

GETT: 067c2
CRBIB#401918
305/134430

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HARMON FARM
AND
THE SPRINGS HOTEL WOODS

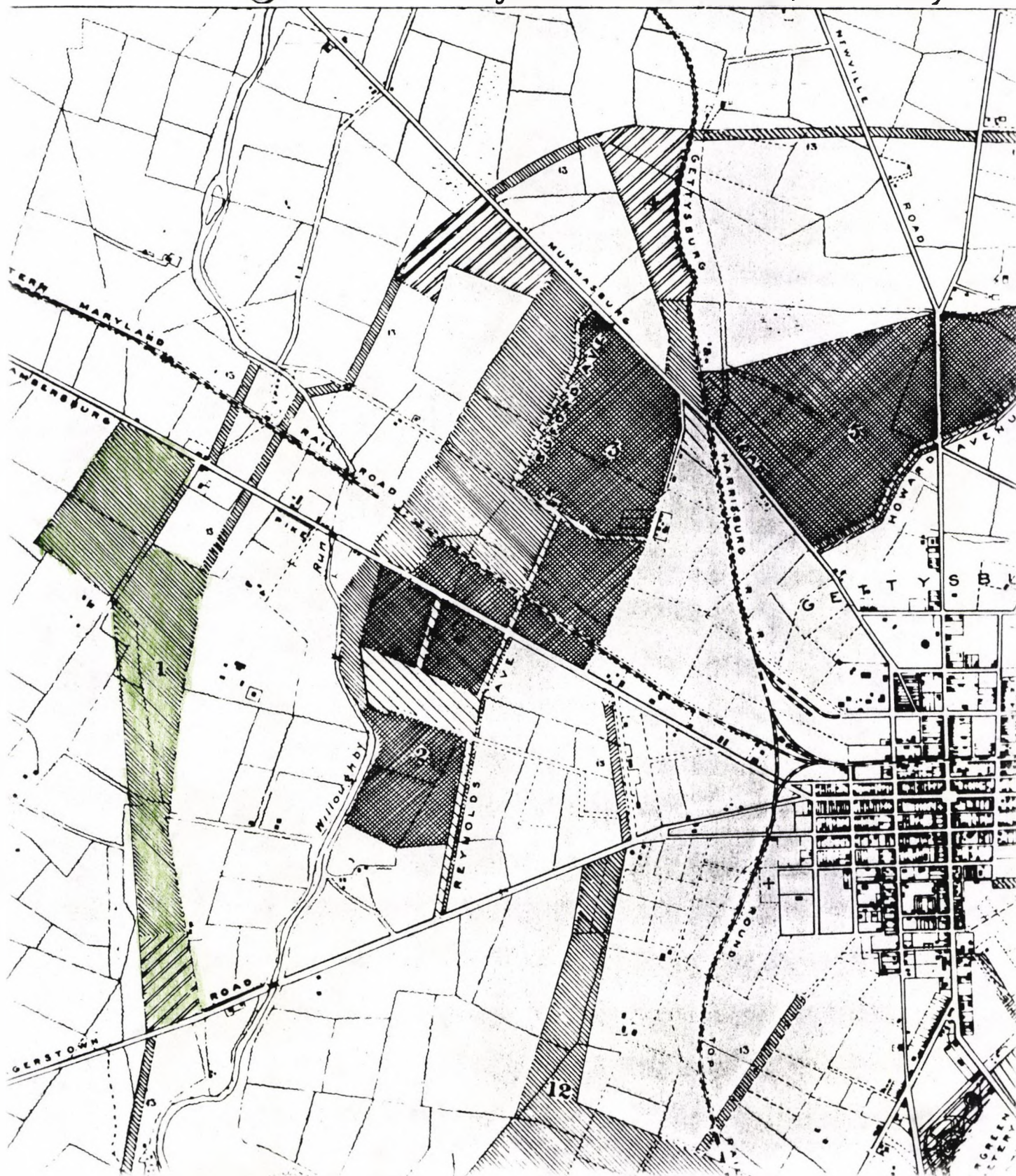
Kathleen Georg Harrison, Historian
Gettysburg National Military Park

1 March 1991



MAP OF LANDS ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF GETTYSBURG
TO BE ACQUIRED BY THE
SECRETARY OF WAR
PURSUANT TO ACT OF CONGRESS APPROVED FEB'Y
TO ESTABLISH A
NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
Maj. Genl. D. E. Sickles, U. S. Army.



THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HARMON FARM
AND
THE SPRINGS HOTEL WOODS

And it shall be the duty of the said commissioners, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to superintend the opening of such additional roads as may be necessary for the purposes of the park and for the improvement of the avenues heretofore laid out therein, and to properly mark the boundaries of said park, and to ascertain and definitely mark the lines of battle of all troops engaged in the battle of Gettysburg, so far as the same shall fall within the limits of the park. . . . The lands occupied in the principal operations, of the infantry, artillery, and cavalry on the first, second, and third of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and such other adjoining lands as may be necessary to preserve important topographical features, . . . located and described as follows:

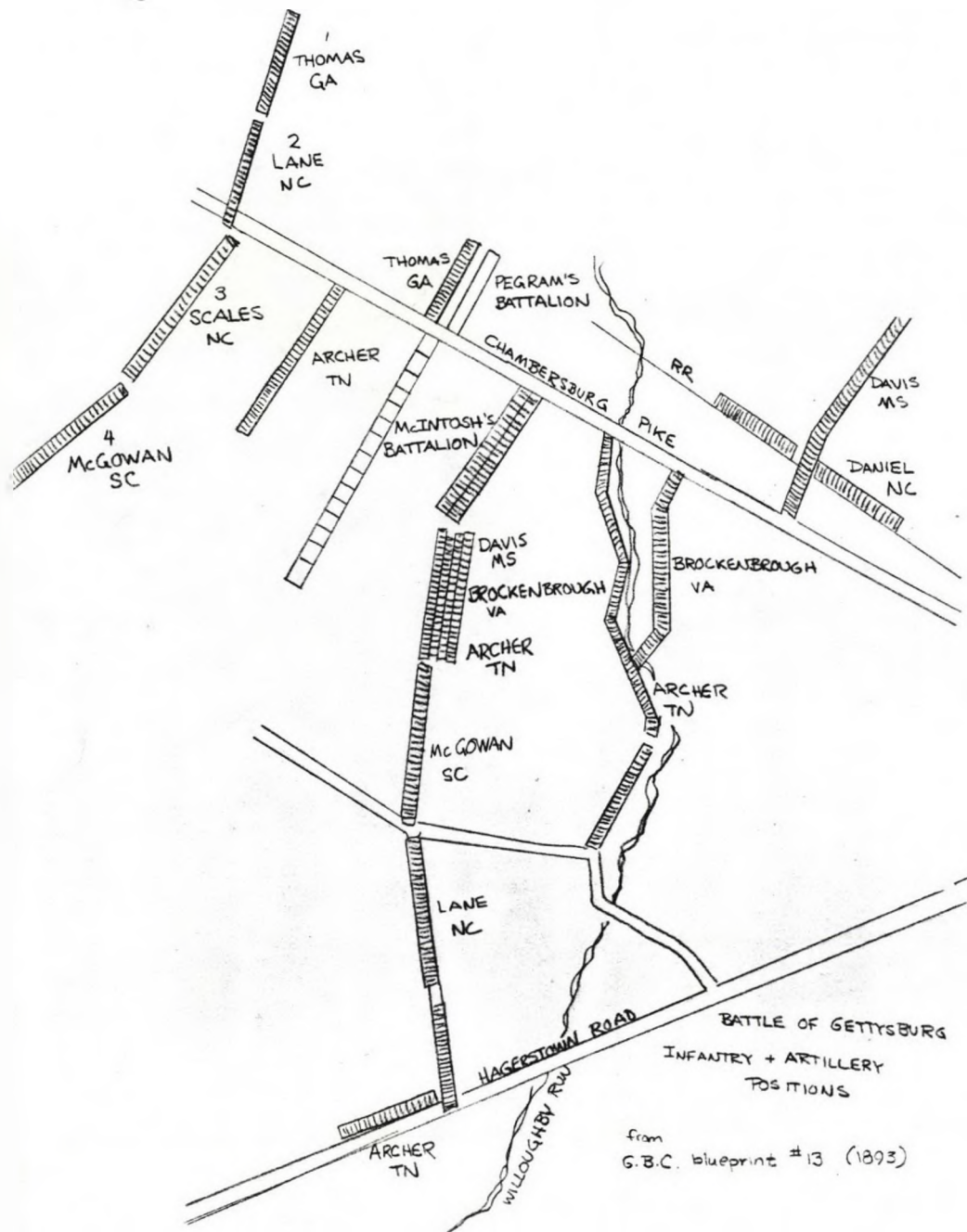
First. Plot of land lying west of the town of Gettysburg, between Hagerstown road and the Chambersburg pike, and west of Willoughby Run, occupied by Confederate forces, containing one hundred and thirty acres, more or less.

[A Bill to establish a national military park at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, 53d Congress, 3d Session, 18 December 1894 (H.R. 8253).]

With these words, the United States Congress proposed the future preservation of a ridge and adjoining woodland, west of the hamlet of Gettysburg, which had risen to national prominence by their relationship to the Civil War's most famed battle. So there would be no mistake or misinterpretation of that site so singled out for preservation, the Congress eventually marked the exact boundaries of that significant tract on a map which would accompany the bill. The plot identified above as the "First" in the December bill, was transformed into tract 1 on the map prepared under the direction of General Daniel S. Sickles, a battle veteran and a member of the House Military Affairs Committee. Tract 1 was identified as one which was occupied by Confederate forces during the 1863 Battle of Gettysburg, deriving its significance from the military positions and activities thereon. Its delineation on the map made it subject to Section 4 of the law which eventually established the Gettysburg National Military Park, viz:

That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to acquire, at such times and in such manner as he may deem best calculated to serve the public interest, such lands in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, not exceeding in area the parcels shown on the map prepared by Maj. Gen. Daniel S. Sickles, United States Army, and now on file in the office of the Secretary of War, which were occupied by the infantry, cavalry and artillery on the 1st, 2d and 3d days of July, 1863, and such other adjacent lands as he may deem necessary to preserve the important topographical features of the battlefield.

[An Act To establish a national military park at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, approved February 11, 1895. (28 Stat. 651)]



Tract 1
on
1895 Sickles
Map



Almost two years prior to the establishment of the national park, the Congress had authorized a battlefield commission, which would make preparatory surveys and purchases for avenue development and for the marking of battle lines. This commission, under the direction of the Secretary of War, had conceived plans for markers and avenues on this tract as early as November 1893. [Annual Report of Gettysburg Battlefield Commission, 1893, blueprints #13 and #14.] It was not until 1920, however, that even a portion of the tract was secured by the park for those purposes. A "Land Syndicate" had gained control of almost the entirety of Tract 1 before the park had the authority to acquire lands for park preservation and development.

This company of prominent local and out-of-state businessmen had been accused by many, including the park, as land speculators. The syndicate's ownership was vast, extending over much of the significant battlefield which had been designated by Congress for park acquisition. It was commonly believed that the company had purchased the battle areas and significant topographical features in an effort to control the negotiations and the price. Although the company consistently over-valued their property in offers to sell to the Government, it does not appear that all of their battlefield holdings had been acquired for speculative purposes. The accusation seemed particularly unfounded in regards to Tract 1, since much of these lands had been acquired decades before there was even an effort to establish a national park. Tract 1 had long been associated with one of Gettysburg's natural wonders---the Katalysine or Lithia Springs---and the resort development that capitalized on that medicinal spring. The land syndicate known as the Gettysburg Springs and Hotel Company was the last in a series of partnerships that had owned and promoted this resort and medicinal springs for over fifty years. As the last partnership was dissolving, its extensive ownership was gradually broken up. A portion of the woods adjoining the springs tract to the west, was offered to the park commission and purchased for \$100 an acre (the top price acceptable by the park for any battlefield property). The remainder of the springs tract, with its large hotel and other facilities, commanded a higher price, and was not entertained by the park for purchase at that time. The purchase of the 43-acre woodland would remain the only portion of Tract 1 acquired under the authority of the park's establishing law of 1895.

The ownership of the woods by the Springs and Hotel Company had dissolved all previous boundaries, which had at one time divided the 43-acre tract amongst three separate farms. Because the company had purchased all three of those farms during different stages of its development, only the exterior boundaries of the woods were retained. Interior boundaries, visual and physical, eventually disappeared as the historic worm fences decayed and were burned, and as stone walls were disassembled for other purposes. Boundaries which had existed since the earliest settlement of the Manor of the Maske in the eighteenth century later became irrelevant under the single ownership of the resort company.

Except for the extreme southern tip of the woods, adjoining Mill Road, original ownership of these woods can be traced back to William McPherson, who acquired formal title to the property on 25 January 1798 from Edmund Physick, representing the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania (John and Richard Penn). McPherson's ownership included 217 acres, with the wooded tract at the western edge of his property. [York County Deed Book NN, p. 147, cited in Adams County Deed Book H, p. 102.] This was the smallest of three farms owned by McPherson in 1798, and it had the fewest number of structural improvements of the three. It was occupied by a tenant farmer named John McDermont, who had use of the two-story log house (30 feet by 24 feet) and old log stable (18 feet by 15 feet) that were located on the farm [U. S. Direct Tax of 1798].

Location of these buildings may have been immediately adjacent to and east of the woodlot, some 300-400 yards south of the public road to Trostle's (later Hereter's) Mill. This would have located the farm buildings in the approximate center of the length of the tract, and near a spring source which flowed into Willoughby's Run.

Little was uncovered about the McPherson/McDermont Farm, since research merely touched on the 1798 window tax and the published county history. It is worth mentioning, however, that William McPherson himself, although not personally an occupant of this farm (residing in the borough of Gettysburg), was a prominent member of the county population. Born about 1757 of Colonel Robert and Janet McPherson, he was the grandson of one of the first Marsh Creek settlers. While his father was active in the state's political and constitutional theater, William McPherson served as a lieutenant in the Revolutionary War. Captured at the Battle of Long Island, Lieutenant McPherson remained a prisoner in the hands of the British for 622 days, until exchanged in the summer of 1778. After the war, McPherson himself started to gain prominence in local politics; for almost nine years he represented York County in the state assembly. He was the "special champion" of the bill that separated the western townships from York County to create Adams County, which was accomplished in the year 1800. Unfortunately, the break prevented McPherson from representing York County, and he was apparently not elected to represent the new Adams County in the legislature. Still embracing county politics, however, McPherson became one of the road supervisors of his native Cumberland Township in 1805. He was also elected to the board of directors of the poor in 1818. At the time of his death in 1832, he was respected for his "uprightness of conduct, and amiability of disposition." [History of Cumberland and Adams Counties, Pennsylvania (Chicago: Warner, Beers & Co., 1886), pp. 147, 238, and 364; Adams Centinel (7 August 1832).]

Almost two decades before he died, William McPherson sold his farm along Willoughby's Run. Frederick Keefer, a tavern-keeper in Gettysburg, purchased the farm on 15 June 1814, most likely as an investment [cited in Adams County Deed Book H, p. 102]. Since Keefer still apparently lived in the borough at least until the fall of 1816, while he managed his own business at the Gettysburg Hotel (northeast corner of the diamond), he most likely rented out the farm, waiting to turn a profit by selling it to someone else [Adams Centinel (25 December 1816)].

That someone else turned out to be the Reverend Charles G. McLean, a minister who had come to Gettysburg to accept a call at the United Presbyterian Church, and to also be pastor at the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church (also known as the Hill Church) in Freedom Township, in place of the recently deceased Reverend Alexander Dobbin. Reverend McLean purchased the old McPherson farm from Keefer for almost \$10,000 on 1 April 1817 [Adams County Deed Book H, p. 102], moving into the original log house once occupied by John McDermont. Sometime within the next 25 years, Reverend McLean substantially improved the farm, making it "one of the largest and handsomest county residences in the vicinity of Gettysburg" [J. M. Sheads, "The Burning of the Home of General 'Stonewall' Jackson's Uncle by the (Rebels) During the First Day's Battle of Gettysburg, July 1, 1863"].

An advertisement for the farm, which appeared in the local newspaper during January of 1841, indicated that the farm had not only had a facelift, it had been divided into two working farms, each with its own improvements. Reverend McLean had placed the home, or manor, farm immediately north of the Mill Road, just west of and overlooking Willoughby's Run. He probably built the magnificent improvements at this new site while he continued occupying the old McPherson/McDermont log house, which was tucked in at the edge of the extensive woods southwest of the new site. The improvements were mentioned in this 1841 advertisement and included a "first rate double brick house two stories high." (A "double brick house" usually meant a double house, made of brick, but the following description tends to dispute that.) The house had "four rooms on the first floor and five on the second floor," with a cellar and garrets, the latter of which were finished "equal to the rest of the building." At the back door of the brick house was a "never failing pump and cistern" and a two-story brick wash and smoke house. Nearby were all the "usual outbuildings," including an 80-foot by 54-foot double stone bank barn, with a wagon shed and a corn crib. An orchard of "prime engrafted apple trees, about 160-170 in number" also surrounded the buildings, and peach, cherry, and plum trees gave variety to the predominantly apple orchard. A large log tenant house, most likely the old McPherson house, rounded out the improvements on this 224-acre farm [Adams Sentinel, 25 January 1841].

It was not until eight years later, however, that the farm was sold by Reverend McLean, even though he had moved out of the Gettysburg area about the time the farm was first advertised. On 6 October 1849 the large and improved farm was sold to John Miller [Adams County Deed Book R, p. 313]. (There is a possibility that John Miller may have been a relative through marriage of Reverend McLean, since his wife was the daughter of a John Miller. [Sheads, "The Burning of the Home. . . ."]). Within a year, the new owner was subdividing the farm, legally separating the tenant farm from the manor farm. That portion of the farm located between the Hagerstown Road (on the south) and the Mill Road (on the north), consisting of 66 acres, was sold to Peter Stallsmith on 28 October 1850 [cited in Adams County Deed Book W, pp. 306 and 308]. For the next fourteen years, this smaller of the two tracts would sustain the Stallsmith family. It must have been an inconvenience for the Stallsmiths to inhabit grounds which were exclusively open. All of the woodlands/woodlots associated with the larger farm were north of Mill Road, and none of those were transferred with the open tenant farm. The woods which provided a vegetative curtain immediately to the rear (west) of the log tenant house, and may at first glance have appeared to have belonged to the adjoining farmhouse, were in reality owned by the neighboring farm of Dr. Samuel E. Hall [Adams County Deed Book BB, p. 380; Z, p. 32]. Dr. Hall's residence was located west of his woods, on the Herr Ridge Road.

If Peter Stallsmith was in a position to accept the additional financial burden of acquiring nearby woodlands, he apparently was not able to strike a satisfactory deal with John Miller. In September 1851, Miller sold 31 acres of woodland (the northwest portion of the old McPherson farm) to Henry Brinkerhoff, Jesse D. Newman, and Nicholas Bushey for \$1411.60 [Adams County Deed Book R, p. 517]. These three gentlemen were acting as Directors of the Poor and House of Employment of Adams County, and were purchasing the woods for use of the county Poor Farm, or Alms House. The woods, located just west of the manor farm, and north of Mill Road, would soon be physically separated by fencing from the remainder of the old William McPherson farm and the woods, immediately to the east.

It appears that John Miller was never really serious about becoming a gentleman farmer, for he very shortly sold the remaining 124 acres comprising the manor farm. It appears, however, that Miller actually resided on the farm. His name appears in the 1850 census for Cumberland Township, immediately adjacent to Jacob Herbst. At the time of the census, Miller was listed as a farmer by occupation, aged 45 years. In October 1851, Miller was able to execute a purchase of the farm by Samuel Herbst, whose father (Jacob Herbst) owned the farm just east from it across Willoughby's Run [cited in Adams County Deed Book V, p. 520]. Herbst also soon lost enthusiasm for the project, probably at the death of his father. Although his brother John purchased his father's farm east of Willoughby's Run, Samuel elected to sell his own neighboring farm and continue residency in the Borough of Gettysburg (where he would be active in the local fire department and on borough council). Therefore, on 28 April 1857, Samuel Herbst sold the 124-acre manor farm to James Cooper, a resident of Philadelphia, for \$5,000 [Deed Book V, p. 520].

Cooper soon turned a tidy profit for his purchase in the rural countryside near Gettysburg. Within six months he was able to double his investment, by selling the farm in October 1857 to Emanuel Harmon for \$10,000 [Deed Book U, p. 291]. Harman himself does not appear to have immediately relocated to the farm. A teacher named R. S. Harmon, aged 39, seems the likely occupant, as reflected in the census records of the township for 1860. Indeed, a newspaper article indicates that a 17-year-old daughter of this Harmon, Amelia, attended the Oak Ridge Seminary in 1863, while she lived at the manor farm [Adams Sentinel and General Advertiser, (8 December 1863)]. Perhaps R. S. Harmon had also secured a teaching position at this female academy. Harmon was apparently starting a new family, with wife Caroline (aged 25), a one-year old son George W., and a six-week old infant son, all of whom appear on the June 1860 census.

About the same time that the census was being recorded, the neighboring farm and tavern of Frederick Herr was sold to a realtor named Joseph Wible [Adams County Deed Book Z, p. 459]. The brick Herr Tavern, "one of the best locations for a Tavern stand," was surrounded on the ridgeline by other buildings associated with the tavern and farm, all at the intersection of the Chambersburg Pike with former lanes (now public roads) running north-south along the ridge. Besides the large 2-story L-shaped tavern, there was a large bank barn, and stabling, while a blacksmith shop and shed faced these from the north side of the pike [Adams Sentinel (27 December 1826); Adams County Deed Book M, p. 111]. Wible apparently rented the farm and tavern stand for a while, and then decided to advertise it for sale, beginning on 20 August 1861 and running for several weeks. Two other "first-rate" farms were advertised at the same time, all within two miles of Gettysburg, and Wible reminded his readers that he had "at all times properties in the market both in town and country" [Adams Sentinel (20 August 1861)].

Unfortunately, the Civil War had now become a serious proposition, with a serious setback to the Union cause near Manassas Junction in July 1861. The unexpected military loss probably stirred economic fears in Northern communities like Gettysburg, and the real estate market became sluggish at a time when Wible wanted to divest himself of these three excess properties. Although Wible had proclaimed in his advertisement that the farm was enhanced by timber and fruit trees, he may have thought that the proportion of woods on the Herr Tavern property was insufficient. Or perhaps the quality of the woodlot was not perceived as acceptable to local farmers. Whatever the cause,

Owners at time of Battle of Gettysburg
July 1863

Wible set about to find a way to enhance the marketability of the farm. It appears that he approached the county's Directors of the Poor and offered to purchase the 31 acres of woodland immediately south of the Herr Tavern property, and just west of the Harmon Farm (once part of the McPherson tract). An examination of newspapers of the time indicates that the county never advertised publicly for the sale of the woodlot along Herr Ridge, which would seem to have been the proper course to follow in offering municipal property to public sale. How depressed the real estate market had become may be indicated in the price accompanying the transfer of the Poor Farm Woods to the Herr Tavern/Wible property. Purchased by the county in 1851 for \$45 an acre, the county accepted an offer of \$10 an acre from Wible, and completed the transaction on 5 January 1863 [Adams County Deed Book Z, p. 456]. The addition of the 31 acres of woods, however, did not bring immediate results, and Joseph Wible was compelled to pay annual property taxes on the farm throughout the remainder of the Civil War.

Wible and the Poor Farm were not the only ones to feel the effects of the war. The convergence of two mammoth and opposing armies on the fields and ridges surrounding Gettysburg was less than six months away when these two parties settled on a purchase price for the woodlot. And Wible's neighbor, Harmon, was already being pressed by creditors, compelling him to advertise his own Gettysburg farm in 1862. On two separate occasions Harmon advertised the 124-acre manor farm, once in January, and again in March when he met with no success the first time. At that time, the farm between Willoughby's Run and Herr Ridge was probably still a showplace. The farmhouse was described as a large twelve-room brick dwelling with a kitchen inside. There was also the two-story brick wash house, the smoke house, and a stone bank barn with attached wagon shed and corn crib. All but twenty-two acres of the farm were under cultivation. The rest was covered with "good timber," a reference to the woods which sheltered the western edge of the tract and adjoined the Poor Farm/Wible Woods [Adams Sentinel (15 January 1862; 5 March 1862)]. But Harmon's advertisements drew no satisfactory offers in this climate of economic and military fears. His fortunes were not to improve.

The Battle of Gettysburg brought the Harmon Farm and the Herr Tavern, with their adjoining woods, into a military struggle of monumental proportions. The economic and military fears heretofore paralyzing the community of Gettysburg would pale before the complete military and economic devastation of the region by the conflicting Union and Confederate armies. Before the armies departed to renew their bloody grappling in Virginia, the Harmon farm was laid waste, one of only a handful of battlefield farms burned for military reasons, and the woods which had "enhanced" the farms would be splintered by shot and shell, the forested floor carpeted with the litter of battle and encampments and burials. The comparative anonymity of these places would be almost immediately and forever transformed, associated by name to Gettysburg because of the battle there.

As the sun set beyond the South Mountain on 30 June 1863, troopers of Brigadier General John Buford's cavalry division cautiously advanced in that direction from the ridge east of Willoughby's Run. Confederates had advanced on the town late in the morning, making their way down the Chambersburg Pike from the direction of Cashtown. Accompanied by a gun or two, and several wagons, North Carolinians under Brigadier General Joseph J. Pettigrew had hoped to enter the town's square and requisition supplies from the Gettysburg

merchants, primarily shoes and shoe leather. Unfortunately, just as the head of the column crossed the ridge near the seminary buildings, clouds of road dust could be clearly seen south of the town, out the Emmitsburg Road---too much dust and too many horses to be mistaken as farmers going to market. Threatened with being overwhelmed by undetermined numbers of Union forces, Pettigrew issued immediate orders for a hasty withdrawal to the safety of his own army. These clouds of dust emanated from Buford's cavalry brigades, scouting in the direction of Gettysburg, looking for signs of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. As the horsemen entered the southern outskirts of the town, they were informed by excited townsmen and women that they had indeed found a portion of the enemy's forces. Determined to confront the vanguard of the Confederates before they could flee, Buford advanced out the Chambersburg Pike, but had to be content with firing a few shots into their heels as they crossed Marsh Creek, nearly two miles from the town.

