

THE INVASION OF PENNSYLVANIA, BY THE CONFEDERATES, UNDER GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE, AND ITS EFFECT UPON LANCASTER AND YORK COUNTIES.

By George R. Prowell.

Memorandum.

[The author of the paper first sketched, in an interesting talk, the events and activities occurring in the Confederate army under Lee and his subalterns A. P. Hill, Jubal Early, J. E. B. Stewart, Ewell and Longstreet, generally termed "the Army of Northern Virginia," in its movement up the Shenandoah Valley and its crossing of the Potomac and the State of Maryland on to Pennsylvania soil.

This advance, beginning early in June, 1863, immediately following the defeat of the Union forces under Gen. Joseph Hooker at Chancellorsville, when the two armies got out of touch with each other for a time as each crossed the Rappahannock and started northeastward with Lee threatening Washington and Baltimore and attempting to outflank Hooker who interposed on the inner line to protect these cities.

Lees army then consisted of about eighty thousand men of the flower of the Southern army, flushed with their late victories about Fredericksburg, were bent on carrying the fight to the peoples of the north and ridding their own beloved Virginia from the foot of the invader.

Ewell and his corps lead the way with Longstreet and Hill following and protecting the flanks, heading via Winchester, Berryville and Harpers Ferry; with Milroy and Jenkins of the Union forces falling back stubbornly as they fought a losing fight, losing by capture the forces under Ely and McReynolds, yet were hardly able to locate the heaviest bodies of Lees army which crossed the Potomac at Williamsport and Sheperdstown, and passing through Hagerstown the advance guard entered Chambersburg on June 23rd, Longstreet and Hill entering on June 27th and Johnston and Rhodes entered Carlisle about the same date.

In the meantime Early on the Rebel right wing and J. E. B. Stewart swinging well eastward protected his right flank and continued his raid far eastward in his rapid advance and became engaged in a heavy calvary fight with Pleasanton at Hanover, in which Stewart was worsted.

During these detached engagements as the two armies came into touch with one another, the Union forces were advancing and centering about Frederick, Maryland, while Lee made Gettysburg his object and continued to bring up his forces to that point and coming across the mountains through several gaps his army sought as rapidly as possible the strategic points and elevations of the Gettysburg section.

On the evening of June 26th Early's main force camped just outside of York under Gordon.

From this point the author had the real account read in the story which affected most the Counties of York and Lancaster, and its people and his exact words as written are as follows.]

Gordon Enters York.

On Sunday morning, June 28, shortly after daybreak, General Gordon, with his troops, one battery of four guns commanded by Captain Tanner, began the march from his night encampment over the Gettysburg turnpike toward York. The advance reached the western end of Market Street, about 10 o'clock just as the church bells were ringing for morning service. The

excitement incident to the presence of an armed force of veteran Confederate soldiers caused the side-walks, windows and doors on West Market Street to be filled with people. Only two pastors made an attempt to conduct religious services; but when the audiences heard the music of a Confederate band playing "Away Down South in Dixie," the devout clergymen dismissed their congregations and they too went to see the enemy marching through town. Near the head of the column rode General Gordon, a handsome young man of thirty-four years with dignified bearing and courteous manners. He halted several times as he came up the street addressing the people and assuring them that although his soldiers wore tattered clothing, they were gentlemen and would harm no citizens.

Flag Taken Down.

Some time before a flag, thirty-five feet in length and eighteen feet wide, had been unfurled from the top of a flag pole 100 feet high which stood in Centre Square, between two market sheds. It had been floating to the breeze in that position for a period of four days. When General Gordon approached Centre Square, he halted for a moment, then directed one of his aides to ride forward and pull down the American flag. Within a few minutes this banner was taken down, and the southern soldier, folding the flag, placed it on his saddle and rode out East Market Street, with the advancing column. (This flag had been made by patriotic women of York.) Its future history is unknown, but according to the version of a southern officer, it was placed on an ambulance wagon and taken away. General Gordon and his brigade marched on through town, and halted along the turnpike, three miles east of York. General Gordon and his staff ordered dinner at the farm house of Albert Smyser. While passing The Valley Inn a noted hotel along the turnpike one of the officers who had frequently stopped at this tavern a few years before, called out the proprietor:

"Come and join us. We are on the road to victory. In a few days Lancaster and Philadelphia will be ours, and we will dictate terms of peace in New York City soon afterwards." This same officer was mortally wounded in the battle of Gettysburg four days later.

