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Perryville vs. Gettysburg:
The David and Goliath of Civil War Battlefield Preservation

Madison Rippy
The Civil War was a time of turmoil and division that changed the social, political, and economic landscape of the United States. The continued popularity and study of this particularly bloody and controversial period in American history reveals that its massive impact continues into the present. Civil War regalia such as guns, clothing, and flags generate massive public interest. The most popular of the Civil War battlefields, Gettysburg National Military Park, has an annual visitation rate of 1.2 million. Professional historians, history buffs, and history students alike all depend on the preservation, however, preservation is not as uncontested as one might expect. Social turmoil and division continue to affect how later generations sought to preserve the War and its legacy. The bias that stems from this division creates narratives and changes to the battlefields, such as the Lost Cause and Visitor Centers, which change the preservation and integrity of the battlefield.

Several factors can foster change in historic preservation initiatives and their decision to evolve or alter its content for a viewing audience. Civil War battlefields are one example of how historic preservation efforts can evolve. This trend is especially apparent when comparing the Gettysburg and Perryville battlefields. Gettysburg has long been the largest and one of the most popular national military parks, however, Perryville failed to gain this recognition in the late nineteenth century because of its perceived insignificance. Changes in the 20th century including the construction of nearby interstate highways, increased consumerism, increased

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2Karen Cox, Dixies Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture, 2003, 94; W. Fitzhugh Brundage, The Southern Past: The Clash of Race and Memory, 2005, 106. Both of these citations demonstrate the white Southern effort to preserve the Civil War as a noble cause for states’ rights instead of a fight to keep slavery. The United Daughters of the Confederacy sought to memorialize an ideal view of the South and the Civil War rather than its reality. This is especially pertinent because of the UDC’s involvement in preserving Perryville.
popularity of certain battlefields, a reconsideration of the battle’s military importance, and the relocation of the battlefield site, have collectively resulted in Gettysburg attracting more visitors than Perryville. This high volume of visitation often degrades the historical integrity of the battlefield and changes how it is preserved but preservation efforts are beginning to prioritize historical accuracy rather than maximize visitation.

The most obvious and modern change to battlefields was the introduction of major paved roads. Before the twentieth century, many American citizens were relatively isolated due to the difficulty of travel and lack of large and connected paved roads. These difficulties were alleviated when the interstate highway system was constructed following the Second World War and more efficiently connected otherwise isolated communities. The expanded federal and state highway system allowed for easier travel to more remote destinations throughout the United States and positively affected attendance at all Civil War battlefields as visitors now had new ways to visit the sites that interested them. Historian Jennifer Murray states that “…the emerging national highway system, pent-up buying power, and shorter work weeks increased leisure time…immediately after the war, people took to the road to reacquaint themselves with America and its national treasures…”⁴ More time for leisure and increased accessibility resulted in a massive increase in visitation to Civil War battlefields and museums, none more so than Gettysburg, which took the lead with an increase of “325 percent” after the Second World War.⁵

Although this massive increase was not universal to all battlefields, most battlefields did see an increase. The size of the increase in business was dependent on multiple variables. These variables could include location or even weather. The differences in these variables are most

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⁵ Murray, On a Great Battlefield, 62.
stark when comparing Gettysburg and Perryville. Gettysburg and Perryville are both relatively small and rural towns with similar climates and weather. Both were Union victories that thwarted Confederate invasions of the Union. The main differences between the two battlefields are the location and the people present. Gettysburg is the center of ten roads that branch out like spokes on a wheel. Perryville’s battle did not take place in the actual town but on an adjacent farm. Gettysburg had easier access without additional roads and thus saw tourism from the beginning. Gettysburg also had access to trains while Perryville did not. This previous accessibility allowed Gettysburg an easier process of increasing tourism and created difficulty for Perryville. Perhaps the most attractive aspect of the battles to tourists was the people present. Gettysburg had the likes of Robert E. Lee, Abraham Lincoln, and George Meade. Perryville had lesser known generals with Don Carlos Buell and Braxton Bragg. Lincoln also gave his famous Gettysburg Address at Gettysburg. Perryville does not have attractions like this and therefore must attract tourists with its authenticity instead.