Buford had sighted other Confederates at Fairfield, about seven miles southwest of Gettysburg, just the previous evening. He had received reports of large Confederate movements north of Gettysburg, perhaps the entirety of one Confederate infantry corps. On bumping into even more Southerners at the gates of the town itself, Buford became convinced that there was a major concentration of the enemy's army in the vicinity of the place. Buford was resolved to hold the crossroads town until reinforced or relieved, to interrupt this major concentration of Lee's scattered forces before it could strike a decisive blow against his own scattered army. He sent word to the infantry which followed them, then marching up from Emmitsburg toward Gettysburg, relaying his observations and intentions. And then Buford set about preparing his position for a renewed Confederate offensive in the morning.

The main battle line of the Union cavalry extended from the Hagerstown Road on the south, northward along McPherson's Ridge (east of Willoughby's Run) to the Mummasburg Road. A regiment or two were stretched as thin as possible to cover long front on the cavalry's right flank. These troopers scanned the horizon towards the north, where Buford had received those reports of enemy infantry and cavalry at Harrisburg, Carlisle, and East Berlin. A few more men were sent out towards Hunterstown and the York Pike, east of Gettysburg, where Confederates had marched out of sight less than a week before, on their way to the Susquehanna River at Columbia and Wrightsville. When satisfied with his dispositions, Buford retired to his headquarters at the Eagle Hotel in town, warning his commanders that they be prepared for skirmishers, "three deep," confronting them in the morning.

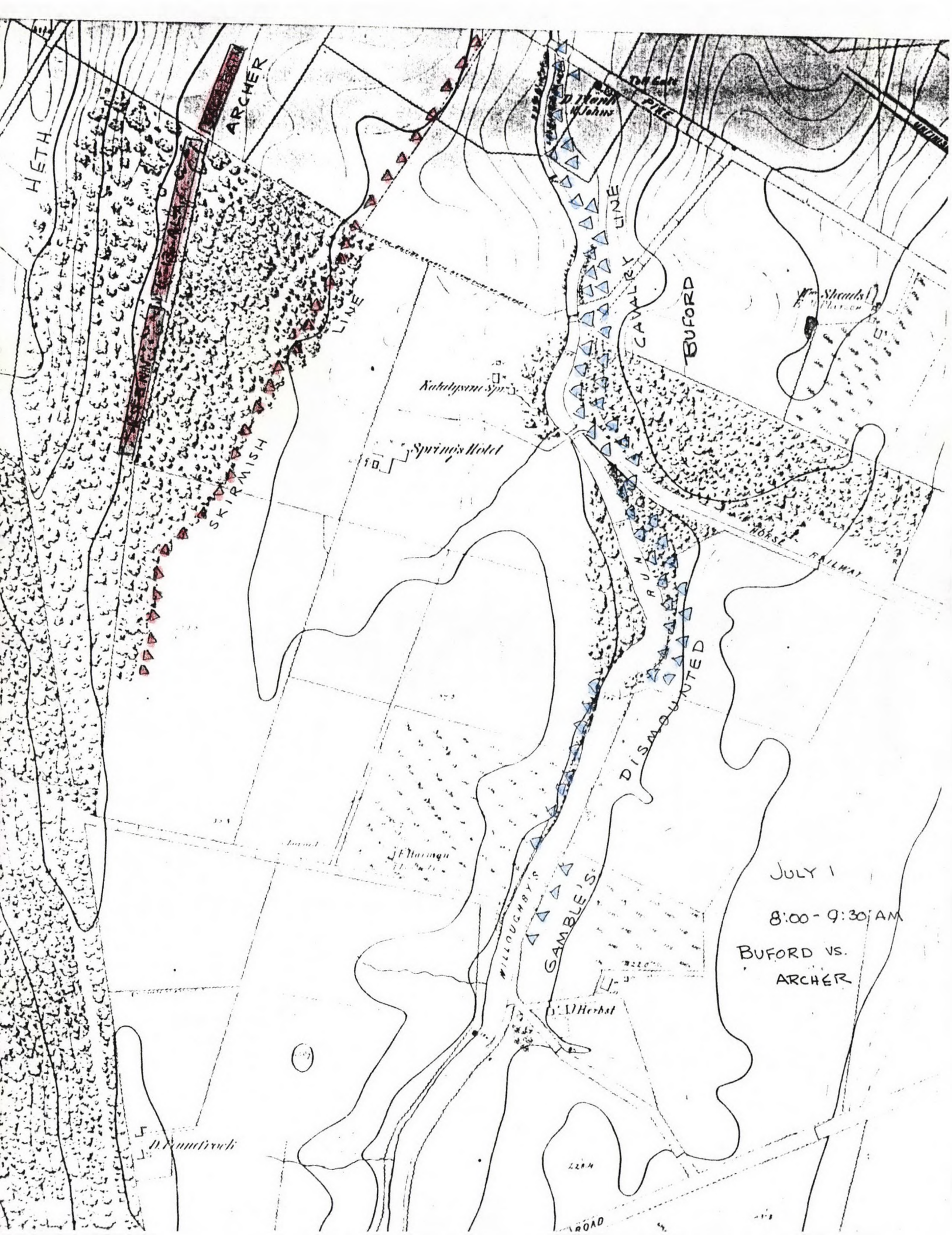
General Pettigrew was arranging for just that contingency, perhaps at the same moment that General Buford uttered the words. Requesting permission of his division commander, who thereafter secured consent from the corps commander, Pettigrew was pleased to hear that he would have a renewed opportunity to gather those supplies from Gettysburg. If he had to brush aside that militia or cavalry force to do so, Pettigrew wanted reassurances that he would have numbers enough to accomplish that also. Major General Henry Heth planned to take his whole division to Gettysburg, and to make a reconnaissance in force to determine the nature and size of the enemy on his front. Pettigrew, however, was not given the opportunity to lead the column. That duty went to Brigadier General James Archer and his brigade of Tennessee and Alabama infantry regiments. Pettigrew would have to settle for being the third brigade in the division's column of march on the morrow, July 1st.

Encamped about midway between Cashtown and Gettysburg, it was not long after Heth's division stepped out onto the Chambersburg-Gettysburg turnpike that it was greeted with the splat! of carbine rounds hitting the bridge abutments as the head of the column crossed Marsh Creek. The fire seemed to be coming from the crest of a ridge in their front, where a small knot of men were partially visible in the mist of that drizzly morning. Pettigrew had reported to General Heth that there had been Union cavalry in the town ahead of them, perhaps supported by a brigade or two of infantry. It was impossible to tell in the mist, and from that distance, which of the two he was facing. To determine the strength of their numbers, a cannon of Marye's Fredericksburg Battery, accompanying Archer's Brigade, was brought up to respond to the small arms fire. If there was any artillery with these Union vanguards, the Confederates hoped to goad them into responding in kind. This would give General Heth an idea as to the opposition on his front. But the Confederate artillery fire did little more than scatter the knot of troopers and frighten the residents of the houses located between the cannon and the carbines.

There was no response from Union artillery, but small arms fire continued and spread both north and south of the pike. Unsure of the terrain, enclosed by the stout wooden fencing that defined the turnpike edges, and yet uncertain of the force in his front, General Heth was compelled to halt the column. Skirmishers were sent out on both sides of the road to contest the enemy and his limited, but steady and annoying, fire. The column would stick to the turnpike, waiting for the successful advance of the skirmishers. There was no sense exposing the division to a flanking maneuver by the enemy nor in plunging in headlong, since the former could spell his own rout and the latter had the potential of defying orders from Lee to avoid a general conflict until the Army of Northern Virginia had completed its concentration. General Heth allowed the skirmishers to slowly press a line which was perceived to be weak and thin, and cautiously advanced his main force along the pike to the rear of his sharpshooters and skirmishers.

Meanwhile, General Buford was making preparations to meet the Confederates if they pressed the issue. Six rifled cannon had been deployed in such a way that it could fool the enemy into believing they were facing two batteries of artillery. Four guns of Calef's Battery A, 2d U.S. Artillery, were straddling the pike on a ridge east of Willoughby's Run and northwest of the Edward McPherson farm buildings. Two more guns of this battery had been posted south of Herbst Woods, almost 700 yards away from the other four, prepared to fire over the Harmon Farm towards Herr Ridge. The remainder of his dismounted cavalry division would have to defend the bulk of the battle front. Perhaps as few as 2000 men were stretched along the mile-long front between the Hagerstown and Mummasburg Roads. (Almost 600-700 troopers would be just behind the battle lines, tending to the horses of their dismounted comrades).

By 8:00 AM, Confederate skirmishers had advanced as far as Herr Ridge, driving those Union cavalry skirmishers south of the Chambersburg Pike back through the woods. From here, many could see another line of blue-coated soldiers on the opposite ridge. Their progress was momentarily halted. In the meantime, Heth, following closely along the pike, also stopped at the crest of a ridge just west of Herr's Tavern, just opposite the Belmont Schoolhouse. Here the Fredericksburg Artillery was once again halted and arranged in battle line, facing the deepening line of Federal cavalry troopers. The Union battery in the pike on McPherson's Ridge was visible. Captain Marye's guns opened fire on the four iron guns opposing him. Captain John Calef responded almost



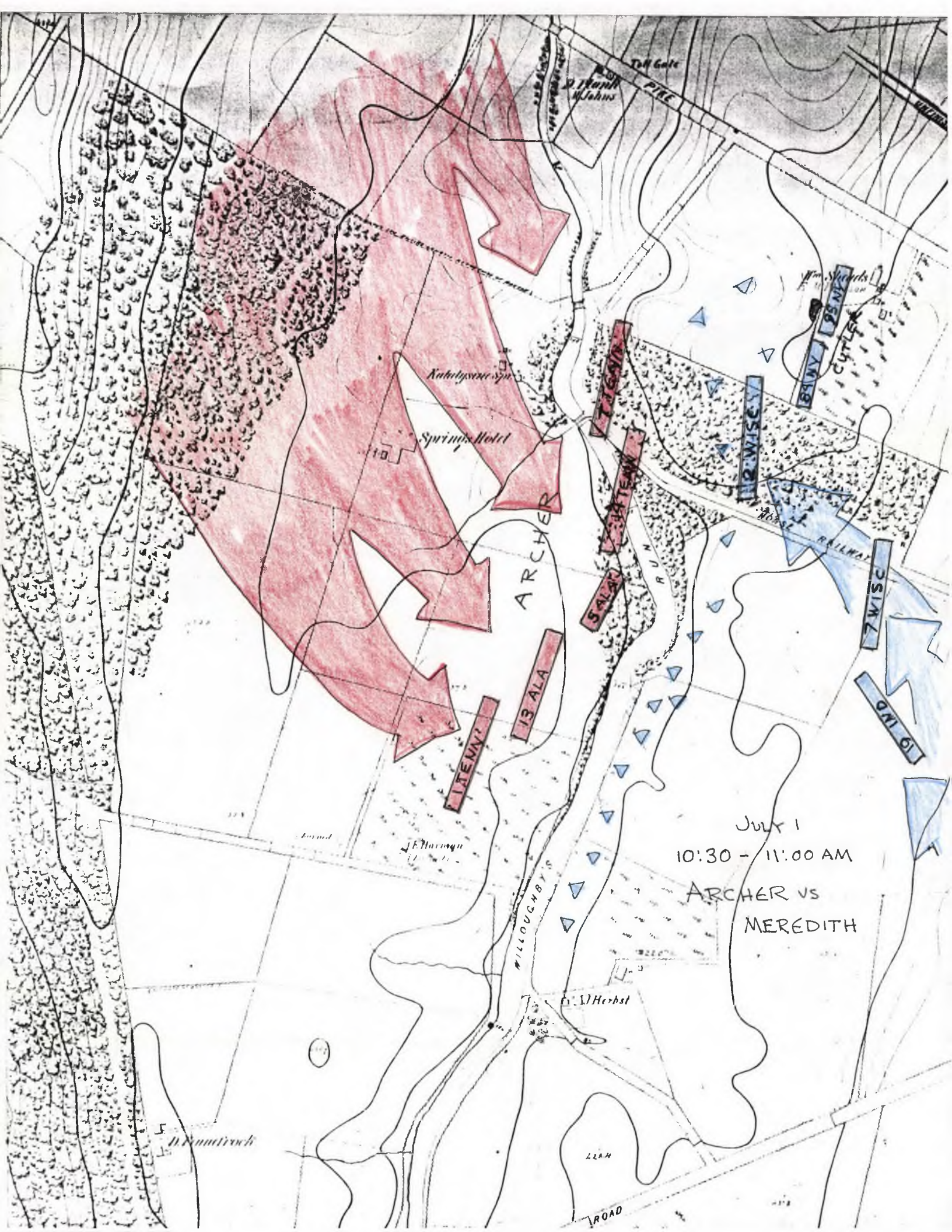
immediately, firing the first artillery rounds from Buford's line. This convinced Heth that he was facing more than a mere skirmish line of dismounted cavalrymen or militia. Skirmishers and militiamen were scarcely accompanied by artillery. He ordered General Archer to leave the pike, and to deploy his men in a line fronting the Union battery south of the roadbed. General Joseph K. Davis, marching behind Archer's Brigade, extended the line by deploying his 1700 foot soldiers north of the Chambersburg Pike.

The battle at this point was seen by residents of the Harmon Farm, 17-year-old Amelia and her aunt being the only ones home at the time. Their farmers, David Finnefrock and William Comfort, had left at the first alarms of approaching Confederates in an effort to protect the horses from theft or impressment. The two women had decided to stay, even though they must have seen the battle preparations by the Union cavalrymen since the previous afternoon. They felt safe enough because the double brick house, built almost forty years before the Reverend McLean, was "of the old-fashioned fortress type with 18 inch walls, and heavy wooden shutters." It seemed an incongruity that a peaceable clergyman would have had the foresight to build a house substantial enough to stop shots fired in anger. But, thus the house was perceived by its occupants.

At the first boom from Marye's Battery, the women had rushed to the windows to look out. They were greeted with the sight of "hundreds of galloping horses coming up the road, through the field and even past our very door." These were men of Colonel William Gamble's command, comprising Buford's left flank, probably advancing to cover their skirmishers as they fell back before Heth's deploying columns. Successive shots from Marye's guns brought "more and more galloping horses, their excited riders shouting and yelling to each other and pushing westward in hot haste, past the house and barn, seeking shelter of a strip of woods on the ridge beyond." (The woods were those of the Harman and Wible farms, later to be known as Springs Hotel Woods.) It was the intent of the cavalrymen to get out of the open along this southern end of the Harmon Farm, so that they would not be subjected to the artillery fire, which was markedly increasing in frequency, number, and volume. Heth was deploying the artillery battalion of Colonel William Pegram along the ridge occupied by Herr Tavern, just northwest of the Harmon/Wible Woods, eventually bringing seventeen guns from four batteries into a compact line to train their missiles against Buford's center and left-center.

But the Harmon women saw that the ridge and woods were "alive with the enemy!" A few shots from the cover of these topographic features discouraged the racing, mounted cavalrymen who were headed in that direction. The women saw them "flying back to the shelter behind the barn, outbuildings, trees, and even the pump" of the farm, hoping to keep the enemy in check from that position. The contending skirmishers kept up an intense fire between the woods and the Harmon buildings, a fire that extended northward along Willoughby's Run to the Chambersburg Pike. The women in the house looked on in increasing concern and horror:

Horses and men were falling under our eyes by shots from an unseen foe, and the confusion became greater every moment. Filled with alarm and terror we locked all doors and rushed to the second floor---and threw open the shutters of the west window. One glance only and a half-spent minie ball from the woods crashed into the shutter close to my aunt's ear leaving but the thickness of paper between her and death.



The skirmishing that had occupied almost three hours of the morning, which had extended along a mile-wide front, and which had continued for a distance of almost a mile and a half from Marsh Creek to the Harman/Wible Woods, now dissipated with the morning mist and drizzle. The Confederate skirmishers were absorbed by the greater force, as Archer's Brigade began its cautious attack from the ridge, the strength of each regimental unit knit to that of its neighbor---a compact body of 1200 men intent on splitting and crushing the cavalry line beyond Willoughby's Run. The women could see the Southern infantry from their high vantage point. For the most part, they were north of the woods, advancing in an oblique direction almost towards the Harmon house itself. Looking from their second-story window, Amelia Harmon later described what she and her aunt beheld:

This one glance showed us that a large timothy field between the barn and the woods concealed hundreds of gray crouching figures stealthily advancing under its cover, and picking off every cavalry man who appeared for an instance in sight.

An officer's horse just under the window was shot and the officer fell to the ground. "Look!" we shrieked at him, "the field is full of Rebels." "Leave the window," he shouted in return, "or you will be killed!"

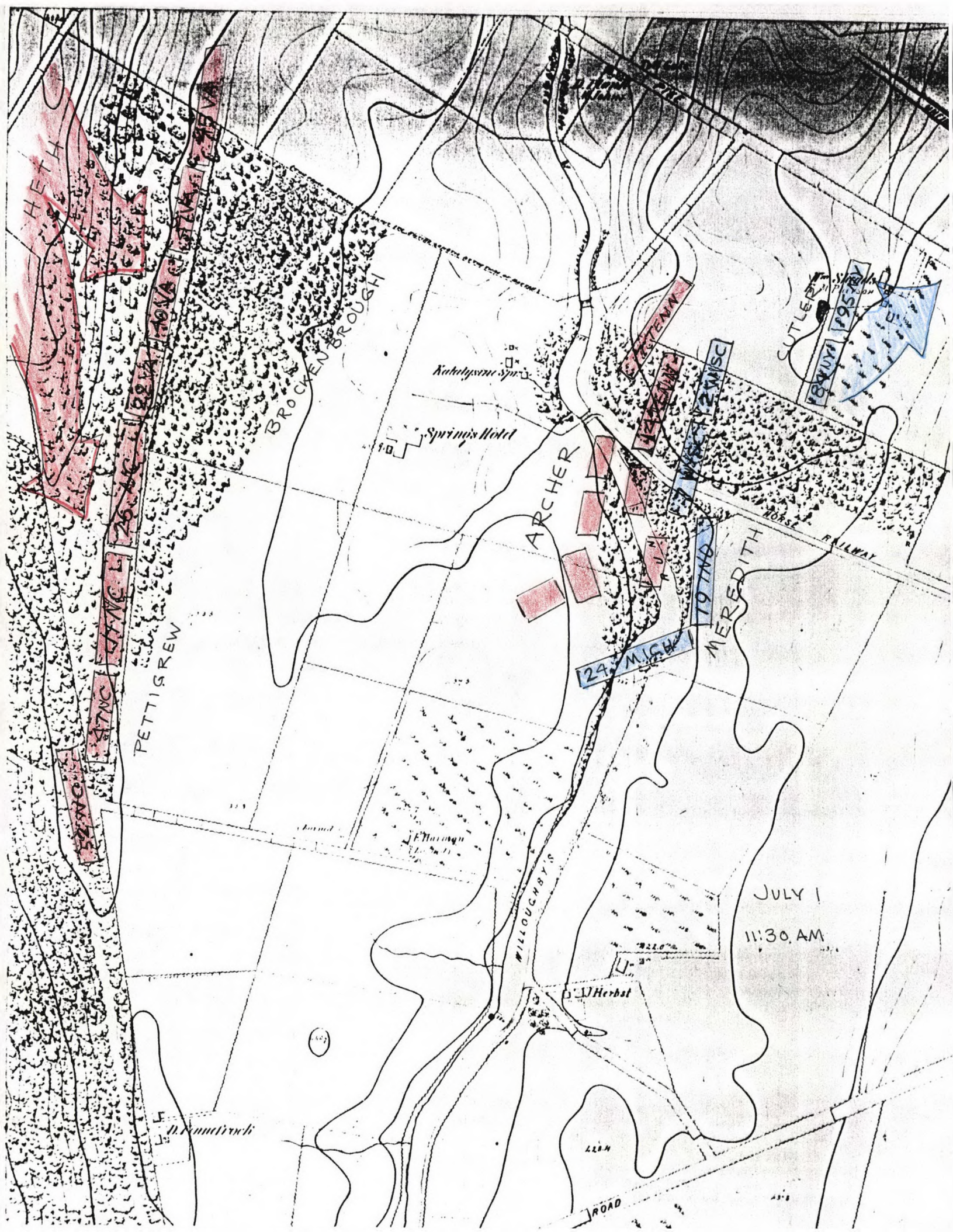
We needed no second warning, and rushed to the cupola. Here the landscape for miles around unrolled like a panorama below us. What a spectacle! It seemed as though the fields and woods had been sown with dragon's teeth, for everywhere had sprung up armed men, where about an hour ago only grass and flowers grew.

Soon we saw a strong detachment of Rebels file out from the fringe of the woods, a quarter of a mile distant, to meet a body of Federals advancing rapidly from the direction of town and in a few moments we were witnessing the quick, sharp engagement in which General Reynolds fell.

[Gettysburg Compiler (3 July 1915).]

Although the ladies' view of the battle was improved greatly by ascending to the cupola, the wisdom of the move seems questionable in light of the officer's warning to leave the window lest they were killed. Nevertheless, the pluck of the two Harmon women allowed them to see the salvation of Buford's cavalrymen. Pressed almost beyond endurance, the thin line was on the verge of collapse, as witnessed by Amelia Harmon. But she also saw the "body of Federals" advancing from the direction of town, who proved to be the "Iron Brigade" of Brigadier General Solomon Meredith. Leaving the Emmitsburg Road and taking the shortest distance between two points, Meredith's Midwesterners filed rapidly across farm fields to reach Buford as quickly as possible. Coming out on the Seminary Ridge between the dormitory building and the residence of its president, Dr. Schmucker, the head of the column was ordered to advance at the double quick, without loading, towards the Herbst Woods and Willoughby's Run---the apparent objective point of Archer's Brigade.

General Archer himself had delayed the attack by his brigade, ordering them to halt at Herr Ridge, while McIntosh's Battalion got into line. Waiting while a section of one of the batteries fired, Archer seemed content to let the artillery soften the Union position and silence the Union guns facing him. But General Heth arrived and ordered Archer to move his men forward and "ascertain the 'strength and line of battle of the enemy.'" Archer balked at this order, suggesting that his brigade was too "light to risk so far in advance of support." The brigades of Pettigrew and Brockenbrough were some

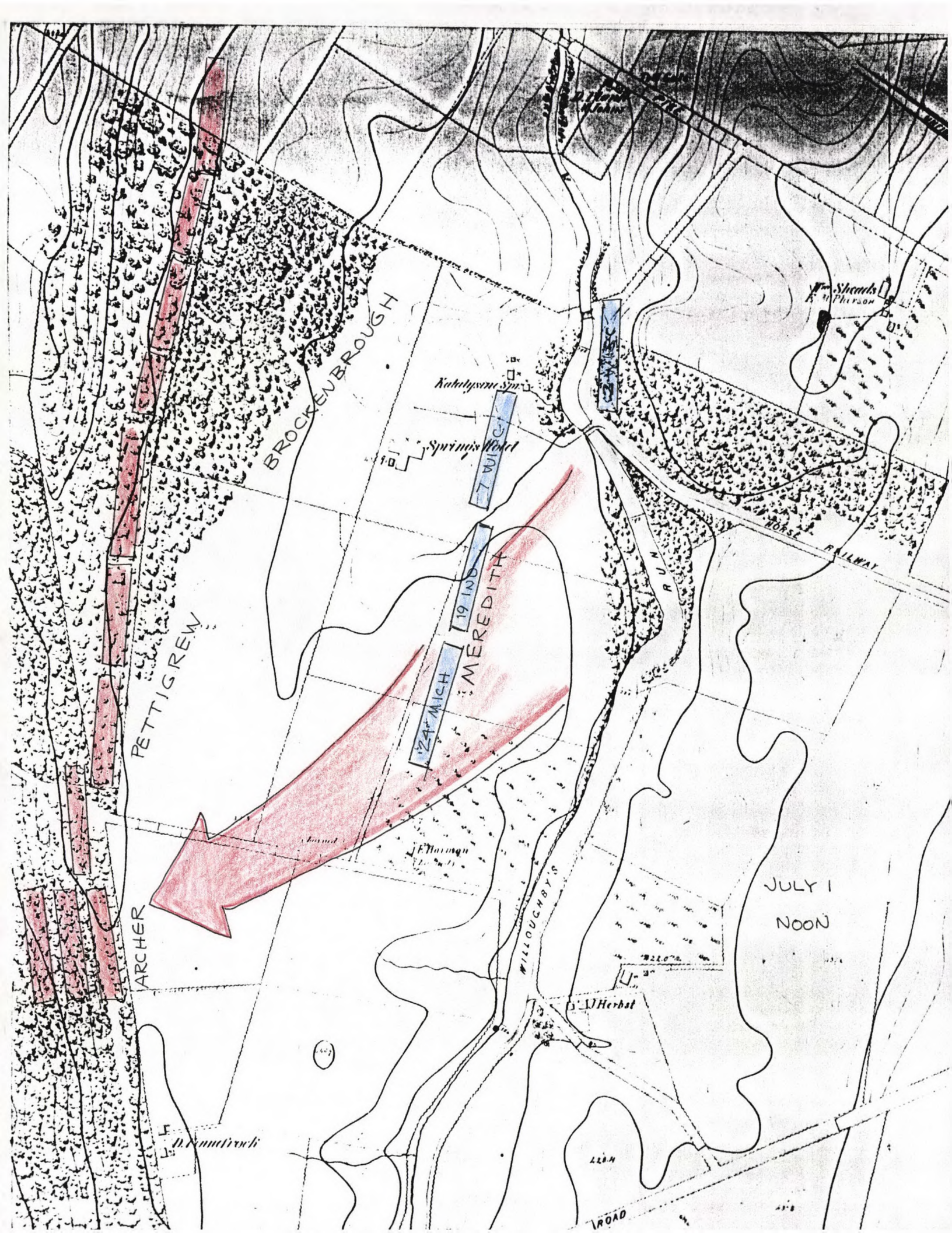


distance behind, still marching along the Chambersburg Pike, and had not yet deployed in battle lines to his rear. Although General Davis had a clear field of vision to his immediate front, unhindered by woods, General Archer's front was covered by thick undergrowth along Willoughby's Run. Herbst Woods rose dramatically from the Run to the ridgeline beyond, hiding approaching columns or enemy guns. And who knew what lay behind Seminary Ridge beyond that? General Heth was convinced by this time that there was only the six guns of Calef's Battery and the tautly stretched line of outnumbered cavalry troopers. That was all they had faced since the opening shots at Marsh Creek, almost three hours before, and that was all that confronted them as Davis and Archer had deployed into battle line astride the Chambersburg Pike. The division commander was getting impatient. A second time he ordered General Archer forward, and this time the latter complied [Official Records, Series I, Volume XXVII, part 2, pp. 646-647; J. B. Turney, "The First Tennessee at Gettysburg," The Confederate Veteran (December 1900), pp. 535-537].

