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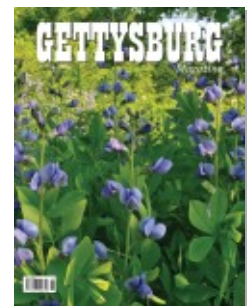
The Memorial Art and Architecture of Gettysburg

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The Memorial Art and Architecture of Gettysburg

MICHAEL W. PANHORST

The cornerstone of Soldiers' National Monument (fig. 1) was laid on July 4, 1865, and the most recent memorial was dedicated in 2000. Over the years, about 830 monuments and memorials and approximately 500 markers have been raised to commemorate the fallen and to mark the service of survivors on the ground made sacred by the 165,000 Union and Confederate soldiers who fought here on July 1, 2, and 3, 1863. As may be expected, the style of these memorials has changed over time as the technology of monument production has evolved, as trends in memorial art and architecture have developed, and as patrons' reasons for raising monuments at Gettysburg have changed. Gettysburg's earliest monuments are funereal; they mourn the dead. But most of Gettysburg's monuments were placed between the twenty-fifth and fiftieth anniversaries of the battle. They commemorate the service of survivors as well as the fallen, and a few monuments celebrate the peace and reconciliation that ultimately resulted from the war. Visitors to the battlefield tend to marvel at the realism of the statuary and to concentrate on the inscriptions of handsome architectural forms that mark the historic site in perpetuity. Few viewers realize that Gettysburg's monuments constitute an unparalleled collection of memorial art and architecture that reflects the evolution of the American monument industry and the collective memory of the war.¹

¹ Only Vicksburg and Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Parks have as many monuments as Gettysburg. The best study of Gettysburg's monuments is Wayne Craven, *The Sculptures at Gettysburg* (Philadelphia: Eastern Acorn Press, 1984). For a comprehensive illustrated list of the memorials, see Tom Huntington, *Guide to Gettysburg Battlefield Monuments* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2013). A moratorium on new monuments at Gettysburg has been in place subsequent to the dedication of the Delaware Memorial (Ron Tunison, sculptor) in 2000.

The earliest memorials at Gettysburg were marble neoclassical-style funerary monuments for the Union dead that were erected in Soldiers' National Cemetery in the years immediately after the war. Those were followed, around the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle, with granite monuments and realistic representations of soldiers in action (fig. 2 and foreground of fig. 3) that commemorate the service of Union survivors as well as the fallen. These were not placed in the cemetery but were sited to mark where troops fought and died on parts of the field preserved by the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, or by Gettysburg National Military Park once it was established in 1895.

The decades around the turn of the twentieth century witnessed the dedication of additional service memorials for Federal units as well as a few monuments to the Confederate army. Bronze portraits of Union commanders also proliferated. Many of those equestrian and pedestrian figures (fig. 3) were modeled with an invigorated naturalism that was inspired by contemporary French sculptors who trained at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. These Beaux-Arts-style monuments are characterized by dynamic depictions of individuals that are often carefully integrated with elaborate pedestals or architectural components such as classical columns, cornices, and moldings.²

By 1900 one monument (fig. 4) recognized the

² Few Confederate monuments were erected on battlefields until the federal government established five national military parks in the 1890s. For the establishment of the parks, see Timothy B. Smith, *The Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2008), and Timothy B. Smith, *A Chickamauga Memorial* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2009). For the earliest Civil War battlefield monuments, see Michael W. Panhorst, "The First of Our Hundred Battle Monuments," *Southern Cultures* 20, no. 4 (2014): 22–43. The 1st Maryland Battalion Monument, dedicated in 1886, is the earliest Confederate monument at Gettysburg.



Fig. 1. The Soldiers' National Monument (cornerstone laid July 4, 1865, dedicated 1869, completed 1871), created by the Batterson-Canfield Company with George Keller, architect, and Randolph Rogers, sculptor. The marble *Genius of Liberty* tops the granite shaft that is surrounded by marble allegorical figures—*War*, *History*, *Peace*, and *Plenty*. The neoclassical-style statuary was made in Rome, which was then the center of the art world. Photograph by Michael W. Panhorst.



