

Address
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Boston Times
May 30/1894

No 11½

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Subject -
Campaign of Gallipoli

Address
Secretary for the
National Bureau of
Education
May 30/1894

No 11 1/2

Superintendent of the
National Bureau of Education

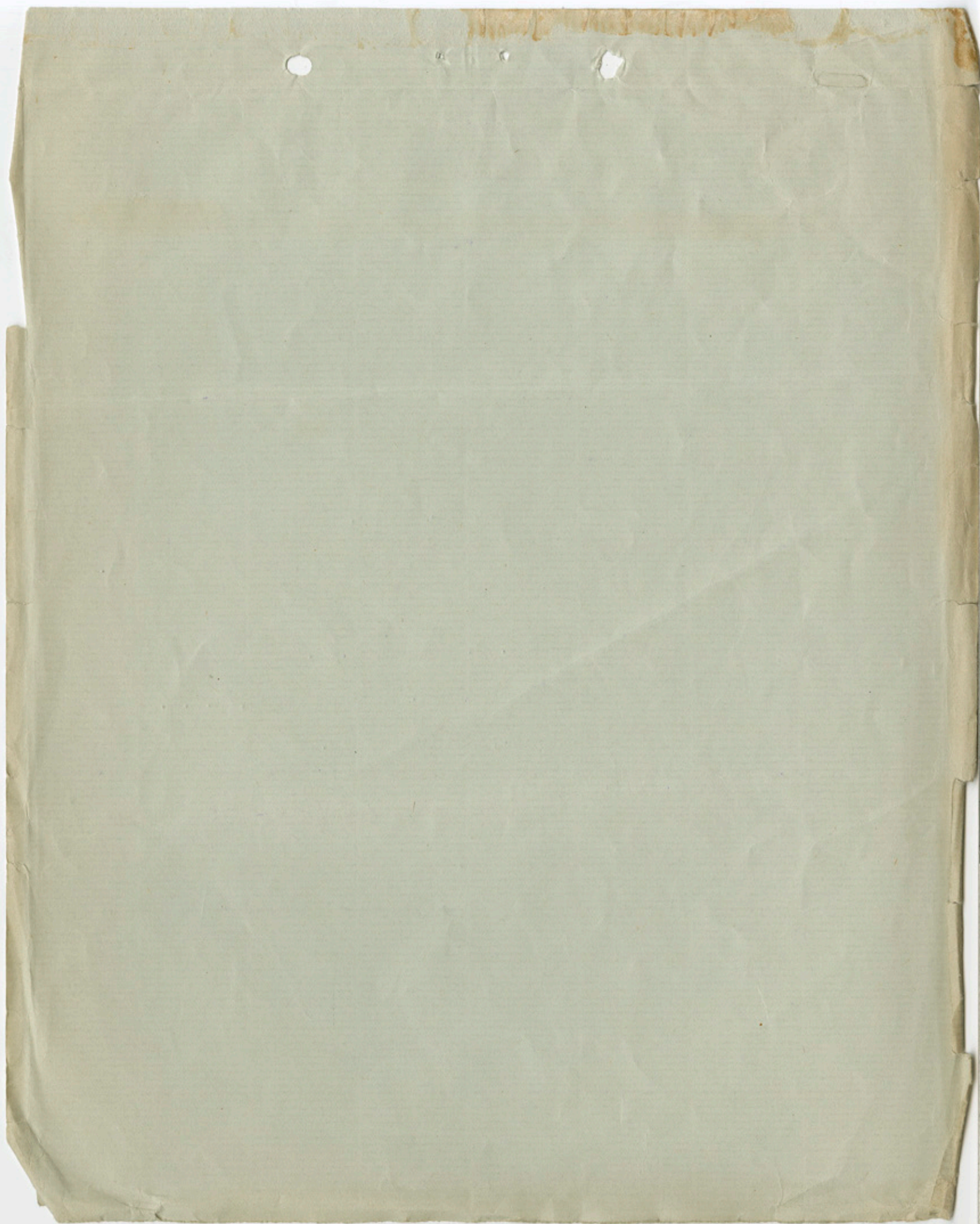
Director
National Bureau of Education

Gen'l. Howard's copy

CAMPAIGN of GENERAL GEORGE G. MEADE, including the
BATTLE of GETTYSBURG, July 1st, 2nd & 3rd 1863.

Delivered by General O. O. Howard, U. S. Army, at the
Memorial Exercises of EDWARD W. KINSLEY POST, G.A.R.

Boston, Mass., May 30th 1894.



INTRODUCTION.

Comrades; Ladies and Gentlemen:-

After some anxious moments over the selection of a subject for this occasion, I have decided to give a brief review of the greatest battle of the War.

It is a tale a hundred times told, but ~~and~~ of whose repetition our Comrades will never tire.

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I. HOOKER'S FORCE and LEE'S.

It will be readily recalled that the Army of the Potomac after its discomfiture at Chancellorsville, early in May 1863, recrossed the Rappahanock, and returned to its camping-ground near Falmouth, Virginia. In the ensuing ^{June} General Joseph Hooker was still in command. That army was not in very good heart. The depression of the country behind it greatly affected the soldiers. Many of them had asserted their independence and gone home. A large number of regiments had served for the full period of their enlistments and had departed. To those who remained with thinned ranks, the prospects of ultimate success were far from encouraging. The daily press brought against Mr. Lincoln and his administration more blame than praise, and all malcontents loudly asserted that this war was a failure. Indeed it was a critical time for the Republic. Yet, in spite of all drawbacks, at home and abroad, - for other nations were not over-friendly to Columbia when in adversity - the rolls of the Army showed 88,000 soldiers present for duty. Hooker's depleted Army Corps had health in them, and they were gradually rectifying their disordered batteries,

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replacing their lost and worn out horses, and burnishing their
 ✓ rifles inside^{de} and out, getting ready for a new trial. Hooker's
 Corps Commanders, so familiar to soldiers, had strength in their
 names; such as John F. Reynolds - Hancock - Sickles - Meade - ~~Meade~~
 Sedgwick - Slocum and Pleasanton. General Howard had the 11th
 place among them. But of course the bona-fide strength depend^{ed} ~~ed~~
 ✓ as much upon its sturdy, subordinate officers and men - strength
 that would swell to a volume if properly directed.

Behold then the Army of the Potomac, with its white tents,
 crowning the knolls mostly denuded of trees, along the north-bank
 of the broad and swift Rappahannock; watching Fredericksburg and
 Marye Heights, as if they might break from their barriers and come
 over. But behind Fredericksburg and Marye Heights was the object
 of vital interest. It was the Confederate Army of Northern Vir-
 ginia, with General Robert E. Lee in command. He had re-organiz-
 ed his forces. His corps were properly four in number :- Long-
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 divisions - an officer on Lee's staff managed the batteries when
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was never before in so good condition. All those untoward affairs that depressed the Union man, as losses in battle and campaign, wasting of material and men, defections of the people of the free States, as shown in elections, the growing coolness and hostility of foreign states, and the super-abundant desertions, only served to give the Confederates a renewal of hope and courage. The Confederate hosts were well organized; well commanded from high to low; with ranks re-filled; completely equipped in every arm; fairly well supplied, and buoyed up by hopes which always more than double ^{the} effectiveness of an army; who wonders that Jefferson Davis sent them once more to supply themselves from the granaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania; to beat all Union forces and dictate ^{the} terms of a grand and permanent disunion! Man proposes, but God disposes - always; but finally in His own way.