The brigade advanced about two hundred yards before it met "stubborn resistance." This occurred after the Confederates had crossed an open field and encountered the fencing and undergrowth along the creekbed of Willoughby's Run, which was "some disadvantage" to the line in crossing. But after crossing the run with a cheer, and advancing but a short distance, Archer's Brigade suddenly saw the enemy counterattacking at a distance of only about forty or fifty yards [Official Records, Series I, Volume XXVII, part 2, p. 646)]. They opened fire immediately upon these blue-clad soldiers, who turned out to be not the cavalrymen that General Heth expected, but the infantrymen of the 2d Wisconsin Volunteers---the first of Meredith's regiments to penetrate Herbst Woods.

From the very outset, the resistance encountered by Archer was "stubborn." For perhaps thirty minutes, the Tennessee and Alabama soldiers exchanged fire at "close quarters" with the men of the 2d and 7th Wisconsin regiments. The latter regiment had entered Herbst Woods behind, and slightly to the left of, the 2d Wisconsin as the brigade attacked en echelon. The "smoke of battle hovered near the ground, shutting out from view the movements of the Federal forces," further unnerving the already ill-confident General Archer. The Confederate line began to yield, gradually falling back through the fringe of Herbst Woods to Willoughby's Run. There, amongst the trees, the brigade attempted to reform, sheltered somewhat from hostile fire by the elevation of ground above the Run. The Wisconsin boys would not give them the opportunity to do so. Renewing the impetus of the counterattack, Major John Mansfield ordered his 2d Wisconsin to charge at the double quick upon the enemy's new position [Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVII, part 1, p. 274; part 2, p. 646; Turney, "The First Tennessee at Gettysburg," pp. 535-537]. The 7th Wisconsin extended their attack on the left, plunging headlong through Herbst Woods to the tangle of bushes and small willows growing along the creek-bed amongst the now disarrayed Confederates.

By this time, two more regiments of the Iron Brigade had arrived, south of Herbst Woods, and were more than eager to add their spirit and numbers to the Union counterattack. In the end, it was enough. The right flank of Archer's line, now in peril of being outflanked and overrun, recognized that its new position was untenable. Although support was at hand, the brigades of Pettigrew and Brockenbrough deploying into the Harmon/Wible Woods behind them, Archer's hard-pressed regiments realized that their supports were not ready to advance to assist them, and were too far away to render much immediate assistance.



BROCKENBROUGH

PETTIGREW

ARCHER

Kathysville Sp.

Springs Hotel

24" MICH
19 INB
MEREDITH

WILLOUGHBY'S

W. Herbst

D. Pond/rock

ROAD

JULY 1
NOON

Although both contending brigades were approximately the same strength by this time (about 1600 men), Archer's Brigade believed itself outnumbered, such was the confusion from the smoke, the terrain, and the spirit of the Union attack. Archer's men began to fall back across the open wheat and timothy fields to the Harmon/Wible Woods. General Archer himself, however, overcome by the march and the fighting in the woods, was unable to muster the strength to retreat. He was captured by a private in the 2d Wisconsin Volunteers as the Federal regiment smashed down the slopes along Willoughby Run. Much of the right wing of the 7th Tennessee, who were personally accompanied by General Archer, also fell into the hands of the Wisconsin regiment as its prisoners [Official Records, Series I, vol. XXVII, part 1, p. 274; W. M. McCall, 7th Tennessee, in Confederate Veteran (January 1895), p. 19].

For those who escaped capture, the "skirt of woods" to the west of the Run provided a refuge---there they could be sheltered from hostile fire and could be protected by the two brigades in support. Here in the woods, Archer's vanquished men reformed their lines in the rear of Pettigrew's and Brockenbrough's Brigades, before taking up position in the extension of the woods, south of Mill Road.

There were those Confederates who attributed their good fortune in escaping certain imprisonment to the "excitement attending the capture of General Archer" [Turney, "The First Tennessee at Gettysburg," pp. 535-537]. But this excitement on the part of the Federals was short-lived, as they resumed their war-like activities. After the 2d and 7th Wisconsin regiments attended to the disposition of their prisoners, the regiments were realigned in battle line on the enemy's side of Willoughby's Run. Lieutenant Colonel John R. Callis ordered his 7th Wisconsin to advance "to the top of the next ridge," where he was joined by the 2d Wisconsin on his right, the 19th Indiana on his left. Colonel Henry A. Morrow brought his 24th Michigan into position on the crest of this hillock, extending the left of the brigade battle line. Morrow immediately ordered skirmishers out towards the Harmon/Wible Woods, and sent additional men in the direction of the brick Harmon house on his left [John R. Callis to John B. Bachelder, account of the "Iron Brigade," in J. B. Bachelder Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society, p. 420; Official Records, Series I, vol. XXVII, part 1, pp. 267, 274].

The brigade remained out here on the ridge, in the open fields between the Run and the woods, for perhaps as long as half an hour. Lieutenant Colonel Callis could see the battle line opposing him in the timber, but the ends of that battle line extended so far to his right and left that he could not make them out. When Confederate skirmishers began firing from the edge of the woods, and then started to advance out into the fields in the direction of the Iron Brigade, it was expected that this long Southern battle line would be ~~right be-~~ coming along right behind them. Realizing that they had placed themselves in as untenable a position as General Archer had done, and being, like him, so far removed from their supports, the Federal regiments withdrew back down the slopes to Willoughby's Run, in the general direction of Herbst Woods. In falling back, the regiments were subjected to fire from the skirmishers and from the battle line in Harmon's Woods. Several men fell while executing this movement to the rear, including the lieutenant colonel and the major of the 24th Michigan [Official Records, Series I, vol. XXVII, part 1, p. 268].

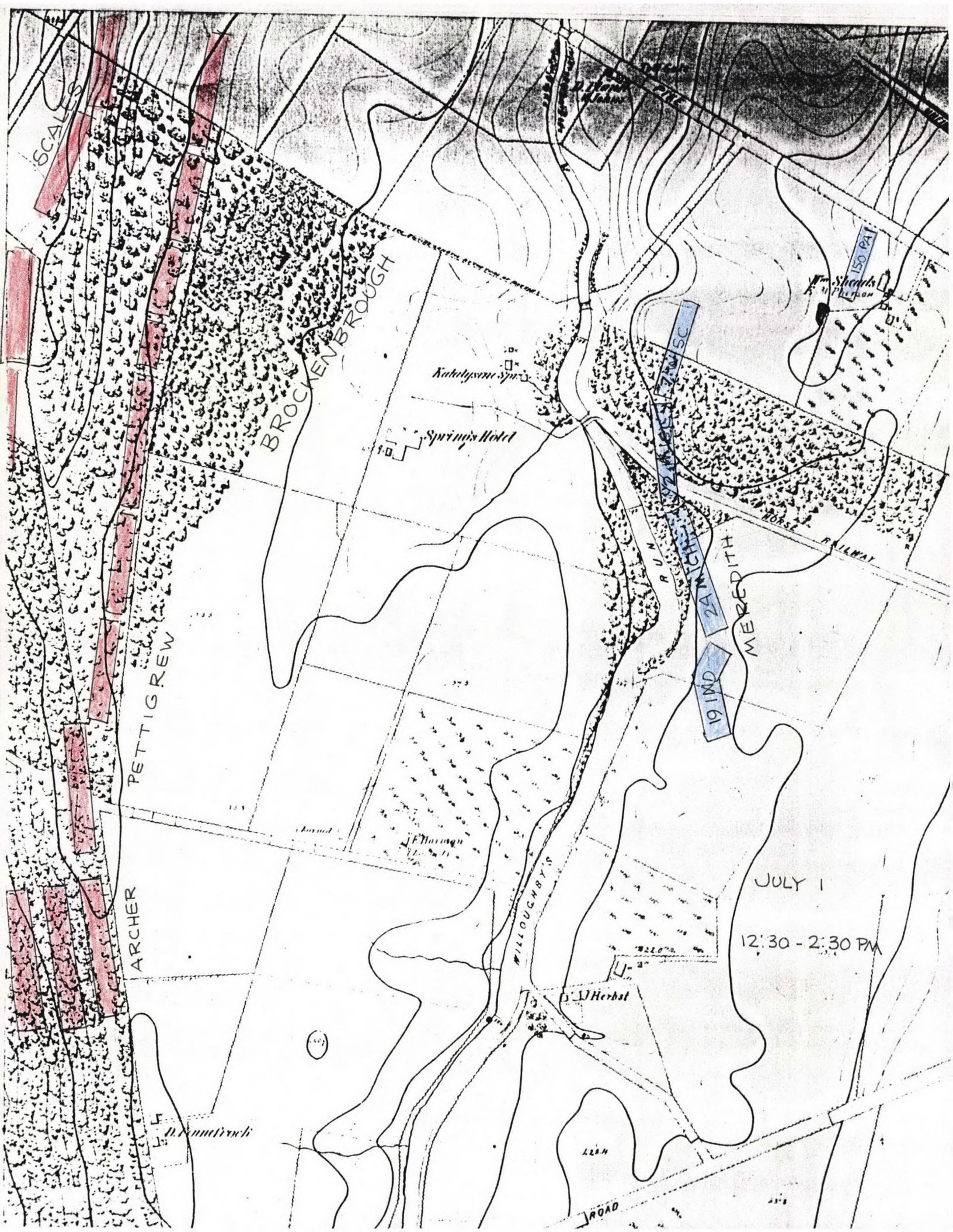
For the men of the Iron Brigade, the day's fighting had just begun. For the men of Archer's Brigade, the day's fighting had ended. The Confederates were now commanded by Colonel B. F. Fry, of the 13th Alabama, who would command the brigade throughout the battle after the capture of General Archer. The brigade spent the day watching the enemy's movements on their right flank, and

took measures to guard against a possible cavalry movement later in the afternoon [Official Records, Series I, vol. XXVII, part 2, p. 646]. The Iron Brigade also had a new commander. General Meredith had suffered internal injuries when his mount fell by a Confederate shot during the advance from Seminary Ridge towards Willoughby's Run. Colonel William Robinson of the 7th Wisconsin would command the brigade this day. From their renewed position in and about Herbst Woods, the men of the Iron Brigade could see the movements of Archer's men, extending the battle line southward in the woods. As the afternoon progressed, more columns of the enemy were seen massing on the front and towards the left, as yet another Confederate infantry division arrived on the field to oppose them. The officers in the Iron Brigade fretted in their new position, the developments on their front convincing them they were facing overwhelming numbers and were in great danger of being outflanked because of their position in advance of the rest of the line on McPherson's Ridge.

And well they should have fretted. Before them were being massed the brigades of Pettigrew, Brockenbrough, Archer, Perrin, Scales, and Lane. Thirty-three cannon faced eastward from Herr Ridge, including two Whitworth rifles. The two support brigades of Heth's Division---Pettigrew and Brockenbrough---were the first to enter the Harmon/Wible Woods, stretching the entire length of the woodlot. The line was so long that Pettigrew's right regiment, the 52d North Carolina, extended beyond the intended stopping point at Mill Road. Although Brockenbrough's battle line was shorter, with about a thousand men in it, Pettigrew's was so mammoth, with 2600 men, that it was formed almost in echelon, each successive regiment from left to right slightly behind the previous one, their left and right wings overlapping.

They had already been under fire this day, even before entering these woods. As the 26th North Carolina regiment was marching on the Chambersburg Pike, nearing Belmont Schoolhouse, a shell burst in their ranks. Albert Stacey Caison, of Company I, remembered that the men "wavered just a little" at this unexpected shock. But their colonel, Henry K. Burgwyn, shouted out, "Steady, men!" The words were enough to bring "every man to his place, to waver no more." The shell burst and the first command initiated the 26th North Carolina into this battle, and they "now fully realized" what was expected and what to expect. Shortly thereafter, the regiment left the pike and formed in rear of the Confederate batteries, whose seventeen guns were crowded on the ridge between Herr Tavern and the northern edge of the Harmon/Wible Woods on the eastern slope below them. Once again, they were exposed, with the rest of Pettigrew's Brigade, to a random fire from the enemy's guns. After about a half an hour in this position, the brigade suffered probably a dozen men killed or wounded to the effects of Union artillery fire.

Advancing again, the brigade entered and halted in the "skirt of woods" of the Harmon and Wible farms, described by a veteran as "a piece of timber at the foot of the hill." They could see in their front a "wheat-field about a fourth of a mile wide; then came a branch [Willoughby's Run], with thick underbrush and briars skirting the banks. Beyond this was again an open field, with the exception of a wooded hill [Herbst Woods] directly in front" of the 26th North Carolina ["Southern Soldiers in Northern Prisons," Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. XXIII (1895), p. 159; Official Records, Series I, vol. XXVII, part 2, p. 642]. Skirmishers were thrown out almost immediately, confronting the advanced position of the Iron Brigade on the Harmon farm.



For more than two hours the contending armies faced each other, McPherson's Ridge frowning on Herr Ridge. The men of the Iron Brigade had been ordered to lie down in the woods and in the timber along Willoughby's Run, not to expose themselves needlessly to the skirmishers' fire. More Union brigades continued to arrive, augmenting their line to the right and left, but taking advantage of the ridge behind them for protection. Colonel Chapman Biddle's brigade occupied the left of the Union line, from whence they could see not only the Confederate infantry in the edge of the Harmon/Wible Woods but also their skirmishers between the Run and the woods.

Biddle's men soon came under fire from the direction of the Harmon buildings, the Confederates using the brick house and large stone barn as cover. Biddle ordered a detail of skirmishers from the 20th New York State Militia to advance to drive them out, in order to protect the gunners of Cooper's Pennsylvania Battery B, which had been posted amidst Biddle's brigade line on McPherson's Ridge [Official Records, Series I, vol. XXVII, part 1, p. 315]. The arrival of these New York skirmishers was remembered years later by Amelia Harmon, who had been clinging valiantly to her post in the cupola, watching the progress of the battle:

A sudden, violent commotion and uproar below made us fly in quick haste to the lower floor. There was a tumultuous pounding with fists and guns on the kitchen door and loud yells of "Open, or we'll break down the doors," which they proceeded to do. We drew back the bolt and in poured a stream of maddened, powder-blackened blue coats, who ordered us to the cellar, while they dispersed to the various west windows throughout the house. From our cellar prison we could hear the tumult above, the constant crack of rifles, the hurried orders, and outside the mingled roar of heavy musketry, galloping horses, yelling troops and the occasional boom of cannon to the westward.
[Gettysburg Compiler (3 July 1915)]

While the Harmon women listened to the sounds of battle above and beyond them, several men of the 20th New York discovered that the cupola atop the roof offered a better vantage for sharpshooting. Some of their fire was directed against the 26th North Carolina, already chafing to leave the "safety" of the woods and attack the Federals on their front before reinforcements evened the odds. The sharpshooting fire, particularly against the right wing of the 26th regiment, was getting to be more than a mere annoyance. Colonel Burgwyn was about to order a man forward to take down the sharpshooters, when Lieutenant John Anderson Lowe of Company G volunteered for the hazardous duty. Creeping forward along a fence parallel to the house, Lieutenant Lowe finally reached a position where the New Yorkers were no longer obscured by the chimney. He "soon silenced them" [Dr. George C. Underwood in Walter Clark, Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-1865, vol. 2 (Wendell, NC: Broadfoot's Bookmark, 1982), p.350]. Returning to the congratulations from his regimental comrades, Lieutenant Lowe soon realized that sharpshooting from that quarter would continue as long as any Federals could occupy a window. Occasional shots continued to fall amongst the men and snip the branches of the trees over them, reminding the regiment to "cling close to the bosom of old mother earth."

The waiting, under sharpshooters' fire, was making Colonel Burgwyn "quite impatient to engage the enemy, saying we were losing precious time." The men could see the Federals "masking their forces in another piece of timber in front of us, . . . well knowing that every moment's delay was giving them

the advantage" ["Southern Soldiers in Northern Prisons," SHSP, p. 159]. Everybody seems to have been waiting for corps commander Lieutenant General A. P. Hill to take the field. But Hill was busy bringing up Pender's Division, who he wanted to be ready in close support of Pettigrew and Brockenbrough when the attack was renewed. Officers like Colonel Burgwyn could do little but keep the men "as quiet and comfortable as possible, sending details to the rear for water, and watching the movements of the enemy."

Sometime during this two hours, Burgwyn was approached by his second in command, Lieutenant Colonel John Lane. Lane had been up all the previous night in charge of the division skirmish line, the men still nervous from their narrow escape near Gettysburg, when they had been pursued within only about a mile of their encampment. He had eaten but little since that time, but had drunken freely of muddy water. As a result, Colonel Lane was "seized with an intolerable nausea and vomiting" after arriving in the Harmon/Wible Woods. Requesting to go to the rear, Lane could hear Burgwyn's answer over the occasional crack! from the skirmish line. "Oh, Colonel, I can't, I can't, I can't think of going into this battle without you; here is a little of the best French brandy which my parents gave me to take with me in the battle; it may do you good." Although Lane had forsworn alcohol during the war, because of his responsibilities, he took a little of it "under the circumstances." Although Colonel Lane was not fully cured of his indisposition, he felt "somewhat relieved" within a few minutes of sampling the fine brandy. Returning to Colonel Burgwyn, Lane announced, "Colonel Burgwyn, I can go with you." Burgwyn responded with "Thank you, Colonel, thank you," and then continued the conversation with his lieutenant by calling Lane's attention to the growing strength of the Union line opposite them. "Colonel, do you think that we will have to advance on the enemy as they are? Oh, what a splendid place for artillery. Why don't they fire on them?" [Clark, Histories of the Several Regiments. . . ., pp. 368-369]

As these commanders shared a few minutes of personal discussion and military observation, so did the men in other regiments, in all ranks. "Many words of encouragement were spoken and some jokes were indulged in." For many men, particularly in the 26th North Carolina, this would be their last earthly rest. The sun had climbed high in the sky by now, and the shade of the timber was a welcome relief from the former position of the brigade in the open ground behind the batteries. Few men left their recollections of this two-hour wait in the Harmon/Wible Woods, perhaps because it was a time of personal reflection, of private moments shared only with friends and not deemed proper to share with strangers. Other than the expression of a growing impatience and concern about the growing strength of the enemy, which pervaded all Confederate accounts, only one hinted at something deeper, viz: "Religious services were not held, as they should have been, owing to the absence of our Chaplains." We are left with the distinct impression that there were those who wanted to renew their moral strength and faith in the face of impending and certain battle. Without the chaplains to formalize a service, each man was left to himself to sort out his mortality. Looking upon the face of the enemy for two hours, darkening the woods and ridge on his front with blue-uniformed masses and blackened cannon, would certainly be grim enough to deepen a man's thoughts. And each thought was punctuated with the intermittent and random sharpshooter's balls, which reminded each soldier of the proximity of that which was to come.

The sounds of cannon opening to the extreme left, on an eminence called Oak Hill, announced the arrival of General R. S. Ewell's Confederate corps and stirred Pettigrew's men from their personal meditations. The artillery fire enfiladed those dark masses and cannons opposite on McPherson's Ridge. The spirit of the North Carolinians was undoubtedly heartened; this fire would not only unnerve their opponents, but would force him to draw his lines partially away from their front to face the new front, to the north. At the first appearance of Ewell's infantrymen on the plains in the distance, looking as if they could sweep all Federals before them, Pettigrew's men grew ever more eager to attack and join the fray. "Never was a grander sight beheld. The lines extended more than a mile, all distinctly visible to us. . . . The roar of artillery, the crack of musketry and the shouts of the combatants, added grandeur and solemnity to the scene" [Clark, Histories of the Several Regiments. . ., pp. 350-351].

The division of Major General Dorsey Pender had finally arrived on the field. Indeed, some of them had been in position behind Pettigrew and Brockenbrough for an hour when the fighting broke out again north of the Chambersburg Pike. Like Pettigrew's men, the soldiers in Perrin's Brigade had advanced across wheatfields once leaving the pike, and had been halted for almost an hour in these open fields. With the renewal of the fighting, Perrin's South Carolina regiments were ordered once again to their feet, advancing to the edge of the Harmon/Wible Woods as Ewell's artillery roared a welcome. For one member of the brigade, the mid-day waiting and marching was perhaps as draining as the battle promised to become. "These advances in line of battle are the most fatiguing exercise I had in the army. Now the perspiration poured from our bodies" [J. F. J. Caldwell, The History of a Brigade of South Carolinians, known first as "Gregg's," and subsequently as "McGowan's Brigade" (Philadelphia, 1866), p. 97].

The arrival of Pender's brigades, almost in coordination with the arrival of General Ewell's corps, convinced General Hill that the time had come to resume the attack on his own front. "Suddenly there came down the line the long awaited command 'Attention.' The time of this command could not have been more inopportune; for our line had inspected the enemy and we well knew the desperateness of the charge we were to make" [Clark, Histories of the Several Regiments. . ., p. 351]. Despite the sure knowledge of the difficult challenge ahead of them, men of the 26th North Carolina remembered that the men were on their feet in an instant, ready for duty, and every officer at his post---including the indisposed Lieutenant Colonel Lane. The color sergeant of the regiment, Jefferson B. Mansfield, stepped to his position with the regimental ensign, four paces to the front, surrounded by the eight color guards. Companies E and F were immediately behind the color guard, knowing that, as in every battle, the flag would draw the most fire but that it was their duty to guide the regiment wherever that flag led [Ibid., pp. 350-351].

Each regiment in Pettigrew's and Brockenbrough's brigades received the command "Forward, march," and the colors, the color guard, and those ranks of men stepped off "as willingly as proudly as if they were on review." The two brigades were moving in quick time, knowing they would have to cross those open fields and strike the enemy as fast as possible to limit casualties. The Union forces who had watched them, just as they themselves had been watched, saw the movement the moment the brigades emerged from the Harmon/Wible Woods. From Biddle's line, on the left, an officer of the 20th New York State Militia

saw what appeared to be a long brown line coming from the forested land. "In poetry and romance the Confederate uniform is gray. In actual service it was a butternut brown, and on those fellows who faced us at short range was, owing to their long campaign, as dirty, disreputable and unromantic as can well be imagined. They exhibited no more of 'the pomp and circumstance of glorious war' than so many railroad section hands" [John S. D. Cook, Personal Reminiscences of Gettysburg. War Paper No. 24, Kansas Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (12 December 1903), p. 8].

Immediately after showing themselves, the two brigades received the fire of the Federals. Some were killed and wounded, but others noted that the aim was too high, striking the trees behind and above them instead. As each man made an effort to keep up and keep dressed on the colors of his regiment, the North Carolina regiments on the right of Pettigrew's brigade found the Harmon farm buildings directly in their path. Still stinging from the effects of almost two hours' fire from the Harmon house and barn, the North Carolinians were determined to wreak vengeance on the pesky sharpshooters who had concealed themselves so well. They quick-timed towards the house and barn. The Harmon women, still in the cellar, could judge only by sound what was occurring, but it did not sound particularly encouraging:

The suspense and agony of uncertainty were awful! We could hear the beating of our hearts above all the wild confusion. How long this lasted I do not know. Of a sudden there came a scurrying of quick feet, a loud clatter on the stairway above, a slamming of the doors, and then for an instant---silence!

With a sickening dread we waited for the next act in the drama. A swish like the mowing of grass on the front lawn, then a dense shadow darkened the low grated cellar windows. It is the sound and shadow of hundreds of marching feet. We can see them to the knees only, but the uniforms are the Confederate gray! Now we understand the scurrying of feet overhead. Our soldiers have been defeated, have been driven back, have retreated, have left the house, and have left us to our fate.

[Gettysburg Compiler (3 July 1915)]

As the Confederate line came up about even with the Harmon buildings, just before the intermediate ridge swept down to Willoughby's Run, they halted in line and fired. Pouring a "rapid fire of musketry" into the Union ranks along the Run, the North Carolina and Virginia infantry, hastily drove the skirmishers back upon their supports [Cook, pp. 8-9]. They began the advance again, but this time received a "murderous" and "galling fire" from the opposite bank of Willoughby's Run. The left of Pettigrew's Brigade, consisting of the 26th and 11th North Carolina, felt the shower of lead they had been dreading since they first saw the enemy concealed in Herbst Woods. The only way to stop this fire was to get in upon the enemy at the woods itself. The men were pressed forward and struck the timber where much of the Iron Brigade was posted.

