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THE BRIEN FARM AND FAMILY

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The following report on the Brien House has its own internal justification, but like many projects, was begun for a particular reason. During the summer of 1971, the Resources Management staff of Gettysburg National Military Park began a furnishing program for the Brien House and discovered that the interior of the restored house was too nicely finished to resemble 19th century country carpentry. In turn, its inaccurate historical appearance prompted inspection by National Park Service Exhibits Specialist (Restoration) Jim Askins and led to his discovery of the building's deteriorating and hazardous structural condition. Park Service restoration had occurred in 1951 and 1961, but money was then reallocated for a third and hopefully final restoration of the Brien House. Since each previous restoration has been only partially accurate, work done this time must be as historically correct as available information permits. Thus, the research for this report was begun.

The report's foundation is a fairly sizeable range of previously acquired information, much of which need not be challenged or questioned. We know, for example, the basic wartime appearance of the house. We are certain that the Briens lived in that particular structure. We know that they were a free black family. We know that their small story and a half structure was remodeled into a

two story, L shaped house sometime between 1863 and 1880. We know that the Park acquired the pertinent buildings and land in 1895 from Jacob Benner. And we are familiar with the battle history of that area.

However, that information is not adequate for a completely accurate restoration. We know, for instance, how only two sides of the house appeared in 1863. We are uncertain of when and precisely how the house was remodeled. In the 1863 photograph, we have not been able to determine which portions show battle damage and which are structural clues. And we would like to establish fence lines and boundaries.

Thus the object of the study has been to find this kind of information or to ascertain that it does not exist. In the latter event, Park Service Historians and builders could then use their own judgments about the about the structure's restoration.

THE BRIEN FARM AND FAMILY

Abraham Brien would be surprised to learn that his life and his farm were the objects of an historical study.¹ He was a free black man at a time and place when that was not particularly common. He led, as history goes, a quiet life: he farmed; he worked in a hotel; he raised a family. And he could not read or write--and so kept no record of his life or thoughts. Only the data of tax collectors, census takers, lawyers, and a single photographer tell us about him. Nonetheless, his history can be told.

And it should be, as well. On July 1, 1863, Abraham Brien owned a small farm on the southern outskirts of Gettysburg. On it, he raised the locale's common crops and maintained two houses and a set of farm buildings. Within the next three days, Union soldiers removed his fences for firewood and fortifications, ate his garden vegetables, and met the Confederate soldiers of "Pickett's Charge" on his land. And while those soldiers and their strategies have been often described, little has been said about the families and the land to whom the Battle came. That is why Abraham Brien's story is important and why his property should be restored.

The first county record of Mr. Brien appears in the 1840 United States Census, Cumberland Township, Adams County, Pennsylvania. He was about 38 at the time with a wife, five children, and possibly a parent to support.² In 1847, Abraham's first wife, Harriet, died. Three years later, his second wife, Catherine, passed away also. Catherine's name, however, appears in the 1850 Census along with those of five children, three of whom had been born within the decade. The 1850 Census lists Brien as a laborer, a resident of the Borough of Gettysburg (having moved from Cumberland Township), and the owner of \$200 worth of personal property. The Census also shows that he had been born in Maryland and had never learned to read or write. Two of his children were in school that year. Sometime during the next ten years, Brien married his third wife, Elizabeth.³

During the same decade in 1857, Brien purchased 12 acres of land in Cumberland Township south of Gettysburg from James A. Thompson.⁴ The property, lying at the southwest foot of Cemetery Hill, appears to have been divided, part of it fronting the Emmitsburg Road and part the Taneytown Road.⁵ Two houses stood on the Emmitsburg Road property, and Brien moved his family into the one farthest from the road.⁶ Tax records and damage claims submitted after the Battle

indicate that Brien farmed this land until 1869. He usually kept at least one horse and one cow, often two of each. In July, 1863, he was farming wheat, barley, and hay and had land in meadows and orchards. The value of the land increased from \$180 to \$265 in the time between purchase and sale. Neither Brien nor those who dealt with him for the property filed a deed in the Adams County Court House. Thus, no legal description of the land or any record of subsequent owners is available. Brien's ownership, however, is amply confirmed by tax records, the 1860 Census, and damage claims.⁷

In 1869, Brien appears to have moved from his farm in Cumberland Township to the Borough of Gettysburg. The 1870 Borough Census shows Brien as a hostler at the Hotel and the owner of \$1,200 worth of real estate and \$300 of personal property. His third wife and four children are listed with him.

During the 1870's, with the assistance of local businessmen and lawyers, Brien filed claims for damages done to his farm during the Battle. He appears to have received only \$15, out of \$1,028 requested.⁸ On May 30, 1879, at 75 years of age, Abraham Brien died. He was buried at Lincoln Cemetery (a black cemetery since removed from its original location on York Street) with his first two wives. His estate was administered by D. A. Kitzmiller and

an inventory of his property was taken. Unfortunately, that inventory has disappeared from County records.⁹

Four other potential sources exist for more detailed information on Abraham Brien's farm and farm buildings at the time of the Battle of Gettysburg. They are the accounts of soldiers who bivouacked or fought in the area, damage claims filed by Brien, photographic evidence, and prints and paintings. All four sources have provided information, although none answer satisfactorily the most pertinent questions about the farm buildings.

Despite the fact that the Brien House was situated on the Union line which faced the men in Pickett's Charge, very little mention is made of it in regimental accounts or wartime reports. At the dedication of the 111th New York Monument, June 26, 1891, General Clinton MacDougall did describe his unit's location in front of the Brien House, the fields of wheat to their foreground, and the grove of trees behind the house in which they bivouacked. He also acknowledged that his men used Mr. Brien's wheat for food.¹⁰

Several officers who served under Brig. Gen. Alexander Hays, commander of the Third Division, Second Corps, also refer to the Brien House in their reports. Lt. L. C. Bicknell, for example, mentions the

lane which ran from the Emmitsburg Road to the Brien farm house.¹¹

And Captain David Shields, in a report written many years after the Battle, describes the same lane, the one-story shack on the Emmitsburg Road, the Brien House and barn, and the structural changes in the house itself. Shields also states that he led the men of the 111th New York from the Brien orchard at the rear of the house into position when the cannonade started on July 3, 1863.¹² No other descriptive mention of the house and farm has been found.¹³

Two photographs, thought to have been taken by Matthew Brady or one of his staff shortly after the Battle, are excellent sources of structural evidence. One photograph was taken east of the Brien house looking west and clearly shows the east side of the house, most of its southern front, the bake oven, an outline of the barn, and a glimpse of the Brien's second house on the Emmitsburg Road. A different photograph of this same view appears to have been taken at the same time and shows a white boy and a black man standing next to the bake oven and house.¹⁴

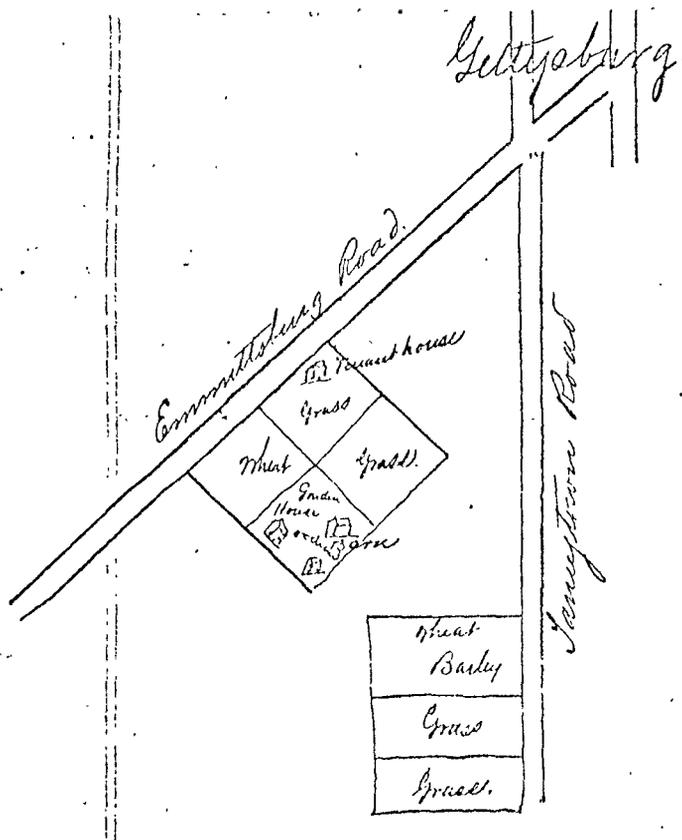
Previous restoration of the Brien house has been based on this photographic evidence. But structural questions remain. For example, the photographs do not show the west side of the house, the original porch's construction, the amount of damage done to the

porch during the battle, or whether the house and barn have been subsequently moved.

The previously unexplored damage claims filed by Biren in the 1870's might have supplied some of this missing structural information if Brien had filed a detailed claim. But this was not the case. Brien and those who vouched for his information did itemize the number of stones needed to replace stone walls, the number of panels of post fence destroyed, and a specific amount of hay and crop damage done. But they gave only general values for damage done to the houses and farm buildings. And the values he gave appear to have been confused on several of the claim forms. Brien reported \$50 damage for the house on the Emmitsburg Road and \$200 for his own house and barn and stone fence and furnishings.¹⁵ But on a list of Brien's claims for Quartermaster Stores written in 1874, the figure of \$50 is given for the "use of house, including repairs," while \$200 is given as the value of "lumber in tenant house, barn, corncrib, etc."¹⁶ The generality and the confusion of the figures make it difficult even to estimate the extent of damage done to just the house.

