

Don't Give an Inch

THE SECOND DAY AT GETTYSBURG, JULY 2, 1863— FROM LITTLE ROUND TOP TO CEMETERY RIDGE

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EMERGING CIVIL WAR SERIES



Footnotes

Prologue: The Old Gray Fox vs. The Old War Horse

“ . . . and I wish you get there if possible without being seen by the enemy.”¹

Treading carefully between the two men. . . .²

The attack pattern Lee laid out. . . .³

. . . or “just the opposite.”⁴

“the enemy is there, and I am going to attack him there.”⁵

¹ Lafayette McLaws, “Gettysburg,” *The Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 7, 64-90.

² *Ibid.*

³ Petruzzi, J. David and Steven A. Stanley. *The Gettysburg Campaign in Numbers and Losses: Synopses, Orders of Battle, Strengths, Casualties, and Maps, June 9-July 14, 1863*, 121; Busey, John W. and David G. Martin. *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg*, 178; Harman, Troy D. *Lee’s Real Plan at Gettysburg*, 41-47; Pfanz, Harry W. *Gettysburg: The Second Day*, 110-112.

⁴ McLaws, “Gettysburg,” 64-90.

⁵ James Longstreet, “Lee’s Right Wing at Gettysburg,” *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Vol. 3, 339.

“throw our army around their left. . . .”⁶
“get [in] a strong position and wait. . . .”⁷
“. . . I am going to whip them or they are going to whip me.”⁸
“If he is there to-morrow I will attack him. . .” and the subsequent conversation⁹

Chapter One: Before July 2

“The beautiful dawn of the second day of the battle. . . .”¹⁰
“Tell General Sedgwick,” wrote Meade to the VI Corps commander. . . .¹¹
“Then began one of the hardest marches we ever knew. . . .”¹²
As early as 5:00 p.m. on the afternoon of July 1. . . Robert E. Lee and James Longstreet began debating their next move.¹³
Through field glasses, Longstreet observed the formidable Union position from afar.¹⁴
The enemy occupied the commanding heights of the city cemetery. . . .¹⁵
“All that we have to do is file around his left flank. . . .”¹⁶
. . . what would become arguably the most controversial reconnaissance mission of the entire war.¹⁷
“the gallant, indefatigable Captain Lee.”¹⁸
Scott even went as far to proclaim that the government should insure Lee’s life for \$5,000,000 per year.¹⁹
“My general route was about the same that General Longstreet took. . . .”²⁰
The thirty-year-old Virginia native claimed that he had reached Little Round Top and had not seen any Yankees²¹
. . . one division of the XII Corps was camped on the north side of the hill until 5 a.m.²²
There was also a Federal signal station atop the hill.²³

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid, 340.

⁹ James Longstreet, “Lee in Pennsylvania,” *The Annals of the War Written by Leading Participants North and South*, (Philadelphia: The Times Publishing Company, 1879), 421; Longstreet, “Lee’s Right Wing at Gettysburg.”

¹⁰ Hyde, Thomas W. *Following the Greek Cross, or Memories of the Sixth Army Corps*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1895. Pg. 146.

¹¹ Hyde, *Following the Greek Cross*, 143.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Longstreet, “Lee’s Right Wing at Gettysburg,” 339.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox*, 363

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Johnston, Samuel Letter to Lafayette McLaws. June 27, 1892, in the *Southern Historical Papers*. Vol. 5. 183-184.

¹⁸ Thomas, *Robert E. Lee: A Biography*, 140.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Johnston, 183-184.

²¹ Krick, Robert E. L. *Staff Officers in Gray: A Biographical Register of the Staff Officers in the Army of Northern Virginia* 174.

²² Report of John White Geary in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. Washington: 1880-1901. Vol. 27, Pt. I, 825.

. . . totaling some 25,000 officers and men.²⁴
 . . . akin to going in “with one boot off.”²⁵
 Lee made his way to the Confederate left to finalize his plans.²⁶
 Second Corps commander Richard S. Ewell was nowhere to be found. . . .²⁷
 Trimble, not knowing of a good copula . . . took Lee north of town to the
 Almshouse.²⁸
 Ewell’s men would, the commanders decided, cooperate with Longstreet’s assault. . .
 .²⁹
 “. . . and partially enveloping the enemy’s left, which he was to drive in.”³⁰
 Hill would assist Longstreet as needed. . . .³¹
 Ewell, meanwhile, “was instructed to make a simultaneous demonstration. . . .”³²
 The small town of 2,400 inhabitants boasted six schools in all.³³
 Professor Samuel Simon Schmucker was the driving force behind its establishment
 and success.³⁴
 Some 18 Federal cannon also were posted on the Seminary grounds.³⁵
 173 wounded men packed the building by July 6.³⁶
 After the battle, “the buildings almost exclusively appropriated to the use of Federal
 officers.”³⁷
 . . . the entire Seminary grounds served between 600 and 700 patients.³⁸
 The only larger hospital was Camp Letterman. . . .³⁹
 Eventually, life returned to normal in Gettysburg. . . .⁴⁰
 . . . according to its website, “the larger issues of faith and freedom.”⁴¹

Chapter Two: Pitzer Woods

Wilcox was one of the best. . . .⁴²

²³ *OR 27*, Pt. I: 509, 513, 927, 928, 939; *OR 27*, Pt. III: 487, 488; Brown, J. Willard. *The Signal Corps, U. S. A. in the War of the Rebellion*. Boston: U. S. Veteran Signal Corps Association, 1896. 360-361.

²⁴ Petrucci and Stanley, 103, 106; Busey and Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg*, 127, 131.

²⁵ Hood, John Bell Letter to James Longstreet. June 28, 1875, in the Southern Historical Society Papers. Vol. 4. 145-150.

²⁶ James Longstreet article in the Southern Historical Society Papers. Vol. 5. 54-86.

²⁷ Lee and Ewell *OR*.

²⁸ Carrington Southern Historical Society Papers

²⁹ Marshall, Taylor, *OR*

³⁰ Lee *OR*

³¹ Lee *OR*

³² Lee *OR*

³³ Smith

³⁴ Dreese and Seminary Website

³⁵ Wainwright

³⁶ Coco

³⁷ Coco

³⁸ Coco and Dreese

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Dreese

⁴¹ Museum website

⁴² Waugh, *Class of 46*.

