnell, by constantly calling themselves by their

⁷⁸ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 177.

⁷⁹ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 25.

⁸⁰ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 25.

⁸¹ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 73.

⁸² Robert J. Cook, *Civil War Memories Contesting the Past in the United States since 1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 76.

old military title, Union veterans wanted to show that they were above civilians.⁸³ Even though the selecting process became more egalitarian after the 1869 national encampment, the hierarchical system in the organization was consistent.⁸⁴ The grading structure was the legacy of the military system from the Civil War, and GAR was willing to preserve the tradition.

The common pilgrimages that veterans made to Gettysburg served as escapism from the harsh realities of post-war society and reaffirmed their identity as ex-soldiers of the greatest war. *The New York Times* issued one newspaper article talking about the Eighty-Third Regiment of New York veterans' pilgrimage to Antiedam, South Mountains, and Gettysburg.⁸⁵ The article notes names of ex-soldiers who took part in the trip by train and writes, "all wore the fatigue cap of the association, and there were many Grand Army uniforms among the detachment."⁸⁶ Seeing their names in newspapers like this was an affirming experience for veterans. They wore caps and uniforms as a way to show off their affiliated regiments and assert their old past as soldiers. By reconnecting with their old friends, they also had a chance to reminisce about the old war days. Marguerite S. Shaffer, the author of *See America First*, points out, "Many tourists visit a place in order to rediscover in themselves an identity which they cannot find in their everyday lives."⁸⁷ Facing drastic societal change after the Civil War, veterans attempted to visit the battlefield and find their old selves.

⁸³ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 34.

⁸⁴ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 30.

⁸⁵ "To Revisit Battlefields; Pilgrimage of Eighty-Third New York Veterans." *The New York Times*. September 15, 1892.

⁸⁶ "To Revisit Battlefields," *The New York Times*.

⁸⁷ Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity 1880-1940* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2001), 288.

In response to the veterans' trend, photographers in the town of Gettysburg played a role in taking pictures of veterans' reunions and pilgrimages and capitalizing off their valor images by distributing them to a wider audience. The act of capitalizing on veterans' needs was not a rare phenomenon in the Gilded Age. Kevin R. Caprice gives us an insight into how post-war consumerism served to regain veterans' political and economic status and masculinity.⁸⁸ He explains that *The National Tribune*, a newspaper, started a campaign called a "Premium List" of goods to sell newspapers, as well as regain veterans' manliness.⁸⁹ This campaign capitalized on veterans' needs to reaffirm their identity.


William H. Tipton was a native Gettysburg resident born in 1850.⁹⁰ He was among the first early photographers of the Gettysburg battlefield. As Americans were infatuated with the new technology of photography, his photographs stirred their imaginations of the battlefields. Luther W. Minnigh, a history guide and writer of Gettysburg, often published guidebooks of Gettysburg. In every single guidebook that he wrote, William H. Tipton's advertisement was there.

⁸⁸ Martin and Janney, *Buying & Selling Civil War Memory in Gilded Age America*, 49.

⁸⁹ Martin and Janney, *Buying & Selling Civil War Memory in Gilded Age America*, 51.

⁹⁰ "William Henry 'Bill' Tipton (1850-1929) - Find a..." Find a Grave. Accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/5186332/william-henry-tipton>.

W. H. Tipton,



The
Battlefield
Photographer

3 Main Street,
GETTYSBURG, PA.

* * *

FOR Anything and Everything in the way of PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE BATTLEFIELD or its Monuments, Souvenir Albums, Guide Books, Lantern Slides, Etc., call on Tipton. Photographer on the field continuously from the Battle to the present time. Many thousands of plates of Gettysburg scenes and groups.

Groups of Dedications, Re-unions and Special Parties taken at any time.

Headquarters for Tourists' Novelties. Send three Letter Stamps for catalogue.

Telephone No. 103.

W. H. TIPTON.

82" Tourists can get Lunch on the field opposite Devil's Den.

2

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Figure 1.3. W.H. Tipton's advertisement in Luther W. Minngh's guidebook. "The Gettysburg Knapsack; a Souvenir of Useful Information for Veterans, Patriots, Tourists, and the Great Army of Generous Youth ...", 30.

The advertisement demonstrates Tipton's versatile talents in photographs, including albums, lantern slides, and guidebooks.⁹¹ In addition, the advertisement also shows that he can take group pictures of veterans. Tipton undertook many of the reunion pictures. For example, one of his works called *Civil War Veterans of the 40th New York Infantry Regiment and two women at Reunion at Devil's Den in Gettysburg* is a group picture of Union veterans wearing G.A.R. hats, medals, and reunion ribbons looking at

⁹¹ "The Gettysburg Knapsack," 30.

their newly built monument in 1888.⁹² Veterans' same attire for the photograph reaffirms their collective identity as proud ex-soldiers.

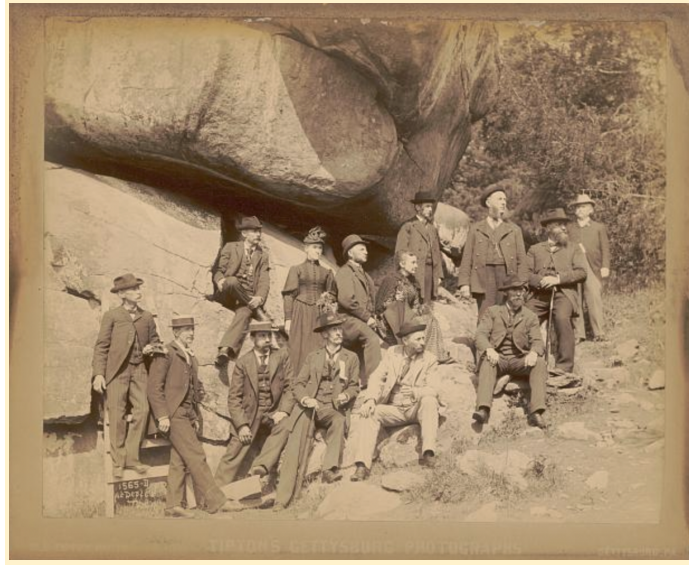


Figure 1.4. *Civil War veterans of the 40th New York Infantry Regiment and Two Women at Reunion at Devil's Den in Gettysburg* taken by William H. Tipton. Tipton, "[Civil War Veterans of the 40th New York Infantry Regiment and Two Women at Reunion at Devil's Den in Gettysburg]." Library of Congress, January 1, 1888, Accessed April 23, 2023. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ppmsca.67851/>.

The 40th New York Infantry Regiment was also called Mozart Regiment and was organized at Yonkers under the authority of the War Department. The regiment fought at the Battle of Fair Oaks and the Battle of Gettysburg.⁹³ Even though very few scholars researched the regiment, *The New York Times* demonstrates that veterans of the Fortieth

⁹² William H. Tipton, "[Civil War Veterans of the 40th New York Infantry Regiment and Two Women at Reunion at Devil's Den in Gettysburg]." Library of Congress, January 1, 1888, Accessed April 23, 2023. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ppmsca.67851/>.

⁹³ "New York State Military Museum and Veterans Research Center." 40th New York Infantry Regiment's Civil War Historical Sketch:: New York State Military Museum and Veterans Research Center. Accessed April 16, 2023. <https://museum.dmna.ny.gov/unit-history/infantry/40th-infantry-regiment/historical-sketch>.

Regiment formed the Fortieth New York Volunteers Veteran Association (Mozart Regiment) after the war. The association had an annual reunion and quarterly meetings at the “Studio,” and one meeting even discussed “a resolution favoring the pensioning of veterans on a ‘graded-service.’”⁹⁴ By September of 1883, forty-five members were active in the Fortieth New York Volunteers Veteran Association.

On July 2nd, 1888, as the monument of the Fortieth New York Volunteers Veterans was dedicated to them at Gettysburg, the Mozart Regiment took a special Pennsylvania Railroad train to attend the dedication. According to the description given by the Library of Congress, veterans and two women in the picture looked towards the newly-built monument, although we cannot tell from the picture. They look confident, as though they were proud of their service at the Battle of Gettysburg. Visual images like photographs and postcards had a huge impact on specific image-making of veterans who fought at Gettysburg, especially as new technology was introduced to Americans. By looking at photographs and postcards of veterans, the audience, some of whom were civilians, remembered that veterans had saved the nation. Shaffer points out that the tourist industry and photographers like Tipton took advantage of new technologies and tried to capitalize on people’s desire to record, preserve, and memorize tourists and battlefields.⁹⁵ By the end of the nineteenth century, Americans saw a lot of illustrated brochures, souvenir albums, and postcards. The Gettysburg tourist industry capitalized on veterans’ desire to record and spread the glories of the past.

⁹⁴ “Mozart Regiment Veterans,” *The New York Times*, March 8, 1888, 8.

⁹⁵ Shaffer, *See America First*, 266.

The Pennsylvania Railroad and the Columbian Exposition: “Enlightening the Human Race”

“America could produce such a display of animals of all kinds, and to such perfection,” James B. Campbell wrote before the opening of the World’s Columbian Exposition.⁹⁶ The Civil War brought the development of technology and transportation, and The World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893 was a prime example of the recent development of the United States. Between May 1st to October 30th, 1893, more than 27 million people visited the exposition.⁹⁷ In order to gain economic profits, cyclorama companies and the Pennsylvania Railroad also attempted to exhibit their work, as well as advertise the exposition. The fair ended when Chicago’s popular mayor Carter Harrison was shot at his home on October 28, 1893.⁹⁸ Yet, the World’s Columbian Exposition was an opportunity for Americans and international travelers to immerse themselves in the collective memory of American history.

Caroline E. Janney, the author of “A New and Unique Show: The Rise and Fall of Civil War Cycloramas,” explains that the Civil War Cycloramas were profitable products in the late nineteenth century, and cyclorama companies created them without the purpose of disseminating an accurate history of the Civil War.⁹⁹ In 1884, three cyclorama buildings existed in Chicago. One of these buildings housed the original painting of Gettysburg, which was created by Paul Philippoteaux. By 1893, when the World’s Columbian Exposition took place, the number of cyclorama buildings in the city had

⁹⁶ “Campbell’s Illustrated Weekly. Vol.3 1893-1894.” HathiTrust. Accessed April 1, 2023. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015004046200&view=1up&seq=2&q1=people>.

⁹⁷ Jason Gauthier, History Staff. “May 2018 - History - U.S. Census Bureau.” United States Census Bureau. Accessed March 5, 2023. https://www.census.gov/history/www/homepage_archive/2018/may_2018.html#:~:text=Between%20May%201%20and%20October,million%20people%20attended%20the%20fair.

⁹⁸ Jason Gauthier, “May 2018 - History - U.S. Census Bureau.”

⁹⁹ James and Janney, *Buying & Selling Civil War Memory in Gilded Age America*, 239.

increased to six. Two of these buildings featured exhibits related to the Civil War.¹⁰⁰

Janney conducts extensive research on the roles and significance of cycloramas in the Gilded Age, which highlights how the Civil War had permeated American culture and everyday life. Constructing cyclorama buildings for the World's Columbian Exposition had its historical significance; that is, these cycloramas added to the overall imperialistic visions of the World's Columbian Exposition Commissioners. Historian Sarah J. Moore explains the Spanish-American War and Pan-American Movement were close at hand,¹⁰¹ the World's Columbian Exposition served as a way to convey what they deemed “enlightening the human race.” The Commissioner's imperialistic ambition in creating and perpetuating a domestic and international racial hierarchy matched with the profit-seeking cyclorama company and the Pennsylvania Railroad's project. They collaborated together to disseminate a glamorized view of the Civil War, as well as white American Exceptionalism within the context of racial hierarchy and imperialism.

During the Civil War, the North and South produced more sophisticated weapons and developed railroads and infrastructure. The war upgraded technology, which was one step toward to modernity. Historian William G. Thomas articulated in his book, *The Iron Way: Railroads, the Civil War, and the Making of Modern America*, that Americans knew that the development of the railroad meant the creation of modernity. By constructing a more stable infrastructure and transportation system, they gained better access to information, communication, and mobility, all of which helped them, in a sense, to

¹⁰⁰ James and Janney, *Buying & Selling Civil War Memory in Gilded Age America*, 245.

¹⁰¹ Sarah J. Moore, “Mapping Empire in Omaha and Buffalo: World's Fairs and the Spanish-American War.” *Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe* 25, no. 1 (2000): 111-126. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25745695>.

construct a new nation.¹⁰² In the Gilded Age, the Pennsylvania Railroad was an icon of modernization. Founded in 1846 in Philadelphia, PA, the company constructed a line from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh. During wartime, the Pennsylvania Railroad had three different routes, from Columbia, Ohio to Philadelphia, Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and Wrightsville, NC, to York, all of which the Union army used for supply lines.¹⁰³

As the railroad started to be a more popular option for traveling, the Pennsylvania Railroad expanded its market to sell eight different excursion tickets to Gettysburg. In 1887, they opened a tourist bureau that packaged lodging and food from Gettysburg to Washington D.C. and other places.¹⁰⁴ The World's Columbian Exposition was a prime example of how the Pennsylvania Railroad attempted to enter the tourism market.

For the exhibition, the Pennsylvania Railroad published a guidebook in 1893. This guidebook gave readers a very detailed description of a potential trip from New York to Chicago. Since the descriptions were written in a narrative manner, it gave the impression that the reader was on an actual trip. The guidebook introduces Gettysburg by saying, "the battle of Gettysburg, where, in 1863, took place the most stirring and momentous engagement of the war between the North and the South."¹⁰⁵ The Pennsylvania Railroad anticipated that some tourists would be interested in the description and would stop by Gettysburg on their way to Chicago, even if it was for a short stay.

¹⁰² William G. Thomas, *The Iron Way: Railroads, the Civil War, and the Making of Modern America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 209.

¹⁰³ "Railroads during the Civil War." Railroads During the Civil War | Pennsylvania Civil War Trails. Accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.pacivilwartrails.com/stories/tales/railroads-during-the-civil-war>.

¹⁰⁴ Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine*, 77.

¹⁰⁵ Pennsylvania Railroad to the Columbian Exposition." Library of Congress, 1893. Accessed April 23, 2023. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcmassbookdig.pennsylvaniara00penn/?sp=10>, 28.

The guidebook informs readers about the journey through New Jersey before the chapter suddenly jumps to Chicago. In fact, one-third of the content is about Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition, revealing the Pennsylvania Railroad's clear aim to promote Chicago. The Pennsylvania Railroad describes Chicago as "a great manufacturing city, and a great commercial city."¹⁰⁶ It extensively discusses the city in order to advertise the World's Columbian Exposition. While pointing out the glamour of the beautifully built exhibitions, the guidebook compares it to the Paris Exposition of 1889 and boasts its scale to the audience, including international tourists. "You realize how much more stupendous it must be than the Paris Exposition of 1889, which with the Champ de Mars, the Trocadero, the Esplanade des Invalides....," explains the guidebook.¹⁰⁷ By connecting the World's Columbian Exposition to the past exhibition in France, it attempts to inspire awe at the Chicago World's Fair and show off its modernity to other nations.

The appeal to American modernity was the central theme of the exhibition. For example, in the Mines and Mining Building, the Pennsylvania Railroad exhibits its own panel showing its tracks and signal tower, and various extravagant transportation buildings. As explained earlier, the railroad became a symbol of modernization. By publishing the guidebook and exhibiting its supplies and transportation building at the fair, the Pennsylvania Railroad's deep involvement in the World's Columbian Exposition showed its strong political and commercial power at that time.

While showing the technologies in the exposition to demonstrate the modernity of the country, the World's Columbian Exposition also attempted to demonstrate the

¹⁰⁶ Pennsylvania Railroad to the Columbian Exposition." Library of Congress, 1893, 84.

¹⁰⁷ Pennsylvania Railroad to the Columbian Exposition," 88.

richness of US history. The World's Columbian Exposition celebrated each state's history with its own exposition. In the Exhibits of the State of Pennsylvania at the World's Columbian Exposition, the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. exhibited a panel on refrigerators, stock, freight, and passenger cars, and other items with a note of "an extremely interesting and tasteful exhibit." in a Special Building South of the Annex.¹⁰⁸ Simultaneously, the State of Pennsylvania also branded itself as the birthplace of American history. In the front view, they placed the Liberty Bell. In addition, the catalog mentions that they put E.B. Harden's Gettysburg battlefield relief map. Its size was 7 ft. 2 in. and 3 ft 6 in.¹⁰⁹ The catalog notes that this is one of the most important relics in the State building, meaning that they also commemorate the significance of the Gettysburg battlefield.¹¹⁰ By painting Pennsylvania as an industrial and historical center through the exhibition, the State of Pennsylvania suggested to the audience that Pennsylvania embodied American progress.

In addition to the Pennsylvania exhibition, the Gettysburg Cyclorama served as one of the major mediums to control the narratives of the Civil War. Jim Weeks argues that the cyclorama was a way to communicate the Civil War memories with the urban working-class audiences in mass commercial leisure.¹¹¹ The painters were motivated by monetary desires, rather than by conveying a true account of the war. Influenced by the popularity of cyclorama paintings in Europe, they wanted to make financial profits out of

¹⁰⁸ Farquhar, A B. "Catalogue of the Exhibits of the State of Pennsylvania and of Pennsylvanians at the World's Columbian Exposition ... Prepared under the Direction of A" HathiTrust. Accessed March 6, 2023.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015035387250&view=1up&seq=323&q1=Gettysburg>, 194.

¹⁰⁹ Farquhar, "Catalogue of the Exhibits of the State of Pennsylvania...", 26.

¹¹⁰ Farquhar, "Catalogue of the Exhibits of the State of Pennsylvania...", 26.

¹¹¹ Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine*, 78.

the Civil War. The first cyclorama was created in Philadelphia in 1876.¹¹² *The Siege of Paris*, depicting the French-Prussian War, led cyclorama painters to think that they needed to create a U.S.-themed cyclorama.¹¹³ The Cyclorama project expanded to big cities like New York and Philadelphia.