Business for battlefields and their respective historic tourism increased business but roads and other accessibility additions decreased the integrity of the Civil War battlefields. However, most of the battlefields could not handle the high amount of traffic that they were experiencing. The government became aware of this problem and initiated the program MISSION 66 to help fund the National Park Service’s facilities and other needed improvements including ones to battlefields such as Gettysburg. Although allowing for more visitors, the logistical changes made to the historic sites were not always welcome. National Parks Magazine writer, Weldon Heald, remarked that “…engineering has become more important than the preservation.” Heald means that the architects and engineers of MISSION 66 that help improve accessibility ignore

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6 Murray, On a Great Battlefield, 81.
the significance of the place itself and jeopardize the historical integrity. Another objection raised by many park administrators and preservationists was that the additions to make the Gettysburg battlefield more visitor-friendly compromised the historic site itself. The buildings and facilities built for visitors often significantly altered the overall historic landscape or were placed on top of an important site. For example, Gettysburg’s previous Visitor Center was originally placed on Ziegler’s Grove and as a result irrevocably changed the landscape of that section of battlefield. The growing consumer base for historic sites and easy accessibility precipitated battlefields to compromise historic routes and roads to simplify the visitor commute. As historian Brian Black states, “…the first priority was the automobile tourist; this was reflected by the construction of roads and parking lots.” Murray corroborates this fact, “…auto-tourism had been an integral part of touring the national parks for decades.” This hyper focus on the visitor experience and the traveler, instead of on the historic preservation, prioritized the commercialization of battlefield sites.

The antithesis of the Gettysburg battlefield and its history is the Perryville Battlefield State Historic Site because Perryville had a lack of funds and prioritized historic preservation over accessibility. While Gettysburg has a sprawling and expansive visitor experience centered around roads and car accessible trails, Perryville’s tours are self-guided and only accessible by walking. The museum, visitor center, and the site itself are unassuming and easily missed. The official website of the Perryville Battlefield boasts that this “battlefield is one of the most unaltered Civil War sites in the nation; vistas visible today are virtually those soldiers saw on

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9 Murray, 130.
that fateful day in 1862.”

Perryville scholar Christopher Kolakowski states that “the pristine fields and woods, very indicative of how it looked in 1862, made quite an impression on me.”

Although terrain cannot stay the exact same as it was the day of the battle, the preservation was handled in such a way to invoke its appearance in 1862.

The roads leading to Perryville also juxtapose those of Gettysburg. Gettysburg sacrificed preservation in order to sustain interest in historic sites while Perryville did the opposite.

Gettysburg remains a major stop along the interstate highways that lead to it while Perryville is out of the way for most tourists with only a one lane road leading up to the actual battlefield.

One can visit Perryville for a more accurate representation of what the Civil War was like for not only the soldiers but for the people effected by the war. Whereas Gettysburg’s layout allows for a car to traverse the entirety of the battlefield, Perryville only has walking paths through the battlefield. Perryville marks movements in the battle and has monuments for the Confederate and Union lives lost there. Gettysburg has hundreds of markers, monuments, and memorials.

Perryville has obvious signs of care in the landscape around its museum and monuments but the battlefield itself is allowed to grow as it did in the 1860s. Gettysburg is well maintained and even the smallest path is lined with stone for easier access. Gettysburg provides a more seamless experience but at the expense of historic preservation. However, more recently battlefields such as Gettysburg have turned more towards the philosophy of Perryville and wish to preserve the landscape as much as possible. The popularity of Gettysburg makes this transition more difficult as its need for accessibility is higher than most battlefields.

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10 “Perryville Battlefield.” Kentucky State Parks. Accessed November 12, 2018. https://parks.ky.gov/parks/historicsites/perryville-battlefield/index.html. Perryville’s claim that the “vistas” are the exact same is not possible. It has been over a century and a half since the battle took place. Terrain will change despite human efforts to stop it.

A battle’s strategic importance during the war affects its popularity and amount of visitation. In turn, this popularity and visitation influence the preservation of the battlefield. The Civil War remains in the forefront of the public mind as the bloodiest conflict on American soil, which perhaps caused the most domestic turmoil to the American people. It also remains one of the most popularly studied areas in history. Many a history buff loves the intricacies of Civil War military strategy and the strategic battle between General Robert E. Lee and General Ulysses S. Grant. The battles and skirmishes with higher strategic importance, especially those with either of the formerly mentioned generals, remain some of the most popularly studied of the Civil War. This attention creates a direct correlation between importance during the Civil War, public interest, and the nature of its later preservation.