The most interesting portion of Brien's claim is its accompanying map, drawn either by Brien or at his direction. It provides the

only firsthand information available on the farm's Civil War period boundaries. Yet, the position of Brien's house and barn are reversed from that described in regimental histories, shown on the G. K. Warren Map of 1869, and indicated in W. H. Tipton photographs of the late 1800's. And there, as in his prose statement, he claims 20 acres of land instead of the 12 indicated by tax collectors. The map is shown below.



Very little certain knowledge, then, can be based upon the claims, despite their apparent potential. ¹⁷

Prints, though in the photograph family, must be used in a different way in historical research. Three sketches of the Brien House area exist which can be correlated to the structural questions remaining about the house. But that correlation cannot mean that answers are firm and infallible. For instance, the watercolor painted by traveling Civil War artist Frankenstein in 1866 shows the shape of the Civil War period Brien buildings, but gives no detail.¹⁸ An etching of the buildings with the name "Bachelder" on it appears in "A Regimental History, The One Hundred and Twenty-Fifth New York State Volunteers" by Ezra D. Simons. It gives a good likeness of the barn while showing a chimney on the wrong end of the house.¹⁹ And James Walker in his painting of "The Repulse of Longstreet's Assault," appears to have drawn the Brien buildings including the separate property on the Emmitsburg Road, much as the photograph indicates was correct, but is not noted otherwise for his total accuracy of the battle scene.²⁰ In other words, unless one can be completely confident of an artist's accuracy, his work is rarely as detailed, as trustworthy, or hence as useful as a photograph.

Since the principals of the time and the information they supplied to others cannot answer all the structural and historical questions that have been raised, only the memories of later generations remain.

John Bachelder's early battlefield guidebook, for instance, offers proof that the second story and L shaped addition to the house were built before 1873.²¹ Dr. Tilberg's 1943 report on the Brien house contains the comments of residents who were acquainted with the land and buildings of this battlefield area. Several observations verified the structure's presence and its appearance at the time of the battle; but no one knew either the Briens or subsequent inhabitants.²² Recent requests for information on the house have turned up only names of people who lived there after the government purchased the property in 1895 when it was a two story structure. Even William H. Tipton's extensive post War photographic collection yields only pictures of the remodeled house.

There is, obviously, much more about Abraham Brien that we would like to know. Statistics give us a description of his life, but it is a cold, sterile one. And what we would like most to know is what Brien thought about the battle and what it meant to his life and that of his family. That information apparently can't be found. But the pictures and the statistics, in spite of their abrupt incompleteness, can become the groundwork for restoration of the property. To that groundwork, Historians and Architects are adding their judgment and hypotheses. Their efforts will result in a restored, furnished

property. It will be, in other words, a setting to trigger and challenge visitors' imaginations so that they can visualize what living there must have been like in July, 1863.

APPENDIX

BRIEN FARM LAYOUT

Lacking a formal deed description, we are dependent upon a variety of maps and photographs to indicate the historic Brien farm's layout. In chronological order, the maps include Brien's drawing to accompany his damage claims, General G. K. Warren's 1868-1869 battlefield map, a tract map drawn at approximately the time of the 1895 purchase of the property from the Benner family, and a map of the scene of Longstreet's Final Assault drawn by Lt. Colonel Cope for the 1896 report of the Gettysburg National Park Commission.

Historic fences on Brien land are noted in two of the four maps. They are identified in both Warren's map and the 1896 Cope map, but not in Brien's damage claim map. Differences between the Warren and Cope maps include a Virginia worm fence along the Emmitsburg Road on the Warren map and a post and rail in the same place on the Cope map. Warren also shows a post and rail fence on the north side of the Brien buildings while Cope indicates a stone fence that begins west of the barn; and Warren has a Virginia worm fence along a field south of the Brien house while Cope continued with the stone wall. No positive method exists to correctly resolve these differences, but Brien's damage claims indicate a preponderance of wooden fencing on his property. (194 panels of fence--part post and rail and part worm - worth \$174; stone fence destroyed worth \$5.00).

Fencelines on both the Warren and Cope maps are virtually identical, despite differences in fencing materials. These fence lines, however, do not follow the boundary lines shown on Brien's damage claims or those on the tract map of property purchased from the heirs of Jacob Benner in 1895. Again, with no deed description or other reliable source, no way exists to positively identify Brien farm boundaries. Acknowledging the questions that must be raised about the accuracy of Brien's damage claims and the accompanying map, it does show the existence of two separate tracts of land, located on the two roads. No other map indicates this. Nor, then, did the Park purchase all of the Brien land in 1895 from the Benners. The Taneytown Road tract was evidently sold separately between 1868 and 1895. Lack of adjacent fence lines in the western area of Brien's property on the Warren map encourage the belief that Brien's boundaries conform to the fences. This is, however, a judgment.

Brien owned a small story and a half structure on the Emmitsburg Road, but its exact location has never been established. Brien's damage claim map and the Warren map indicate that this structure was north of Brien's own house. The Cope map and the Brady photograph, however, appear to show that house directly west of Brien's own. Consequently, Cope's map shows that the Emmitsburg

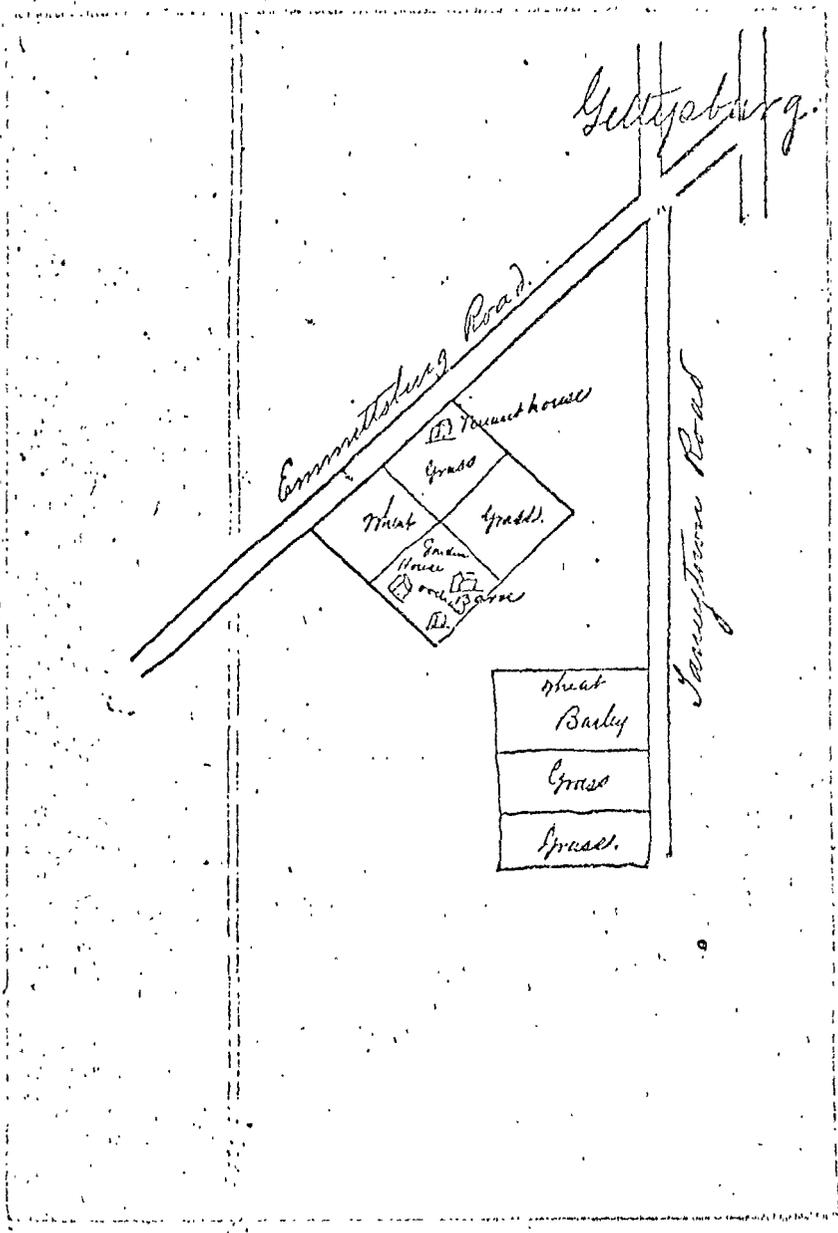
road property sits within the fence lines that may have formed Brien's boundary while on Warren's maps the structure is outside that fence line.

None of the maps available show the lane which ran from the Emmitsburg Road to Brien's own house. Lt. L. E. Bicknell, First Company Massachusetts Sharpshooters, reported in a battle summary that the Brien lane was close to the house; and Captain David Shields observed that a large Oak stood at the head of the lane. (George Fleming, "Life and Letters of Alexander Hays," Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 1919, p. 439, p. 453). In Brady's photograph, the Oak appears a little north and west of the house. Possibly then, the lane followed the fence line to the Emmitsburg Road.