One cyclorama was based on the Battle of Gettysburg in Chicago, created before the World's Columbian Exposition. *The Chicago Times* noted, "The panorama is universally conceded by all who have seen it to be the most extraordinary work of art ever seen in this city."¹¹⁴ The exhibition was also shown in the Pennsylvania Railroad guidebook, showing its importance in the World's Columbian Exhibition. While working-class people could not afford to trip to Gettysburg, they could afford to pay the entrance fee, twenty-five cents for children and fifty cents for adults, to reimagine the history on their own.¹¹⁵ Near the entrance of the cyclorama, the whole battle was visible. The opening of the Gettysburg Cyclorama catalog notes a brief overview of the battle. It started with the Confederate army's plan to invade the North, and the story focused on Confederate General Robert E. Lee's military movements and human drama with his colleagues. The story concluded with the quote from Lincoln, "Through the paths of repentance and submission to the divine will, to unity and fraternal peace."¹¹⁶ The cyclorama successfully celebrated the idea of American valor on the battlefield through its spectacular views and dramatized depiction of the Confederate army.

¹¹² Martin and Janney, *Buying & Selling Civil War Memory in Gilded Age America*, 240.

¹¹³ Martin and Janney, *Buying & Selling Civil War Memory in Gilded Age America*, 240.

¹¹⁴ "Chicago's Cyclorama." *Chicagology*. Accessed March 5, 2023.

<https://chicagology.com/goldenage/goldenage049/>.

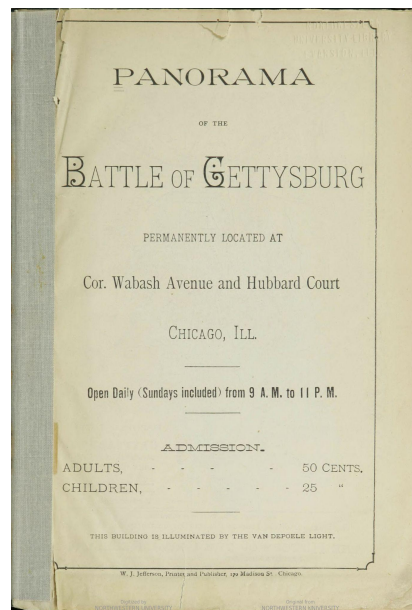
¹¹⁵ "Panorama of the Battle of Gettysburg: Permanently Located at Cor. Wabash Avenue and Hubbard Court, Chicago, Ill.." HathiTrust. Accessed April 1, 2023.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ien.35556010345593&view=1up&seq=1>, 1.

¹¹⁶ "Panorama of the Battle of Gettysburg," 5.

*A pamphlet of the Gettysburg Cyclorama*¹¹⁷

Campbell's Illustrated Weekly features the World's Columbian Exposition and its significance in modern race relations. While mentioning, "every department of art, science, education, literature, mechanical, electrical, agricultural, and horticultural, will be seen in its highest perfection," the author is confident that American's high-quality exhibited items would sophisticate the audience.¹¹⁸ For the commissioners, by exhibiting these amazing artifacts and exposing them to the knowledge, they attempt to "[meet] on common ground for a friendly discussion of the brightest and best thoughts for the upbuilding of the human race."¹¹⁹ Their logic was based on Social Darwinism – some 'races' were better than others, and so was civilization. Edward T. O'Donnell, the author of *Henry George and the Crisis of Inequality*, explains that



¹¹⁷ "Panorama of the Battle of Gettysburg," 1.

¹¹⁸ "Campbell's Illustrated Weekly. Vol.3 1893-1894." HathiTrust. Accessed April 1, 2023. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015004046200&view=1up&seq=2&q1=people>, 295.

¹¹⁹ "Campbell's Illustrated Weekly. Vol.3 1893-1894," 295.

Figure 1.5. *A pamphlet of the Gettysburg Cyclorama*. “Panorama of the Battle of Gettysburg: Permanently Located at Cor. Wabash Avenue and Hubbard Court, Chicago, Ill..” HathiTrust. Accessed April 1, 2023, 1.

Laissez-Faire Individualism, which emerged from the free labor system, produced Social Darwinism. British philosopher Herbert Spencer, the most influential advocate of Social Darwinism, upheld what was deemed to be the “survival of the fittest” and justified class inequality and privilege.¹²⁰ The writer later explains that the exposition could “uplift” the status of a less desirable race. “Let the thought of every tongue, race and people be heard, and then let us appropriate all that seems to us as good and true, so that our lives maybe assisting in the future building of the civilization of the world or each on which we live,” the author concludes.¹²¹ The writer believes that displaying artifacts associated with desirable racial groups could help educate “the less desirable” racial groups and contribute to the progress of humanity as a whole.

The Chicago World's Fair aimed to showcase America's progress and its rich history to both domestic and international audiences. In doing so, the exposition organizers considered the Civil War, including the Battle of Gettysburg, to be a significant event that symbolized the country's triumph in democracy and industrialization. Through the display of items and souvenirs related to the war, the fair sought to evoke a sense of soldiers' valor in the minds of visitors. Additionally, the fair also intended to promote the notion of American exceptionalism under the ideology of Social Darwinism by highlighting the United States as the leading civilization. The

¹²⁰ Edward T. O'Donnell, *Henry George and the Crisis of Inequality Progress and Poverty in the Gilded Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 39.

¹²¹ “Campbell's Illustrated Weekly,” 295.

timing of the exposition was significant when thinking about the United States Pan-America project. On April 25th, 1898, the United States declared war against Spain. The U.S. troops respectively attacked Cuba and Puerto Rico and later ceded Puerto Rico and Guam. They also purchased the Philippines from Spain for twenty million dollars.¹²² The World's Columbian Exposition was a manifestation of American Exceptionalism within the context of imperialism.

The idea of Social Darwinism also had an impact on domestic racial relations. African Americans struggled with contesting their own memory in the World's Columbian Exposition. Frederick Douglass as the commissioner of Hayti gave a speech at the inauguration of the World's Columbian Exposition to condemn the commissioner's white supremacist view of the exhibition.¹²³ Born in Maryland in 1818, Douglass witnessed the tide of the Abolitionist Movement, from the Civil War to American Reconstruction. In the speech, he appreciates the exhibition as a unity of humanity and human progress, but he also expresses his frustration with the exhibition not representing eight million African Americans in this nation. "The spirit of the Exhibition was in direct contradiction to such a purpose."¹²⁴ Given his lifelong dedication to racial equality, his disappointment with the exhibition was particularly profound. In his emphasis on the labor that underpins art, industry, and nation-building, Douglass encourages his audience to reflect on the history of slavery in the United States and to support the cause of racial equality.

¹²² "Introduction." Introduction - The World of 1898: The Spanish-American War (Hispanic Division, Library of Congress). Accessed April 9, 2023. <https://loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/intro.html>.

¹²³ "Campbell's Illustrated Weekly," 300.

¹²⁴ "Campbell's Illustrated Weekly," 300.

Although African American literature was on display, white commissioners exploited their artwork for its appeal to American exceptionalism, disregarding the ongoing plight of African Americans after the Civil War. In the article, "Uncle Tom's Cabin at the World's Columbian Exposition," Barbara Hochman writes that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* helped the audience appreciate America's high-quality literature and placed "the United States on the pinnacle of the evolutionary ladder of nations."¹²⁵ However, the commissioners attempted to exploit *Uncle Tom's Cabin's* exhibit to boast the modernity and progress of the nation to the audience. As we will see in the second chapter, the reality that African Americans faced from the dawn of Reconstruction to the Jim Crow was brutal and far from the message of the World's Columbian Exposition— the modernization and maturity of America. The argument ties into Douglass's speech, which stated that the exhibition worked to erase African Americans as a fundamental component of the nation's architecture. The World's Columbian Exposition commissioners collaborated with profit-seeking companies such as Cyclorama companies and the Pennsylvania Railroad. They used Civil War-related expositions and cycloramas to promote the idea of Social Darwinism and perpetuate racial hierarchy, all disguised as entertainment.

The Civil War left a deep scar on American society. While society was changing drastically and rapidly, Americans' fascination with the Civil War remained present. Veterans, civilians, and small and large businesses sold and bought Civil War products to meet their materialistic needs and shaped the war as a glorious symbol of American democracy. The World's Columbian Exposition crystallized American exceptionalism,

¹²⁵ Barbara Hochman. "'Uncle Tom's Cabin' at the World's Columbian Exposition." *Libraries & Culture* 41, no. 1 (2006): 82–108.

mass consumerism, and investors' ambition to pursue economic profits and expand its territories based on Social Darwinism. What they might not have realized was that their actions of buying and selling Civil War goods were the instant remedies to cope with the massive carnage. But did they really move on from the trauma caused by the war? The next chapter examines active contestations of the Civil War narratives between white supremacists versus African Americans and anti-Vietnam war protestors, and how tourism played a major role in the fight.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM WHITE RECONCILIATION TO CIVIL RIGHTS: AN EVOLVING BATTLEGROUND OF MEANING GETTYSBURG

Fifty Years Later

At eleven am on July 4th, 1913, President Woodrow Wilson arrived at the train station in Gettysburg. It was a hot day. Escorted by the State Police, he headed to the Great Tent, where veterans from the North and South were waiting for his address.¹²⁶ The 1913 Reunion commemorated the return of veterans and politicians to Gettysburg, 50 years after surviving the war. Historian David Blight reveals that Wilson initially intended to go on a vacation in Cornish, New Hampshire, with his wife, but after finding out about the 1913 Reunion, he sent her a letter and wrote that he decided to attend the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg instead.¹²⁷ At the Great Tent, surrounded by veterans and their wives, he said, “What have they [those fifty years] meant [?] They have meant peace and union and vigor, and the maturity and might of a great nation. How

¹²⁶ Lewis E. Beitler, “Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg; Report of the Pennsylvania Commission, Presented to His Excellency John K. Tener, Governor of Pennsylvania, ...” HathiTrust. Accessed April 2, 2023.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015070224921&view=1up&seq=26&q1=1909>, 174.

¹²⁷ Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2001), 7.

wholesome and healing the peace has been!”¹²⁸ After his address, the band played the Star-Spangled Banner and the audience said farewell to the president.¹²⁹

At the start of the 1900s, Gettysburg continued to be an inaccessible place for ordinary Americans, including veterans. Because of the cost of transportation and the impact of racial politics in the twentieth century, many Americans were unable to visit Gettysburg, which led state and federal government officials to have an outsized role in portraying a white supremacist view of Civil War history. They succeeded in erasing the contributions and experiences of African Americans from that history. Yet, advancements in transportation, increased leisure time, and higher income, which were the byproducts of continuous wars abroad, enabled more people to access the site, exercise their political rights, educate their children, and have fun in the battleground. This empowered more people to challenge the prevailing war narratives.

Although the 1913 reunion has been well-researched by historians, the history of Gettysburg after the reunion, particularly in relation to tourism, has received less attention. In *Race and Reunion*, David Blight focuses on the 1913 reunion and how it was used by the North and South to pursue white reconciliation. In *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, Edward Linenthal explains an overview of how Gettysburg became one of the most famous battlefields in the United States from the end of the battle to the 1990s, but Linenthal offers less context on the twentieth century than on the 1860s and 1870s when residents in Gettysburg actively engaged in burying soldiers. This chapter offers a more comprehensive history of the turmoil of the twentieth

¹²⁸ Beitler, “Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg,” 174.

¹²⁹ Beitler, “Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg,” 176.

century and examines how diverse groups of people found meaning in the Gettysburg Battlefield.

The 1913 Reunion and its Superficial Celebration for Sectional Reconciliation

The 1913 reunion was indeed a national project. This encampment of the American Civil War became a decisive moment in shaping the Civil War collective memory. White veterans and politicians agreed to erase the existence of African Americans as the main actors in Civil War history and put forth the idea of the North and South reuniting to honor the valor of soldiers. This narrative emphasized the bravery of soldiers on both sides while downplaying the role of slavery as the primary cause of the war. The author of *Race and Reunion*, David Blight, demonstrates that reconciliation narratives were white supremacist visions designed to mitigate sectional differences between the North and the South. He further argues that sectional reconciliation “could not have been achieved without the resubjugation of many of those people whom the war had freed from centuries of bondage.”¹³⁰ The 1913 reunion signified “a festival of sectional reconciliation and patriotism.”¹³¹ Blight concludes that no other events in American history have produced a white reconciliation narrative as deliberately as the 1913 reunion.¹³²

The state and federal governments invested a significant amount of money in the commemorative ceremony. Approved in May 1909, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania authorized the creation of “the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of

¹³⁰ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 8.

¹³¹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 8.

¹³² Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 8.

Gettysburg Commission” and set aside \$5,000 for its preliminary expenses.¹³³ The Commission consisted of nine people, some of whom were Civil War veterans.¹³⁴ They requested that this work become a co-joint with the federal government. In 1910, Congress created a Special Committee for the 1913 reunion.¹³⁵ In January, February, and March of 1910, about ten states, including New York and Massachusetts, visited the field tour and were interested in the reunion.¹³⁶ Later, Pennsylvania, the Congress of the United States, and the other Commonwealths, States, and Territories agreed to spend over one million dollars on the encampment.¹³⁷ In 1911, governors and legislative members of each state, officers of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the United Confederate Veterans visited the Commission and asked to extend the reunion’s official invitation to all Civil War veterans. Moreover, they asked the Commission to stipend travel expenses to Gettysburg and requested that the federal government and the state of Pennsylvania host the reunion.¹³⁸ As discussed in the first chapter, a trip to Gettysburg was costly in the late nineteenth century, and the cost remained high in the early twentieth century. All states decided to offer transportation, lodging, and expenses for the participants, and needed to create camps for all of them.¹³⁹ The bill finally passed, though, by April and June 1913, the state of Pennsylvania paid an extra \$150,000 to continue the construction

¹³³ Beitler, “Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg”, 26.

¹³⁴ Beitler, “Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg,” 26.

¹³⁵ Beitler, “Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg,” 53.

¹³⁶ Beitler, “Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg,” 10.

¹³⁷ Beitler, “Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg; Report of the Pennsylvania Commission,” 11.

¹³⁸ Beitler, “Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg; Report of the Pennsylvania Commission,” 46.

¹³⁹ Beitler, “Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg; Report of the Pennsylvania Commission,” ix.

work.¹⁴⁰ As a hosting state, Pennsylvania played a leading role in preparing all of the work “to make a final success of the great celebration.”¹⁴¹ Given the amount of money they spent on the reunion, the state and federal governments felt a great responsibility to ensure the success of the commemoration.

With financial assistance from the state and federal governments, veterans from all of the states, except Nevada and Wyoming, traveled all the way to Gettysburg.¹⁴² Some veterans living in the West spent four or more days on trains to go to Gettysburg. According to *Return to Gettysburg*, more than 55,000 veterans showed up over the reunion.¹⁴³

The reunion consisted of the battlefield tour, regimental reunions, reunions with other regiments, and interactions with interactions between northern and southern veterans. On the afternoon of July 3rd, 180 survivors of the Philadelphia Brigade Association, 120 survivors of Pickett's Division Association, and other commanders from the battle, formed two lines one hundred feet apart to reenact the famous battle, Pickett's Charge.¹⁴⁴ Later, Sen. Joseph Hampton Moore, a Republican member of the House of

¹⁴⁰ W.N. Pickerill, “Indiana at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg. Report of the Fiftieth Anniversary Commission of the Battle of Gettysburg, of Indiana, ...” HathiTrust. Accessed April 2, 2023. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo1.ark%3A%2F13960%2Ft4th93982&view=1up&seq=6,13-15>.

¹⁴¹ Pickerill, “Indiana at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg,” 11.

¹⁴² Richard Selcer, “Return to Gettysburg Aging Vets Faced a Number of Challenges at the 1913 Reunion.” *Civil War Times* 61, no. 3 (June 2022): 39.

¹⁴³ Selcer, “Return to Gettysburg,” 39.

¹⁴⁴ Beitler, “Pennsylvania at Gettysburg. Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Monuments Erected by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to Major-General George G. Meade, ... Vol.3.” HathiTrust. Accessed April 2, 2023. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hx26xp&view=1up&seq=340&q1=Thomas+Thompson,168>.

Representatives from Pennsylvania, made a speech. He briefly explained the significance of survivors gathering in the Bloody Angle, which defined the Union's victory and said:

While you have come from the South and the North bearing the tattered colors that once distinguished you as enemies, wearing the Blue and the Gray as you gallantry (sic) wore them through the tumult of battle you meet again here at the 'Bloody Angle.' the very zenith of the mighty current of the war, not as furious, fighting champions of State or Section, but as messengers of peace; as men and brothers, loyal to a common country, united under one flag – the 'Stars and Stripes.' In thus assembling, mindful of your past differences only as thrilling reminiscences in the story of your lives, you are manifesting the highest, the truest qualities of patriotism.¹⁴⁵

After fifty years, Blue and Gray stood again on the same battlefield that decided the outcome of the Civil War, allowing participants to reminisce about the past. As Moore was born in 1864, a year after the Battle of Gettysburg broke out, he might not fully grasp the impact of the bloody war and the historical implications of the reunion.¹⁴⁶

Nonetheless, his speech encapsulated the overall theme of the 1913 reunion, which white supremacists deemed the reconciliation of the sectional difference that emerged from the Civil War.

¹⁴⁵ Beitler, "Pennsylvania at Gettysburg," 169.

¹⁴⁶ "Moore, Joseph Hampton." US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. Accessed April 2, 2023. <https://history.house.gov/People/Detail/18471>.



Figure 2.1. Hon J. Hampton Moore, Member of Congress from Philadelphia. Pennsylvania. "Pennsylvania at Gettysburg. Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Monuments Erected by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to Major-General George G. Meade, ... Vol.3," 158.

After the reunion, some states published post-reunion reports to record its celebratory moments. For example, the State of Indiana notes, "The entire six days and nights were just one glad and joyful season of forgetfulness of the trials and hardships of the past... State lines were forgotten, and the men of the North, and the men of the South here clasped hands, after a manner calculated to cement friendship forever."¹⁴⁷ Yet, issues at the encampment demonstrate another side of the 1913 reunion – the government's negligence of veterans' safety and superficial celebration of the Civil War.

Despite the glamorous and celebratory images represented in photographs and speeches, the reunion was also a challenging experience for some of the veterans. Even

¹⁴⁷ Pickerill, "Indiana at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg," 37.

though it prohibited alcohol consumption at the reunion, veterans smuggled alcohol into the camp and shared alcohol bottles with their old friends. This resulted in “many cases” of “overindulgence in alcohol.”¹⁴⁸ As discussed in the previous chapter, veterans’ mental health triggered alcoholism in the postwar period. The fact that few participants left a record of their participation made it difficult to determine the intentions behind veterans’ alcohol consumption. It was unclear whether it was their usual routine, habit, or a means to reconnect with old friends and relive past experiences. Yet, veterans’ use of alcohol at the reunion played a crucial role in highlighting the darker side of the white celebration.

