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"A COMMON PRIDE AND FAME"

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The Attack and Repulse of Pickett's
Division July 3, 1863

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PART III

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Appendix A

"Fourteen (sic) Mounted CSA Officers
in Pickett's Charge"

Pickett's Division

1. Major General George E. Pickett and his four aides
6. Major Charles Pickett, adjutant general to Pickett
7. Captain E. R. Baird, aide-de-camp to Pickett
8. Captain W. Stuart Symington, aide-de-camp to Pickett
9. Captain Robert A. Bright, aide-de-camp to Pickett
10. Brigadier General James Kemper
11. Brigadier General Richard B. Garnett
12. Colonel Lewis B. Williams, 1st Virginia Regiment
13. Colonel Eppa Hunton, 8th Virginia Regiment
14. Captain Simkins Jones, Aide to General Garnett

Pettigrew's Division

15. Brigadier General James J. Pettigrew
16. Colonel J. K. Marshall, 52nd North Carolina Regiment

Trimble's Division

17. Major General Isaac Trimble
18. Brigadier General James H. Lane

(GNMP files, origin unknown)

19. Captain T. G. Pollock, inspector general to Kemper
20. Major Joseph A. Engelhard, adjutant general of Pender's Division
21. Colonel G. M. Sorrell, adjutant general to Longstreet
22. Major Osmun Latrobe, inspector general to Longstreet
23. Captain Thomas J. Goree, aide-de-camp to Longstreet
24. Captain George H. Guiger, aide-de-camp to Kemper
25. Walker, orderly to Kemper

(KRG)

Appendix B

The Objective Point of the Assault:

The Clump of Trees or Ziegler's Grove?

There might not today be the need for such an examination of evidence had not events of the post-war decades, fueled by state and regimental rivalries and jealousies, led to the development of one single area of the battlefield as the "High Water Mark of the Rebellion." The chronology of events which led to this designation of pre-eminence to a small quadrant of Webb's line was delineated by the battlefield historian John B. Bachelder:

"Soon after the close of the war I met Colonel Walter Harrison, at Gettysburg, who was General Pickett's assistant general, and was with him at the battle.

"I invited Colonel Harrison to visit the battlefield with me, and we spent several hours under the shade cast by the copse of trees, when he explained to me what an important feature that copse of trees was at the time of the battle, and how it had been a landmark towards which Longstreet's assault of July 3d 1863 had been directed.

"Impressed with its importance, I remarked, 'Why, Colonel, as the battle of Gettysburg was the crowning event, of this campaign, this copse of trees must have been the high water mark of the rebellion.' To which he assented, and from that time on, I felt a reverence for those trees.

"Later in the season while passing them one day I was shocked to find the owner engaged in cutting them down, a dozen or more already lying on the ground. I expostulated with him, but without effect, until I suggested to him that if he cut them then he was only getting for them their value as rails, whereas, if he allowed them to stand to mark the spot he would eventually get ten times as much for them, and he spared them. Subsequently an avenue was laid out which embraced them, but as their historic importance became known, relic hunters commenced to cut their branches for canes, and at a meeting of the board of

directors of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association in 1885 I made a motion that they be enclosed with an iron fence; but the motion was lost. In 1886 I repeated the same motion, which was again defeated; but in 1887 I embodied that motion in a written resolution, which passed unanimously. . . .

"On the 25th of September 1888 I offered a resolution at a meeting of the Executive Committee, 'that a bronze table be prepared, indicating and setting forth the movements of troops at the copse of trees on Hancock Avenue, July 3d 1863,' which passed unanimously."

". . . I have been instrumental in erecting for the Memorial Association a structure on this great field commensurate with the important place in the history of the battle which the Association will occupy in the preservation of the battlefield. It was fitting that the Association should crown its labors with one first class monument on this field."