Early at Bigmount, Nine Miles From York.

On the morning of June 27, General Early marched from Mummasburg with three brigades of his division through Hunterstown, New Castle, Hampton and East Berlin, and bivouacked for the night near Bigmount, in Paradise township four miles north of Gordon's camp at Farmers Post Office. The first brigade, composed of Louisiana troops, was commanded by General Harry Hayes; the second brigade of Virginia troops by General John H. Smith; the third brigade, made up entirely of North Carolina troops, and previously led by General Hoke, was now in command of Colonel Avery. Early and his staff occupied quarters for the night at the residence of Mrs. Zinn, on the farm later owned by her son-in-law, Clement B. Trimmer, of York.

In 1885 General Early wrote to me a detailed account of his march from Gettysburg to York and this letter is now one of the treasures of the Historical Society of York county. In 1892 when I called upon General Early at his home in Lynchburg, Virginia, he gave me an accurate account of his occupancy of York. Many of the facts in this story were obtained first hand from the Confederate Chieftain one of the most picturesque figures of the southern confederacy.

The following are quotations from Early's own letter of 1885:

"Before retiring for the night, I rode four miles down to Gordons headquarters, in order to give him directions how to enter York on the following day. We had orders from the commander-in-chief, and from General

Ewell, in whose corps my division served, to enforce the strictest discipline among our soldiers. We are not permitted to pillage or destroy any private property.

"Gordon already had held a conference with a deputation of citizens who had returned to York, before my conference with him. I returned to my quarters at the residence of Mrs. Zinn and slept soundly that night, believing that within twenty-four hours I would have crossed the Susquehanna with my company, sent Gordon on a raid toward Lancaster and Philadelphia, and with my three brigades joined Ewell with Rodes and Barnes divisions in the vicinity of Harrisburg.

"These were my expectations when I arose from my bed on that beautiful Sunday morning. Just as the sun was rising in the east, the bugle was sounded and we took up the march toward York, passing a short distance south of Davidsburg over a wide road to Weiglestown, leaving Dover to my left. Some of my troops scoured the country, and gathered in many horses needed for our cavalry and our officers, for our own horses were tired and many of them nearly worn out.

"At Weiglestown I despatched Colonel French with a portion of his troops about 200 men of the Seventeenth Virginia Cavalry, to the mouth of the Conewago Creek. French was instructed to burn the railroad bridges which span the two branches of that stream near its mouth. They accomplished this purpose early in the afternoon. A detachment of the Pennsylvania militia (the Twentieth Emergency Regiment), then guarding the bridge, skedaddled across the Susquehanna just as French's troops arrived. The cavalry late in the afternoon reported to me at York.

"Soon after leaving Weiglestown, I despatched Hayes and Smiths brigades across the country north of York to the Harrisburg turnpike. They pitched their tents around the Codorus Mills about two miles northeast of York. They planted their cannon east of the mills, along the hillsides, overlooking the town, and threw up some earth works.

Early Enters York.

"I moved into York at the head of Avery's brigade of North Carolina troops, and with them took possession of the Public Common, where the hospital buildings were stationed and the Fair Grounds, southeast of town. A few cannons were planted on an eminence (Skunk's Hill) southwest of York. My object was for the purpose of being ready for a sudden attack of the enemy."

Colonel White's Raid.

On the morning of June 27, General Early at Gettysburg dispatched from his division the thirty-fifth battalion of Virginia Cavalry, about four hundred mounted men under Lieutenant Colonel E. V. White, who had led previous scouting parties down in Virginia. Colonel White was instructed to make a dashing raid through Hanover unto the junction of the Hanover and Gettysburg R. R., with the Northern Central Railway nine miles south of York. He reached that point early in the afternoon of June 27, and accomplished the object of his raid by burning three bridges along the line of the northern Central Railway, and tearing down telegraph wires, thus cutting off Harrisburg from direct communication with Washington City and the War Department.

This raid caused great excitement throughout the southern part of York County for Colonel White had succeeded in capturing a large number of valuable farm horses. Men on horse-back spread this news through the lower end of York county and nearly every farmer of that section took his horses and cattle across the Susquehanna into Lancaster county, at McCall's Ferry where hundreds of wagons had passed over the river two or three

days before. After completing his mission at Hanover junction Colonel White reported to his commander General Early at York in the afternoon of June 28.