This is epitomized by the battlefield of Gettysburg. Gettysburg has several factors accounting for its immense popularity: the presence of Robert E. Lee at the battle, the turning point of the entire war for the Union, the length of the battle, and its fame as the “costliest single military engagement on North American soil.”\(^{12}\) On the other hand, Perryville, although the biggest battle within the confines of Kentucky, generates little interest outside of a small portion of historical academics.\(^ {13}\) Perryville was a small affair compared to the Gettysburg campaign. Perryville and Gettysburg were both attempted invasions of the Union. Despite the importance of maintaining Kentucky’s allegiance to the Union, or lack thereof, Perryville and most of the “Western Theater” of the war are considered less important by some scholars than events in the east.


\(^{13}\) Kolakowski, Christopher L. The Civil War at Perryville, 10.
Both sites have experienced advantages and disadvantages in terms of their efforts at battlefield preservation. More popular sites like Gettysburg often straddle the line of mystifying the past in order to be more engaging and worth the visitor’s trip. American historian Peter Carmichael states that “…our sincere efforts to connect with our public, to spark an interest through experiential learning, to give them the sensations of war, cannot come at the cost of mystifying combat…we have imbued violence with too much intentionality and purpose.”\(^{14}\) The purposefulness of Gettysburg interpretation does not allow the visitor to fully understand the chaotic and randomness of war and its battles. Carmichael goes on to continue his argument by saying that this interpretation simplifies the reasons and causes of the Civil War.\(^{15}\) Perryville’s shortcomings parallel Gettysburg’s in this case. Reenactments and other such activities fail to create a war-like environment and only mystify the battle that actually took place there. Perryville historian Stuart Sanders states that many veterans of this war “…recognized that the Battle of Perryville was one of the most intense battles of the conflict” and that it was a “…hell-roaring fight.”\(^{16}\)

On the other hand, as a historic site Gettysburg in particular holds many advantages over other battlefields of the Civil War. One of those advantages was that immediate preservation of the battlefield took place soon after the armies had departed. Most battlefields’ preservation was largely ignored by the government in favor of cemeteries until the 1930s. Veterans and other such organization were in charge of preserving the areas of conflict. However, Gettysburg was the exception. The Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association was founded in 1864 after the


\(^{15}\)Ibid.

Pennsylvania Assembly passed legislation in August 1863. Their association’s mission was “to commemorate the great deeds of valor, endurance, and noble sacrifice, and to perpetuate the memory of the heroes.” This was the first official action taken to preserve any Civil War battlefields. Although the funding was minimal, perhaps due to the ongoing war, the effort to preserve was evident. The Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association was soon replaced with the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) in the late 1870s. With this change in leadership, Gettysburg was the first to put memorials on the actual battlefield site instead of only in its cemeteries. The main proponent of this battlefield memorialization was John B. Bachelder. With Bachelder at the helm for the Battle of Gettysburg and its preservation, preservation itself began to change. Historian Timothy B. Smith states that “changes in preservation and commemorative mentality also began to emerge once Bachelder and the association began fruitful work at Gettysburg…this move foreshadowed a flood of monumentation, which in itself was a common hallmark of remembrance in the Victorian age.” However, Smith also argues that there was a gaping hole in preservation so early after the actual battle. Gettysburg was comfortably located within the borders of the Union. This resulted in a lack of regard for the role played by the Confederate army on the battle. Bachelder tried to at least have markers placed that would show where the Army of Northern Virginia stood during the battle. It was important to have these markers to complete the entire history of the battle. The veterans of the war were getting older and if action was not taken soon, the history would be completely lost. Bachelder stated in several letters that visitors to the park would ask “was there no opposing army at Gettysburg,

18 Murray. On a Great Battlefield. 11.
where was the enemy?" This exemplifies Gettysburg’s lack of preserving the historical integrity of the battlefield.

Comparing Perryville to Gettysburg, its advantages and disadvantages are almost the complete opposite. Perryville had preservation efforts by the citizens of the town, but it would not be until 1936, seventy-four years after the battle, that any official battlefield preservation began to take place. There were several efforts since 1903 to have the battlefield become a national park, which would put the responsibility of maintaining and preserving on the federal government. However, this was never successful and Kentucky “included the creation of a state park at Perryville in a government reorganization bill.” This denied Perryville of any federal funding. Perryville and its preservation relied on state efforts as well as local entities. A strength of this battle in the Bluegrass was that the Confederate presence was never ignored. Kentucky was initially a neutral state and was under martial law during the war due to its wavering stance on secession. The state was Union while the war was ongoing but afterwards it became sympathetic towards the Confederacy. This was a result of several issues including the lack of federal aid to stop the Confederate raids of Kentucky, an action, which inexorably affected the attitude of Kentuckians towards the war. Perryville, despite many failed attempts, was never in the forefront of the public’s eye as Gettysburg. These factors positively affected battlefield preservation at Perryville. The postwar Confederate sympathies allowed for monuments and markers for the Confederate army and represented the battlefield more accurately. Either side of

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21 Smith. “Altogether.” 120.
23 Ibid. Smith states that “Perryville warranted a national military park, but backers were never able to get one passed through Congress.” He does not state the reason, but one would assume that Congress did not want to fund another expensive national military park.
the conflict could change the battle’s narrative to have a more positive light on their side, but Perryville avoids this. Kentucky was, at one point, on either side of the conflict. This, combined with the lack of attention that Perryville received from the public, allowed for a less biased interpretation of the battle.

