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“The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here”: Utah Veterans and the Gettysburg Reunion of 1913

By KENNETH L. ALFORD AND KEN NELSON

“This is the old soldiers’ show—they paid the price of admission fifty years ago.”
—*New York Times*, June 29, 1913

Gettysburg was the defining battle of the American Civil War. When the Union and Confederate armies collided in southern Pennsylvania during the first three days of July 1863, the nation’s future hung in the balance. Both forces fought heroically. By the time the Confederate army retreated, around fifty thousand men were killed, wounded, or missing across the Gettysburg battlefields—the largest number of battle casualties during the entire Civil War. With the Union victory that ended Lee’s second and final invasion of the North, Gettysburg became “one of the decisive battles of the world.”¹ As the *Salt Lake Herald* noted in June 1913: “Had the Union army wavered and broke under the charge of Pickett’s men, ***These GAR men represent some of the 44,713 Union veterans who attended the four-day reunion.***

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¹ “Veterans to Meet on Battlefield,” *Carbon County News* (Price, UT), June 12, 1913.

there would have been two nations where there is now but one.”²

In November 1863, President Abraham Lincoln traveled to Gettysburg to dedicate a national cemetery, and his Gettysburg Address began the slow healing process for the nation. As the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg approached in July 1913, many Americans saw it as an opportunity to host the largest gathering for veterans of the Civil War and as an opportunity to finish what Lincoln had started fifty years earlier. That grand fiftieth anniversary reunion—and Utah’s participation in it—involved far more than assembling elderly veterans. First, political wrangling at the state level frustrated the efforts of local organizers to get Utahns to the event. Second, in Utah, as elsewhere in the nation, the reunion illuminated both the lingering tensions between Union and Confederate factions and the hopes that such animosity could finally be laid to rest. As John Widdoes, a nonagenarian veteran from American Fork, remarked as he left for a later celebration, “I’m going to shake hands with a Reb, something I’ve never done before.”³

Plans to celebrate the semicentennial of the battle of Gettysburg publicly began on January 5, 1909, during Governor Edwin S. Stuart’s biennial message to the Pennsylvania general assembly, when he observed that the nation was “approaching the fiftieth anniversary of the most decisive battle of the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, fought on Pennsylvania soil, at Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1863. . . . Many of the men [who fought] are still living . . . and it would be entirely in keeping with the patriotic spirit of the people of the [Pennsylvania] Commonwealth to properly recognize and fittingly observe this anniversary.” Stuart further suggested that “other States, both north and south, whose sons fought at Gettysburg, will surely co-operate in making the occasion one that will stand foremost in the martial history of the world.” Accordingly, on May 13, 1909, Pennsylvania’s general assembly created the Gettysburg fiftieth reunion commission and authorized \$5,000 for preliminary expenses.⁴

The newly created commission reached out to every state—including former Confederate states. They invited “the congress of the United States and her Sister States and Commonwealths to accept this invitation . . . to share in this important anniversary and to help make it an event worthy of its historical significance, and an occasion creditable and impressive to our great and re-united nation.”⁵ The commemoration was envisioned as “the greatest and most elaborate event of its kind ever [to] be held,” and the commission’s goal was “to have present on the battlefield all of the

² “On to Gettysburg!” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 28, 1913.

³ “Five Utah Veterans Leave for Gettysburg,” *Times-Independent* (Moab, UT), June 30, 1938, punctuation added.

⁴ *Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg: Report of the Pennsylvania Commission* (Harrisburg, PA: Wm. Stanley Ray State Printer, 1914), 3–4.

⁵ “Veterans to Meet on Battlefield,” *Carbon County News* (Price, UT), June 12, 1913.

survivors of the conflict and it is expected that there will be a large attendance of both confederate and union veterans.”⁶ Due to opposition from Southern veterans known as the “irreconcilables,” it took the United Confederate Veterans organization almost two years to accept Pennsylvania’s invitation to participate.⁷

Utah responded much faster. On August 2, 1910, Governor William Spry appointed Lucian H. Smyth, a Pennsylvania native and past commander of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Department of Utah, to represent the state during planning meetings at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, that fall.⁸ A committee of Utah “Grand Army men” was appointed during the GAR’s state encampment in June 1912 to begin “collecting the names of [Utah] veterans who will go to Gettysburg.” The six-member committee canvassed the state, notifying Civil War soldiers. By December the committee announced that “Utah will send a delegation of considerable size to attend the fiftieth anniversary celebration.”⁹

The federal government became involved in 1912 and appropriated \$175,000 to pay “for the sheltering and subsistence of the veterans of the northern and southern armies” and authorized funding for “400 army ranges for cooking food, one field bakery, two large field hospitals and five infirmaries.” Washington also agreed to provide eighteen hundred physicians, surgeons, cooks, and support staff.¹⁰ Government engineers “made a survey of the [battlefield] ground, laid it off into streets and avenues, [and] created a water system for the camp.” The goal was to prepare everything so that the attending veterans would be able to eat and sleep without charge.¹¹

Citing the examples of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and other states that had already provided “large appropriations for expenses, particularly for the transportation of old soldiers,” the Utah GAR petitioned the state legislature in January 1913 “to pay traveling expenses of

⁶ “Local Man to Aid in Great Pageant at Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, May 10, 1912. Many smaller commemorations and military reunions were held at Gettysburg prior to 1913. See John W. Frazier, *Reunion of the Blue and Gray. Philadelphia Brigade and Pickett's Division. July, 2, 3, 4, 1887 and September 15, 16, 17, 1906* (Philadelphia: Ware Bros., 1906); Nina Sibley, *Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

⁷ “Blue and Gray Will Meet at Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 9, 1912.

⁸ Smyth served in the Third Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery Battery during the Civil War. “To Commemorate Battle,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, August 3, 1910; “Lucian H. Smyth to Represent Utah,” *Deseret News*, August 2, 1910; *Roster, Department of Utah G.A.R. by States. All Who Joined Since First Post was Organized. Living and Dead* (1914), 20.

⁹ “Utah Veterans to Go to Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 18, 1912. Lucian H. Smyth, W. M. Bostaph, M. M. Kaighn, N. D. Corser, J. M. Bowman, and Seymour B. Young made up the GAR committee.

¹⁰ There was apparently confusion regarding the exact figure authorized by Washington. Early reports list \$150,000, while later accounts suggest that Washington actually appropriated \$175,000. One account claims it was \$250,000. “Thousands Expect to Visit Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 30, 1912; “Provides Funds for the Gettysburg Celebration,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, August 9, 1912; “Will Ask \$10,000 to Pay Veterans’ Expenses,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, January 24, 1913.

