

The Last Road North

A GUIDE TO THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN, 1863

by Robert Orrison and Dan Welch

EMERGING CIVIL WAR SERIES



Footnotes

Chapter One: The Confederate Advance

Pg.1 - Lee wrote Maj. Gen. John B. Hood that the army would be “invincible if it could be properly organized and officered. There never were such men in an Army before. They will go anywhere and do anything if properly led. But there is the difficulty—proper commanders—where can they be obtained?”¹

Pg. 5 - “After driving back our sharpshooters, under a furious cannonade from their batteries, by a force of skirmishers, they crossed a small body of troops, and occupied the back of the river.”²

¹ J.B. Hood, *Advance and Retreat: Personal Experiences in the United States and Confederate Armies* (New Orleans, 1880), 53.

² United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1880-1901), ser. 1, vol. 27, 2:293 (Hereafter cited as *OR*, unless noted, all references will be to series 1, vol. 27).

Pg. 5 - The probe across the river stopped the Confederate marching column in its tracks as “I [Lee] thought it prudent to . . . halt his march [Ewell] until I could see what the next day would develop.”³

Pg. 6 - One participant recalled of the third review: “It was a splendid military parade . . . with men and horses groomed their best, and the command arrayed with military precision, with colors flying, bugles sounding, and with regimental and brigade officers in proper positions.”⁴

Pg. 6 - Another eyewitness to the day, Capt. William W. Blackford, recalled Stuart’s command on June 8 as being “at its zenith of power.” However, the following day, June 9, severely tested that notion.⁵

Pg. 10, 11 - Maj. Heros von Borcke, riding with General Stuart, recalled those early morning moments: “Stuart was immediately awakened, the alarm sounded throughout the entire headquarters; negro servants saddled the horses, and everything was made ready for the imminent fight. A few minutes later Stuart’s couriers raced off to wake the troops. . . .” Another German officer serving on Stuart’s staff, Captain Justus Scheibert also recalled the early start to the fight. “On June 9, around 3:30 in the morning, we were suddenly roused from our slumber by couriers racing up excitedly. We had been sleeping in our tent, partially dressed as usual. They reported that our pickets on the Rappahannock had been surprised by the enemy.”⁶

Pg. 13 - Of the notion that Stuart’s men pushed the Federal cavalry back across the Rappahannock, McLaws wrote, “The enemy were not however driven back but retired at their leisure, having accomplished I suppose what they intended.”⁷

Pg. 14 - “Lee and his army passed right by our gate on his way to and from Pennsylvania,” John Moffett wrote after the war. “I remember how anxious the families were that I should see him (Lee).” Living near Gourdvine, Moffett and other members of the church saw many Confederates that summer and then later in July on their return from Gettysburg.⁸

Pg. 18 - Sgt. Daniel Sheetz of the 2nd Virginia Infantry wrote his fiancé Lydia Philips, “I must tell you we were glad to get back to the Valley again.”⁹

Pg. 19 - Local citizens lined the streets to welcome the Confederate army back to the Shenandoah Valley.¹⁰

³ Ibid., 2:293.

⁴ Daniel A. Grimsely, *Battles in Culpeper County, Virginia, 1861-1865: and Other Articles* (Culpeper: Exponent Printing Office, 1900), 8.

⁵ W.W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1946), 210.

⁶ Heros von Borcke and Justus Scheibert, *Die grosse reiterschlacht bei Brandy Station, 9. juni, 1863* (1893), 140.

⁷ Lafayette McLaws, *A Soldier’s General: The Civil War Letters of Major General Lafayette McLaws*, John C. Oeffinger, ed. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 189.

⁸ Donnie Johnston, *The Ghosts of Gourdvine Past* (Mapleleaf Press, 1987).

⁹ Ron Sheetz, from *The Second Battle of Winchester June 12 – 15, 1863*, Charles S. Grunder and Brandon H. Beck (Lynchburg: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1989), 24.