Meanwhile the right of the brigade splashed across the Run, almost outflanking the Federals of Biddle's Brigade. The Union soldiers, however, clung to the ridge and staggered the Confederate advance. Looking beyond Pettigrew's struggling right flank, the men of the 20th New York could see wisps of smoke begin to rise from the Harmon barn. They had little time to note it, however, since Pender's Division was now emerging from the Harmon/Wible Woods beyond the farm buildings. As their advance progressed and the front expanded, the line of these three fresh brigades extended far beyond the Union left flank.

At the Harmon buildings, Amelia and her aunt were compelled to be reluctant witnesses to this Confederate onslaught.

We rushed up the cellar steps to the kitchen. The barn was in flames and cast a lurid glare through the window. The house was filled with Rebels and they were deliberately firing it. They had taken down a file of newspapers for kindling, piled on books, rags and furniture, applied matches to ignite the pile, and already a tiny flame was curling upward. We both jumped on the fire in hopes of extinguishing it, and plead with them in pity to spare our home. But there was no pity in those determined faces. . . .

We fled from our burning house only to encounter worse horrors. The first Rebel line of battle had passed our house and were now engaged in a hot skirmish in the gorge of Willoughby's Run. The second line was being advanced just abreast the barn, and at that moment was being hotly attacked by the Union troops with shot and shell!

We were between the lines! To go toward town would be to walk into the jaws of death. Only one way was open---through the ranks of the whole Confederate army to safety in its rear!

Bullets whistled past our ears, shells burst and scattered their deadly contents around us. On we hurried---wounded men falling all around us, the line moving forward as they fired it seemed with deadly precision, past what seemed miles of artillery horses galloping like mad toward the town. We were objects of wonder and amazement that was certain, but few took time to listen to our story, and none believed it. All kept hurrying us to the rear. "Go on, go on," they shouted, "out of reach of grape and canister!"

[Gettysburg Compiler (3 July 1915)]

The ladies escaped unscathed, much to everyone's amazement. But the Harmon farm buildings were soon engulfed in flames. The vengeance and wrath of Pettigrew's brigade fell on the old McPherson manor farm. Its agrarian uses had been superseded by military uses. Fortified by the sharpshooters, the barn and house were transformed into a tool of war, to be destroyed by men once practical enough to realize the domestic and pastoral use of such structures. War had transformed the buildings as surely as it had transformed the men. The Harmon family and their tenants, the Finnefrocks, got caught in the middle.

On the left of the Confederate line, Brockenbrough's Virginians struck an angle in the Union line, created out of necessity by the concurrent attacks from the north and the west. Although they had rough going, the losses sustained by Brockenbrough paled before those of Pettigrew. The 26th North Carolina, desperately trying to push out of the Herbst Woods, encountered line after line of Union soldiers, as the Iron Brigade and regiments from Biddle's Brigade made a determined stand there. Their first losses were incurred in crossing the Willoughby's Run. The briars, reeds, and underbrush hindered a uniform and confident advance, just as they done to Archer's men earlier in the morning. The regiment lost its alignment, crowding on the center. Men were compelled to go to either left or right, trying to find cover from the musketry and artillery on their flanks. Others pressed towards the colors, the only thing visible above the tangle of vegetation and smoke. Survivors remembered that the loss here was "frightful."

After getting in "proper position" again, the 26th North Carolina renewed the attack, still under a galling fire from the 2d and 7th Wisconsin, and from the 24th Michigan Regiments. The losses were extraordinary. It was estimated that more than 700 men of the regiment were killed and wounded in this charge from the Harmon Woods, their crumpled forms distinctly marking the route of advance across the Harmon Farm and through the Herbst Woods. Fourteen color bearers were to be shot down, one after another. "Although they knew it was almost certain death to pick it up the flag was never allowed to remain down, but as fast as it fell some one raised it again" ["Southern Soldiers in Northern Prisons," SHSP, p. 159]. The desperate nature of the fighting in Herbst Woods, just above Willoughby's Run, was described by a survivor:

At this time the colors have been cut down ten times, the color guard all killed or wounded. We have now struck the second line of the enemy where the fighting is the fiercest and the killing the deadliest. Suddenly, Captain W. W. McCreery, Assistant Inspector General of the Brigade, rushes forward and speaks to Colonel Burgwyn. He bears him a message. "Tell him," says General Pettigrew, "his regiment has covered itself with glory today." Delivering these encouraging words of his commander, Captain McCreery, who had always contended that the Twenty-sixth would fight better than any regiment in the brigade, seizes the flag, waves it aloft and advancing to the front, is shot through the heart and falls, bathing the flag in his life's blood. Lieutenant George Wilcox, of Company H, now rushes forward, and pulling the flag from under the dead hero, advances with it. In a few steps he also falls with two wounds in his body.

The line hesitates; the crisis is reached; the colors must advance. Telling Lieutenant-Colonel Lane of the words of praise from their brigade commander just heard, with orders to impart it to the men for their encouragement, Colonel Burgwyn seizes the flag from the nerveless grasp of the gallant Wilcox, and advances, giving the order "Dress on the colors." Private Frank Honeycutt, of Company B, rushes from ranks and asks the honor to advance the flag. Turning to hand the colors to this brave young soldier, Colonel Burgwyn is hit by a ball on the left side, which, passing through both lungs, the force of it turns him around and, falling, he is caught in the folds of the flag and carries it with him to the ground. The daring Honeycutt survives his Colonel but a moment and shot through the head, now for the thirteenth time the regimental colors are in the dust.

Kneeling by his side, Lieutenant-Colonel Lane stops for a moment to ask: "My dear Colonel, are you severely hurt?" A bowed head and motion to the left side and a pressure of the hand is the only response; but "he looked pleasantly as if victory was on his brow." Reluctantly leaving his dying commander to go where duty calls him, Lieutenant-Colonel Lane hastens to the right, meets Captain McLauchlin, of Company K, tells him of General Pettigrew's words of praise, but not of his Colonel's fall; gives the order "Close your men quickly to the left. I am going to give them the bayonet"; hurries to the left, he gives a similar order, and returning to the center finds the colors still down. Colonel Burgwyn and the brave boy private, Franklin Honeycutt, lying by them. Colonel Lane

raises the colors. Lieutenant Blair, Company I, rushes out, saying: "No man can take these colors and live." Lane replies: "It is my time to take them now"; and advancing with the flag, shouts at the top of his voice: "Twenty-sixth, follow me." [Clark, pp. 352-253.]

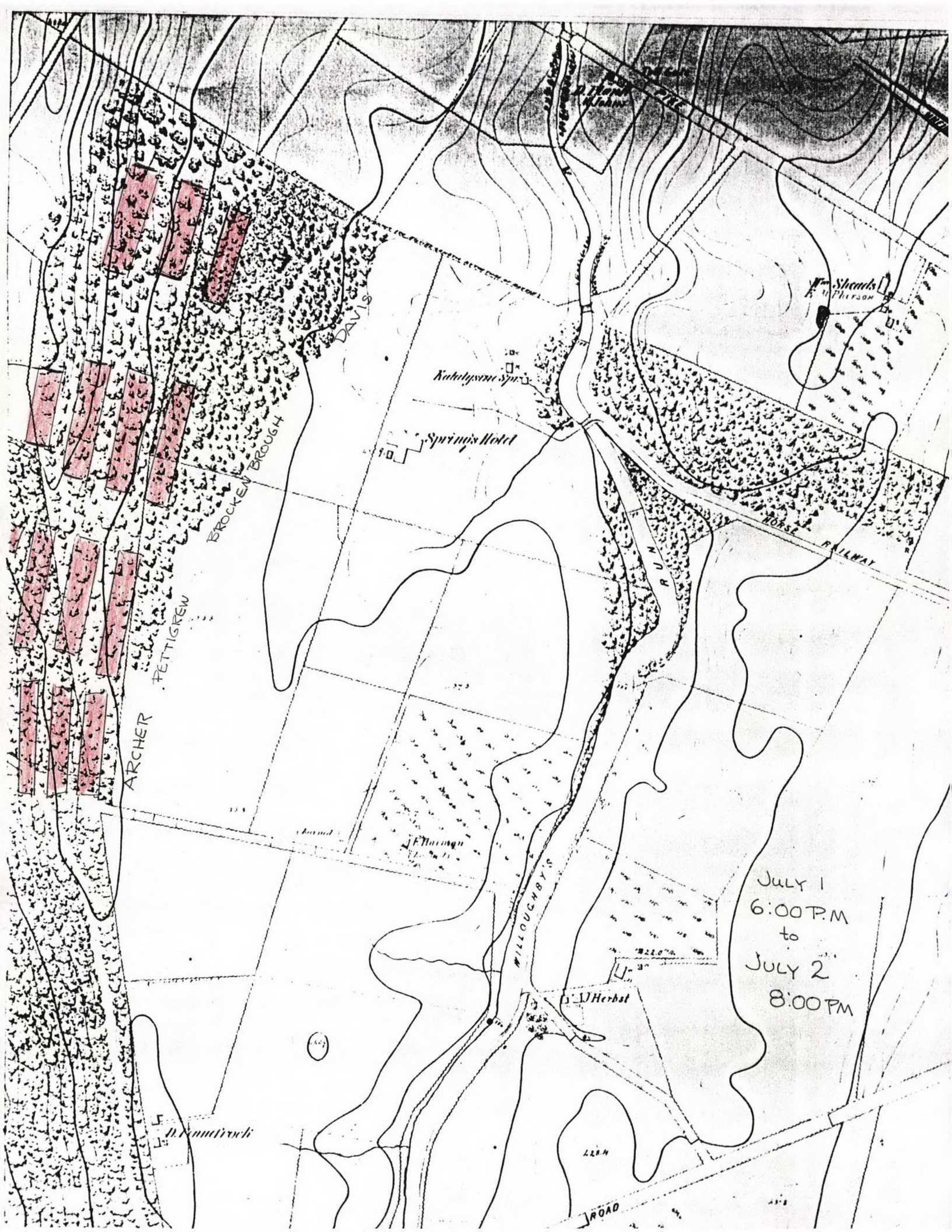
Volleys of musketry continued to pour sheets of lead into the staggered regiment. But the men advanced with a cheer, rush forward, and actually reach the summit of the ridge, behind the inspired Colonel Lane. But Lane, the last to bear the colors in this valiant charge, attracted the fire of one Michigan sergeant, reluctant to leave his post before one last defiant shot. Just as Lane turned to see if the regiment was continuing to pursue the enemy, a shot struck him in the back of his neck just below the brain, and crashed through his jaw and mouth. For the fourteenth and last time this day, the bloodied colors of the 26th North Carolina fell to the ground.

The exhausted and thinned battle line of Pettigrew's Brigade had gone about as far as it could humanly go. The men of Pender's Division swept over them, eager to press the retreating Federals off of the battlefield. Barricades at the Lutheran Seminary, however, sheltered the Union survivors, and a strong line of artillery greeted Pender with volley after volley. The men of these brigades would inherit the honor of advancing the Confederate colors, bloodying their own regimental ensigns in a series of desperate assaults against the Seminary line before it ultimately collapsed.

While the soldiers of Pender's Division prepared to occupy the town of Gettysburg and to strengthen a new battle line along Seminary Ridge, the scarred men of Heth's Division were given a deserved rest. Ordered to return to the Harmon/Wible Woods, the division would remain encamped therein until the following evening, when they were moved to the right. Many wounded comrades were carried back to the woods by their friends, and perhaps a few who were mortally wounded or killed. One of the latter to be carried back was Colonel Burgwyn, of the 26th North Carolina. Two soldiers of the regiment were struggling to carry him in a blanket from the field, when they came across William M. Cheek, of Company E, and solicited his aid:

We carried him some distance towards the place where our line of battle had been formed, and as we were thus moving him a lieutenant of some South Carolina regiment came up and took hold of the blanket to help us. Colonel Burgwyn did not seem to suffer much, but asked the lieutenant to pour some water on his wound. He was put down upon the ground while the water was poured from canteens upon him. His coat was taken off and I stooped to take his watch, which was held around his neck by a silk cord. As I did so the South Carolina lieutenant seized the watch, broke the cord, put the watch in his pocket and started off with it. I demanded the watch, telling the officer that he should not thus take away the watch of my colonel and that I would kill him as sure as powder would burn, with these words cocking my rifle and taking aim at him.

I made him come back and give up the watch, at the same time telling him he was nothing but a thief, and then ordering him to leave, which he did. In a few moments, Colonel Burgwyn said to me that he would never forget me, and I shall never forget the look he gave me as he spoke these words. We then picked him up again and carried him very close to the place where we had been formed in line of battle.



Captain Young, of General Pettigrew's staff, came up and expressed much sympathy with Colonel Burgwyn. The latter said that he was very grateful for the sympathy, and added, "The Lord's will be done. We have gained the greatest victory of the war. I have no regret at my approaching death. I fell in the defense of my country." About that time a shell exploded very near us and took off the entire top of the hat of Captain Brewer, who had joined our party. I left and went to search for one of our litters, in order to place Colonel Burgwyn upon it, so as to carry him more comfortably and conveniently. I found the litter with some difficulty, and as the bearers and myself came up to the spot where Colonel Burgwyn was lying on the ground, we found that he was dying. I sat down and took his hand in my lap. He had very little to say, but I remember that his last words were that he was entirely satisfied with everything, and "The Lord's will be done." Thus he died, very quietly and resignedly. I never saw a braver man than he. He was always cool under fire and knew exactly what to do, and his men were devoted to him.

[Fred A. Olds, "Brave Carolinian who fell at Gettysburg," Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. XXXVI (1908), pp. 245-247.]

When Lieutenant Louis G. Young, aide-de-camp to General Pettigrew, came upon his friend and former colonel, he was left quite alone with Burgwyn after the others went in search of a litter. Lieutenant Young gave Burgwyn some of the contents from the same canteen which the colonel had earlier used to revive his friend, John Lane. Now the French brandy stimulated the young colonel a bit, too. Burgwyn conversed a while with Young, sending a farewell to his family and his parents. Remembering the gallantry of his regiment and the words of praise received by him from General Pettigrew, just before his wounding, Burgwyn asked Young to "Tell the General my men never failed me at a single point." He died in the arms of Lieutenant Young, near the center of the Harmon/Wible Woods. Captain J. J. Young, the regimental quartermaster, visited the spot the next day: "A prettier place could not have been selected, if sought for, being in a dense shade of oak on the green grass. His scabbard had been shot away before. . . . [Here], under the broad canopy of heaven, he died as a patriot could only wish" [Clark, Histories of the Several Regiments. . . ., p. 407; Charles D. Walker, Memorial, Virginia Military Institute. Biographical Sketches of the Graduates and Eleves. . . . (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1875), p. 86]. His remains were carried across the pike to the Christ farm, and buried under a walnut tree in a gun case by Captain Young and others. In the spring of 1867, Colonel Burgwyn's remains were reinterred in the Soldiers' Cemetery in Raleigh [Clark, Histories of the Several Regiments. . . ., p. 408]

July 2 was a day of recovery for Heth's Division. Drawn up in the woods of the Harmon and Wible farms, the Confederate brigades of Pettigrew, Brockenbrough, Davis, and Archer tended to their slightly wounded, had the worse wounded carried to the brigade hospitals in the rear, replenished ammunition, and rested for future battle. Throughout the day, however, the regiments were subjected to an occasional shell from Union artillery. Shells exploded at regular intervals in the woods, preventing the men from moving too far from cover. The regimental band of the 26th North Carolina, on duty at the brigade hospital west of the woods, received an order from General Pettigrew to report and play some music for the men. The surgeon at the

hospital sent a messenger with a note to Pettigrew, explaining that the band could not be spared from tending to the wounded. Some time later, however, another note arrived in the hospital. The contents were such that Dr. Warren immediately relented and sent the band on its way.

Having seen so many friends from the 26th Regiment among the brigade's wounded, the band was not sure how they, as noncombatants would be received. They expected that the regiment would be dejected and disheartened after such bloody punishment, but were surprised to find them "much more cheerful than we were ourselves." Joined by the band of the 11th North Carolina, the combined bands serenaded the men in Harmon/Wible Woods for some time, while heavy cannonading could be heard from the battlefield south of Gettysburg. Northern papers would later report that Union soldiers and observers were dumbstruck to hear the strains of waltzes and airs coming from Confederate lines during the bombardment. Before they returned to their hospital duties, the bandsmen were cheered lustily by the thinned ranks of the division. Although the Confederate veterans in the woods appreciated the music, it was observed later that the Federals must not have liked the musical selections. Soon after the bands left, a shell struck and exploded very close to the place where they had been standing ["Southern Soldiers in Northern Prisons," SHSP, p. 160; Donald L. McCorkle, ed., "Regiment Band of the Twenty-Sixth North Carolina," Civil War History, vol. IV (September 1958), p. 229].

When the men of the 26th North Carolina marched out of the woods at dusk on July 2d, they did not return during the remainder of the battle, nor did any other Confederate unit. It would be up to Lieutenant Colonel John H. Lane, who survived his Gettysburg wounds, suffered multiple wounds in later engagements, and returned after the war to the battlefield, to pronounce their eulogy:

These men were patriots; they loved their country, they loved liberty. Their forefathers had fought the British at King's Mountain and Guilford Court House. . . . Now every man of them was convinced that the cause for which he was fighting was just; he believed that he owed allegiance first to his home and State. . . . Finally these men had native courage---not the loud-mouthed courage of the braggart---but the quiet, unfaltering courage that caused them to advance in the face of a murderous fire. The men of this regiment would never endure an officer who cowered in battle. They demanded in an officer the same courage they manifested themselves; they would endure no domineering, they would suffer no driving. At this time the men had come to understand and to trust the officers, the officers the men, and like a mighty, well-arranged military engine it was ready with one spirit to move forward. That noble band of men, God bless them! God bless them!"

[Quoted in Archie K. Davis, Boy Colonel of the Confederacy (Chapel Hill, 1985), p. 317.]

No one delivered a eulogy for the Harmon farm, laid waste by the battle. The barn foundations jutted above its smoldering framing and contents. The brick walls of the house remained, fortress-like, although the contents of the house, its windows, its roof, had all fallen victims to the flames set by the maddened North Carolinians. When Amelia Harmon and her aunt returned five days after fleeing, they did not find the "prosperous farm" they had so enjoyed. They found "a blackened ruin and the silence of death" [Gettysburg Compiler (3 July 1915)].

The damage to the farm's crops, fencing, and buildings must have been extensive. Surprisingly, however, Emanuel Harmon and his family never appear to have filed a claim against either the Federal or State governments in hopes of recovering damages. No claim is recorded for the real property of the Harmon farm. The tenant farmers residing in the farmhouse did file claims for personal property, as recorded in the claims of David W. and Rachel Finfruck. The Finfrucks explained that they lived with William Comfort on the farm of Emanuel Harmon at the time of the battle (probably on one side of the double brick house). It would appear that both William Comfort and David Finfruck were doing the actual work on the farm for Harmon, and residing in the house, although neither appears on the 1860 census for the township. It is therefore likely that both began working as tenants on the farm sometime after June of that year. See P. 18

Because the men apparently farmed on the shares, Finfruck claimed the loss of ten acres of wheat and five acres of rye by the movement of both armies across his crop fields. A potato patch and truck garden near the house was also destroyed. Although William Comfort was able to save the horses from capture by taking them away before the battle, the Finfrucks lost eleven head of cattle and five sheep to the Confederate army. William Comfort claimed the loss of eleven head of cattle as well, including five cows and six young cattle. Some of this livestock may have been slaughtered on the spot, to feed the hungry men of Heth's Division during their bivouac in the adjoining woods on the first and second of July. Others may have been herded away to the Confederate rear, to be slaughtered there for use in the hospitals. The Finfrucks also lost all of their personal property during the burning of the Harmon house and barn, the Confederates not allowing them to remove anything from the house but themselves and the clothes they were wearing.

Among the more interesting items consumed in the fire were 94 yards of carpeting and carpet material, ten dollars' worth of mantle ornaments, an electromagnetic battery, a "premium gold pencil," and a "new set of teeth not used." But they also claimed the loss of everything else which comprised a household---beds and bedding (including eleven quilts, six comforters, six blankets, six linen sheets), tables and table cloths, looking glasses, twelve chairs and two rocking chairs, a bureau, a lounge, a desk and bookcase, a library of books, the window blinds and curtains, the cooking and wood stoves and pipes, a sink, twelve gallons of apple, pear, and peach butter and preserved fruits, dried beef and bacon, Queensware, earthenware, tinware, and cedarware. [Federal claim #23/800; Pennsylvania State claim #3371].

William Comfort's personal possessions were remarkably similar to those of the Finfrucks. Because he was away from the farm, protecting the very horses that allowed them to farm and subsist, he was also unable to save anything from the flames that consumed the house and barn. He also claimed the loss of 40 yards of carpeting and carpet material, beds and bedding (including five quilts, four comforters, three blankets, six linen sheets), a table with table cloths and covers, a book case, twelve chairs and two rocking chairs, two stoves and pipes, a sink, blinds and curtains, and looking glasses. But Comfort also lost personal items that made his apartment uniquely his own---a clock, a copper kettle, his own mantle ornaments, a spinning wheel and reel. It could be assumed that his gold watch and rifle were appropriated by the Confederates before they torched the house [Federal claim #23/800; Pennsylvania State claim #3528].

Perhaps the loss of the barn's contents were as sorely missed by the tenants as their household goods, since these gave Comfort and Finfruck the ability to raise the crops, shelter the animals, and otherwise put food on the table and money in their pockets. Finfruck lost a buggy and set of harness, a saddle and bridle, a wheelbarrow, a plow, shovels, forks, and a garden hoe, a lot of barrels, sixteen bushels of wheat, and a ton of hay. Comfort's losses were more severe, indicating that it was he that provided the means by which the tenants did most of the farming. He claimed a windmill, a wagon and bed, a hay carriage, a spring wagon and harness, four sets of gears, collars and bridles, two grain cradles, buckets, saws, barrels, two barrels of flour, and a hay rake and fork. He also claimed a Manny's reaper, one of the most expensive items in the barn, but this claim was disputed by neighbor John Herbst when the claim was investigated. Herbst stated to the investigating agent that the reaper was not the property of William Comfort, but really belonged to Edward Hall, who lived on the farm southwest of the Harmon farm [Federal claim #23/800; Pennsylvania State claims #3371 and #3528].

Farmers neighboring the Harmon farm to the west suffered almost as severely. Although their farms may not have been subjected to the intensity of musketry and artillery fire as the Harmon farm and its woods, they suffered under the same conditions of Confederate encampments, movements, and plundering. Frederick Herr, who owned property immediately west of the Harmon/Wible Woods, claimed the loss of 7500 chestnut rails, 3000 feet of fencing boards, 75 posts, and two cords of wood. Most of these wood products were removed and burned for cookfires, or were broken down to make way for large bodies of men and wagons. Dr. Samuel Hall, who owned property south of Herr and also on the Herr Ridge Road, saw his farm "very much cut up by wagon trains" [Pennsylvania State Claim #3224; #3058]. The losses of Dr. Hall were so great, that by 1866 he was compelled to draw up a deed of assignment in the name of local attorney, Robert G. McCreary. This measure was taken "in consequence of the devastation of his lands and destruction of his property by rebel armies and sundry misfortunes happening to him" [Adams County Deed Book Y, p. 321]. Within three months of the deed of assignment, McCreary was advertising Dr. Hall's farm for public sale, in order to make provision for payment to the doctor's creditors. Included in a description of the 138-acre farm was the stand of "heavy oak timber" which comprised the 25 acres of its eastern boundary [Adams Sentinel (1 September 1866)]. This oak timber was the southern extension of the Harmon/Wible Woods, a very small portion of which was north of the Mill Road. (This small corner of the 25-acre woodland would eventually be included in the sale of the Springs Hotel Woods to the U.S. Government in 1920.)