"The thought of naming the copse of trees the 'High Water Mark of the Rebellion,' and the idea of perpetuating its memory by a monument, was mine." ¹

It is apparent from the above quotation from Bachelder's own report of these incidents that we owe the designation of the clump of trees as the turning point of the Confederacy to two men--to Walter Harrison (who may or may not have been on the field with Pickett on July 3) and to the dogmatic, self-appointed historian John Bachelder (who we know was not on the field on July 3). A number of interesting comments can be made which relate to the Bachelder report, and which may clarify how the clump of trees became the celebrated Copse of Trees, or the High Water Mark of the Rebellion.

For example, Colonel Bachelder noted that relic hunters were carving up the trees by the mid-1880s to make canes, much as they did from trees at the Round Tops and on Culp's Hill. He found it necessary to protect these trees from the vandalism by erecting fence around them. This fence was made

¹John B. Bachelder, February 1, 1894 report to Colonel C. H. Buehler, GBMA, in Bachelder Correspondence, New Hampshire Historical Society, Microfilm Reel 5.

of cast iron by Gilbert and Smith, a local firm, and was erected around the remaining trees of the clump. Thus, by esconcing the trees with a cast iron fence to protect their branches, Bachelder managed to build a cast iron monument instead of a cast iron fence, and to promote their importance instead of protecting their limbs.

Interestingly, another body of trees had a claim to fame on that third day's battlefield which did not receive the kind of protection and "tender loving care" meted out by Bachelder to the clump (now Copse). Ziegler's Grove, a large wooded area north of the clump and on the ridge-line itself instead of below it (like the clump), was also a battlefield landmark. While there was no hand-to-hand fighting within the grove as there was in the clump, it was a much larger and striking feature on the 1863 landscape. There were even those who disagreed with Bachelder and Harrison, and said that Ziegler's Grove, and not the celebrated Copse of Trees, was the objective point of Longstreet's Assault. But Bachelder specifically did not mention that relic hunters were maiming the grove trees. He could not, because there was probably no Ziegler's Grove at the time Bachelder was so impressed with the Copse of Trees. In November 1888, just one year after Bachelder managed to get his resolution for the iron fence passed, the GBMA replanted 125 trees in Ziegler's Grove, apparently to replace trees cut down there.² It appears that there was no concerned party around when the Ziegler trees were cut down.

The controversy between the pro-Copse and pro-Grove factions was never vehement or of much impact, but the interpretations left behind by the writers prompt questions to statements heretofore accepted as unimpeachable fact.

²Star and Sentinel (November 13, 1888).

One writer, the Comte de Paris, managed to contradict himself in the same book by claiming at different places that both were the objective point:

"A clump of trees, in the neighborhood of which Cushing has posted his guns, commanding the whole plateau, is the objective point that the Confederates keep in view. Armistead on foot, his hat perched on the point of his sword, rushes forward. . . . These few trees, henceforth historical, like a snail on the strand struck by a furious sea, no longer possessing strength enough to draw back into its shell, constitute the limit before which the tide of invasion stops--a limit traced by the blood of some of the bravest soldiers that America has produced."

"General Lee says in his report that by harmonizing the action of his several corps he had reason to rely upon success; but it is precisely this concert of action that he was not able to establish. In fact, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, when the conflict had been progressing along the left for at least four hours, he is still occupied in assigning places to the troops that are to make an attack upon Ziegler's Grove."

"The divisions of McLaws and Hood were eliminated from the assault plan, but they might, at all events, have assigned to them a very useful and less perilous task than the assault on Ziegler's Grove by causing a portion of these two divisions to make strong demonstrations against the left wing of the enemy."

"In the prolongation at the south-west of the hillock properly called Cemetery Hill stands the plateau designated by Lee as the objective point of the attack, which we shall call Ziegler's Grove, from the name of a small wood which descends the slope opposite to Gettysburg. The ridge of this plateau, the summit of which is very level, is bordered at the west by rocks which project from the soil, sometimes to a height of four or five feet, forming a wall. . . ." ³

Thus we see that in three places the author referred to Ziegler's Grove as the objective point of Longstreet's Assault, and in one place the clump of trees near Cushing's Battery became the objective of the attack.