The local hospital was crowded with sick veterans. *The New York Times* even reported that one veteran died from the heat. Dr. Samuel G. Dixon, Commissioner of Health of Pennsylvania, announced, “The ambulances were kept busy all day.”¹⁴⁹ Aside from the heat, many veterans suffered from intestinal trouble.¹⁵⁰ Most soldiers had not experienced hunger since the end of the war, and now they recalled another painful aspect of soldiering.¹⁵¹

The heat crippled veterans’ health. The temperature reached 103°F on the second day.¹⁵² Because the inside of the camps was not equipped with any cooling systems, many participants stayed in the shade and hydrated with refreshments.¹⁵³ The participating veterans, whether they liked the camping days or not, felt like they came to the old war days. The post-reunion report by the New York State Commission comments that the

¹⁴⁸ Selcer, “Return to Gettysburg,” 42.

¹⁴⁹ “Heat Prostrates Gettysburg Host: Two of the Victims Die, and Ambulances Are Kept Busy All Day. Sunday Arrivals 25,000 Gen. Sickles Revisits Scene Where Confederate Shell Took Off His Leg Fifty Years Ago,” *The New York Times*, June 30, 1913.

¹⁵⁰ “Heat Prostrates Gettysburg Host,” *The New York Times*, June 30, 1913.

¹⁵¹ Selcer, “Return to Gettysburg,” 42.

¹⁵² Selcer, “Return to Gettysburg,” 42.

¹⁵³ Selcer, “Return to Gettysburg,” 42.

hosts failed to consider the impact of the surroundings, such as heat, knowing that veterans in attendance were elderly.¹⁵⁴ Nonetheless, the New York Commission did not have a sense of guilt when it came to participants' deaths at the reunion. The report continues, "The number of dead was just nine, and these principally from organic diseases."¹⁵⁵ The government neglected to provide a safe environment for the reunion, and failed to hold themselves accountable for veterans' deaths.

Some journalists asked whether the reunion had any practical meaning to it. *The Advocate of Peace* argued that "all the press reports we have failed to note any emphasis upon the unutterable sadness of the useless slaughter of brave young men."¹⁵⁶ Although so many veterans visited the battlefield and reconnected with their comrades in arms, the article pointed out that veterans, politicians, and the press ignored the gravity and real tragedy of the Civil War.

Additionally, as some veterans grew older, their memories faded to the point where some heartwarming reunion stories were proven historically inaccurate. For instance, a Union and a Confederate veteran reunited at Devil's Den, recalling the moment when the Union soldier saved the Confederate's life by giving him water. However, as it turns out, historical records indicate that the Union veteran did not actually fight at Devil's Den.¹⁵⁷

Federal and state governments invested so much money directing the greatest reunion. By capturing glorious images of veterans in the North and South proudly

¹⁵⁴ New York Monument Commission, "Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, 1913; Report of the New York State Commission." HathiTrust. Accessed April 2, 2023. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hx26xi&view=1up&seq=9>, 8.

¹⁵⁵ New York Monument Commission, "Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, 1913," 8.

¹⁵⁶ "Gettysburg Fifty Years After," *The Advocate of Peace*. 1913, 170.

¹⁵⁷ Selcer, "Return to Gettysburg," 43.

holding their military flags, the reunion reimagined a new white nation and strengthened their national identity. Historians, including David Blight, have done an exceptional job painting the historical implications of the 1913 reunion, but few historians have pointed out the darker narrative of the reunion -- exhaustion and participants' deaths. The seemingly celebratory moment of the Civil War reunion was grounded on the superficial vision of the white reconciliation and the government's negligence.

“The Birthplace of American Democracy”: Gettysburg and the African American Fight for Citizenship

As Henry Gates notes, Reconstruction, “repaired what the war had broken apart while simultaneously attempting to uproot the old slave system and the ideology underpinning it that had rationalized the process of making property of men a ‘black and white’ issue.”¹⁵⁸ Reconstruction was a revolutionary moment in the sense that African Americans and their allies attempted to create racial democracy. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which was soon to be known as the first federal civil rights legislation in American history. Congress also ratified the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments in 1865, 1868, and 1870, respectively.¹⁵⁹ The chain of civil rights amendments shifted African Americans’ formal status from property to first-class citizens. Soon after the Civil War ended, Congress passed a bill to create the Freedman’s Bureau.¹⁶⁰ By helping to find family members torn apart by enslavement and the war, the Bureau created a support system for them to start a new life as citizens. During

¹⁵⁸ Gates, *Stony the Road*, 7.

¹⁵⁹ Gates, *Stony the Road*, 7.

¹⁶⁰ Gates, *Stony the Road*, 8.

Reconstruction, about two thousand African American men served in office at different levels of government.¹⁶¹ However, the force of Reconstruction was short-lived, and African Americans' dream for racial democracy did not come true.

Gates points out two major factors that wrecked Reconstruction. One factor was rapid economic change. As we saw in the last chapter, the Panic of 1873 impacted many Americans' economic well-being, including veterans.¹⁶² During that economic recession, the Republican party was in power, and the frustration that northern white working-class individuals pointed toward Republicans, who had been committed both to racial democracy and to increasing the power of industry, led to increased scapegoating of African Americans. Meanwhile, a counterrevolution by white Southern Democrats against the Republican party resulted in anti-Black violence on a massive scale. The Democratic Party was composed of white "redeemers," who wanted to retrieve the 'Old South' model of racial hierarchy and aristocracy that existed in the Antebellum period. By 1877, the Redemption governments boycotted the federal government's rules and eventually paved the way for creating the Jim Crow system.¹⁶³ The Jim Crow system was deeply rooted in racism, and the governments in the Southern states used every possible counter-strategy they could think of to deprive African Americans of their rights. Gates explains, "The Civil War ended slavery, but it didn't end antiblack racism."¹⁶⁴ Reconstruction represented a promise for African Americans; it was finally their time to gain the rights they had been denied during enslavement. However, the spirit of anti-Blackness continued to be at the heart of American society and politics.

¹⁶¹ Gates, *Stony the Road*, 8.

¹⁶² Gates, *Stony the Road*, 10.

¹⁶³ Gates, *Stony the Road*, 10.

¹⁶⁴ Gates, *Stony the Road*, 14.

As a part of the white Southerners' counterrevolution, they erased African Americans' contributions to the Civil War and even denied enslavement as the central cause of the battle. The 1913 reunion was one example, and Gates introduces how literature influenced the "Lost Cause" narrative. For example, he mentions Jefferson Davis's book in 1881, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, in which Davis argued that brave Southern soldiers just wanted to fight against the North's "unlimited despotic power" and that slavery "was in no wise the cause of the conflict, but only an accident."¹⁶⁵ The "Lost Cause" narratives erased slavery as the main cause of the Civil War and held popular views among other white Southerners in the twentieth century.¹⁶⁶ Racism and "Lost Cause" narratives went hand in hand, and literature during the white Southerners' counterrevolution represented the idea. The movie *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915 was the epitome of counterrevolution as it intentionally fabricated the image of a Black Civil War soldier and congressmen as ignorant and animalistic.¹⁶⁷ White Southerners put forth the idea that African Americans were not capable of governing the nation, and they thought white Americans were the only suitable ones to reconstruct the nation. Literature became a powerful vehicle to control the Civil War memories from the late nineteenth century to the twentieth century. The racist depictions of African Americans in literature had negative impacts on the narratives of the Civil War and allowed white counterparts to question Black people's self-governance under Reconstruction.

¹⁶⁵ Gates, *Stony the Road*, 18.

¹⁶⁶ Gates, *Stony the Road*, 18.

¹⁶⁷ Gates, *Stony the Road*, 10.

Such narratives persisted through the 1930s and beyond. President Franklin Roosevelt's Civil Conservation Corps (CCC) provides an example of federal disregard for the contributions of African Americans in Gettysburg during the New Deal Era, although Roosevelt did create some opportunities for African Americans to hold positions of leadership in his administration and in some CCC units. Historians Glenda Gilmore and Jacquelyn Hall admit that the New Deal era was a turning point in "the long Civil Rights Movement," Harvard Sitkoff points out that Roosevelt's political stance was a "model of defense to the white South on racial issues, even during the New Deal era."¹⁶⁸ Especially, the case of the CCC, one of Franklin Roosevelt's government relief programs, showed the complex nature of race politics during the Great Depression. The Emergency Conservation Work Act of 1933 allowed the CCC to recruit unemployed young men to conduct conservation work in the national parks and forests.¹⁶⁹ Under the National Park Service, which was an umbrella organization of the U.S. Department of the Interior established in 1916, the CCC undertook its tasks of paving the roads and improving the forests in its first year.¹⁷⁰ In *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: Administrative History*, historian John C. Paige mentions that the National Park Service expected that CCC camps could attract tourists. The National Park Service instructed the CCC workers to be available over the weekends and be able to answer questions from the public.¹⁷¹ The National Park Service directed the CCC workers to improve Gettysburg National Park as a tourist-focused place.

¹⁶⁸ Sklaroff, *Black Culture and the New Deal*, 3.

¹⁶⁹ California State Parks, State of California. "Civilian Conservation Corps: History Articles."

¹⁷⁰ John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942 An Administrative History* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior, 1985), 6.

¹⁷¹ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 17.

The CCC was segregated based on race, and African Americans had limited opportunities in the Corps. Lauren Sklaroff explains that because relief program agencies were highly decentralized, local governments were responsible for managing the programs. Unfortunately, programs implemented by Southern governments did not allow African American participation.¹⁷² Nonetheless, the Gettysburg National Park was one of the few places where they accepted people of color.¹⁷³ There, African Americans engaged in the betterment of the national park. According to *The Chicago Defender*, approximately 200 African American men worked on the grounds.¹⁷⁴ The paper also reported on the detailed the detailed schedule of the CCC workers. They woke at 6 am in the morning and went to work at 8 am for the guardrail constructions, bridge repair, and reconstruction of the Civil War monument in the cemetery.¹⁷⁵ They generally worked 40 hours a week and received 30 dollars a month, including food, lodging, and clothing. Most Black workers were manual laborers, yet some got promoted and supervised other peers with higher wages.¹⁷⁶

Black workers of the CCC made significant contributions to the park's development, including the 1938 reunion. In preparation for the 1938 reunion, seventy-five years after the end of the Civil War, an all-Black unit of the CCC produced the whole structure for the commemoration— they implemented the gas line, created camps for 1800 veterans, and, most importantly, constructed the Eternal Light Peace Memorial.¹⁷⁷ The Eternal Light Peace Memorial was dedicated by President Franklin

¹⁷² Sklaroff, *Black Culture and the New Deal*, 19.

¹⁷³ Sklaroff, *Black Culture and the New Deal*, 19.

¹⁷⁴ Edgar G. Brown, “A Glimpse of a CCC Camp,” *The Chicago Defender*, June 8, 1935, 11.

¹⁷⁵ Brown, “A GLIMPSE OF A CCC CAMP.”

¹⁷⁶ Brown, “A GLIMPSE OF A CCC CAMP.”

¹⁷⁷ “Fighting Today for a Better Tomorrow: The Civilian Conservation Corps at Gettysburg.” The Blog of Gettysburg National Military Park, Accessed March 26, 2015.

Roosevelt in 1938 to reaffirm white reconciliation. The 1938 reunion was the last reunion for veterans, as many of the participants were in their 90s.

Despite their significant role in the reunion, only a few Black veterans were invited to the white men's homecoming. In this sense, the federal government continued its erasure of African Americans from the Civil War narratives. Because of the limited amount of newspaper articles and other historical records online, I was not able to identify the exact number of how many African Americans were invited for the reunion. Yet, A review of evidence from the Federal Writers Project and other sources turns up scant evidence of Black participation in the 1938 reunion. The Federal Writers' Project was a project of the Works Progress Administration (later called Work Projects Administration) that aimed to provide jobs to unemployed individuals during the Great Depression. As a part of this project, they interviewed 2,300 former slaves and compiled them into a set of collections called, *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves*.¹⁷⁸ William Ball Williams III was one of the few Black veterans who received the invitation to the reunion, and his interview was preserved in one of the transcripts.¹⁷⁹ Born in Greensburg, Pennsylvania, he sometimes witnessed violence inflicted upon his parents by his slaveholder. He later ran away from the slave plantation to Louisville to join the Union Army. He was traumatized

<https://npsgnmp.wordpress.com/2015/03/26/fighting-today-for-a-better-tomorrow-the-civilian-conservation-corps-at-gettysburg/>.

¹⁷⁸ "About This Collection : Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938 : Digital Collections : Library of Congress." The Library of Congress. Accessed April 25, 2023.

<https://www.loc.gov/collections/slave-narratives-from-the-federal-writers-project-1936-to-1938/about-this-collection/>.

¹⁷⁹ "Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 2, Arkansas, Part 7, Vaden-Young." Washington D.C. Accessed April 2, 2023.

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/mesn.027/?st=pdf&pdfPage=196,192>.

by, among other things, seeing the Union Army put African Americans on the front lines to shield white soldiers from death.¹⁸⁰ In response to the 1938 reunion, he stated that the federal government would pay all of the reunion expenses, and his grandson would take care of him during the encampment.

Another record showed that William A. Barnes, an African American vet, participated in the 1938 reunion as the eldest veteran. When Barnes joined the reunion, he was 112 years old and was actively interacting with other veterans.¹⁸¹ In contrast to the 1913 reunion, where no African American veterans were invited, the 1938 reunion made an attempt to extend invitations to some Black veterans. Yet, African American soldiers were clearly underrepresented in the reunion. The fact that there were very few African Americans present at the 1938 reunion resulted in the white commissioners reinforcing the white reconciliation narrative.

While white domination ruled at the reunions of 1913 and 1938, and in other gatherings at Gettysburg, African Americans fought for their rights through struggles over school trips to Gettysburg. Under the Jim Crow system in the South, and through its own forms of segregation in the North, white Americans continued to segregate Black

¹⁸⁰ For Williams' account, see "Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 2, Arkansas, Part 7, Vaden-Young," 192. For more on African Americans' experiences during the Civil War, see Elsie Freeman, Wynell Burroughs Schamel, and Jean West. "The Fight for Equal Rights: A Recruiting Poster for Black Soldiers in the Civil War." *Social Education* 56, 2 (February 1992): 118-120, revised and updated in 1999 by Budge Weidman and reprinted under the title, "Black Soldiers in the U.S. Military during the Civil War." National Archives and Records Administration. National Archives and Records Administration. Accessed April 29, 2023. <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/blacks-civil-war#:~:text=Black%20soldiers%20serve%20in%20artillery,contributed%20to%20the%20war%20cause>. African Americans during the Civil War were initially not allowed to join the Union Army for several reasons, mainly because of racism. On July 17, 1862, Congress passed the Second Confiscation Act to partially allow them to join the Union Army, yet the Union Army continued to render African Americans as property and assigned them on dangerous tasks. The Second Battle of Fort Wagner was the most famous battle fought by the 54th Massachusetts (one of the most famous Black regiments in the Civil War) on July 18th, 1863. The regiment lost two-thirds of their soldiers after the battle.

¹⁸¹ "Negro Vet Is Oldest At Gettysburg Re-Union." *The Pittsburgh Courier*. July 9, 1938.

children in the field of education. From the 1920s onwards, schools began organizing trips to Gettysburg as part of a program called "the citizenship tour," which aimed to instill a sense of American identity in students. While some tours only visited Gettysburg, others included visits to other cities like New York, Washington, D.C., and Chicago before arriving at the battlefield. Although schools were responsible for providing access to American history for all citizens, regardless of race, racial segregation practices on school trips prevented Black children from visiting Gettysburg. This discrimination had multiple implications. The fact that they were unable to visit Gettysburg and learn about American history meant that they did not even have the chance to challenge white-dominated history. The erasure of African Americans' contributions to the Civil War from textbooks and public history spaces signified that they were not recognized as equal American citizens.

In response, African Americans' unwavering advocacy played a crucial role in pushing back against racial oppression and advancing racial equality. Acknowledging its implications and importance, Black-owned newspapers actively protested school-racial segregation policies and worked to dismantle them. Since only a few newspaper articles highlighted the racial segregation practices in school trips to Gettysburg, it is difficult to determine how common it was during the early to mid-twentieth century. However, when comparing African American newspapers like *The Chicago Defender* and white dominant newspapers like *The New York Times*, Black newspapers often addressed the school trip segregation issues. The Black newspaper's active intervention in these cases defended Black people's fundamental rights, particularly their right to access quality education. On May 9th, 1925, *The Chicago Defender* published an article addressing a racial

discrimination case pertaining to a Gettysburg school trip in Chicago. Four hundred students from history and civil classes across various schools were selected for the trip, but all of them were white.¹⁸² In response to this incident, the writer wrote, “We, who are one-tenth of the population of Chicago and furnish almost one-third of the school population, are not allowed to participate in an excursion under the auspices of the Chicago Board of Education, which has for its destination of (sic) the office of the president of the United States.”¹⁸³ The writer accurately pointed out that this discrimination case was not just about the city level but a larger national issue, attracting the reader’s attention across the country.

It continues, “It is for Americans to realize that every step of this kind is being watched by thinking people... We feel that as Americans we should be included in every move that is made for community and civic betterment.”¹⁸⁴ As white-dominated narratives erased the existence and contributions of African Americans, *The Chicago Defender* persistently reminded its readers that Black people were also proud Americans and had the right to speak up and be heard. The article ends with, “Let Chicago set an example to the rest of the world for fairness. We must have a representative on that trip next year: let Washington begin to prepare for it now.”¹⁸⁵ The writer expressed both frustrations with the Chicago school board's discriminatory practices and hope for social change. They urged readers to join this protest for collective aspirations for a more just and equitable society. *The Chicago Defender* acknowledged that young students' school trip to Gettysburg was not merely an excursion. Rather, the issue of segregation and racial

¹⁸² “On To Washington.” *The Chicago Defender*. May 2, 1925, 11.

¹⁸³ “On To Washington,” 11.

¹⁸⁴ “On To Washington,” 11.