Gettysburg is beloved for its rich and important history but also criticized for its many choices. For example, the old Visitor Center was the center of several controversies until its demolition. Perryville does not have these controversies because it is not as popular. It was the largest battle in the borders of Kentucky but the fascination with the eastern battles of Lee and Grant prevents further acclaim. To put it frankly, Perryville was able to do certain preservation actions, such as a gravesite, memorials, and other markers related to the Confederate presence at the battlefield, because of its relative anonymity and location in a Confederate sympathetic Kentucky. For example, Gettysburg’s authorities were not able to accomplish monuments and markers for the Confederate army until much later. The Union held animosity towards the rebellious Southern states and did not wish to memorialize their soldiers. This animosity delayed preservation of the Confederate soldiers at the battlefield. Another factor that effected the preservation was the fact that preservation for Gettysburg took place while the war was still ongoing. A more complete and approximate battlefield is exemplified by Perryville while Gettysburg and its monuments present a dazzling battlefield that attract tourists and funds.

The location of a battlefield mattered during the Civil War and it also matters afterwards in its preservation and visitation. A lot of prominent battles during the Civil War took place near strategic cities that had higher populations and would have a larger impact on the war overall. Gettysburg was near Washington D.C. and this proximity made it important to the Confederate

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24 Murray. 86. Murray lists several articles from the *Washington Post, Patriot News, and the Reading Eagle* that comment negatively on the commercialization of Gettysburg beginning with the Visitor’s Center.
campaign. It had ten major roads that contributed to the reason for the battle taking place there. Gettysburg is also home to easily identifiable, natural landmarks such as the Devil’s Den and Little Roundtop that assisted the army in 1863, help tourists in modern day. The introduction of tour roads changed the landscape somewhat, but visitors are still able to ascertain the battlefield with little assistance. This is due to the historic and new roads creating an easily accessible path around the battlefield.

Perryville characterizes the opposite of Gettysburg’s strategic importance. Perryville is an unassuming town in the middle of central Kentucky; in 1862, the town only had 300 residents and in 2015 it had only risen to 759. A battle probably would not have taken place there if Kentucky had not been particularly dry during 1862 leading up to the battle. Perryville still housed small reserves of contaminated and tepid water but even this water was welcome among both sides of the conflict. Civil War historian Stuart Sanders states that soldiers were so desperate for water that they “…gave five dollars for a full canteen of muddy water, a dollar a drink, and many drank from standing pools [of] water that horses refused to drink.” He also states that this water sometimes was contaminated by dead animals and was the cause for the spread of epidemic diseases within the two camps. Perryville was the stop before the Confederate army was pushed out of Kentucky for good after trying to turn the state and its citizens into pro-Confederate sympathizers. Frankfort and Lexington had been taken and the only reason that they retreated was the sizable army of General Don Carlos Buell started its advance. Perryville also was 30 miles west of a Confederate supply line reaching from Tennessee into the

27 Ibid.
Bluegrass State.\textsuperscript{28} The wide-open terrain and nearby town thus experienced the bloodiest battle in the Western Theater. The Confederate general at Perryville, Braxton Bragg, won the tactical victory but had to retreat into Tennessee and then Mississippi because of the advancing Union army. Perryville and its battlefield were born of circumstance not strategy. This affects the battlefield preservation. Strategic importance was associated with roads and other means of travel. Perryville did not have the roads or the access that Gettysburg had and therefore did not have the amount of tourism. This positively affected the historical integrity of the site by providing both time and freedom to preserve the battlefield as is.