³Comte de Paris, History of the Civil War in America, vol. III, pp. 665-666, 650, 654, 663.

By the time that the War Department took over administration of the Gettysburg Battlefield in 1895, the story that the clump of trees was the objective of Lee's attack on July 3 was accepted as fact and preached by the Park Commission as doctrine:

"When Pickett's line had advanced to the summit of the ridge which had sheltered it during the great cannonade, he perceived that his center was not moving directly towards the . . . copse of trees as intended, but to the right and south of it. Thereupon he very properly ordered his brigades to incline considerably to the left, which they did and they continued on the same course until they reached the enemy's lines. The order to the other brigades from the first was 'Guide right, and keep in touch with Pickett's left;' and therefore, on starting they inclined somewhat to their right so as to join his left. His change of direction being unforeseen by them and occurring whilst the whole line was in motion, the result, for which none of them can be censured, was that very considerable crowding and intermingling of the ranks on Pickett's left and Pettigrew's right took place by the time they reached the Union breastworks. . . ." ⁴

Where Major Robbins got his information for this paragraph is not documented, although we can assume that he used not only the written histories of the battle up to that time, but also interviews with survivors of Pickett's Division who visited the battlefield during his term as commissioner (1895-1905).

It is interesting, however, that there is no written documentation from those who were participants in Pickett's attack concerning these orders from Pickett to "incline considerably to the left" to alter any line of march upon the clump of trees.

The regimental histories began to reflect these same thoughts, especially those histories of units assigned to the fight in the Angle area. One example of this kind of writing was found in the regimental history of the 19th Massachusetts:

⁴Robbins, "Longstreet's Assault at Gettysburg," p. 105.

"After cessation of the cannonade, and with a clump of small oaks as the objective point, General Pickett's Division, as was afterwards ascertained, was pushed forward to capture that point, then held by General Alex. S. Webb and Colonel N. J. Hall. Both were forced back and our line cut in two." ⁵

But there is another school of thought, which is not so prominent, that contends that the so-called Copse of Trees was not the objective point of Longstreet's Assault. The reasons presented by this school of thought seem rational enough and much more logical than those presented to us by Colonels Bachelder and Harrison. For example, the participants themselves in the fighting in the Angle area and around the cluster of trees did not refer to the trees as a Copse of Trees until the later writings. If the accounts of McDermott, Cowan, Corbin, Waitt, Rice, Haskell, Latrobe, Garrett, Devereux, Reynolds, Abbott, Nesbit, and Owens had one thing in common it was that they did not refer to the small growth of trees as the Copse of Trees. These men labelled the trees primarily a "clump of trees", but sometimes called them the "little grove", "cluster of trees", "little oak grove", "small grove", and "group of trees". Most of these accounts were dated 1863-1886, before Colonel Bachelder began publicizing the importance of the trees and printing the name copse of trees to describe them. Those accounts which referred to the growth as the copse of trees were primarily written in the late 1880s-1900s, after Bachelder's idea had germinated and spawned a cast-iron fence and bronze tablet. The uniformity of opinion concerning this Copse of Trees notion that this landmark was the objective point of Pickett's Charge was not commonly accepted or communicated until after 1886.

Another contributing factor to the greatness and prominence associated with the growth of trees was an outcome of the 25th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, celebrated in 1888. At that time, Pickett's Division survivors

⁵Waitt, p. 253.

and veterans of Webb's Philadelphia Brigade met at the Angle and re-enacted the famous charge, ending the celebration with a hand-shaking ceremony of both lines over the stone wall. This much-publicized event was photographed and editorialized, especially since Pickett's widow was present to win the hearts of enemy and friend alike. The association between Pickett's Charge and Webb's Brigade with the Angle and the clump of trees became even more secure and concrete, and became the personification of the Battle of Gettysburg. Because of this undue publicity, the clump of trees became as outstanding (if not more so) topographic feature on the field as the Round Tops or Cemetery Hill. Ziegler's Grove, on the other hand, had just an opposite fate. Cut down and replanted, and apparently cut down again, the area of the grove was used as cannon storage for the Commission for a number of years, until it was replanted again. This replanting by the War Department had nothing to do with the significance of the grove as a landmark on the third day's field, but was done in conjunction with other reforestation efforts to restore the woods which were cut down after 1863. This put Ziegler's Grove in the same league with Pitzer's and Biesecker's Woods, hardly significant features compared to the famous Copse of Trees.