¹¹ “Utah Veterans,” December 18, 1912.

each old soldier, Union and Confederate, in this state who desires to take part in the celebration.”¹² Unfortunately, the appropriation bill became a casualty of legislative bureaucracy. A senate bill providing \$10,000 to “pay the railroad fares and incidental expenses of the old soldiers going back to the scenes of the stirring sixties” was amended to \$7,500 before the body passed it.¹³ The Utah House of Representatives referred the bill to the committee on military affairs, and the committee “drafted a report providing that the bill go on the calendar without recommendation. The report was withdrawn and an adverse report was drafted. In turn, this report was killed and the bill was turned over to the appropriations committee. The next time the bill saw daylight was when, with a mass of other special appropriation bills it was presented to the house and laid on the table,” and there it remained without passage.¹⁴ A line in the separate appropriation bill provided funds “for the expenses of the Gettysburg celebration,” but the money could not be spent because “the provisions directing and authorizing the expenditures are dead.”¹⁵ When asked if the state could disburse the funds, the attorney general declared that “he could make no statement on this point until the matter had been considered formally.” The bottom line was that Utah’s Civil War veterans were left wondering if the state would pay for their travel to Gettysburg.¹⁶ On March 24, 1913, the state delayed offering a solution to this problem when it announced that “the veterans will have to pay their own expenses and wait for reimbursement from the next legislature.”¹⁷

Many Utah veterans took these events personally and felt that the legislature “intended to appease them by appropriating the money, but purposely neglected to provide a means for paying it out.”¹⁸ An April meeting between GAR representatives and the governor determined that “the soldiers will have to make arrangements with private individuals to advance the money and wait for the next legislature to pass the lost bill, if they are to have their expenses paid to and from the reunion.”¹⁹ Utah veterans who

¹² Ibid. The GAR “committee of arrangements” that helped prepare the funding legislation consisted of Lucian H. Smyth, M. M. Kaighn, J. M. Bowman, Seymour B. Young, Frank H. Hall, and Elias Price. “Will Ask \$10,000,” January 24, 1913.

¹³ “Civil War Veterans May Attend Reunion,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, January 31, 1913.

¹⁴ “Legal Effect of Gift to Veterans Worries Officials,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, March 23, 1913.

¹⁵ “Veterans Seek Plan to Realize on Law,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, April 10, 1913.

¹⁶ “Legal Effect of Gift,” March 23, 1913; “Appropriation for Civil War Veterans’ Trip Past Senate,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, February 12, 1913. Part of the problem with funding for the Gettysburg reunion came with the Utah legislature’s simultaneous considerations about how to properly care for veterans of Utah’s Indian Wars. As state senator L. M. Olson declared, “The legislature should first consider the appropriation for caring for Utah Indian war veterans in their old age before sending Civil War veterans away on an excursion.” The final senate vote on the Gettysburg funds was “Ayes 14, nays 1, absent and not voting, 3, [Senate] President Henry Gardner voted against the bill, not because he disapproved of its purpose, he said, but because he thought the state treasury was being overtaxed.” “Appropriation for Veterans’ Trip,” February 12, 1913.

¹⁷ “Veterans Will Get Gettysburg Funds,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, March 24, 1913.

¹⁸ “Veterans Seek Plan,” April 10, 1913.

¹⁹ “No State Funds Can Aid Veterans’ Jaunt,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, April 6, 1913.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

hoped to attend began an “active search for some person who can advance \$7500 so [they] can attend the big Gettysburg reunion.”²⁰ Spry added “his assurance that the next legislature would unquestionably pass a bill reimbursing those who made the advance.”²¹

A reported 8,694 Confederate veterans attended the reunion. Veterans were asked to leave their battle flags at home, but many brought them anyway.

Which veterans would actually attend the reunion at the state’s expense now became a subject of debate. Newspapers reported that as many as eighty-five veterans expressed an interest in attending, and the press published several attendee lists. One list had as many as seventy-one names; in the end, sixty-five Utah veterans attended, making it one of the greatest contributors of the western states.²² The Utah GAR developed selection

²⁰ “Veterans Looking for Some One to Give Funds,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, April 8, 1913. The veteran committee in charge of “the arrangements for Utah’s participation” consisted of Lucian H. Smyth, M. M. Kaign, Seymour B. Young; W. M. Bostaph, Fred J. Kiesel, and W. L. H. Dotson. Kiesel and Dotson, Confederate veterans, were appointed to ensure that “the confederate ranks in Utah are well represented on the committee.” “Consider Way to Raise Funds,” *Logan (UT) Republican*, April 17, 1913.

²¹ “Raise Funds,” April 17, 1913.

²² The *Pennsylvania Commission Report* recorded that Utah sent sixty-seven Union veterans and nine Confederate veterans, for a total of seventy-six attendees. In comparison, Utah sent more veterans than Arizona (ten), Colorado (twelve), Idaho (forty-five), Montana (twenty-two), and New Mexico (one), but less than California (one hundred), Oregon (eighty-two), and Washington State (167). *Pennsylvania Commission Report*, 36–37. However, a discrepancy exists between the reported figure for Utah and veterans who actually attended; it is believed that sixty-five Utahns actually attended. See “Veterans of Both Armies Leaving Salt Lake for Famous Gettysburg Battlefield,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 28, 1913.

criteria to determine who would travel at the state's expense. The first priority went to veterans of the battle of Gettysburg. The second priority went to Confederate veterans "out of courtesy to the southerners." The third, and final, priority was Union veterans who were physically fit enough to make the trip. Several veterans who wanted to attend were "barred for this reason." Prioritization was required because Utah did not authorize enough funds to send all of the state's Civil War veterans who wanted to attend the reunion, and only sixty-six men could be accommodated in the tents reserved for the Utah delegation of veterans.²³ In developing these criteria, GAR leaders did not provide any special advantage for members of the Lot Smith Utah Cavalry Company—the only active duty Civil War military unit from Utah Territory.²⁴ (See pages 288–89 for a list of Civil War veterans who attended from Utah.)

Lucian H. Smyth, who chaired several Utah GAR commemoration committees, traveled to Gettysburg in May 1913 to attend a Pennsylvania commission meeting and tour the battlefield. He gave an enthusiastic report of the preparations and said, "I wouldn't have missed seeing that battle field for \$1000."²⁵

Travel arrangements for the Utah veterans were discussed during the thirty-first annual GAR Department of Utah encampment, held in Salt Lake City on May 17, 1913.²⁶ Resolutions passed during the encampment expressed "grateful appreciation" to Utah's governor and legislature for appropriating \$7,500 to meet the veterans' expenses but regretted that, "owing to the congestion of business in the closing hours of the session," the state government did not actually make the funds available. The Utah Civil War veterans were clearly disappointed that the state government had failed to deliver promised financial support. A separate, but related, GAR resolution urged "all our comrades and our friends the confederate soldiers residing in Utah to attend this great anniversary" in order to "help bury the last lingering remnant of sectional bitterness in the great ocean of patriotism that covers our beloved country."²⁷ It is a telling commentary on those times that even though half a century had passed since the war's end, the GAR still felt the need to reach out—specifically addressing Confederate soldiers and appealing for unity and patriotism.

²³ "Day's Anxious Vigil Rewarded; Veterans Leave for Gettysburg Today," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 27, 1913; "Only 66 Veterans Go to Gettysburg at State's Expense," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 26, 1913.

²⁴ Four Union veterans from the Lot Smith Utah Cavalry Company attended the 1913 Gettysburg reunion: James Isaac Atkinson (Woods Cross) and Joseph A. Fisher, John H. Walker, and Seymour B. Young (Salt Lake City). For additional details, see Joseph R. Stuart and Kenneth L. Alford, "The Lot Smith Cavalry Company: Utah Goes to War," in *Civil War Saints*, Kenneth L. Alford, ed. (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 2012).

²⁵ "Gettysburg Field Awaits Veterans," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, May 24, 1913.

²⁶ "G.A.R. Encampment to [B]e Held Here Today," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, May 17, 1913.