Gordon at Wrightsville.

General John B. Gordon, commanding a Georgia brigade of 2,800 men, halted about four hours, two miles east of York, along the turnpike, on Sunday, June 28. Colonel White's battalion of cavalry had joined the brigade on the morning of the same day, six miles west of York, after returning from the railroad bridges. Tanner's battery of four guns belonged to the same brigade, and renewed his march on the way to Wrightsville. In obedience to the orders of General Couch, with headquarters at Harrisburg, Major Haller, in command at Wrightsville, had begun to erect earth works a short distance west of the borough. Some negroes had helped to dig the rifle pits.

Union Troops

Haller had received orders to resist the approach of the enemy and defend the bridge at all hazards. His entire force to do this important work, numbered less than 1,200 men. It included one battalion of the Twentieth Emergency Regiment, about 400 men, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Sickles, who had been guarding the railroad bridges below York before the enemy occupied that town; the Twenty-seventh Emergency Regiment, from Pottsville and vicinity, about 800 men, commanded by Colonel Jacob Frick; a body of 200 convalescent soldiers from the United States Hospital at York; The City Troop of Philadelphia, Captain Bell's Cavalry company from Adams County and vicinity, and the Patapsco Guards, from York.

In his report to his government, of the Gettysburg campaign, written August 10, 1863, General Gordon says:

Gordon's Report

"We moved by the direct pike to Wrightsville, on the Susquehanna. At this point I found a body of Pennsylvania militia, reported to be 1,200 men, strongly intrenched, but without artillery. A line of skirmishers was sent to make a demonstration in front of these works, while I moved to the right by a circuitous route with three regiments, in order to turn these works, off his retreat, and seize the bridge. This I found impracticable, and, placing in position the battery under my command, opened on the works, and by a few well aimed shots and the advance of my lines, caused this force to retreat precipitately, with the loss of about twenty prisoners, including one lieutenant colonel (Sickles, the Twentieth Emergency Regiment). I had no means of ascertaining the enemy's number of killed and wounded; one dead was left on the field. Our loss, one wounded.

"In his retreat across the bridge, the enemy fired it about midway with the most inflammable materials. Every effort was made to extinguish this fire, and, notwithstanding the excessive fatigue of the men from the march of 20 miles and the skirmish with the enemy, I formed my brigade in line around the burning buildings, and resisted the progress of the flames until they were checked.

"Leaving Wrightsville on the morning of the 29th, I sent the cavalry under my command to burn all the bridges (fourteen in number) on the railroad leading to York, to which place I marched my brigade and rejoined the division, from which we had been separated since June 26."

Early's Report.

Late in the evening of June 28, General Early rode down the turnpike and had an interview with General Gordon at Wrightsville. In his official report, in August, 1863, General says:

"On arriving at wrightsville on the banks of the Susquehanna, opposite Columbia, I ascertained from General Gordon that on approaching Wrightsville, in front of the bridge he found a command of militia of some 1,200 strong, intrenched, and after endeavoring to move around their flank to cut them off from the bridge (which he was unable to do from want of knowledge of the locality) he opened his artillery on the militia, which fled at the bursting of the third shell, and he immediately pursued; but as his men had marched a little over twenty miles, on a very warm day, the enemy beat him running. He, however, attempted to cross the bridge, and the head of his column got half way over, but he found the bridge, which had been prepared for the purpose, on fire in the middle. As he had nothing but muskets and rifles, he sent back for buckets to endeavor to arrest the flames, but, before they arrived the fire had progressed so far that it was impossible to check it. He had to return and leave the bridge to its fate.

"This bridge was one mile and an eighth in length, the superstructure being of wood, on stone pillars, and it included in one structure a railroad bridge, a pass way for wagons, and also a tow-path for the canal, which here crosses the Susquehanna. The bridge was entirely consumed, and from it the town of Wrightsville caught fire and several buildings were consumed, but the further progress of the flames was arrested by the exertions of Gordon's men.

His Plan Foiled.