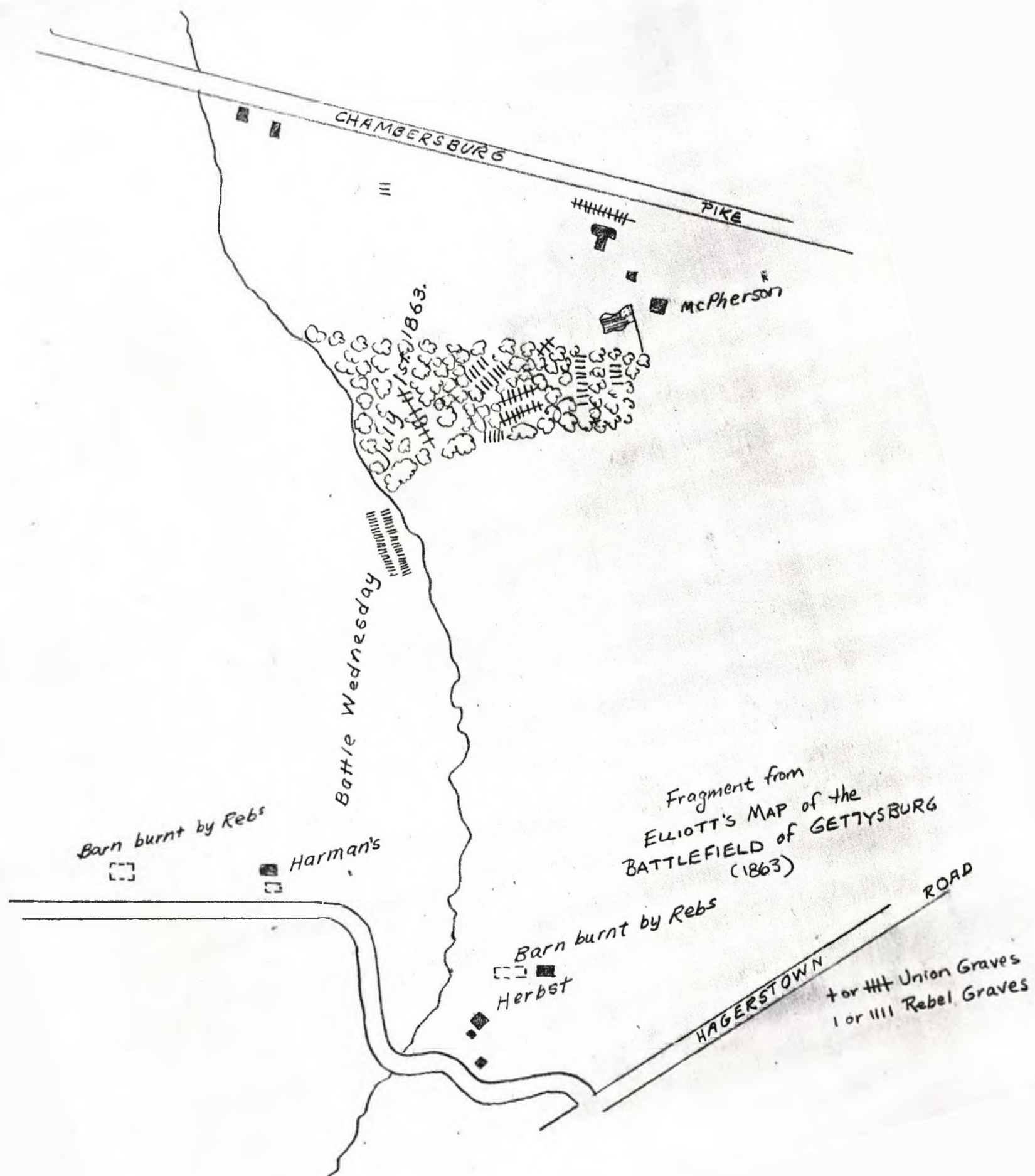
It is unclear, because of the lack of claims files, just how hard hit Emanuel Harmon had been by the devastation on his own property. It appears that he had enough capital, however, to expand the farm within six months of the battle. On January 21st of 1864, Harmon purchased half interest in the Peter Stallsmith farm from Andrew Polly, the guardian of Henry Stallsmith. Henry was the minor child of the deceased Peter Stallsmith. Less than three months later he acquired the other half interest from Ann Stallsmith and Jacob F. Thomas and his wife, the former Sarah Stallsmith, for \$1000 [Adams County Deed Book W, pp. 306, 308]. The Stallsmith tract of 66 acres was located immediately south of the Harmon farm, and was separated from it by the Mill Road. It had once been part of the farm during the time of William McPherson and Reverend C. G. McLean, but had been sold from the larger tract in 1850 by John Miller. By reuniting the two tracts again, Harmon increased the size of his farm to 190 acres.

Once again, the reason for the expansion of the farm is unclear. One might assume that Harmon purchased the neighboring Stallsmith property in order to provide a dwelling house for his tenant farmers while the old brick manor house was being rebuilt or repaired. (That the brick house itself seems to have withstood total devastation by the flames is affirmed by the map of the battlefield by S. G. Elliott, surveyed sometime between August and November of 1863. Elliott's map indicated that the barn and outbuildings were burned and destroyed during the battle, but the house has no such indication. A photograph taken in the 1870s shows a two-story brick house at the same site as that indicated by a house on the 1868-1869 G. K. Warren survey. This brick house was surrounded by an orchard, but lacked all other outbuildings or barn. The working farm buildings for the extended Harmon farm therefore appear to have been those on the old Stallsmith property.)

In the years subsequent to the battle, residents and visitors in the vicinity of the Harmon farm saw occasional reminders of the conflict that had swept across the fields and through the woods. For years after the battle, at least five recorded Confederate graves, with their wooden markers, hinted at the loss of life there. Major Egbert A. Ross, killed during the fighting on July 1, 1863, and carried back to the rear, was buried south of Herr Tavern in the woods. Alfred B. Howard, Co. E, 26th North Carolina was buried in Harmon's field, west of Willoughby Run. A soldier recorded only as J. J. G. of the 55th Virginia was buried north of Harmon's, west of the Chambersburg Pike gatehouse. And two company comrades, James D. Leaman and John H. Hancock, of Company E, 52d North Carolina were buried in the woods near the Mill Road [entries in Burial Journal of Dr. John W. C. O'Neal, GNMP collections]. None of the wooden headboards of these graves lasted until 1866, when a battlefield survey of surviving markers and indications was completed.

The disintegration and neglect of physical markers seem to indicate that others, besides these, may not have been recognized or rediscovered by the authorities when Confederate remains were removed from the battlefield (c. 1870-1872). Various newspaper notices in the three decades following the battle revealed that Confederate battle dead were accidentally uncovered on a number of occasions, some of whom were located on the Harman Farm, along Willoughby's Run, and in the Herbst Woods east of the run. Farming and other activities on the Springs Hotel grounds, located at the post-war Harmon Farm, brought the remains of Confederate corpses to light. In the fall of 1877 the bones of four Southern soldiers were discovered a short distance east of the Springs Hotel itself. The hotel management proposed to take up the bones and place them "in some suitable spot on the Springs park, and have other remains of Confederates known to be on the battlefield removed to the same spot" [Gettysburg Compiler (11 October 1877)]. There is no record as to where these remains, or others that may have been found elsewhere, were reburied. There is the obvious conclusion that they would not have been removed a great distance, but would have been moved to a place unlikely to be disturbed by agricultural or developmental activities.

In 1888, Edward Leeper came across the remains of two Confederates while gathering herbs in Herbst Woods. Investigation revealed that these remains had been removed from some other location and buried there years previously [Star and Sentinel (17 and 23 July 1888)]. Since the "Springs park" extended into a portion of Herbst Woods, there may be the possibility that the rediscovered Confederate remains were those first discovered in 1877 on the Harmon Farm, since relocation of the remains to the Herbst or Harmon/Wible Woods would have been a logical and undeveloped site for such remains.



Yet another incident of an accidental discovery of Confederate remains was reported in 1890. On November 12th, while local resident Charles E. Lady was crossing the field about 300 yards southeast of the Springs Hotel, he came upon a dog digging in the ground. He noticed some bones, and on closer inspection discovered that the dog had uncovered a trench in which there were several skeletons. Although several buttons were found in the trench, they were too rusted to give a clue as to the state origin of the dead battle veterans, although the location of the graves seemed to indicate that they were Southerners [Star and Sentinel (18 November 1890)].

Elliott's battlefield survey, which purported to show the marked graves or known location of Union and Confederate burial trenches, indicated that two large trenches containing 43 Confederates were buried west of Willoughby's Run, on the Harmon Farm. Elliott's map did not extend as far west as the Harmon/Wible Woods, and the only woods depicted on this portion of the battlefield were the Herbst Woods, east of the run, where the Iron Brigade had established a defensive position on July 1st. Elliott represented both Union and Confederate casualties interred in these Herbst Woods.

Although Elliott's map is sometimes reliable for pinpointing specific burial sites, post-battle records by Federal and civilian authorities of known graves and burial trenches are often in conflict with the map. Elliott missed many trenches and graves which were recorded, by specific names on headboards, by Dr. O'Neal and Samuel Weaver (Confederate) and J. G. Frey (Union). It is therefore logical to assume that Elliott may have included only a portion of the Confederate and Union interment sites in the vicinity of the Harmon farm and adjoining woods. For instance, the two graves of privates Leamon and Hancock (recorded by Dr. O'Neal as J. D. Lemon and J. A. Hanock) were known and visible to O'Neal near the Mill Road and in the Harmon/Wible or Hall Woods. Yet Elliott does not so indicate on his map. In like manner, Elliott did not designate the grave of "J. J. G." of the 55th Virginia, north of Harman's and near the Johns Tollhouse (although Elliott did include the land between these two landmarks).

Because the Confederate divisions of Generals Heth and Pender were engaged on more than one day of the Battle of Gettysburg, it is difficult to ascertain the total number of casualties (particularly killed and mortally wounded) sustained by these divisions on the first day of the battle. Confederate reports are sketchy, and regimental records and rosters often include the cryptic observation, "killed/wounded/missing at Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863." The exact date of the casualty is often not specified, even on the regimental level. We can estimate, however, that these divisions incurred at least an average of fifty percent of their casualties during their attack on the first day of the battle, from Herr Ridge and the woods to the Seminary grounds. In round figures, this would mean that of the nearly 12,000 Confederates who rested, advanced, and attacked on these grounds, almost 600 were killed [John W. Busey and David G. Martin, Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg (Hightstown, N.J.: Longstreet House, 1986), pp. 173-183, 290-293]. Elliott's map indicates only a few more than 100 Confederate interments on the grounds over which these two divisions attacked. Even if 100 of the estimated 600 were to die of mortal wounds in behind-the-lines field hospitals, there would still be 400 Confederate graves which were not designated on the Elliott map!

Only 105 unidentified Confederate remains from the battle areas of Willoughby's Run, the McPherson Farm, and the Seminary were re-interred to Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery after the war [Nominal lists and box numbers of Hollywood Cemetery shipments, Confederate Museum; copy in GNMP vertical files]. No unidentified or identified remains were recorded as reinterred from the Harmon/Wible or Hall Woods, with the exception of Major E. A. Ross (who was disinterred and removed to Charleston) [O'Neal Journal], and privates Leamon and Hancock of the 52d North Carolina (reinterred to Raleigh in 1871). It would appear that at least 300, and as many as 400, Confederate dead, who fell in battle line from the Harmon/Wible Woods to the Lutheran Seminary are unaccounted for on any reinterment records. We can assume that the remains were never removed from the battlefield, although some may have been removed to another part of a farm or property when accidentally uncovered. It is interesting to note, for example, that the 43 Confederate remains recorded by engineer Elliott in 1863 as west of Willoughby's Run, on the Harmon Farm, were never removed (as indicated in an examination of the records of the Hollywood Cemetery or the North Carolina Ladies Memorial Associations). If Elliott was correct in his delineation of these graves, they still existed after the reinterments of the 1870s. Unless unwittingly disturbed during subsequent development on the Harmon property, these trench burials may still exist. Since indications are strong that there was little or no post-battle disturbance of the Harmon/Wible Woods, any battle interments there must still exist (unless compromised in the recent past by pot-hunters with metal detectors).

The memories of the Confederate and Union dead, and of the destruction and loss created by the battle havoc over private property, slowly dissipated with the close of the Civil War. Joseph Wible soon found a buyer for the Herr Tavern property, made so unattractive by the uncertain economy of the war, within weeks of the execution of Lincoln assassination conspirators. David Ireland purchased the expanded Frederick Herr farm in August 1865, for about \$5300, and set about improving the buildings thereon. Included in the sale was the western portion of the Harmon/Wible Woods [Adams County Deed Book X, p. 590]. Harmon clung to his own investment, including the old Stallsmith Farm, and apparently started to rebuild and reuse the old McLean manor house. But, something "startling" was about to change forever the way Emanuel Harmon perceived his tenant farm. A newspaper story was to hint at, and usher in, a new entrepreneurial spirit in a man looking for a means to salvage his war-torn farm.

In the summer of 1867, the Gettysburg Compiler announced that there were "Startling Developments in regard to the Springs." A notice in the local newspaper (from an unidentified source) stated that the Gettysburg waters possessed the power of "developing vital energy, and consequently of promoting a higher physical condition of the human system." The waters were declared to have "extraordinary power, at least to a limited extent." When used, the waters produced a "sensation of well being," and could revive "drooping powers" brought on by physical or mental exertion [Gettysburg Compiler (8 July 1867)]. These beneficial Gettysburg waters were located on the property of Emanuel Harmon. ✓ n?

Reverend McLean had once tried to interest the community in the quality of a medicinal springs at the northeast corner of his farm, but could not arouse the capital or the enthusiasm before he left the Gettysburg region. Harmon,

however, must have been sending samples to acquaintances in New York, or was offering the spring water to early battlefield tourists. In August, the Surgical and Medical Reporter of Philadelphia contained a letter descriptive of the "medicinal properties and virtues of the Gettysburg Lithia Springs," which was mentioned in the local papers as an example of the town's growing fame [Star and Sentinel (21 August 1867)]. Within a matter of weeks, the reputation of the Lithia Springs on the property of Emanuel Harmon was attracting increasing attention. Orders for the water were coming in almost daily from New York, Philadelphia, and western cities. The limited research undertaken within the scope of this paper did not reveal just how the fame of the waters was transmitted. It is unclear whether there was an agent in these cities at such an early date, or if the qualities and benefits of the Gettysburg waters worked as its own advertisement. Perhaps the words of the New York Herald underscored the reasons behind the popularity of the Lithia Springs waters: "The remarkable cures that this water has made of chronic diseases are, we believe, beyond doubt, and the character of the water, the historic association of the place and its beautiful scenery, seem to promise that Gettysburg will become famous as a great American watering place" [Star and Sentinel (30 October 1867)].

Harmon was shortly prompted to capitalize on the growing demand for the waters and the increasing attention which was being attracted to his medicinal springs. In November, rumors circulated in Gettysburg that the owner had "negotiated with a New York party for a lease of the right to bottle the water of the Gettysburg Spring, for which a large demand had been created." These New Yorkers visited Gettysburg in the early part of November, spoke with Harmon, and proceeded to make "a conditional purchase of property which they deemed important in the prosecution of their business." Before leaving town, this partnership from the Empire State, comprised of Reily L. Hamilton and Jesse M. Emerson, arranged for the purchase of about ten acres of timber in the Herbst Woods and also for the acquisition of the Edward McPherson Farm, both adjoining the Harmon property and in close proximity to the springs. The newspaper predicted that "indications are favorable to a systematic and extensive introduction of this valuable water" [Star and Sentinel (15 November 1867)].

Over the winter months, this new "Gettysburg Springs Company" expanded its property holdings and began in earnest to bottle and sell the Lithia Springs water. Emerson and Hamilton purchased the 159-acre former Herr Tavern farm, including the western half of the Harmon/Wible Woods, from David Ireland for \$8741.21, or \$55 an acre [Adams County Deed Book Z, p. 461]. Coupled with the Harmon farm, on which the Springs itself was located, the New York firm controlled much of the land surrounding their growing bottling enterprise. The local newspapers initially praised this expansion, since it was perceived as an assurance of financial success, which would obviously affect the community's own prosperity. The Compiler wrote:

We understand that the company making these purchases have abundant capital, which will be made available in developing the Springs and bringing the water into market for medicinal purposes. The water is rapidly acquiring a reputation for curative properties, and already there is a large demand for it.

[Gettysburg Compiler (10 January 1868)]

Local enthusiasm for the springs enterprise remained undiminished in these early months of its development under the leadership of Emerson and Hamilton. The town newspapers eagerly reported about any new improvements and acquisitions, and were pleased to repeat the kind words which appeared in the columns of the city press concerning the Gettysburg Springs:

Probably few of our citizens have a proper conception of the wide-spread reputation which the "Gettysburg Water," from the spring on the Harman property is acquiring, and the large demand which already exists for it. -- Large quantities are daily bottled and shipped to distant places. . . . The N. York Tribune of Wednesday last has the following editorial reference to it: "Ever since the Battle of Gettysburg, we have been hearing, at intervals, of a Spring flowing on or near the battle-field, whose medicinal properties had been proved of remarkable excellence. The water of that Spring has been considerably used, we are all well assured, with excellent results; but it has not hitherto been generally accessible. At length, arrangements have been perfected for bringing it fully before the public, and it is advertized quite fully in our columns to-day. . . . The water will remain for a few days on draft, without charge, at Caswell, Hazzard & Co.'s, under the Fifth Avenue Hotel."
[Star and Sentinel (5 February 1868)]

Not to be outdone in lavishing praise on the new entrepreneurial project, the following week's issue from the town's rival newspaper inserted additional news concerning the springs:

The water of the Gettysburg Springs is now being extensively bottled, and shipped, to fill orders, to all parts of the country. Quite a force of hands, under the superintendence of Dr. Smith is engaged in bottling, and daily shipments are made over the Gettysburg Railroad. Large quantities go to New York, where the peculiarly valuable medicinal qualities of the water are extensively advertised. Dr. John Bell, an eminent authority on mineral waters, pronounces the Gettysburg water similar but superior to the celebrated Vichy water of Europe.
[Gettysburg Compiler (14 February 1868)]

The on-site manager of the springs project, Dr. G. D. Smith, was apparently brought in by either Hamilton or Emerson to superintend the bottling works. His responsibilities would increase in the months that followed.

By the spring of 1868, speculation was rampant in the community that the New York partnership would soon move to develop and use the lands which they had purchased adjoining the spring. One story circulating through the vicinity was the notion that cottages would soon be constructed on the Herr Tavern property and on the McPherson farm to house the families and invalids who were destined to be "attracted by the reputation of the water" [Star and Sentinel (1 April 1868)]. Although these rumors never materialized, the company directed its improvements in the direction of the spring itself and to its product. A decision was made to expand the production of the bottled water, selling it in bulk quantities to "all classes of consumers." By purchasing the water by the case, composed of one or two dozen quart bottles, the consumer would receive a reduction in the cost per bottle [Star and Sentinel (17 June 1868)]. In addition, a decision was made to improve and beautify the access to the spring, and to encourage visitors to enjoy its environs while

Road graded from Chambersburg pike
to the Springs bottling works
(June 1868)

they partook of the waters or made their purchases. Dr. Smith enlarged the grounds which enclosed the spring and bottling works by as much as ten acres, and proceeded to lay out walks and drives. As the summer months peaked, the community's interest and enthusiasm rose with the temperature:

Dr. Smith is pushing operations at the Gettysburg Katalysine Springs with all possible vigor, to meet the rapidly increasing demand for this valuable water -- and he appears to be just the man to do it. With his large force of hands and improved machinery, he is having bottled, packed and shipped about two hundred and fifty dozen quart bottles every day, besides meeting the many calls for the water at the spring. He is making arrangements to have the cases necessary in the shipping of the water manufactured on the ground, and will thus considerably facilitate his operations.

He had an excellent road graded from the turnpike to the spring, and the grounds handsomely laid off and set with shade trees, some months ago; and is now engaged in enclosing about ten acres more, to be improved likewise. With Dr. Smith's energy and taste, the Gettysburg Katalysine Springs will soon become famed for the beauty of its surroundings, as it has already become for the virtues of its water.

The Spring Company have purchased the McPherson, Ireland and Herbst farms, and therefore own nearly all the land between the Chambersburg turnpike and the Hagerstown road, from the Seminary lands to Herr's ridge -- a beautiful tract, with fair proportions cleared and timbered, and well watered, Willoughby's run passing through the centre of it.

[Gettysburg Compiler (26 June 1868).]

Since Hamilton and Emerson did not own the Harmon farm, it was impossible for them to construct an access road across the lands of the latter. Therefore, Dr. Smith undertook to open a lane, enclosed with fencing, on the east side of Willoughby's Run and over the McPherson property (which had been purchased by the partnership in 1867). This lane appeared prominently in the military survey of the battlefield, completed in 1869 under the direction of General G. K. Warren. There was no indication on the resulting survey map, however, that the lane, its parallel worm fencing, and the bridge over Willoughby's Run, were post-battle developments. These distinctive landscape features, which also appeared in early post-war photographs, were not part of the 1863 battlefield topography, as supposed and recorded by the Warren survey team, but were built in this summer of 1868 to provide visitor access to the Katalysine Spring bottling works.

The increase in construction, of wooden boxes and crates for shipping the bottled waters and of picket fencing to enclose the springs buildings, led to Dr. Smith installing a circular saw at the premises. This would facilitate the various construction projects. Unfortunately, the installation of the saw led to the first reported accident at the bottling works, when local resident, Jacob Hankey, had his right hand badly cut while working the equipment [Star and Sentinel (9 July 1868)].

The remainder of the summer passed with little incident or additional construction activities. The bottling works was probably operating at capacity, Dr. Smith greeting visitors to the spring from as nearby as

Gettysburg and from faraway places like New York. But someone, or some group of local residents, began to question the limited extent of the operations, the motivations of the partnership in acquiring such large tracts of adjoining land, and the apparent exclusion of local participation in the profits to be obtained from a local resource. An anonymous letter appeared in the columns of the Gettysburg Compiler, promoting the development of a hotel resort at the Katalysine Springs. The letter observed that this hotel resort should be controlled by local businessmen, not New Yorkers or out-of-town capitalists, and that stock in the venture should be sold to members of the Gettysburg community. The columnist continued by pointing out that the Katalysine Springs was "attracting to Gettysburg the summer army of health and pleasure seekers. . . . [It] has been made abundantly manifest to the dullest apprehension that a large Summer Hotel at this spring is an urgent public need." The writer envisioned this singular hotel as becoming so popular that it would lead to the construction or flourishing of additional hotels, and would result in fabulous increases in real estate values. If outsiders acquired interest in the springs and the surrounding property (which was already happening), there was the real possibility that they could materially influence the town's prosperity. Those in control could become "the masters of the destiny of this town and surrounding country. They will be able to discriminate against it, to injure it, and even to build up a rival town around the Spring, where they will own the land" [Gettysburg Compiler (28 August 1868)]. On September 4th, a column very similar in tenor and proposition appeared in the town's other newspaper, the Star and Sentinel.

Almost as if to confirm the fears expressed in the editorial, the partnership of Hamilton and Emerson, representing the Gettysburg Katalysine Company, purchased the George Stremmel farm (the Civil War-era Michael Christ farm), across the Chambersburg pike from the springs and adjoining other property of the company. These 155 acres contained another reputed medicinal spring, known locally as Stremmel's Spring. Perhaps the partnership envisioned tapping the spring waters on this adjoining farm, in the expectation they were the same as those of the Lithia Springs on the Harmon Farm. In any event, the company agreed to pay \$15,000 for the property, all in "deferred payments" [Gettysburg Compiler (11 September 1868)]. This dangerous practice by Reily Hamilton of purchasing property on the deferred payment plan, hoping to capitalize on the sure boom to accompany the success of the Springs, was still eagerly approved by the resident grantees. Besides George Stremmel, Hamilton had promised payments to Edward McPherson for the large farm adjoining Willoughby's Run. Smaller tracts, mostly near the Seminary, were also purchased under the same plan. Judge David Ziegler, real estate agent and grocer George Arnold, photographer C. J. Tyson, farmers C. H. Dustman and John Slentz, and civilian battle hero John L. Burns all sold their properties to the company under promise of future payment [Gettysburg Compiler (3 December 1869)].

The editorial, however, spurred community interest in a resort hotel proposal, and rumors of a new enterprise to that effect circulated through the town almost immediately after the appearance of the proposal in the newspaper. The reporters at the Compiler uncovered information that Emanuel Harmon was preparing to transfer five acres of his land, adjoining the Katalysine Springs, for hotel purposes. The newspaper also noted that there was a movement on foot to raise \$30,000 for this hotel building. They confidently noted that about \$15,000 had already been raised for that purpose, although "no general effort" had been made in that direction [Gettysburg Compiler (18 September 1868)].

Towards the end of October 1868, it was learned that a company had been organized for the erection of the proposed resort hotel at the Katalysine Springs. The new company had obtained a charter from the State legislature for the very purpose of erecting this hotel at the springs. The organization, called the Gettysburg Lithia Springs Association, was headed by local politician and retired farmer, Robert McCurdy. McCurdy had been one of the county's most vocal and persistent supporters of the Gettysburg railroad enterprise, and had served as its first president. Joining him on the board of directors were local attorneys Robert G. McCreary and David Wills, merchants Edward G. Fahnestock and Colonel C. H. Buehler, Samuel Herbst, and the original speculator in the Springs success, Reily L. Hamilton. Among the Association's aims was the completion of a hotel building in time for the invasion the next summer season of the "army of health and pleasure seekers." Original proposals from the group indicated that as many as 500 guests could be accommodated at one time in this new structure [Gettysburg Compiler (23 October 1868)].

To fulfill this purpose, the Lithia Springs Association consummated a land transfer from Emanuel Harmon for the hotel grounds. Five acres were transferred to the association for \$500. The tract, "adjacent to" the Gettysburg Lithia Springs, was arbitrarily excised from the larger farm, the boundaries following no natural or agricultural boundaries. The tract was a perfect rectangle, 500 feet long by 435 feet 8 inches deep [Adams County Deed Book AA, p. 89]. The deed for the transfer was not officially recorded until April 6th of the following year. The hotel itself would take up a considerable portion of this tract, according to the first proposal. The directors originally envisioned a main building which would be 350 feet long by 44 feet deep, and which would have a 44-foot wide wing extending the depth of the hotel another 110 feet. This massive building would be first class in every respect, and would dominate the site. It would be three stories high, would be capped with a French mansard roof, and would be constructed of "Brown stone found on the ground" [Star and Sentinel (22 January 1869)].

Amidst all of the planning and speculation about the substantial improvements near the Springs, Dr. Smith continued to make news with more mundane matters, but of considerable interest to area farmers. It seems that at about Thanksgiving he had acquired a pair of Bronze Turkeys to be placed on one of the farms belonging to the Springs partnership. These unique birds astounded Adams County's farmers because of their large size. It was regarded as highly significant that the male gobbler weighed in at 32 pounds, although he was only ten months old [Gettysburg Compiler (20 November 1868)]. It is unclear from the evidence to which the Springs Company's farms the turkeys took up temporary residence, but it is interesting to note that Dr. Smith was engaged in matters agrarian as well as industrial and managerial.