¹⁸⁵ “On To Washington,” 11.

discrimination in these trips revolved around determining who was considered a legitimate American citizen with access to national heritages. As such, Black newspapers played a crucial role in advocating for inclusive school trips and fighting for the citizenship rights of African American children.

Other schools planned Black-only school trips to Gettysburg in response to racial segregation. For example, in 1928, Howard University, a historically Black university in Washington D.C., organized the six-week summer school, where Black students enjoyed various academic activities and trips to Mount Vernon, Arlington National Cemetery, and Gettysburg.¹⁸⁶ Around 40 to 50 students made it to a trip, where they visited the marker of General Oliver Otis Howard.¹⁸⁷ General Oliver Otis Howard was born in Leeds, Maine, in 1830 and served as a Union general in the Civil War.¹⁸⁸ In the Battle of Gettysburg, he established a fallback position to get back from the Union defeat on the first day.¹⁸⁹ General Oliver Otis Howard was also a powerful advocate for freed people and later founded Howard University, which provided quality education to Black students.¹⁹⁰ According to the article, the participants listened to great detail of the battle offered by a professional guide and sang alma mater in front of the marker.¹⁹¹ Howard University's early practice in school trips to Gettysburg, especially with a focus on the history of the Abolitionist Movement, was rare, given that restrictions came along with Jim Crow

¹⁸⁶ "Howard Summer School Closes: Class Room Work Relieved by Extra-Curricular Activities." *The Chicago Defender*. August 11, 1928.

¹⁸⁷ "Howard Summer School Closes."

¹⁸⁸ "Oliver O. Howard." American Battlefield Trust. Accessed April 2, 2023. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/oliver-o-howard>.

¹⁸⁹ "Oliver O. Howard." American Battlefield Trust.

¹⁹⁰ "Oliver O. Howard." American Battlefield Trust.

¹⁹¹ "Howard Summer School Closes."

segregation. However, students enjoyed the opportunity to learn about the Battle of Gettysburg and Howard's dedication to quality education for all students.

In the late 1940s, prior to the landmark court case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, there appeared to be a slight easing of racial segregation practices in school trips. In 1948, *The Chicago Defender* reported that thirty- two high school honors students from Birmingham and Jefferson County, Alabama, visited Washington D.C., Gettysburg, and Philadelphia for a program designed around "teaching good citizenship." The author continued that these places were "the birthplace of American democracy," and that students "observe[d] its workings and discover[ed] its strengths and shortcomings."¹⁹² This year the Jefferson County High School Citizenship Tour accepted African American students for the first time. The writer credited some of the contributors, including high school principals and the Citizens Tour Committee, for making this happen.¹⁹³

Presenting testimonies written by the students, the writer encouraged other readers and their children to apply for the citizenship tour program. Charles Howard was one of the Black students who participated in the school trip. He reflected on the interactions with Howard University students in the program and wrote, "[the program] inspired me to [aspire] higher things in life."¹⁹⁴ After the trip, Howard joined the U.S. Air Force and served at the Hanscom Field Air Force Base Geophysics Laboratory for the Sounding Rocket Branch.¹⁹⁵ He also generously donated money to his high school and

¹⁹² "Dixie Students Visit Democracy's Monuments." *The Chicago Defender*. April 20, 1948.

¹⁹³ "Dixie Students Visit Democracy's Monuments."

¹⁹⁴ "Dixie Students Visit Democracy's Monuments."

¹⁹⁵ "Charles Howard Obituary (2012) - Birmingham, Al - The Birmingham Metropolitan Area." Legacy.com. Accessed April 2, 2023.
<https://obits.al.com/us/obituaries/birmingham/name/charles-howard-obituary?id=19510341>.

established the E.R. Nunn Scholarship to support the education of Black students.¹⁹⁶

Integration of the school trip to Gettysburg positively impacted the life of Black youth and instilled a spirit of racial advocacy and equality.

In some cases, African Americans had a hard time contesting their representation in the white-dominated history narratives. The struggle of Black workers in the CCC and their exclusion from the 1938 reunion showed how challenging it could be to contest their own history and advocate for racial justice. Especially under Jim Crow policies, African American journalists and tour organizers faced challenges in taking Black students to Gettysburg. Yet, their powerful grassroots organizing and cooperation with white supporters paved the way for equal educational opportunities, regardless of race.

The Trip to Gettysburg: Shaping National Identity in the Context of Twentieth-Century Consumerism and Wars Abroad

As a more sophisticated highway system ensured better access to the battlefield after World War One, the Gettysburg tourist industry faced a big question: How should they attract new groups of tourists? With the decreasing number of veterans over the years, reunions and encampments were also declining. Gettysburg's tourist industry devised a new strategy that involved making Gettysburg more affordable and family-oriented. As American society transitioned from post-World War Two to the Cold War era, both white and Black people in the Gettysburg tourist industry followed the trend of family-oriented educational trips to foster patriotism by selling affordable travel packages. While some people viewed Gettysburg as a sacred place, children might have

¹⁹⁶ "Charles Howard Obituary (2012) - Birmingham, Al - The Birmingham Metropolitan Area." Legacy.com. Accessed April 20, 2023.

seen it simply as a fun playground without necessarily understanding its historical roots in the Civil War. The meaning of the Gettysburg Battlefield has become more diverse, ranging from a hallowed ground to a recreational destination.

After the Columbian Exposition, the Pennsylvania Railroad gained fewer profits than in its heyday. Even though the company established a highly sophisticated transportation system, it required high fixed costs of trains, bridges, stations, and other structures.¹⁹⁷ In addition, competition among other railroad companies became more intense during and after World War I. In order to keep shipping going for the war, the major transportation system transitioned from the railroad to the trucking industry.¹⁹⁸ The Pennsylvania Railroad gradually lost its influence.

The highway system came to be the primary mode of transportation system for tourists, instead of railroads. With the popularity of automobile use, especially for African Americans who encountered Jim Crow segregation daily, the automobile played a crucial role in traveling to destinations. Manufacturers and travelers began to have more options in choosing which transportation would best suit their purposes.¹⁹⁹ The federal government avoided initiating an interstate highway project as they knew that they had to pave about 2, 200,000 miles of rural roads.²⁰⁰ World War One finally prompted them to start constructing the federal-aid highway for war mobilization. Carl G. Fisher aimed to

¹⁹⁷ “PHMC Developmental History.” PHMC > Railroads of Pennsylvania. Accessed April 15, 2023. <http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/portal/communities/railroads/history.html>.

¹⁹⁸ “PHMC Developmental History.” PHMC > Railroads of Pennsylvania.

¹⁹⁹ Richard F. Weingroff, “The Lincoln Highway.” U.S. Department of Transportation/Federal Highway Administration. Accessed April 15, 2023. <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/lincoln.cfm>.

²⁰⁰ Weingroff, “Highway History.” U.S. Department of Transportation/Federal Highway Administration.

create a “Coast-to-Coast Rock Highway” from New York City to San Francisco.²⁰¹ A *New York Times* article notes that the CCC workers, including African Americans, were involved in building the Lincoln Highway that passed through the park, and the war department addressed, “Through the work of the CCCs, Gettysburg will be more attractive to visitors than it has been in the past.”²⁰² Here, the CCC was also involved in developing the highway system to create the Gettysburg Battlefield as a tourist site.

By creating highway maps, automobile clubs could promote tourism on the Lincoln Highway, and as a result, attract new groups of tourists to towns like Gettysburg. *The Details of Lincoln Highway from Omaha to Chicago and Philadelphia*, published around 1921, includes a comprehensive in-state map.²⁰³ The Automobile Club of Southern California published maps in magazines for people who were interested in road trips. The maps show major cities and a list of “certified” hotels and restaurants. One map excerpted from the collective maps (Figure 2.2.) appears to represent Gettysburg as the second biggest town in the Southern Pennsylvania area. Ryan Moore writes that Gettysburg is the third most important town in Pennsylvania, preceded by Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.²⁰⁴ Moore further explains it was crucial specifically for travelers because, as of 1920, the square located in downtown Gettysburg had four primary highways or pikes that extended directly outward.²⁰⁵ Publishing a map helped visualize Gettysburg's presence as a transportation hub, highlighting its potential to attract new tourists.

²⁰¹ Weingroff, “Highway History.” U.S. Department of Transportation/Federal Highway Administration.

²⁰² “Beautifying Gettysburg: CCC Boys Bend Energies to Enhance Historic Locality,” *The New York Times*. February 18, 1934.

²⁰³ Ryan Moore. “1920s Road Trip: The Lincoln Highway in Strip Maps: Worlds Revealed.” The Library of Congress, February 21, 2018. Accessed April 30, 2023. <https://blogs.loc.gov/maps/2018/02/1920s-road-trip-the-lincoln-highway-in-strip-maps/>.

²⁰⁴ Moore. “1920s Road Trip,” The Library of Congress

²⁰⁵ Moore. “1920s Road Trip.”

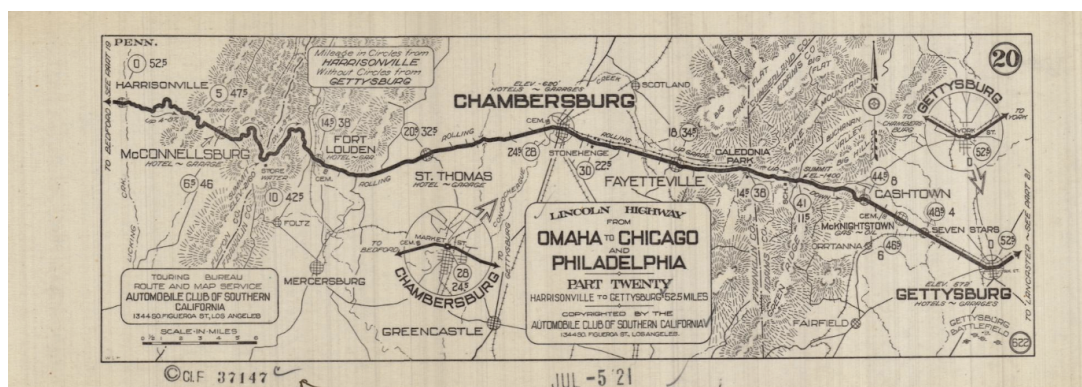


Figure 2.2. The Details of Lincoln Highway from Omaha to Chicago and Philadelphia, the Library of Congress. Ryan Moore. “1920s Road Trip: The Lincoln Highway in Strip Maps: Worlds Revealed.” The Library of Congress, February 21, 2018. Accessed April 30, 2023.

<https://blogs.loc.gov/maps/2018/02/1920s-road-trip-the-lincoln-highway-in-strip-maps/>.

Beginning in the 1920s, Memorial Day gradually came to be one of the most popular days for tourists to come to Gettysburg and commemorate the day. The U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs explains that Memorial Day, which used to be called Decoration Day, came from the Grand Army of the Republic’s idea to commemorate deceased soldiers back on May 5, 1868.²⁰⁶ Meanwhile, David Blight contends that Black South Carolinians and their Northern white abolitionist allies started commemorative ceremonies, parades, and the decoration of the graves of the dead with spring flowers on May 1st, 1865. Blight further explains that the ritualistic approach of Memorial Day began to fade around the late 1870s and early 80s.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, “Celebrating America’s Freedoms,” 2. Accessed April 25, 2023.
chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.va.gov/opa/publications/celebrate/memday.pdf

²⁰⁷ Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 122.



You'll work better after taking "Time-Out" for MEMORIAL DAY in Pennsylvania!





Memorial Day weekend... a double holiday for those not engaged in vital war work... not only gives you a chance for a brief "time-out"... but is an ideal time to choose a Summer vacation spot for the family in Pennsylvania.

Memorial Day is forever linked with the historic battlefield of Gettysburg... and with the other Pennsylvania shrines of patriotism... from Lake Erie on the West to Valley Forge and Washington's Crossing on the Delaware.

Come to Pennsylvania over Memorial Day and pick the place where your family can spend a couple of weeks or the whole Summer in the forest-clad hills fortified by Nature or the fertile, rolling valleys of Pennsylvania. They'll renew their health... return home refreshed and invigorated.

But a health-giving vacation need not be a dull one in Pennsylvania, where you can golf, ride or hike, climb mountains, fish, canoe or swim, play tennis... or just rest and relax!

Whatever your idea of a vacation may be... you'll find it in Pennsylvania.



Figure 2.3. *The New York Times* advertisement on Memorial Day in 1942.
The New York Times, “You’ll Work Better after Taking ‘Time-Out’ for Memorial
 Day -- Display Ad 127.” May 24, 1923.

The New York Times advertisement (Figure 2.3.) on Memorial Day in 1942 shows how Gettysburg shifted its target audience from only upper-class Americans to a wider audience, including middle-class women and, potentially, working-class women. The image of two women and one man, seemingly a married couple and their friend, having sandwiches in the Gettysburg National Park seems to offer the possibility of escape from a depressing war. The sentence “Come to Pennsylvania over Memorial Day and pick the

place where your family can spend a couple of weeks or the whole Summer in the forest-clad hills” gives readers a bourgeois way of spending the summer.²⁰⁸ Since men left home for the war, approximately nineteen million women played a new role in working for wages and contributing to warfare.²⁰⁹ According to the article published in the National World War II Museum, many employers assigned women to low-paying jobs. It might be unreasonable to think that middle-class and working-class women were able to escape from factory work and spend the entire summer in Gettysburg. Simultaneously, the slogan, “You’ll work better after taking ‘Time-Out’ for Memorial Day in Pennsylvania!” demonstrates Gettysburg was also a place for a casual day trip among middle-class and working-class individuals, including women.²¹⁰ Despite the low wage, many women accepted its challenges and enjoyed their work.²¹¹ Samuel Redman's interview with Louise McClain highlights that women did not place much importance on pay and instead found fun in their work. When he asks McClain about wages at Curtiss-Wright factory in Columbus, Ohio, she answers, “I don’t think any of us were paying [attention to wages], the jobs we’d had always been just summer jobs, and it seemed very good really.”²¹² Because she was a college student during the war, she may not have had to worry as much about making ends meet. *The New York Times*

²⁰⁸ “You’ll Work Better after Taking ‘Time-Out’ for Memorial Day -- Display Ad 127.” *The New York Times*, May 24, 1923.

²⁰⁹ Marshall V. “Gender on the Home Front: The National WWII Museum: New Orleans.” The National WWII Museum | New Orleans. The National World War II Museum, July 11, 2018. Accessed April 29, 2023. <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/gender-home-front>.

²¹⁰ “You’ll Work Better,” *The New York Times*.

²¹¹ Marshall V. “Gender on the Home Front: The National WWII Museum: New Orleans.” The National WWII Museum.

²¹² Louise McClain. “Louise McClain: Rosie The Riveter World War II American Home Front Oral History Project.” Interview by Sam Redman in 2011. Oral History Center, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2012. Accessed April 29, 2023. <https://digicoll.lib.berkeley.edu/record/218686?ln=en>, 23.

acknowledged the rise of female employment during World War II and predicted that Memorial Day would draw both relatively affluent audiences and working-class women seeking rest from factory work and the war in general.

After World War Two, advertising further emphasized the affordability and accessibility of Gettysburg and the National Park. Chapter One described how a visit to Gettysburg during the nineteenth century was only feasible for wealthy Americans who could afford the necessary time off and expenses. Historian Susan Rugh points out in her book, *Are We There Yet?*, that middle-class families started to take more vacations in the late 1940s. According to the report by the US Department of Labor released in 1948, union agreements expanded to paid vacations, allowing workers to enjoy longer time off.²¹³ With the advancement of the transportation system and automobiles, the tourism industry in Gettysburg worked to create a new marketing strategy. Gettysburg continued to market Memorial Day as one of the most profitable days. For example, *The New York Times* presented, “Trip Tip for Memorial Day Weekend in 1954.” By drawing an illustration that shows different big cities surrounding Gettysburg, it appeals to the idea that automobiles would allow tourists to travel to different destinations in a “Day Weekend Trip.”²¹⁴ Not only does it show the accessibility of the trip to Gettysburg, but it also says that the Sinclair Auto Tour Service would offer “suggestions or complete plans, including FREE marked road maps and travel information.”²¹⁵ The emphasis on affordability was one of the new marketing strategies for the Gettysburg tourist industry and its stakeholders.

²¹³ Susan Sessions, Rugh, *Are We There Yet?: The Golden Age of American Family Vacations* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 17.

²¹⁴ “Trip Tip for Memorial Day Weekend,” *The New York Times*, May 16, 1954.

²¹⁵ “Trip Tip for Memorial Day Weekend,” *The New York Times*.

The trip eventually became more accessible to African Americans. In 1969, after the Jim Crow system in the South had been struck down, Black travel agents, perhaps for the first time in history, collaborated with the Greyhound bus company to start “Discover America” trip packages for African American travelers.²¹⁶ Under Jim Crow, white and Black Americans used different restaurants, water fountains, hotels, and restaurants when traveling in the South.²¹⁷ The segregation practice provoked humiliation and even fear. *The Negro Motorist Green Books* were guidebooks for African Americans to refer to the list of accommodations and restaurants that accepted them across the United States. The 1949 version notes that Mrs. J. Forsett’s tourist home was the only one listed in the book in Gettysburg.²¹⁸ The Jim Crow system resulted in the rise of Black-owned businesses. Black tourists were able to escape from potential racial terrors and circulate money within the Black economy.

The rise of Black-owned businesses continued to be a popular phenomenon even after the desegregation of America. The “Discover America” trip packages offered tours from Chicago to Lake Michigan, Mackinac Island, and around California, as well as the “Great Eastern Panorama” package, which includes visits to Gettysburg, Washington D.C., and Montreal with affordable prices.²¹⁹ Greyhound vice president Joe Black said in the *Chicago Defender* that Black travel agents would encourage Black travelers “to see America first,” by selling these travel plans.²²⁰ *See America First* was a publication of a

²¹⁶ “‘See America First,’ Theme of Greyhound.” *The Chicago Defender (Big Weekend Edition)*. June 7, 1969.

²¹⁷ Rugh, *Are We There Yet?*, 69.

²¹⁸ *The New Negro Motorist Green Book: An International Travel Guide U.S.A. Alaska, Bermuda, Mexico Canada*, 1949, 62.

²¹⁹ “‘See America First,’ Theme of Greyhound.” (*Big Weekend Edition*), *The Chicago Daily Defender*, June 7, 1969.