Sometime between 11 a.m. and noon, Sickles ordered Maj. Gen. David B. Birney to execute a reconnaissance.⁴³

Birney turned to. . . .⁴⁴

All of this “marching or halting” was “in the plain view of the enemy. . . .”⁴⁵

. . . “some 600 or 700 yards distant.”⁴⁶

The Sharpshooters took position. . . .⁴⁷

Combined, the two Alabama units put 622 men into the field. . . .⁴⁸

“I retired, giving an occasional volley to check his advance. . . .”⁴⁹

The 1st United States Sharpshooters reported a loss of 2 officers and 16 men, while the 3rd Maine lost a total of 48.⁵⁰

The Confederates reported their losses at 56 men.⁵¹

Pitzer’s Farm was purchased in 1950. . . .⁵²

“It is impossible for me to describe the slaughter we had made in their ranks. . . .”⁵³

The other, more pointed monument. . . .⁵⁴

Their first commander was a native of Leeds, Maine. . . .⁵⁵

Nicknamed “Old Billy Fixin” by his men. . . .⁵⁶

Chapter Three: Longstreet’s March

Longstreet, still stung. . . .⁵⁷

“Why, this won’t do,” Longstreet grumbled. . . .⁵⁸

“That suits me.”⁵⁹

As Kershaw recalled. . . .⁶⁰

The Confederates had a “report. . . .”⁶¹

Spying a low stone wall near the eastern crest of the ridge. . . .⁶²

As the brigade spread south along the ridge. . . .⁶³

McLaws recalled that he “rode forward. . . .”⁶⁴

. . . though his total actually came in at more than 7,000.⁶⁵

⁴³ Birney, *OR*

⁴⁴ Birney, *OR*; Treep, *OR*; Berdan, *OR*; Petruzzi and Stanley.

⁴⁵ Trepp, *OR*.

⁴⁶ Wilcox, *OR*; Busey and Martin.

⁴⁷ Berdan, *OR*.

⁴⁸ Wilcox, *OR*, Busey and Martin.

⁴⁹ Lakeman, *OR*.

⁵⁰ Berdan, *OR*.

⁵¹ Wilcox, *OR*.

⁵² Entire paragraph citation from the Historic report of Eisenhower farm produced by NPS.

⁵³ USSS.org

⁵⁴ Harrison, *The Location of the Monuments, Markers, and Tablets on the Gettysburg Battlefield*.

⁵⁵ Harrison, *Huntington Guide to Monuments*.

⁵⁶ Tagg; Mackowski and White.

⁵⁷ Petruzzi and Stanley, *The New Gettysburg Handbook*, 5.

⁵⁸ McLaws, Gettysburg, *Southern Historical Society Papers*.

⁵⁹ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 7, 64-90.

⁶⁰ *OR* 27. Pt. 2. 367.

⁶¹ McLaws Letter to wife dated July 2, 1863.

⁶² *OR* 27, Pt. 2, 367.

⁶³ *Ibid*.

⁶⁴ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 7. 64-90.

One veteran observing “Old Pete” thought. . . .⁶⁶
. . . “became hotly engaged & with superior force.”⁶⁷
“The firing was the most rapid I have ever witnessed. . . .”⁶⁸
“The fire from our lines and from the enemy became incessant. . . .”⁶⁹
. . . “straining at the leash.”⁷⁰
“We are all going in presently.”⁷¹
“His [the enemy] line extended thence upon the high ground. . . .”⁷²
Although Alexander was not the ranking artillery officer in Longstreet’s corps. . . .⁷³
Alexander claims. . . .⁷⁴ R
Alexander described the scene. . . .⁷⁵
“. . . Five of the 8 that night were dead or severely wounded.”⁷⁶
Longstreet described Edward Porter Alexander. . . .⁷⁷

Chapter Four: Hood Attacks

. . . he was as “ambitious as he was brave and daring”⁷⁸
“[W]e made quick work of the [Rebel] skirmishers . . .”⁷⁹
“The enemy’s shells screamed and bursted around us . . .”⁸⁰
Hood’s scouts returned “in a very short space of time . . .”⁸¹
“. . . were badly exposed to our attack in that direction.”⁸²
*I found that in making the attack according to orders . . .*⁸³
“Gen’l Lee’s orders are to attack up the Emmetsburg [sic] road . . .”⁸⁴
Riding to the center of its line, he ordered it forward.⁸⁵
“My brave Texans, forward and take those heights!”⁸⁶

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Dickert, *History of Kershaw’s Brigade*, 152.

⁶⁷ Alexander’s *Memoirs*, 237.

⁶⁸ Reese, Andrew to *Southern Banner*. August 8, 1863 (August 26, 1863 edition), Blake Collection, USAMHI.

⁶⁹ *OR* 27, Pt. 2, 375.

⁷⁰ Tucker, Phillip Thomas. *Barksdale’s Charge: The True High Tide of the Confederacy at Gettysburg, July 2, 1863*. 79.

⁷¹ Ibid., 87.

⁷² Lee, *OR*.

⁷³ Alexander letter in Southern Historical Society Papers, Alexander’s *Memoirs*, Walton’s letter in the Southern Historical Society Papers.

⁷⁴ Alexander, *Fighting for the Confederacy*, 238. Actual count using Busey and Martin, and Petruzzi and Stanley, and the ORs.

⁷⁵ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 4, 97-111.

⁷⁶ Alexander’s *Memoirs*, 240.

⁷⁷ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 5, 54-86.

⁷⁸ J. B. Polley, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 54.

⁷⁹ Hoisington, Daniel J. *Chanhassen: A Centennial History*. Roseville: Edinborough Press, 1996. 48.

⁸⁰ Decimus et Ultimus Barziza, *The Adventures of a Prisoner of War 1863-1864*, 44.

⁸¹ Hood Southern Historical Society Papers

⁸² Hood Letter Southern Historical Society Papers, Law’s Battles and Leaders Article.

⁸³ Hood Letter

⁸⁴ Hood Letter

⁸⁵ Polley, *Hood’s Texas Brigade*, 54.

⁸⁶ Chilton, F.B. Chilton. *Unveiling and Dedication of Monument to Hood’s Texas Brigade*. Houston: F.B. Chilton,

“. . . not at all chivalrous, exceedingly conceited, and totally selfish.”⁸⁷
Longstreet relieved McLaws “for lack of confidence in” the assault on Fort Sanders.⁸⁸
John Snyder purchased his 75-acre farm in 1849.⁸⁹
A sale ad in the *Gettysburg Compiler* . . .⁹⁰
“Mama, mama!” cried the boy . . .⁹¹

Chapter Five: The Assault Against Little Round Top

“The rebels are in force; and our skirmishers give way . . .”⁹²
Another, marked 1:30 p.m., read . . .⁹³
Meade “rode out to the extreme left . . .”⁹⁴
“. . . instead of being near the Round Top mountain, was in advance. . . .”⁹⁵
. . . Warren slipped away to Baltimore to marry his fiancée, Emily Welch.⁹⁶
Instead, the avenue of Law’s attack aimed them toward the Plum Run Valley . . .⁹⁷
Meanwhile, the Texans also lost contact with their support on their other flank . . .⁹⁸
Oates “knew it would not do to go on and leave that force. . . .”⁹⁹
Most were without anything to drink, though. . . .¹⁰⁰
Law sent word to Oates to keep pressing the attack, and to “turn the Union left.”¹⁰¹
Leaving behind one company to hold the top of the big hill. . . .¹⁰²
Vincent was “of medium stature, but well formed. . . .”¹⁰³
Vincent consented and ordered the 16th Michigan to take up the right flank.¹⁰⁴
“The ground occupied by the brigade. . . .”¹⁰⁵
“Scarcely had the troops been put in line. . . .”¹⁰⁶
“We advanced up the mountain under a galling fire. . . .”¹⁰⁷
“In an instant a sheet of smoke and flame burst from our whole line. . . .”¹⁰⁸

1911.

⁸⁷ McLaws to Wife July 7, 1863.