Fig. 2. The 84th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (1887), located near the Railroad Cut on the first-day battlefield. This realistic, life-size representation in granite of a soldier in action is typical of service memorials dedicated to Union regiments around the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle. The figure stands on a pedestal made of rough-faced plinth and die and a crenellated capstone. Some contemporaneous statues, like the 149th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (1888), located across Chambersburg Road near the equestrian statue of Maj. Gen. John F. Reynolds, had bronze guns, bayonets, and other accoutrement added. Architectural monuments with similar rough surfaces and bold proportions but without statuary were also popular around the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle. There are a few stone memorials—like the 90th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (1888), located near the observation tower on Oak Ridge—designed in the rustic style of Victorian cemetery markers that resemble tree trunks. The monument to the 90th Pennsylvania is unusual in its inclusion of a bronze bird's nest, bird, and twining ivy that serve to represent a specific tree, bird, and chicks seen by the soldiers on that site during the battle. From William F. Fox, *New York at Gettysburg* (Albany, NY: J. B. Lyon, 1900).

national reconciliation of Blue and Gray that was in progress, due in part to battlefield preservation and monument dedications. In the wake of the battle's massive fiftieth anniversary and joint reunion celebration in 1913, a peace memorial was proposed for Gettysburg, but it was not built and dedicated until 1938 (fig. 5). By that time, the streamlined architectural forms and simplified sculptural adornment of Art Deco aesthetics influenced its appearance.

Most monuments at Gettysburg before the centennial of the war were Union memorials, but that anniversary spurred the erection of several Southern monuments in modernist styles (fig. 6) that were popular at that time. Over the past half century, a few more memorials, most with realistic statuary, have been erected for individuals and units that were previously unrecognized.

As we survey the battlefield after 150 years of commemoration, what has changed and what has stayed the same? How do we explain the monuments' appearance and placement in time and space? What do the monuments mean, and to whom? Most importantly, what do they tell us about the people who commissioned, designed, built, and dedicated them; and what can we infer about the country that has preserved the site of this epic battle, now marked with a peerless collection of memorial art and architecture?

Monuments at Gettysburg—like those on other major Civil War battlefields at Vicksburg, Shiloh, Antietam, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga—mark the places



Fig. 3. Brig. Gen. Alexander Webb by J. Massey Rhind (1915); equestrian portrait of Maj. Gen. George Meade by Henry K. Bush-Brown (1895); and 1st Pennsylvania Cavalry Monument by H. J. Ellicott (1890). The pedestals of the two earlier memorials illustrated here are more massive and roughly textured than Webb's Beaux-Arts-style base with its smooth surfaces and subtle entasis, or swelling. The trefoil on the base of the Webb Monument is the emblem of the Second Corps. Corps insignia are generally included on Gettysburg's Union monuments and are often treated as design or decorative elements (see the band of trefoils on the 1st Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument in fig. 7). The veristic representation of the common cavalryman who personifies the entire 1st Pennsylvania regiment is strictly regulation, right down to the details on his buttons. In contrast, Webb's attire shows more artistic license, with the lapel and wind-blown coat animating his silhouette in dramatic Beaux-Arts fashion. Photograph by Michael W. Panhorst.

where significant events occurred.³ Soldiers' National Monument (fig. 1) marks the spot where the remains of thousands of Union fatalities were laid to rest. Hundreds of unit memorials like the 84th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (fig. 2) and the 1st Pennsylvania Cavalry Monument

(fig. 3) mark the spots where regiments, brigades, and batteries fought in the line of battle. State memorials such as the Mississippi and Pennsylvania Monuments (figs. 6 and 7) commemorate all the volunteers from those states who fought in the battle. Although troops from a single state might have been scattered along the line of battle or posted in reserve, state monuments are generally sited in prominent locations where the state was conspicuously represented by its soldiers. Portrait busts and

³ For Shiloh, see Brian K. McCutchen and Timothy B. Smith, *Images of America: Shiloh National Military Park* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), and Stacy W. Reeves, *A History and Guide to the Monuments of Shiloh National Park* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2010). For Vicksburg, see Michael W. Panhorst, *The Memorial Art and Architecture of Vicksburg National Military Park* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2015).