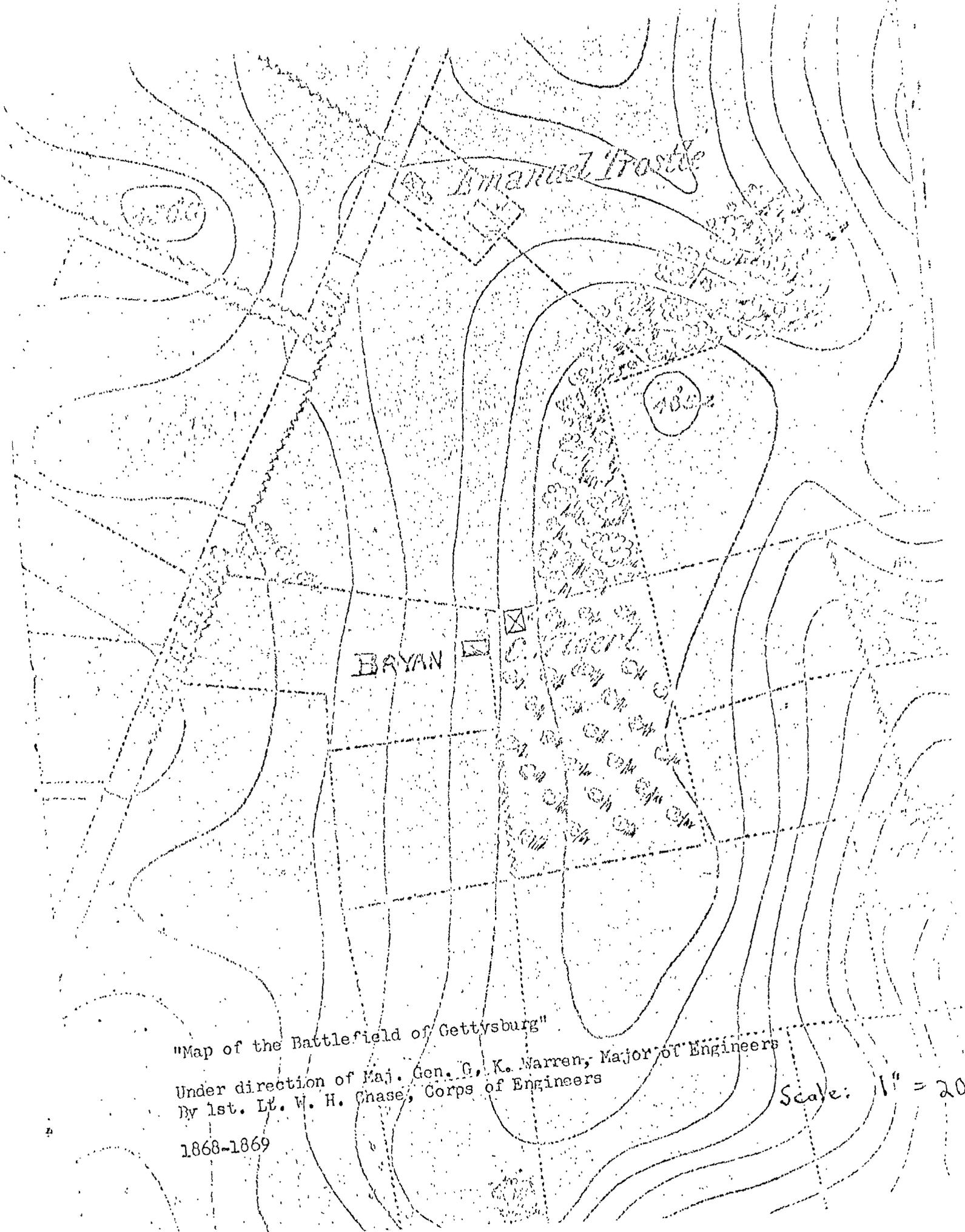
The relationship between the Brien's own house and barn differs from map to map. All indicate that the house is north and east of the barn. Warren placed the distance between the two at 30 feet, while Cope placed it at 81 feet. The present distance is 75 feet. Although a question has been raised as to whether the Brien barn was moved when Hancock Avenue was created, photographic evidence, particularly including an 1880 picture of the

barn and W. H. Tipton's Cyclorama base photograph, does not show that this was done. The distance between the two structures looks as it does now--with plenty of room for the avenue.

No sources except the Brady photograph exists to settle the differences between the Warren and Cope maps. The Park, however, has consistently used the Warren map and will continue to do so, partly because the Brady photograph does agree with it in the area around the house.



Map accompanying Abraham Brien's damage claims.



Emanuel Troop

BRYAN

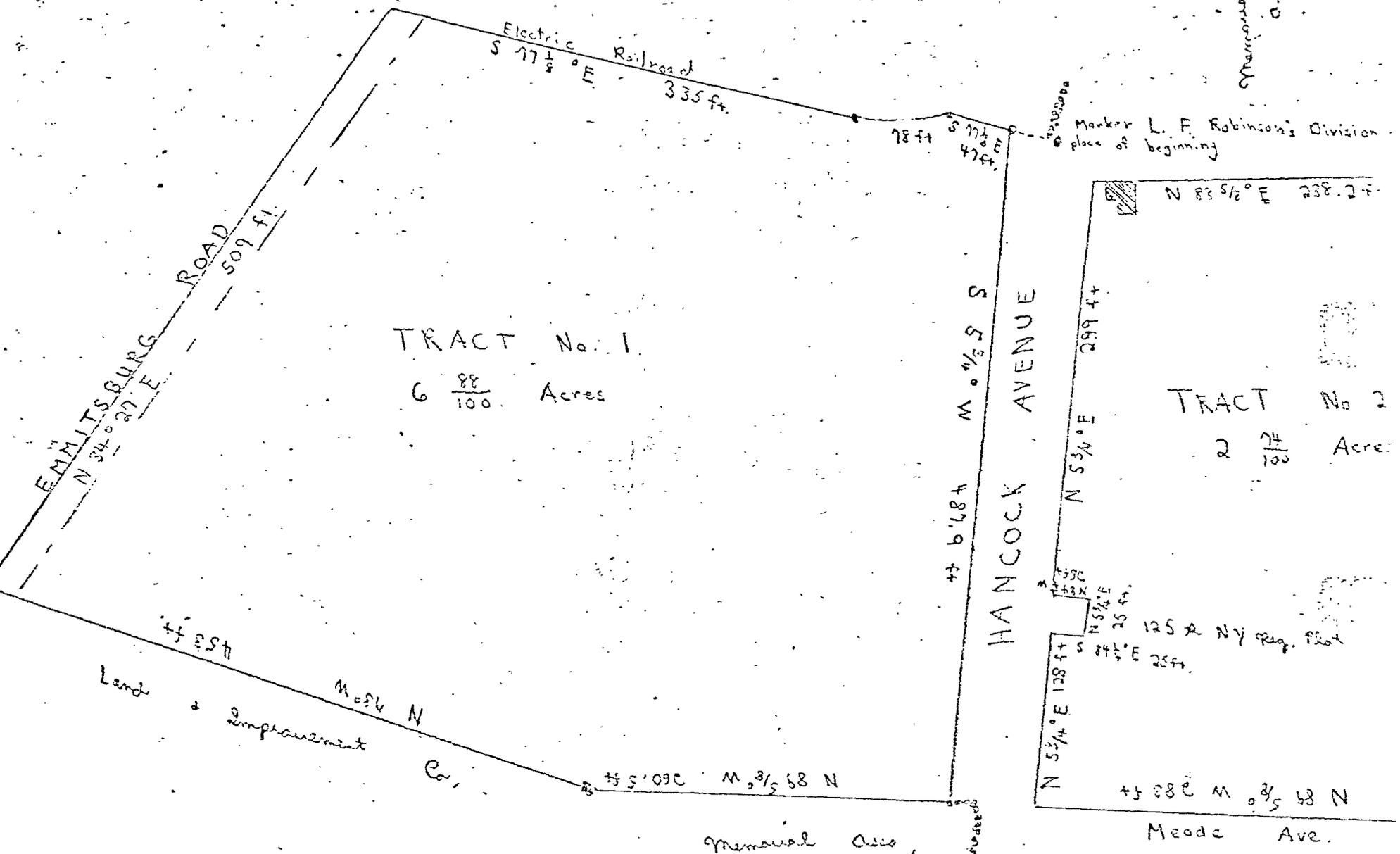
"Map of the Battlefield of Gettysburg"

Under direction of Maj. Gen. G. K. Warren, Major of Engineers
By 1st. Lt. W. H. Chase, Corps of Engineers