¹⁰ Campbell Brown, *Campbell Brown’s Civil War*, Terry Jones, ed. (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2001), 190.

Pg. 25 - "I had gone but a short distance when I distinctly heard the neighing of horses and the sound of men moving . . ." Johnson reported later. "I had opportunely struck the head of the enemy's retreating column."¹¹

Pg. 26, 27 - "It was the key to our position," wrote McKim. "Lt. C.S. Contee was in command. His men fell around him till all were killed or wounded but himself and one other. . . . Unsupported except by a line of bayonets in the railway cut. . . . At every discharge the recoil carried the gun almost over the side of the bridge. . . . 2 sets of cannoneers, 13 out of 16 were killed or disabled."¹²

Pg. 27 - As one historian of the battle wrote, "The victory was complete. With two brigades and eight guns, Johnson had routed Milroy. He had lost only 14 killed and 74 wounded. In addition to 3500 prisoners, Johnson captured 11 stands of colors, 175 horses, and arms and accoutrements [*sic*] of every description."¹³

Pg. 32 - "I now appeal to all the citizens of Pennsylvania who love liberty and are mindful of the history and traditions of their revolutionary fathers," he wrote, "and who feel that it is a sacred duty to guard and maintain the free institutions of our country, who hate treason and its abettors, and who are willing to defend their homes and their firesides. . . ."¹⁴

Pg. 35, 36 - Treating the civilian population more gently than the property at Stevens' Iron Works, Ewell allowed clergy to hold their regular services, took "exceptional care" of Dickinson College, and did not burn the Carlisle Barracks, a strategic military installation.¹⁵

Pg. 37 - Further actions, however, were in the future for Jenkins's men.¹⁶

Pg. 37 - "While this skirmish was of no particular account in itself, it is really historic," a veteran of the 22nd New York Regiment wrote of these brief encounters. "It was at the furthest northern point which was reached by the invaders, and marks the crest of the wave of the invasion of Pennsylvania."¹⁷

Pg. 39 - Early's report of the campaign recorded that "The bridge was entirely consumed, but the further progress of the flames was arrested by the exertions of Gordon's men."¹⁸

Pg. 41 - "My reasons for giving the order were founded on the fact that the Federal troops had invariably burned such works in the South," wrote Early in 1886. "Moreover, in some speeches in congress, Mr. Stevens had exhibited a most vindictive spirit toward the people of the South, as

¹¹ *OR*, 2:501.

¹² Randolph H. McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections: Leaves from the Diary of a Young Confederate, With an Oration on the Motives and Aims of the Soldiers of the South*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910), 150-151.

¹³ Grunder and Beck, *Second Battle of Winchester*, 52.

¹⁴ *OR*, 3:145.

¹⁵ *OR*, 2:443. *New York Times*, July 1, 1863, July 3, 1863.

¹⁶ *OR*, 2:467.

¹⁷ George W. Wingate, *History of the 22nd Regiment of the National Guard of the State of New York from its Organization to 1895* (New York: Edwin W. Dayton, 1896), 196.

¹⁸ *OR*, 2:467.

he continued to do to the day of his death. This burning was simply in retaliation for various deeds of barbarity perpetrated by Federal troops in some of the Southern States.”¹⁹

Pg. 43 - With this information, Early ordered a force to Gettysburg, “the object of this movement was . . . to amuse and skirmish with the enemy while I [Early] should get on his flank and rear, so as to capture his whole force.”²⁰

Pg. 43 - “Such confusion I never saw,” recalled Shriver. “[E]verybody gave orders and nobody obeyed—we were all green and knew nothing about regular forming, and half the right was skedaddling already.”²¹

Pg. 44 - “On the morning of June 30, I ordered Brigadier-Gen. Pettigrew to take his brigade to Gettysburg, search the town for army supplies (shoes especially), and return the same day,” wrote General Heth.²²