II. LEE BEGINS HIS CAMPAIGN.

Lee's northward movement began the 3rd of June. The problems of war would be very simple and easy of solution, if to Commanders information was abundant, as it is to military critics who review campaigns. In obtaining with facility the necessary knowledge, while in Virginia, Lee had the advantage. Shrewd farmers of the neighbourhood - really spies - would come into Hooker's camp to dispose of their produce; or be mounted, riding in pairs, on their

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way to the mill with bags of grain in front of them when any of Hooker's movements were on foot. They also managed to get to Lee's bivouacs with their wares. Women too, were quick to catch important items of news and carry them in spite of all human precaution to some Confederate officer. And also the organized Guerillas, like those under the ubiquitous Moseby, managed to keep Lee replete with copies of orders, newspapers and dispatches, brought from National sources. Hooker, however, in spite of difficulties, had his own method of ascertainment. There were double spies who protected their lives by serving both Hooker and Lee. There were prisoners of war who received letters in hospital, and talked with each other in the presence of attendants and nurses. From different confirmatory accounts, Hooker discovered early in June that there was a gathering of Stuart's cavalry and other forces near Culpepper. He instantly surmised that this meant a Confederate movement of some sort. He conjectured that Lee would try the same experiment as that of the previous year, which ended at Antietam. He sent Pleasanton with his cavalry, followed by two brigades of Infantry - one from the sixth and one from the eleventh Army Corps, to cross the upper fords of the Rappahanock, and make a thorough reconnasaince. ~~reconnaissance~~ This was promptly done and resulted in the drawn battle of Brandy Station, June 9th 1863. Pleasanton withdrew immediately

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after the action, and passed to the north side of the river. He ^{had} found not only cavalry, but the Army Corps of both ^{Longstreet} ~~Longstreet~~ and Ewell. ^{had} He captured Lee's recent orders; from them it became clear to Hooker that Lee was turning his right flank; but by how long a circuit, was not yet quite plain, - though probably he was making for Maryland and Pennsylvania. Whatever Lee's ultimate design, Hooker saw that he must act promptly, - either follow up Lee upon the inner lines, or cross the river, and attack the one Confederate Corps (Hill's) still behind Fredericksburg. He proposed the plan to Washington, even before the Battle of Brandy Station.

III. HOOKER'S PROPOSALS.

In a letter to Mr. Lincoln he wrote:- "After giving the subject my best reflection, I am of the opinion that it is my duty to pitch into his (Lee's) rear, although in doing so, the head of his columns may reach Warrenton, before I can return. Will it be within the spirit of my instructions to do so ?"

Abraham Lincoln replied as follows:-

" Yours of to-day was received an hour ago. [So much professional military skill is requisite to answer it, that I have turned the task over to General Halleck. He promises to perform it with his utmost care.] I have but one idea, which I think worth suggesting to you, and that is, in case you find Lee coming to the north of the Rappahanock, I would by no means cross to the south of it. If he should leave a force at Fredericksburg, tempting you to fall upon it, it would fight in intrenchments and have you at

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disadvantage, and so, man for man, worst you at that point, while his main force would in some way be getting an advantage of you north-ward. In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half way over a fence, and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear, without a fair chance to gore one way, or kick the other. [If Lee would come to my side of the river, I would keep on the same side and fight him or act on the defense, according as might be my estimate of his strength relatively to my own. But these are mere suggestions, which I desire to be controlled by the judgment of yourself and General Halleck".]

This odd letter from the President would seem to be decisive. But after Pleasanton's battle at Brandy Station, and the information that resulted (June 9th 1863), General Hooker the next day wrote to Mr. Lincoln again. After he had demonstrated the probability that Lee would take his whole Confederate Army to Maryland, he asked this question; if it should be found to be the case, will it not promote the true interest of the cause for me to march to Richmond at once ? *****

Abraham Lincoln's reply is characteristic, and exhibits the mind of a General:-

not "Your dispatch of to-day just received. If left to me, I would go south of the Rapahannock upon Lee's moving north of it. If you had Richmond invested to-day, you would not be able to take it in twenty days; meanwhile your communications, and with them your army would be ruined. If he comes toward the upper Potomac, follow in his flank and on his inside track, shortening your lines, while he lengthens his; fight him too, when opportunity-

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offers. If he stays where he is, fret him and fret him".

Hooker was reluctant to give up his idea of crossing the river, but now his instructions to protect Washington, a matter at all times vital to the Nation, were imperative; so he confined himself to a reconnasaince made by the 6th Corps crossing the Rappahanock near Fredericksburg, and facing Hill's men who staid quietly behind their breast-works.

IV. HOOKER MOVES NORTHWARD - LEE ALSO.

The remainder of Hooker's Army, the twelfth day of June, took up its north-ward march, and kept itself on the inner side, substantially parallel with Lee's columns. Each army, Hooker on his left and Lee on his right, covered itself with brigades of cavalry, which had Infantry supports within call. Lee by a convenient mountain defile passed into the Shenadoah Valley, and went rapidly down that valley toward Winchester and Harper's Ferry. General Sedgwick with his 6th Corps withdrew his men from the Fredericksburg side of the Rappahanock the night of June thirteenth. Immediately the next day the Confederate Commander of Marye Heights, finding Sedgwick gone, faced to the left and by rapid marches, followed Ewell's road through Culpepper, Chester Gap on into the great valley, and turning north was in a few days within supporting distance of Lee's main Army. As Hooker had the shorter march-

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Our Army Corps during the northward march were habitually held in groups. The right wing (the 1st, 2nd, and 11th under General John F. Reynolds) moved through Mannasas, across the battlefield of Bull Run through Centreville on to the valley of ~~the~~ Goose Creek. These bodies of men at night encamped ^{within} five or six miles of each other, and always kept up intercommunication. Hooker and his staff made but a few moves. He remained for several days at Fairfax Court House, a central location.

Along the Bull Run range and Blue Ridge that divided the hostile armies, were several gaps or passes. Cavalry detachments hastening to guard these doorways frequently came in collision , but few of these fierce combats drew into action any infantry force. Occasionally a brigade or division was detached from a corps for the cavalry-support. The partisan Confederate Moseby, with his scouts and guerillas ~~in~~ in spite of every precaution penetrated Hooker's lines, picked off aids and other messengers on their swift journeys from corps to corps, and set in circulation every sort of false or exaggerated story so as to create confusion.

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to [the neighborhood of] Edward's Ferry, a point on the Potomac which he had selected for crossing his army [to the east side]. The major part of the command was then in that vicinity.

Lee had rightly interpreted Hooker's movements from the outset; for example:- his reconnasainces at Falmouth and Brandy Station and the pressure of his cavalry at the mountain passes. They never indicated a general engagement. The bulk of Hooker's troops hugged Washington and the Potomac too closely to mean any bold move against him, so that the Confederate Army was hardly checked an hour in the execution of Lee's original purpose.

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V. MILROY'S DEFEAT.

Ewell's Corps, consisting of Confederate Divisions, Early's, Rhode's and Ed. Johnson's, leading the host down the Shenandoah Valley found the Union General Milroy at Winchester with seven thousand men isolated, without possible support. Neither General Halleck, Commander in Chief at Washington, nor General Schenck, Commanding Department at Baltimore, seemed to have given him any explicit orders to retire. The bravest of the brave, Milroy, remained there to fight. Ewell put one division (Johnson's) between him and Harper's Ferry; another (Rhode's) across all the eastern approaches; and then sent Early to a direct attack from

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VI. TYLER WITHDRAWS TO MD. HEIGHTS.

Ewell pushed on straight to Harper's Ferry and repeated Lee's old tactics of the Antietam raid, where a year before the Union Commander, Colonel Dixon S. Miles, lost his garrison, his cul-de-sac, and his life. This time the Nation was more fortunate in its garrison chief, General Tyler, an officer of quick intelligence and fertile in expedients. Tyler let Milroy's scattered men pass him, watched Ewell's careful and steady advance, and, just in time, slipped across the fords of the Potomac with his eleven thousand (11,000) men, as Ewell was arranging his artillery upon the Loudon Heights and other commanding points, expecting to make another clean sweep of Harper's Ferry. General Tyler saved his troops, took an impregnable position on the highest ground - a grand post of observation.

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VII. PENNSYLVANIA'S INVASION.