⁸⁸ *Generals in Gray*, 204.

⁸⁹ Smith, Timothy H. *Farms at Gettysburg: The Fields of Battle-Selected Images from the Adams County Historical Society*, 30.

⁹⁰ *Gettysburg Compiler*, September 18, 1863.

⁹¹ Hoisington, 46.

⁹² *OR* 27, Pt. 3. 488.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *OR* 27, Pt. 1, 116.

⁹⁵ Hyde, Bill. *The Union Generals Speak: The Meade Hearings on the Battle of Gettysburg*, 108.

⁹⁶ Jordan, David M. “Happiness is Not My Companion,”: *The Life of General G.K. Warren*, 82.

⁹⁷ Oates, William C. *The War Between the Union and the Confederacy and Its Lost Opportunities with a History of the 15th Alabama Regiment and the Forty-Eight Battles in Which it was Engaged*, 210.

⁹⁸ Simpson, Harold. *Hood’s Texas Brigade: Lee’s Grenadier Guard*. CITY: Texan Press, 1970. 59; *OR*. 27, PT 2. 404.

⁹⁹ Oates, 210-211.

¹⁰⁰ Oates, 212.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 211.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Norton, *The Attack and Defense of Little Round Top*, 284.

¹⁰⁴ *History of the 83rd Pennsylvania*, 67.

¹⁰⁵ *OR* 27. Pt. 1. 616.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *OR*. 27. Pt 2. 391.

¹⁰⁸ *History of 83rd PA*, 67.

. . . “firing with accuracy and deadly effect.”¹⁰⁹
 “. . . the enemy are coming against us with an overwhelming force.”¹¹⁰
 “The regiments were again ordered forward. . . .”¹¹¹
 “Confusion reigned supreme everywhere. . . .”¹¹²
 Private W. J. Barbee of Company L, 5th Texas. . . .¹¹³
 “From some misconstruction of orders. . . .”¹¹⁴
 “What death more glorious can any man desire. . . ?”¹¹⁵
 “. . . there is a gap that must be filled without delay, or the position is gone.”¹¹⁶
 “The wild cries of charging lines”¹¹⁷
 “Down this way, boys!” he yelled.¹¹⁸
 . . . 48 cannon to bear on the enemy.¹¹⁹
 “[T]he shot went whistling through the air. . . .”¹²⁰
 Historian Thomas A. Desjardin points out some of the flaws of Warren’s story.¹²¹
 Also detracting from Warren’s story. . . .¹²²

Chapter Six: The Defense of the 20th Maine

“On the right, by file into line. . . .”¹²³
 The ground was “sparsely covered with a growth of oak trees. . . .”¹²⁴
 “. . . “to prevent a surprise on my exposed flank and rear.”¹²⁵
 Still, the Alabamians hit them. . . .¹²⁶
 “I saw no enemy until within forty or fifty steps. . . .”¹²⁷
 “. . . “mowed down like grain before the scythe.”¹²⁸
 Their colonel “fell severely wounded. . . .”¹²⁹
 Chamberlain, mounting a large rock. . . .¹³⁰

¹⁰⁹ *OR*. 27. Pt 2. 413.

¹¹⁰ History of 83rd PA, 67.

¹¹¹ *OR*. 27. Pt 2. 413.

¹¹² Polley, 173.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 410.

¹¹⁴ *OR*. 27, Pt I. 628.

¹¹⁵ Norton, 285.

¹¹⁶ Statement of Joseph M. Leeper, 140th NY; in *The Bachelder Papers*, Vol. 2, 896. Edited by David L. and Audrey J. Ladd.

¹¹⁷ Farley, Porter., “Reminiscences of Porter Farley, 140th New York Infantry.” in the *Rochester Historical Society*. Vol. 22. 222.

¹¹⁸ Pfanz, *Gettysburg: The Second Day*, 229.

¹¹⁹ Petrucci and Stanley, 124; Busey and Martin, 172-175.

¹²⁰ Warren to Porter Farley July 13, 1872, in *The Attack and Defense of Little Round Top*, 309.

¹²¹ Desjardin, Thomas A. *These Honored Dead: How the Story of Gettysburg Shaped American Memory*, 34-37.

¹²² *Battles and Leaders*. Vol 3. 309-310; *OR* 27. Pt I. 234-235.

¹²³ Theodore Gerrish, *Portland Advertiser*, March 13, 1882.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *OR* 27. Pt 1. Chamberlain *OR*.

¹²⁶ Chamberlain *OR*.

¹²⁷ Oates in the *Southern Historical Society Papers*.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Chamberlain *OR*.

He “called the captains [together]. . . .”¹³¹
 This, in turn, forced Oates to stretch thin his men, too.¹³²
 As the Southerners pushed up the hill again. . . .¹³³
 “. . . my line wavered like a man trying to walk against a strong wind.”¹³⁴
 The Alabamians “burst upon [Chamberlain’s] left. . . .”¹³⁵
*We opened a brisk fire at close range. . . .*¹³⁶
 Passing, “through the column waiving my sword. . . .”¹³⁷
 “Squads of the enemy broke through our line. . . .”¹³⁸
 “. . . ‘fight rolled backward and forward like a wave.’”¹³⁹
 It was, said a Mainer. . . .¹⁴⁰
 “. . . ‘while the hemorrhage of the ranks was appalling.’”¹⁴¹
 “With a withering and deadly fire pouring in upon us from every direction. . . .”¹⁴²
 “One-half of my left wing had fallen. . . .”¹⁴³
 “With a cheer and a flash of his sword that sent inspiration along the line. . . .”¹⁴⁴
 “Come on! Come on! Come on, Boys!”¹⁴⁵
 “. . . ‘plunged down the hill into the enemy.’”¹⁴⁶
 Their line “broke and fell back.”¹⁴⁷
 Oates, trying later to cover, claimed. . . .¹⁴⁸
 Chamberlain made later claims of his own. . . .¹⁴⁹
 Oates put his total losses. . . .¹⁵⁰
 “. . . ‘small baled headed man . . . [both] pleasant and courteous.’”¹⁵¹

Chapter Seven: Devil’s Den

Unable to secure his line safely on Little Round Top. . . .¹⁵²
 “After marching in line of battle at a brisk gait. . . .”¹⁵³

¹³¹ Chamberlain, *Through Blood & Fire at Gettysburg: Joshua L. Chamberlain and the 20th Maine—My Experiences with the 20th Maine Regiment on Little Round Top*, 15.

¹³² Chamberlain OR.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Oates in the Southern Historical Society Papers.

¹³⁵ Chamberlain OR.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Oates SHSP

¹³⁸ Chamberlain OR.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Theodore Gerrish, in the *Portland Advertiser*, March 13, 1882.

¹⁴¹ Oates Southern Historical Society Papers.

¹⁴² Oates SHSP

¹⁴³ Chamberlain OR.

¹⁴⁴ Theodore Gerrish, in the *Portland Advertiser*, March 13, 1882.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ellis Spear, in the *National Tribune*, June 12, 1913.

¹⁴⁷ Chamberlain OR.

¹⁴⁸ Oates SHSP.

¹⁴⁹ Chamberlain OR.