Pg. 45 - “On reaching the suburbs of Gettysburg, Gen. Pettigrew,” however, “found a large force of cavalry near the town, supported by an infantry force,” wrote Heth in his official report.²³

Pg. 45 - Hill gave permission—a fateful decision that influenced the next three days in American history.²⁴

Chapter Two: The Union Response

Pg. 47 - General Howard wrote to his wife at the end of May that “everybody who is to blame tries to shift the responsibility upon somebody else’s shoulders.”²⁵

Pg. 47 - On May 14, President Abraham Lincoln wrote to Hooker: “It does not now appear probable to me that you can gain anything by an early renewal of the attempt to cross the Rappahannock. I therefore shall not complain if you do no more for a time than to keep the enemy at bay, and out of other mischief by menaces and occasional cavalry raids, if practicable, and to put your own army in good condition again.”²⁶

Pg. 49 - One Gettysburg historian estimated that between April and June, 23,000 men left the ranks of the Union army.²⁷

Pg. 49, 50 - Federal cavalry was in far worse shape than the infantry. Between losses from the Chancellorsville campaign and the detachment of various units to other assignments, the

¹⁹ Jubal A. Early, *Narrative of the War Between the States* (New York: Da Capo, 1989), 255-256.

²⁰ *OR*, 2:465.

²¹ Gettysburg National Military Park Archives, Gett Cat. No. 41103, W.S. Collection, 1934-1969. Henry Wirt Shriver, “The Keystone Defenders and the Pipe Creek Line: Journals of a Pennsylvania Emergency Man during the Gettysburg Campaign June and July, 1863.”

²² *OR*, 2:637.

²³ *Ibid.*, 2:637.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:637.

²⁵ Oliver O. Howard to wife, May 26, 1863, O.O. Howard Papers, Bowdoin College Library.

²⁶ *OR*, 2:479.

²⁷ Edwin Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign* (Dayton: Morningside Bookshop, 1979), 38.

effective number of cavalymen in the Army of the Potomac dropped from 11,542 on April 30 to 4,677 by May 27, 1863—a 60% loss.²⁸

Pg. 51 - “After driving back our sharpshooters, under a furious cannonade from their batteries, by a force of skirmishers, they crossed a small body of troops, and occupied the back of the river.”²⁹

Pg. 51 - If Hooker proceeded with this plan, Lincoln wrote, he could become “entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half 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.”³⁰

Pg. 53 - Accordingly, only a small percentage of the Federal army, a majority of which was Pleasonton’s command returning from the battle of the previous day, moved on June 10.³¹

Pg. 56 - Ending his communication, Hooker informed Halleck, “To-morrow p.m. my headquarters will be at Dumfries.”³²

Pg. 57 - “If the head of Lee’s army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the Plank Road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?” Lincoln asked.³³

Pg. 57 - Furthermore, “With this feeling, unless otherwise directed . . . I will not. . . issue my order of march until the last moment, in the hope that further information may be received.”³⁴

Pg 58, 59 - Patrick Taylor, a soldier in the 1st Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, wrote in his diary on June 16 that his marching column “Left at 11 a.m. and at noon we hear that Harpers Ferry is infected by Lee. Crossed Occoquon [*sic*] River a half hour before sunset, camped and bathed. . . . The river is fordable here but the infantry crossed one channel on the bridge to a small island, and then forded the other channel.”³⁵

Pg. 59 - “I tell you we have seen a hard time sence we have left verginia we left Wolf run Shoals June 25th and have ben traveling most ever sence.”³⁶

Pg. 60, 61 - During this phase of the Gettysburg campaign, thousands of soldiers in the left wing of the Army of the Potomac passed through Bristoe Station or camped for several days in fields around it. Captain George Lockley, Company G of the 1st Michigan Volunteer Infantry,

²⁸ Ibid., 40.

²⁹ *OR*, 2:293.

³⁰ Ibid., 1:31.

³¹ Ibid., 1:31.

³² Ibid., 1:38-39.

³³ Ibid., 1:39.