Fig. 4. (left) Bronze panel on the back of the 66th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (1889). The banner over the heads of the Union and Confederate soldiers who shake hands reads, "Peace and Unity." The trefoil is the regiment's corps emblem. M. J. Power's National Fine Art Foundry of New York City cast the bronze. He or one of his employees probably modeled the sculptural relief. Photograph by Michael W. Panhorst.

Fig. 5. (bottom) Eternal Light Peace Memorial (1938), by Paul Cret, architect, and Lee Lawrie, sculptor. The simplified massing of forms and sharp edges characteristic of Art Deco designs are evident in this monument. Photograph by Michael W. Panhorst.





Fig. 6. Mississippi Monument (1973), by Donald De Lue, sculptor. Photograph by Michael W. Panhorst.



Fig. 7. The 1st Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (1896), by Jacob Fjelde, sculptor, is dedicated to the only Minnesota regiment to serve at Gettysburg. The colossal, domed Pennsylvania Monument (dedicated 1910) is crowned with a bronze *Nike*, or winged victory figure, and surrounded by bronze portraits of Abraham Lincoln, Pennsylvania's war governor, and six Pennsylvania commanders at Gettysburg that were installed in 1913. The Pennsylvania Monument architect was William Cottrell, and the primary sculptor was Samuel Murray. Clark Noble, J. Otto Schweitzer, Lee Lawrie, and Cyrus Dallin modeled the statuary around the base. Photograph by Michael W. Panhorst.

statues of commanders (figs. 3 and 8) were sometimes included on their respective state memorials, as is the case with the Pennsylvania Monument (fig. 7); and equestrian monuments were placed near the spots where those men served in the battle.

Gettysburg's bronze equestrian statues of commanders have long been the subject of a myth regarding the number of feet the horse has raised indicating how the rider died.⁴ There is, in fact, a coincidence among Gettysburg's first seven bronze

equestrian portraits that the number of hooves a horse has on the ground correlates to the rider's wounding, killing, or survival of the Battle of Gettysburg; but that correlation is merely a coincidence that early twentieth-century Gettysburg guides noted and shared with tourists. Over time, guides or tourists tried to apply Gettysburg's pattern to all equestrian monuments and to believe that all sculptors used Gettysburg's formula as a design criteria. In reality, Gettysburg's horse hoof pattern applies only to Gettysburg's bronze equestrian portraits prior to the dedication of the memorial to Lt. Gen. James Longstreet in 1998. Most importantly, the pattern at Gettysburg has never been a design consideration for artists.

⁴ Gettysburg's equestrian statues are Maj. Gen. George G. Meade (1896), by Henry K. Bush-Brown; Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock (1896), by F. Edwin Elwell; Maj. Gen. John F. Reynolds (1899), by Henry K. Bush-Brown; Maj. Henry W. Slocum (1902), by Edward C. Potter; Maj. Gen. John Sedgwick (1913), by Henry K. Bush-Brown; Gen. Robert E. Lee on the Virginia Monument (1917), by Frederick W. Sievers; Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard (1932), by Robert Aitken; and Lt. Gen. James Longstreet (1998), by Gary Casteel.



Fig. 8. Clark Potter's equestrian statue of Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum on East Cemetery Hill. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

However, the germ of truth in the myth is that sculptors throughout the ages have indeed used the character of the horse to help characterize the rider. General Meade (fig. 3) and General Lee (on the Virginia Memorial, not illustrated) sit resolutely on steeds that stand squarely on all four feet somewhat behind the lines, where the commanding generals watched the action that unfolded before them and where they were unlikely to be wounded or killed. Corps commanders Reynolds and Longstreet ride horses that appear to be in motion, as theirs were during the battle, with one or two hooves raised.