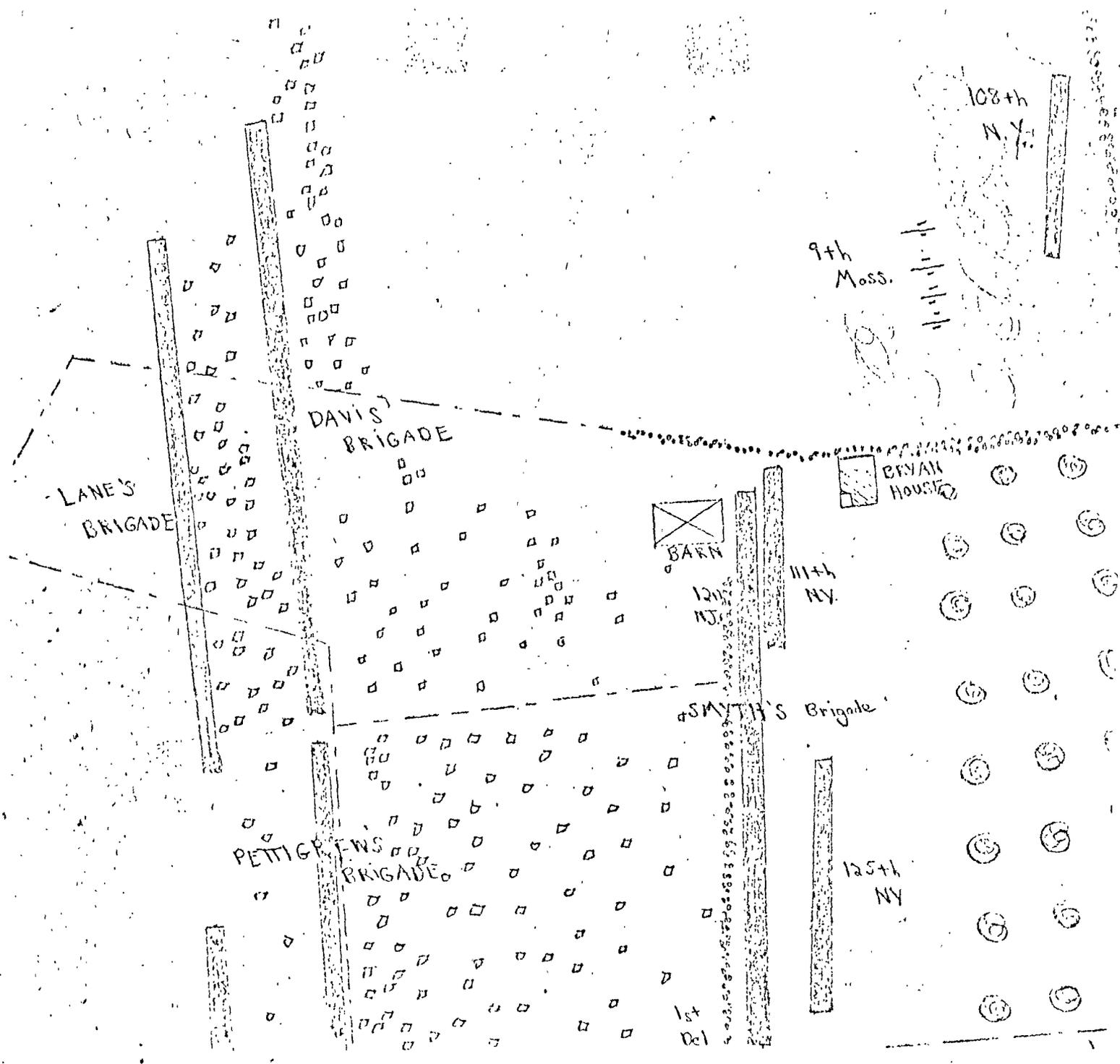
1868-1869

Scale: 1" = 20

Marrowbone



"Property of Heirs of Jacob Benner
Cumberland Township
Adams County, Pennsylvania
Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association



" Map showing the scene of Longstreet's Final Assault on the Union Lines at Gettysburg. July 3, 1863, and the positions of the respective bodies of Troops therein of both armies."

Prepared by the Gettysburg National Park Commission and based upon the evidence carefully gathered from all sources and collated by said commission.

1896 Report
 Lt. Col. F. B. Cope, engineer
 S. A. Hammond, ass't engineer

Scale: 1" = 100'

APPENDIX

BRIEN FARMYARD FENCING AND LAYOUT PLAN

Recommendations for a current fencing and farmyard layout plan are based on the Brady photograph, the 1869 Warren map, and judgments that seem logical based on their information.

The first step necessary to recreate the historic layout of the area must be the removal and subsequent replacement of the stone fence which runs beside the concrete sidewalk on the north and east side of the Brien house. The Warren map shows a post and rail in its place, while the Brady photograph clearly shows a post and plank fence. The fence begins at and is attached to the northeast corner of the house and should then run in an easterly direction at the same angle as the house wall. The planks do not appear to be painted. The historic angle of the fence may have been slightly more northerly. The present sidewalk, however, prevents placing it that way.

The second project undertaken should be the removal of the stone fence which runs from the south below the Brien barn and which curves in toward the southeast corner of the barn. Only the curved portion of the fence needs to be removed. The stone work

should then continue in a northerly direction at the same angle as the previous line of fence, but should stop short of the present east-west stone fencing by a farm vehicle's width. The Warren map and Dr. Tilberg's research on field defense work confirm the presence of this stone wall slightly to the east of the barn. Although neither indicate the presence of a farm lane along the post and rail fence to the Emmitsburg Road, regimental accounts do describe the land and locate it in the Brien farmyard by a large tree. As mentioned earlier, the tree appears to sit west of the northwest corner of the house--and thus at the head of the farm lane.

Were it possible to preserve the integrity of the Brien farm yard, the lane could be reconstructed. However, Hancock Avenue and the Visitor Center already disturb this integrity.

Third, a section of stone wall running in an east-west direction and becoming a post and rail fence several feet beyond Hancock Avenue should be removed. According to the Warren Map, this should be a continuous post and rail fence. The angle of this fence also needs changing entirely. It should run in a more northerly direction, instead of directly west and should intersect the Emmitsburg Road opposite Long Lane.

The section of post and rail fence running north from the barn to the east-west post and rail fence should be removed entirely.

The addition of two further structures will place the Brien House in a more accurate historic context. These are the bake oven, documented in shape and location by the Brady photograph, and an outhouse. The outhouse does not appear in the photograph and has never been located historically. Its suggested location is based on determining from the photograph where it did not stand-- and on probably locations in respect to nearness to the house and prevailing wind directions.

The Brady photograph does indicate the presence of a fence or defense works to the north and west of the Brien House, along the edge of what is now Hancock Avenue. A blow-up of this portion of the photograph indicates a stone and rider fence. Dr. Tilberg's 1943 report on Field Defenses on the Battlefield, clearly describes the defense works built quickly at the edge of the tree line, and so accounts for the fencing material evident in the background.

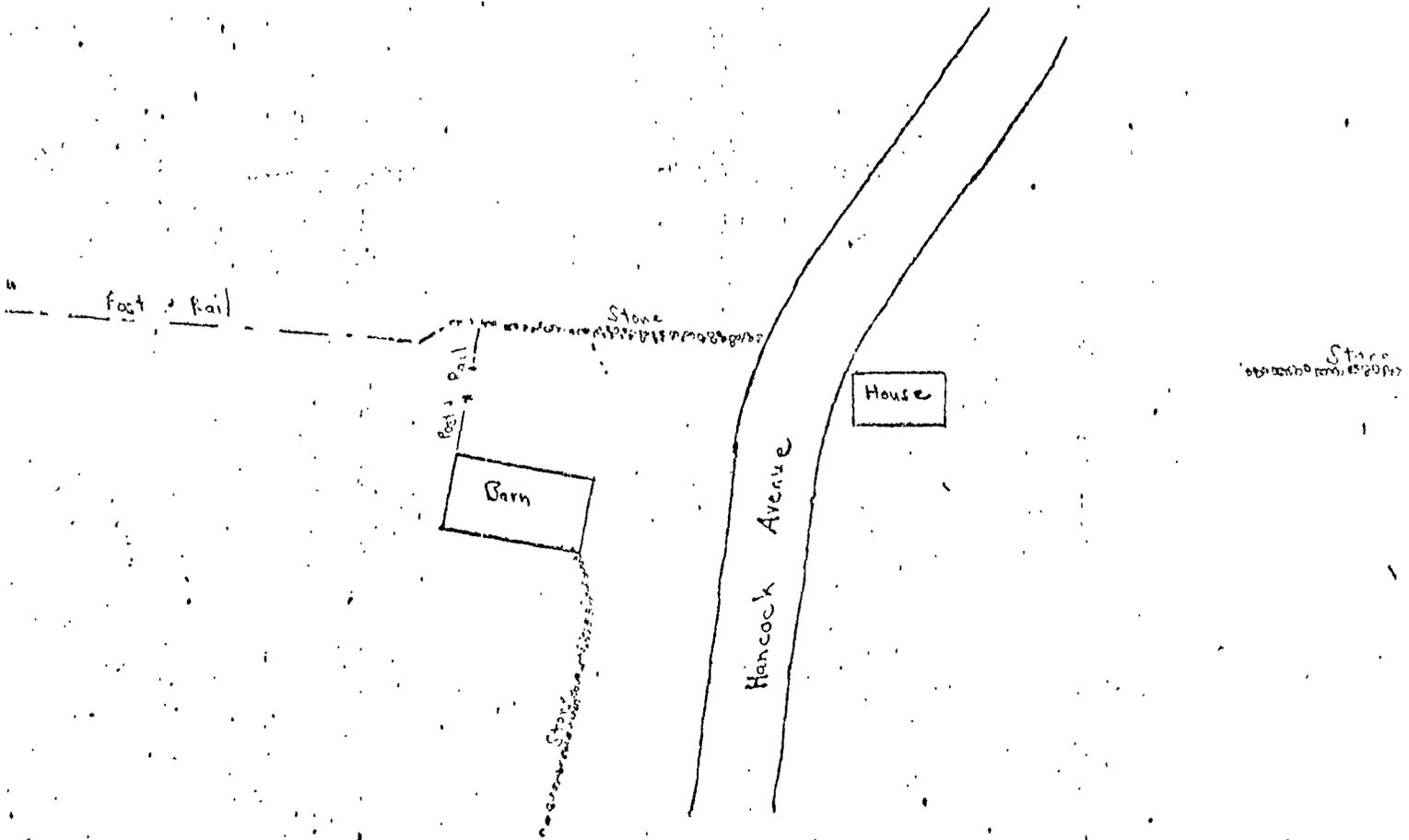
yan Farmyard

Fencing + Layout Plan

1972

Scale 1" = 50'