³⁴ Ibid., 1:39-40.

³⁵ Patrick H. Taylor, *Diary*, Minnesota Historical Society. Copy found in the Gettysburg National Military Park Library.

³⁶ Eldridge B. Platt, *Eldridge B. Papers, #4767*, Southern Historical Collection. Copy found in the Gettysburg National Military Park Library.

recorded in his diary on June 14, 1863: “Passed thro’ the Village of Brensville, (regular Virginia Village) and went about 2 miles to Kettle Run where we parked the wagons and bivouc’d for the night. . . . This has been a real warm and cloudy day. . . . A pretty long and hard march today. Some 30 miles. The men kept up finely. Took a swim in Kettle Run. Tired, stiff and sore. Roll’d myself in blanket.”³⁷

Pg. 61 - Just a week later, Sgt. James Kenney of the 1st Massachusetts Artillery recalled, “[A]nd on [June] 20th marched, passing over Centreville heights, by all the old Forts, on and over Bull Run field, past Manassas Junction and halted at Bristow Station.”³⁸

Pg. 61 - “The First, Third, Sixth, and Eleventh Corps, with the cavalry, will be assembled at Manassas and Centreville to-night. The Second Corps will be at Dumfries, the Sixth at Wolf Run Shoals, and the Twelfth at Fairfax Court-House to-night.”³⁹

Pg. 62 - “I will therfor state that its about, as far as I learned, nine miles south of Leisburg [sic].”⁴⁰

Pg. 65 - As Fisk later recalled, “So here was the hour’s work accomplished in the course of the night by making three removes of camp, and at the trifling expense of a night’s rest to the troops between two days’ marches, and with the ultimate result of getting the same exhausted troops to Frederick City a day later than they were ordered and expected.”⁴¹

Pg. 69 - We “[m]arched up the towpath several miles, then crossed under the canal by a means of a culvert.”⁴²

Pg. 71 - “[A]s we passed through Jefferson and Middletown we saw flags to almost every house women waving handkerchiefs and seeming very much pleased to see our troops pas through.—it seemed as different from the cold reception we always met in Virginia and the actions of the soldiers are proportionately different.”⁴³

Pg. 72, 73 - “Maryland Heights [at Harpers Ferry] have always been regarded as an important point to be held by us,” Halleck wrote, “and much expense and labor incurred in fortifying them. I cannot approve their abandonment. . . .”⁴⁴

Pg. 73 - A decision reached Hooker’s camp only hours later.⁴⁵

³⁷ George Lockley, Diary, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Copy found in the Gettysburg National Military Park Library.

³⁸ James W. Kenney, Diary, Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, United States Army Military History Institute. Copy found in the Gettysburg National Military Park Library.

³⁹ *OR*, 1:40-41.

⁴⁰ George Cramer, Papers, Gettysburg National Military Park Library. Original spelling and grammar left intact.

⁴¹ Samuel Fiske, *Mr. Dunn Browne’s Experiences in the Army* (Boston: Nichols & Noyes, 1866), 176.

⁴² Joseph Irwin, Diary, Gettysburg National Military Park Library.

⁴³ J. Henry Blakeman, Papers, Lewis Leigh Collection, Book 40, United States Army Military History Institute. Copy found in the Gettysburg National Military Park Library. Original spelling and grammar left intact.

⁴⁴ *OR*, 1:58-60.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* G.W. Cullum to Henry Lane Kendrick, July 4, 1863, Henry Lane Kendrick Papers, New York Historical Society.