¹⁵⁰ Oates Letter to John Bachelder dated March 29, 1876.

¹⁵¹ Desjardin, Thomas A. *Stand Firm Ye Boys from Maine: The 20th Maine and the Gettysburg Campaign—A Gripping Account of the Battle for Little Round Top*, 40-41; Krick, *Lee’s Colonels*, 76.

¹⁵² OR. Vol. 27. Pt. 1. 483.

The initial volley “checked the enemy’s advance.”¹⁵⁴
. . .“his brave heart . . . pierced by a rebel bullet. . . .”¹⁵⁵
Another story related by local Emmanuel Bushman in 1875 claims. . . .¹⁵⁶
Historians Garry Adelman and Timothy Smith, in their exhaustive study¹⁵⁷

Chapter Eight: The Wheatfield

“[T]wo of my regiments. . .” de Trobriand wrote. . . .¹⁵⁸
His veterans “sheltered themselves behind rocks and trunks of trees. . . .”¹⁵⁹
“Our boys . . . seized the opportunity to catch a ‘cat nap. . . .”¹⁶⁰
“The stone wall was . . . just a common old-fashioned, thirty-inch stone fence. . . .”¹⁶¹
“The Confederate’s appeared to have the devil in them. . . .”¹⁶²
“The musketry fire reverberating in the woods. . . .”¹⁶³
“. . . and we could see them tumbling around right lively.”¹⁶⁴
“. . . Rebel mementos in various parts of their anatomies.”¹⁶⁵
“The line was on the edge of a thick wood. . . .”¹⁶⁶
There he hoped to “attack the orchard on its left rear.”¹⁶⁷
“I don’t want to retire; I am not ready to retire. . . .”¹⁶⁸
“Wait a moment, you will soon see them tumbling back.”¹⁶⁹
Hancock ordered Brig. Gen. John Caldwell to “get your division ready.”¹⁷⁰
“. . . while the men knelt pronounced absolution.”¹⁷¹
“Cross, this is the last fight you’ll fight without a star. . . .”¹⁷²
“[T]he moment that Cross’ line appeared above the crest of the hill. . . .”¹⁷³
“Of course our men began to tumble.”¹⁷⁴
“A blind man could not have missed his mark. . . .”¹⁷⁵

¹⁵³ OR. Vol. 27. Pt. 2. 407.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 493.

¹⁵⁵ Weygent

¹⁵⁶ SOURCE?

¹⁵⁷ SOURCE?

¹⁵⁸ De Trobriand Memoirs, 495.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 497.

¹⁶⁰ Verrill, George W. (17th ME.) “The Seventeenth Maine at Gettysburg and in the Wilderness,” in *The Gettysburg Papers*, 568.

¹⁶¹ Capt. George W. Verrill (17th ME.) “The Seventeenth Maine at Gettysburg and in the Wilderness”, in *The Gettysburg Papers*, 569.

¹⁶² DeTrobriand Memoirs, 497.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 570-571.

¹⁶⁴ John Haley, 101.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 103.

¹⁶⁶ OR 601.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ OR 611.

¹⁶⁹ Lt. Col. John P. Nicholson, Pennsylvania at Gettysburg (Harrisburg, PA, 1904), vol. 1, 622-623.

¹⁷⁰ Pfanz, Gettysburg: The Second Day, 268.

¹⁷¹ “St. Louisans Among Gettysburg Heroes, St. Louis *Globe Democrat*, March 9, 1913.

¹⁷² Gambone, Zook book, 11.

¹⁷³ Gottfried, *Maps of Gettysburg*, 170.

¹⁷⁴ Fuller, Charles A. *Personal Recollections of the War of 1861-1865*. Sherburne: New Job Printing House. 1906. 94-95.

¹⁷⁵ Kershaw to Bachelder 471.

“General Sickles’s order, general. . . .”¹⁷⁶
 An astonished observer noted that “Barnes ordered his men to lie down. . . .”¹⁷⁷
 “. . . and not disgrace the flag you bear or the name of Pennsylvanians.”¹⁷⁸
 “. . . ‘ground [that] was rocky, [and] strewn with immense boulders, and sparsely covered with timber.’”¹⁷⁹
 “. . . ‘thick . . . battle-smoke’ created an artificial ‘dark.’”¹⁸⁰
 “. . . ‘a withering fire from the concealed enemy, which staggered them for a moment.’”¹⁸¹
 “. . . a ‘glance[ing] shot from a boulder’ hit Zook himself in the chest.¹⁸²
 “‘It is all up with me . . .’ the mortally wounded general told an aide.¹⁸³ “
 There goes poor Zook,” one lamented.¹⁸⁴
 “‘In our front . . . there was an almost continuous blaze of light. . . .’”¹⁸⁵
 “‘Fire low. Remember you are Pennsylvanians.’”¹⁸⁶
 “‘I have not seen Zook nor one of his riders,’ he remarked. ‘I have no orders.’”¹⁸⁷
 “‘The fight now waged fast and furious. . . .’”¹⁸⁸
 “‘[E]specially up the little ravine, the [Union] fire was concentrated. . . .’”¹⁸⁹
 “. . . ‘as true a knight as ever drew a blade. . . .’”¹⁹⁰
 “‘We moved across a creek into a piece of woods. . . .’”¹⁹¹
 “. . . then, rising up, delivered their fire.”¹⁹²
 “‘With the precision of a dress parade, that magnificent line of Federals lowered their pieces and the volley came,’ wrote one admiring Confederate.¹⁹³
 “‘There goes the Second Brigade. . . .’”¹⁹⁴
 The Regulars “‘moved off field in admirable style. . . .’”¹⁹⁵
 “‘For two years the U.S. Regulars taught us how to be soldiers. . . .’”¹⁹⁶
 Generals, colonels, aides and orderlies galloped about through the smoke.¹⁹⁷
 “. . . for he had the appearance of a man born to command.”¹⁹⁸

¹⁷⁶ Gambone, 10.

¹⁷⁷ Meade, *Life and Letter* Vol. 2, 327-328.

¹⁷⁸ Purman to Bachelde, 417.

¹⁷⁹ Favil, 245.

¹⁸⁰ Acheson, 105.

¹⁸¹ Campbell, *Caldwell Clears the Wheatfield*, 39.

¹⁸² Letter to General Mullholland, April 18, 1898, GNMP.

¹⁸³ Favill, *Diary of a Young Officer*, 246.

¹⁸⁴ Pfanz, 277.

¹⁸⁵ *History of 140th PA*, 105.0

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Shallenberger to Emma Roberts. FRSP BV 421.

¹⁸⁸ Dickert, 154.

¹⁸⁹ Acheson, 107.

¹⁹⁰ *Writing & Fighting for the Confederacy*, 163.

¹⁹¹ Jorgensen, *The Wheatfield Book*, 29.

¹⁹² Jorgensen, *The Wheatfield Book*, 29.

¹⁹³ Gottfried, 178.

¹⁹⁴ Pfanz, 293.

¹⁹⁵ Gottfried, 180.

¹⁹⁶ Gottfried, 180; Jorgensen, 119-124.

¹⁹⁷ Carter, *Four Brothers in Blue*, 311.