His managerial skills, however, were soon to be tested anew. In February 1869, Dr. G. D. Smith was awarded the contract for the construction of the new Springs Hotel by the Gettysburg Lithia Springs Association, the contract price to be \$35,000. Although the scale of the proposed hotel had been pared down since the Association first speculated publicly about it, the scope of the construction project and the time constraints under which Dr. Smith was expected to work, were still formidable. Ground was broken for the new hotel on February 16th, and it was announced that the Association hoped to be open

for business by June 20th---little more than 17 weeks away! The local newspaper recounted the Association's most recent proposal:

The erection of a large Hotel in connection with the Katalysine Springs has been definitely determined. The contract for the erection of the building has been taken by Dr. G. D. Smith, the present enterprising Superintendent of the Springs. The main building facing the park is to be 120 feet long and 44 feet deep, three stories with an attick; with a wing extending back towards the south 80 x 38 feet to be also three stories with attick, and a one-story Kitchen 40 x 38 feet. The building is intended to accommodate 250 guests, and is to finished by the 20th of June next, or in time to be furnished and ready for use at the final consecration ceremonies of the National Soldiers' Monument. The company agree to pay Dr. Smith \$35,000. The building will be frame.
[Star and Sentinel (19 February 1869)]

At first glance, it appeared that there was a conflict of interest in the awarding of the contract for the hotel construction to Dr. Smith. Smith also was employed by the Gettysburg Springs Company, which leased the Katalysine Springs. It also seems strange that Reily Hamilton, the New Yorker who was one of the lessees of the Springs itself, became one of the directors of the new Association. In light of the August 1868 editorial, it would appear contradictory that the local business and political leaders would embrace one of the very New York capitalists that they were seeking to undermine. The fate of the Gettysburg Springs Company, and of Hamilton and his partner, Jesse Emerson, seemed to be dependent on the success of not only the Gettysburg medicinal waters which they leased, but on the success of the new hotel, which could bring hundreds of weekly clients to their bottling works. The success of the hotel was dependent on control of the medicinal springs; the success of the springs was dependent on a growing influx of consumers. But there were two separate organizations controlling the respective interests.

On Tuesday morning, March 30th, Emanuel Harmon settled the apparent conflict. As lessor and proprietor of his farm, he had the authority to terminate the lease of the Springs and those surroundings which had been substantially improved by the Gettysburg Springs Company. Witnesses recounted how the "proprietor took possession of the premises, ejected the employees of the Company, and placed his own agents in charge." One of those agents was probably his long-time tenant farmer, David Finfruck, who gave his occupation in 1870 as farmer and Agent of the Springs Company [1870 census for Cumberland Township, Adams County]. After taking physical command of the Springs and the buildings thereon, Harmon put up a notice, to wit:

I have re-entered and terminated the lease of these premises and the Spring, in pursuance of one of the provisions of the instruments referred to authorizing me so to do in case default shall be made of any of the covenants therein contained. Such default has been repeatedly made of one and all the covenants of the instruments, and I have accordingly terminated the lease by this my act done and performed on the 30th of March, 1869. All Agents of the Gettysburg Springs Company are forbidden to enter these premises or the grounds adjacent for the purpose of exercising authority or the powers of the lease thus abrogated, under penalties of trespass and of such summary expulsion as the laws justify. . . .

[Star and Sentinel (2 April 1869)]

The repeated reference to legal phrases and words in the text of the posted notice tended to affirm the suspicions of the public that this move by Harmon was prompted by, or was under the advice of, local lawyers. Although there is no clear indication as to the identity of these lawyers, one could speculate that Messrs. McCreary and Wills were instrumental in influencing Harmon to close down the Springs to bottling and export by the Gettysburg Springs Company. The newspaper was perceptive enough to see that the "withdrawal of the water from the market will necessitate a visit to Gettysburg of those who desire to test its curative properties," since the water would not be otherwise available except at its source. In a mastery of understatement, the Star and Sentinel observed that this forced restriction of the waters would lead to

a hegira of invalids and healthseekers this summer, which must benefit our hotels and boarding houses. We understand that the disagreement between the owner and the lessees of the spring will not affect the supply of water to sojourners at hotels, boarding houses, or cottages in the vicinity; nor will it affect the large Spring Hotel now in progress of erection. The Spring Hotel Company have their right secured by contract, and we understand there is no disposition on either side to interfere with them, even if there was the power to do so. . . .

[Star and Sentinel (2 April 1869)]

The New Yorkers could be beaten at their own game; they could no longer take the unique Gettysburg waters for their own enrichment. From now on, the local businessmen who controlled the Springs Hotel would also control the use of and access to the medicinal spring. Only the members of the Association and the residents of the community would derive economic profit from the use or consumption of this Adams County natural resource.

With its monopoly of the Katalysine Springs assured, the Gettysburg Lithia Springs Association executed and recorded the public instrument that finalized the transfer of the five acres from the Harmon farm to the Association, one week to the day after Mr. Harmon posted the notice and ejected the agents of Hamilton and Emerson [Adams County Deed Book AA, p. 89]. Although the hotel site itself did not include the Springs site, the bottling works, or other improvements of the Springs Park, it appears that the Association had convinced Emanuel Harmon to lease them the exclusive use of the Springs. Dr. Smith was thus encouraged to drive his force of carpenters and masons at a quickened pace, to bring the hotel resort project to a successful completion. By mid-April 1869, the local newspapers could reasonably envision its finished appearance, since the building was "going up very rapidly," and would "soon be under roof."

The main building fronts North 120 feet and is 44 feet deep, four stories. The main entrance will be on the North, with Ladies' Entrance on the East, a Plaza [sic] 15 feet wide and 200 feet long running the entire front of the building and around the eastern and western ends. The building will accommodate about 300 guests, and will be furnished with all the requisites of a first class Summer Hotel -- with a very large Dinning [sic] and Cotillion Room, Billiard Room, Bar Room, Reading Room, Ladies' and Gentlemen's Parlors, &c., all judiciously arranged, with wide halls and corridors -- designed to promote the comfort and convenience of guests. The Kitchen will be in the rear, with a large Range with capacity to cook for 1000 guests, to meet the demand of future enlargement of

the hotel. This department will be arranged to prevent the odor from cooking from reaching the main building. Notwithstanding the size of the building, and the immense amount of material and labor involved in its erection, Dr. Smith, the energetic contractor, is pressing the work with great rapidity, and expects to have it finished by the middle of June. -- He has between 40 and 50 carpenters at work, divided into four or five gangs -- each set of workmen, under experienced foremen, prosecuting distinct branches of the work -- thus avoiding confusion and ensuring rapid work. . . .

Besides the building of a large Cistern, Privies, &c., ornamental trees are being planted, fences removed, walks and drives laid out -- it being the intention to throw the grounds from the Spring to the Mill road, 105 acres, into one enclosure or park, including the two groves east and west of the Spring.

Few even of our citizens have any idea of the extent of the improvements under way and in contemplation, and in a few months the grounds will hardly be recognized by the casual visitor.

[Star and Sentinel (16 April 1869)]

Aside from the physical description of the building and its proposed uses, the most enlightening point raised in the above newspaper account was the reference to the Association's future use of the Harmon farm. It was proposed to incorporate the open farm fields, and portions of the Herbst and the Harmon/Wible Woods, into the Springs Hotel complex and park, even though the Harmon holdings were still privately owned by him. Since Harmon did not appear on the original board of directors of the Association, we can only assume that he was cooperating with that board to the fullest extent, and was leasing it all of the property immediately surrounding the spring and hotel. The two groves, including the Harmon/Wible Woods, were incorporated into this park to complement the agricultural fields and the landscaped grounds, to provide the shaded, rural groves which would encourage strolling and physical exercise by the invalids and excursionists.

Still headlong and deeply at work on the construction of the Springs Hotel, contractor G. D. Smith decided to undertake yet another challenge. The Springs Hotel Company, known officially as the Gettysburg Lithia Springs Association, contracted with Dr. Smith to begin work on a Springs Railroad. This railway would connect the hotel with the town. It would begin at the Western Maryland Railroad Station on Carlisle Street, run around the town's diamond, and proceed west via Chambersburg Street and the future Springs Avenue, follow a circuitous route through the Lutheran Seminary grounds, and continue to the hotel by passing through the southern edge of the Herbst Woods before crossing a new stone bridge over Willoughby's Run [G. K. Warren Survey Map of the Battlefield of Gettysburg, 1868-1869]. This rail system would use horse-drawn passenger cars or trolleys, which could transport hotel residents directly to their destination from the train station upon their arrival in Gettysburg. Smith commenced work grading the route on 5 May 1869, working under another extreme and limited deadline. He was required to have the roadbed at a finished grade and have all the railroad ties laid within forty days (by June 14th). This would allow the company a week to lay the tracks to complete the railway [Star and Sentinel (7 May 1869)].

It was perhaps because the hotel construction was entering the specialized phase that Dr. Smith believed he could supervise yet another project. The professionals and journeymen, working under his foremen, could be expected

to work within the general framework of the building, once it was under roof. As he was pressing another force of laborers working on the roadbed, these specialists took advantage of the dry May days to begin plastering the vast number and variety of rooms within the hotel. The feat of one of these local plasterers was so noteworthy that the local newspaper felt compelled to boast of his skills. David Culp, painter/plasterer/paper hanger, had put a second coat of plaster on a room 15 feet by 10 feet by 9 feet in six minutes and twenty seconds, timed by his admiring coworkers! [Star and Sentinel (21 May 1869)] This, however, would not be the only noteworthy event during the construction of the Springs Hotel. In mid-June, Captain A. H. McCreary and I. H. Moore put up 642 feet of lightning rod on the building. At one point the rod was 126 feet from the ground, and was reputed to be the highest rod in the county [Star and Sentinel (25 June 1869)].

In the beginning of June, the mammoth new hotel was "rapidly approaching completion," and a committee had been sent to New York City to procure the best lines of furnishings. So eager was the Association to compete with the finest and most expensive summer resorts, the bedding and bedsteads came all the way from Boston. But, whereas operations at the hotel were entering the final, frantic days and finishing touches, progress on the horse railway was still proceeding rapidly to meet the June 13th deadline. A potential setback to the railway, caused by the effects of a heavy storm on the evening of June 4th, was averted because of the quality of workmanship demanded by Dr. Smith. The torrential rains that accompanied the storm raised Willoughby's Run to levels "higher than ever before known," and carried away the new carriage bridge across the run, which connected the springs with the Chambersburg pike. The force of the floodwaters carried the carriage bridge downstream several hundred yards, but the bridge just finished for the "Passenger Railway Company" withstood the raising and rushing waters. Only minor damage to the stone abutments, perhaps caused by the dislocated carriage bridge, would require repairs in the days following this deluge [Star and Sentinel (11 June 1869)].

By mid-June, the Association felt confident that they would be open for business, as scheduled, on Monday, June 23d. But, last-minute details were to consume much time and money, despite the best efforts and plans of the Association. The furniture acquired in New York and Boston was daily arriving, and was being distributed throughout the hotel. Arrangements were being made to fit the hotel for gas, which was to be manufactured on the grounds. A New England firm had received the contract to erect the "Gas apparatus" which would be necessary to manufacture and regulate the gas. The building had to be secured from potential lightning strikes, probably most forcibly brought to the attention of the Association by the storm of June 4th. It was at this time that Captain McCreary erected the behemoth arrestor system on the hotel building. Although the high cupola offered a "magnificent view of the entire battle-field," the height of the building and its location on a "commanding position" (the open ridge between Willoughby's Run and the Harmon/Wible Woods) made it susceptible to lightning strikes [Star and Sentinel (18 June 1869)].

In other matters, two passenger cars were purchased for the Passenger Railway, which Dr. Smith confidently announced would be ready for traffic on July 1st. S. B. Rowe was appointed the clerk and cashier of the hotel, and, to no one's surprise, Dr. G. D. Smith was named its manager. Initial rates were set and announced to be \$20 per week, with servants and children at half price. Transient or daily guests would pay \$4 for each day's stay [Star and Sentinel (18 June; 25 June; 9 July 1869)].

The Association's commitment to opening nothing but a first-class hotel led to inevitable delays, during which minor details were addressed or corrected. In the end, it missed its proposed opening day, which was postponed until Sunday, June 28th. Because the opening nearly coincided with the dedication of the Soldiers' National Monument in Gettysburg's national cemetery, the hotel played proud host to many of the dignitaries who were attending those ceremonies. As a result, the hotel could boast that among its guest during the first week of business were noteworthies like Wisconsin Governor and former General Lucius Fairchild; Senator Oliver P. Morton of Indiana; Mayor Bowen of Washington, D.C.; Michigan Governor Henry P. Baldwin; New Jersey Governor Marcus L. Ward; Major General George G. Meade; Secretary of War John A. Rawlins; Commissioner of Indian Affairs Eli S. Parker; Generals A. A. Humphreys, R. C. Drum, S. Van Vliet, J. A. Cunningham, and S. F. Barston; Colonels C. E. Cadwalader, H. W. Freedly, J. F. Brua, J. C. Biddle, and H. J. Farnsworth; and Major J. A. Kress.

These gentlemen and their ladies also had the opportunity to be among the first guests to ride the new Passenger Railway. Unfortunately, although the cars ran for the first time on the scheduled date of July 1st, they "ran roughly due to the hurried manner in which the tracks were laid down." Within days, however, necessary adjustments were made and the cars ran smoothly by the second week of July. Use of the cars on Sunday, July 4th, prompted many townsfolk to raise their eyebrows. The use of the horse railway could be perceived as excursionary, as a means of entertainment and mere sightseeing, wholly inappropriate to the keeping of the Sabbath. Since the tracks ran directly through the Lutheran Seminary before continuing into town, directly in front of the college and seminary church on Chambersburg Street, the clatter of wheels and rails and horses' hooves fell on the ears of the clergy itself. Before another Sunday drew nigh, the Springs Hotel hastened to assuage the lay and cleric citizenry, assuring them that henceforth the cars would run only twice on Sundays---to deliver hotel guests to morning and evening church services in the town! [Star and Sentinel (9 July 1869)].

The popularity of the horse railway in reaching the Springs, by visitors and local residents, soon led to the development of a schedule and fixed rates. The cars would run to the Springs every two hours from town, beginning at 6:30 A.M. and continuing until 6:20 P.M. Two additional cars ran to the Springs at 7:30 and at 8:30 P.M. Cars left the Springs for town every two hours, beginning at 7:30 A.M. and continuing until 3:30 P.M. Cars left the spring during evening hours at 7:00, 8:00, and 10:00 P.M. Sunday use of the Passenger Railway would continue to be limited for use by guests wishing to attend religious services in Gettysburg, and would leave the hotel at 10:00 A.M., returning at noon, and at 7:00 P.M., returning at 9:00 P.M. The management was emphatic that "No other cars will be permitted to run on Sundays." [Star and Sentinel (6 August 1869)]

By mid-summer, the popularity of the Springs Hotel was increasing. It was reported that all rooms on the first and second floors were filled with guests, and that new arrivals were being quartered on the third floor. Considerable credit was given to Dr. Smith for his efficient management of the hotel, leaving visitors to Gettysburg with an "excellent impression" of the merits of the house. Nevertheless, occasional complaints surfaced. The rush to complete the hotel for this first summer of business had prompted the Association to cut some corners. Certain "accessories" and amenities first planned and advertised by the directors were not included in the finished

product. It was anticipated that the Association would soon move to supply the bathing facilities and "outdoor amusements" that were sorely lacking at the hotel. Indeed, it was announced that the management would soon erect a bath house, with bathing tubs, a plunge bath, and shower baths, all supplied with waters from the Katalysine Springs [Star and Sentinel (16 July; 23 July 1869)]. Notwithstanding these initial shortcomings, visitors and guests at the Springs Hotel were enthusiastic in their endorsement of the building, its furnishings, and the attention given to their personal needs.

Famous guests at the Gettysburg Springs Hotel abounded during that first summer, particularly because of the ceremonies in the Soldiers' National Cemetery in July, and because of the officers' reunion scheduled for August 1869. Representatives from the Union army which had defended these battlefields at Gettysburg had been invited by the directors of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association to come to Gettysburg and mark their respective positions at different phases of the battle. The GBMA envisioned using this information to erect memorials to each of these corps, divisions, brigades, and regiments. In response to their request, the Springs Hotel offered reduced rates to the former Civil War officers if they quartered at the hotel and made it the headquarters for their meetings. (Robert G. McCreary served on the board of the Springs Hotel/Lithia Association and was Vice President of the GBMA.) On August 23d, a gathering of officers unprecedented since the battle itself descended again on the battlefield, where the first shots were exchanged. In attendance were distinguished men like Pennsylvania Governor and former General James W. Geary, Generals Henry W. Slocum, John Newton, John Robinson, Solomon Meredith, Roy Stone, George Stannard, G. G. Benedict, Alexander S. Webb, Henry H. Bingham, Charles K. Graham, Joseph B. Carr, George Burling, J. Bowman Sweitzer, William S. Tilton, Joshua L. Chamberlain, William McCandless, Albion P. Howe, Alexander Shaler, Adolphus Von Steinwehr, George Van Amsberg, George S. Greene, Thomas L. Kane, Charles A. Barnum, David McMurtie Gregg, Henry J. Hunt, and B. F. Fisher, and other battle-hardened officers whose names were forever linked to the Battle of Gettysburg---James Bigelow, R. Bruce Ricketts, James A. Hall, W. W. Dudley, Henry S. Huidekoper, Richard Coulter, and George McFarland. The night before they departed the battlefield, the officers were guests of honor at a ball and reception at the hotel [Star and Sentinel (6 August; 27 August 1869); "Report of the reunion of the officers of the Army of the Potomac August 23-28, 1869," Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association papers, John P. Nicholson collection NI 516, Huntington Library, Art Gallery and Botanical Gardens].

The officers' reunion was perhaps the first and largest challenge to the new superintendent of the hotel, George Hoppes of Williamsport, Pennsylvania. Hoppes, a long-time hotel proprietor, secured the lease to the Gettysburg Springs Hotel and took charge of the facility on August 14th. Dr. G. D. Smith retired from his position as the temporary manager, a job he had accepted only until a suitable lessee could be secured by the Lithia Springs Association [Star and Sentinel (13 August 1869)]. It would be under the leadership of Hoppes that the hotel would terminate its first successful summer of resort business; the local newspapers were as enthusiastic in their praise for Mr. and Mrs. Hoppes as they ever had been of Dr. Smith.

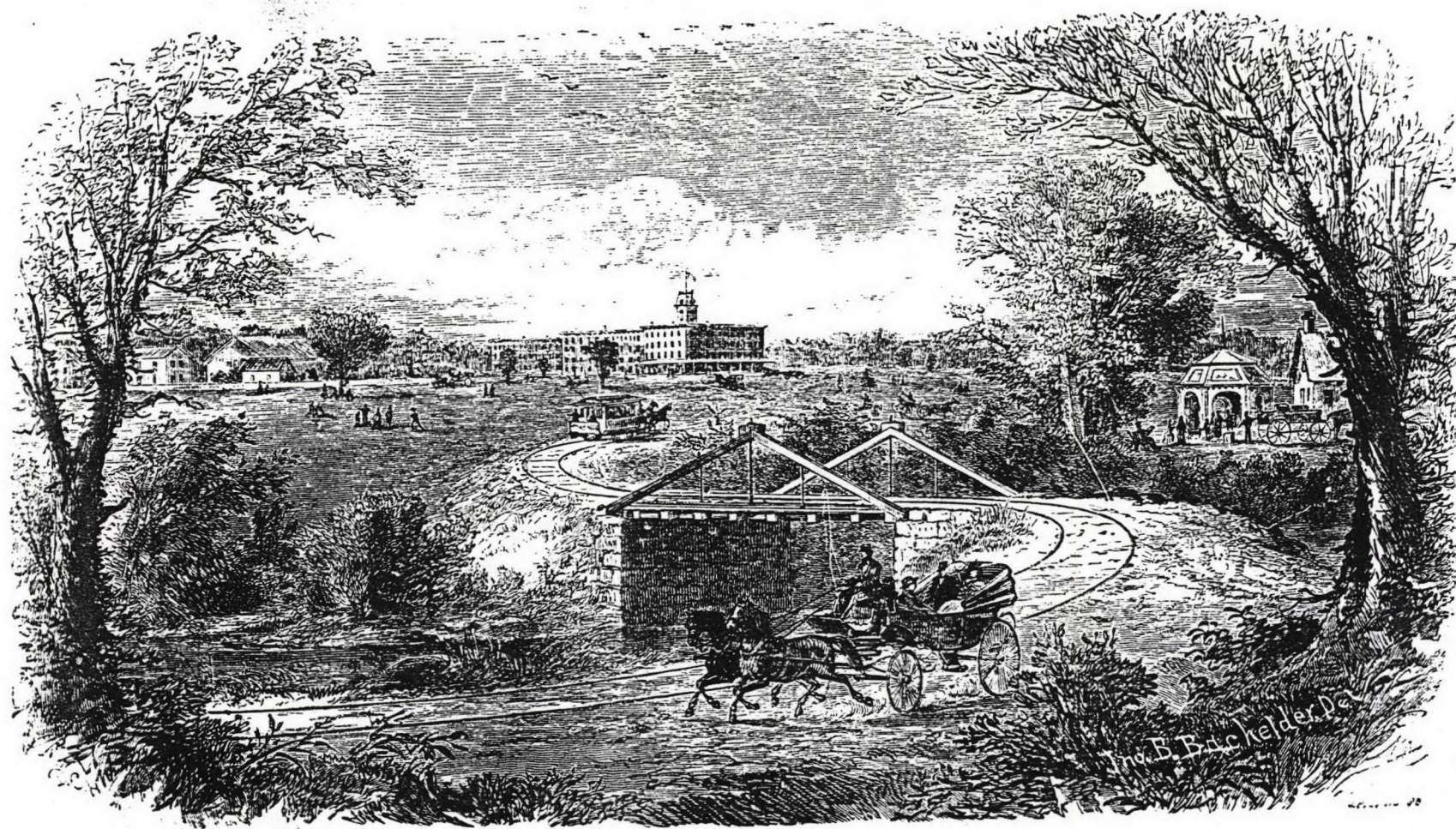
But the fall of 1869 brought a precursor of unsettlement and financial entanglements that would plague the Springs Hotel and the Katalysine Springs for the next fifty years. Riley Hamilton, one of the first two to recognize and try to capitalize on the medicinal qualities of the Springs and the rural

landscape of the Harmon, Wible, and McPherson farms, was subjected to a legal writ, seizing all of his goods, chattels, lands, and tenements at Gettysburg. The Adams County sheriff and Hamilton were ordered to appear in court on November 22d, to answer Gettysburg National Bank, endorsee, of a plea in debt against Hamilton [Star and Sentinel (12 November 1869)]. When the latter appeared, it was to petition the court for a decree of bankruptcy. The names of his Gettysburg creditors reflected many from whom he had purchased the farms and properties surrounding the Katalysine Springs----John Burns, David Ziegler, Fahnestock and Eichelberger, David Ireland, George Stremmel, C. H. Dustman, Edward McPherson, C. J. Tyson, George Arnold, and others. The bulk of his indebtedness, amounting to more than \$57,000 in Adams County alone, was for these unpaid purchases of real estate conveyed to Hamilton and his partners. Other aggrieved creditors included the Gettysburg Springs Railroad Company and local businessmen who supplied the material or skills to improve the above properties [Star and Sentinel (26 November 1869)].

Public embarrassment at the Katalysine Springs and at the Springs Hotel was mercifully delayed, due to the closing of the hotel until the next tourist season and due to the termination by Harmon himself of export of the Gettysburg Waters, at the time he revoked the lease of Hamilton and Emerson. Notices concerning the hotel or springs were practically non-existent during the winter months after Hamilton's bankruptcy decree. But, at the end of April 1870, the Gettysburg Springs Hotel announced that it would re-open for boarders and guests on May 1st, under the continued lease and superintendence of Mr. Hoppes. The directors of the Springs Association exhibited their confidence in the continued success of the hotel by announcing that "material improvements" would be made on the hotel grounds, including the construction of billiard rooms, bowling alleys, and baths. In seeming conjunction with the hotel's re-opening, a public advertisement for proposals to supply lumber for use at the Katalysine Springs also appeared in the paper. Emanuel Harmon implied, through this advertisement, that he would resume bottling and shipping the Katalysine Waters. The lumber bid was intended for dealers contracting to supply sawn pine timber for the construction of packing boxes for the spring water [Star and Sentinel (22 April and 29 April 1870)].

The second summer of business was once again dynamic, growing, and encouraging. By mid-June of 1870, the Association had completed the envisioned improvements to the hotel grounds, including the erection of a billiard saloon, a bowling alley, and a large stable for livery purposes. "Bathing arrangements" were introduced into the hotel proper [Star and Sentinel (17 June 1870)]. A band of "Italian Minstrels" was hired to provide daily concerts and entertainment for guests and visitors. Supplied with two violins, two grand harps, and "eminent musical talent," the band provided the means for nightly hops and dances. Distinguished visitors continued to vacation at the springs, to enjoy the benefits of the medicinal waters while relaxing in the rural surroundings and traversing the famous battlefield. Admiral Dahlgren had stayed at the hotel and had made arrangements to return for a prolonged vacation with his family (dying before he could return, however). The Honorable Thomas Hughes, Member of Parliament, stayed at the hotel while visiting the battlefield with Major Rosengarten, of General Reynolds' staff [Star and Sentinel (15 July; 26 August; 30 September 1870)].

But the outlay of capital proved to outweigh the profits. The Lithia Springs Association found itself also indebted to creditors when the hotel closed for the winter. On November 4th the public was notified that the five-acre tract



Engraved expressly for Bachelder's "Popular Resorts, and How to Reach Them."

POPULAR RESORTS.