²⁷ "Utah Department, G.A.R., Holds Meeting; Veterans to Go East," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, May 18, 1913.

At noon on June 26, the day before their scheduled departure, approximately seventy Civil War veterans gathered in the U.S. marshal's office in Salt Lake City (where Smyth worked) to complete their travel plans. Their planning was "thrown into consternation by the announcement that the \$7500 appropriated by the legislature for the transportation of men [to Gettysburg] was not forthcoming, and no way had been found to get the money." After "three hours of gloom," Governor Spry informed the veteran committee that through the efforts of "several prominent business men" the promised \$7,500 "had been raised by a note given to the Zion's Savings bank" to furnish the money. Required travel funds were now available. The following day the *Salt Lake Herald* reported that the battle over funding almost "approached the proportions of the battle of Gettysburg, and many a veteran became weary of the struggle before yesterday's triumphant ending."²⁸ Each former soldier received \$97.00 for the trip, of which \$79.50 was deducted for the cost of his railway fare. The balance paid "for their sleeper berths [on the train] and general expenses." The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that "most of them will arrange to double up" in sleeping berths to reduce the cost.²⁹

Prior to departing Salt Lake City, each veteran was required to prove his status by showing (1) a certificate from a GAR post or United Confederate Veterans camp, (2) pension or discharge papers, or (3) Confederate parole papers or other sufficient evidence of service.³⁰ As many of the eligible veterans were elderly, a local doctor provided free physical examinations to any veteran who doubted his "physical ability to make the trip."³¹

The town of Gettysburg had fewer than five thousand residents and did not attempt to provide lodging for all of the reunion attendees. Veterans were housed on a temporary campground southwest of the city, about two hundred yards from the "high water mark monument on the battlefield" (which marks the farthest spot that Confederate soldiers reached during Pickett's Charge). The camp covered almost three hundred acres, and veterans were housed together by state. A "big tent," which seated between ten to fifteen thousand veterans, erected next to the camp was the site for speeches and performances during the reunion.

Over five thousand brown Sibley tents lined sixty-two streets; every street was named, and each tent was numbered. Five hundred electric streetlights were installed to "make the camp as brilliant as the Great White Way." The Army dug four large wells to supply the camp with 600,000 gallons of water daily. Running water was piped to every street intersection, and

²⁸ "Fund to Send Utah Veterans to Field of Battle Raised," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 27, 1913; "Anxious Vigil Rewarded," June 27, 1913. The *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission* (page 39) reports that \$7,370 of the \$7,500 was actually expended.

²⁹ "Anxious Vigil Rewarded," June 27, 1913.

³⁰ "Gettysburg is Mecca for 65 Utah Veterans," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 19, 1913.

³¹ "Talk Transportation," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 20, 1913.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The U.S. Army erected a tent city for the reunion that housed 53,407 veterans and occupied 278 acres.

thirty-two ice-water drinking fountains were installed as well. The Utah delegates enjoyed an excellent location for their tents—near the camp headquarters, the big tent, and a field hospital.³²

To care for the attendees, the campground included fourteen Red Cross stations and several regimental hospitals. “The magnitude of the undertaking would be difficult to grasp even if the encampment were for the entertainment of 50,000 men in the prime of life, but when one considers that the average age of the veterans is 72 years the task before those in charge of the camp is vastly more difficult.” Three hundred and fifty boy scouts stationed themselves throughout the camp to help answer the veterans’ questions and to guide them around. The camp’s extensive telephone system required “the stringing of 120 miles of wire” and made it possible to call anywhere in the country “reached by the telephone system.”³³ Active duty military units, such as the Fifteenth U.S. Cavalry from Fort Myers, Virginia, and the Pennsylvania state police patrolled the tent city.³⁴ The war department prepared for possible cold weather by purchasing forty thousand blankets at a cost of \$100,000, but instead of cool weather during the celebration, veterans experienced extreme heat that covered Gettysburg “as a blanket.”³⁵

Instead of twelve soldiers, eight veterans shared each tent in order to make them more comfortable. Upon arrival, each veteran was issued a cot, blankets, and a mess kit (with a plate, cup, knife, fork, and spoon). Each tent was equipped with two hand basins, a water bucket, candles, and two lanterns. Like other attendees, Utah veterans were required to carry everything they brought with them; no trunks were permitted in the camp. By giving veterans a place to sleep and meals to eat, the Army aimed to ensure that “the veterans will have nothing to do” except enjoy the reunion.³⁶

³² “Map Showing Camp for Veterans,” *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, after page 281.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ “Veterans’ Vanguard Reaches Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 27, 1913; “Hills of Gettysburg Mecca for Veterans,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 23, 1913.

³⁵ “Not Knave but Fool,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 4, 1913.

³⁶ “Hills of Gettysburg,” June 23, 1913.



J. K. Weaver, the surgeon general of the Pennsylvania National Guard, issued a set of health rules for attendees. He admonished the veterans to get enough sleep, eat the food provided by the Army, avoid intoxicating drinks, take an extra pair of shoes, and take it easy during the week. “Don’t try to meet all of the old comrades at once. . . . In short, remember none of us is as young as we were fifty years ago.”³⁷ In spite of that good advice, many veterans spent their time “tramping over the battlefield all day . . . as if it were a picnic. Some of them started out as early as 4 o’clock in the morning and kept it up until sundown.”³⁸

Reunion organizers, concerned that lingering feelings of Confederate patriotism or resentment might mar the celebration, took every precaution to “prevent the stirring up of animosities.” Veterans of both armies were asked “not to take their tattered battle flags to the celebration . . . the only flag which will be admitted to the camp will be the Stars and Stripes.”³⁹ Their efforts were quite successful. During the reunion Confederate resolutions were unanimously adopted thanking the State of Pennsylvania for initiating the reunion and, in what must have seemed a little surreal to Union onlookers, for taking “pride in the fact that to the armies of the Confederacy is due the credit of demonstrating the utter impossibility of the dismemberment of the Union.”⁴⁰ A reporter from the *New York Times* observed that Gettysburg’s five thousand residents “saw men in blue and men in gray with arms over each other’s shoulders or hand in hand, fighting their battles over again, but this time in a far different spirit.”⁴¹

To feed the veterans, the government organized 1,600 cooks and dishwashers. Each of the four days, 130 bakers baked 185,000 pounds of bread in fourteen field ovens. Meal menus were created “with due regard for the age of the men.”⁴² The hungry veterans consumed 180,000 pounds of potatoes and tomatoes; 200,000 pounds of meat; 36,000 pounds of sugar;

³⁷ “Veteran Vanguard Now in Gettysburg,” *New York Times*, June 29, 1913.

³⁸ “Old Soldiers Defy Gettysburg Heat,” *New York Times*, July 2, 1913.

³⁹ “Big Camp Bars War Flags,” *New York Times*, June 25, 1913.

⁴⁰ “Pickett’s Charge Fifty Years After,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1913.

⁴¹ “Veteran Vanguard,” June 29, 1913.