More subtle aspects of a sculptor's composition of horse and rider also contribute to the portrait of the human. The horse's stance, the way it holds its head, and any implied sense of movement or animal emotion add to the portrayal of its rider. This is most evident in Edward Clark Potter's extraordinary equestrian portrait of Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum on East Cemetery Hill. The artist—who routinely assisted the renowned Daniel Chester French (sculptor of the statue of Lincoln in the Lincoln Memorial in Washington) with French's equestrian commissions—created a splendid image of the



Fig. 9. The 88th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (1889). Photograph by Michael W. Panhorst.

calm and composed commander astride an alert steed whose posture, head, tail, and silhouette animate the dynamic composition that marks the spot where Slocum's Twelfth Corps fought.⁵

An insistence on the accurate location of monuments has been evident from the park's early years under the management of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association through its expansion as a

national military park by the U.S. War Department (1895–1933) and its subsequent stewardship by the National Park Service. Veterans wanted their positions verified for all time, and the War Department wanted those positions mapped and marked, partially because the army used (and still uses) Gettysburg and other national military parks as training sites for teaching tactics on the ground. Indeed, the federal legislation that established Gettysburg and the other national military parks in the 1890s funded land acquisition, mapping of troop positions, and inexpensive markers; but that legislation left to

⁵ Potter is best known as an *animalier*, a French term for an artist who specializes in portrayals of animals. His two monumental lions, *Patience* and *Fortitude*, that guard the steps of the New York Public Library are among his best-known works; but his equestrian statue of Maj. Gen. John McClelland, dedicated at Vicksburg in 1919, compares favorably with the Slocum Monument.