¹⁹⁸ Tagg, *Generals of Gettysburg*, 33.

Wounded again in the leg, he used his scabbard to try to get off the field. . . .¹⁹⁹
... “if any man runs, I want the file closers to shoot him. If they don’t, I shall myself.”²⁰⁰
“If I fall never mind me.”²⁰¹
“[I]t is amusing to hear them go for each other. . . .”²⁰²
“It was the greatest cursing match I ever listened to. . . .”²⁰³
“. . . more courage in his followers or more terror to his enemies.”²⁰⁴

Chapter Nine: The Peach Orchard

. . . “but the enemy will not let you get away without a fight.”²⁰⁵
... “any ground within those limits you choose to occupy, I leave to you.”²⁰⁶
... “& move up to the commanding ground.”²⁰⁷
Sickles entered the Chancellorsville campaign with 18,721 officers and men, making it the second-largest corps in the army.²⁰⁸
... on the way to Gettysburg, the corps had been weakened to 10,674 men, making it the third-weakest in Meade’s army.²⁰⁹
“I will report to General Meade for his instructions.”²¹⁰
... “met with the approval of his [Hunt’s] . . . judgment. . . .”²¹¹
“Soon the long lines of the Third Corps are seen advancing. . . .”²¹²
“The Peach Orchard,” wrote Capt. John Bigelow. . . .²¹³
“The weak point in this line was the salient at the Peach Orchard. . . .”²¹⁴
... “and the earth literally vibrated under the continuous roar.”²¹⁵
“I don’t think there was ever in our war a hotter, harder, sharper artillery afternoon than this. . . .”²¹⁶
... “working like beavers and covered with dust and smoke. . . .”²¹⁷
“[T]his artillery was no ordinary kind. . . .”²¹⁸
“Now every gun upon that great outer circle seemed to concentrate. . . .”²¹⁹

¹⁹⁹ O’Reilly, 317-318.

²⁰⁰ Tagg, *Generals of Gettysburg*, 38.

²⁰¹ O’Reilly, 317.

²⁰² Favill, *Diary*, 223.

²⁰³ *The Generals of Gettysburg*, 42.

²⁰⁴ McBride, Andrew Jackson. *Memoir in the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park bound manuscript collection*. Vol. 126.

²⁰⁵ Pfanz, 142-144.

²⁰⁶ Sickles Testimony JCOCW, 298.

²⁰⁷ Sauers, *The Meade Sickles Controversy*, 157.

²⁰⁸ Mackowski and White, *Chancellorsville’s Forgotten Front*, 359.

²⁰⁹ Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses*, 16-17.

²¹⁰ Hunt, *Battles and Leaders*, 301-302.

²¹¹ Sickles Testimony, JCOCW, 298.

²¹² *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, Vol. 2, 622.

²¹³ Bigelow, John. *The Peach Orchard*. Minneapolis: Kimball-Storer Co., 1910. 5-6.

²¹⁴ Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, 283.

²¹⁵ Letter of Andrew W. Reese, August 8, 1863, Troup Artillery File, *GNMP*

²¹⁶ Alexander, *Fighting for the Confederacy*, p. 239

²¹⁷ Letter of Andrew W. Reese, August 8, 1863, Troup Artillery File, *GNMP*

²¹⁸ McAllister Memoir, 332-333.

²¹⁹ Haynes, *History of the Second*, 174-175.

“[A] shell struck and burst on [his] cartridge box. . . .”²²⁰
 I immediately trained the entire line of our guns upon them. . . .²²¹
 He admired his men “moving majestically across the fields. . . .”²²²
 McGilvery’s men soon had something to say about that of their own. . . .²²³
 As one South Carolinian remembered. . . .²²⁴
 . . . “many of the men seemed to think that now was the time to go into Richmond.”²²⁵
 . . . “until they disappeared in the woods on our left, apparently a mob.”²²⁶
 “The line before you must be broken. . . .”²²⁷
 With that, said one Mississippian. . . .²²⁸
 Barksdale “waving, his hat, led the line forward. . . .”²²⁹
 “[Y]elling at the top of their voices, without firing a shot. . . .”²³⁰
 “[T]he fire from the enemy . . . [was] very severe. . . .”²³¹
 The 114th Pennsylvania—Collis’s Zouaves—attempted to counterattack. . . .²³²
 “[G]allantly our men swept the enemy before them. . . .”²³³
 . . . “Where are my men?”²³⁴
 One Alabamian, witnessing the whole thing, thought. . . .²³⁵
 [A]ll six [batteries] charged in line across the plain. . . .²³⁶
 “There is the peach orchard where Sickles went down and got licked. . . .”²³⁷
 “No wonder we are thrashed upon every field. . . .”²³⁸
 “Thus ended the battle of the Peach orchard. . . .”²³⁹
 The other orchard was located directly across the Wheatfield road. . . .²⁴⁰
 . . . a “long-term project to bring back missing features on the Gettysburg battlefield
 that affected the fighting.”²⁴¹
 The trees should be fully matured in 2018.²⁴²

²²⁰ Haynes, 171

²²¹ *OR*, 27(1):881-882.

²²² Battles and Leaders, 335.

²²³ Battles and Leaders, 335.

²²⁴ Alex McNeill letter to his wife, July 7, 183, transcription in 2nd South Carolina folder, Box 8, Blake Collection

²²⁵ Haynes, *History of the Second*, 175-177; *OR*, 1, 27(1):504-505, 507; Bailey to Bachelder, March 29, 1882 in Ladd, eds., *BP*, 2, 846; William Loring, “Fighting Them Over,” *The National Tribune*, July 5, 1894; *Maine at Gettysburg, Report of Maine Commissioners*. Portland: Lakeside Press, 1898. 126-134; *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, 2, 685-686.

²²⁶ Bigelow, *Peach Orchard*, 54.

²²⁷ McNeily, *Barksdale’s Brigade*, 237-238.

²²⁸ Biographical Sketch of William Barksdale, 29-30, Claiborne Papers SHC.

²²⁹ Tucker, *Barksdale’s Charge: The True High Tide of the Confederacy at Gettysburg*, 93.

²³⁰ Gottfried, 186.

²³¹ *OR* 500.

²³² *OR* 503.

²³³ McLaws to Wife July 7, 1863.

²³⁴ Gottfried, 190.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 96

²³⁶ Alexander, “Artillery Fighting”, p. 360.

²³⁷ *Generals in Bronze*, 99.

²³⁸ *London Times*, August 18, 1863.

²³⁹ McLaws to Wife July 7, 1863.

²⁴⁰ Campbell, 2.