⁴² “Hills of Gettysburg,” June 23, 1913.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Confederate (left) and Union (right) veterans march in honor of the Gettysburg semicentennial.

and 7,000 pounds of table salt. The twenty meals provided for veterans were significantly improved over their 1863 fare. Whereas a typical soldier's dinner in July 1863 consisted of bacon, beans, hard tack, and coffee, in 1913 a representative dinner included fricassee chicken, peas, corn, ice cream, cake, cigars, fresh bread, hard bread, butter, coffee, and iced tea.⁴³

The sale of souvenirs and other goods was prohibited within the veterans' camp.⁴⁴ Yet the area just outside the campground and Gettysburg itself carried "the air of a circus day." Salesmen and showmen of every stripe came to Gettysburg in an effort to "induce the nickels from the pockets of the veterans." Outside the veterans' tent city every available room in Gettysburg was filled days before the reunion began. "Veterans without credentials and the civilian who had not enough foresight to make arrangements are sleeping . . . in any bed that they could find in the hustle of the day."⁴⁵

Reunion organizers hoped to demonstrate that "hatred and bitterness have been totally obliterated and that the country is a united country, with no north, no south in the sense that those terms are used in touching the

⁴³ "Sidelights of Gettysburg Reunion," *Duchesne Record* (Myton, UT), July 18, 1913.

⁴⁴ "Fakers to be Barred from Veterans' Camp," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 26, 1913; "Pouring into Gettysburg," June 29, 1913.

⁴⁵ "Veterans Gather on Historic Field," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 30, 1913.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

question of the conflict.”⁴⁶ Veterans—both Union and Confederate—were encouraged to “wear their army, corps, division, brigade and society badges, as a means of identification to their comrades in like commands” to assist in “bringing together comrades who would otherwise, by reason of lapse of time, fail to recognize each other.”⁴⁷

Most veterans traveled to and from the Gettysburg reunion by train.

The first Confederate veterans arrived at Gettysburg on June 26. “With their uniforms of gray topped by campaign hats the southerners soon became the central figures on the streets and scarcely a person they passed failed to stop and ask the privilege of a hand shake.” As a measure of the healing power of time, “the men in blue” extended them the warmest welcome.⁴⁸ The first Union veterans arrived the following day when the GAR Department of Pennsylvania held a state encampment preceding the reunion. As Pennsylvania GAR Union veterans paraded through the streets of Gettysburg, the “old soldiers in the blue and in the gray” met them “with cheers and salutes.”⁴⁹

While the focus of the commemoration was clearly on Civil War veterans, the GAR quickly pointed out that the commemoration was “by no means

⁴⁶ “Raise Funds,” April 17, 1913; “Orders to G.A.R. Issued,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 8, 1913.

⁴⁷ “Meet on Battlefield,” June 12, 1913.

⁴⁸ “Vanguard Reaches Gettysburg,” June 27, 1913; “Pennsylvania G.A.R. Encampment Opens Gettysburg Reunion,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 28, 1913.

⁴⁹ “Pennsylvania G.A.R. Encampment,” June 28, 1913.

exclusively for old soldiers. . . . The spirit behind the celebration is the aim to show to the world and to the people of the United States in particular that there is no longer sectional feeling as a result of the war." Accordingly, over fifty thousand civilians attended the commemoration.⁵⁰

To help veterans better afford the trip to Gettysburg, many railroad companies offered special pricing. The Trunk Line Passenger Association, for example, charged just two cents per mile to Gettysburg.⁵¹ As the Utah veterans left Salt Lake City on June 27, the *Ogden Standard* reported that a "happier, jollier crowd is seldom seen."⁵² Traveling over "the Oregon Short Line to Ogden, Union Pacific to Omaha, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul to Chicago, Lake Shore & Michigan Southern to Cleveland, Erie to Youngstown and Western Maryland to Gettysburg," they were scheduled to reach Gettysburg the morning of July 1.⁵³ During the trip they were "side tracked" for several hours in Omaha and offered water that had "the flavor of decaying wood."⁵⁴ They found the wait uncomfortable as the cars became very hot—later learning that "the steam heat was turned on in all the radiators." The veterans passed the afternoon and evening in "torment" and "almost literally roasted."⁵⁵

As the Utah veterans neared Gettysburg, they "felt a decided impulse to engage themselves with reviewing recollections of the actual encounter on the battlefield fifty years ago."⁵⁶ In 1912, the *Salt Lake Telegram* profiled eight Civil War veterans living in Utah who fought at the battle of Gettysburg, four of whom attended the 1913 Reunion (John W. Reed, Ezra D. Haskins, Orlando F. Davis, and Norman D. Corser); each of these soldiers experienced the battle differently.⁵⁷ Reed summarized the battle by comparing it to "my idea of hell."⁵⁸ Haskins was the chief bugler for the First Minnesota Regiment. After being ordered by General Winfield Scott Hancock to stop a Confederate advance, his unit charged "into the mouth of the enemy's terrific fire. We were 262 men against 3000." Within minutes, 215 men, 82 percent of his regiment, lay dead—one of the highest unit casualty figures during the war.⁵⁹ Davis, an infantryman in the Thirty-sixth New York Regiment, remembered being "naturally nervous" when he saw "Pickett

⁵⁰ "Cared for at Gettysburg," June 29, 1913.

⁵¹ "Meet on Battlefield," June 12, 1913.

⁵² "Ogden Veterans at Gettysburg," *Ogden (UT) Standard*, July 9, 1913.

⁵³ "Veterans Leave for Gettysburg Reunion," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 28, 1913.

⁵⁴ "Ogden Veterans," July 9, 1913.

⁵⁵ "Steam Heat is Turned Into Hot Car on Hot Day," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 10, 1913.

⁵⁶ "Utah Veterans Enjoy Reunion" *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 2, 1913.

⁵⁷ To read about the experiences of those veterans who could not attend the reunion, see "Celebrates Birthday Capturing Man Who Wounded Him on Head," "Night of Horror on Battlefield After Confederates Fled," "Rear Guard Before Battle and Followed Retreating Foemen," and "Wounded, Seeks Rest in Open House and Is Taken by Enemy," in *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 29, 1913.

⁵⁸ The only available copy of this article is missing the left edge. See "——— Is Killed by ——ed of Nephew at —— Climax of Conflict," *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 29, 1913.

⁵⁹ "Hurricane of Lead Kills Eighty-Two Per Cent of Regiment," *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 29, 1913.

Seymour B. Young, who enlisted as a private in the Lot Smith Company in 1862, was later active in the GAR.

aiming his famous charge right against us. We lay down just as low as we could and fired at the rebels. . . . Little we knew how big the battle was.”⁶⁰ Corser recounted being wounded at Gettysburg—one of three serious wounds he received during the war. After being struck in the side, he “lost all interest in the fight.” Passing out on the battlefield, he was taken to an



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

army hospital where a surgeon saved his life. He was discharged shortly after the battle of Gettysburg, but rejoined his regiment and served with them until the end of the war.⁶¹ The Utah veterans arrived in Gettysburg around two o’clock on the morning of July 1, only to find that five of the eight tents reserved for them had already been taken by others. By four o’clock in the morning, they finally settled into their tents.⁶²

The battle of Gettysburg had lasted three days (July 1–3, 1863); the semi-centennial celebration at Gettysburg in 1913 spread over four days (July 1–4), and each day received a special designation from the Gettysburg Commission: July 1, Veteran’s Day; July 2, Military Day; July 3, Civic Day; and July 4, National Day.⁶³ The “formal exercises,” mostly speeches, lasted about two hours each day. Veterans were free to spend the remainder of their time as they pleased.⁶⁴

The commemoration was organized so that “the old soldiers will have the first day,” and that day began with reveille—the morning bugle call—similar to the way most soldiers’ days began during the Civil War. Newspapers reported that it was “a different reveille than that which the

⁶⁰ “Another Warrior Who Played His Part on Battlefield,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 29, 1913.