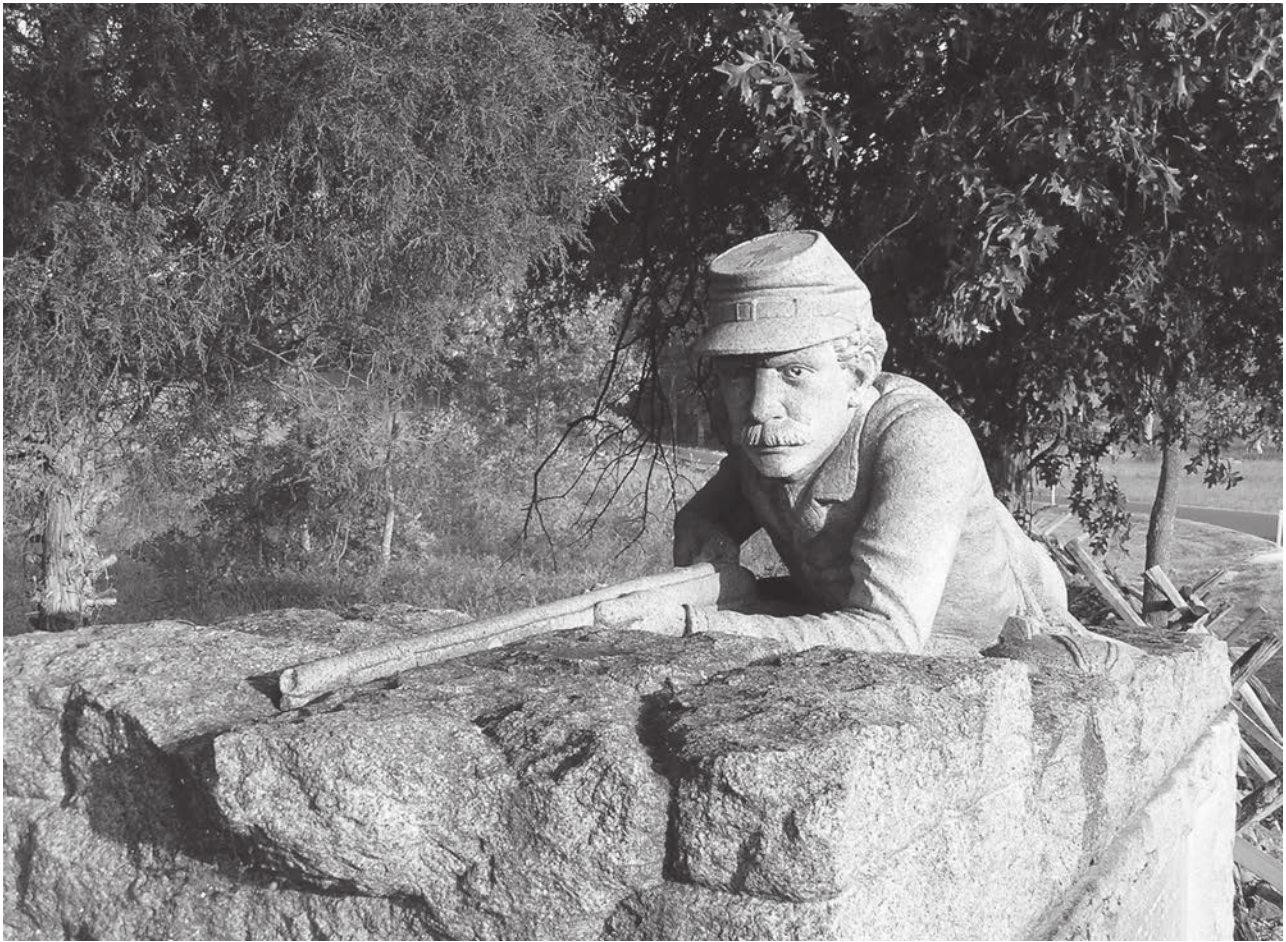


Fig. 10. The 96th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (1888). This is an early reproduction of the original, which was vandalized. Photograph by Michael W. Panhorst.

the states the responsibility for raising memorials to their sons. Moreover, strict government regulations guided the placement of those memorials and limited materials to the most durable—bronze and granite. In short, the accurate location of monuments and memorials at Gettysburg has remained constant, but patrons, designers, and producers have used different materials and iconography (i.e., imagery) to express different ideas and different meanings over time.

In the wake of the epic battle, respect for the dead led the Union states, which controlled the field for the rest of the war, to fund reburial of their sons in a handsomely designed graveyard dedicated by President Abraham Lincoln in November 1863 to those who gave “the last full measure of their devotion.” On July 4, 1865, less than three months after

the war’s end, the cornerstone was laid for Soldiers’ National Monument (fig. 1), a tall granite shaft crowned by a marble allegorical female figure of the *Genius of Liberty* and surrounded by the marble statuary *War*, *History*, *Peace*, and *Plenty*. The monument form—a tall shaft topped and surrounded by symbolic statuary—quickly became an important prototype for later Civil War monuments. However, the timeless ideals carved in Italian marble in the neoclassical style then popular in America and abroad soon gave way to emblematic figures of infantry, artillery, cavalry, and navy on Civil War monuments that proliferated on battlefields and in civic settings, because common Americans recognized the common soldier by marble statuary of *War* and because they expected to see recognizable imagery on war monuments rather than classical

allegorical statuary and iconography that required higher education to understand.

This American penchant for realism is revealed in many of Gettysburg's monuments that were erected around the twenty-fifth anniversary of the war. These early service memorials (fig. 2) reflect Victorian-era taste for rigorously realistic representations of human figures, historically accurate uniforms and weapons, and bold architectural forms with heavy proportions and rough-faced or rusticated surfaces like those found on popular Richardson Romanesque libraries and train stations of the 1880s. Many of the New York and Pennsylvania regimental monuments from this era use diamonds, stars, trefoils, and other corps insignia for decorative as well as design elements to create an eclectic array of architectural forms that appealed to the veterans who commissioned the memorials. Some of the monuments (fig. 9) look like battlefield trophies erected in antiquity by the Greeks from swords and shields collected from the fallen and assembled into memorial structures—except that Gettysburg's trophies are not made from actual accoutrements of war but as granite and bronze representations of flags, guns, cannon, drums, canteens, packs, bedrolls, and tents.