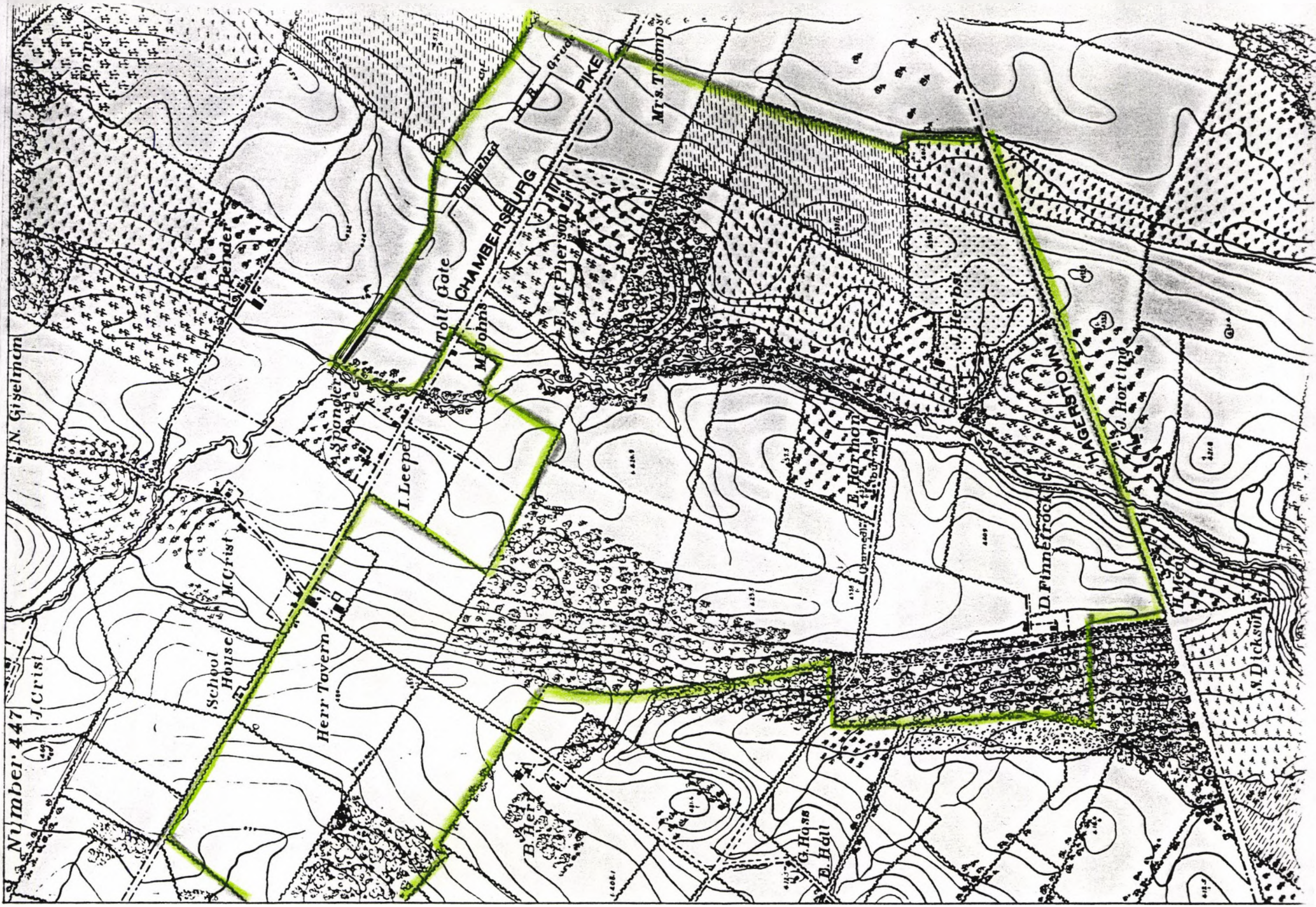
From: John B. Bachelder, *Popular Resorts, and How to Reach Them* (Boston: John B. Bachelder, 1875), frontispiece.

and the hotel were to be sold at Sheriff's Sale. The description of the hotel was spartan: "a large first-class HOTEL, new, three and a half stories high, frame weatherboarded. . . calculated to accommodate 250 guests." The sheriff summarized the grounds, however, as "beautifully ornamented with trees and shrubs, and laid out in walks and avenues" [Star and Sentinel (4 November 1870)]. The Gettysburg Lithia Springs Association had gone bankrupt.

The Association was somehow spared the sheriff's sale, probably through the formal declaration of bankruptcy. Robert G. McCreary, Gettysburg attorney and one of the original directors of the Springs Association, was appointed legal assignee of the bankrupt organization. In July 1871, McCreary arranged for the sale of the hotel and five acres to Edward G. Fahnestock (another of the original board members). Shortly thereafter, Fahnestock sold the improved tract to a new organization, the Gettysburg Springs Hotel. It appears that this Springs Hotel corporation was merely a re-organized Lithia Springs Association, since another of its former board members (David Wills) appeared to be the president of the new Gettysburg Springs Hotel company. In any event, the hotel flourished under its administration until 1885, when it was sold to a private party [Adams County Deed Book VV, p. 21]. Various, smaller, improvements were made to the hotel property during this time, including the addition of a covered veranda porch encircling the first floor and the enlargement of the laundry facilities [Star and Sentinel (24 May 1872)].

It was through the next two decades that the hotel was probably at the peak of its popularity and profitability. A view of the hotel grounds appeared in John B. Bachelder's 1875 publication of Popular Resorts and How to Reach Them. Based on a drawing by Bachelder itself, the engraving shows the buildings of the hotel and Katalysine Springs, with the horse railway and its bridge over Willoughby's Run in the foreground. The engraving served as the frontispiece to the travel guide.

Although the hotel seemed to be thriving, Emanuel Harmon's fortunes seemed to be waning. In a scenario now becoming all too familiar, the sheriff seized the estates of Harmon and exposed them to public sale. S. A. Whitney, the apparent lessee or manager of the Katalysine Springs, brought a writ of Venditioni Exponas against Harmon, forcing the sheriff to expose the property to public sale in November 1876. A new company purchased the real estate of Harmon---the Gettysburg Katalysine Springs Partnership Association Limited (GKSPL) for almost \$13,000. The manor farm of 125 acres was sold for \$12,500, and included most of the improvements on the combined tracts. With this farm was conveyed the two-story brick dwelling house once occupied by Reverend McLean, a frame carpenter shop, a frame building which covered the Katalysine Spring, and a frame building used for bottling the spring water. The 60-acre tract south of the manor tract (the old Stallsmith farm) was also seized as Harmon's property, and was sold to Whitney for \$100. At the time of this sale, the smaller farm had a frame cottage building, a dwelling house, a frame barn, an apple orchard, and a well of water [Adams County Sheriff's Docket No. 5, p. 218]. Within three years, the GKSPL suffered a similar fate. A writ against it by Thomas Whitney exposed it to sheriff's sale once again. Samuel A. Whitney purchased both farms, containing 185 acres and improvements, for the fantastic sum of \$25! Improvements on the old Harmon farm had changed somewhat since the 1876 sale; besides the brick house, frame shop, and Katalysine Springhouse, there was also another spring house and the Katalysine Spring Bath House on the property [Adams County Sheriff's Docket No. 5, pp. 369-370].



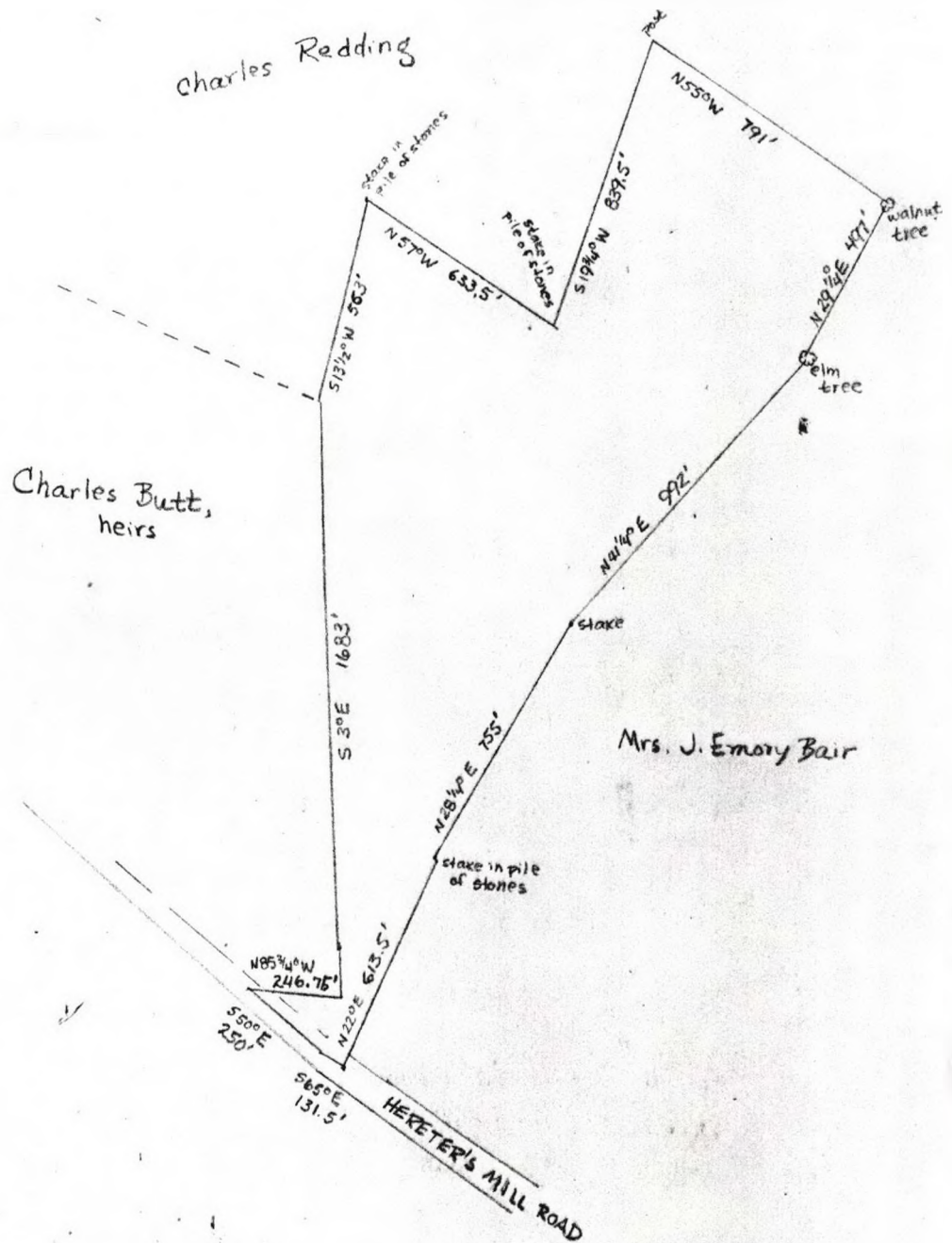
The informal relationship between the Springs itself and the Springs Hotel apparently continued throughout these changes in ownership of the smaller hotel tract and the surrounding farm/springs tract. The hotel appears to have had access to the waters, seemingly piped directly into the building. Guests were obviously encouraged to visit the adjoining Springs via walkways and drives. They also must have worked out arrangements with the owners of the larger Harmon tract to stroll its grounds, use its lanes, and dam its waters. A masonry dam was constructed across Willoughby's Run at the southeastern edge of the Harmon farm, where the Mill Road crossed the waters. The resultant lake from the dammed-up water filled the low lands of the stream valley, and was used by hotel guests and townsfolk for boating, fishing, and bathing/swimming. During the winter months the frozen lake provided for recreational use by ice skating. In 1878, an unfortunate boating accident led to the drowning deaths of two students from the nearby Lutheran Seminary, but the lake was not eliminated until 1895 [Donald Heiges, "The Gettysburg Springs Hotel" (unpublished typescript, GNMP vertical files), p. 13].

In 1892, the acreage of the old Harmon Farm and the five-acre hotel property were combined under the ownership of local businessman, J. Emory Bair. Bair eventually acquired additional adjoining tracts, including all of those once held by Reily Hamilton, amounting to 587 acres. Bair entered into partnership with William Hersh, and then with Henry O. Towles in 1894 [Adams County Deed Book VV, pp. 21, 34]. Towles struck out on his own, as the Gettysburg Springs and Hotel Company in 1897, but was compelled to enter into a receivership in 1902. At that time, the extensive holdings were acquired by a Chicago "syndicate," of which Dr. J. C. Irey was the manager. This Chicago syndicate became locally known as the Land Syndicate, so much of the battlefield area fell under their ownership. Not only did they control the significant portion of the first day's battlefield, but also much of the Confederate positions and the field of "Pickett's Charge."

When Dr. Irey and his Chicago friends acquired the Springs Hotel, it was with the intention of converting it to a sanitarium, with great improvements to be made. It was expected to add a heating plant, electric lights, elevators, a new bath house with "Turkish-shower, needle, mud and tub baths," and a steam pump to force the spring waters to the sanitarium [Star and Sentinel (14 May 1902)]. Local doctor, Howard L. Diehl, was appointed the resident physician, into whose care the invalids and rheumatics would be placed.

The proposed sanitarium never fully materialized, the hotel stood vacant, and the Gettysburg Springs and Hotel Company sought to sell the vast acreage, primarily to the U. S. Government for the Gettysburg National Military Park. The park had been established in 1895, as we have already seen, for the purposes stated heretofore, viz: to open avenues, to mark lines of battle, and to preserve important topographical features. The Gettysburg Springs and Hotel Company still owned more than a thousand acres of lands, almost all of which were included within the boundaries of the park, as delineated on the Sickles Map. The Receivers of the Springs Hotel believed that the park should purchase all of these holdings, and thus complete the acquisition proposed for those areas as outlined in the establishing law. However, the War Department, under whose authority the Park Commission administered the park, continually ran adverse to the proposals submitted by the Receivers of the Springs Hotel. The park's commission was reluctant to purchase large tracts of land at one

43 acres



Deed Book 88, p. 249

Calvin Gilbert, Receiver for Gettysburg Springs & Hotel Co., to United States
27 August 1920
4300

time, hesitant to overburden the local political economy by removing vast portions of taxable land from county taxation. They also were hesitant to use vast sums of money for these purposes since they were devoting their energies and resources to improving the avenue system and monumenting the battle lines. Initial purchases of land were almost exclusively for avenue development and for the marking of particular battle units, and were thus fragments of land, surrounded by large private tracts. In 1903, the War Department finally offered the Springs Hotel receivers a proposal to purchase a goodly sum of the syndicate's battlefield property, at \$100 an acre. This was flatly rejected by the receivership, who complained that they could do better by subdividing the tract into parcels and selling to private parties for development purposes. They also complained that the sale of "detached portions" of the large tract would "depreciate the desirability to other purchasers," who would have their farm or subdivision cut up by avenues, preserved woodlots, or other battlefield landmarks [John P. Nicholson Journal (22 July 1903), GNMP archives].

The Commission refused to offer more than \$100 an acre. This amount was the ceiling for open farm land on the battlefield; woodlands generally were purchased for \$40-\$80 an acre. As a result, the Land Syndicate found itself in court more often than not, a Gettysburg jury fixing a price after condemnation hearings. Few of the holdings of the syndicate were purchased through willing and friendly negotiations between the park and the receivers.

On 17 December 1917, the Springs Hotel itself burned to the ground, and was a total loss. It was not insured by the receivers, who had eventually abandoned all hopes of renovating and re-opening it to business. It had been occupied only by a custodian, who discovered the fire in a flue between the second and third floors just before noon. It was not long before the frame structure was engulfed in flames. Deep snow covered the ground at the time, hindering fire fighting equipment from reaching the hotel.

With the death of J. Emory Bair, only Calvin Gilbert (a local foundryman who contracted frequently with the park for cannon, cannon carriages, tablets, fencing, gates, &c.) remained as receiver for the old syndicate/springs properties. On July 15th of 1920, Gilbert called at the local post office to propose a sale of some woodland to the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission. Gilbert offered to sell the tract, of about 40 acres, for \$100 an acre. The following day, the commission once again met with Gilbert, who brought along a legal description of the tract in question. Within twenty-four hours, the park's engineer, Colonel E. B. Cope, finished a blue-print of the tract, on which were superimposed the positions of troops [not found], to submit to the Secretary of War for approval of purchase. On July 24th, authority was received to purchase the 43-acre tract from Receiver Gilbert at a cost not to exceed \$100 an acre [Nicholson's Journal, 15-18 July; 24 July 1903].

This tract, known as Springs Hotel Woods, was purchased by the park under the approval of the Secretary of War because of its topographic and battle significance. Although perceived as a singular entity, the 43-acre portion of the woods below Herr Ridge which became part of the military park had been the property of three separate owners (Emanuel Harmon, Joseph Wible, and Dr. Samuel Hall) at the time of the battle. Historic fencelines which reflected those various ownerships, and which appeared yet on the Warren Survey Map of 1868-1869, had vanished by the time of the 1920 purchase. Indeed, a

LONG

Katolysine Spring

Springs Hotel

4235

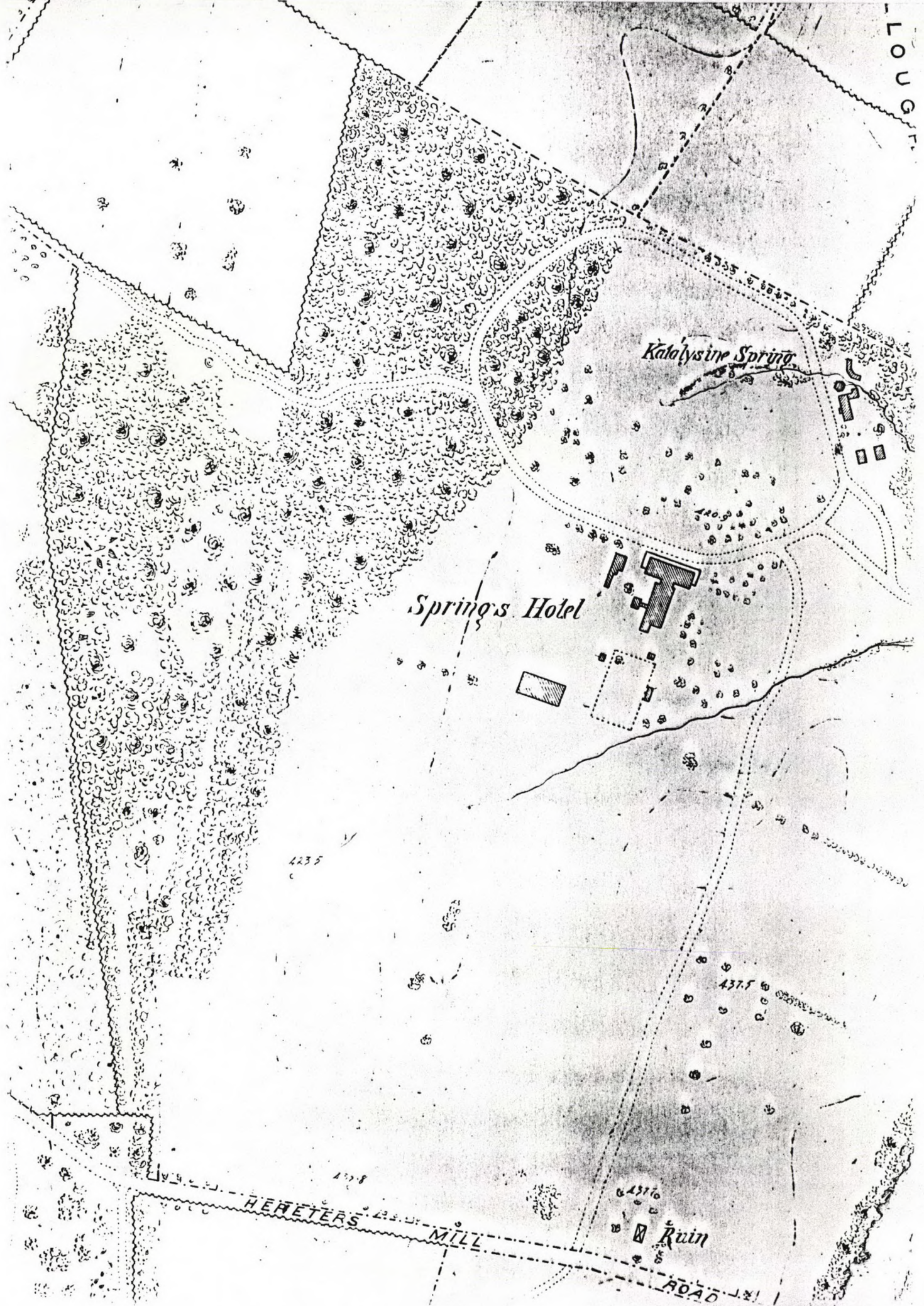
4375

4376

Ruin

HEETERS MILL

ROAD



topographical survey undertaken by the park in 1893 and in 1900 showed that over half of the defining fencelines had vanished by that era. But these later topographical surveys indicate that the woods were used by the guests of the Springs Hotel. A major lane led to and through the northern portion of the woods, providing the guests with a shaded canopy under which to rest, contemplate, picnic, or drive.

Although the Park Commission envisioned as early as 1894 a park avenue to connect the woods with the Chambersburg pike, on which the Confederate markers could be placed, this was never accomplished within the lives of the Commission members. Colonel John P. Nicholson, who headed the commission, died within two years of the acquisition of the woods, an old man, expressing growing frustration with the "red tape" that dominated his last years. Funding in the post-war years never matched the early years of the park, when it was growing and developing and dynamic. By 1920, when the Springs Hotel Woods was acquired, Congress and the War Department regarded the park as virtually complete, to be merely maintained. The proposed avenue and markers, required by the park's establishing law, never occurred. The woods was merely maintained as a topographic feature, not as the position of significant battle lines and battle action which it was on 1 July 1863. Since its acquisition, the woods has been perceived as a natural topographic feature by both the park and the local community, and not as a historically significant parcel of the battlefield.

This perception was perhaps reinforced by the park's unwillingness or inability to acquire the land between the Harmon/Wible (Springs Hotel) Woods and the Union position east of Willoughby's Run. The old Harmon farm remained in private hands, first in the hands of the heirs of J. Emory Bair. Clyde D. Berger and his wife (the daughter of Bair) owned the farm until 1947, even attempting at one time to readvertise and market the Katalysine Springs waters. In that year, the Gettysburg Country Club purchased the farm of 116 acres and began to immediately develop it as a golf club. Officially opened on 15 August 1948, the Country Club incorporated one of the Berger's buildings into the new club house. The stone section of the club house at one time contained the bottling works of the 1935-era Berger enterprise, and "for two years the attempt was made to prove water for the showers from the katalysine spring" [Heiges, "The Gettysburg Springs Hotel," p.p. 18-19]. This never materialized, and the famed Katalysine Springs, which had attracted so much attention in the decades following the battle, was bricked up and capped with a metal cover [near the tee at hole number two]. The bridge abutments of the old Passenger Railway over Willoughby's Run are now ruins, but still hint at their one-time use. The site of the Springs Hotel itself, however, has been much altered:

I learned about the location of the old spring near the number 2 tee, and about the location of the Hotel itself back of the sand traps at the 8th green. . . . I trudged off and had no difficulty finding the spring. But at the 8th green absolutely nothing looked familiar - there wasn't a trace of anything I had known fifty years ago. Then I made a date with Jack Philips, my neighbor, and he took me directly to the spot where the hotel stood and traced the location of the foundations. He asked: "What were the dimensions?" I replied: "The main part of the building, not counting the verandas, was 120 by 44 feet." He then stepped it off and found it to be precisely so. "How can you be so sure of the location?" I asked. "Well," he said, "before the sprinkling system was installed during the dry spells of the summer the grass over the foundation always turned brown!"

[Heiges, "The Gettysburg Springs Hotel," p. 20]

As change occurred (and still occurs) all around it, the Springs Hotel Woods maintained its forested state. Once vital to the individual farm economy, it was actively manipulated by successive residents of the Harmon, Wible, and Hall farms to provide them with their timber needs. Once vital to the tactics of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, the woods screened troop movements and numbers from their enemy, and provided shaded relief for thousands of men from North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama. For many of these Southern soldiers, like Colonel Burgwyn, the canopy of trees above them was their last earthly vision, the shaded forest floor beneath the canopy their bier and their tomb. Once vital to the setting of a resort hotel, the woods provided a defined boundary to enclose those who were vacationing from the outside world, while providing them with a place to commune with nature. Once, and still, vital to the purposes of the Gettysburg National Military Park, the woods provided the means to interpret the events of 1863 and to mark the location of Confederate battle lines so long overlooked.