Now that Western Virginia was cleared of all the ~~Mason's~~ National troops, Ewell, whose head of column in the shape of ~~Jenkins~~ Jenkin's brigade of Confederate Cavalry had reached a point opposite Williamsport, Pennsylvania, even while Milroy was fighting at Winchester - now sent his leading division under Rhodes to Martinsburg. Jenkins ahead of his infantry, with his saucy brigade, crossing the Potomac, ^{still} went forward to Chambersburg; Rhodes himself soon occupied Hagerstown; Johnson's and Early's men were in and near Sharpsburg, looking back and threatening the Yankee General, Tyler at Maryland Heights. Lee meanwhile was gradually closing up that long-stretched series of columns that at one time reached from Winchester to Fredericksburg - a distance of over one hundred miles. Ewell's Corps, thus distributed, remained stationary, they were, however, reaching out into the country and helping themselves to horses, mules ~~and~~ grain, and other supplies in which that part of Maryland and Pennsylvania abounded. It is said that the burghers of Chambersburg outwitted General Jenkins during his pleasant visit, by paying him for some horses that he had unaccountably lost, ^{paying in} ~~by using~~ his own Confederate currency, which his men had previously circulated in town.

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VIII. HOOKER'S TROUBLES.

Hooker had meanwhile much to contend with ; he wanted more troops, but they were slow in coming. he submitted suggestions to General Halleck and Mr. Lincoln. They were not always approved. In fact the correspondence between these three which is ~~all~~ now made public, shows plainly that Hooker felt that he was not fully trusted- so that while at Edward's Ferry, the twenty fourth of June, he was in great perplexity as to what to do next. He was evidently chafing under Halleck's instructions, to whom the President to avoid any possible misunderstanding gave ^{the} full authority of Commander in Chief.

While some of Hooker's Corps were crossing the pontoon-bridges he wrote to Halleck, that Confederate Ewell was already ~~crossing~~ across the Potomac, and that he, Hooker, proposed to send to Harper's Ferry a Corps of observation, using his own words: "to sever Ewell from the balance of the rebel army, in case he should make a protracted sojourn with his ^Pennsylvania neighbors". This proposal, later in the day, was nullified by more ^asttling news which Tyler telegraphed from Maryland Heights, viz: "Longstreet's Corps which camped last night near Berryville and Charleston (West Va.) is to-day in motion, and before six o'clock this morning commenced crossing the Potomac, by the ford below Shepperdstown to Sharpsburg.

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I have reports from reliable parties that at least fifteen thousand (15,000) have crossed the ford this morning, mostly infantry and artillery. The troops are halted and the wagon-train at ten o'clock was moving." Hooker's theory of a single corps raid into Pennsylvania was thus exploded. He gave up at once all hope of dividing Lee's army and so ~~the idea of~~ ^{the} Napoleon-like, dealing death to a part at a time.

^{Hooker} General then took a sudden determination; Reynold's right wing was at once sent northward to Knoxville and Middletown, Md., and their neighborhood; while the main body was gradually moved to Frederick. Hooker's reports show that this movement was executed "with a view to seize the passes of South Mountain *****and confine Lee to one line ~~of~~ of invasion". From Maryland Heights, Middletown and Frederick so occupied it was easy to concentrate the Army of the Potomac in the South Mountain country, or at Frederick, Md., in one day. General Hooker telegraphed to Halleck from Edward's Ferry the twenty-sixth :-" I propose to visit Maryland Heights to-morrow, on my way to Frederick. Is there any reason why Maryland Heights should not be abandoned after the public stores and property are removed ? It must be borne in mind that I am here with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, and must have every able-bodied man to use on the field".

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Maryland Heights, and begged that the matter be laid before Mr. Stanton and Mr. Lincoln. His demand was refused. Then General Hooker sent his final answer from Sandy Hook :- "My original instructions require me to cover Harper's Ferry and Washington. I have now imposed upon me, in addition, an enemy in front of more than my number. I beg to be understood, respectfully, but firmly, that I am unable to comply with this condition with the means at my disposal, and earnestly request that I may at once be relieved from the position I occupy".

✓ He was interpreted literally by the Administration, so that the night of the ~~twenty~~ ^{*eighth*} of June, soon after his arrival at Frederick, he received the orders which relieved him from duty with the Army, and appointed the Commander of the Fifth Army Corps, Major General George G. Meade, in his place.

✓ Years ago after speaking of many of General Hooker's brilliant qualities, I said:- "Judging of the army-feeling as exhibited in private interviews, and in the usual canvassing of reputations and characters around camp-fires, I believe the change of commanders, ill-timed as it ~~was~~ seemed, was acceptable to the officers".

This change took ~~place~~ place during the night. The hardship was upon the new leader, who, modest, faithful and diligent in all his work had never dreamed of such a sudden elevation, and being more surprised than others by the ^eselection, had to charge himself without previous warning with the vast issues of

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X. MEADE'S IMMEDIATE ACTION.

General Meade let no time run to waste. He broke up Maryland Heights, sending the public property with one brigade as escort to Washington, and brought French with the remainder to Frederick as a reserve. Meade's first order of march, which came with his modest and yet confident assumption of command, brought the left - three Corps from Middletown and vicinage back to Frederick; he stirred up Pleasanton more directly to pursue the Confederate cavalry, which Stuart, having forded the Potomac at Seneca , was leading on a mischievous raid entirely around our army. Two Union brigades and a battery started in pursuit. By the evening of the 28th of June, the Army of the Potomac was well concentrated. Meade seemed to want all his host near him for a few hours, as if to get acquainted, before an essential dispersion. Stuart's raid, which B

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Lee is said to have never intended to approve, was a sore thing while it lasted. He destroyed our trains of supply; he cut us off first from Washington, and then from Baltimore; he burned bridges; gathered up mules and horses; and not only frightened the farmers and teamsters, whom he stripped of their possessions, but terrified the people of the land beyond expression.

As Lee meanwhile had moved forward his main body, it was now at and near Chambersburg. The Confederate divisions of Ed. Johnson and Rhodes were appearing at Carlisle and Kingston, and detachments of them were descried at Bridgton just across the Susquehanna from Harrisburg. One may imagine how confusing and sensational was the news, which loaded the wires, and declared to Meade within twenty minutes of time, the Army of Northern Virginia to be simultaneously in six or seven places, thirty, forty and fifty miles asunder. Early's division went through Emmetsburg, Gettysburg and on to York, a part reaching Wrightsville beyond York to cause the destruction of the Susquehanna bridge there. It is said that citizens of York still have some of Early's written pledges and receipts for enforced supplies.

In view of all this information, Meade departed at once from Hooker's South Mountain plan. He telegraphed Halleck at 4.45 P. M. of the twenty eight:- "I propose to move this Army to-morrow in the direction of York".

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In justification of this dispersion Meade said:- "If Lee is moving for Baltimore, I expect to get between his main army and that place. If he is crossing the Susquehannah, I shall rely upon General Couch (at Harrisburg) holding him, until I can fall upon his rear, and give him battle". *****

General Howard writing of the simple part his eleventh Corps took in all this grand movement, wrote in his diary:- "Marched on the afternoon of the twenty-eighth of June from the beautiful fertile, loyal, hospitable valley, of which Middleburg, Md., is the center, to the north of Frederick". Then for the twenty-ninth he added:- "The day was rainy, the roads heavy, yet the troops were in camp at Emmetsburg, having made about twenty miles by seven P.M."

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XI. ORDERS FOR JUNE 30th.