⁶¹ “Got His Wound in Wheat Field Fight as Bullets Rained,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 29, 1913.

⁶² “Hot Car on Hot Day,” July 10, 1913.

⁶³ “Veterans Meet Today,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, April 12, 1913.

⁶⁴ “Historic Field,” June 30, 1913.

fife and drum corps of the two great armies sounded fifty years ago.” That morning’s reveille called them “to a peaceful celebration while the call to the awakening in July, 1863, was a call of armies to conflict and, to thousands of men, a call to death.” The Pennsylvania Commission, the commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the commander-in-chief of the United Confederate Veterans jointly directed the first day’s events. The commemoration ceremonies formally began in the big tent with speeches from Secretary of War Lindy M. Garrison and John K. Tener, who succeeded Stuart as Pennsylvania’s governor. At the conclusion of Tener’s address, General Bennett H. Young, commander-in-chief of the United Confederate Veterans, rose and bowed toward Tener. He surprised the assembled veterans by announcing that “I can give you something that no one else can give you . . . the rebel yell.” Nine Confederate generals and a thousand Confederate veterans gave a yell that “was heard far back in the camp toward Gettysburg.” Young also called for government pensions to be given to Confederate as well as Union veterans by observing that “for nearly fifty years the people of the south without complaint have contributed millions for the pension of federal soldiers.”⁶⁵ While the hoped-for Southern federal pensions were never realized, the 1913 reunion at Gettysburg healed many hearts.

A particularly touching moment occurred during the first day when attendees were reminded that on June 30, 1863, when Brigadier General John Buford’s soldiers rode into Gettysburg prior to the battle, several young girls stood by the road and serenaded them. Six of those same women—now “pleasant-faced [and] gray-haired”—stepped on stage and sang together again. A *New York Times* reporter remarked that “whether the voices were or were not so good as they were fifty years ago, they sounded clear and sweet in the big tent, and no grand opera singer ever had such an appreciative audience.” Many soldiers were seen wiping tears from their eyes.⁶⁶

Veterans began misplacing personal items as soon as they arrived at Gettysburg so a lost-and-found bureau was created underneath the benches of the big tent. Thousands of soldiers checked there every day for lost items. Attendees found over one hundred crutches, and soldiers who came seeking “their lost crutches seldom can recognize them and most of them go away with somebody else’s.” Many sets of false teeth and a wooden leg were also found lying unclaimed around the camp.⁶⁷

The U.S. Army chief of staff directed the following day, July 2, Military Day. The second day also saw the only “unfortunate imbroglio” that occurred during the celebration—the stabbing of seven veterans in a Gettysburg hotel dining room. The conflict occurred after a Confederate

⁶⁵ “World’s Attention Again Centered on Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 2, 1913.

⁶⁶ “Girls of ’63,” July 1, 1913.

⁶⁷ “Sidelights of Reunion,” July 18, 1913.

veteran “uttered [a] slur upon the sacred memory of the martyred Lincoln.” A Union veteran present “jumped to his feet and began to defend the martyred President and berated his detractors. . . . Knives were out in a second and the room was thrown into an uproar. Women fled for the doors and crowded to the windows ready to jump to the street below.” The fight ended as quickly as it began, and “the men responsible for it all had disappeared.” Several doctors renewed their unheeded call to “have the Gettysburg saloons closed during the remainder of the celebration.” An editorial in the *Salt Lake Herald* attributed the stabbings to a combination of humidity, alcohol, and the extreme heat that “might well addle even sober brains.”⁶⁸

Fortunately, incidents such as these were the rare exception, rather than the rule, throughout the reunion. Commenting on that incident, James L. Welshans, a Union veteran from Ogden, wrote that “Every ex-Confederate with whom we since have talked, expressed sorrow and disappointment over this act.” He further observed that “Much has been said lately about this event [the reunion] having the effect of doing away with animosities, bitter feelings and hatred between the northern and southern sections of our country, implying that such have been largely existant [*sic*]. We wish to protest against this implication and insist that no such malignant spirit has existed between the ex-soldiers of the blue and the gray, except with but very few obstinate cranks.”⁶⁹

Eighteen governors participated during Civic Day on July 3. A federal delegation led by Vice President Thomas R. Marshall also included Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives, twenty-one representatives, and nine senators.⁷⁰ As evidence of the high esteem and “warmth of gratitude this great organization feels towards the Utah senator,” U.S. Senator Reed Smoot received a special invitation from the national headquarters of the Grand Army of the Republic to attend the celebration as its guest. Smoot traveled to Gettysburg on Monday, June 30, and participated in several days of reunion activities before returning to Washington, D.C.⁷¹

Speaking to veterans in the big tent, Marshall noted that expectations for the reunion had been greatly exceeded and “it would be in vain to speak of

⁶⁸ “Seven Men Cut in a Fracas in Gettysburg Hotel,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 3, 1913.

⁶⁹ “Ogden Veterans,” July 9, 1913.

⁷⁰ “Pickett’s Charge,” July 4, 1913.

⁷¹ “As a member of the Committee on Pensions, Senator Smoot took an especial interest in the necessary care of the nation’s veteran defenders and their widows. . . . He was largely instrumental in securing the improvements made of recent years in the pension laws.” *Hon. Reed Smoot Senior United States Senator from Utah: His Record in the Senate* (Salt Lake City: Chas. A. Morris, 1914), 7; “A Signal Honor,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 30, 1913. The *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 173, lists Smoot as a “Guest of Pennsylvania.” In April 1913, Smoot led a successful fight in the Senate to retain the jobs of “a number of civil war veterans who [were] employees and former employees of the Senate” who “Democrats [were] removing and dismissing.” See “Smoot to Lead Fight,” April 15, 1913, “Smoot to Fight for Civil War Veterans,” April 15, 1913, and “Base Ingratitude,” April 17, 1913, *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*.

right or wrong on this occasion. This celebration could only happen in America. Nowhere else in the world could men who fought as bitter foes fifty years ago meet and clasp hands in brother love as they are doing here.”⁷² Ohio’s governor, James M. Cox, promised the veterans that “today your names pass into the world’s great hall of fame—Yank with Johnny, blue with gray—to be revered as long as time endures.”⁷³ In complimenting the assembled veterans, Governor Eberhart of Minnesota received sustained laughter when he said, “What an indescribable pleasure must be experienced by Vice President Marshall, who presides over the Senate, and Speaker Clark, who presides over the House, to come here and look into the faces of so many honest men.”⁷⁴ Governor Mann of Virginia observed that good feelings were being engendered by the reunion and noted that on that day there was “no north and no south, no rebels and no yanks . . . [only] one great nation.”⁷⁵

The highlight of July 3 came with the reenactment of Pickett’s charge by veterans who participated in the original charge—survivors of General George S. Pickett’s Division and the Union Philadelphia Brigade who manned the stone wall opposing them. The Confederate veterans that day were but “a handful of men in gray,” as they marched once again over the field they had charged as youthful soldiers. This time, though, “there were no flashing sabers, no guns roaring with shell, only eyes that dimmed fast and kindly faces behind the stone wall that marks the angle. At the end, in place of wounds or prison or death were handshakes, speeches and mingling cheers.” The Confederates marched over a quarter mile that day, not as enemies, but as friends, and embraced Union veterans as citizens of a united country. “They crowded over the stone wall, shook hands and the charge was over.”⁷⁶

One Utah veteran, William Bostaph of the 103rd Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment, recorded his impressions of the reenactment in a letter to his wife Edith.⁷⁷ “Yesterday I spent the day at the point where Pickett’s charge culminated, a little spot of perhaps four acres on which was decided by a few hundred men the question whether this was one country or a divided one. . . . How little we realized at the time the tremendous issue at stake on

⁷² “Charge Again at Bloody Angle,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 4, 1913.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ “Pickett’s Charge,” July 4, 1913.