K

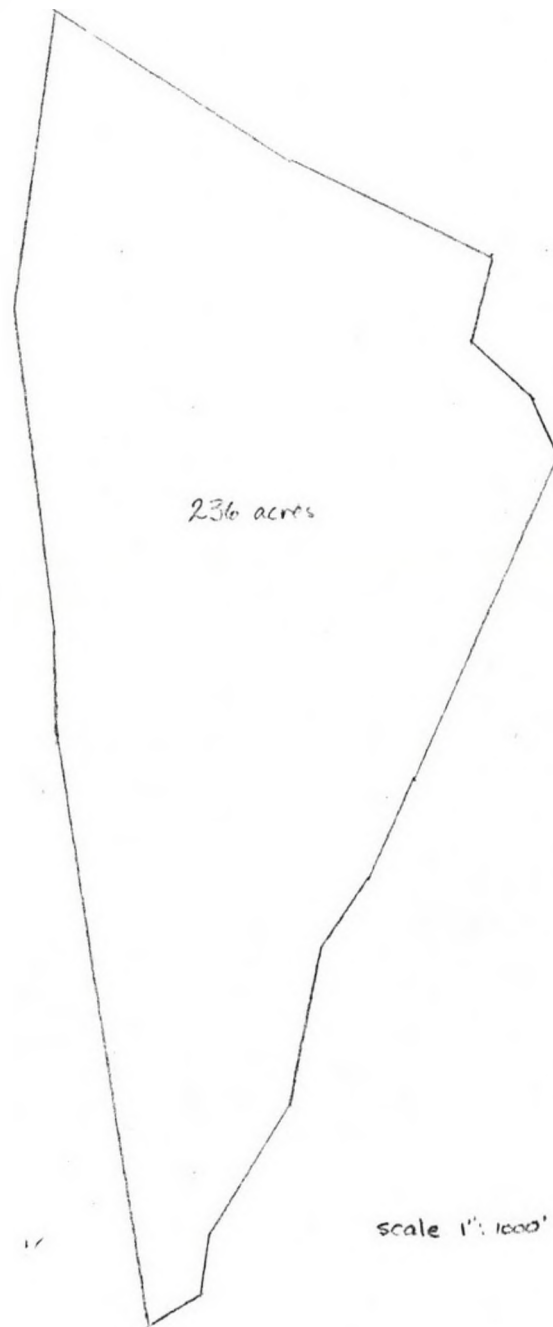
APPENDICES

I. Plotted Tracts; Chains of Title

II. Photographs

APPENDIX I

PLOTTED TRACTS; CHAINS OF TITLE



D.B. H, p 102

1 APRIL 1817 FREDERICK KEEFER TO REUA CHARLES G. McCLEAN

#9912

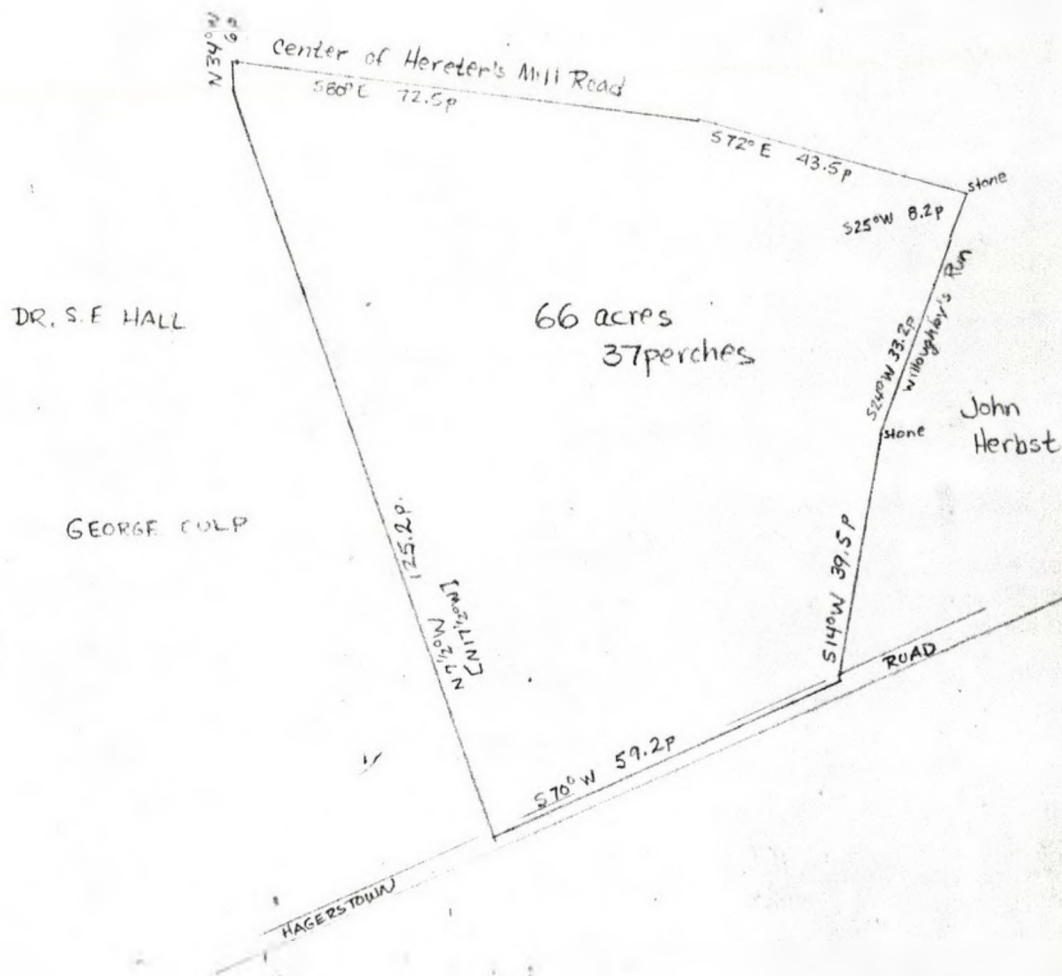
15 JUNE 1814 WILLIAM McPHERSON TO FREDERICK KEEFER

YORK CO. DBNN, T-147

25 JANUARY 1798 EDMUND PHYSICK TO WILLIAM McPHERSON (PART)

15 DECEMBER 1812 DAVID GRIER, heirs to WILLIAM McPHERSON

PETER STALLSMITH FARM
(Finnebrook)



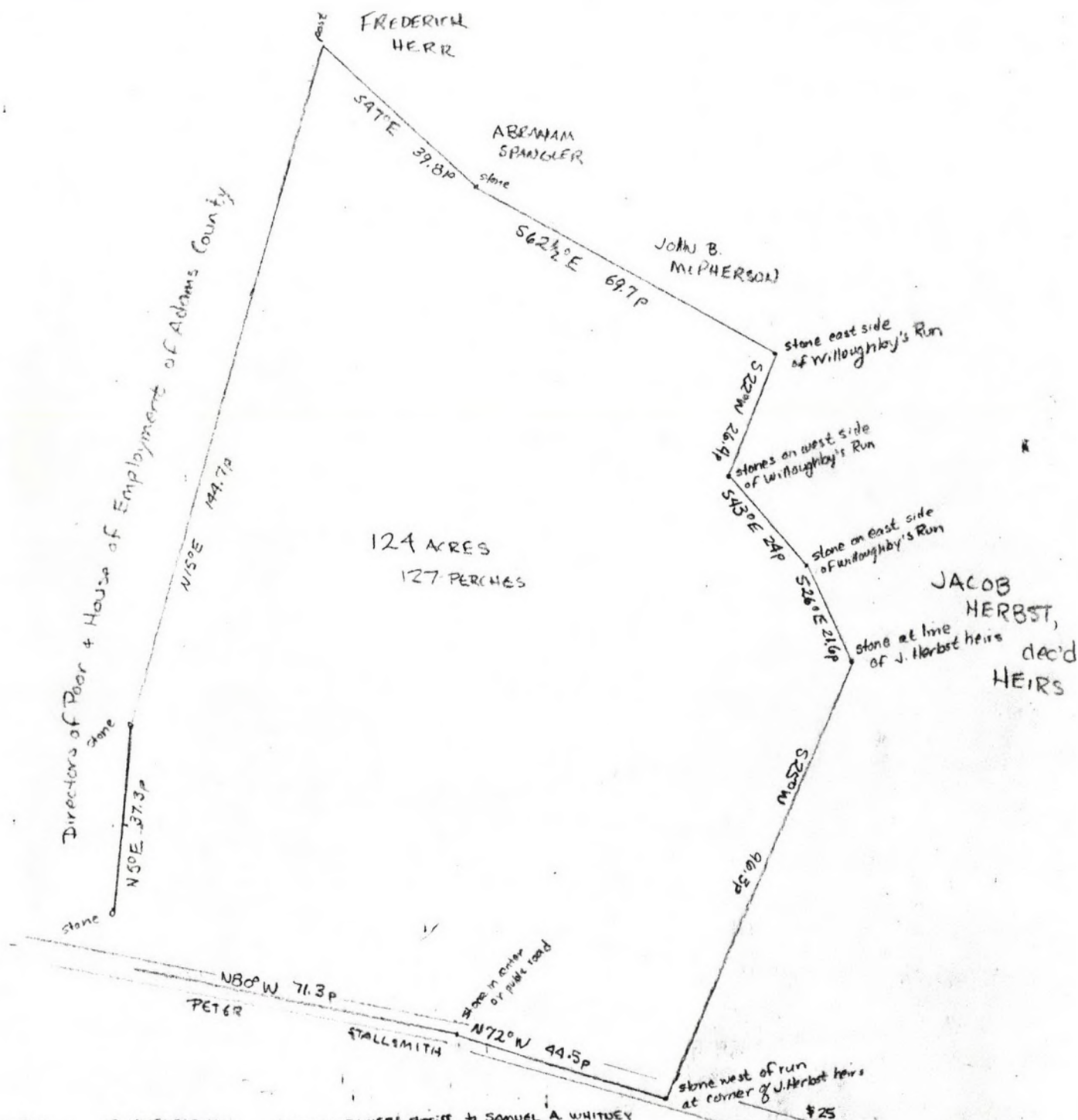
Deed Book W, p. 306

7 March 1864 Ann Stallsmith & (Jacob Thomas & Sarah Stallsmith Thomas) to Emmanuel Harman, 1/2 interest * \$1000

28 October 1850 John Miller to Peter Stallsmith

* Deed Book W, p. 306

21 January 1864 Andrew Philly (Guardian of the Stallsmith, minor child of Peter Stallsmith dec'd) to Emmanuel Harman (other 1/2 interest) - Orphans Court



RIFF DB 5, p. 369	12 NOVEMBER 1879	ANDREW BOWERS, Sheriff, to SAMUEL A. WHITNEY	
RIFF DB 5, p. 218	15 NOVEMBER 1876	JOB. SPANGLER, Sheriff, to GETTYSBURG KATALYSING SPRINGS PARTNERSHIP ASSOCIATION, LIMITED	\$12,500
DB U, p. 291	25 OCTOBER 1857	JAMES COOPER to EMANUEL HARMAN	\$10,000
* DB U, p. 520	28 APRIL 1857	SAMUEL HERBST to JAMES COOPER	5,000
	17 OCTOBER 1851	JOHN MILLER to SAMUEL HERBST	
DB R, p. 313	6 OCTOBER 1847	REV. CHARLES G. McCLEAN to JOHN MILLER	
DB H, p. 102	1 APRIL 1817	FREDERICK KEEFER to REV. CHARLES G. McCLEAN	\$9,912
	15 JUNE 1814	WILLIAM McPHERSON to FREDERICK KEEFER	
York DB H, p. 147	25 JANUARY 1798	EDMUND PHYSIC to WILLIAM McPHERSON (part)	
	+ 15 DECEMBER 1812	DAVID GRIER heirs to WILLIAM McPHERSON	

GETTYSBURG SPRINGS HOTEL

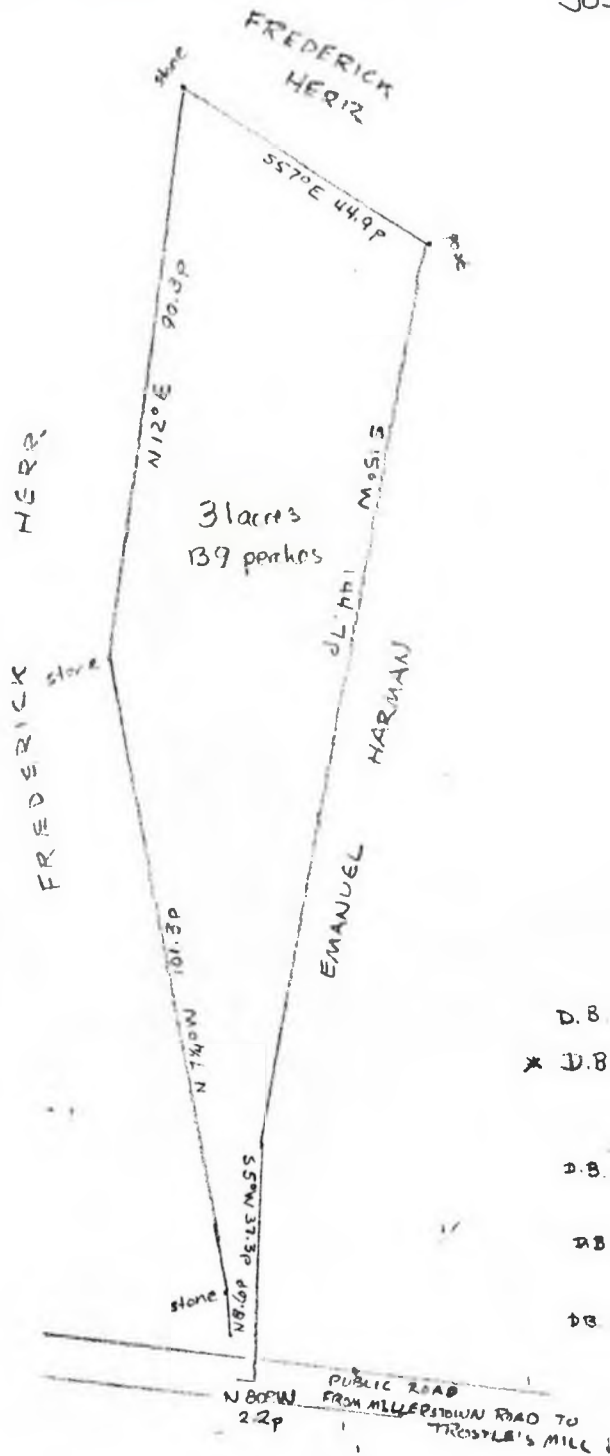


for "a portion of [Harman] farm
adjacent to the Gettysburg Lithia Springs"

D.B. 60, p. 464	3 April 1902	HENRY O. TOWLES to JEMORY BAIR, HENRY O. TOWLES, & JNO. B. MCPHERSON, RECEIVERS OF GETTYSBURG SPRINGS & HOTEL CO.
DB YY, p. 1	26 February 1897	JEMORY BAIR & HENRY O. TOWLES to HENRY O. TOWLES for GETTYSBURG SPRINGS & HOTEL CO.
DB IV, p. 34	17 November 1894	WILLIAM WATSON to JEMORY BAIR & HENRY O. TOWLES
DB VV, p. 21	17 November 1894	JEMORY BAIR to WILLIAM WATSON
	11 April 1892	JAMES HARVEY & ALBERT RITCHIE, executors (CAROLINE DONOVAN, deid) to JEMORY BAIR
	8 April 1885	GETTYSBURG SPRINGS HOTEL (DAVID WILLS, PRES.) to CAROLINE DONOVAN
		E. G. FAHNESTOCK to GETTYSBURG SPRINGS HOTEL
	24 July 1871	ROBERT G. MCCREARY, assignee (bankruptcy of GETTYSBURG LITHIA SPRINGS ASSOCIATION) to EDWARD G. FAHNESTOCK
* D.B. AA, p. 89	6 April 1869	EMANUEL HARMAN to GETTYSBURG LITHIA SPRINGS ASSOCIATION \$500

* deed plotted

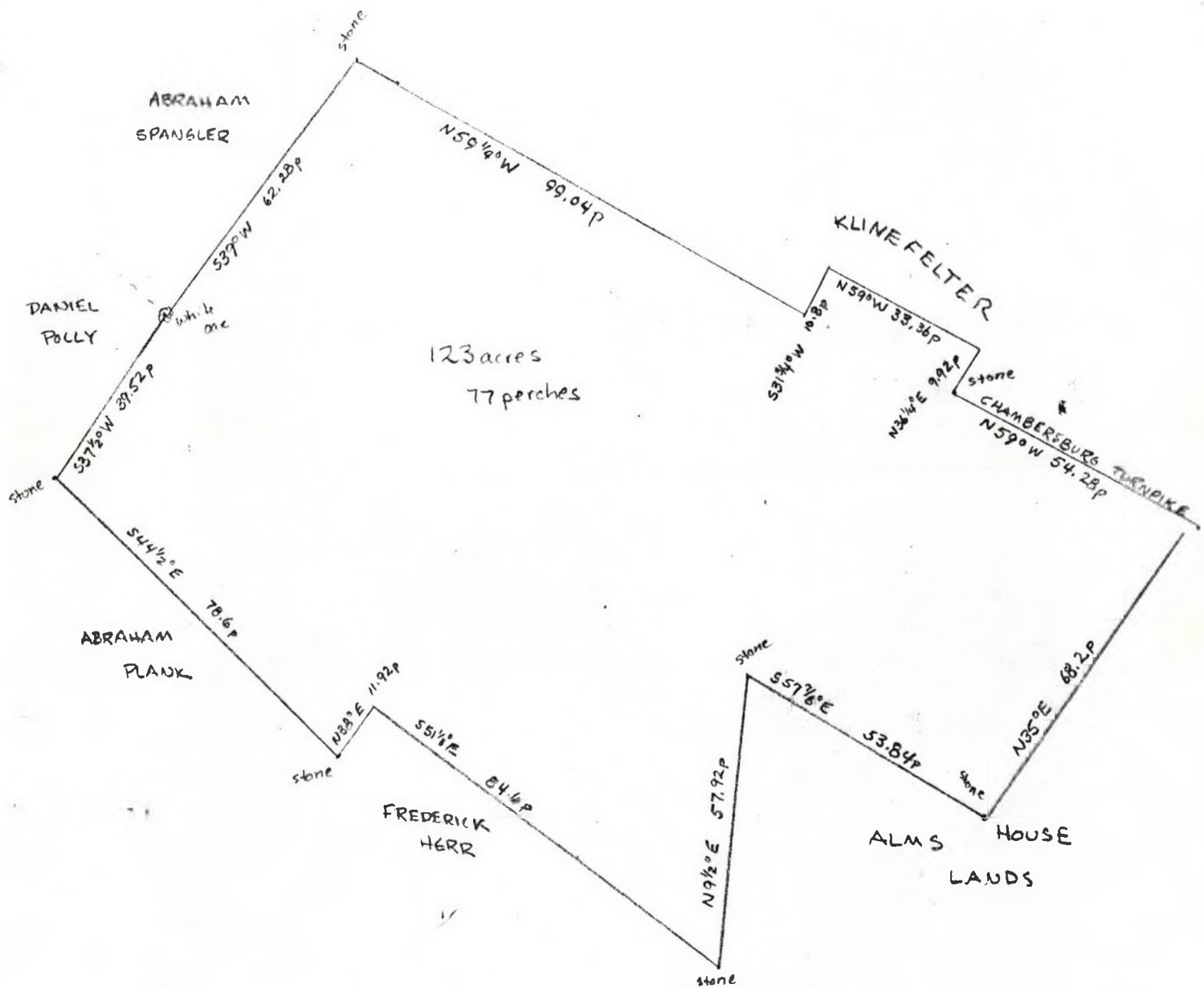
JOSEPH WIBLE



D.B. X, p. 590	10 August 1865	JOSEPH WIBLE TO DAVID IRELAN
	\$ 5293 ⁰⁰	(with other adj. land)
* D.B. Z, p. 456	5 JANUARY 1863	DIRECTORS OF POOR & HOUSE OF
	\$ 310	EMPLOYMENT TO JOSEPH WIBLE
D.B. R, p. 517	20 SEPTEMBER 1851	JOHN MILLER TO DIRECTORS OF
	\$ 1411 ⁰⁰	POOR
D.B. R, p. 33	6 OCTOBER 1849	REV ^d CHARLES & McCLEAN TO
		JOHN MILLER (part of 236 ac.)
D.B. W, p. 102	1 APRIL 1817	FREDERICK KEEFER TO REV ^d
		CHARLES & McCLEAN
	15 JUNE 1815	WILLIAM McPHERSON TO FREDERICK
		KEEFER
	25 JANUARY 1798	EDMUND PHYCK TO WILLIAM
		McPHERSON

* dent plotted

JOSEPH WIBLE



D.B. Z, p. 459 8 MAY 1860 FREDERICK HERR TO JOSEPH WIBLE
\$4707.⁵³

D.B. M, p. 111 13 September 1827 DAVID ZIEGLER, JOHN FULLER, JANE GRIER, & MICHAEL C. CLARKSON TO FREDERICK HERR
\$4000

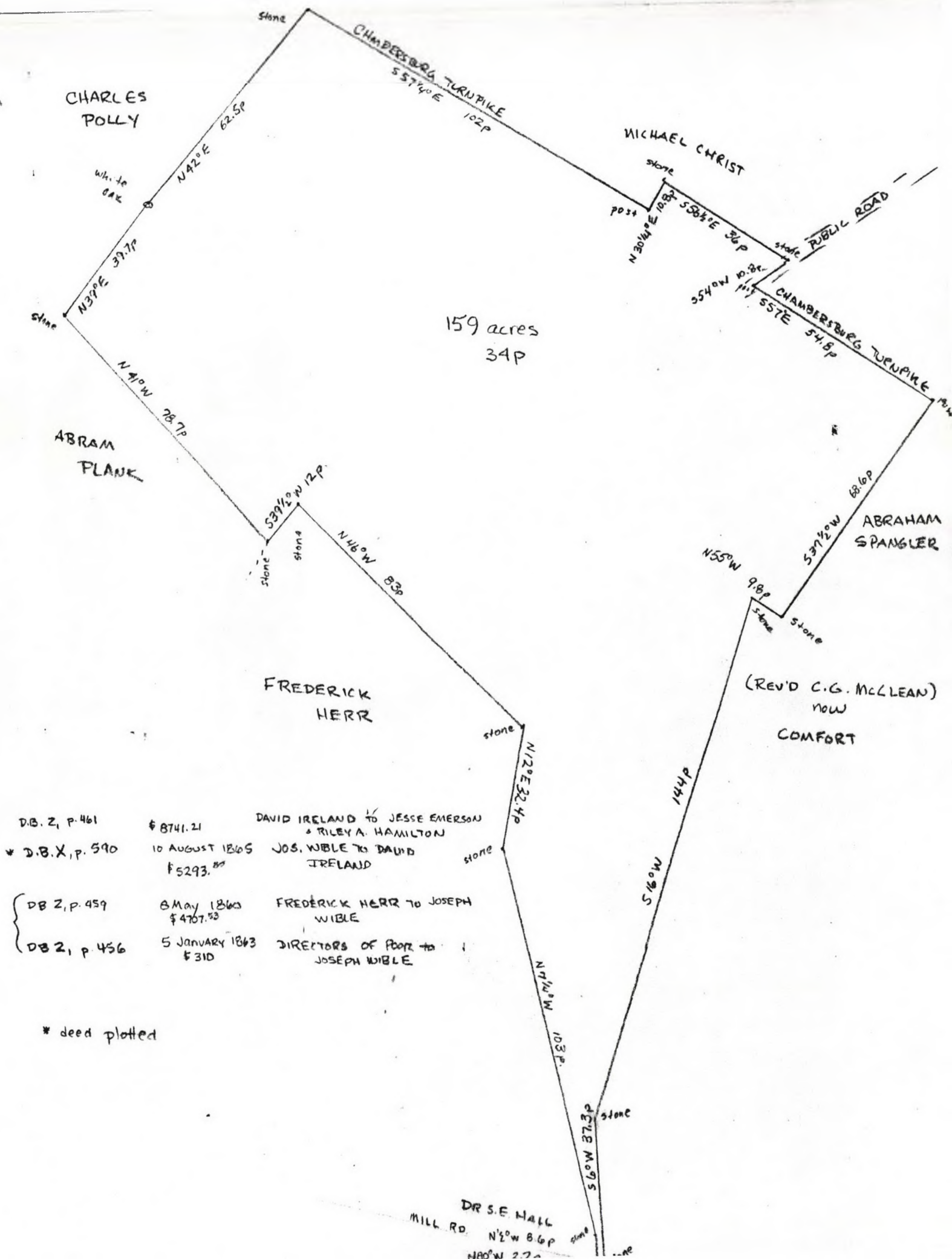
D.B. Z, p. 155 28 February 1843 FRANCIS BREAM, SHERIFF, TO FREDERICK HERR

D.B. O, p. 428 10 APRIL 1841 JAMES A. THOMPSON TO FREDERICK HERR
\$130

16 OCTOBER 1841 LOUIS HOOPEE TO FREDERICK HERR

D.B. S, p. 68, 69 9 FEBRUARY 1852 BENJAMIN HERR TO FREDERICK HERR

D.B. D, p. 472 23 JUNE 1849 GEORGE SMYGER TO FREDERICK HERR

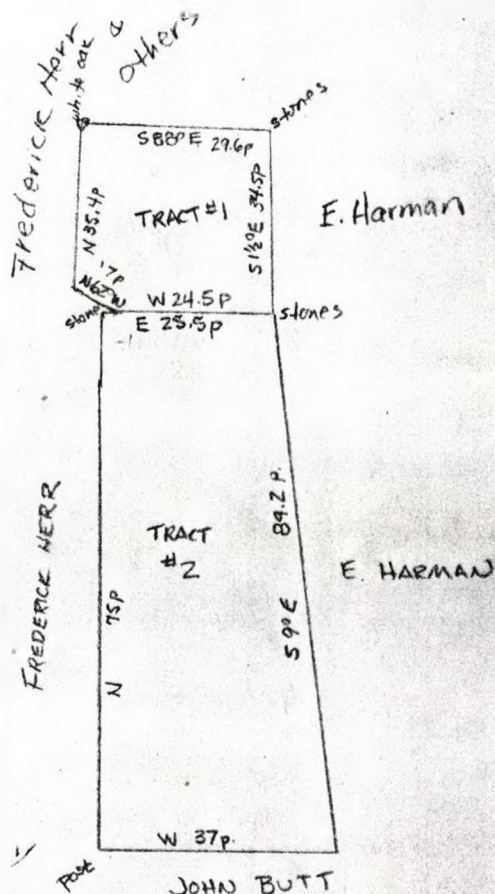


TRACT #1

6 acres
143 perches

TRACT #2

14 acres
64 perches



Deed Book Y, p. 321

* Deed Book BB, p. 380

Deed Book TT, p. 414

Dr. Samuel E. Hall & wife Ellen to Robt G McCreary in trust for creditors
8 June 1866 138 acres 155 perches

Robt G McCreary (Assignee of Samuel E. Hall) to Samuel A Whitney
17 July 1872 \$467.15

Samuel A Whitney dec'd Executors to J. Emory Bair
30 July 1892 (+ several other tracts) \$38,700

APPENDIX II

PHOTOGRAPHS