Meade's orders for the thirtieth of June, which found their way to the different commanders during the night, caused but few changes - yet they were most important in their consequences. The twelfth Corps was advanced to Littelstown; the first under Reynolds (who still had the direction of the whole wing) to Marsh Run; a point half-way from Emmetsburg to Gettysburg; the third Corps, (Sickles') to encamp between the Taneytown Headquarters and Emmetsburg; Buford with his division of cavalry was already well ahead of our left, and near Gettysburg. The eleventh Corps for a better defense changed camp from east and south to the north and west borders of the village of Emmetsburg. Just at night that last day of June, Howard received a note from Reynolds requesting him to ride up to Marsh Run, a distance of six miles, for consultation. Taking an Aide and two orderlies with him, Howard was soon at Marsh Run. He found Reynolds who occupied a small cottage east of the road, by himself in a room on the south side. There lay before him as he sat by the table numerous dispatches, which he was examining. He rose and greeted Howard kindly as he entered the room; then immediately called his attention to a confidential order from Meade, in which Meade required Commanders of rank to fitly address their troops, and appeal to every patriotic sentiment

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to stimulate their commands before battle. He showed him telegrams and other important messages that had come during the day, evidencing the position of the enemy. Then ~~the~~ the two spent some time together in studying the best dispositions to make or to recommend. General Howard wrote of this interview:- "He, Reynolds, this last night of his life, impressed me as unusually sad; perhaps not more so, however, than any clear-headed officer would be on the eve of an ^{important} ~~important~~ battle".

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It was after eleven that night when Howard, returning, reached his room and fell asleep in the Jesuit College at Emmetsburg. He was soon awakened to read Meade's next order of march which was passing through to Reynolds. It read as follows:-

" Orders. Headquarters at Taneytown;
Third Corps to Emmetsburg - Second Corps to Taneytown - Fifth Corps to Hanover - Twelfth Corps to Two Taverns - First Corps to Gettysburg - Eleventh Corps to Gettysburg (in supporting distance) Sixth Corps to Manchester - Cavalry to the front and flanks well out in all directions, giving timely notice of positions and movements of the enemy."

After indicating the probable locations of Lee's troops, Hill and Longstreet somewhere between Chambersburg and Gettysburg, and Ewell at Carlisle and York, and expressing the conviction that Lee

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might advance toward Gettysburg, Meade concluded with these remarks

"The General believes he has relieved Harrisburg and Philadelphia, and now desires to look to his own Army and assume position for offensive or defensive, or for rest to the troops".

It will probably give a clearer view of the history of the great Battle soon to follow, to watch for a time the operations of the three Corps, to wit, The wing of General Reynolds, including Buford's Division of Cavalry, than to stay with Meade and see everything from his standpoint at Taneytown. While Engineer and Artillery Staff Officers are reconnoitering the Pipe-Clay-Creek, valley for a good defensive position where the Army of the Potomac might be speedily concentrated, let us start from Emmetsburg and accompany Howard to Gettysburg and take cognizance of what was done on that ever-to-be-remembered first day of July 1863. As soon as the word of execution came from Reynolds, Howard's Eleventh Corps at 8.30 A. M. set out from Emmetsburg to Gettysburg, - Barlow's Division followed the artillery and wagons of the First Corps on the direct road - distance eleven miles.

The other two divisions divisions (Schurz's and Steinwehr's) took an indirect road further east to arrive after a thirteen miles march at Gettysburg, coming in by the Taneytown road. The weather was hot - the main road obstructed and the

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XIII. HOWARD SELECTS CEMETERY HILL.

Howard hearing the firing over by the Lutheran Seminary, thought he would reconnoitre the vicinage while waiting for Capt. Hall's return. He first turned to the left, and ascended to the highest ground by the Peach Orchard. Wadsworth's Division, supporting Buford's Cavalry, was already partially engaged. This was evident

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from the sound and smoke along Seminary Ridge - Doubleday's Division appearing to follow, going from the Emmetsburg road across the fields, and closing up on Wadsworth. While on that height by the Peach Orchard, Howard noticed another higher hill eastward near Gettysburg; so with his immediate following he galloped over there.

The cavalcade ascended to the top of this, the Cemetery Ridge, and rode to the northern extremity. Here Howard halted, and, with his Adjutant General Meysenburg, by his side, took a view of this ground and the surrounding country. He then was thinking of securing some defensive line, to use if his advice should be asked, or in other case of need. He said to Meysenburg :- "This seems to be a good position, Colonel !" Meysenburg replied :- "It is the only position, General". Continuing the reconnaissance, Howard then rode rapidly into the town, tried to ascend the belfry on the Court-House, but finding ~~no stair-way~~ ^{a lad} ~~no stair-way~~ called his attention to another place across the street. It was Fahnestock's Observatory. with two or three staff-officers he made his way to the top, within the small square space there fenced in, he spread his map, and began a study of the situation. What did he see; these are his words:- ^{"I saw"} "The roads, now so familiar from ~~Bonnaughtown~~ ^{Bonnaughtown} - York - Shippenburg - Chambersburg (Cashtown) and ~~Hagerstown~~ ^{Hagerstown}; roads emerging from Gettysburg like the spokes from the hub of a wheel;

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XIV. JOHN F. REYNOLD'S DEATH, HOWARD TAKES COMMAND.

As Howard stood there diligently plying his field-glass and his thoughts, a young officer was approaching rapidly. He halted in the street, and saluting said:- "General Reynolds is wounded, Sir!" Howard replied:- "I am very sorry; I hope he will be able to keep the field". A few minutes later another, (it was Captain Hall, and not Major Biddle, as was erroneously recorded) called from below:- "General Reynolds is dead, and you are the senior officer on the field!"

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He at once assumed the command of the field, giving Schurz the Eleventh Corps; Doubleday now commanded the First Corps; and Buford continued with his Cavalry. Captain Pearson, Aide-de-Camp, was dispatched with the news to Sickles at Emmetsburg, and with entreaty to come as quickly as possible; then on to Meade at Taneytown with report; and another messenger threaded the Baltimore pike back to Slocum near Two-Taverns with the same sad tidings, and also others to Schurz and Barlow on their respective roads of approach. To get off these important dispatches took but a few minutes. The Howard rode slowly followed by his escort and all headquarter-belongings, to the high ground near the Cemetery Gate. How providential that the Cemetery had been already examined!! Here Schurz, who hearing the firing had hastened forward before his marching column, joined Howard, and received his orders: "The

just then there was on the field less than ^{ten} ~~ten~~ thousand (10,000) Union men; it was about 11.30 A. M., and the Eleventh Corps could not well be expected for an hour; and it seemed almost hopeless that Meade with the Sixth Corps over thirty miles away, could gather his widely separated troops in time to promise success to our arms. Howard, as a sudden resolution entered his heart, exclaimed to himself:—"But God helping us, we will stay here till the Army comes!"

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First Corps is over there!", pointing west-ward - "holding that ridge parallel to this, - Buford's Cavalry on the right - prisoners show that a large force of Lee is already there. Place all the reserve batteries of your command on this Cemetery Hill, and support them by Steinwehr's Division - send to the right of the First Corps, north of Gettysburg the other two Divisions, (Barlow's and Shimmelfennig's) to give support to Doubleday. The headquarters for the day will be here!"

This is the way that the Cemetery Hill was taken possession of. Howard's immediate determination was to hold the front line as long as possible ; and when compelled to retreat, as he doubtless would be, to dispute the ground obstinately, but to have a strong position for his reserves, and one that he could hold till Slocum and Sickles could certainly reach him; and then possibly Meade and the rest. While Howard and Schurz are pausing here on Cemetery Ridge, ~~Comrades, let us~~ go back a little to the beginning of this day, and see what has thus far been done.