²²⁰ “‘See America First,’” *The Chicago Daily Defender*.

magazine whose aim was “to make more enthusiastic Americans”²²¹ This was almost the first time ever that African American travel agents catered to African American travelers, and the fact that Black calls this program 'to see America first' was a triumph of the Civil Rights Movement, as well as a reclamation of national identity as Americans. This program crystallized the expansion of power for African Americans after the Civil Rights Movement, fully enabling them to educate each other about American history and ingrain their identity as Americans.

The tension between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War transformed Gettysburg tourism into a more family-oriented and educational experience. The impacts of World War II and the Cold War on society led to a new trend of tourism – the emergence of the nuclear family as a target audience for heritage tourism. As tourism became more accessible to middle-class families, parents took their children to historic sites such as Gettysburg with a focus on fostering children's citizenship through travel and education. In the book, *See America First*, historian Susan Rugh argues that “travel[ing] together would strengthen family bonds,” and would provide “a way to educate children as citizens.”²²² The baby boom was one contributing factor to the mold of nuclear family trips. Older generations of Americans postponed marriage and childbirth during the Great Depression and World War II, and after the war ended, they and younger generations aspired to start families.²²³ In addition, the end of the long war allowed women to feel optimistic about the future and look for comfort and prosperity.²²⁴

²²¹ Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity 1880-1940*. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 31.

²²² Rugh, *Are We There Yet?*, 6.

²²³ “Baby Boomers - Year Range, Definition & Facts.” History.com. A&E Television Networks. Accessed April 15, 2023. <https://www.history.com/topics/1960s/baby-boomers-1>.

²²⁴ “Baby Boomers - Year Range, Definition & Facts.” History.com. A&E Television Networks.

These trends shaped the creation of the nuclear family. World War II created huge economic growth; Americans started to revive mass consumerism, like getting a house in a suburban area and living there if they could afford to do so.²²⁵ With optimistic prospects for the future, they started to raise their children in post-war America and instill in them the values of American battlefields and heritage in an attempt to raise good citizens for the future.

After World War II, the United States continued to engage in the Cold War with the Soviet Union and participated in proxy wars in Korea and Vietnam. Rugh points out, while Americans feared the Cold War, they followed the trend of mass consumerism.²²⁶ After welcoming a baby boom, family travelers visited national parks and enjoyed newly renovated highways. Especially when President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed legislation to fund the construction of the U.S. Interstate Highway System to “[respond] to a national emergency,” Americans anticipated the opportunity to travel the newly paved highway.²²⁷ She further argues that mass consumerism in the Cold War era was political in that families consumed goods and items to demonstrate the superiority of the free enterprise system, including traveling.²²⁸ By taking their children to heritage tourism, particularly during the Cold War, parents aimed to instill a sense of patriotism in their children.

Thibodeau’s oral history interview highlights that not every child nurtured patriotic feelings through trips to Gettysburg. Sue Thibodeau was born in the 1960s, when Cold War-related news often made headlines. She moved from California to New

²²⁵ “Baby Boomers - Year Range, Definition & Facts.” History.com. A&E Television Networks.

²²⁶ Rugh, *Are We There Yet?*, 5.

²²⁷ “Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Birth of the Interstate Highway System.” [www.army.mil](https://www.army.mil/article/198095/dwight_d_eisenhower_and_the_birth_of_the_interstate_highway_system). Accessed April 28, 2023.

²²⁸ Rugh, *Are We There Yet?*, 5.

York, Alabama, and Maryland due to her father's job relocations. Recollecting, her parents were patriotic in that they loved their country. Their patriotism led them to go on a family trip to Gettysburg Battlefield. She reflected upon the trip to Gettysburg during the Cold War period and says, "Gettysburg, at the time for us as kids, was a happy place. It was a peaceful place," she says.²²⁹ She continues:

We knew there was a battle there, but we couldn't make the connection between that and Vietnam because we didn't want to think about people dying. And in the sixties, Gettysburg was very much a tourist location where you come and learn some history but you know, run around and you enjoy the outside and the pop guns and the patches and all of those things are almost toys to us as kids.²³⁰

Her account demonstrates that she was not able to make emotional connections to the peaceful battleground and the atrocities of the Civil War and the Vietnam War, lacking a sense of patriotism. As she was young, she might not have been able to grasp the gravity of the continuous wars. Historian Susan Rugh argues that heritage tourism, particularly during the Cold War, was aimed at instilling a sense of patriotism in children. However, Thibodeau's interview reveals that not every child saw the trip as an educational experience, and for some, the Gettysburg Battlefield was simply a nice playground.

Evolving Meaning of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial from the 1938 Reunion to the Civil Rights Movement and Anti-War Protests

Under Cold War politics, the Eternal Light Peace Memorial added another layer to the implications of the Gettysburg battlefield. As described before, the Eternal Light Peace Memorial was a product dedicated by Franklin Roosevelt. In the speech at the

²²⁹ Sue Thibodeau, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 29, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

²³⁰ Sue Thibodeau, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 29, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts.

1938 reunion, Roosevelt cited Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, "Men who wore the Blue and men who wore the Gray are here together, a fragment spared by time. They are brought here by the memories of old divided loyalties, but they meet here in united loyalty to a united cause which the unfolding years have made it easier to see."²³¹ The rhetoric of the Union and Confederate soldiers' valor was commonly used by other politicians like Joseph Hampton Moore, which we saw earlier in the chapter. This time Franklin Roosevelt's speech added another point from Moore's: peace abroad. He continues, "In later years new needs arose, and with them new tasks, worldwide in their perplexities, their bitterness and their modes of strife. Here in our land, we give thanks that, avoiding war, we seek our ends through the peaceful processes of popular government under the Constitution."²³² Roosevelt recognized the tension in international relations and took pride in the fact that the American democratic system maintained domestic peace.

In 1938, when Roosevelt made his speech, European countries were threatened by the emergence of Nazi Germany. On March 11th, Nazi Germany declared Austria under occupation. Later on September 30th, 1938, leaders of Britain, France, Germany, and Italy agreed that Germany could take over Czechoslovakia.²³³ While European countries prepared to wage war, he later mentioned in his speech Europe's political uncertainty and

²³¹ "Address at the Dedication of the Memorial on the Gettysburg Battlefield, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania." Address at the Dedication of the Memorial on the Gettysburg Battlefield, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. | The American Presidency Project, July 3, 1938. Accessed April 23, 2023.

<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-the-dedication-the-memorial-the-gettysburg-battlefield-gettysburg-pennsylvania>.

²³² "Address at the Dedication of the Memorial on the Gettysburg Battlefield, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania."

²³³ Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (Phoenix: Crown Press, 2016), 92.

tension and announced a clear determination to protect world peace. He refers to the Lost Cause narratives and emotionally appeals to American citizens to reaffirm their national identity. He later highlights Lincoln's belief in resolving conflicts through appeals to moral suasion and the idea of justice and condemnation of violence. This emphasis was intended to foster a national stance on America as a global watchman and contest the United States as the champion of the democratic system.

Although over 100,000 people could not attend the ceremony due to the overcrowded highways, over 250,000 people attended the monument's dedication.²³⁴ Roosevelt's calculated decision to make a speech in Gettysburg and talk about the Civil War evoked Americans' shared memory of the Civil War soldiers' sacrifices to save the nation. The audience's awe at the perished soldiers was collectively directed toward sustaining American democracy. As discussed earlier, the federal government did not recognize the contributions of African Americans to the 1938 reunion, which included the establishment of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial. Dedicated to the 1938 Reunion, the memorial symbolized the white reconciliation narrative over African Americans' sacrifices. Roosevelt's speech added another layer to the symbolism of the memorial: American imperialism disguised by the idea of promoting American democracy.

While politicians consolidated racism and imperialism by promoting the white reconciliation narrative, activists utilized the rhetoric of Gettysburg as the birthplace of democracy to demonstrate racial equality and anti-war sentiments. African American activists called for racial justice during the Civil Rights Movement. As part of the Civil Rights Campaign, 3000 people gathered at the Eternal Light Peace Memorial on July 1st,

²³⁴ Leigh Zaleski. "Eternal Light Memorial Marks 75 Years, and 150 Years of Peace," *The Evening Sun*. June 29, 2013.

1963.²³⁵ Franklin Roosevelt set a precedent in using the Eternal Light Peace Memorial as the symbol of white reconciliation, but this time, African Americans reshaped it as a plea for their civil rights. As a representative, Governor Richard J. Hughes spoke, “It is our shame at this moment that the full benefits of freedom are not in the possession of all Americans a full century after the war which was fought to save America’s soul...the Civil War was not fought to preserve the union’s lilywhite or Jim Crow. It was fought for liberty and justice for all.”²³⁶ This demonstration was a celebratory moment for African Americans as they were able to physically be in the space and advocate for their narratives of the Civil War. By doing so, they attempted to reclaim their citizenship as Americans.

Franklin Roosevelt’s original message of American imperialism, once again, was overturned by anti-Vietnam War protesters. *The Sentinel*, issued on January 4th, 1966, reported that 45 men had a protest against America’s involvement in the Vietnam War in front of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial.²³⁷ It was early January, and it was chilly and drizzling on the battlefield. Under the bad weather, protestors held placards like “Veterans’ March to End the War in Viet Nam,” and had a peaceful protest.²³⁸ Among 45 men, an anthropology professor from Gettysburg College, Dr. Jan Hammell, joined the protest and said, “Our government’s undeclared war against the people of Viet Nam... we do not feel that it is worth one human life, American or Vietnamese.”²³⁹ Despite its

²³⁵ Len Barcouky, “Eyewitness: 1963 Gettysburg Anniversary Had Civil Rights as Focus,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. June 9, 1963.

²³⁶ Barcouky, “Eyewitness,” *Pittsburgh Post - Gazette*.

²³⁷ “45 Men March In Anti-War Protest At Gettysburg,” *The Evening Sentinel*, January 4, 1968.

²³⁸ “45 Men March In Anti-War Protest At Gettysburg,” *The Evening Sentinel*,

²³⁹ “45 Men March In Anti-War Protest At Gettysburg,” *The Evening Sentinel*; “Complex Memories: The Vietnam War Era.” Gettysburg College. Accessed April 30, 2023. <https://www.gettysburg.edu/news/stories?id=4c1f2cf8-59e2-46bb-9195-a4ecfa623bd0>. *The*

original symbolism of white reconciliation, activists reinterpreted the meaning of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial over time. By re-contextualizing its meaning, they advocated for anti-war rhetoric as a way to challenge the original meaning and expand its significance to include the struggles for Civil Rights.

In the book *Gettysburg 1963*, historian Jill Ogline Titus argues that the memorial, which was initially intended as a symbol of reconciliation, shifted its meaning to encompass a larger political agenda.²⁴⁰ While white reconciliationists saw Gettysburg as a symbol of the valor of white Civil War soldiers, African Americans and anti-Vietnam War activists regarded it as a sacred place where Abraham Lincoln delivered an iconic speech about freedom and equality for all Americans. As more people were able to access the battlefield, Gettysburg once again became a battleground for the contestation of history. The next chapter will explore the recent history of the town and how the legacy of the Civil War still persists.

Evening Sentinel was used for the essay, and Gettysburg College website was used to explain the following contextual note.

I will talk more in the next chapter, but Gettysburg College has its own complex political climate. In the 1960s, Gettysburg College students acknowledged the situations abroad but were passive about anti-war protests. Hammell's appearance at the protest demonstrates that the political polarization on campus had already started in the 60s.

²⁴⁰ Jill O. Titus, *Gettysburg 1963: Civil Rights, Cold War Politics, and Historical Memory in America's Most Famous Small Town* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 171.

CHAPTER THREE

STILL A BATTLEGROUND: THE RECENT HISTORY OF GETTYSBURG IN POLITICALLY POLARIZED AMERICA

On the second day of the Civil War Institute, Gettysburg College offered a bus tour around the Gettysburg Battlefield. I signed up for “African Americans’ Life in Gettysburg” and was excited to be head to the tour. However, trouble always happens. I could not figure out where to meet for the tour and missed the bus. Panicked, I ran to the administration office. I had thought that the battlefield would not be that large, so I decided to walk up the mountain to the Pennsylvania Monument. “I missed the bus for the tour, and I was wondering if you know how to walk up to the Pennsylvania Monument,” I said to the administration staff. She replied, “No, you cannot walk up there! It will be dark by then.”

Later, she called the bus driver to explain the situation and drove me up the hill in her car so I could join the tour. On the way, we casually started a conversation. Her name was Ashley Luskey, and she was an assistant director of the Civil War Institute. After spending her teens in Massachusetts, she moved to Virginia for college, and completed her Ph.D. in American History in West Virginia. She had a young child and said Gettysburg was a great place for bringing up her baby, as it is safe. Ten minutes after the car drive and fun conversation, she dropped me off at the Gettysburg battlefield. This is

just one instance in which I was moved by Gettysburg residents' kindness. It reaffirmed the importance of treating others with care and humanity.

I was finally able to explore the Cemetery Ridge area, where many monuments were concentrated. On a nice early summer day, the sun shone through the trees, creating shade. The battlefield was vast and flat. It was complete perfection, as if someone had painted it on paper, and I began to reflect on the history that had taken place here. It was hard to imagine the past bloodshed and carnage that happened one hundred and sixty years ago. While enjoying the magnificent view, I understood why the Civil War continues to fascinate the minds of Americans. Gettysburg remains a spiritual place that enchants people, connecting them through time in different ways.

Many historians nowadays draw connections between the Civil War and its continuation to the current racial politics in the United States. Henry Louis Gates writes, "What seems clear to me today is that it was in this period that white supremacist ideology, especially as it was transmuted into powerful new forms of media, poisoned the American imagination in ways that have long outlasted the circumstances of its origin."²⁴¹ He brings up a violent hate crime case in Charlottesville in 2017, where alt-right militias protested against the City Council's order to remove the Confederate monuments from local spaces.²⁴² He concludes that this is a recent instance of white supremacy in the most vicious fashion. Historian Robert J. Cook cites a shooting that happened in Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina, in 2015 to explain the continuation of white supremacy and the legacy of the Civil War.²⁴³ During its regular Bible study classes, a

²⁴¹ Henry Gates, *Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow* (London: Penguin Books, 2019), xxi.

²⁴² Gates, *Stony the Road*, xxi.

²⁴³ Robert J. Cook, *Civil War Memories: Contesting the Past in the United States since 1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 3.

perpetrator pulled a trigger and killed six women and three men, including pastor Clementa C. Pinckney.²⁴⁴ He points out that the inauguration of Barack Obama as the first Black president of the United States did not put an end to the racial tension.

The insurrection on Capitol Hill on January 6th, 2021, was one of the most recent crimes that demonstrated the rise of white nationalism in the United States. After the last president Donald Trump lost the 2020 presidential election, white nationalists and right-wing militia attacked Capitol Hill when Congress planned the certification of the election results.²⁴⁵ Photographs and video footage showed that rioters waved “Donald Trump 2020” flags alongside Confederate flags, demonstrating emotional and political connections to the Civil War.²⁴⁶ The Civil War ended when Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House in 1865.²⁴⁷ However, the ideological fight that caused the Civil War, which centered around slavery and state versus federal rights, may not yet be over.

Historians have recently attempted to find an answer to why this fight still continues. Historian Michael J. Goleman argues in his book *Your Heritage Will Still Remain* that the Civil Rights Movement brought positive outcomes for African Americans’ civil rights and liberty, changing the social structure of America; however, the Lost Cause narratives and the Reconciliation narratives still deeply persist in

²⁴⁴ Cook, *Civil War Memories*, 3.

²⁴⁵ Julie C. Smyth and Jay Reeves, “Some in the GOP Parrot Far-Right Talk of a Coming Civil War,” Oregon Public Broadcasting (OPB), January 16, 2021. <https://www.opb.org/article/2021/01/16/us-capitol-attack-donald-trump-supporters-right-wing-civil-war/>.

²⁴⁶ Smyth and Jay Reeves. “Some in the GOP Parrot Far-Right Talk of a Coming Civil War.”

²⁴⁷ “The Battle of Appomattox Court House.” National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. Accessed April 16, 2023. <https://www.nps.gov/apco/learn/historyculture/the-battle-of-appomattox-court-house.htm#:~:text=The%20Battle%20of%20Appomattox%20Court%20House%20started%20during%20the%20early,Grant.>

American society.²⁴⁸ John M. Coski's book, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem*, also writes, "Although segregationists lost their battle and their cause was discredited, attitudes of white supremacy live on."²⁴⁹ In order to examine the legacy of the Civil War and its myth-making and politicization in Gettysburg today, I decided to interview eighteen residents and Gettysburg College students in the town about their living memories of Gettysburg. Gettysburg College archive preserves a handful of oral history transcripts of Gettysburg College students and administrators. Yet, many voices from residents and other Gettysburg students have been dismissed and forgotten in history. Meanwhile, as we saw in the last two chapters, ordinary people were involved in and sometimes at the center of the memory-making of Gettysburg. Their memories and contributions matter. Although only around 7,400 people live in Gettysburg in 2023, the oral history project highlights the town's diversity in terms of occupation, age, race, gender, and political affiliation.²⁵⁰ While some residents are determined to stick with their view that the Civil War was glorious, and are uninterested in bringing in new points of view, others would like to demystify the narrative and include women's and citizens' experiences in the dominant narrative. Diverse groups of people in Gettysburg are still reclaiming the space and imprinting their own narratives on it. The ideological battle reflects a larger political polarization that Americans face in the present. Gettysburg continues to be a battleground for what America should be.

²⁴⁸ Michael G. Goleman, *Your Heritage Will Still Remain: Racial Identity and Mississippi's Lost Cause* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017), 295.

²⁴⁹ John M. Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 295.

²⁵⁰ "Gettysburg, Pennsylvania Population 2023." World Population Review. Accessed April 16, 2023. <https://worldpopulationreview.com/us-cities/gettysburg-pa-population>.