Pg. 74 - Outside of these stipulations, Meade had full control of garrisons and other commands in which his army operated (including Harpers Ferry), the authority to remove and appoint officers within the army, and generally command without “any minute instructions from these headquarters.”⁴⁶

Pg. 80 - “Having marched all day in rain and mud . . . the men were much fatigued on the march.”⁴⁷

Pg. 81 - Brigadier General Joseph Bartlett, commanding a brigade in the VI Corps, wrote on July 7, “Marched at an early hour in the morning, and, after passing Catoctin Furnace, took a road to the right, leading over the Catoctin Mountain.”⁴⁸

Pg. 82 - Lieutenant Colonel Porter Tripp of the 11th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry recorded in his official report of the Gettysburg campaign, “We remained near Gettysburg until the morning of the 5th instant, when we marched back through Emmitsburg, and encamped for the night at Mechanicstown, a distance of 18 miles from Gettysburg. [We] left Mechanicstown [the] next morning. . . .”⁴⁹

Pg. 85 - *This last institution is I judge a large one as the buildings connected with it are numerous, very large and elegant being built of very handsome marble.*⁵⁰

Pg. 85 - Although the V and VI Corps marched on to Union Mills and Manchester respectively, the II Corps rested in camp all day in Uniontown.⁵¹

Chapter Three: “Jeb” Stuart’s Ride

Pg. 98 - Blackford later recalled the scene: “I was at my wits’ end to know how we were to throw our friend’s body, weighing two hundred and fifty pounds, across the rearing, plunging charger. . . .”⁵²

Pg. 105 - “As we neared Hay Market,” Stuart recalled, “we found that Hancock’s corps was *en route* through Hay Market for Gum Springs, his infantry well distributed through his trains.”⁵³

Pg. 105 - The fire “had disabled one of the enemy’s caissons, which he abandoned, and compelled him to advance in order of battle to compel us to desist.”⁵⁴

⁴⁶ *OR*, 1:61.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:304.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:672.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:549.

⁵⁰ Dr. Hubbard, Papers, United States Army Military History Institute. Copy found in the Gettysburg National Military Park Library.

⁵¹ *OR*, 3:415.

⁵² W.W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 219.

⁵³ *OR*, 2:692.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:692.

Pg. 106 - In his campaign report, Stuart laid out his next step: “To carry out my original design of passing west of Centreville, would have involved so much detentions, on account of the presence of the enemy that I determined to cross Bull Run lower down, and strike through Fairfax for the Potomac the next day. The sequel shows this to have been the only practicable course.”⁵⁵

Pg. 106 - However, Stuart had finally broken free of Federal entanglements when he noted on the 26th, “We met no enemy to-day.”⁵⁶

Pg. 107 - “I, however, determined not to give it up without trial,” wrote Stuart, and “in spite of the difficulties, to all appearances insuperable, indomitable energy and resolute determination triumphed; every piece was brought safely over, and the entire command in bivouac on Maryland soil.”⁵⁷

Pg. 108 - “General Hampton encountered small parties of the enemy, which, with a number of wagons and teams, he captured,” wrote Stuart in his post-campaign report.⁵⁸

Pg. 109 - With these encumbrances, could Stuart effectively continue his ride?⁵⁹

Pg. 110 - McClellan believed, however, that the parole was “a useless task; for the Federal authorities refused to acknowledge the parole, and returned officers and men immediately to duty.”⁶⁰

Pg. 111 - “Measures were taken to intercept trains . . . various telegraph lines were likewise cut, and communications of the enemy with Washington City thus cut off at every point.”⁶¹

Pg. 113 - Stuart received intelligence that the Union army was concentrated around Frederick and, according to his campaign report, “it was important for me to reach our column . . . to acquaint the commanding general with the nature of the enemy’s movements, as well as to place with his column my cavalry force.”⁶²

Pg. 114 - During the night of June 29 Stuart’s column was stretched out between the two points, camping for the evening.⁶³

Pg. 116 - Chambliss’ lead regiment “not only repulsed the enemy, but drove him pell-mell through the town with half his numbers, capturing his ambulances, and a large number of prisoners. . . .”⁶⁴

⁵⁵ Ibid., 2:692-693.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 2:692-693.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 2:692-693.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 2:694.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 2:694.

⁶⁰ H.B. McClellan, *The Campaigns of Stuart’s Cavalry* (Secaucus: The Blue and Gray Press, 1993), 326.