XV. FIRST DAY'S BATTLE.

As the day dawned, Buford was near that Oak Ridge, and ready for work; he had deployed his brigades beyond him, and sent his scouts far out on every road of approach toward the town of Gettysburg

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which itself covered with its buildings about one square mile. He had caused his horse-artillery and cavalry men to dismount, and fight as Infantry. General Devin's Brigade held the right roads, that is, the Chambersburg and Carlisle, while General Gamble covered the space as far as Hagerstown, ^{road} as well as he could. The Confederates in column at daylight were advancing; Pettigrew's Brigade that had fled from Gettysburg on Buford's coming the day before, came back, and with it all of Heth's Division. Soon skirmish lines were formed and, pushing in Buford's pickets, slowly caused his skirmishers to retire. By nine o'clock the Confederate advance was in sight of Buford's Artillery, and of the Lutheran Seminary. Buford opened his artillery and his carbine fire as sharply as he could with his thin and extended lines. This bold stand made Confederate Heth cautious; he halted; he gradually sent main lines to right and left of the Chambersburg pike - two brigades in front, and one in reserve. Then, lest he should be too fast, he waited for Pender's Division. While Hill, the Confederate Corps Commander, between the groves is trying to ascertain what is in front of him, Buford at the Seminary has descried bright Union flags to the south of him. Buford was glad enough when a little afterward Reynolds himself (about 10 A.M.) grasped his hand, and told him that Wadsworth's Division was close by, and the

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rest not far off. As Reynolds was to govern the wing and the field, he let Doubleday control the movements of the First Corps. with Buford, Reynolds went out to the position of Gamble, and encouraged his weary cavalry men to hold steady a little longer till his infantry could replace them. He sent back, and had Wadsworth brought forward - Wadsworth took the right of the Chambersburg pike and the R. R. cut with Cutler's Brigade and Hall's Battery. While Reynolds himself followed the other, the "Iron Brigade" (Meredith's) to the left of the pike. Confederate Davis with a small brigade was at last advancing against Cutler; and Confederate Archer with another mass farther south against Meredith. The fire opened and became very brisk on both sides. Reynolds hearing the firing of Cutler, was hurrying Meredith's regiments into position. All this, which it takes a minute to tell, had consumed much time. It was now after eleven o'clock, and Doubleday with the Divisions of Rowley and Robinson was near to Reynolds, when a ball pierced his forehead, and he fell dead. The news had been carried to Howard standing, as we have seen, on Fahnestock's Observatory, but the battle went on. At first Wadsworth's right wing was driven back, but after a while most of Confederate Davis' Brigade was captured in the R. R. cut, and Davis' regiments, taken in flank, were brought in. Doubleday made as long a front as he could,

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sending Robinson to the right of Wadsworth, and Rowley to the left of Meredith. Buford had marched off to watch the extreme right of the extended line. The energy of the commencement of this great action had already produced the desired effect. Lee supposed he had a larger force before him than he had, and so, holding his front and firing occasionally, he waited to get up ^{the} part of Longstreet's Corps and part of Ewell's. ^{yet behind} ~~The~~ ^{Over} prisoners taken had been sent back to the town for safe-keeping and the ambulances were bringing in the wounded; while orderlies with messages were going back and forth between Doubleday, Buford and Howard.

It is after 12.30 when Barlow's head of column on the ~~Emmetsburg~~ Emmetsburg road came in sight. Howard, leaving his Chief of Staff and Headquarters at the Cemetery took two or three horsemen with him and joined Barlow, and rode with him through Gettysburg. Schurz had caused Wheeler's and Dilger's Batteries to trot out through the town, and pass to the north and take position in advance. The noise of the batteries caused some excitement. The streets were pretty much deserted. Barlow and Howard caught a glimpse of a young lady, who came bravely to her porch, and waved her handkerchief as the division passed. It was a cheering review, better than music. As Schurz put his men in position, almost at right angles to Robinson and in echelon with two of ^{Robinson's} his regiments that were making a small flank, and extending his line

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eastward away over to Rock Creek, Howard rode along southward past Robinson's men to Wadsworth; then on till ~~missing~~ he could see Doubleday and discern his left resting upon Willoughby Run. He said to each commander:- "We will hold out here upon the Seminary (or Oak Ridge) as along as we can, but if forced to retreat ~~we~~ must dispute the ground foot by foot and go to the position on Cemetery Ridge"!

Howard turned from Doubleday's left flank, and hastened to the Cemetery. He believed from the indications that Lee would soon use all A. P. Hill's Corps, and support it by such brigades of Longstreet's as were present; so that Doubleday's weak left resting on no redoubt, or natural obstacle, would inevitably be overreached and displaced. So, looking from the Cemetery Hill, he noticed a wooded knoll just north of Robinson.

XVI. EWELL'S APPROACH.

Howard said to himself:- "Let us seize that!" "It will take Lee's attention and perhaps bring relief!" The order to Schurz to do this had scarcely left him, when Major Howard - his aide-brought word "Ewell's Corps is here - coming from the north!" Schurz's order was instantly countermanded, except to push out his skirmishers. He found that wooded knoll already held by Confederate Rhodes's Division, and Early's whole Division was just appearing

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Disaster seemed inevitable - the odds against Howard were more than two to one. While messengers sped off again for Slocum and Sickles, the skirmishing and artillery at the front was increasing to a storm. A ~~small~~ success near Robinson's left, in which a regiment in the Eleventh Corps bore some part, resulted in taking as prisoners another Confederate Brigade, - that of Iverson - , but the calls from Schurz and Doubleday for re-enforcements were now constant.

About 3.30, the fighting was at its height all along the line - Early to the east deployed opposite and beyond Schurz - and Rhodes was striking for the weakest point between the Eleventh and First Union Corps - ^{Confederate} and Hill was firing and advancing his abundant brigades, more than masking all of Doubleday's front. Steinwehr at the Cemetery had intrenched and instructed his batteries; and Osborn, the Artillery Chief, had arranged as many guns as he could use to sweep the streets of approach; one small brigade (Costar's) had been sent by Howard to the edge of the town to possess houses there and make barricades.

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Meanwhile Slocum's troops had come and been put in position; and Sickles, who by the messenger's delay did not get word till late, had also arrived and extended the lines, along the Cemetery Ridge southward. "The First Corps, then the Eleventh and Buford's Cavalry did their duty nobly the first day at Gettysburg; fought themselves into a good defensive position, and good especially when the Army of the Potomac came up in its entirety to occupy it. General Lee from the vigor of our defenses, mistaking our numbers, and beholding the great fortification-like appearance of our new stand, contented himself with what he had gained, and postponed further attack till the next day".

For the selection of this ground, and defending it, General Meade gave credit to Howard in his report; and ^{Howard} at a later date received the unanimous thanks of Congress therefor.

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After a short conversation standing together, Meade and Howard mounted and rode along in rear of the men sleeping in place and by their arms. The lines were yet thin; but Meade said that the other Corps were near at hand. The two generals rode to the point of the Cemetery where the Soldiers' Monument now stands; Meade as well as he could with his field-glass took a survey of the hill and its environements, while Howard now and then spoke to him a few explanatory words.

The sun was just rising. There was an occasional cannon shot from a hill far away to the north and then replies from the nearest Union Battery; there was a rattling of skirmish shots from the pickets. Meade now saw the Cemetery Ridge. It was like a fortification on the north, where the Ridge was terminated by the Rock

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Like the flank of a fort came Culp's Hill, a rocky, wooded knoll a little back, and close to the Creek. Letting the eye run from Culp's Hill along the Cemetery front to his left, he noticed a group of trees called Ziegler's Grove, beyond that was apparently lower ground, which gradually ascended southward, till the upward slope ended in an abrupt rocky spur which the inhabitants called "Little ~~Roundtop~~ ^{Roundtop}"; beyond this Meade's view was limited by a more pronounced hill, the highest point of all, covered thickly with trees, called "Big Roundtop". Now turning around and looking to the crossing of the Rock Creek by the Baltimore pike, near McAllister's, a half mile to the east, and letting his eye sweep around westward to Culp's Hill, next to the highest point of the Cemetery Ridge, thence southward to the Roundtops, Meade saw the ground already partly occupied, but before many hours to be covered with his troops. It was ^{shaped} ~~like~~ like a fish hook, lying before you, with the concavity toward you. The point at McAllister's - the bend at the Cemetery - the shank the remainder of the line. From the extreme right to the extreme left the distance is five miles.