²⁴¹ <https://npsgnmp.wordpress.com/2012/09/20/gettysburgs-orchards/>

. . . “a one story wood farm house and two or three small outbuildings.”²⁴³
 During the night of the third day, Henry was anxious to know. . . .²⁴⁴
 . . . “blemished character.”²⁴⁵
 . . . “left alone as if he had the smallpox.”²⁴⁶
 . . . according to biographer James A. Hessler.²⁴⁷
 Dan Sickles “had a very bumptious air. . . .”²⁴⁸
 Henry Hunt, the leading authority on the use of artillery. . . .²⁴⁹
 . . . “are you aware that every round you fire costs \$2.67?”²⁵⁰
 The peach orchard was owned by. . . .²⁵¹
 “Many histories have been written,” wrote Capt. John Bigelow. . . .²⁵²

Chapter Nine: The Wounding of Sickles

The III Corps commander was “surrounded by a large staff. . . .”²⁵³
 . . . “high shots coming over the crest on both sides and centering there.”²⁵⁴
 “I never knew I was hit. . . .”²⁵⁵
 “General, are you hurt?”²⁵⁶
 “Tell General Birney he must take command,” Sickles replied.²⁵⁷
 Staffers bandaged Sickles’s leg with handkerchiefs. . . .²⁵⁸
 Fearing capture, they placed him on a litter and evacuated him from the field.²⁵⁹
 “Crowd them—we have them on the run.”²⁶⁰
 The charge “was a glorious sight. . . .”²⁶¹
 Colonel Thomas Griffin noted. . . .²⁶²
 Desperate Federal regiments tried to resist. . . .²⁶³
 “[W]e stood in a shower of bullets. . . .”²⁶⁴

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Haynes, Martin A., *A History of the Second Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry*. Lakeport, New Hampshire: n. p., 1896. 170-171

²⁴⁴ Smith, *The Farms of Gettysburg*, 27.

²⁴⁵ Charles Francis Adams

²⁴⁶ Chestnut Diary.

²⁴⁷ Hessler, *Sickles at Gettysburg*, 5.

²⁴⁸ *Generals in Bronze*, 98. Kelly also noted that Sickles was wearing striped pajama pants when he met him. The stripes ran vertical, though Kelly felt that they should have run cross-wise, indicating he was a criminal.

²⁴⁹ *Generals in Blue*, 242-243.

²⁵⁰ Tagg, *The Generals of Gettysburg*, 187.

²⁵¹ Hessler, *Sickles at Gettysburg*, 102; Georg, Kathleen R., “The Sherfy Farm and the Battle of Gettysburg,” unpublished study (Gettysburg National Military Park, 1977), 2-3

²⁵² Bigelow, *The Peach Orchard*, 5-6, 32.

²⁵³ Favill, 245

²⁵⁴ Bachelder papers, 1, 239-240.

²⁵⁵ Hessler, *Sickles at Gettysburg*, 204.

²⁵⁶ Tremain, *Two Days of War*, 88-90.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.; Swanberg, *Sickles the Incredible*, 217.

²⁵⁸ Hessler, 205-206.; Swanberg, *Sickles The Incredible*, 217-219.

²⁵⁹ Randolph, in the Bachelder Papers Vol 1, 240.

²⁶⁰ Winschel, “Their Supreme Moment,” *Gettysburg Magazine*, 1, 74.

²⁶¹ Barksdale, 103.

²⁶² Barksdale, 118.

²⁶³ Bachelder, 772.

Cadmus Wilcox's Alabama brigade continued Longstreet's "echelon" attack. . . .²⁶⁵
 Their colonel went down, then their major. . . .²⁶⁶
 Decimated by casualties and pressed on two fronts. . . .²⁶⁷
 "[You] are alone on the field, without support of any kind!"²⁶⁸
 The battery fired canister at "the most determined skirmishers". . . .²⁶⁹
 "Captain Bigelow," the lieutenant colonel said. . . .²⁷⁰
 . . . "very much cramped for room."²⁷¹
 . . . "laid beside the pieces."²⁷²
 Bigelow also ordered. . . .²⁷³
 "The enemy opened a fearful musketry fire, men and horses were falling like hail. . . ."²⁷⁴
 Despite their "insane, reckless efforts". . . .²⁷⁵
 Reserving his fire a little, then with depressed guns opening. . . .²⁷⁶
 The 9th Massachusetts Battery lost three of its four officers. . . .²⁷⁷
 Esteemed Sickles historian James Hessler astutely points out. . . .²⁷⁸
 Sickles detractor Brig. Gen. Alexander Webb claimed. . . .²⁷⁹
 . . . "the reporters like his whiskey and cigars and they all stick to him."²⁸⁰
 "If Sickles had not lost his leg, he would have lost his head."²⁸¹
 . . . Abraham was in a lunatic asylum for an alleged fistfight.²⁸²
 Historian Gordon Rhea aptly describes Andrew Humphreys. . . .²⁸³
 "Well, Bigelow, you see I need your assistance. . . ."²⁸⁴
 Capt. Isaac D. Stamps of the 21st Mississippi. . . .²⁸⁵

Chapter Ten: The Fight for Cemetery Ridge

"Here are your chickens, Sir."²⁸⁶

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ *OR*, 608.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Blue and Gray, 50.

²⁶⁸ Sears, *Gettysburg*, 308.

²⁶⁹ Bachelder, 173.

²⁷⁰ Baker, p. 60.

²⁷¹ Bachelder, 173.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Bachelder, 174.

²⁷⁵ Bachelder, 174.

²⁷⁶ Gottfried.

²⁷⁷ Hawthorne, 72.

²⁷⁸ Hessler, 209-211.

²⁷⁹ Webb to Kelly October 7, 1904, *Generals in Bronze*, 152-153.

²⁸⁰ Webb Interview February 28, 1905, *Generals in Bronze*, 161.

²⁸¹ *Generals in Bronze*, 98.

²⁸² Coco, *A Strange and Blighted Land*, 363-364; Coco, *A Vast Sea of Misery*, 60; "Battle Claim Files,"

GNMP Library.

²⁸³ Rhea, *The Battle of the Wilderness*, 52.

²⁸⁴ Levi W. Baker, *History of the Ninth Mass. Battery*, (1888), 45.

²⁸⁵ Barksdale, 122.

²⁸⁶ Pfanz, 372.

The 15th Massachusetts and the 82nd New York. . . .²⁸⁷
 The commanders of both Federal regiments fell mortally wounded. . . .²⁸⁸
 riding down the line encouraging his me. . . .²⁸⁹
 “Knock the Hell out of the Rebs,” he told them.²⁹⁰
 “General Barksdale was trying to hold his men. . . .”²⁹¹
 An officer in the 111th New York described. . . .²⁹²
 “The history of this brigade’s operations is written in blood. . . .”²⁹³
 Barksdale’s brigade had thus far. . . .²⁹⁴
 “[C]an nothing stop these desperate Mississippians?”²⁹⁵
 The answer came moments later: *Death*.²⁹⁶
 “Gen. Barksdale was wounded, and he reeled but did not halt. . . .”²⁹⁷
 “The haughty and supercilious Barksdale. . . .”²⁹⁸
 The woefully undersized Florida Brigade. . . .²⁹⁹
 . . . “until hell freezes over.”³⁰⁰
 “First Minnesota,” the men responded.³⁰¹
 “Take them!” Hancock ordered.³⁰²
 “Every man realized in an instant what the order meant. . . .”³⁰³
 “The fire we encountered here was terrible. . . .”³⁰⁴
 . . . he could not “speak too highly of this regiment and its commander in its
 attack.”³⁰⁵
 . . . “the best clothed soldiers that we had ever come across on their side”³⁰⁶
 “The enemy, made but a short stand. . . .”³⁰⁷
 “As the artillery fire cut down their men. . . .”³⁰⁸
 A portion of the 3rd and all of the 22nd Georgia swarmed in. . . .³⁰⁹
 “My men . . . leaping over the fence, charged up to the top of the crest. . . .”³¹⁰

²⁸⁷ *OR*, 419.