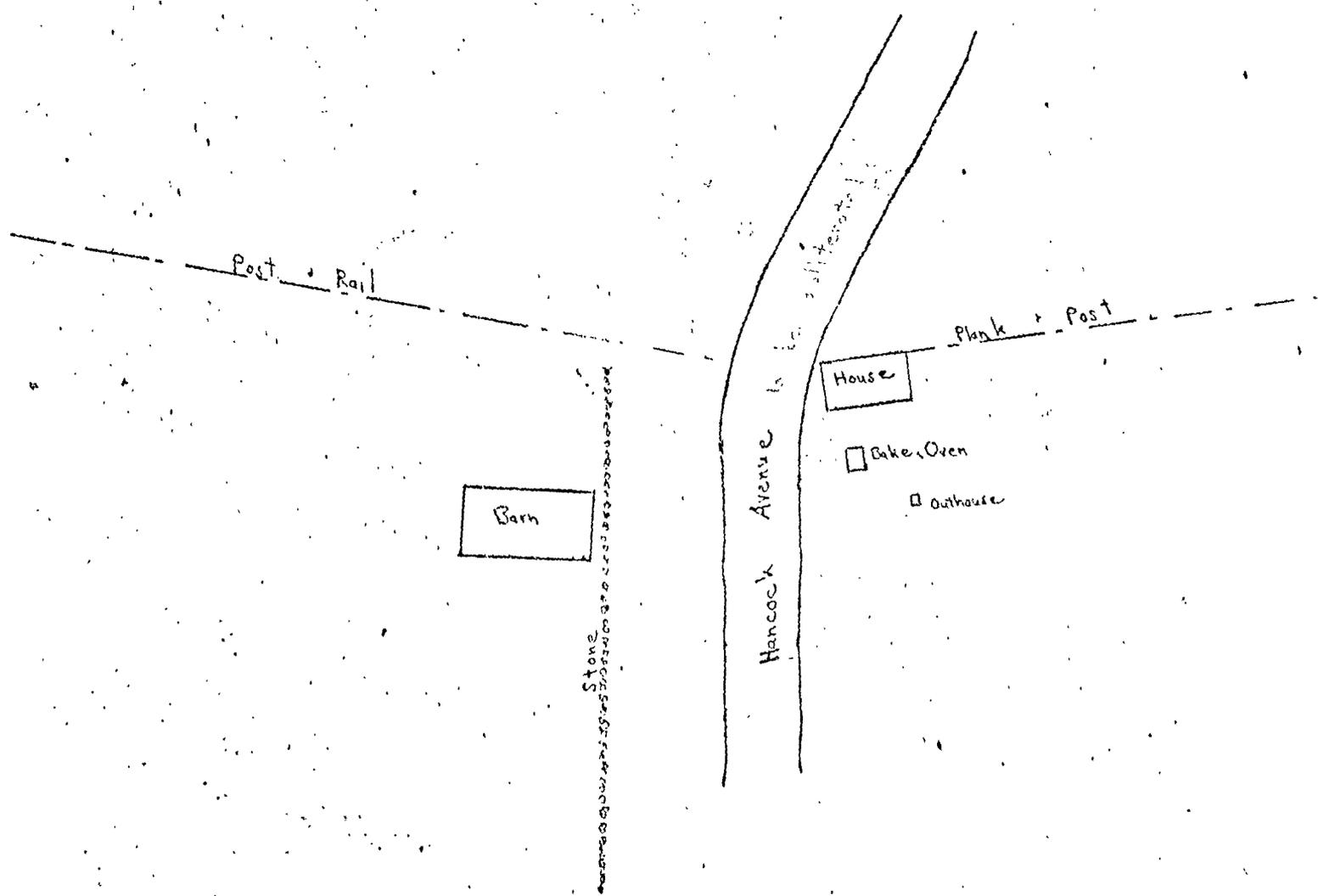
Drawing - Summer 1972



Yan' Farmyard
Fencing • Layout Plan
1972

1/2" = 50'

Proposed - Summer 1972



APPENDIX

BRIEN HOUSE FURNISHING PLAN

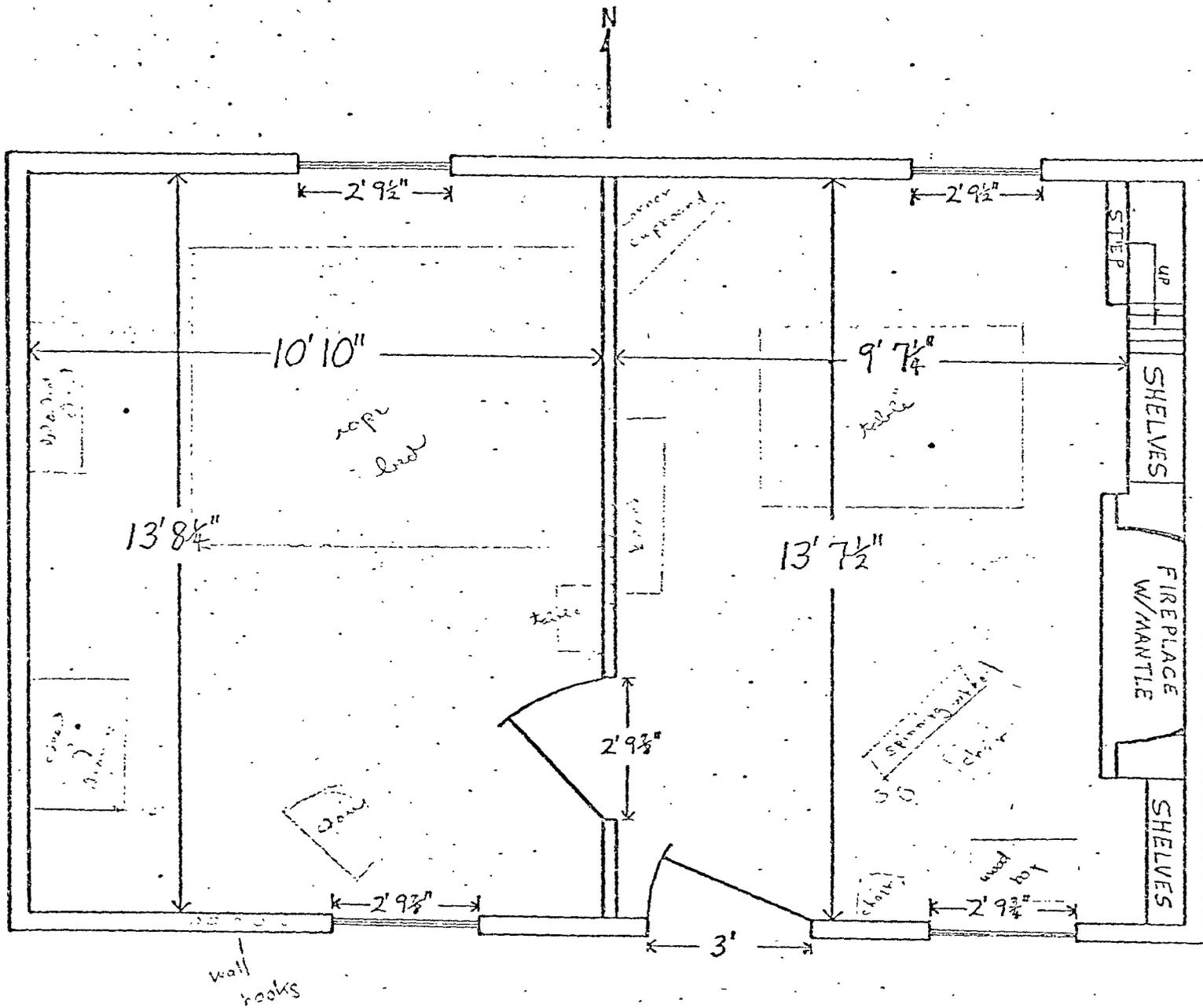
The Brien House furnishing plans which follow are based upon an inventory taken at the time of Mrs. Brien's death in 1892, the inventory from the William Bliss House, knowledge of furnishings in Meade's Headquarters, and an awareness of furnishings that are available.

It is, of course, one thing to know some basic types of furniture, tools, and equipment that were used in 1863. It is much harder to know the arrangements of objects and the type of furnishings which made a house look lived in. We know, for instance, that old newspapers, coke bottles, letters, a backlog of magazines, childrens toys, and a half finished sewing project, along with sofa cushions scattered on the floor and mud near the door would make a 1972 house look "real". But for 1863, in an age of fewer paper products, we are at a loss to know what kind of objects might have been scattered about as if in use.

In light of this, I urge the person who carries out the furnishing of the Brien House to use his imagination in finding a variety of small objects to use casually in each room. This can range from a stocking coming out of a bureau drawer to an unmade bed, or

from sugar spilled on the kitchen table to muddy footprints across the floor.

I also suggest that one common error in period furnishing is a scarcity of any objects. This may be due to difficulty in finding appropriate items or to an uncertainty about what might have been historic. Even if the Brien family was poor by the standards of its day, four to six people living in a three-room house would still be able to acquire and use a wide range of objects. The house, in other words, needs to look crowded.



FLOOR PLAN
BRYAN HOUSE

GETTYSBURG NATIONAL
MILITARY PARK

W.F. Hubbard
22 Oct, 1968

XERO COPY
XERO COPY
XERO COPY

BRIEN HOUSE - FURNISHING PLAN - KITCHEN

Key

- VC - NPS museum collection in Park Visitor Center
- PHMC - Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission
(Items on renewable loan in Park Visitor Center)
- ROS - NPS museum items in the Rosensteel Collection -
now on display in the Gettysburg National Museum, Inc.
Numbers refer to Inventory list of Rosensteel Collection.