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"The General stood there in this magnificent morning light with
 " a panorama spread before him of hill and valley and mountain and
 " woodland and cultivated farms, of orchard and grass-land, as
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 " beauty ; he was planning for Lee and planning for himself; plan
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 " lines began to take new form".
 (General Howard in Atlantic Monthly.)

XIX. HOW MEADE PLACED THE ARMY.

All soldiers will understand the arrangements. Beginning at our extreme right at McAllister's Mill, Slocum's two Divisions, those of A. S. Williams and Geary; the Confederate Ewell has two opposite these, Edw. Johnson's and Early's. On Culp's Hill, our Wadsworth's Division - next on Cemetery Hill, Schurz's three, - Ames' Shimmelfening's and Steinwehr's; - opposite these are some troops of Early's Division and all of Rhodes. Next to Steinwehr from Cemetery to Ziegler's Grove, Doubleday's and Robinson's Divisions; then Hancock's three Divisions in line leftward, (Hayes', Caldwell's and Gibbon's;) opposite these Confederate Hill's large

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Corps in divisions, Anderson's, Pender's and Heth's; for this day (July 2nd) Sickles' Corps covered all the remaining ground to Little Roundtop in two large divisions, Humphrey's and Birnie's. Sickles pushed his men forward to possess the Peach Orchard-Height and rested his left at the "Devil's Den"- a rugged looking, rocky prominence in front of the Roundtops. Opposite Sickles was Longstreet commanding two divisions, Pickett's being absent, viz: McLaw's and Hood's. Our Sykes' Fifth Corps at first was behind the lines in reserve. Barnes', Ayers' and Crawford's divisions. Pleasanton's Cavalry was guarding the right flank; opposite was Stuart's horse as soon as it reached the field, somewhat fagged after its extensive raid. General Buford's Division of Cavalry placed by Howard beyond Sickles' position was withdrawn by Meade, and sent back to Westminster to guard the main supply-trains. By some oversight there was no cavalry near the Roundtops during the 2nd of July.

General Sedgwick at Manchester as soon as Meade's call reached him at nine o'clock at night, made a remarkable march in the next seventeen hours. He tried the experiment of resting his men ten minutes at the end of each hour with two or three longer halts en route. About two P. M. this, Meade's largest Corps, marched into position as the main reserve, back of Meade's headquarters, which

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were then at Mrs. Leyster's house, south-east of Ziegler's Grove, and on the Taneytown road. This house was much exposed to Lee's artillery, and soon seemed to have become a target for the enemy's long range guns. There was no more dangerous place anywhere during the artillery duelling, unless it was the Cemetery itself. Lee's artillery officers sought for prominent points to locate their cannon, all along the front near the Oak Ridge, and off to the north; those on Benner's Hill enfiladed the Cemetery line, but were too far away to give Meade much annoyance. Lee used over two hundred and seventy (270) guns.

Meade's Chief of Artillery, General Hunt, aided by Wainwright and Osborn carefully posted his answering cannon. Cemetery Ridge was dotted with pieces; and batteries or sections were put in action wherever there was an available spot; and of course the remainder were placed in reserve under some cover and ready at call. Except weary men of the Sixth Corps, the Army was rested. The influence of order, movement and re-enforcement gave great joy to those who had met and survived such fearful odds the day before.

Greatly to the satisfaction of General Meade and his Corps Commanders, there was nothing during the morning but the spurts before the shower; for Lee had been advised by Ewell not to attempt to attack near Culp's Hill as he had first planned, not ~~until~~ till 4

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✓ There was some small movement, probably the Confederate Chief was bringing supports to his batteries. There was a curious, magnetic feeling, an unusual expectancy, as the words ran along the lines "Be ready for action!"

After the signal at four o'clock, thirty ~~or~~ forty hostile batteries from ^{front and} ~~front and~~ right, opened their fire on our position. The Union guns fully manned and ready, made instant and rapid response; puffs of smoke showed gunners where to aim; great projectiles were in the air, and thunderous noises shook the ground; occasionally a round shot would hit the Ridge, and often a shell would explode above men's heads and send death dealing fragments into their ~~midst~~ midst, to trouble the brave artillery men and their horses, or to ✓ rattle among the tomb stones. Some went over, and set ambulances ✓ wagons, and all lookers on ~~into~~ ^{as} a rapid retreat from the shelter they had sought. The crest was so narrow that but few lodged on it, yet, a few did, ~~such~~ ^{as} such for example struck the ranks of a New York regiment and exploded, killing and wounding twenty-seven men.

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One Union Battery occupied a prominent front, facing west. ✓ It seemed for a time to escape every accident. The horses remained to its limbers and caissons; among those who served the right

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piece was a handsome young man. He was notable for his cheerful demeanor and for his activity. He ran to straighten up the horses as they would in terror sway back in the harness; he then hastened to the limber for a cartridge, singing and whistling as he sped from place to place. Of a sudden a single solid shot, better aimed by the Confederate gunners than its predecessors, and giving no warning, struck this artilleryman in the thigh; there was one sad cry, and the young artillery man was a mangled corpse !!

A correspondent who was at the Cemetery during this fierce cannonade has given this picture:-

" There came then a storm of
 " shot and shell; marble slabs were broken, iron fences shattered
 " and horse disembowelled. The air was full of wild and hideous
 " noises, the low buzz of round shot, the whizzing of elongated
 " bolts, and the stunning explosions overhead and allround.*****
 " In three minutes the earth shook with the tremendous concussion
 " of two hundred pieces of artillery !!!

XXI. THE INFANTRY ATTACK.

It will be remembered how General Sickles, having no cavalry, had arranged his lines. First:- Humphrey's Division being half a mile in front of Hancock's left flank, Hancock had sent part of Gibbon's men forward, part way, as support. Birney's Division next to Humphreys had three brigades; the first (Graham's) extended over the Peach Orchard crest, and then trended back obliquely

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toward the Devil's Den. DeTobriand's Brigade continued this line into that rough ground; Ward's Brigade, holding the precipitous ravines and huge rocks of the ugly "Den", completed Sickles' left flank.

Longstreet had taken his infantry around out of ^{our} sight. Hood's Confederate Division overlapped the Devil's Den southward, and looked straight toward the wooded hollow between the Roundtops. McLaw's large Confederate Division was masking the whole of Sickles' center and right. Anderson's Division of A. P. Hill, supported McLaw's close to McLaw's left. This with the cannon was the entire attacking force. Lee's plan was:- that while Longstreet was making the main assault, Hill must ^{threaten} ~~threaten~~ us at the Cemetery, and Ewell more fiercely do so between Culp's Hill and McAllister's Mill. All this to prevent Meade from re-enforcing anywhere. As soon as the terrible roar had lulled, the Confederates, Hood and McLaw ^S followed rapidly the havoc supposed to have been made by their artillery. The rapidity of Hood caused DeTobriand and Ward to receive the first onslaught; they did not give ~~way~~ under it, but returned shot for shot and held fast; so that considerable of Longstreet's front was stopped right there. Our Graham's Brigade was fearfully exposed. A few minutes later after Hood's charge, Graham was struggling with Confederate McLaw. ^S Graham's men ^{held} ~~held~~

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XXII. BIGELOW'S BATTERY.

Sickles' batteries here did remarkable service; Bigelow's for example, near Trostle's Barn, fought hard; lost its infantry support - was forced to retire; it did so, using the prolonge and keeping up its fire from place to place. At last the Confederates with a rush were upon his guns. Bigelow blew them even from the muzzles of his pieces. But they came on, they shot his horses, they clambered over his limbers. Five of his non-commissioned officers and twenty-two of his men were killed or wounded, and Bigelow himself was seriously wounded in the side. But strange to tell, he so extricated two out of six of his guns as to continue the resistance till McGilvery, the Corps Chief, had put a fresh battery on the higher ground behind him. It was such combats as these, made by Bigelow and his brave men, made all along Sickles' front, that delayed the Confederate advance that second day of July.