²⁸⁸ *OR*, 423.

²⁸⁹ James Kelly on Joe Carr Interview, *Generals in Bronze*, 95.

²⁹⁰ Barksdale, 216.

²⁹¹ Barksdale, 220.

²⁹² Barksdale, 218.

²⁹³ Pfanz, 407.

²⁹⁴ Barksdale, 227, 218.

²⁹⁵ Barksdale, 227.

²⁹⁶ Biographical Sketch of William Barksdale, Claiborne Papers, SHS, 31.

²⁹⁷ Barksdale, 227.

²⁹⁸ History of the 33rd NY.

²⁹⁹ Blue and Gray, 22.

³⁰⁰ Pfanz, 375.

³⁰¹ Moe, *The Last Full Measure: The Life and Death of the First Minnesota*, 268.

³⁰² Jordan, *Winfield Scott Hancock: A Soldier’s Life*, 93.

³⁰³ Moe, *The Last Full Measure: The Life and Death of the First Minnesota*, 268.

³⁰⁴ *OR* 425.

³⁰⁵ Pfanz, 414.

³⁰⁶ Gottfried, *Brigades of Gettysburg*, 594.

³⁰⁷ *OR*, 629.

³⁰⁸ Gottfried, *Maps*, 206.

³⁰⁹ Rollins, 126-127.

³¹⁰ *OR*, 623.

Snead agreed, and the Federals bagged nearly 200 officers and men.³¹¹
 “Well, Alexander, it is mostly a question of supports. . . .”³¹²
 “. . . Barksdale was probably under the impression that the entire corps was up.”³¹³
 After Barksdale’s men left him on the field. . . .³¹⁴
 The new captive “was very abusive to the men who carried him.”³¹⁵
 “He was shot through the left breast. . . .”³¹⁶
 “I found him just after dark . . .”³¹⁷
 The Magnolia State general died on July 3. . . .³¹⁸
 In January of 1867, his body was exhumed. . . .³¹⁹
 Three months later, he was hanged with three other felons. . . .³²⁰
 It was constructed at a cost of \$16,000 and dedicated on July 2, 1897.³²¹
 Visitors can take a staircase inside the northwest column of the monument to an observation deck around the dome.³²²
 The farm sustained \$234 in damage. . . .³²³
 The Pennsylvania Monument was dedicated. . . .³²⁴
 “. . . as do also his aides who now ride closer to him, bracing themselves to meet the crisis.”³²⁵

Conclusion

At one point, “a shell . . . struck a pile of rails. . . .”³²⁶
 General Longstreet is to blame for not reconnoitering the ground. . . .³²⁷
 McLaws blamed Lee, too.³²⁸
 Wilcox later said he was “quite certain. . . .”³²⁹
 “. . . ‘the best three hours’ fighting ever done by any troops on any battlefield.”³³⁰
 His losses were exceedingly high, though.³³¹
 “The loss in my division was near twenty four hundred. . . .”³³²
 “It was such acts of sagacity and nobleness that won Gettysburg. . . .”³³³

³¹¹ Pfanz, 420.

³¹² Alexander, 255.

³¹³ Wert, *Longstreet*, 277.

³¹⁴ Coco, *A Vast Sea of Misery*, 64-65; Smith, *The Farms of Gettysburg*, 36.

³¹⁵ Bachelder, 1976.

³¹⁶ Barksdale, 247.

³¹⁷ Barksdale, 248.

³¹⁸ Bachelder, 1977.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 249-252.

³²⁰ Blue and Gray 65.

³²¹ Hawthorne, 81; Desjardin, 155.

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ Coco, *A Strange and Blighted Land*, 364.

³²⁴ Pennsylvania at Gettysburg, Vol. 2, 37-59.

³²⁵ Pfanz, 421.

³²⁶ Bachelder, 775.

³²⁷ McLaws to his Wife, McLaws Letters.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

³²⁹ Patterson, *From Blue to Gray: The Life of Confederate General Cadmus M. Wilcox*, 63.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

³³¹ Busey and Martin, *Passim*.

³³² McLaws Letter to Wife July 7, 1863.

“We felt at every step a heavy stroke of fresh troops. . . .”³³⁴
The stalwart Federal defenses came with high price tags.³³⁵
Unable to watch the progress of Longstreet’s assault. . . .³³⁶
“Things are going splendidly!”³³⁷

Appendix B: The Hero of Little Round Top? by Ryan T. Quint

“But oh, what radiant companionship rose around. . . .”³³⁸
“The word painting is extraordinary. . . .”³³⁹
In Chamberlain’s writing, he and he alone orchestrated the 20th Maine’s attack down the hill.³⁴⁰
. . . “you must permit me to add the remark that I commanded my regiment that day.”³⁴¹
. . . “notoriously of inability to tell the truth always.”³⁴²
In a *National Tribune* article, Spear made it clear. . . .³⁴³
In another letter to Oliver Norton, Spear accusingly wrote. . . .³⁴⁴
Before giving any credit to Chamberlain, Spear instead turned. . . .³⁴⁵
In his official report, Chamberlain recounted. . . .³⁴⁶
. . . “deserves as much as any other man the honor of the victory on [Little] Round Top.”³⁴⁷
Shaara’s portrayal of Chamberlain was, in the words of historian Thomas A. Desjardin. . . .³⁴⁸
Even Holman Melcher is present. . . .³⁴⁹
. . . “around upon a moving pivot, like a great gate upon a post.”³⁵⁰

³³³ Gambone, Zook book, 11.

³³⁴ Wert, Longstreet Bio, 277.

³³⁵ Busey and Martin, Passim.

³³⁶ Pfanz, *Ewell*, 316.

³³⁷ Pfanz, *Ewell*, 316.

³³⁸ Chamberlain, Joshua L. “Through Blood and Fire at Gettysburg.” *Hearst’s International Magazine*. Vol. 23, 1913, 909.

³³⁹ Spear, Ellis. “My Story of Fredericksburg and Comments Thereon.” Unpublished Manuscript held in park archives of the Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park (FRSP), Bound Vol. 69.

³⁴⁰ U.S. War Department. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 Vols. (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), Series 1, Vol. 27, pt. 1, 624. (Hereafter cited as *OR*); *Dedication of Twentieth Maine Monuments at Gettysburg: Oct. 3, 1889*. Waldoboro: New Steam Job Print, 1891.

³⁴¹ *Dedication of Twentieth Maine Monuments at Gettysburg*.

³⁴² Ellis Spear to Oliver W. Norton, Jan. 18, 1916, cited in *With a Flash of His Sword: The Writings of Major Holman S. Melcher 20th Maine Infantry*, edited by William B. Styple, (Kearny: Belle Grove Publishing Co., 1994), 297.

³⁴³ Ellis Spear, “The Left at Gettysburg,” *National Tribune*, June 12, 1913.