Table	ROS	Weikert table
Corner cupboard	ROS	#889 - Historic Gettysburg corner cupboard
4 to 6 chairs	ROS	#1600 - other small plank chairs #894 - ladder back side chairs #308 - four primitive American Windsor
Bench	---	
Wood box	PHMC	

Kitchen furnishing details

Gun standing in corner	PHMC
Iron hooks - on inside rod in fireplace	---
Market basket - on floor by corner cupboard	PHMC
Lantern - on mantel or table	PHMC

Bootjack by fireplace	PHMC	
Kneading trough on floor- bench or table	PHMC	
Objects for corner cupboard	ROS	#152 - pottery pie plates #151 - jaggig wheel
Tin patty pans	PHMC	
Dishes - mismatched, cracked	_____	
Cups - serving dishes	_____	
Fireplace tools		
Tongs	PHMC	
Ladle	PHMC	
Andirons	ROS	
Skimmer	PHMC	
Meat fork	PHMC	
Tea kettle in fireplace	ROS	
Wrought iron kettle in front of fireplace or hanging in it	ROS	#1419 - and VC
Table objects		
Spoons, knives, forks (at least some)	PHMC	
A hat	_____	
A bowl	_____	
Rough sacking window curtains on wooden rods	_____	

Pictures or something like calendar prints on wall	_____	
Coffee grinder on table with with ground coffee spilling out	ROS	#1789
Wooden knobs or nails in wall with aprons and/or bonnets hanging on it	_____	
Lard can	_____	
Tin cups in cupboard	_____	
Crocks on floor or table	_____	
Hoe in one corner by gun	ROS	Little room with stacked guns
Grease lamps on mantel or corner cupboard	_____	
Spinning wheel and assorted baskets of pertinent materials	ROS	#892 - #896
Clothes on open stairway door handle	_____	
Butter churn	_____	
Possibility of coal oil lamp	_____	
Mops, brooms, etc.	_____	

BRIEN HOUSE - FURNISHING PLAN - BEDROOM

Bedroom Furniture

Rope bed	VC	
Empire chest of drawers	VC/ROS	
Trunk or chest or dower chest	_____	
Rocker or arm chair	ROS	
Small table - such as night stand	ROS	Check small table in basement room - room w/guns in corner

Bedroom - Furnishing Details

Square empire frame mirror	PHMC	
Print or embroidered picture	_____	
Wooden knobs or square headed nails in wall for clothes	_____	
Rack	_____	
Bed ticking stuffed with newspapers to simulate straw or corn shucks and/or feather ticks	_____	
Pillows	_____	
Bright patchwork coverlet	PHMC	
Quilt at foot of bed in winter - <u>not</u> neatly folded	PHMC	

Clothes on clothes knobs	_____	
Two lamps - grease - one on chest and one on small table	_____	
Shoes on floor - close to bed or chest	_____	
Plain sacking material curtains on windows held by wooden rod	_____	
Rag rugs	_____	
Clothes or quilts coming out of chest drawers	PHMC	
Cracked but pretty vase on chest	_____	
Woven mending basket beside chair	ROS	One of several woven baskets

FOOTNOTES

¹Census records, damage claims, and tax records use BRIEN or BRIAN for the spelling of this man's name. The use of BRYAN appears only after the Civil War.

²Census records are not consistent in showing Mr. Brien's age. The following ages were given for Abraham Brien in four censuses: 1840, between 30 and 40; 1850, 48 years; 1860, 53 years; 1870, 51 years. At his death in 1879, Adams County Record of Death gives his age as 75 years 7 months.

³These figures and subsequent ones like them are based on the U. S. Census, Adams County, Pennsylvania, Adams County Historical Society, Adams County Record of Deaths, Adams County Court House. Death dates were also verified by cemetery records kept at the Adams County Historical Society.

⁴As later stated in the text, neither Brien nor the people who dealt with him for land recorded deeds with the Adams County Recorder. Tax collectors, however, occasionally made notes about transfers of land within their Townships. The 1857 Cumberland County Tax Book shows Brien as a later addition to the record and states that James A. Thompson's 12 acres of land were transferred to A. Brien.

⁵Abraham Brien, Claim 4324/1874, 5063½, National Archives. This information comes from a map shown on affidavits attached to Brien's claim and apparently approved by him. A copy of the map appears later in the text.

⁶The house on the Emmitsburg Road, called the Linsey Jones property, is believed by Dr. Frederick Tilberg, retired National Park Service Historian, to have been moved from that location to South Washington Street in Gettysburg. Supposedly it still forms the interior of a house in that area.

⁷Cumberland Township, Adams County, Pennsylvania, Tax Records, 1855-1870, Adams County Historical Society. U. S. Census, Adams County, Pennsylvania, Adams County Historical Society. Brien's ownership of the property was not assumed by previous National Park Service Historians. Other reports identify Ludwig Essex and the

Jacob Benner family as Civil War era owners. However, the Ludwig Essex property which was purchased by Benner in 1862, can definitely be located south on the Emmitsburg Road near the present Klingle House. Dr. Frederick Tilberg, "The Bryan Farm and Farm Buildings," Historic Structures Report, Part I, Gettysburg National Military Park, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, February 4, 1959.

Contrary to the helpfulness of the tax records when Brian purchased the farm, the 1868 and 1869 Cumberland Township Tax books give no indication of the subsequent owner. But, Widow Lydia Leister, whose land appears to have adjoined Brien's, added seven acres to her property in 1869; these might have been Brien's. *

⁸Abraham Brien, Claims No. 214/798, 3053; M731/1874, 4332; and 4324/1874, 5036¹/₂; National Archives.

⁹Cemetery Records, Adams County Historical Society, and Adams County Records of Deaths, Adams County Court House.

¹⁰"Oration of General Clinton D. MacDougall," "Dedication of the Monument," June 26, 1891, 111th New York Infantry Regiment, New York Monuments Commission for the Battlefields of Gettysburg and Chattanooga, "Final Report on the Battlefield of Gettysburg," Volume II, 1902.

¹¹Report of Lieutenant L. C. Bicknell, 1st Company Massachusetts Sharpshooter, George Thornton Fleming, and Gilbert Adams Hays, editors, "Life and Letters of Alexander Hays," 1919, p. 439.

¹²Ibid., Report of Captain David Shields, p. 453.

¹³See Bibliography for regimental histories checked.

¹⁴Prints are filed in the Resource Management Office, Gettysburg National Military Park. Originals are on file in the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographic Division, Nos. LC-B8184-7960 and LC-B8184-7960, 42760A.

¹⁵Abraham Brien, Claim 214/798, 3053, National Archives, Sworn testimony before A. C. Cover, November 10, 1868.

¹⁶ Abraham Brien, Claim M731/1874, 4332, National Archives, list prepared for Quartermaster Stores, Sept. 29, 1874.

¹⁷ Abraham Brien, Claim 4324/1874, 50363 $\frac{1}{2}$, National Archives. The difference in acreage between Brien's damage claims and the tax collectors statement may be explained by either Brien's uncertainty about his total property or a deliberate padding of the figure (perhaps with the encouragement of local lawyers) for the purpose of getting more in damage claims.

¹⁸ Watercolor sketch by Frankenstein in the Gettysburg College Library, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

¹⁹ Ezra D. Simons, "A Regiment History, The One Hundred and Twenty-Fifth New York State Volunteers," 1888, p. 135. The only identification on the print is the lettering "BACHELDER-DEL."

²⁰ Original James Walker painting "The Repulse of Longstreet's Assault" is located at the New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, New Hampshire.

²¹ John B. Bachelder, "Gettysburg: What to See and How to See It," Boston: John B. Bachelder Publisher 1873, p. 78. Even Gen. G. K. Warren's 1868-1869 map shows the house as almost the same size as the barn.

²² Dr. Frederick Tilberg, "Report on the Proposed Restoration of the Bryan House," Gettysburg National Military Park, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, November 20, 1943. In an interview with Dr. Tilberg, Edward Pfeffer stated that the addition to the Brien house had been built before 1876. Pfeffer had lived just northwest of the Brien property.

*Subsequent to the preparation of this report, the Park accidentally found evidence that appears to disprove the possibility of Brien owning a second piece of land on the Taneytown Road. In tracing the boundaries of Lydia Leister's land, we learned that in 1869 Lydia Leister purchased the land in question from Peter Fry and Mr. Fry's deed shows that he had owned the land since 1850.

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Plate 108. *Slaves Concealing their Master from a Search Party* from *Confederate War Etchings* by Adalbert J. Volck, 1862. Library of Congress.

As a Southern sympathizer, Volck naturally portrayed the living conditions of the slaves and their relationship to their master in the best possible light. Here the faithful servants are shown in a simple but comfortable room, very similar to those lived in by working class whites and farmers (See plate 111). The brick hearth of the cooking fireplace is completely free from clutter as it would have been in any working kitchen. This was an all-purpose room for living, cooking, eating and sleeping. The bed may be seen at the right with clothing hanging from nails or pegs on the wall behind the slave owner. The walls would appear to be plastered, and the window shade which rolls up like a porch blind is an interesting detail.

from Harold L. Peterson, *Americans at Home* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), Plate 108.

Plate 109. *Fireplace in a Negro shanty, near Culpeper Court House, Va., April 25, 1864*
by Edwin Forbes, pencil. Library of Congress.