Citizens' Memory-Making Project in the Present

The National Park Service currently has authority over the preservation of the battlefield. After reaching out to the National Park Service for an interview, I had a chance to talk with Christopher Gwen, a chief interpreter on the Gettysburg battlefield. He is the type of person who can give wonderful answers to any questions related to the Battle of Gettysburg and the Civil War in general, and I was constantly impressed by his knowledge of the Gettysburg battlefield. Born in 1983, Gwen grew up in Amesbury, Massachusetts.²⁵¹ He was inspired to pursue a career in history when his parents took him to Gettysburg. He was seven or eight at the time, and the experience left a strong impression on him.²⁵² Since then, he has been interested in learning about Civil War battles, famous generals, and uniforms. Later, he entered Gettysburg College to study history with a minor in Civil War Era studies and received a master's in history from Shippensburg University in Pennsylvania.²⁵³

Gwen's interview highlights how the National Park Service has recently incorporated more historians and history professionals into their team in order to tell a more accurate Civil War history. Acknowledging how people in the past have created a glorified image of soldiers' valor and battles, the National Park Service has recently strived to demystify the battle and focus more on the cause of the Civil War, slavery. I asked him about how the National Park Service interprets the Civil War. He replied, "I don't dance around the subject. So when I engage with visitors on the battlefield, and they ask me about the cause of the war, it's slavery, it's the protection of slavery and its

²⁵¹ Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

²⁵² Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022.

²⁵³ Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022.

expansion into the Western territories.”²⁵⁴ His firm stance on the cause of the Civil War demonstrates his great responsibility as the chief interpreter to present an accurate history. While acknowledging that some of his team put more focus on battle tactics and the military aspect of the battle, He thinks that the National Park Service has made progress towards showing people a more multifaceted view of history.²⁵⁵ In the past, the National Park Service tended to select the parks based on “relatively few broad themes, such as the development of the English colonies and the westward expansion, that stemmed from a view of American history as a ‘march of progress.’”²⁵⁶ Starting in the 1970s, the National Park Service started exhibiting what historians call the new social history in order to shed light on marginalized communities such as African Americans, Native Americans, and women. For example, Manzanar, a Japanese American internment camp during World War II, became a national historic site governed by the National Park Service in 1992.²⁵⁷ It is a recent change for the National Park Service to focus more attention on the diverse groups of Americans in history.

Gwen points out that more historians and history professionals joined the team. The new additions mean that tourists are now learning more historically grounded perspectives on the Civil War. *Imperiled Promise*, written by Anne Mitchell Whisnant, Marla R. Miller, Gary B. Nash, and David Thelen, tells the importance of the National Park Service so as to strengthen, support, engage, and partner with the agency most

²⁵⁴ Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022.

²⁵⁵ Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022.

²⁵⁶ Anne Mitchell Whisnant, Marla R. Miller, Gary B. Nash, and David Thelen, *Imperiled Promise: The State of History in the National Park Service* (Bloomington: Organization of American Historians, 2011), 21.

²⁵⁷ “Manzanar National Historic Site (U.S. National Park Service).” National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. Accessed April 21, 2023.
<https://www.nps.gov/places/manzanar-national-historic-site.htm#:~:text=Manzanar%20National%20Historic%20Site%20was,for%20its%20wartime%20history%2C%20its>

central in the presentation of its work to the American public.²⁵⁸ The authors further write that the culture and structure of academia have prevented talented individuals from keeping engaged in history and working with a larger audience.²⁵⁹ The National Park Service strives to create an insularity to keep trained historians and researchers in the field of history. Gwen recognizes the importance of bringing trained history professionals onto the team, particularly in the context of Civil War history. He notes that many Civil War enthusiasts who visit the Gettysburg battlefield acquire knowledge of the Civil War from TV series or unreliable scholarship lacking historically grounded evidence.²⁶⁰ He believes that the National Park Service staff, who have undergone extensive training in reading and analyzing historiography and primary sources, can help prevent individuals from having a glorified view of the Civil War.²⁶¹ The conversation evoked the old man's remarks of boasting his knowledge of the Civil War in the Introduction chapter. I ask him how he handles visitors who show off their knowledge of the topic that contradicts historical accuracy, and he says:

It's been my experience when people ask you that question, they already have their minds made up, and they're looking to either have you reinforce it or to engage you in some kind of dual of whips about who knows more, or they want to expose you [as] some sort of woke leftist, liberal park ranger touting some revisionist history. But you hope it's a dialogue... That dialogue leads that individual to consider other sources and perspectives, and that creates a learning opportunity. That's the hope... the hope that it's a respectful conversation where you talk about these things in a meaningful way.²⁶²

²⁵⁸ Anne Mitchell Whisnant, Marla R. Miller, Gary B. Nash, and David Thelen, *Imperiled Promise: The State of History in the National Park Service* (Bloomington: Organization of American Historians, 2011), 17.

²⁵⁹ Whisnant, Miller, Nash, and Thelen, *Imperiled Promise*, 17.

²⁶⁰ Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022.

²⁶¹ Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022.

²⁶² Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022.

His passionate and patient attitude towards engaging and educating a wide range of audiences from different educational backgrounds gives hope for the potential demystification of the Civil War narratives. The National Park Service has taken a positive step in disseminating a more nuanced and comprehensive history of the Civil War. This effort would ultimately provide a more accurate understanding of the complicated history of the Civil War.

Ordinary Gettysburg residents also attempt to reshape the story of the battle in their own unique ways. Rebecca Brown is the co-owner of the Homestead Diorama Museum LLC. Her museum is located near Culp's Hill. The charming white house with green window frames attracts tourists, whether they are on their way to Culp's Hill or on their way back to Downtown Gettysburg. Brown has had a strong passion for the Civil War since she was young, and she tells its human drama by creating handmade dioramas. She and her family grew up in the Philadelphia suburbs, and she and her twin sister moved to Gettysburg in 2013.²⁶³ Since they were young, they have been fascinated with making dioramas and had the idea of moving to Gettysburg and opening up a museum.

Her approach to telling human dramas of the Civil War fascinates a wide range of audiences, from children to adults, in an accessible and entertaining fashion. The sisters' love for cats led them to create soldiers models as cats, adding humor to each Civil War soldier. When I ask Brown what she majored in, she says, "I'm an English major."²⁶⁴ "Why?" I ask.²⁶⁵ She replies, "Because we were just into the human interest stories of the Civil War, not the politics and causes – that's never interested us...."²⁶⁶ She continues,

²⁶³ Rebecca Brown, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

²⁶⁴ Rebecca Brown, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022, South Hadley, MA.

²⁶⁵ Rebecca Brown, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022, South Hadley, MA.

²⁶⁶ Rebecca Brown, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022, South Hadley, MA.

“Not politics, politics. Never interested us.”²⁶⁷ Her passion for telling the Civil War human interest stories mirrors her dioramas. For example, one of her dioramas was dedicated to her ancestors, Luke W. Brown and Elmer Brown. She conducted her own genealogical research and found out that her great-great-grandfather joined the 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry in Philadelphia. She later created a diorama based on her ancestor and displayed it at the center of the exhibition.²⁶⁸ When I ask her what she thought about the cause of the Civil War, she says:

Well, I said never really been into the causes, but, I kind of feel like it comes down to the whole question of state's rights, which I don't know that people think too much about state's rights. But it is coming up a little bit more now, I would say. Especially with the abortion issue, where it's not like overturning *Roe v Wade* got rid of it, it just sent it to the states to the side instead of the federal government deciding. So everyone's freaking out but not realizing that. It's a legitimate way of doing it. We're just used to the federal government being the top dog...It's a real question as to whether the state is the top dog or the government is the top dog.²⁶⁹

While she acknowledges that the United States still grapples with social issues deeply linked to the cause of the Civil War, it appears that she does not wish to engage with the complex political issues within the Civil War narrative. Particularly for individuals who enjoy the Civil War as entertainment or personal interest, they may want to separate its history from complicated political matters. In 2022, Gettysburg residents continued to have diverse interpretations of the Civil War.

²⁶⁷ Rebecca Brown, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022, South Hadley, MA.

²⁶⁸ Rebecca Brown, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022, South Hadley, MA.

²⁶⁹ Rebecca Brown, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022, South Hadley, MA.



Figure. 3.2. Rebecca Brown's Diorama. Taken on June 13, 2022. When you look closer, you can see that soldiers' heads look like cats' heads. Browns' love for cats is nicely shown in this detailed diorama.

As of 2022, about twenty museums are clustered in Gettysburg's small downtown. You can walk from one side of the town to the other end in thirty minutes. Most of the museums focus on the military tactics of the American wars, including the Battle of Gettysburg and World War Two. Shriver's House is one of the few museums that tell the story of a civilian's life. In 1993, Nancie W. Gudmestd began preserving a civilian's house and telling the story of their life during the Battle of Gettysburg. In addition to working on the administrative side of the museum, she also works as a tour guide of the house. The museum's exhibitions are not entirely for educational purposes, yet it ends up adding different stories to the dominant narrative.

Originally from Philadelphia, Gudmestd always wanted to move to the suburbs. The first time she ever visited Gettysburg was when she and her boyfriend (now husband) went camping in the Blue Ridge Mountains for a weekend. On the way there, they

decided to casually check out Gettysburg, as neither had ever been there before. Later, her good friends moved to Gettysburg, so by visiting her friends once or twice a month for several years, she got to know more about the town. The Fourth of July, 1984, as she remembers very clearly, was the date that she and her husband left computer sales in Philadelphia and moved to Gettysburg. For the first four years, they ran a bed and breakfast. Having sold computers for several years, they had confidence that they could run their own business. *The Old Bob Newhart Show*, which is about Bob Newhart running a bed and breakfast in New England, also influenced their business decision-making. “We thought to ourselves, Hey, we could do that,” Gudmestd said.²⁷⁰ After searching different towns again, again, and again for a good location, they finally decided that Gettysburg would be the best option. Gettysburg has a college and a national park, which brings college students and tourists. More importantly, Gettysburg did not have a bed and breakfast.²⁷¹

Their calculated business intuition worked out in Shriver’s House, as well. Rather than starting Shriver's House out of her passion for Civil War history, Gudmestd started it because she believed it would be lucrative. “I’m still not interested in the Civil War,” she jokingly says.²⁷² She continues:

I'm happy that I can make a living off of people who do enjoy Civil War history and come here to learn about what happened here. I think what happened here is very, very important, but I can't tell you the details of General so-and-so and where he was on the battlefield at two o'clock on July 1st. But there are many, many, many people here in town who can tell you that. But I like the civilian side. I think it's more personal. I think it's easier for people to relate to.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ Nancie W. Gudmestd, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 15, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

²⁷¹ Nancie W. Gudmestd, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 15, 2022.

²⁷² Nancie W. Gudmestd, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 15, 2022.

²⁷³ Nancie W. Gudmestd, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 15, 2022.

Knowing that Gettysburg is a very competitive market for military-focused Civil War museums, she acutely shifted her displays the civilian-focused museum, which ultimately became popular among visitors.

Simultaneously, her decision to run a civilian-focused Civil War museum avoids potential political conflicts with other Civil War enthusiasts. Chapters one and two demonstrated how the tourism industry followed the trend of portraying the Civil War through narratives of soldiers' valor, and contemporary tourism still follows this path. Especially given that America is politically polarized as never before, especially as these museums have to make money off of the interpretations of the Civil War, how to tell the Civil War narrative is crucial in sustaining business. Narrating the Civil War history from a civilian perspective is a strategic move for Gudmestad, as it avoids potential conflicts with tourists who may hold strong opinions about the war and minimizes the risk of losing customers. When I ask her how she interacted with the Civil War enthusiasts, she answers, "When we first started giving tours there at the Shriver House, I was a little concerned and apprehensive because I know I could never memorize all those battles, soldiers and generals and things. It just wasn't my cup of tea. And my brain was never going to hold it. But the nice thing is, when people come in here, I think they realize they're not coming in here to learn about generals. They're coming in here to learn about the people."²⁷⁴ By choosing to tell a story about civilians' life in Gettysburg, she stays away from any potential political debates with tourists and adds new colors to the Civil War narratives.

²⁷⁴ Nancie W. Gudmestad, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 15, 2022.

Tourism and its Future in the Town

“Adams County is obviously much more than the battlefield. And Gettysburg is more than the battlefield.” – Sue Thibodeau²⁷⁵

On the one hand, Gettysburg is a town filled with museums, relics, and Civil War-related souvenir stores. On the other hand, Gettysburg also has some newly built restaurants and wineries. One such example is Adams County Wineries, which opened in Orrtanna, PA, in 1975 and has become the fifth oldest winery in Pennsylvania.²⁷⁶ The winery has an open space, and adults get local wine and socialize with their friends and family while enjoying live performances under the warm sun. While Gettysburg is a historic old town, it has also become a town with stylish wineries and eateries.

Thibodeau recalls that Gettysburg drastically changed over the decades. As introduced in the last chapter, she runs the Civil War Cycling, where she publishes guidebooks and does tours around the Gettysburg battlefield. She thinks Gettysburg used to be very commercial and says some might even call it tacky.²⁷⁷ The overall atmosphere in town was not coherent or aesthetically pleasing. Yet, over the past decade, Gettysburg came to be tasteful, enjoyable, and historic. Gudmestd also argues that the town has become better and better. “It was kind of a tacky town when I first moved here,” she says.²⁷⁸ “They built a gorgeous new visitor center [in 2008]. And because of that being updated, we got a lot nicer hotels here in town and nice shops and things like that...”²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ Sue Thibodeau, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 29, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

²⁷⁶ “About Us.” Adams County Winery, Accessed April 10, 2023.
<https://adamscountywinery.com/about-us/>.

²⁷⁷ Sue Thibodeau, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 29, 2022.

²⁷⁸ Sue Thibodeau, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 29, 2022.

²⁷⁹ Sue Thibodeau, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 29, 2022.

Many interviewees agree with how much Gettysburg has changed and improved over the years. Entrepreneurs like Brown and Gudmestd consciously or unconsciously transformed the town of Gettysburg by introducing new ways to experience the town and offering more nuanced perspectives on the Civil War. Besides the historical significance of Gettysburg, how have the residents of Gettysburg enhanced the attractiveness of the town and offered a more enjoyable experience?

After hours of searching on the Internet, I met Lori Mitchell, one of the founders of Savor Gettysburg Food Tours. She designed this tour program to offer visitors a new way to experience Gettysburg by touring local restaurants and wineries. The tour has garnered numerous positive reviews from various travel platforms, including Tripadvisor. It was recognized as a recipient of the "Traveler's Choice Award" from 2020-2022 and was also granted the "Certificate of Excellence" from 2015-2019.²⁸⁰ Aside from her Savor Gettysburg Food Tours, she was also a part of the Gleaning Project, aiming to reduce food loss and increase food security across the South Pennsylvania region.²⁸¹ Her involvement in business, as well as non-profit organizations in the local community, exemplifies her passion for positive change in Adams County.

Mitchell was born in Columbus, Ohio, in 1960. She soon moved to New Jersey in 1966 and grew up there. Her son has been an ambitious Civil War fan since he was fourteen years old, and her fascination with the Civil War started when she took him to a reenactment in Gettysburg. There, she fell in love with the landscape of Gettysburg. "As soon as my feet hit the ground, Gettysburg very much felt like home, and it spoke to me,"

²⁸⁰ "Food & Wine Tours Gettysburg, PA." Savor Gettysburg Food Tours. Accessed April 22, 2023. <https://www.savorgettysburgfoodtours.com/>.

²⁸¹ "Food & Wine Tours Gettysburg, PA." Savor Gettysburg Food Tours.

she reflects on her spiritual connections with the battlefield.²⁸² After the eye-opening reenactment experience, she brought her children to Gettysburg on weekends, even though it was a three-hour drive. Her interest in the Civil War lies in human stories, especially women who contributed to the war. She explains how Gettysburg became barren after the war. Then, she continues, “The Confederate soldiers...wiped out all of their food sources left with so many dead people, 5,000 dead horses...The [story] really resonated with me and what these women and children actually did to basically help anybody.”²⁸³ Her emotional attachment to women’s revitalization work during the Civil War, consciously or unconsciously, led her to work on the modern development of Gettysburg.

As her interest in the Civil War grew bigger and bigger, she finally decided to move to Gettysburg. Her first job in Gettysburg was at the Gettysburg Foundation as an event manager. The one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary in Gettysburg was especially a memorable experience for her. She invited Stephen Lang, who acted as General Pickett in the movie *Gettysburg*, as a guest speaker for the commemoration. “It was an amazing time,” she said.²⁸⁴ While working for the Gettysburg Foundation, she found her passion – “I wanna do something where I keep bringing people to downtown Gettysburg.” The food tour was something that she came up with.²⁸⁵ “It’s a universal, everybody eats...I say that downtown Gettysburg is very much an Epcot of food. It’s really all ethnicities that are just represented here, which is absolutely wonderful. And so many great places to

²⁸² Lori Mitchell, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 8, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

²⁸³ Lori Mitchell, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 8, 2022.

²⁸⁴ Lori Mitchell, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 8, 2022.

²⁸⁵ Lori Mitchell, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 8, 2022.

eat.”²⁸⁶ She also pointed out that she wanted to take advantage of the strong agricultural community in the county. She explained, “The majority of the downtown restaurants take advantage of that local food, which is amazing. And being able to incorporate culture and food and history and put that in a three-hour walking food tour really is an exciting way to learn about the town that you're in.”²⁸⁷ Her food tour embodies the spirit of social entrepreneurship. During her time working at the Gettysburg Foundation, she discovered the uniqueness of Gettysburg and found a smart and innovative way to revitalize the town.

Our interview became heated when I asked her a question about whether the marketing strategy of Gettysburg should lean more towards a historical side of the town or toward an entertainment hub with a variety of eateries and wineries. She shared her previous experience working as a board member of Destination Gettysburg, a visitor’s bureau at a local convention. Back in the day, this question was the center of attention. Yet, after examining the visitor statistical data on how many visitors return to Gettysburg, they discovered that many visitors return to the town repeatedly for its historical values, sometimes up to 10 times. This data convinced them that the Gettysburg tourist industry should brand itself as a historic town while offering visitors a fresh way to enjoy Gettysburg every time they return.²⁸⁸ The sophistication of the town that interviewees saw over time is the residents’ successful and collective work for the revitalization of the town. Mitchell emphasized:

The thing is, it'll always be about history. It'll always, always be about history, because it [Gettysburg] was the turning point of the war. That's the most

²⁸⁶ Lori Mitchell, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 8, 2022.

²⁸⁷ Lori Mitchell, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 8, 2022.

²⁸⁸ Lori Mitchell, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 8, 2022.

significant aspect of Gettysburg, just because we're here. Otherwise, if the battle wasn't fought here, we would probably just be another little sleepy town, like a lot of small towns. But that's the most significant part, is that'll remain that about history.²⁸⁹

Her ambition to preserve and elevate the town's economy and value kept this small town alive.