⁷⁵ “Forty Thousand Veterans Meet on Battlefield,” *Salt Lake Herald*, July 1, 1913.

⁷⁶ “Bloody Angle,” July 4, 1913.

⁷⁷ William M. Bostaph was a civil engineer who was unanimously elected as president of the Ogden Chamber of Commerce in 1909. He was extremely active in the Grand Army of the Republic, serving, at one point, as commander of the Utah Department. In 1909, during the GAR National Encampment in Salt Lake City, Bostaph was elected “Senior Vice-Commander-in-Chief” of the national organization—the only Utahn to hold a national GAR office. “Encampment of the GAR,” *Ogden Standard Examiner*, May 22, 1903; “William Bostaph Returns from Arizona,” *Ogden Standard Examiner*, May 24, 1905; “Utah State News,” *Davis County Clipper* (Bountiful, UT), April 16, 1909; and *Journal of the Fifty-Fifth National Encampment Grand Army of the Republic* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Offices, 1922), 269.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

this little spot and in the few minutes into which it was crowded.” He continued, “I was present when the Confederates and the Union men who fought there met at 3 pm on the hour of the fiftieth anniversary of the deadly conflict. There were speeches and general handshaking over the famous wall over which they fought fifty years ago.”⁷⁸

Bountiful resident Hilton Springstead, a Union veteran of the Ninth Michigan Cavalry who also witnessed the reenactment, published his impressions in the *Davis County Clipper*. He commented that “one of the most touching things that he witnessed while at the war veterans reunion at Gettysburg, was the burying of the hatchet between the blue and gray. He said a soldier from the north and one from the south who fifty years before had tried to club each other to death with their guns, on the third day of the engagement, when General Pickett ordered his men, numbering about 11,000 men, to make the charge at ‘bloody angle,’ went together and bought a new hatchet and dug a hole in the ground and buried the same.”⁷⁹

A large reunion occurred at the “Bloody Angle.” It was near this spot where Charles Warren and Daniel Ball met again after fifty years.

⁷⁸ “Salt Laker Writes from Battlefield,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 11, 1913.

⁷⁹ “Bountiful Briefs,” *Davis County Clipper* (Bountiful, UT), August 15, 1913. Hilton Springstead, who fought in several Civil War battles, moved with his family to Bountiful, Utah, from Colorado around the turn of the twentieth century, where they were “converted to Mormonism by Dr. J. H. Grant and other Bountiful Elders.” “Hilton Springstead Passed Away Thursday,” *Davis County Clipper* (Bountiful, UT), May 21, 1920.

Another Utah veteran who fought at Gettysburg was Confederate Charles Warren—"Old Charlie." During the trip, he was nicknamed "Pickett" by the other Utah veterans because he was a veteran of Pickett's Charge. Warren enlisted in the Confederate Army and served as a fourteen-year-old orderly in the 28th Virginia Infantry Regiment, the regiment of his uncle Colonel John Allen. Disobeying the orders of his uncle, he was in the first rank to reach Cemetery Ridge during Pickett's Charge.⁸⁰

While at the reunion, Warren met and shook hands over a cannon at the "Bloody Angle" with a Union veteran, Daniel O. Ball, one of Lieutenant Alonzo H. Cushing's gunners from Company A, Fourth U.S. Artillery Battery.⁸¹ Little did Warren know that he and Ball had actually met once before—during July 1863 on Cemetery Ridge.⁸² Of the experience, Warren said, "You see, I had no thought of meeting any of the boys on the other side so I could recognize them at Gettysburg, but I wanted to see the old Bloody Angle and that was one of the first places I made for when we reached Gettysburg. I had little trouble," he said, "in finding the place for it was well marked with a monument and two cannon. As I was looking over the old gun I heard a man say he manned the same gun on that day just fifty years before." After comparing battle memories, Warren and Ball figured out that they "had matched weapons during the thickest of the fight. I was a lad of fourteen years old and six months at the time and of course I was smaller and lighter than the gunner who proved afterwards to have been my new friend Ball. He bowled me over with the swab stick he had been using on the gun and I attacked him with one old sword bayonet, the only weapon I had. After the melee I came out with a bayonet wound in my forehead and Ball was shot through the arm."⁸³ (Warren left the South after the war and headed west, ending up in Utah, because he "couldn't stand Carpet-bagger rule.")⁸⁴

As the *New York Times* noted, the reunion had a great leveling effect on

⁸⁰ "Shakes Hands Over Cannon with Foe of 50 Years Ago," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, August 31, 1913; "Confederate Veteran Going Home," *Salt Lake Telegram*, February 28, 1928; "Hero of South Is Honored With Cross on Memorial Day," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 1, 1915.

⁸¹ At the outbreak of the Civil War, Battery A, Fourth U.S. Artillery—the unit Cushing would soon command—was "stationed at Fort Crittenden, in Utah Territory, protecting settlers from Indian attacks." Quoting an 1863 press release, the *New York Times* reported that Cushing's "gallantry was beyond praise." "What the Times Reporters Saw of Pickett's Charge," *New York Times*, June 29, 1913.

⁸² Daniel O. Ball might have served in Utah Territory with Battery A, Fourth U.S. Artillery, at the beginning of the Civil War. An August 1861 enlistment record from "Echo Canon," Utah Territory, exists for a soldier named Daniel Ball, aged twenty-six. *Registers of Enlistments in the United States Army, 1798–1914*, National Archives Microfilm Publication M233, roll 27.

⁸³ "Shakes Hands," August 31, 1913. See also "Defy Gettysburg Heat," July 2, 1913; "Stories of Reunion," *Ogden Standard*, July 2, 1913.