Edwin Forbes found that all slave cabins were not as comfortable as the one depicted by Adalbert Volck. Perhaps this one had been largely abandoned except for the andirons, the tin pot and the axe, but even so the fireplace is a far cry from the well-made example in the previous plate and the walls are rough log instead of plastered. There are few details, but this vignette suggests a much more primitive setting for living.

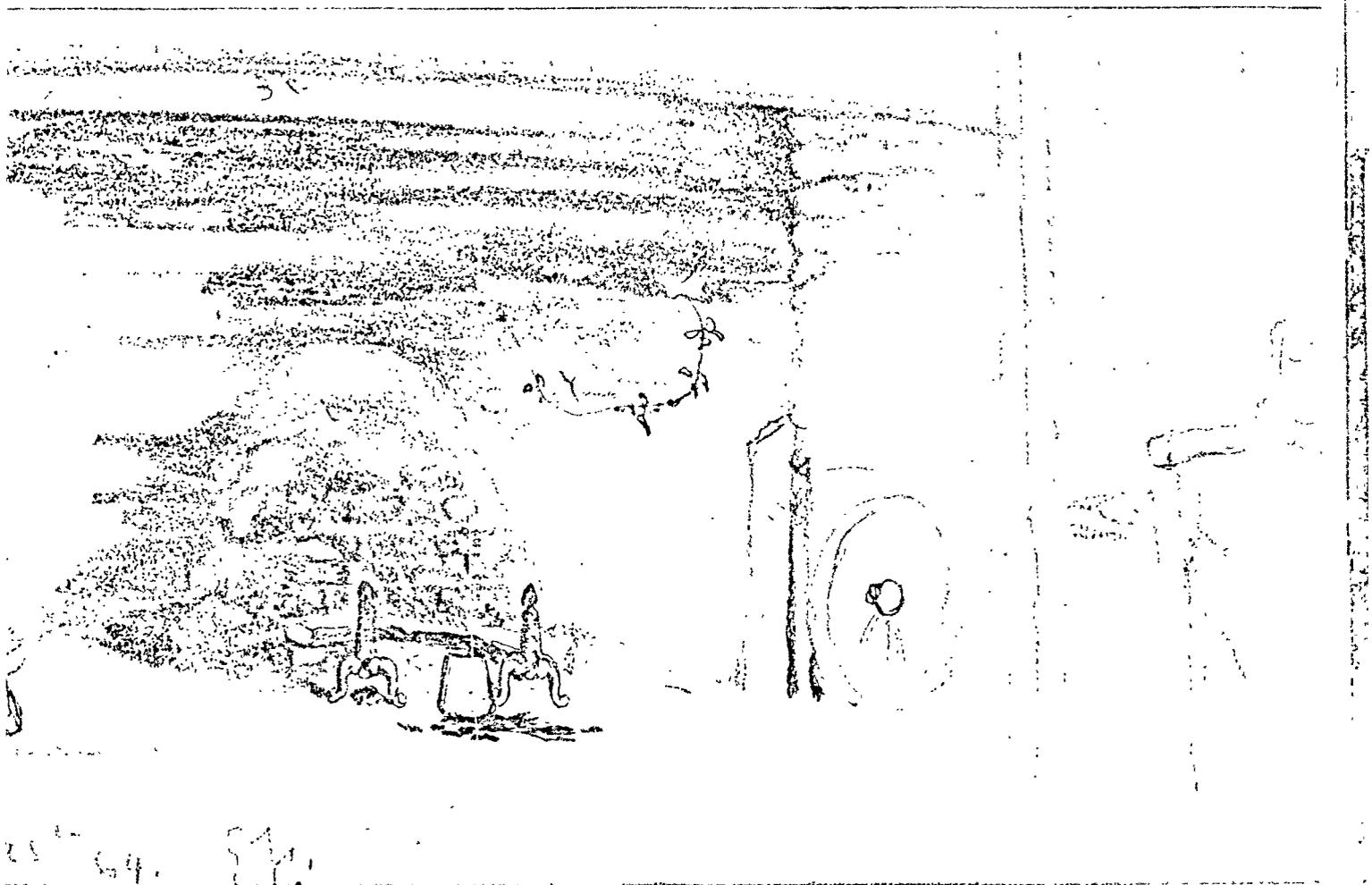


Plate 110. *The Warning* by Edward Lamson Henry, oil, 1865. Courtesy Hirschl and Adler Galleries, Inc., New York City.

In this spirited scene three soldiers of the 104th Pennsylvania Volunteers are warned of approaching enemy by a Negro youth in whose home they had been resting and enjoying refreshments. This may have been a slave cabin or the home of free Negroes, though the latter seems more likely. The furniture is simple. The walls are bare wood, unplastered. The floor is bare except for the small rug before the cookstove. This stove is a surprising item since cookstoves were not yet universal in the North. This one sits on bricks to insulate it from the wooden floor, and a supply of firewood is piled beneath it. The window at the left has a half curtain hung on a string, and there is a skirt on the bracket shelf next to it. Utensils are placed by the stove or hung from pegs on the wall above it in a very convincing manner except for the mirror which would have been virtually useless in the dark corner. All in all, it seems a reasonably believable compromise between the sterile quality of the Volck and the primitive discomfort of the Forbes, though there may well have been actual counterparts of all three.



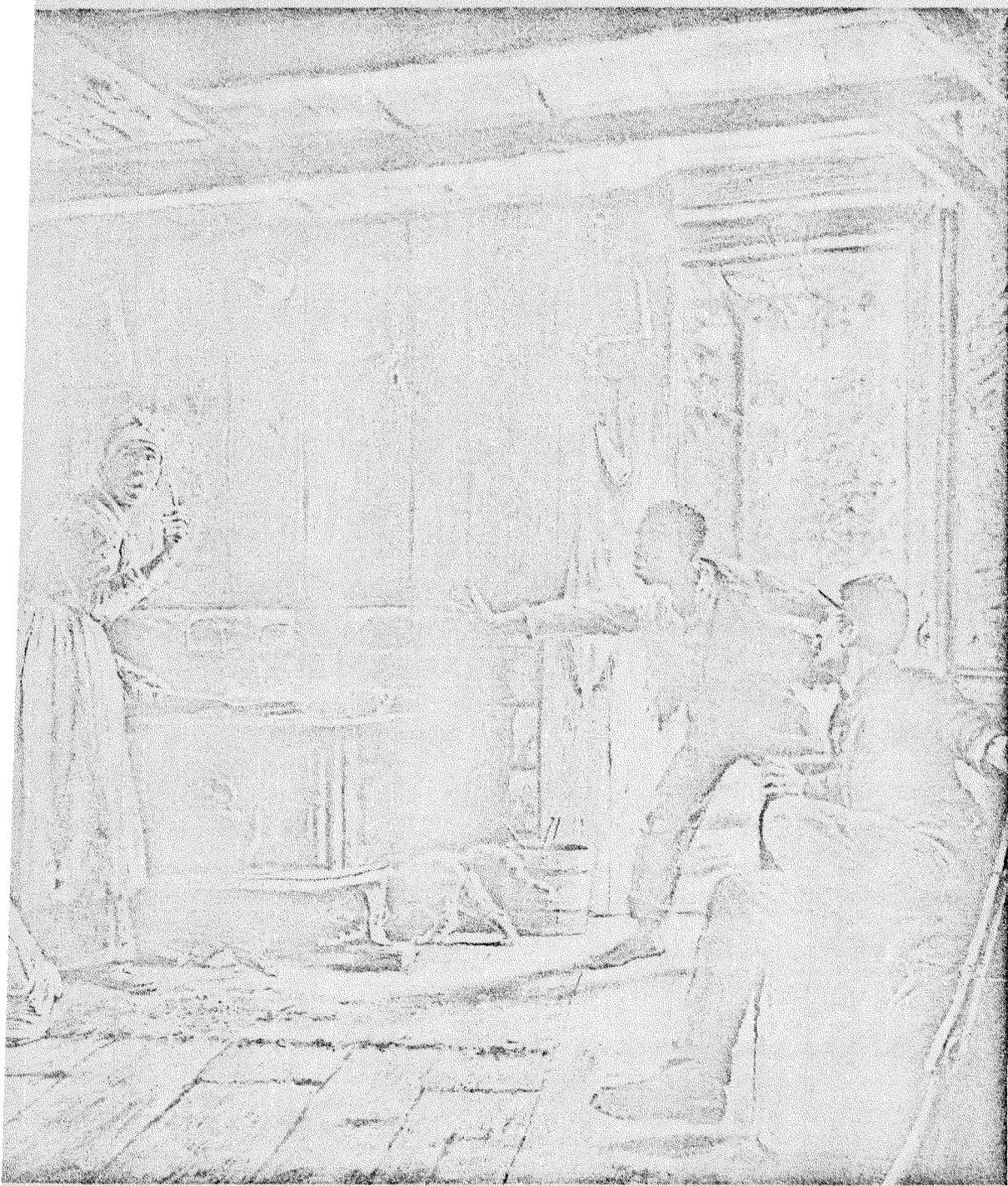


Plate 111. "Interior of Bennett Place," from *Harper's Weekly*, May 27, 1865, woodcut. Courtesy State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.