By the end of the nineteenth century the American monument industry was well on its way to being the most advanced in the world. Steam-powered derricks and locomotives lifted and moved granite from quarries to cutting sheds where talented artisans with pneumatic and other power tools hammered, polished, and inscribed stone that was too hard to shape by hand economically. American bronze foundries prospered due to the demand for Civil War monuments and the introduction from France of the *cire perdue* (or “lost wax”) mold-making process for bronze sculpture in 1897. The World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 prompted the return of young American sculptors and architects who had studied the Beaux-Arts aesthetics of Paris rather than Rome's timeless neoclassical style made manifest in marble. Those artists and architects provided the technical and creative components needed to transform Gettysburg's hallowed ground into an outdoor museum of memorial art and architecture.

As public interest shifted from the dead and de-

parted to the survivors and their military service during the war (concurrent, it should be noted, with the passing of older veterans and the rise to political power of younger Civil War veterans), a veritable army of veristic Union soldiers in granite and bronze (figs. 2 and 3) sprouted along Cemetery Ridge, across the Valley of Death, and elsewhere on the Union lines at Gettysburg. The life-size figure on the 96th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (fig. 10) guards the approach to Little Round Top, a key Union position, just as the soldiers it commemorates did in 1863. For two days, Union troops crouched behind rocks and laid on their bellies in this area. Justifiably, the regimental monuments dedicated around the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle in memory of these men and their service on this battlefield mimic the appearance and the action of the troops they memorialize while marking the historic sites where they served.

Above and behind the 96th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument stands the heroic-scale bronze statue of Maj. Gen. Gouverneur K. Warren (fig. 11), which in 1888 was mounted directly on the enormous rock outcropping where the Union chief of engineers stood briefly on the second day of the Battle of Gettysburg. While reconnoitering the high ground overlooking the Union lines, he saw light glinting off guns of General Hood's Confederates approaching the undefended heights and quickly commandeered troops to hold Little Round Top. Appropriately, the figure of Warren turns his head and lifts his binoculars, silently capturing the dramatic moment in a fashion that was popular with American and European sculptors of the day. Within a few years, the renowned French sculptor Auguste Rodin would consider sinking the socles of his famous *Monument to the Burghers of Calais* in the sand of the town square that the fourteenth-century martyrs crossed en route to what they thought would be their deaths. But the nineteenth-century burghers of Calais who commissioned the monument insisted on a tall pedestal. Warren appears to be the first site-specific monumental bronze to be set without a pedestal. This is an important first in the history of modern art. It marked a major advancement in the movement to make art more democratic and to blur the line between art and life—an artistic development that had



Fig. 11. Maj. Gen. Gouverneur K. Warren Monument (1888), by Batterson-Canfield Co., contractor, and Karl Gerhardt, sculptor. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



Fig. 12. The 2nd Company, Andrew (Massachusetts) Sharpshooters Monument (1885). Photograph by Michael W. Panhorst.

been prefigured at Gettysburg by monuments like the 96th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument and the 2nd Company, Andrew Sharpshooters Monument (fig. 12).⁶

⁶ In 1879 the earliest regimental monument at Gettysburg—the 2nd Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument, a modest granite stone located near Spangler's Spring—was placed on a larger native stone situated in the soft, low, wet ground where the troops fought, perhaps for practical purposes. Other early regimental monuments—such as two monuments to the 147th

A quotation from the booklet published for the Warren Monument dedication in 1888 reveals that a representative of the monument contractor was responsible for this striking conception of a monument that vividly emphasizes the integral relationship between the sculpture, its subject, and its site.