³⁴⁴ Ellis Spear to Oliver W. Norton, Jan. 18, 1916, cited in Style, ed., 298.

³⁴⁵ Spear, “The Left at Gettysburg.”

³⁴⁶ *OR*, 624.

³⁴⁷ Theodore Gerrish, *Army Life: A Private’s Reminiscences of the Civil War* (Portland: Hoyt, Fogg & Dunham, 1882), 110.

³⁴⁸ Thomas A. Desjardin, *These Honored Dead: How the Story of Gettysburg Shaped American Memory* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1993), 144.

³⁴⁹ Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels* (New York: Random House, 1974), 239, 240.

Spear wrote in 1913 that he saw. . . .³⁵¹
. . . Spear's bias comes out as sometimes he even contradicted himself just to make Chamberlain look incorrect.³⁵²

Appendix C: Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter by James Brookes

. . . converted them into portable darkrooms by making them lightproof.³⁵³
. . . “free from contamination which might affect the picture.”³⁵⁴
. . . were much favoured by the popular press.³⁵⁵
The sharpshooter had evidently been wounded in the head. . . .³⁵⁶
. . . the “vital ingredient for a perfect view was missing. There were no dead bodies.”³⁵⁷
. . . against the wall to complete the scene.³⁵⁸
. . . even though they added props such as shells and rifles.³⁵⁹
. . . in the original catalogue issued only two months following the battle.³⁶⁰
. . . O’Sullivan was very much present with the Army of the Potomac.³⁶¹
. . . the wild pigs that roamed the battlefield during and after the battle.³⁶²
. . . and others as perversions of the story told in his *Sketch Book*.³⁶³
“ . . . and the skeleton of the soldier lay undisturbed within the mouldering uniform.”³⁶⁴
. . . it was probably the photographer himself who carried it off the field.³⁶⁵
. . . twenty sharpshooters were killed by concussion from artillery shells resounding off the rocks.³⁶⁶
. . . in what Frederick Law Olmsted titled the “republic of suffering.”³⁶⁷

³⁵⁰ *The Civil War*, “The Universe of Battle.” Directed by Ken Burns, 1990.; Amos M. Judson, *History of the Eighty-Third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers* (Erie: B.F.H. Lynn, n.d.), 68.

³⁵¹ Spear, “The Left at Gettysburg.”

³⁵² Ellis Spear to Oliver W. Norton, Jan. 18, 1916, cited in Style, ed., 297.; Spear, “My Story of Fredericksburg and Comments Thereon” (FRSP).

³⁵³ James D. Horan, *Mathew Brady: Historian with a Camera* (New York, NY: Bonanza, 1955), p. 41

³⁵⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵⁵ D. Mark Katz, *Witness to an Era: The Life and Photographs of Alexander Gardner – The Civil War, Lincoln, and the West* (New York, NY: Penguin Group, 1001), pp. 69

³⁵⁶ Alexander Gardner, *Gardner’s Photographic Sketch Book of the War* (Washington, DC: Philp & Solomons, 1865), p. 89

³⁵⁷ William A. Frassanito, *Gettysburg: A Journey in Time* (New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing, 1975), p. 191

³⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 192

³⁵⁹ Mandy A. Reid, ‘Photography.’, in Maggi M. Morehouse & Zoe Trodd, eds., *Civil War America: A Social and Cultural History* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), p. 219

³⁶⁰ *ibid.*

³⁶¹ Katz, *Witness to an Era: The Life and Photographs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 71

³⁶² *ibid.*, pp. 68-70

³⁶³ Garry E. Adelman and Timothy H. Smith, *Devil’s Den: A History and Guide* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1997), p. 67

³⁶⁴ Gardner, *Gardner’s Photographic Sketch Book*, p. 89

³⁶⁵ Frassanito, *Gettysburg*, p. 192

³⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 68

³⁶⁷ Frederick Law Olmsted, *Hospital Transports: A Memoir of the Embarkation of the Sick and Wounded from the Peninsula of Virginia in the Summer of 1862* (Boston, MA: Ticknor and Fields, 1863), p. 115

Appendix D: Not a Leg to Stand On: Sickles vs. Meade in the Wake of Gettysburg

by Chris Mackowski

“Lincoln dropped into a chair. . . .” and subsequent details of the conversation.³⁶⁸

“He certainly got his side of the story. . . .”³⁶⁹

I rode out to the extreme left, to await the arrival of the Fifth Corp. . . .³⁷⁰

“As to politics and politicians. . . .”³⁷¹

“Rascality and Stupidity,” a Union artilleryman wrote. . . .³⁷²

“It is a melancholy state of affairs. . . .”³⁷³

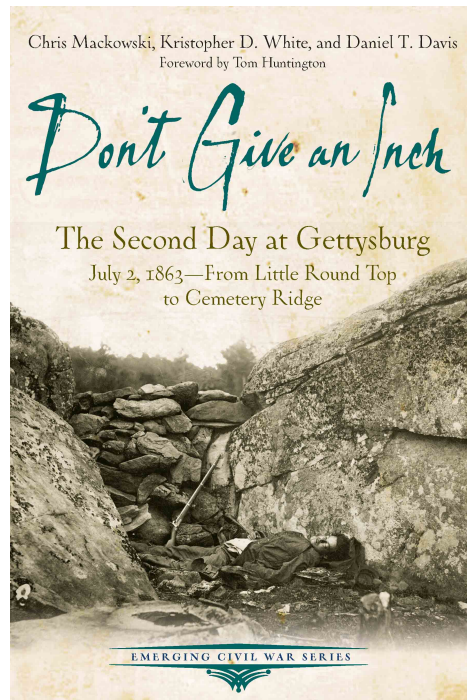
“It is hard that I am to suffer from the malice of such men. . . .”³⁷⁴

“[N]othing would suit [Sickles] better. . . .”³⁷⁵

Meade said he didn’t “consider it good policy to permit such slanders. . . .”³⁷⁶

“I suppose after a while it will be discovered I was not at Gettysburg at all. . . .”³⁷⁷

“Hell!” he boasted. “The whole damn battlefield is my memorial!”³⁷⁸



³⁶⁸ Rusling, James Fowler. *Men and Things I saw in Civil War Days*. New York: Eaton & Maine, 1899. Fowler’s full account of the meeting can be found pp. 12-17.

³⁶⁹ Rusling, James Fowler. *Men and Things I saw in Civil War Days*. New York: Eaton & Maine, 1899. 12-17.

³⁷⁰ O.R. XXVII, Pt. I, Pg. 116.

³⁷¹ Meade to wife, December 16, 1863. Pg. 162.

³⁷² Wainwright, Charles. *A Diary of Battle: The Personal Journals of Colonel Charles S. Wainwright*. New York: Da Capo, 1998. Pg. 325.

³⁷³ Meade to wife, March 6, 1864. Pg. 170.

³⁷⁴ Mead to wife, March 20, 1864. Pg. 182.

³⁷⁵ O.R. XXVII, Pt. 1, Pg. 137.

³⁷⁶ O.R. XXVII, Pt. 1, Pg. 138.

³⁷⁷ Meade to wife, December 7, 1863. Pg. 160.

³⁷⁸ quoted in Desjardin, 194.