Gen. Joseph E. Johnston surrendered the last major Confederate army in the field to Gen. William T. Sherman in this simple North Carolina home, Bennett Place. It has been restored and is now operated as a state historic site. The walls and floor are bare wood, and the ceiling is unfinished. The only attempt at decoration is a drape nailed to the window molding, and pulled to one side where it is again tacked. A mirror and a spring scale hang side by side on the stair wall. It is, in fact, *not* radically different from the Negro home in plate 108. The only thing that does set it apart is the quality of the furnishings. The chair and clock are only average, but the candlestand and drop-leaf table look quite good, and so does the crib, a corner of which can be seen at the far right. Such contradictions were not uncommon in rural American homes of the period and area. In nearby Tennessee, Charles C. Nott of the 5th Iowa Cavalry commented on the contrasts: ". . . in half the houses you will find pianos, and half the women play by note. In this house the ceiling is not plastered; the unpainted mantel is covered with broken bottles and old candlesticks; the rough log walls are adorned with two-penny engravings cut from almanacs and country papers; all the furniture in the house is not worth \$5. But there is a piano, a handsome one, with a showy cover." It is quite likely that the owners of these homes saw nothing unusual in the contrasts. To them consistency would have had no virtue whatsoever. They used the best things they could acquire as soon as they could acquire them and hoped that eventually everything would be brought to that level.

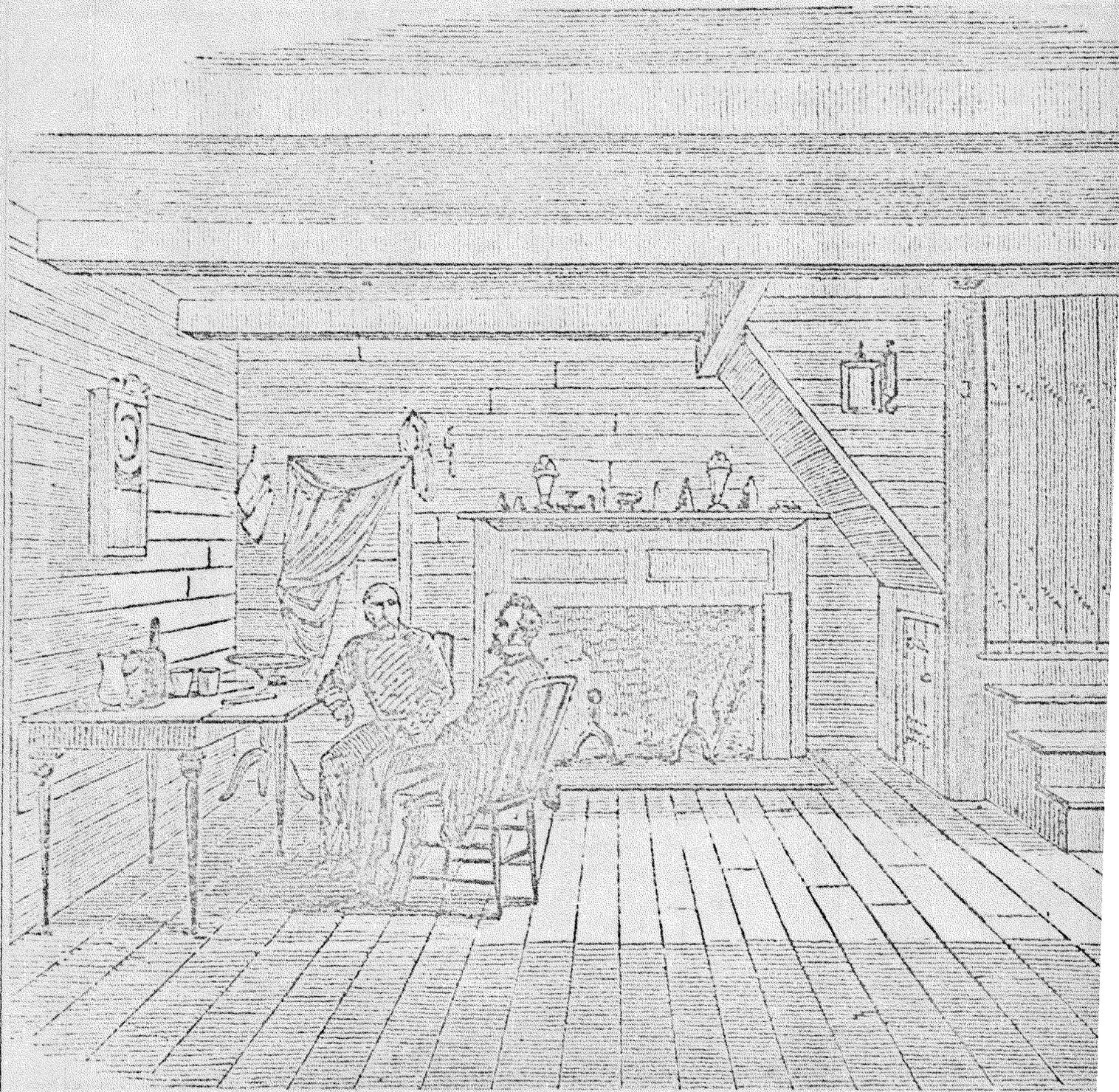
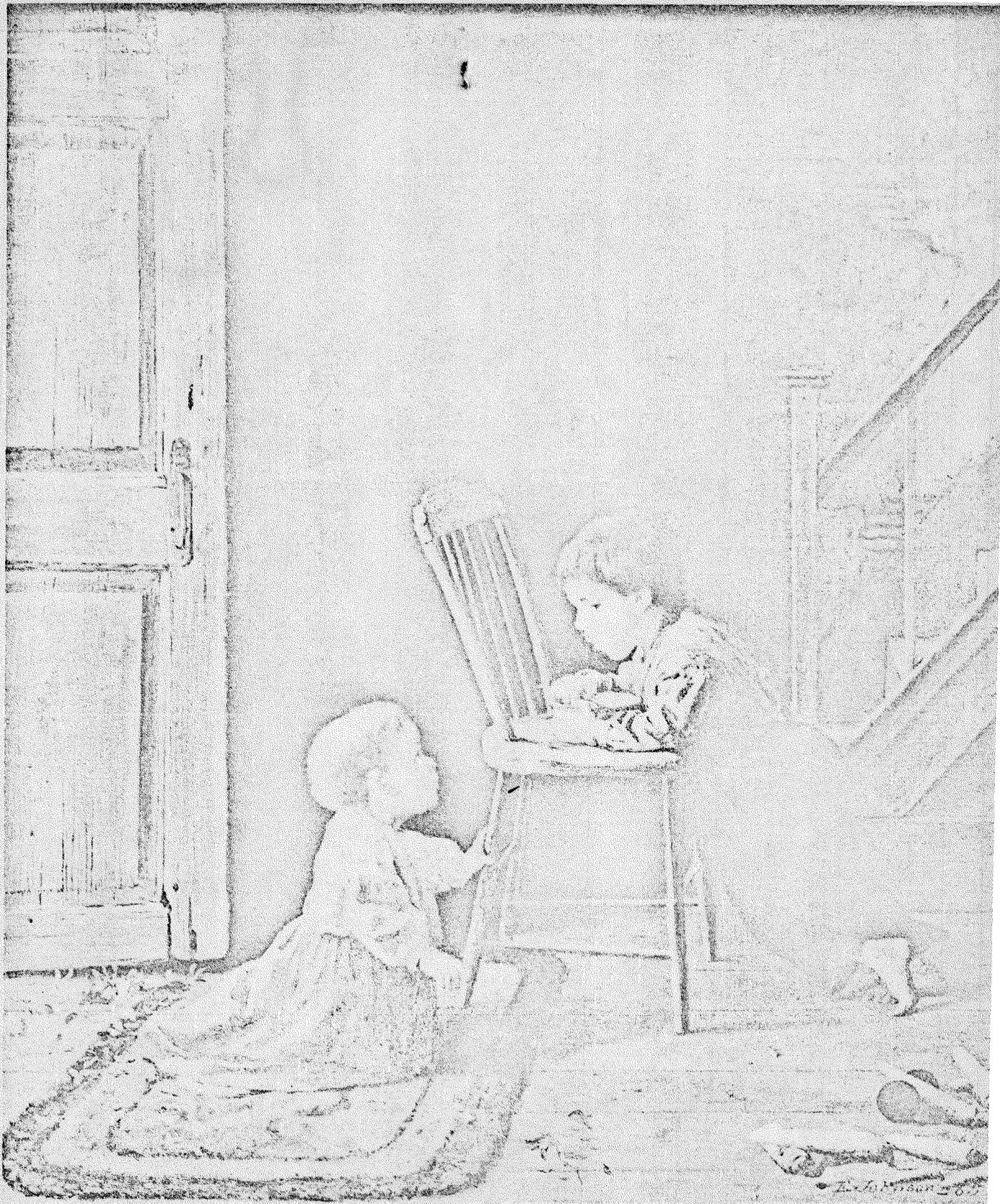


Plate 112. *Lunch Time* by Eastman Johnson, oil, 1865. Courtesy Colby College Art Museum.

The humbler homes in the North during the middle 19th century tended to be a bit larger than those in the rural South. Probably this is because many of them were older houses that had become unfashionable or that stood in neighborhoods no longer considered desirable. Halls are perhaps the least illustrated part of a house, but in this painting Eastman Johnson shows one from a poor family's home. The door is weathered and unpainted, and the plaster on the wall has fallen off in large areas. The floor is bare in both the hall and the bedroom that is visible through the door, but there is a hooked or yarn-sewn rug before the door and another small rug of indeterminate type beside the low post bed. The bedclothes hang down to the floor and seem to cover the pillows. Corncobs, the almost universal plaything of farm children, lie on the floor. Here they have been used as logs to build a fort and, with a pair of wheels, to form a cannon.



• L. H. ... 18...