To Mr. Charles W. Canfield, of the New England Monument Company . . . is due . . . the idea of placing a statue on a large boulder as a natural pedestal, the plinth being sunk in the rock, thus showing the exact position of Gen. Warren as he stood when looking over the field, July 2d, 1863. . . . This statue in bronze was considered preferable to any granite or marble pile we might erect, as there is a meaning in it and its situation, which would not exist in any other style of monument placed elsewhere.⁷

About a mile from Warren stands another late-nineteenth-century service memorial that commemorates an entire regiment in dramatic and effective fashion (fig. 7). Within hours of General Warren's fateful action, the 1st Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Regiment was ordered to fill a crucial gap in the Union line on Cemetery Ridge. Most of those 262 men real-

Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment (1882); the 98th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (1884); the 119th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (1885); the 66th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument (1887); and the 93rd Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry Monument (1888)—are similarly sited on "live" rock.

⁷ Fifth New York Volunteers Veteran Association, *Dedication Services at the Unveiling of the Bronze Statue of Maj.-Gen. G. K. Warren at Little Round Top, Gettysburg, Pa., August 8, 1888* (Brooklyn: Press of Brooklyn Daily Eagle Book Printing Department, 1888). Canfield was the business partner of James G. Batterson, who was the creative and entrepreneurial spirit behind Soldiers' National Monument, a noted Egyptologist, and the founder of Travelers Insurance Company.



Fig. 13. Detail of the Friend to Friend Memorial (1993), by Ron Tunison, sculptor. The sculpture depicts an incident on July 3, 1863, involving Confederate brigadier general Lewis A. Armistead and Union captain Henry H. Bingham, both Masons. Armistead was mortally wounded while leading his troops into the Union lines on Cemetery Ridge commanded by his old friend Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, another Mason. Armistead asked Bingham, one of Hancock's assistants, to take his watch and other personal effects to Hancock for safekeeping. The blue and gray tones of the uniforms have only been achievable on outdoor bronzes subsequent to the recent development of silicon bronze, new patinas, and durable synthetic dyes and paints. Photograph by Michael W. Panhorst.

ized that they were being sent on a suicidal mission. Nevertheless, they fixed bayonets and courageously charged down the slope of Cemetery Ridge, effectively halting the Confederate attack. Within minutes, the 1st Minnesota lost 215 men killed or wounded, 83 percent of the regiment. The monument's inscription states, "In self-sacrificing desperate valor this charge has no parallel in any war," and most historians accept that claim. Consequently, this statue by Minnesota sculptor Jacob Fjelde depicting Minnesotans engaged in the action that earned them fame and

glory—standing on the sacred ground where they displayed their selfless heroism—communicates the meaning of the memorial more effectively than a less site-specific composition and more emphatically than the same sculpture installed in St. Paul or any other location. Indeed, no allegorical sculpture of war, peace, liberty, history, union, courage, or duty could convey to pragmatic Americans then or now the specific meaning of this memorial as well as this charging soldier. No other monument on the battlefield exemplifies the courage and devotion to duty of common soldiers better than the 1st Minne-

sota Volunteer Infantry Regiment Monument dedicated at Gettysburg in 1896.

After the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, the classicizing influence of its White City was felt in public art and architecture across the country. American sculptors and architects who had trained in French academies or studied stateside with American graduates of the École des Beaux-Arts worked together to integrate classical design vocabulary like columns and dentiled cornices, triumphal arches, and exedra benches with figurative sculptures that reflect the invigorated naturalism recently pioneered by Parisian sculptors. The best example of this at Gettysburg is the Pennsylvania Monument (fig. 7), which was dedicated in 1910 and supplemented with portrait statuary installed in time for the mammoth fiftieth anniversary celebration in 1913. The monument takes the novel form of four triumphal arches crowned by a dome topped by a winged *Victory*, or *Nike*, figure. It is richly embellished with symbolic and decorative sculpture, from the narrative relief panels in the pediments that depict incidents on the battlefield to the graceful allegorical female figures that adorn the spandrels of the arches and the eight heroic-scale bronze portraits of President Abraham Lincoln; Pennsylvania's war governor, Andrew Curtin; and six Pennsylvanians who commanded troops at Gettysburg. It is one of the largest, most expensive, and most impressive memorials dedicated on any Civil War battlefield or any civic setting in the United States by 1913.