Aside from the post-war developments, there are a number of references to the clump of trees and to Ziegler's Grove in 1863 which have a bearing on the case in favor of those promoting Ziegler's Grove as the objective point of Longstreet's Assault. Those favoring the Ziegler's Grove location were somewhat biased, to be sure, hoping to promote and perpetuate their own fame, as Webb's Brigade and Pickett's Division had done at the clump of trees. These were primarily the soldiers of the Third Division of the Second Corps, which held the line through Ziegler's Grove and adjacent to it. In hopes

of elaborating the fame of General Alexander Hays, who commanded that Third Division at Gettysburg, as well as the fame of the men in the ranks, the biography of that officer pushed the Ziegler's Grove theory:

"The assault at the time seemed to have culminated in the Third Division front, and from the number of prisoners and flags taken by the Third Division we knew it did. This brings us to the question of direction. We of Hays' Division have always contended that Ziegler's Grove was to be the striking point of the enemy. It was a better point, both of vantage and, from the view of a landmark, more prominent than the copse of trees on Webb's left, then mere saplings and on a low ground. Now, in the growth of half a century naturally prominent, but then inconspicuous in comparison with the heavy timber of Ziegler's Grove. The copse of trees has been taken generally as the guiding point of Pickett's movements, and here the collision occurred between him and Gibbon. Pickett's troops at this point were all his own we have since learned, and it is not contradicted, and these composed the brigades of Garnett, Kemper, and Armistead, and these were all the enemy troops in the Second Corps' front on Gibbon's line. On Hays' front among the twenty or more flags captured by Hays' Division were flags of both Pettigrew's and Pender's Division and one of Pickett's. Excluding Wilcox's, of the nine other brigades' in the assault, six were immediately in Hays' front, viz., the brigades of Brockenbrough, Davis, Pettigrew's own brigade, Archer's of Pettigrew's Division, and Lane's and Scale's of Pender's Division. One of the flags taken by the 8th Ohio was from Armistead's Brigade of Pickett's Division. From the fact that these standards were taken in Hays' front the assertion is indisputable that the men were there with their colors, and in greater force than at Hays' left. The contention is that Pickett's Brigades on the right of the moving columns, harassed by the enfilading artillery fire that came from Round Top and our batteries on that flank, and the incessant and deadly musketry fire in front and on his right flank, in desperation rushed forward to break the line and save themselves if they could. They could not go back with any more safety than forward. . . .

"Today the stately timber of Ziegler's Grove and its commanding position appeal to an observer on Lee's line on what is now known as West Confederate Avenue. On that line one naturally searches for the copse of trees to find it. The grove and its tall oaks, stately and commanding, impress one as he surveys the position from the Confederate position

in its front, and only the lower portion of the grove is visible, that part on the slope east of the Bryan house. At the time of the battle the trees here were thick and gave the appearance of a clump. They were sufficiently thick to afford a distinctive landmark and a point of direction that would loom up in more prominence than the thin saplings in the copse." ⁶

Another case for this same point was made at the time of the dedication of the monument to the 111th New York Infantry, which unit fought in Hays' Division near Ziegler's Grove:

"The main point of attack seemed to be Ziegler's Grove, just on our right and rear. The great crowding of the attacking party seemed to be from their right to the left, showing conclusively that Ziegler's Grove was the point aimed at. The largest number of killed and wounded were in your immediate front. The greatest number of prisoners came in the lane on your right, being captured by your flank movement. . . ." ⁷

The "clincher", however, appeared as a letter from Colonel Clinton D. McDougall, commander of the 111th New York. This letter was dated November 29, 1909, and confirmed the claim of many that Ziegler's Grove was the aiming point for the columns of Pickett and Pettigrew:

"The main point of attack was Ziegler's Grove, just to our right and rear, and near the Bryan house. The crowding of the attacking party was from their right to the left, showing conclusively that Ziegler's Grove was the point aimed at and not the small clump of undergrowth on the much lower ground on our left, which has been so much written about as the "high-water mark of the Rebellion". . . ."