During the fearful struggle between infantry and infantry, or artillery and infantry, of men of equal courage and energy on both sides, ranging from the Roundtops to the Emmetsburg road, ravines,

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XXIII. HOW MEADE REINFORCED.

During that hour Meade had not been idle; Sickles had been wounded, losing his leg, and Birney had taken his place. Birney called loudly for help. Meade directed Hancock, Sykes, Sedgwick and finally Slocum to re-inforce his now shattered left.

Follow Caldwell's Division, which Howard had once commanded, for a few minutes forward into that battle, and facing southwest, it crossed the fields under every sort of fire, grazed the Devil's Den on the left, and its right entered DeTrobriand's wheat field. It brushed back part of McLaws and Wilcox who supported him, and so charged the left flank of Hood's line as to drive all Confederates within reach behind the huge rocks and into the wooded ravines for shelter. Colonel Cross who controlled the 1st Brigade, tall elastic, full of ardor, believing in a charmed life for himself, though often wounded, here met the fatal call. His monument now marks the spot. General Zook, who led forward his brigade, a kind patriotic, patient spirit, fell here. General Brooke, though

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wounded, stayed in that wild place and directed matters with his wonted coolness. Take another point - Meade's left-most point. Losing, in his history, speaking of the low ridge between the Roundtops says:-

"Never was there a wilder place for combat, and never " was there a combat more fierce than was seen here on that hot " July evening; with blazing musketry and hand to hand struggles, " with clubbed fire-arms and jagged stones. For half an hour this " conflict went on, when a charge from the Twentieth Maine, under " Colonel Chamberlain hurled the Texans from the hill".

Now another point - Warren, Meade's Chief of Engineers, going on before Sykes found the Signal Officer near Little Roundtop already startled as he beheld a line of Hood's men advancing with quick step from his front and left. "Keep the signal flag in motion!" said Warren; in a few minutes he was back, with plenty of troops. They nevertheless had no time to lose. There was Weed's Brigade, O'Rorkes' One hundred and fortieth New York Regiment, and Vincent's Brigade thrown a little to the south, while Hazzlett's Battery was dragged by hand to the stony part of Little Roundtop. The enemy's objective was now covered by Union men at front and flank, but Oh! who can describe the deadly struggle for that keypoint of the field !

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Dreadful was that flank fight; the most important of the day; here ^{Meade} many other troops of Sykes, the commander of Meade's old Corps, especially his Regulars under Ayres, bore the brunt of repeated Confederate charges; but at this ~~same~~ hill Hood's men now under another commander, for Hood was severely wounded, were effectually stopped.

XXIV. HUMPHREY AND CRAWFORD.

Meanwhile Confederate Anderson swept down upon the brave Humphrey; he resisted as long as he could. When both his flanks were enveloped, then he would give back fighting, Gibbon's men protecting his right. For a few moments about 6 P. M., Humphrey in an open space endeavoring to gain a stone fence in his rear, was so hard pressed that he thought the day was lost. Wheaton's division of the Sixth Corps, and Williams' of the Twelfth had deployed right there in the nick of time, so that after passing behind the wall, Humphrey's Division gained the needed rest and cover to

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It had been an exciting afternoon, Meade had lost the Peach Orchard-line,- the new position was a half mile back - the dead and wounded of both armies lay between them - the victory was not decisive enough for rejoicing. It only made everybody feel thankful that things were not worse, and dread to-morrow.

XXV. NIGHT ENGAGEMENT .

One brigade was left by Slocum, when he moved Williams' Division and Geary's from McAllister's Mill over to help Sickles, ~~XXXX~~ miles away. That brigade was fortunately commanded by one of Meade's best soldiers, General George S. Greene. He held it near Culp's Hill, watching as well as he could in a thin forest,

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Slocum's empty barricades. Howard's brief account of this, a most remarkable night-fight must suffice:-

" After the struggle had closed, and we supposed we should have a rest for the night, some troops in our front, said to be the "Louisiana Tigers", sprang from their covers under the steep hill on the north end of Cemetery Ridge, broke through Ames' Division, and in three minutes were upon our batteries - Wiedrick's and others, almost without firing a shot. General Schurz by my order sent a part of a brigade under Colonel Kryzanowski to the batteries' immediate relief; the artillery men left their guns, and used sponge staves, hand-spikes, or anything they could lay hold of, to beat back the enemy; as soon as help came the batteries were cleared. Schurz also sent a brigade farther to the right to help General Greene who requested re-inforcements. I sent to Meade for more troops - as part of Ames' Division was forced back, and a gap made. But Hancock, hearing the firing, had detached Colonel S. S. Carroll, with his spirited brigade, to my aid. His men formed at right angles to the general line, and swept swiftly over the highest ground north-ward carrying everything before them. Generals Steinwehr and Newton immediately filled any gaps made on my left by sudden withdrawals".

This night-engagement extended eastward as far as Slocum's had any troops; it was Ewell's effort on our right to assist Lee's main attack. The enemy's troops took quiet possession of all points vacated, and really slept within our lines, within a stone's throw of the Baltimore pike; but the ground was so rough, and the woods so dark that their generals did not realize till morning what they had gained. This was the condition of things at the close of the

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XXVI. THIRD DAY'S BATTLE.

HOW SLOCUM REGAINED HIS LINES.

Howard's monograph continues:-

" The detachments of the Twelfth Corps (Williams' Division strengthened by Lockwood's Brigade) that had given efficient help on the left during the second of July, and two brigades of Geary's Division, which Meade says did not reach the scene of action from having mistaken the road, attempted after night to return to their breast-works on the extreme right of our line; but, as I have intimated, they found them already occupied by John ~~X~~son's Confederates. General Slocum was at this time in command of more troops than the Twelfth Corps, and General A. S. Williams had the latter. Williams made arrangements to attack the enemy at daylight, and regain the position formerly occupied by the corps". (See General Meade's corrected Report.)

Slocum arranged some fourteen batteries on Wolf's Hill, a convenient knoll behind the army and supported them with such other troops as Meade loaned him. Williams stretched a triangular line, one foot ^{of the triangle} was Greengrass by Culp's Hill, and the other Ruger's right by McAllister's Mill; Wolf's Hill the apex. Ewell, the Confederate Commander who had also ordered an attack at dawn really began the battle.

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" I slept with others inside of a family lot in the cemetery, beside an iron fence , with a grave mound for a pillow; being very weary, for want of rest on previous nights, I was not awakened till five A. M., when I heard quick, sharp musketry firing, with an occasional sound of artillery. It began like the pattering of rain on a flat roof, only louder, and at first was intermitted. Then it would increase in volume of sound till it attained a continuous roar. Of course I sent at once to headquarters to ascertain what the firing ^{meant} ~~meant~~; the ^{re} ~~re~~ply came shortly: 'The Twelfth Corps is regaining its lines'. By seven o'clock the battle was fully joined. The Confederates were ~~fully~~ determined to hold on, and disputed the ground with great obstinacy. But after a lively contest of five hourse, Ewell was driven beyond Rock Creek, and the breast-works were re-occupied and held. I went over this ground five ✓ years after the battle, and marks of the struggle were still observable; the moss on the rocks was discolored in hundreds of places where bullets had struck- the trees cut off, lopped down, or shivered, were still there- stumps and trees were perforated with holes where leaden balls had since been dug out- and remnants of the rough breast-works remained. I did not wonder that General Geary who was in the thickest of fight, thought the main battle ^{had been} ~~must have been~~ fought there.

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XXVII. CAVALRY COMBATS ON THE FLANK.

Stuart's Cavalry made a demonstration at this time beyond Ewell. The able Gen'l. Gregg's Division engaged him vigorously near the Bonnaughton road, and checked his advances as to prevent mischief from that quarter. About this time our bold, sanguine Kilpatrick moved his Division of Cavalry over beyond the enemy's right, near the Emmetsburg road, where Pleasanton later in the day directed him 'to pitch in with all his might on Longstreet's right'. In these combats several valuable officers lost their lives; among them was General Farnsworth, in command of a brigade near the time of Pickett's repulse. Pleasanton speaks of this work on the enemy's right as follows:-

" I have always been of the opinion that the demonstration of cavalry on our left materially checked the attack of the enemy on the third of July".