"I regretted very much the failure to secure this bridge, as, finding the defenseless condition of the country, generally, and the little obstacle likely to be afforded by the militia to our progress, I had determined if I could get possession of the Columbia Bridge, to cross my division over the Susquehanna, and capture the Pennsylvania Railroad, march upon Lancaster, lay that town under contribution and then attack Harrisburg in the rear, while it should be attacked in front by the rest of the corps, relying, in the worst contingency that might happen, upon being able to mount my division from the immense number of horses that had been run across the river, and then move to the west, destroying the railroads and canals and returning back again to a place of safety. This project, however, was entirely thwarted by the destruction of the bridge, as the river was otherwise impassable, being very wide and deep at this point. I therefore ordered General Gordon to move his command back to York next day."

The appearance of General Early on the streets of York created a great deal of interest among the citizens. As a result of the conference held with Gordon the night before on the turnpike, a short distance east of Abbottstown, all fears of destruction of private property were allayed. The character of General Early was well known to some of the citizens, and every movement he made was observed with the closest scrutiny. Early was a soldier by nature, somewhat rash in his methods and at that time as well as in later years, was a picturesque personality. He was tall in stature, but not very erect in form. He wore a suit of gray, faded and somewhat discolored from a continuous march of two weeks. His long, shaggy beard was untrimmed, and his broad-brimmed felt hat showed evidences of long use. He rode a black horse, which had been captured after he crossed the Pennsylvania Line. Along the left side of the animal was branded "C. S. A.", meaning Confederate States Army.

Headquarters in Court House

Accompanied by his staff, he passed through West Market Street to Center Square and asked for the chief Burgess, David Small, with whom he held a brief conference. His object in calling upon the Burgess was to make a requisition upon the borough authorities for food and provisions for his

soldiers. Then he proceeded to the Court House and took up his headquarters in the sheriff's office. There was then a long, high desk facing the entrance door from the hall. When General Early entered this office, he was accompanied by his adjutant-general, John W. Daniel, of Lynchburg, Virginia, then a young man of twenty-one, who the following year lost his leg in the battle of the Wilderness, and later in life served for twelve years as United States Senator from his native state. Colonel Daniel took a position in a high chair behind this desk and at the direction of his commander, wrote out a requisition, which Early afterward made upon the town. The provost marshal occupied, as his headquarters, the register's office, on the east side of the Court House near the front. It was nearly two o'clock when General Early had entered the town. Soon after he took possession of the sheriff's office as his headquarters, without any notification to the Committee of Safety or the chief burgess, he ordered the Court House bell to be rung.

Calls a Meeting

A crowd of people soon assembled in the court room. The leading citizens of the town entered later and occupied seats within the railing in front of the judge's desk, and on two rows of chairs on either side of the room, used by the petit jury and the grand jury when court was in session. This was a peculiar meeting, for neither the county commissioners nor the chief burgess knew its purpose. Robert J. Fisher, president judge of the county courts, was one of the last to enter the room. He walked up the aisle and took a seat within the bar. The room was now filled to its utmost seating capacity and many persons stood in the aisles along the sides of the room. Without any signal the tall form of General Early, accompanied by his provost marshal, entered the front door and passed down the aisle. He proceeded to the rear of the court room with his sword and field glass dangling at his left side. Assuming an air of dignity, he ascended the three or four steps and took a seat for a few minutes behind the judge's desk.

According to the rules of war, he had supreme authority in the borough of York. He had not declared martial law. There was no occasion for him to issue such orders. He had entered the town without any resistance and had thrown a cordon of defense entirely around it. The soldiers who had fought under him for nearly two years wore suits of faded gray. As they were now in a land of plenty, which had not been laid waste by the ravages of war, Early intended to assert the power vested in a leader, commanding an invading force—the advance of the Army of Northern Virginia, numbering 80,000 men, all of whom at this time had entered the boundaries of Pennsylvania. When Early called this meeting, General Lee, at the head of two of the army corps, was at Chambersburg. The remainder of Ewell's corps was at Carlisle. Early did not know that Meade was then concentrating around Frederick, Maryland, with the entire Army of the Potomac. He rose from his chair, and addressed the audience, every ear giving the closest attention. There was breathless silence throughout the entire room.

Addresses the Audience.