"Some years ago, during my service in Congress, I sat in the Committee on Military Affairs with two general officers of the Confederate army who participated in this celebrated charge. Each agreed and General Longstreet himself in frequent conversations I had with him said it was the grove of larger trees

⁶George Thornton Fleming, ed., Life and Letters of Alexander Hays (Pittsburgh, 1919), pp. 459-460.

⁷Fox, New York at Gettysburg, vol. 2, p. 802.

on the higher ground that was their aim and point of direction. On examining the configuration of the ground, I assert, no student of military tactics with a practiced eye can say otherwise.'" ⁸

The two generals whom McDougall may have spoken to were probably A. M. Scales and Eppa Hunton, who both served in Congress after the war. And, if these two gentlemen, one of whom served in Pickett's Division, pointed out Ziegler's Grove as the aiming point to McDougall, perhaps he had a valid case. More importantly, if General James Longstreet affirmed that it was Ziegler's Grove of "larger trees" that was his objective, shouldn't there be more weight attached to his statement than that of Colonel Walter Harrison or John Bachelder? After all, it was Longstreet who had overall direction for the attack, and he should surely have known what the objective of that attack was to be.

To verify McDougall's claim that the grove was tactically a more impressive feature than the copse of trees we have a number of descriptions of the clump, as well as photographs and sketches, which give a good indication of its war-time appearance. During the testimony of various participants in Webb's Brigade which occurred in the 1889 trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania Regiment, various elaborating descriptions of the copse of trees cropped up, which did not often appear in the regimental histories or other accounts. John Buckley, of Company K, 69th Pennsylvania, remembered that the "umbrella trees were larger in area, more extended. They covered more space than they do at the present time."⁹ And Webb himself confirmed this, stating that he thought "the copse of trees was closer to the fence, the copse of trees ran down."¹⁰ Yet, he confirmed also that, if the "trees" ran down to the

⁸Fleming, p. 432.

⁹Survivors of the 72nd Pa. vs. GBMA, et al., p. 135.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 166.

fence, they must not have been very large. This was because he also described these "trees" running down to the fence as "bushes", viz., ". . . it was where some bushes were in front of the clump of trees, they were possibly fifty or sixty yards towards the stone wall." A little further on; Webb once again referred to these small vegetative growths as bushes, saying that he had been trying to prevent "the enemy's obtaining this bushwork, it being necessary that they should not get under cover."¹¹

Cowan described the copse as a "bunch of scrub oaks, which separated my five guns from the angle where Cushing's Battery was firing."¹² And others who fought in the area told more about the area itself, including a depression that was located within the confines of the trees. William H. Porter, Company E of the 72nd Pennsylvania, testified that he "found some six or eight men laying wounded in a little hollow in that clump of trees", describing the hollow's appearance "as if it had been dug out."¹³ The location of this "hollow" is not readily apparent today, and may have been eliminated by the construction associated with the development of the area--the large plaza and High Water Mark monument and Hancock and Webb Avenues. E. Stanley Hart, 69th Pennsylvania, enlightens us with his description of the trees as they appeared at his regiment's position, saying that the colors of the 69th were "in front of the clump of trees. That is what we call the umbrella trees now." In describing the repulse of his regiment at the Angle, Hart elaborated:

"Finally the first line wavered, and then the second line came up, and when the third line came up, that was the time there was a breakup on the right of us,

¹¹Ibid., pp. 168-169, 172.