While the Pennsylvania economy is stagnant, Gettysburg is one of the few places in Southern Pennsylvania that has successfully sustained its economy. After the anthracite industry reached its peak during World War One, the number of employers in the mining industry dropped from 175,000 in World War One to 2,000 by 1974.²⁹⁰ The declining anthracite industry affected the Pennsylvania Railroad, as they depended on anthracite. The Pennsylvania Railroad closed in 1968 and was renamed Penn Central Transportation Company, which operated from 1968 to 1976.²⁹¹ Nowadays, every corner of the neighborhood in Southern Pennsylvania turns to tattoo parlors, liquor, and dollar stores.²⁹²

Suzanne Brothers' oral history interview highlights how small towns in Pennsylvania became ghost towns. Brothers was born in Redding, a county in Central Pennsylvania, in 1970, and grew up in Hamburg. She spent her childhood and early adulthood in Pennsylvania, including her college years at Gettysburg College. Reflecting on her childhood years, she said, "Remember in my childhood there was still a thriving, fairly thriving downtown Hamburg...pharmacies, all the things that people could use

²⁸⁹ Lori Mitchell, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 8, 2022.

²⁹⁰ Jennifer M. Silva, *We're Still Here: Pain and Politics in the Heart of America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 2.

²⁹¹ J. Lennon, *Establishing Trails on Rights-of-Way: Principally Railroad Abandonments* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, 1970), 51.

²⁹² Silva, *We're Still Here*, 2.

needed on a daily basis. Grocery stores you could walk to in the downtown area.”²⁹³

However, she continued, “At some point, even those [small local-owned businesses] gradually moved out. There are very few jobs. We had big stores come in, Walmart and Cabela's. It drew even more business out of town instead of shopping in the downtown districts.”²⁹⁴ Big corporations were expanding their businesses into small towns, causing local businesses to shut down. Pennsylvania, in particular, has been hit hard by the closure of the coal industry. In the face of these harsh conditions, entrepreneurs have developed a revitalization plan for Gettysburg that showcases both the town's local businesses and its agricultural heritage, as well as its historic significance. This plan has been successful.

How Should Teachers Teach History? K-12 Field Trips to Gettysburg and Teachers' Struggles

Gettysburg is still popular for school field trips. The National Park Service has published an Educational Handbook for those who seek assistance from the National Park Service guides on how to effectively teach about the battlefield. The handbook provides the curriculum for both on-site and virtual learning programs and notes that field trips are not only about the traditional field trip but also about youth leadership programs and internships.²⁹⁵ The four oral history interviews demonstrate the diverse purposes behind going to Gettysburg for field trips, as well as the freedom and limits teachers have in

²⁹³ Suzanne Brothers, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 28, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

²⁹⁴ Suzanne Brothers, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 28, 2022.

²⁹⁵ “Education Handbook: Programs, Events, and Loan Materials for Students, Teachers, and Families, Leaning across the lifespan, the curriculum and the fields of Gettysburg!,” *Gettysburg National Military Park*, September 2022-August 2023.

deciding what to teach in their American history classes. These interviews also indicate the attempts by American politics to ban teachers from sharing what is known as 'hard history.'

Natalie O'Neil is a Russian major and political science minor at Mount Holyoke College. She was born in Ticonderoga, New York, and visited Gettysburg in 2015 on a school trip. She was in 8th grade at that time. Before going on the trip, she and her peers did a project in which each student picked one soldier and conducted some research about the soldier of their choice. Reflecting back on the Gettysburg field trip, she assumed that her teacher's ambition of the Revolutionary reenactment prompted her to gear more toward the military side of the Civil War battle.²⁹⁶ Her town has a big reenactment every year, and the teacher and her students were familiar with how reenactments work. Their familiarity with reenactments led the teacher to try a reenactment in Gettysburg. On the last day of the trip, a guide took them to Pickett's Charge, where he split students into two groups and had them reenact the Pickett's Charge. O'Neil recollected her experience of the reenactment and said, "Which was interesting... With only 12 students just running across the field at each other. But yeah, it was a great trip."²⁹⁷ Her school trip experience suggests that teachers decide on the logistics of the program largely depending on their preferences and familiarity with the materials.

Jamie Eldridge is another Mount Holyoke College student majoring in biology. They went to a public school in the suburbs of Philadelphia, and she said that the Gettysburg trip was part of her middle school's special program. Besides the Gettysburg trip, the program provided students with hands-on training, like volunteering at a soup

²⁹⁶ Natalie O'Neil, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 21, 2022.

²⁹⁷ Natalie O'Neil, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 21, 2022.

kitchen. The Gettysburg field trip was not as military-focused as O'Neil's. They took a bus tour around the Gettysburg National Park and looked at some of the famous battlegrounds. Later, they visited Lincoln's Gettysburg Address Memorial and discussed the Gettysburg Address. Although it was not entirely military-focused, Eldridge's field trip experience was somewhat patriotic in that the program trained students to reflect on the spirit of American democracy.²⁹⁸

After she came back from Gettysburg, she and her peers researched Civil War-related topics of their choice and expressed their findings in an artistic form. Eldridge and her peers researched Civil War tent hospitals and made a model. Someone in her class even played a Civil War song on his guitar. She reflected on the post-field trip activity and said it was an enjoyable and educational experience. Aside from the historical education aspect of the trip, they also enjoyed the team-bonding activities in between. "It was both educational, but it was also some team bonding," she said.²⁹⁹ The Gettysburg field trip serves a myriad of purposes, from historical education to leadership development to team bonding.

The more I conducted oral history interviews with students, the more curious I got as to teachers' intentions and plans for field trips. Thanks to Gudmestd's vast network, I met virtually with Pete Yeager and Al McCauley. Yeager is a high school history teacher at Pius Xi Catholic High School in Wisconsin. Although McCauley stopped teaching high school, they both had experience taking their students to Gettysburg.

When asking a question about what part of the Civil War interests them, Yeager answered, "I'm more into the humanistic side of it. The average person, what did they

²⁹⁸ Jamie Eldridge, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 2, 2022.

²⁹⁹ Jamie Eldridge, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 2, 2022.

experience? What kind of hardships did they have? And more so than the tactics.”³⁰⁰ The emphasis on the “humanistic side of the Civil War” impacted their Gettysburg field trip planning. Soon after they started the Gettysburg field trip program, Yeager visited the Shriver’s House. He recollected the tour and said, “We gotta make sure that we get some kids out to see this because they need to see the human side of it.”³⁰¹ His interest in teaching the humanistic side of the Civil War was reflected in the Gettysburg field trip.

Yeager and McCauley, both Catholic and teaching in a Catholic high school, took their students to Mass in Gettysburg on the weekend, which was different from the other students’ field trip experiences. McCauley and Yeager pointed out that non-Catholic students did not have an obligation to join Mass, but they knew that students find it fascinating. This decision also came from Yeager’s strong belief that history is about the human saga. “What is the relationship between religion and the Civil War?” I asked.³⁰² They explained that we could not discuss the Civil War without taking religion into account. “When you look at the human element of the Civil War,” McCauley explained, “there were Catholics, there were Christians in the Civil War...to tell those human stories is important.”³⁰³ They thought history was about human connections, and they hoped that students could learn about the importance of human relationships from Civil War history and the Gettysburg field trip.

These oral history interviews highlight how each school has different intentions in taking students to Gettysburg. However, both O’Neil and Eldridge address the concern that their teachers did not talk enough about slavery as the cause of the Civil War. O’Neil

³⁰⁰ Pete Yeager and Al McCauley, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 22, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

³⁰¹ Pete Yeager and Al McCauley, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 22, 2022.

³⁰² Pete Yeager and Al McCauley, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 22, 2022.

³⁰³ Pete Yeager and Al McCauley, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 22, 2022.

contends that her middle school history teacher did not teach the political aspect of the Civil War as she wanted them to. She knows that the teacher went over basics; slavery was the cause of the Civil War. However, they did not have a chance to delve into the abolitionist movement and other historical events related to slavery.³⁰⁴ Eldridge addressed similar situations. Moreover, in their case, as the field trip overlapped with the timing of the 2016 election, their teachers were extra cautious about what to teach in history class. “There was kind of a vow silence in that way being like, oh, we’re not gonna get into it [the history of slavery] because we don’t wanna up too many things, which is stupid,” Eldridge recollected of history classes taught at that time.³⁰⁵ The teachers grasped that the Civil War, especially the cause of the Civil War, was closely tied to current politics, so they did not want to get into the political side of the Civil War. But what is the importance of studying the Civil War if they did not teach the history of slavery?

On the teacher’s side, McCauley and Yeager contend that teachers should not shy away from the gruesome history of the Civil War. “We told the raw truth about slavery,” McCauley said, “I think it was more important, or the greater lesson was to learn from those mistakes, rather than to not talk about ‘em at all.”³⁰⁶ They stopped taking their students to one of the museums in Gettysburg because the museum removed all Confederate Flags from the exhibition. “How can you educate [students] if you are not telling the whole truth?” McCauley pointed out.³⁰⁷ Yeager continued:

The Gettysburg trip started because Pete and I taught US history, and we were recognizing that the Civil War was being shortened and shortened and shortened. So much of the attention to it in the books, and the time that we could pay attention to it in the classroom was being shortened. And so we thought, we gotta

³⁰⁴ Natalie O’Neil, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 21, 2022.

³⁰⁵ Jamie Eldridge, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 2, 2022.

³⁰⁶ Pete Yeager and Al McCauley, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 22, 2022.

³⁰⁷ Pete Yeager and Al McCauley, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 22, 2022.

get these kids out there so they can learn something about the Civil War. It's such a pivotal part of our history.³⁰⁸

American history teachers struggle with the same issue. American journalist Terry Gross reports that since January 2021, thirty five states have introduced 137 bills that potentially ban what schools can teach about race, American history, politics, sexual orientation, and gender identity.³⁰⁹ In 2023, House Bill 187, a proposed law in South Carolina, is deemed controversial.³¹⁰ The Bill intends that “students, teachers, administrators, and other school employees recognize the equality and rights of all persons and to prohibit public school units from promoting certain concepts that are contrary to that intent.”³¹¹ That content includes Critical Race Theory and the history of race and racism. In response to the bill, Rep. Julie von Haefen states, “House Bill 187 is destructive to our school learning environment, it is a distraction from the real issues that our public schools face and the issues that families with school-aged children need to address.”³¹² In a politically polarized society, Southern legislators came to censor teachers’ freedom to teach accurate American history. As the United States is politically

³⁰⁸ Pete Yeager and Al McCauley, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 22, 2022.

³⁰⁹ Terry Gross. “From Slavery to Socialism, New Legislation Restricts What Teachers Can Discuss.” NPR. NPR, February 3, 2022. Accessed April 20, 2023.
<https://www.npr.org/2022/02/03/1077878538/legislation-restricts-what-teachers-can-discuss>.

³¹⁰ Shamarria Morrison. “NC Bill Restricting How Teachers Talk about Race and Gender in Schools Passes State House.” wncn.com, March 22, 2023.
<https://www.wncn.com/article/news/politics/north-carolina-politics/nc-bill-banning-students-feeling-discomfort-talking-race-gender/275-869c301c-38f3-4012-a067-10c1517a0d6e>.

³¹¹ “An Act to Demonstrate the General Assembly’s Intent that Students, 2 Teachers, Administrators, and Other School Employees Recognize 3 the Equality and Rights of All Persons and to Prohibit Public 4 School Units From Promoting Certain Concepts That Are Contrary 5 to That Intent, H, 4605,” Accessed April 20, 2023.
https://www.scstatehouse.gov/sess124_2021-2022/bills/4605.htm.

³¹² Shamarria Morrison, “NC Bill Restricting How Teachers Talk about Race and Gender in Schools Passes State House.” wncn.com, March 22, 2023.

polarized, teaching accurate history has become a challenging issue, and the history of the Civil War continues to be the center of the controversy.

Imperiled Battleground: White Supremacy and Their Ongoing Demonstrations in Gettysburg

Gettysburg National Military Park is still a place where Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and some white militia groups advocate for white supremacy. Christopher Gwen, a chief interpreter at the National Park Service, argues that by flying Confederate flags, white nationalists attempt to connect their political statements with their emotional attachments to the imagined community of the racial supremacist antebellum South.³¹³ The KKK's march in Gettysburg has deep roots. By the end of 1921, the KKK had founded a few local chapters around Pennsylvania.³¹⁴ In 1925, ten thousand members from nearby states like Ohio, Maryland, and New York gathered in the historical ground. As a part of the demonstration, they conducted a parade and passed through the town on Sunday afternoon.³¹⁵ Even in the 2010s, the KKK and white militia groups gathered in and outside of the battlefield. Gwen explains that beginning in 2015, they began to revisit the battlefield for political demonstrations. He shares his concerns with Coski that the Charleston shooting in 2015 fueled the chains of white nationalist violence and continued the close association with Confederate flags. Leveraging the history of white supremacist projects in Gettysburg, white supremacists continue to choose this location to promote their ideology.

³¹³ Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022.

³¹⁴ John Craigh, *The Ku Klux Klan in Western Pennsylvania, 1921-1928* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2015), 3.

³¹⁵ Craigh, *The Ku Klux Klan in Western Pennsylvania*, 181.

In response to the 2015 shooting, Gettysburg started to debate whether they should keep having Confederate Flags and monuments in town. In 2015, the National Park Service in Gettysburg issued the original statement about the representation of the Confederate Flag and announced that they would “work with their partners and bookstore operators to voluntarily withdraw from sale items that solely depict a Confederate flag.”³¹⁶ Except for putting Confederate flags for educational purposes, the National Park Service decided not to hang up the flags in park stores.³¹⁷ The National Park Service considers Confederate flags as a threat to racial democracy, and by taking Confederate flags down from the town, they have taken a step to prevent further racial violence.

However, Gettysburg continues to be a place where white militia groups express their political opinions, which sometimes leads to harassment and the carrying of weapons. Recollecting the KKK and the militia groups’ rallies, Gwen commented that the rally was upsetting to witness. “If you’re a visitor and you didn’t know that was happening, and this is your only trip to Gettysburg, how jarring of an experience that must have been,” he said.³¹⁸ He also asserted that Americans’ First Amendment rights had to be protected, regardless of their political leanings. According to the protocol, the National Park Service would allow demonstrators to have a protest in one of the First Amendment areas in the park as long as they filed permission to rally. “There’s nothing against the law,” he continued, “If you wanted to go get an assault rifle and just stand out in the battlefield... There’s nothing that the park service can do.”³¹⁹ The Gettysburg

³¹⁶ “Statement Regarding the Confederate Flag.” National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. Accessed April 13, 2023.

<https://www.nps.gov/gett/learn/news/statement-regarding-the-confederate-flag.htm>

³¹⁷ “Statement Regarding the Confederate Flag.” National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior.

³¹⁸ Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022.

³¹⁹ Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022.

National Park Service's Superintendent's Compendium, §2.4(d) notes, "firearms may be carried or possessed in accordance with applicable local, state, and federal law."³²⁰ Brown remembered that a few years earlier, in the rally, a demonstrator accidentally shot himself, which was reported in the local news. She expressed her concern about the 2020 rally and said, "It's got turned into some big old riot thing, like is happening in all the other cities and it's right, like one property from our museum."³²¹ Gwen also stated that 2020 was one of the most challenging years for him working in the National Park Service because he felt overwhelmed to see the park utilized in such a dehumanizing way. He concluded that demonstrations by white militia groups were antithetical to the story he thought he wanted to tell to the public.³²² White supremacists' long tradition of advocating their political agenda persists in Gettysburg.

Coloring the Town: The Political Tension of Gettysburg College and the College's Positive Impact on Downtown Gettysburg

The contestation of the Civil War memory still lingers in the town of Gettysburg. Especially in the present, the ties between political affiliations and the interpretations of the Civil War are inseparable. Coski points out that no research has been done to indicate the correlation between Americans' political affiliations and the interpretations of the Civil War.³²³ However, he argues, "Anecdotal evidence suggests that defenders of the

³²⁰ "Superintendent's Compendium." National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. Accessed April 22, 2023.

<https://www.nps.gov/gett/learn/management/superintendents-compendium.htm#:~:text=Superintendent's%20Compendium%20Described&text=It%20serves%20as%20public%20notice,the%20administration%20of%20the%20park>.

³²¹ Rebecca Brown, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022, South Hadley, MA.

³²² Christopher Gwen, interview by Sari Morikawa, September 30, 2022.

³²³ Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 298.

Confederate flag overwhelmingly support the conservative position on hot-button issues such as abortion, gun control, welfare reform, and affirmative action.”³²⁴ As some Confederate advocates believe that it symbolizes the state's rights and resistance to the federal government, and thus, they might oppose the concept of ~~the~~ big government.

Republican supporters dominate Adams County. In the 2020 election, about 66% of the registered voters in Adams County cast a vote for Donald Trump.³²⁵ Yet, Gettysburg College has a more complicated political climate. As we saw in the last chapter about its students’ passiveness in the anti-Vietnam War protest, Gettysburg College students still encounter political polarization on campus. Gettysburg College students, particularly those from liberal towns and cities, actively resist conservative political agendas such as opposition to anti-abortion and homophobia. By challenging these political views, Gettysburg has become a safer space for marginalized communities. The campus is a microcosm of the current political polarization in America, and the issues at stake are a continuation of the Civil War.

Gettysburg College has its history of racism, and it was not actually until 1956 that the first Black student, Rudolf Featherstone, graduated from Gettysburg College.³²⁶ Students coming from fairly liberal cultural and political backgrounds express their concerns about the town and the college’s conservatism. Felomina Antolin, a first-year student, shared her culture shock coming to Gettysburg College. Born in the North side of Chicago, she grew up with people of diverse backgrounds. Hearing that Gettysburg

³²⁴ Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 298.

³²⁵ Steven Shepard Senior campaigns and elections editor 12:52 a.m., and Steven Shepard Senior campaigns and elections editor 11:42 p.m. “Live Election Results: 2020 Pennsylvania Results.” POLITICO. Accessed April 13, 2023.

<https://www.politico.com/2020-election/results/pennsylvania/>.

³²⁶ Gettysburg College. Accessed April 13, 2023.

https://lopeiv01.sites.gettysburg.edu/A_Diversity_Story/.