The peak of the American monument industry's production spanned the fortieth and fiftieth anniversaries of the war, when memorials proliferated at Gettysburg, other Civil War battlefields, and towns and cities North and South.⁸ With the advent of World War I, popular interest shifted to doughboys; and during the Great Depression there were few resources for monuments, although the federally funded Eternal Light Peace Memorial (fig. 5) was dedicated on the battle's seventy-fifth anniversary in 1938, twenty-five years after its original proposal.

As the Civil War's centennial approached, Southern states finally stepped up to mark their battle line on Seminary Ridge, which in the 1910s, 1920s,

and 1930s had seen Virginia (1917), North Carolina (1929), and Alabama (1933) construct the first large Confederate monuments at Gettysburg. The loss of the battle, the loss of the war, and the war's economic aftermath combined to delay the Southern impulse to commemorate their troops at Gettysburg and other battlefields and their financial ability to do so. But post-World War II prosperity and the burgeoning civil rights movement resurrected white Southern patriotism in time to celebrate the centennial with imposing memorials funded by the states of Georgia (1961), Florida (1963), South Carolina (1963), Arkansas (1966), Louisiana (1971), Mississippi (1973, fig. 6), and Tennessee (1983). By that time, Modern architecture's simplified, planar forms and minimal decorative elements were popular, and the style of figurative sculpture thought most appropriate for timeless memorials resembled muscular Renaissance statuary by Michelangelo and theatrical compositions by Baroque masters like Bernini.

In advance of the sesquicentennial, additional figurative statuary was raised to represent a few individuals and units that had not already been commemorated. In terms of artistic style, late-twentieth-century sculptures erected at Gettysburg tend to have more in common with late-nineteenth-century veristic battlefield statuary than with the naturalistic, simplified, or Baroque style of sculptures placed during the Beaux-Arts, Art Deco, or Art Moderne eras. Some of the most recent bronzes—like the Friend to Friend Memorial (fig. 13), erected in 1993 by the Masons of Pennsylvania to the Freemasons of the Union and the Confederacy—are made from modern, lead-free, silicon bronze that is colored vividly in a broad range of hues that could not be achieved prior to the recent development of new patinas and durable synthetic dyes and paints.

Although there are stylistic, iconographic, and material similarities between the earliest and the latest monuments at Gettysburg (indeed throughout the century and a half of monument dedications), the Friend to Friend Memorial must mean something different to modern Masons than what the realistic portraits of commanders and common soldiers meant to the battle's veterans, widows, and orphans when they dedicated them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1865,

⁸ For more on the monument industry, see Michael W. Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861–1917" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 1988), especially 81–152.

survivors of the war surely felt different sentiments at the dedication of Soldiers' National Monument (fig. 1) than do we on the celebration of the war's sesquicentennial. Today we can understand aspects of the memorials' meaning from looking carefully at their forms and materials, their symbolic sculptures, emblems, and inscriptions. We can appreciate the emotions of those who erected the monuments by reading their dedicatory orations. We can listen as modern-day politicians extoll the soldiers' courage as an example for our own. And we can debate scholarly interpretations of the monuments. All of that assessment and analysis helps us appreciate the memorials. It also helps us understand the people

who commissioned, designed, fabricated, sited, installed, and dedicated the extraordinary collection of memorial art and architecture at Gettysburg that reflects the continuing evolution of the collective memory of the war.

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Michael W. Panhorst, PhD, is a curator, teacher, historic preservationist, and historian of art and architecture who has lectured and published extensively about public monuments and outdoor sculpture in the United States. He is currently writing a book about Gettysburg that will be similar to his *The Memorial Art and Architecture of Vicksburg National Military Park* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2015).