"I have taken possession of your town, by authority of the Confederate government. My soldiers are tired and worn out. They need food and they need clothing. My soldiers are under strict discipline. They are not permitted to destroy private property or harm any citizens. Guards have been placed around all public buildings and hotels. Saloons and beershops have been closed. You are living in a land of plenty and have not suffered from the results of war, like my own countrymen down in Virginia. I want my requisitions filled at once. If you do not comply with my demands, I will take the goods and provisions from your stores, or permit my soldiers to enter your houses and demand such things as they need for assistance."

A Requisition.

The condition of the people at this time was one of the greatest suspense. They did not yet know what demands he would make. The requisition bearing the signature of Captain William W. Thornton, commissary, was read as follows: One hundred and sixty-five barrels of flour, or twenty-eight thousand pounds of baked bread; thirty-five hundred pounds of sugar, sixteen hundred and fifty pounds of coffee; three hundred gallons molasses; twelve hundred pounds of salt; thirty-two thousand pounds fresh meat, or twenty-one thousand pounds bacon or pork.

Following this was another requisition signed by Major C. E. Snodgrass division quartermaster; Two thousand pairs of shoes and boots; one thousand pairs of socks; one thousand felt hats; one hundred thousand dollars in money.

After Early made these requisitions, the Chief Burgess arose from his chair and stated that, owing to the fact that the citizens had removed most of their goods and provisions across the Susquehanna, into Lancaster County, it was impossible to comply with his demands.

Two or three members of the Committee of Safety endorsed the statements already made. In reply to these remarks, General Early spoke in commanding tones, stating that he must have these provisions and the clothing, or he would permit his soldiers to take them. He then retired from the room and went to his headquarters. Before the meeting adjourned, a number of leading citizens were appointed to pass through the streets of the town and solicit all the money, provisions and wearing apparel that could be obtained and the same afternoon, this committee turned over to the quartermaster, Snodgrass, the entire requisition for commissary and clothing that General Early had demanded. He expressed himself satisfied with what they had done and commended them for their promptness. But they could raise only \$28,000 of the \$100,000 which he had demanded. This did not satisfy him, but the committee were permitted to return to their homes and the commissary sent the supplies to the troops encamped at Loucks' Mills, on the Public Common and the Fair Grounds.

Demands the Keys.

About 6,000 troops now held the town. These, together with Gordon's brigade, numbered about 9,000 men. That was the rank and file of Early's division during this campaign, before they entered the battle of Gettysburg. On Monday morning, General Early sent for Robert J. Fisher, president judge of York County.

"I want all the keys to the Court House," he stated in commanding terms.

"For what purpose?" asked the judge.

"To burn the county records."

"That would be barbarous. You promised that you would not destroy private property. These records are essential for future use and should not be burned," was the response.

"I want to burn them as an act of retaliation, because the Federal Army some time ago burned all the deeds and records in the court house at Fairfax, Virginia."

At this point, Judge Fisher made an earnest appeal to the soldier standing in front of him, begging that he should desist from this intention, and leave the records of the York County Court House alone. His appeal produced an effect upon the General.

What General Early doubtless meant by demanding the keys to the Court House records, was to impress upon the citizens of York, the necessity of raising more money, in compliance with his requisition. Heeding the appeal of the president judge, he returned to his headquarters in the Court House, here he issued orders and sent out communications to his brigade commanders. What he really wanted was more money. His officers and

men had plenty of Confederate script recently printed at Richmond, but it was almost worthless even in the South. His men were instructed to pay for everything they obtained in the stores and shops with this kind of money, but what Early wanted from the citizens of York was United States currency notes, popularly known as "greenbacks."

Demands More Money.

Soon after noon, Early called at the residence of the Chief Burgess, on South George Street, near Center Square. His sword hung from his belt on one side and a revolver on the other. When he entered the parlor, he said:

"The money I have asked for must be raised."

"Our people have very little money here. They have sent it away. It would be impossible for our committee to raise \$75,000," replied the burgess.

As he stood in the parlor talking to the burgess, a clatter was heard on the pavement outside, caused by the dropping of a carbine. General Early grew nervous and quickly looked out through the blinds, for he thought an attempt was being made to enter the house and make him a prisoner. When these fears were allayed, he continued his demands for the balance of the money.

"I will have it," he said. "If it is not furnished me, nor a definite promise made for its collection, I will destroy the car shops and the railroad buildings, for I have discovered that cars have recently been made at this place for the Yankee government."