⁶¹ *OR*, 2:695.

⁶² Ibid., 2:695.

⁶³ Ibid., 2:695.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 2:695.

Pg. 116, 117 - Only darkness brought an end to the fight, and with it, the retreat of the Confederate cavalry from the field.⁶⁵

Pg. 117 - "I still believed that most of our army was before Harrisburg, and justly regarded a march to Carlisle as the most likely to place me in communication with the main army," Stuart wrote.⁶⁶

Chapter Four: The Battle

Pg. 121 - Sending a message to Army headquarters, Buford wrote, "The enemy's force (A.P. Hill's) are advancing on me at this point, and driving my pickets and skirmishers very rapidly. There is also a large force at Heidlersburg that is driving my pickets at that point from that direction. General Reynolds is advancing, and is within 3 miles of this point with his leading division. I am positive that the whole of A.P. Hill's force is advancing."⁶⁷

Pg. 121 - Help was on the way. Brigadier General James Wadsworth, a divisional commander in I Corps, recalled their arrival to the battlefield: "He [Reynolds] immediately turned the head of the column to the left, across the fields, and struck the Cashtown road about three-quarters of a mile west of Gettysburg at about 10 a.m. Here we met the advance guard of the enemy."⁶⁸

Pg. 122 - "On arriving on the field," Rodes recalled, "I found that by keeping along the wooded ridge, on the left side of which the town of Gettysburg is situated, I could strike the force of the enemy with which Gen. Hill's troops were engaged upon the flank, and that, besides moving under cover, whenever we struck the enemy we could engage him with the advantage of ground."⁶⁹

Pg. 122 - "[A] fire was opened upon the enemy's infantry and artillery by my artillery with considerable effect."⁷⁰

Pg. 123 - "After a short but hot contest, Gordon succeeded in routing the force opposed to him," Early later wrote, "and drove it back with great slaughter, capturing, among a number of prisoners, General Barlow himself, who was severely wounded."⁷¹

Pg. 123 - From his vantage point on Oak Hill, Rodes witnessed the victory and later recorded "The enemy was thus routed at all points."⁷²

Pg. 125, 126 - Captain George E. Randolph, the III Corps's chief of artillery, recalled three months later: "Between 1 and 2 p.m. Major-General Sickles notified me that he was about to change his line, throwing his right forward to the high ground, running his line from Round Top

⁶⁵ Ibid., 2:695, 1:986-987.

⁶⁶ *OR*, 2: 709.

⁶⁷ *OR*, 1:924.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 1:265.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 2:552.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 2:468.

⁷¹ Ibid., 2:468-469.

⁷² Ibid., 2:555.

Mountain, on the left, to a peach orchard on the Emmitsburg road, and thence along the road toward Gettysburg to a second orchard.”⁷³

Pg. 126 - “General Sickles this is neutral ground,” Meade said. “Our guns command it, as well as the enemy’s, the very reason you cannot hold applies to them.”⁷⁴

Pg. 128 - Meanwhile, at Lee’s headquarters along the Chambersburg Pike, “the general plan was unchanged,” Lee later wrote.⁷⁵

Pg. 129 - When Lee arrived to the Confederate right and met with Longstreet on the morning of July 3, Lee’s confidence in a final victory at Gettysburg that morning deflated as Longstreet’s “dispositions were not completed as early as was expected.”⁷⁶

Pg. 129, 130 - “At ten minutes to one precisely, by my watch . . . a heavy gun was heard from the enemy’s line,” wrote Thomas F. Galwey of the 8th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. “Instinct told us at once that that gun had fired a signal.”⁷⁷

Chapter Five: The Retreat From Gettysburg

Pg. 133 - “The commanding general, in behalf of the country, thanks the Army of the Potomac for the glorious result of the recent operations,” wrote Meade.⁷⁸

Pg. 133 - “Our task is not yet accomplished, and the commanding general looks to the army for greater efforts to drive from our soil every vestige of the presence of the invader.”⁷⁹