The preservation of both battlefields prominently features their landscape. Perryville’s smaller location is easier to preserve and that is demonstrated by its relative lack of change since the actual battle took place. Gettysburg encompasses mass swaths of land and parts of the town. This makes it more difficult to manage and therefore the landscape has changed from its original appearance. Gettysburg “occurred on dozens of farmsteads and across twenty-five square miles” and through an entire town.\textsuperscript{29} The early organization of Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association had managed to acquire around a hundred acres of land that the battle was fought on by 1866. This was an impressive feat, but it was barely one percent of the battlefield as a whole.\textsuperscript{30} There were several reasons that the organizations heading Gettysburg in particular had difficulty acquiring the land it needed to have the complete battlefield. Firstly, the federal government did not involve itself in Civil War preservation efforts until the mid-1890s and even then only with a couple of undisputedly important sites. This drastically affected the efficiency and ease that battlefield organizations were able to obtain their desired land. Another factor in

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{29} Murray. \textit{On a Great Battlefield}. 11.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
preservation was the ownership of the lands. Farmers and other citizens’ owned the land upon which the battle took place. Although they were not able to farm the land because of the sheer volume of dead bodies on the land, they eventually reclaimed their land. Another reason it was difficult was the legislation at that point only allowed for land within the Union lines to be purchased. This left out a large portion of the battlefield and rendered the site incomplete. The landscape itself also presented a challenge. Gettysburg is nestled in a rocky terrain with steep, unforgiving hills and masses of thickets and trees. Action within the battle of Gettysburg often saw one force fighting the other on a hill or ridge where it would be advantageous than on the open and flat farmlands. Preserving this kind of landscape was an enormous feat and required a large amount of funds that Gettysburg and its organizations simply did not have until well into Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s presidency.

In comparison to the behemoth that is Gettysburg, Perryville’s battlefield lands were relatively easy to obtain. Most of the battle happened on land that was owned by the unfortunate Henry P. Bottom. It was approximately four-square miles or two thousand acres of farmland in total. The town of Perryville was unscathed from the battle itself and only experienced the “horrors of the battle in the thousands of wounded and dying soldiers needing care.” The landscape of Perryville was much easier to preserve than Gettysburg. It consisted of the rolling Bluegrass hills that was coveted farmlands during the settlement of Kentucky. This kind of terrain, albeit not the best for a battle, is easy to preserve as it was. Perryville’s battle site can be walked through in a couple of hours with ease. Gettysburg visitors still struggle to witness the hallowed ground hidden within its thickets and rocky hillsides. Although Perryville’s small size lends to easier landscape preservation, Perryville’s location was difficult in a different sense.

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31 Ibid.
32 Smith. Altogether. 28.
than Gettysburg. It was easier for the families, especially for the Confederates, of those fallen soldiers to visit the site. Stuart Sanders states that the residents of Perryville were irritated “about civilians visiting the battlefield. These visitors—many of them residents of neighboring states—were digging up corpses in order to reclaim the bodies of their loved ones who had died in the fight.”

Perryville’s central location to several states allowed for this exhuming and reinterning on a scale not seen at battlefields such as Gettysburg. This affected Perryville’s preservation through the lack of graves to testify for the thousands killed there. A single mass grave attests for the Confederate forces but the Union soldiers were taken by family and later on the bodies were moved elsewhere. A lack of a large cemetery with marked graves affects tourism in a negative way. Individual soldiers are not able to be found by family members and later tourists alike. If the unknown soldier had a diary or other such fame, the mass grave does not allow for tourists to flock to that famous soldier’s grave because there is no marker for it. Tourism for sites like Perryville rely on recognizability. It does not have Lincoln or Lee to attract visitors and its mass grave does not help its tourism.

The preservation of battlefield sites present many challenges and rewards for those who take on the project. Battlefields themselves attract mass amounts of tourist traffic without related regalia. Civil War battlefields in particular are popular tourist attractions for the patriotic and nostalgic American wishing for an imagined simpler time. Gettysburg National Military Park and Perryville State Historic Site are as different and contrasting as two Civil War battlefields can be. The differences between the two highlight the ways and reasons that bias, intentional or not, affects the preservation of battlefields. Interstate highways, increased consumerism in the United States, the importance of the battle in the outcome of the Civil War, and the location of

33 Sanders. Perryville. 11.
the battlefield are common factors that influence preservation. As can be seen with Gettysburg, these factors can sacrifice the historical value in the site for a more accessible and visitor friendly attraction. Perryville takes a different approach with its strict adherence to maintaining the battlefield in its historical integrity. Preservation is often looked over for the more exciting and dynamic histories, but it must be forefront in the minds of those who study history. Bias can change the sources used for other academic purposes and this is apparent even in the sites themselves. As long as the bias is recognized, future historians and preservationists can attempt to eradicate these biases from future preservation efforts.
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