"I have determined to burn the shops." And then he left the house, followed by the Burgess. They walked together out East Market Street to Duke. While on the way, Mr. Small said:

"Those shops are built of wood. If you set fire to them you might burn the town, and you entered into an agreement not to destroy private property."

"Then call out your fire department to protect the homes and other buildings."

Orders were immediately given for the Laurel, Vigilant and Union Fire companies to move toward the railroad station. Some Confederate troops aided in drawing the fire engines and the three companies took position in the vicinity of the car shops. A detachment of about thirty men, under Captain Wilson, of North Carolina, had already been sent to the railroad with orders to put the torch to some cars. As General Early and the Chief Burgess moved down Duke Street, a delegation of prominent citizens followed close behind them. The incidents that transpired at the station are best told in the following abstract from a letter written to me by General Early, in 1892:

"After examining the locality, I was satisfied that neither the car factories nor the depot could be burned without setting fire to a number of houses near them, some of which were of wood, and I determined not to burn, but thought I would make a further effort to get the balance of the \$100,000. So I took a seat in the railroad depot, which was filled with a large number of boxes containing goods that had never been opened, and said, to the mayor, 'If you will pay me the balance of the \$100,000, I have called for, I will not burn these car factories and this depot.'

"He replied: 'General, I would do so very willingly, but the fact is, we have raised all the money we could raise in town and a good deal of it has been contributed in small sums.'

"Just then the leading merchant of the town (Philip A. Small) stepped up and said:

"General, if you will not burn this depot or its contents, and the shops, I will give you my bill for \$50,000 on Philadelphia, to be paid, whatever may be the result of the war'."

Orders From Ewell.

While this incident was taken place, Captain Elliott Johnson, an aide on the staff of General Ewell, came riding rapidly up West Market Street, his horse all covered with foam. He halted in front of the Central Hotel, and asked for Early.

"His headquarters are in the Court House, but he is down at the railroad station now," said a bystander.

Then the despatch bearer put his spurs to his horse and dashed down Duke Street. He had important news to convey to Early, the commander of the Second division of Ewell's corps. On the evening of June 28, General Lee, then at Chambersburg, had received the news that the Army of the Potomac was approaching Frederick, Maryland. This news decided the events of the four succeeding days. Lee sent a despatch bearer with all possible haste to Ewell at Carlisle. It was Lee's message that Captain Johnson bore as he rode down Duke Street. Early saw him approach. He apprehended the purpose of the courier's arrival. He walked a distance away to meet Captain Johnson, received and read the message apparently without any concern. Then returned to the group of citizens, and addressing Philip A. Small, said:

"I will consider your proposition tonight, and report to you later."

He feared the draft or bill on an eastern city would be of no avail. Then he called the Chief Burgess to one side, and said:

"I have decided not to burn the shops and this depot, for I believe it would endanger the safety of a considerable part of the town."

The squad of Confederate soldiers which had preceded Early to the shops and the railroad station, had applied the torch to some cars belonging to the railroad company. These were burned, but there was no other destruction of property. There was one car of lumber for a Presbyterian church. When the captain of the squad was told for what purpose the lumber was designed, he refused to burn the car, because he belonged to the Presbyterian church, and later in life was a ruling elder of the First Presbyterian church at Durham, North Carolina, where, in 1898, he told the writer the incidents to the destruction of the cars at the York station.

Lee's Message.

The message which Early read had been sent by General Lee, at Chambersburg, to General Ewell's headquarters, at Carlisle, a distance of thirty-three miles. Soon after its arrival there, Ewell sent the message through Dillsburg and Dover to York, a distance of thirty-six miles. It reached here about 6 o'clock in the evening of June 29. The following is a copy of the despatch:

Chambersburg, June 28, 1863, 7.30 A. M.

Lieut. Gen. R. S. Ewell,
Commanding Corps:

General:

I wrote you last night, stating that General Hooker was reported to have crossed the Potomac, and is advancing by way of Middletown, the head of his column being at that point in Frederick County. I directed you in that letter to move your forces to this point. If you have not already progressed on the road, and if you have no good reason against it, I desire you to move in the direction of Gettysburg, via Heidlersburg, where you will have turn-pike most of the way, and you can thus join your other divisions to Early's which is east of the mountains. I think it preferable to keep on the east side of the mountain. When you come to Heidlersburg, you can either move

directly on Gettysburg or turn down to Cashtown. Your trains and heavy artillery you can send, if you think proper, on the road to Chambersburg. But if the roads which your troops take are good, they had better follow you.