Pg. 135 - “As many of our poor wounded as possible must be taken home. I have sent for you, because your men and horses are fresh and in good condition, to guard and conduct our train back to Virginia. The duty will be arduous, responsible, and dangerous, for I am afraid you will be harassed by the enemy’s cavalry.”⁸⁰

Pg. 136 - Some of the wounded, “were simply moaning; some were praying, and others uttering the most fearful oaths and execrations that despair and agony could wring from them. . . . No help could be rendered to any of the sufferers. No heed could be given to any of their appeals.”⁸¹

Pg. 143 - The battle for Monterey Pass had begun.⁸²

⁷³ Ibid., 1:581-582.

⁷⁴ Richard A. Sauer, *Gettysburg: The Meade-Sickles Controversy* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc., 2003), 43.

⁷⁵ *OR*, 2:320.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 2:320.

⁷⁷ Thomas F. Galwey, *The Valiant Hours: An Irishmen in the Civil War* (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1961), 112.

⁷⁸ *OR*, 3:519.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 3:519.

⁸⁰ John D. Imboden, “The Confederate Retreat from Gettysburg,” *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, vol. 3, Reprint (New York: Castle), 421-422.

⁸¹ Ibid., 424.

Pg. 143 - He also ordered the 18th Pennsylvania Cavalry to move along Furnace Road, then head into the woods to assault the Confederate left flank.⁸³

Pg. 144 - As wagon trains with ammunition approached the Monterey tollgate house, Tanner's men resupplied their gun.⁸⁴

Pg. 144 - As the Michiganders left to attack Fairfield Gap, Kilpatrick ordered Lt. Col. Addison Preston's Vermont cavalry to Leitersburg, Maryland.⁸⁵

Pg. 144 - Both Union and Confederate cavalymen who were dismounted in the woods literally had only seconds to distinguish objects in their front after a flash of lightning or small arms fire illuminated the landscape.⁸⁶

Pg. 145 - Confederate cavalry deployed on both sides of the turnpike tried to stop the charging Union cavalry but to little avail.⁸⁷

Pg. 145 - By dawn of July 5, the Union cavalry reached Ringgold and halted.⁸⁸

Pg. 146 - The last Confederate marched through on July 6.⁸⁹

Pg. 150 - "July 10, attacked the enemy at 8 a.m. and drove him through Funkstown," wrote Buford in his official report of the campaign.⁹⁰

Pg. 150 - "At 3 p.m. I could no longer reply with carbines, for want of cartridges, and consequently ordered the division to fall back," reported Buford.⁹¹

Pg. 150 - The Confederate cavalryman would not let this happen, and "by a secret movement at night, it was deemed prudent to withdraw . . . which was accordingly done," Stuart noted in his report of the affair.⁹²

⁸² Luther Hopkins, *From Bull Run to Appomattox: A Boy's View* (Baltimore: Fleet-McGinley, 1908). Samuel Bates and Richard Fraise, *History of Franklin County* (Chicago: Warner, Beers & Co., 1975), 379.

⁸³ Theophilus Francis Rodenbough and Thomas J. Grier, *History of the Eighteenth regiment of cavalry, Pennsylvania volunteers* (New York: 1909), 84.

⁸⁴ Manuscript, letter from Captain George Emack. Monterey Pass Battlefield Park and Museum archives.

⁸⁵ *OR*, 2:763-764, 3:741.

⁸⁶ James Harvey Kidd, *Personal Recollections of a Cavalryman with Custer's Michigan Cavalry* (Ionia: Sentinel Printing, 1908), 168-171.

⁸⁷ Manuscript of Russell Alger during the Battle of Monterey Pass. Monterey Pass Battlefield Park and Museum archives. Joseph A. Lesage, "Narrow Escapes," *Ironton Register* 22 Dec. 1887, Manuscript ed., *Interesting War Experiences NO. 58*.