⁸⁴ Upon the death of his wife in 1928 and with assistance from the Salt Lake Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Warren decided to return to the South after a fifty-six year absence, twenty years of which he spent in Salt Lake City, to spend his last years with his comrades at the Lee Soldiers Home in Richmond, Virginia. Warren passed away at the Soldiers' Home in 1929. "Exiled Veteran to Return to South Glad to Go Home—Maybe, He Says," *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 1, 1928; "Confederate Veteran Dies; Charlie Warren, Who Served 'Lost Cause' Dies in Virginia," *Salt Lake Telegram*, October 28, 1929.

the former soldiers—“Privates, Lieutenants, Captains, Majors, Colonels, Generals, [and] Governors, all look alike [at] Gettysburg.”⁸⁵ Frequently after Confederate and Union veterans became acquainted, there was talk of joining the United Confederate Veterans and the Grand Army of the Republic into a single veterans’ organization called the United Veterans of the United States. The idea remained just talk, though, as no direct action was taken to do so after the reunion.⁸⁶

Utah’s reunion commission chair, Lucian H. Smyth, reported that “attendance at the battlefield was beyond all expectations. The streets of Gettysburg were so jammed that it was almost impossible to walk. On the night of July 3, about 3000 automobiles got into the crowd when the fireworks display was shown at Little Round Top and all the roads were so blocked that it took several hours to clear them for traffic.” Smyth added that “the reunion was a big success, and one of the best lessons ever put before the world in showing the possibilities of a self-governing people.”⁸⁷

The final day, July 4, was envisioned as “the biggest day of all” with the chief justice of the United States presiding over ceremonies in the big tent. President Woodrow Wilson addressed the veterans during a one hour visit to Gettysburg. After racing “across Pennsylvania and New Jersey at a speed sometimes approaching seventy miles an hour,” Wilson (who was the son of Confederate, Joseph Ruggles Wilson, and the first Southerner elected president since Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency upon the death of Abraham Lincoln) declared to the assembled veterans: “We have found one another again as brothers and comrades, in arms, enemies no longer, generous friends rather, our battles long past, the quarrel forgotten—except we shall not forget the splendid valor, the manly devotion of the men then arranged against one another, now grasping hands and smiling into each other’s eyes.”⁸⁸ The veterans generally received the president’s speech with a collective yawn; as the *New York Times* put it, the speech “did not inspire its hearers to [a] very enthusiastic response.”⁸⁹

The original reunion schedule called for the president to lay the cornerstone of a Gettysburg peace monument, but sufficient funding had not been obtained.⁹⁰ Later that evening several hundred Confederate veterans

⁸⁵ “Cared for at Gettysburg,” June 29, 1913.

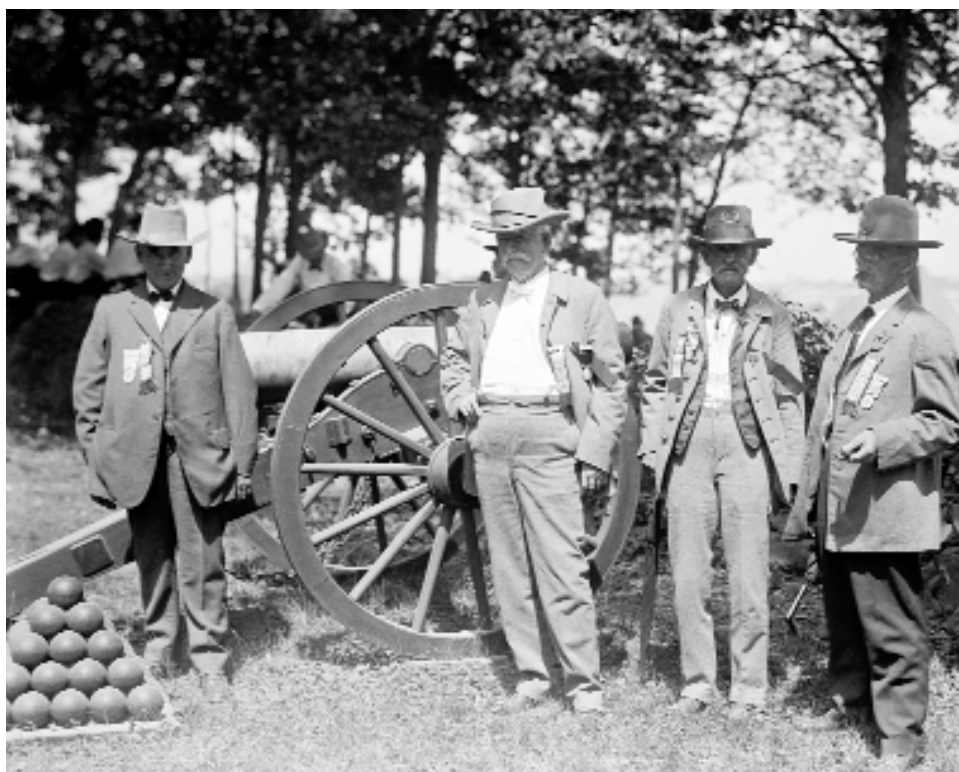
⁸⁶ “Defy Gettysburg Heat,” July 2, 1913.

⁸⁷ “Hot Car on Hot Day,” July 10, 1913.

⁸⁸ “President Proceeds from Gettysburg to Summer White House,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 5, 1913 (first quotation); *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission*, 174 (second quotation).

⁸⁹ “Mr. Wilson at Gettysburg,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1913.

⁹⁰ “Raise Funds,” April 17, 1913; “Orders to G.A.R.,” June 8, 1913. “The plan for the monument fell through,” and the cornerstone was not laid as planned. The idea for a peace monument was revived soon after the reunion by Colonel Andrew Cowan, a captain of the First New York battery at Gettysburg. Cowan presided over a committee that “went to Washington with a view of securing the introduction in Congress of a bill providing for the erection of a peace monument.” “Weary Veterans Silently Depart from Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 6, 1913. As explained in the closing paragraphs of this essay, Cowan’s petition in Washington was successful.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Civil War veterans—both Confederate and Union—pose together at Gettysburg in July 1913.

marched to General Liggett’s campground headquarters “to pay their respects.” While the general “stood in front of his tent and reviewed the march” their band played “Dixie” and “Maryland, My Maryland.”⁹¹ The

grand reunion ended with the lowering of the camp commander’s flag to half-staff, a brief tribute to the war dead, a forty-eight gun salute, five minutes of silence, and a fireworks display.⁹²

Although the reunion officially ended on July 4, the camp remained open until July 6 for veterans who wished to linger a little longer. In contrast to the pageantry that marked the beginning, “no flying banners, blaring bands or marching columns” accompanied the veterans as they quietly departed Gettysburg. Newspaper accounts trumpeted the “wonderful success of what has been described as an army camp that will stand as a model for all the countries of the world for years to come.” By July 7, less than three hundred veterans remained.⁹³ The U.S. Army dismantled the campground over the next two months

⁹¹ “Charge Again at Bloody Angle,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 4, 1913.

⁹² “Pay Tribute to Sleeping Heroes,” July 10, 1913.

⁹³ “Gettysburg Camp Closed,” *New York City*, July 7, 1913.

and restored it to its original condition.⁹⁴

The first Utah veterans returned on July 7.⁹⁵ Utah attendee Seymour B. Young was very pleased with his reunion experience. In 1862, Young had served as a private in the Lot Smith Cavalry Company—the only active duty Civil War unit from Utah Territory. In 1913, he served as one of the presidents of the Seventy in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and as a commander of GAR Post Eight in Salt Lake City. When Young returned to Salt Lake City on July 8, he carried a list of the Utah veterans who attended and “checked off” each veteran upon his arrival home in Utah.⁹⁶

In all, 53,407 veterans attended the historic reunion—44,713 Union and 8,694 Confederate soldiers. The 1913 reunion “induced more interest among the old soldiers of the north and the south than any event which has happened since the day that the war closed.”⁹⁷ The oldest veteran to attend, Micyah Weiss of New York, was 112 years old; the youngest was sixty-two. The average age was seventy-two. Surprisingly, only nine veterans died during the reunion.⁹⁸

As the *New York Times* summarized, the Gettysburg battle commemoration was “neither a celebration of victory nor a mournful ceremony to commemorate defeat. Not a survivor of the men who fought on the Northern side in those three terrible days has gone to Gettysburg in the spirit of a conqueror, and surely none of our Southern brothers has gone to mourn the defeat of his cause. [But] the bond of fellowship and sympathy between the South and the North [was] strengthened”⁹⁹ The reunion was “in all respects the most unique gathering of the soldiers of the [18]60’s ever held. Men who fought each other fifty years ago . . . fraternized as long-separated brothers.”¹⁰⁰ What a grand experience it must have been to attend.