College has an amazing STEM program, she decided to commit to the college. Right after coming to Gettysburg, she was surprised to see Confederate Flags in town. She said, “I felt so kind of not safe in a way. Cause I was like, why do you guys have that?” Isabelle Stehle, another student from the outskirts of New York City, shared her experience of the flags and said:

I feel like whenever I do see Confederate Flags in town, I just don’t understand why entirely you would feel the need to show your patriotism through a Confederate Flag when you could just do it through an American Flag...it has the same idea that most people are trying to convey with the Confederate Flag, which is patriotism, except the confederate flag is tied to separation from the United States and slavery. So I just, to me, it doesn't make any sense.³²⁷

Some students feel completely uncomfortable seeing Confederate Flags in town.

Students’ interviews also demonstrate that there is an equal split between Democrats and Republicans on campus. Antolin also talked about a Republican club on campus and witnessed them flying their blue flag when she attended the activity fair. She felt uncomfortable seeing the flag. I asked her if she has had any conversations with Republicans, but she said she tries to stay away from them. Another time, she witnessed an American flag and even a Donald Trump flag, hung up in some of her floor mates’ dorm rooms.

The controversy over the flags and their politicizations is an ongoing battle even in the early 2000s. In 2004, artist John Sims opened an exhibition called “Recoloration Proclamation: The Gettysburg Redress” on the college property. In this exhibition, he

³²⁷ Isabelle Stehle, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 8, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

displayed one of his controversial works, “The Proper Way to Hang a Confederate Flag,” which immediately brought backlash from conservatives in and outside of the town.³²⁸



Figure. 2.3. John Sim’s “The Proper Way to Hang a Confederate Flag” Joy Garnett. “John Sims: ‘Confederate Flag: A Public Hanging’ at Ohio University and the Kennedy Museum of Art.” National Coalition Against Censorship, January 3, 2020. April 30, 2023.
<https://ncac.org/news/blog/john-sims-confederate-flag-a-public-hanging-at-the-kennedy-museum-of-art>.

Apart from the Republican club, Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) is also an officially certified political group on campus. YAF is a conservative youth activism organization founded in 1960 to combat communism, and they commit to making sure that an “increasing number of young Americans understand and are inspired by the ideas of individual freedom, a strong national defense, freedom enterprise, and traditional values.”³²⁹ Stehle explained that they do not have a good reputation on campus because of

³²⁸ Gettysburg College. “Artist to ‘Lynch’ Confederate Flag at Gettysburg College.” Newswise. Newswise, August 9, 2004. Accessed April 23, 2023.

<https://www.newswise.com/articles/artist-to-lynch-confederate-flag-at-gettysburg-college>.

³²⁹ “About Young America's Foundation.” Young America's Foundation, December 7, 2022. <https://www.yaf.org/about/>. Accessed April 20, 2023.

their radical activism. For example, when the college hosted events to celebrate LGBTQ+ history month in 2022, YAF invited Ryan T. Anderson, a conservative political philosopher who opposes transgender rights and same-sex marriage, to speak on campus.³³⁰ The campus later sent out a statement about the Freedom of Speech on campus in the same week, but Stehle said, “It was a big, big issue, and a lot of people were really upset about it.” The other students’ negative responses to the YAF’s actions suggest that not all students are in favor of the college’s conservatism.

The issue of reproductive rights is currently one of the most central issues in the United States, reflecting debates around state versus federal power and the bodily autonomy of marginalized groups. This is an issue that has been historically significant, even leading to the Civil War. The Gettysburg College campus is an ongoing ideological battlefield for the controversy. The political contestation surfaced when fourteen members of the Tradition Family Property (TFP), a pro-life organization, went to Gettysburg College for pro-life campaign on October 25, 2022.³³¹ The pro-life group brought a sign, “Smile. You Survived Abortion,” and sent out brochures of “10 reasons to protect the unborn” to Gettysburg College students.³³² In response, the students stood against the pro-life organization and held up “my body, my choice” signs.³³³ Antolin recollected the protest and expressed her disgust. One Gettysburg College student later

³³⁰ Katie Oglesby, and Alli Dayton. “YAF Hosts Dr. Ryan T. Anderson, Other Organizations Host Inclusion and Belonging Events.” *The Gettysburgian*, October 24, 2022. Accessed April 20, 2023.

<https://gettysburgian.com/2022/10/yaf-hosts-dr-ryan-t-anderson-other-organizations-host-inclusion-and-belonging-events/>.

³³¹ Domenick Galatolo. “Pro-Life Smiles Cause pro-Abortion Despair at Gettysburg College.” *The American TFP*, November 10, 2022. Accessed April 23, 2023.

<https://www.tfp.org/pro-life-smiles-cause-pro-abortion-despair-at-gettysburg-college/>.

³³² Galatolo. “Pro-Life Smiles Cause pro-Abortion Despair at Gettysburg College.”

³³³ Galatolo. “Pro-Life Smiles Cause pro-Abortion Despair at Gettysburg College.”

angrily grabbed the “Smile. You Survived Abortion” sign, and it caused a physical fight between students and TFP.³³⁴ The incident shows that the ideological battle has become increasingly heated.

Stehle explained that despite the town’s conservatism, the liberal culture on campus has positively impacted the downtown area. She continued, “I feel like a lot of people in Gettysburg, a lot of college students end up sticking around too because a lot of people [alums] will come back to the college and work here and other things like that. So I think that it definitely is shaping the town into more of a modern ideology.”³³⁵ In recent years, small stores and restaurants started to hang up rainbow flags in town. Some LGBTQ individuals feel more safe walking on the street because of the flag. Jemma Piasecki is another senior student at Mount Holyoke, and she visits Gettysburg often to see her grandparents ever since middle school. Reflecting on her past visits to Gettysburg, she said that within the last few years, “it’s changed it seems a lot funnier, a lot more relaxed, definitely more like LGBTQ friendly... which means a lot.”³³⁶ Stehle pointed out that the culture of Gettysburg is not monolithic; rather, two opposing cultures coexist in the same space. She went on to say:

I think it makes sense because you're having these two sides of the coin where you have this liberal arts college and then you have rural Pennsylvania. So it shows how there are these two almost separate ideas happening at the same time in the same area.³³⁷

The town of Gettysburg is more than just a small historic town, and Gettysburg College students play a major role in adding new vibrancy to it. However, this diversification of

³³⁴ Galatolo. “Pro-Life Smiles Cause pro-Abortion Despair at Gettysburg College.”

³³⁵ Isabelle Stehle, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 8, 2022.

³³⁶ Jemma Piasecki, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 12, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

³³⁷ Isabelle Stehle, interview by Sari Morikawa, December 8, 2022.

culture can sometimes lead to conflicting values among people with different political beliefs and backgrounds.

Gettysburg Battlefield as a Symbol of World Peace

When I visited Rebecca Brown's Civil War Trails at the Homestead Diorama Museum LLC, one exhibition caught my eye – old Japanese maps, swords, and other military supplies. "What is this exhibition about?" I asked. "That is an exhibition about the battle of Sekigahara. Town of Gettysburg and Sekigahara held sister-city relationships in 2016," she answered. Looking at her outfits again, I recognized that she was wearing a Sekigahara T-shirt. I was stunned because I had not seen anyone wearing T-shirts with Japanese characters on them. It was surprising to hear how this small town in the United States had cultural connections with Japan. As a person who grew up in Japan, I was curious to research more about how the sister-city treaty came about and to learn about any travel experiences that have resulted from the treaty.

After searching for information about the sister-city treaty, I had a chance to talk with Shiniichiro Tomida, who was involved in the process of becoming a sister-city relationship. He currently works at the Sekigahara Revitalization Division in a city government, and he went to Gettysburg in 2016 for the sister city ceremony. Tomida was friendly and polite, offering a detailed account of the sister-city ceremony in the National Park and heartwarming interactions with residents. His account highlights the significance of international cultural exchange and how Gettysburg serves as a reminder that the United States is still grappling with the legacy of the Civil War.



Figure 3.4. Rebecca Brown's Civil War Trails at the Homestead Diorama Museum LLC and Brown's Sekigahara T-shirt. Taken on June 13, 2022.

Born in 1980, Shiniichiro Tomida grew up in a town in Gifu prefecture, Japan. Gifu prefecture is located in the center of mainland Japan and is known to be a historic place where a major battle broke out. The Battle of Sekigahara took place on September 15th, 1600. Around that time period, powerful Japanese magnates called Daimyo governed each hereditary land holding. The battle of Sekigahara was when Tokugawa Hideyasu, the East, and Ishida Mitsunari, the West, fought over the next leadership in Japan. So many famous Daimyos gathered in Sekigahara; overall, 150,000 men fought there.³³⁸ It is now one of the small towns in Gifu Prefecture. According to Tomida's account, the town did not start off as a tourist attraction. It was initially known for factory

³³⁸ "Battle of Sekigahara." National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. Accessed April 23, 2023.
<https://www.nps.gov/gett/learn/historyculture/battle-of-sekigahara.htm#:~:text=Battle%20map%20of%20the%20western%20and%20eastern%20armies%20at%208%3A00%20a.m.&text=The%20battle%20of%20Sekigahara%20began,feet%20in%20front%20of%20themselves.>

work and the manufacturing industry. It was not until recently that the local government decided to promote Sekigahara as a tourist attraction.

After getting a degree in archaeology from a college in Nara, Tomida came back to Tarui, where he grew up. His degree in archaeology led him to work for a marketing division of the local government, where he advertises the town to a larger public. Not only does he promote tourism to potential clients, but he also negotiates with factories to relocate there. He was not interested in the Battle of Sekigahara as his interest lies in ancient Japanese history. Yet, he is proud of what he is doing because he knows that his work positively impacts the town.³³⁹

Tomida remembered that the town and Gifu prefecture initiated the sister-city treaty, and they concluded their sister-city relationship agreement in 2015. In March 2016, affiliated individuals from the battlefields of Sekigahara, Gettysburg, and Waterloo in Belgium decided to gather in Gettysburg to have the “World Battlefields Summit.”³⁴⁰ Tomida was one of the Sekigahara’s representatives who went to Gettysburg. It was a big deal because the Gifu prefecture governor and twenty other public service workers from Gifu prefectures also attended the event. There, they collectively wrote a “World Battlefields Summit Joint Declaration” and pledged to promote world peace for the future.³⁴¹ As discussed in the second chapter, historical battlegrounds became a place to reaffirm their national identity and declare world peace. By making a positive relationship with the town and the battlefield of Gettysburg and Sekigahara, both

³³⁹ Shiniichiro Tomida, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 17, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

³⁴⁰ “Battle of Sekigahara Special Exhibit.” Gettysburg Heritage Center. Accessed April 23, 2023. <https://www.gettysburgmuseum.com/battle-of-sekigahara-special-exhibit.html>.

³⁴¹ “Battle of Sekigahara Special Exhibit.” Gettysburg Heritage Center.

attempted to promote the battlefields as symbols of world peace and possibly attract more tourists outside of their countries.

According to the 2017 and 2018 Gettysburg National Military Park Visitor Study, 97 percent of Gettysburg tourists are from the United States. One reason international tourists are kept away is the inaccessibility of Gettysburg. Although four highways pass through the town, there are no Uber drivers in the area, making it difficult for travelers to tour the vast battlefield without a car. A sister-city treaty could serve as an icebreaker for international visitors to recognize the significance of Gettysburg and inspire them to explore other American historic sites.

After hosting the “World Battlefields Summit,” Tomida and other staff spent four days in Gettysburg. He said he had fun flying out of his town because he rarely had a chance to interact with people outside of Japan. At the same time, he also told me that he was pleased to experience something spectacular. Sometimes, photographs cannot tell every single detail of the battlefield, like the smell of grass and the scale of the Civil War monuments and markers. After touring around the battlefield, he was completely shocked by how big and flat the battlefield was. He still remembers the magnificent sunset view when he went up the hill. “That’s not something that my hometown has,” he said.³⁴² The natural beauty of the battlefield left a lasting impression on him.

He also enjoyed heartwarming interactions with the local people of Gettysburg. After participating in the sister-city ceremony, his team brought Japanese armor, called Kacchu, to the battlefield. When he wore the armor at the Gettysburg Lincoln Railroad Station, people asked him, “What is this?” and “What is this made of?”³⁴³ On the next

³⁴² ShiniichiroTomida, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 17, 2022.

³⁴³ ShiniichiroTomida, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 17, 2022.

day, he had another display of the armor at the Gettysburg Heritage Center, and some residents remembered him well and tried to continue the conversation. As Gettysburg residents do not encounter a large group of international visitors on a daily basis, this sister-city ceremony became beneficial to both Gettysburg residents and Sekigahara staff.



Figure. 3.5. Tomida on the right wearing Japanese armor. Provided by Shiniichiro Tomida.

While he was impressed by the magnificent scenery of the Battlefield, he was also perplexed by the Civil War history and its legacy. During the interview, he conveys his struggle to grasp the significance of the Civil War, particularly its root cause. When I asked him about his thoughts on the Civil War, he stopped for a moment. After a few seconds of silence, he answered, “I did not study the Civil War in my World History class, so I am not sure about it that much. However, when I went to a museum in Gettysburg, I understood what happened in Gettysburg, although all explanations were

written in English.”³⁴⁴ “However,” he continued, “it was hard for me as a Japanese to understand the context and gravity of the whole battle.”³⁴⁵ He said, “This is a sensitive topic. I do not get the idea that Americans hate each other just because they have different colors of skin. But I am not sure. Is this what it is, maybe? But either way, I cannot just bring up the conversation about the institution of slavery and race politics in general to other Americans.”³⁴⁶

Along with the Battle of Gettysburg, the Battle of Sekigahara was also a turning point in Japanese history. However, they do not discuss the Battle of Sekigahara in the current Japanese political climate. The Battle of Sekigahara became almost a fictional tale as it happened hundreds of years ago. Meanwhile, this chapter encapsulates how the Civil War is ingrained in American society politically, socially, and culturally, and American people still drag on its legacy. As the old saying goes, “Time is the best medicine,” now my question is, will the Battle of Gettysburg become a fairy tale in the future like the Battle of Sekigahara, or will Americans continue to be haunted by the carnage of the battle?

³⁴⁴ Shiniichiro Tomida, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 17, 2022.

³⁴⁵ Shiniichiro Tomida, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 17, 2022.

³⁴⁶ Shiniichiro Tomida, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 17, 2022.

EPILOGUE

In the last three chapters have shown how diverse groups of people have conceptualized the different images of Gettysburg for their political and economic interests. We have so much more to cover in order to make more sense of this complicated history, but I hope that my research will contribute to the new field of “the Long Civil War.” My research reveals Americans’ different reactions to the Civil War, and how each group faced its history and weaved their own narratives into the dominant Civil War history. Encountering myriad of social changes, such as the Gilded Age and wars abroad, they revisited Gettysburg and spread their narratives of the Civil War for their political and economic interests. These stories sometimes coexist together, as well as contest each other from time to time. This history is about veterans redefining the Civil War soldiers’ valor. This history is also about white reconciliationists promoting white supremacy. This history is also for African Americans and activists who tried to overturn these narratives for their civil rights and social cause.

Oral history interviews present Gettysburg residents’ heartwarming and, sometimes, bitter and upsetting memories of Gettysburg in the twenty-first century. Residents coming from different walks of life are attracted to the town and enjoy their time. Gettysburg is still an ideological battleground for ongoing modern American issues, such as reproductive rights and freedom of speech. Although I truly had a lovely time

getting to know each interviewee and hearing about their experiences, Sue Thibodeau's interview, especially, prompted me to think about how the United States has failed to reckon with its past and the unresolved violence that persists today.

Sue Thibodeau and I had our first phone conversation in mid-November when the autumn leaves were quickly falling. This pre-interview phase allowed us to go over the project and to ask her for consent to record interviews. When I asked her if there was anything that she did not wish to talk about, she said she did not want to talk about politics. I thought that was fair, given that we had just met, and conversing about sensitive topics can be tricky without knowing what the other person's political views are. Nonetheless, during our oral history interview, the conversation somehow shifted to the controversy around the Civil War. She thinks that the cause of the Civil War still lingers in Americans' minds: state rights versus federal power and slavery and racial politics.

"Do you want it to be off [the] record?" I asked.³⁴⁷ She replied, "I think I trust you ... it's unfortunate that we can't talk about these things [politics] as a nation without a lot of fear and a lot of fighting."³⁴⁸ I deeply resonated with her comment as I realized that trust is the core of our society. The Civil War deeply scarred Americans, and American people were more hesitant to face this trauma. Politicians and the Gettysburg tourist industry attempted to commodify Civil War items, but I assume that was a way for them to cope with the trauma, not heal from the trauma. Thibodeau said that Americans tend to highlight white people's healing and peace. She continued, "There's other healing that mattered too, that wasn't happening yet through the Civil War or it was happening more

³⁴⁷ Sue Thibodeau, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 29, 2022, in South Hadley, Massachusetts, transcript, South Hadley, MA.

³⁴⁸ Sue Thibodeau, interview by Sari Morikawa, November 29, 2022.

slowly.” In order to heal from the trauma, the American people have to confront their history.

The process of healing from the Civil War as a nation is slow, but the recent engagement with history in Gettysburg sets a precedent for other historic towns in the United States to openly think about and reflect on the gruesome past. And, Gettysburg continues to change. This year, Gettysburg celebrates 160 years after the Battle of Gettysburg. Adams County Historical Society is now completing its renovation to set up a new exhibition that includes a more comprehensive history of the town, including information about Native Americans and African Americans.³⁴⁹ In addition, organizations such as Indigenous Glow and Glow Black have started a Juneteenth parade in Gettysburg. Last year was its second time celebrating African Americans’ freedom in Gettysburg, and the parade passed through historically significant places for the Black community.³⁵⁰ The town's positive efforts to confront its history of racism while promoting a spirit of freedom will allow visitors to learn a more complicated and nuanced history.

By healing from the past, we will no longer be haunted by it.

³⁴⁹ “Campaign Home : Capital Campaign.” Adams County Historical Society. Accessed April 24, 2023. <https://www.achs-pa.org/campaign/welcome.html>.

³⁵⁰ Community Contributors. “2022 Juneteenth Celebration and Parade Announced.” *Gettysburg Connection*, May 22, 2022. Accessed April 26, 2023. <https://gettysburgconnection.org/2022-juneteenth-celebration-and-parade-announced/>.

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