⁸⁸ *OR*, 1:581, 625.

⁸⁹ A.L. Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee* (Edison: Blue and Grey Press, 1983), 294-296. James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox* (New York: Mallard Press, 1991), 426-427.

⁹⁰ *OR*, 1:929.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1:929.

Pg. 150 - Of the men engaged in the battle of Funkstown, Buford noted, "There was no faltering or hesitation. Each man went to work determined to carry anything in reason."⁹³

Pg. 150 - They had fought in battle "with great skill and effect," while the infantry that fought alongside them had "participated very creditably, indeed. . . ."⁹⁴

Pg. 151 - Stuart reported that he ordered the attack "in order, by a bold demonstration, to threaten an advance upon the enemy."⁹⁵

Pg. 152 - General Lee wrote of the day, "nothing but occasional skirmishing occurred. . . ."⁹⁶

Pg. 153 - As Meade wired Halleck the following afternoon, "five out of six (of my corps commanders) were unqualifiedly opposed to it. . . . Under these circumstances . . . I did not feel myself authorized to attack until I had made more careful examination of the enemy's position, strength, and defensive works."⁹⁷

Pg. 153 - Halleck, the War Department, and President Lincoln were aghast. Late in the evening on July 13, Halleck wired Meade, "You are strong enough to attack and defeat the enemy before he can effect a crossing. Act upon your own judgment and make your generals execute your orders. Call no council of war. It is proverbial that councils of war never fight."⁹⁸

Pg. 154 - "There is a difference between the people of Maryland and those of Pennsylvania:

*A man of some fifty or more stood looking at our men pull down the fences to start their breastworks. . . . Having a fellow-feeling for the owner as a brother farmer, I spoke to the man and said it was hard on the owner of the land to destroy his crops and fences so. 'Oh,' says he, 'you may destroy my whole farm if you will only whip the rebels.' If the eastern Marylanders are the most bitter of the rebels, those west of Frederick are the truest Union people I have met with anywhere.*⁹⁹

Pg. 159 - "The enemy's bridge was protected by over a dozen guns in position and sharpshooters on the Virginia side," reported Buford, and "As our troops neared the bridge, the enemy cut the Maryland side loose, and the bridge swung to the Virginia side."¹⁰⁰

⁹² Ibid., 2:704

⁹³ Ibid., 1:929.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 2:704.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 2:703.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 2:323.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 1:91-92.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 1:91-92.

⁹⁹ Charles Wainwright, *A Diary of Battle: The Personal Journals of Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, 1861-1865*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962), 259.

¹⁰⁰ *OR*, 1:929.

Pg. 160 - When Ewell himself arrived at the crossing, he found nothing but chaos: "I could find no ferry-boats, nor any one in charge; it was dark and raining. Everything was in confusion."¹⁰¹

Epilogue

Pg. 164 - Ambrose Thompson, 5th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, wrote home on July 18, "I think we are completely outgeneraled and nothing to say in our favor. Lee went into Penn. wasted, destroyed, and carried off all he could for 3 weeks and now is back in Va again, without our forces even once attacking him but merely acting on the defensive all the time. Even allowing he has suffered the greatest loss, it is a burning shame to think he is back again at all."¹⁰²

Pg. 164 - Frederick Conette, an infantryman in the 14th United States Infantry, spoke to this point when he wrote to a friend on July 17: "I hope they will give a sufficient rest and clothing to the Army or it would be demoralized and spoiled forever. . . ."¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 2:449.

¹⁰² Ambrose W. Thompson to Folks at Home, 18 July 1863.

¹⁰³ Frederick Conette to Friend Ingersoll, 17 July 1863, Papers, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, United States Army Military History Institute. Copy found in the Gettysburg National Military Park Library. Original grammar and punctuation left in the author's pen.

Robert Orrison and Dan Welch

The Last Road North

A Guide to the
Gettysburg Campaign, 1863



EMERGING CIVIL WAR SERIES