R. E. LEE,
General.

Retreats Towards Gettysburg.

General Early then understood the situation of affairs. He sent a courier to Wrightsville ordering Gordon's brigade to fall back at once to York, and he returned up Duke Street, accompanied by the Chief Burgess, but he concealed the import of the message he had received. He went to his headquarters, and immediately issued orders to his brigade commanders to prepare to fall back toward Gettysburg.

At the same time he had printed the following addresses, only a few copies of which were circulated through town:

To the Citizens of York:—

I have sustained from burning the railroad buildings, and car shops of your town **because**, after examination, I am satisfied the safety of the town would be endangered; and, acting in the spirit of humanity, which has ever characterized my government and its military authorities, I do not desire to involve the innocent in the same punishment with the guilty. Had I applied the torch without regard to consequences I would have pursued a course that would have fully vindicated as an act of just retaliation for the many authorized acts of barbarity perpetrated by your own army upon our soil. But we do not war upon women and children, and I trust the treatment you have met at the hands of my soldiers will open your eyes to the monstrous iniquity of the war waged by your government upon the people of the Confederate States, and that you will make an effort to shake off the revolting tyranny under which it is apparent to all you are yourselves groaning.

J. A. EARLY,
Major General C. S. A.

The day that Lee sent this despatch, the Army of the Potomac had changed its commanders. Meade had taken the place of Hooker.

Early remained quietly at his Hotel. His brigade commanders and their subordinate officers slept very little that night, for they were laying plans to counter-march at a given signal. The soldiers in camp at Louck's Mill, on the Public Common and the Fair Grounds were ordered to **prepare** for the march soon after midnight. The people of York knew nothing of the orders that had been issued, and when they arose the next morning they found that Confederate guards no longer stood in front of the public places. The entire division was on its way out the Carlisle road towards Weiglestown. It turned to the left a the State road and halted for dinner a few hundred yards beyond Davidsburg.

General Early and his staff were among the last to leave York. It was about 7 o'clock in the morning, mounted on his horse, that he and his aides left Center Square and moved out West Market Street, following the line of march. When they reached Davidsburg, he ordered the village inn-keeper to prepare twenty dinners for himself, his brigadier-generals and the members of his staff. Just as they were preparing to leave the hotel they heard the roar of cannon at Hanover, where the cavalry engagement had opened.

At 2 o'clock, June 30, Early took up the march and moved westward through East Berlin and encamped for the night near Heidlersburg. On the second day of the battle, his division occupied the extreme left of the Confederate line. In the charge on Cemetery Ridge, the brigade commanded by General Hays was demoralized and lost heavily. Early's entire loss was 1,188; 150 killed, 806 wounded, and 226 missing.

Early's Division at York

It will be interesting to describe in detail the movement of the division of Confederates under General Early from Gettysburg to York and Wrightsville. He led the advance of the army of Northern Virginia and every movement he made was watched with eager interest by the people of Lancaster County.

Seated on horseback near the court house in Gettysburg, Early wrote on the pommel of his saddle a requisition upon the town. As all the funds from the banks have been removed, the town was unable to pay the money asked for. Gordon's brigade encamped for the night of June 26, in and around Gettysburg. The other three brigades of Early's division bivouacked for the night at Mummasburg. After destroying about a dozen freight cars, General Early started with his division toward York. Gordon with his Georgia brigade of 2,800 men, with Tanner's battery of four guns, moved eastward over the York and Gettysburg turnpike, passing through New Oxford, Abbottstown and bivouacked for the night in the village surrounding Farmers' Post Office, in Jackson Township. His troops pitched their shelter tents in the adjoining fields. General Gordon lodged at the residence of Jacob S. Altland, a building which is now standing along the turnpike, near the centre of the village.

The Army of the Potomac under General Meade on the night of June 27, was concentrating about Frederick, Maryland; most of the Pennsylvania militia was stationed at Harrisburg and in the lower end of Cumberland Valley. At York were the Patasco Guards, sixty men, the City Troop of Philadelphia, and Bell's Cavalry which had come from Gettysburg. These with about 200 convalescent troops from the United States Hospital at York, were ordered to Wrightsville by Major Haller, commander of the post.

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