During the 1913 Gettysburg reunion, Confederate and Union veterans visibly demonstrated to the nation that the Civil War had truly ended. Two thousand-five hundred veterans met one last time, in 1938, for the seventy-fifth anniversary of the battle. To that reunion, Utah sent only five aging Union veterans.¹⁰¹ As a quarter of a million visitors gathered on July 3,

⁹⁴ “Weary Veterans Silently Depart from Gettysburg,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 6, 1913.

⁹⁵ Colonel J. W. Reed visited his brother at Port Byron, New York, where he met with a local resident named Lorenzo Ames, who claimed to remember Brigham Young when Young was a paint mixer in the area. “Veterans Expected Back from East Soon,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 7, 1913; “Colonel Reed Visits Brigham Young Home,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 23, 1913.

⁹⁶ “Veterans Return,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 9, 1913.

⁹⁷ “Veterans to Meet on Battlefield,” *Carbon County News* (Price, UT), June 12, 1913.

⁹⁸ James W. Wensyel, “Return to Gettysburg,” *American History Illustrated* (July/August 1993), 45; “Pickett’s Charge,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1913; Stan Cohen, *Hands Across the Wall: The 50th and 75th Reunions of the Gettysburg Battle* (Charleston, WV: Pictorial Histories, 1982), 17.

⁹⁹ “Gettysburg,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1913.

¹⁰⁰ “Sidelights of Reunion,” July 18, 1913.

¹⁰¹ *The Times-Independent* reported on June 30, 1938, that “Five elderly members of the Grand Army of the Republic left Salt Lake City early this week aboard a special train carrying soldiers of both armies to

1938, to remember the war and to dedicate the “Eternal Light Peace Monument” erected on Oak Hill, President Franklin D. Roosevelt accepted the monument on behalf of the nation. At the base of the monument are inscribed the words “Peace eternal in a nation united.”¹⁰²

UTAH CIVIL WAR VETERANS ATTENDING THE 1913 REUNION

The *Salt Lake Herald-Republican* published the following list of veterans on June 28, 1913, after the veterans had departed for Pennsylvania.¹⁰³ An earlier list in the *Salt Lake Tribune* named several other veterans who planned to attend.¹⁰⁴

Union Veterans of Gettysburg

Francis M. Bishop, Salt Lake City
 William H. Brown, Ogden
 H. P. Burns, Salt Lake City
 George A. Cook, Grouse Creek
 S. D. Chase, Salt Lake City
 Norman D. Corser, Salt Lake City
 Aaron Darling, Salt Lake City
 Orlando F. Davis, Salt Lake City
 William Goodsell, Salt Lake City
 Ezra D. Haskins, Salt Lake City
 W. H. McNeil, New Harmony
 Henry Page, Salt Lake City
 John W. Reed, Salt Lake City
 Henry C. Rode, Salt Lake City
 Thomas Smith, Midvale
 L. H. Smyth, Salt Lake City
 John Westen, Ogden
 William F. Wilson, Salt Lake City

Confederate Veterans of Gettysburg

A. D. Gillis, Eureka
 John J. Taylor, Payson
 Charles Warren, Salt Lake City

Additional Confederate Veterans

John Amos, Payson
 Walter A. Bennet, Salt Lake City
 John F. Beesley, Provo
 G. B. Dobbins, Salt Lake City
 W. L. H. Dotson, Salt Lake City
 B. F. Hill, East Millcreek

the gathering . . . Representing the Bee Hive state will be John W. Widdoes, 94, American Fork, Ira A. Stormes, 92, commander of the Utah department of the GAR, Robert L Rohm, 90, Myton, Thomas W. Brookbank, 92, Salt Lake City, and George W. Vogel, 97, Ogden. The state's only two residents who fought under the Confederacy flag—William H. Perry and John D. Johnson both of Salt Lake City—could not make the trip because of illness. The five veterans all expressed pleasure at being invited to the reunion, although none actually fought in the battle of Gettysburg. “Five Utah Veterans,” June 30, 1938. None of those five Utah veterans attended the 1913 Gettysburg reunion. See Paul L. Roy, *The Last Reunion of the Blue and Gray* (Gettysburg, PA: Bookmart, 1950), 86.

¹⁰² Roy, *Last Reunion*, 117; Jay S. Hoar. “Gettysburg's Last Surviving Soldier: James Marion Lurvey,” *Gettysburg Magazine* 16 (1997): 124–28.

¹⁰³ “Veterans of Both Armies Leaving for Famous Battlefield,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 28, 1913. The newspaper included the name of an additional Union veteran, Amos K. Smith of Salt Lake City, in its June 28 list, but he did not attend.

¹⁰⁴ “Day's Anxious Vigil Rewarded; Veterans Leave for Gettysburg Today,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 27, 1913. Other lists of veteran attendees appeared on June 22 (“Thirty-Four Veterans Sign up for Trip East,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 22, 1913) and June 27 (“Fund to Send Utah Veterans to Field of Battle Raised,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 27, 1913).

Additional Union Veterans (GAR Members)

Charles E. Abbott, Salt Lake City
 James Isaac Atkinson, Woods Cross
 Ephraim Bartlett, Salt Lake City
 William Bostaph, Salt Lake City
 Charles W. Bouton, Salt Lake City
 Thomas Champion, Provo
 W. A. Clovis, Salt Lake City
 George W. Cochlerm, Salt Lake City
 Levi Dunham, Mount Pleasant
 C. O. Farnsworth, Salt Lake City
 Joseph A. Fisher, Salt Lake City
 John Gray, Ogden
 Leonidas H. Kennard, Salt Lake City
 John La Due, Salt Lake City
 Smith McComsey, Salt Lake City
 H. F. Menough, Ogden
 John N. Parsell, Salt Lake City
 George Piper, Springville
 John H. Powers, East Millcreek
 John M. Preshaw, Ogden
 Elias Price, Salt Lake City
 John A. Pritchett, Fairview
 A. B. Richardson, Farmington
 Albert L. Rivers, Salt Lake City
 William C. Roberts, Provo
 Andrew J. Sargeant, Salt Lake City
 Temple Short, Ogden
 Joseph F. Smith, Springville
 Hilton Springsteed, Bountiful
 Thomas A. Starr, Salt Lake City
 Edward Theriot, Salt Lake City
 Frank G. Vallereux, Ogden
 David O. Wald, Provo
 John H. Walker, Salt Lake City
 James L. Welshans, Ogden
 John White, Salt Lake City
 R. D. Woodruff, Salt Lake City
 Seymour B. Young, Salt Lake City