XXVIII. PICKETT'S CHARGE.

Howard's monograph
~~Anders~~ continues:-

" The last bloody contests at Gettysburg opened about 1 P.M., by a cannonade. Lee's plan was substantially the same as that of the day before, except that Longstreet now had Pickett's division, and Lee added one division and two brigades of A. P. Hill to the attacking column. Longstreet brought together in his front opposite the low ground, west of Little Roundtop, fifty five (55) long range guns, and Hill massed some sixty (60) more a little farther toward and opposite our center.

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"The point of attack was on Hancock's front. The signal gun was fired by the enemy, and from the south-west, west, north and north-east, his batteries opened, hurling into the cemetery grounds missiles of all description. Shells burst in the air, on the ground at our right and left, and in front, killing men and horses, exploding caissons, overturning tomb-stones, and smashing fences. The troops hugged their cover, when they had any, as well as they could. One regiment of Steinwehr's was fearfully cut to pieces by a shell. Several officers passing a certain path within a stone's throw of my position were either killed or wounded. The German boy holding our horses under cover of the Cemetery Hill on the eastern slope, near a large rock, had his left arm clipped off with a fragment of a shell. Men fell while eating, ~~or while~~, their food was in their hands, and some with cigars in their mouths". *****

" At half past two P.M., we ceased to reply. We had ammunition and were not silenced, but we knew that this cannonade preceded an attack, and we thought it possible the enemy would conclude that we had been silenced and stopped by their effective shots, and would proceed to the contemplated attack; then we should need batteries in readiness, and plenty of ammunition. We were right. The firing of the enemy lulled, and I could see, better than the day before, their infantry in line; at least a quarter of a mile ^{or} it was exposed to my view, as it started from Oak Ridge opposite our left. It was like an extensive parade; the flags were flying and the line steadily advancing. As I now know, these were Pickett's and Pettigrew's Divisions, and part of Anderson's with Wilcox's

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brigade, supporting their right. On they came; as soon as they were near enough, Osborne, Wainwright, McElvery, and other artillery chiefs started the fire of their batteries, first with solid shot, making hardly any impression, soon with shells exploding near and over and beyond the advancing line. Now gaps were plainly made, but quickly filled. When nearer, the canister was freely used, and the gaps in the enemy's line grew bigger and harder to close. Soon this array came within short musketry range of our full long line in front, all concealed by temporary cover, breastworks, stone walls and trenches. As if by some simultaneous impulse, the whole line fire^d and continued to fire rapidly for perhaps five or ten minutes. As the smoke rose I saw no longer any enemy's line; there was running in every direction; regiments of ours from Steinwehr's position to Roundtop were moving into the valley with their flags flying and apparently without much order, taking flags, guns, and prisoners and bringing them in. General Hancock by special direction commanded the majority of the troops on that front of attack, namely the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Corps; Newton having the first, Gibbon the second, and Birney the third, during this day's combat. "

Hancock says:- 'The shock of the assault fell on the 2nd and 3rd Divisions of the Second Corps; and those were the troops assisted by a small brigade of Vermont troops, together with the

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the artillery of our line, which fired from Roundtop to Cemetery Hill at the enemy, all the way as they advanced, whenever they had the opportunity. *****No doubt there were other troops that fired a little, but these were the troops that really withstood the shock of the assault. *****I was wounded, Hancock adds, at the close of the assault, and that ended my operations with the army for that campaign'.

General Hancock mentions the fact that General Gibbon was also wounded during this assault, and thinks that the absence of two commanders who knew thoroughly the circumstances at such a moment as this, was a great detriment; otherwise, advantage would have been taken of the enemy's repulse by our making a decisive advance.

"Our entire loss ~~loss~~ is reported at 23,186 - of whom 2834 were killed - 13,709 wounded, and 6643 missing. It is difficult to ascertain Lee's losses. We had in our hands upwards of 7000 wounded Confederates, the most of whom were so severely injured that they could not accompany the retiring army.

The hospital record gives the number 7262. If we deduct this from the whole number of prisoners, which I believe is understated by General Meade at 13,621, it gives us 6359 well prisoners. The most moderate estimate that I have seen of the enemy's loss in killed is 5500; now if we place the number who were not so severely wounded as to be left behind, and those who escaped from the field and did not fall into our hands, but were lost to the enemy,

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The hospital record gives the number 7268. If we deduct this from the whole number of prisoners, which I believe is understated by General Meade at 13,821, it gives us 6553 well prisoners. The most moderate estimate that I have seen of the enemy's loss in killed is 2500; now if we place the number who were not so severely wounded, as to be left behind, and those who escaped from the

field and did not fall into our hands, but were lost to the enemy,

at 10,000 (probably the number was much greater), we have 29,121 for the aggregate of Lee's losses.

XXIX. AFTER THE BATTLE.

" Nothing can ever give an adequate picture of that field of battle during the night of Friday and the two following days. There is an exhilaration in the preparation for conflict, there is a spirited excitement during the storm of the heated ~~engagement~~ engagement - but who can bear the sight of blackened corpses, of the distorted faces of the dying, or of the pale, quiet sufferers who ~~do~~ lie for hours and sometimes days for their turn to lose an arm or a leg at the hands of the overtasked surgeon. "

" I saw, just before leaving the cemetery on the 5th of July a large plot of ground covered with wounded Confederates, some of whom had been struck on the first and some on the second day's battle, not yet attended to. The army surgeons, and the physicians who now flocked to their aid by every incoming train from the North, were doing their best; yet it took time and unremitting labor to go through the mass. The dirt and blood and pallor of this bruised mass of humanity affected me in a manner I can never forget, pleading pathetically for peace and good will toward men".

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Let us close the campaign and battle here. The Confederates were never before so near to a great success. Hereat Gettysburg was, under Divine Providence, the turning point of the Rebellion. Vicksburg with another of Grant's victories followed the next day, and so re-emphasized the Nation's birth-time. There was then a slow and steady progress all along the line of Armies with most bloody sacrifices, on, on, through Chattanooga, Atlanta, Nashville, Savannah, Bentonville, The Wilderness and Petersburg to Appamatox, and the last surrender. Our cause was won. We went to war to prevent a breakage of the great Vessel of State; to preserve the institutions which it held. In the struggle for possession and preservation we cleared the fore-castle and the cabin of much debris - State-sovereignty and human bondage went overboard.

We have preserved and established on good foundations our American ~~Constitutional~~ Constitutional Government; Our peculiar American family life; Our effective American schools; Our organized American charities; Our free American churches, and Our hopeful American balloting.

These are the institutions, which we veterans commit to our children and grand-children. Let no enemies from within or from without ever mar or deface them.

May the God who has hitherto led us and helped us, enable those who succeed to our places, ^{to} preserve and defend them, as they do the apple of the eye forever !!!!!

Fort Island N.Y.C.
May 22/94

Major Gen'l. W.S.A.

of his general line, so that Lee was able to strike it. And Gettys-
burg and not Taneytown or Pipe Clay Creek, been Meade's objective
point, his general line on the 30th of June would have been
nearly parallel to that of Lee. But kind Providence overruled this
mistake to our advantage, inducing as it did, undue confidence on
the part of Lee.

The circumstances of the retreat and our slow pursuit, the
stand of Lee at the river, our council of war, where Wadsworth,
Pleasanton, and Howard urged an immediate attack, and Meade's fail-
ure to attack, are familiar to all who were connected with the
Army.

For myself, I am content with the work accomplished at Gettys-
burg, and avoid aiming any bitter criticisms whatever at those
true-hearted officers and men, in any Corps or Division of our
Army, who there acted to the best of their ability.

Major General, U. S. Army,

Governor's Island, N. Y. City,
May 22nd 1864.