¹²Cowan, December 5, 1913 letter to Nicholson, p. 207, 1.

¹³Survivors of the 72nd Pa. vs. GBMA, et al., pp. 62, 65.

and then the enemy came in on our rear, and came down by those bushes that we cut down, a lot of trees in our rear were cut down, and they got into us there. This is the time our men commenced clubbing one another, just about the time the Seventy-second came in."

"Our colors retreated back about six or eight feet, probably, maybe, a little further; we could not go beyond these woods, because it was all cut down, and there was more danger tramping over the trees in the position we had there than if we stood still." 14

Of those trees not cut down by the 69th for its position along the fence, Henry Russell of the 72nd Pennsylvania said, "Small trees they were at that time."15

The height of the trees was described in a comparative sense more fully than the above quotations, which merely call them "scrub" oaks, bushes, and saplings. Captain David Shields, on the staff of General Hays, had occasion to see the clump of trees close-handedly on July 3, when sent there by his commander. Shields offered this version of the event:

"'Dave,' said the general to me, 'go over to Webb and see how he is standing it.'

"I rode over at once and found General Webb with his men in the little 'copse of trees,' a thick growth of thin chestnut oaks that rose but little above my horse's head. The ground around the 'copse' was very rough and rocky and covered with brambles, and I was much concerned lest my horse should fall and disable me."16

If the trees, or saplings, were "thin" and reached "little above" Captain Shields' horse's head, they could not have been more than eight to ten feet high. Ziegler's Grove, however, had mature standing white and chesnut oaks, as well as perhaps some black cherry trees, which have a potential growth

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 80, 81.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁶Fleming, pp. 451-452.

height of 50 to 100 feet, at least five times the height of the young clump of trees.

As to the extent of the clump of trees in comparison to Ziegler's Grove, a visitor to the battlefield in 1889 related what had been told him concerning the wartime appearance of the two. "Ziegler's grove near the National cemetery had 60 oak trees. The clump of trees which Pickett aimed for in his famous charge has only 20 hickorys in it."¹⁷ It is unclear where this tourist got his information, except from a local guide, who may or may not have been familiar with the area at the time of the battle. Photographs, however, verify that the extent of Ziegler's Grove on July 3, 1863 far surpassed that of the clump of trees at Webb's line.

Notwithstanding the many contradictions to the claim that the clump of trees was the aiming point of Longstreet's Assault, and was kept in sight by the advancing columns, there are many claims that do not support it. Unfortunately, the bureaucratic power and prestige of Colonel Bachelder as a member of the GBMA (especially the committee on monuments and inscriptions), and later as a War Department battlefield commissioner, led to an often one-sided history and development of the battlefield. Despite all the questions which were brought up by the members of Hays' Division, for example, not one serious battlefield historian has ever evaluated the facts or questioned the statements by Bachelder; the War Department, and their successors. Even though there is more than a shadow of a doubt that Ziegler's Grove may be as important (if not more important) than the copse of trees, the grove has fared badly at the hands of historians and administrators. Not only did the GBMA and the

¹⁷Unpublished diary of an unknown Massachusetts tourist (July 15, 1889 entry), in GNMP files.

War Department construct trails and an avenue through the heart of the grove, but the National Park Service disrupted over half of the historic landmark for a parking lot, eliminating many of the historic white oaks that had been spared the initial cutting program of the nineteenth century. By accepting tradition as fact without examining or questioning the evidence, or the reasoning behind certain developments on the battlefield after the war, administrative errors have been made which not only destroy the historic resource, but slant (if not bastardize) the interpretation of the battle story. By designating one area a "High Water Mark" there is the strong potential of concentrating all efforts toward development and interpretation toward that one site, to the detriment of all others.

That Bachelder indicated the clump of trees as a turning point of the Confederacy was based more on the statement that it was Pickett's aiming point, and not on the events that occurred there. If there was a true high water mark in the sense of the furthest penetration of the enemy's line during the afternoon assault, or of the most intense hand-to-hand fighting, or of the sheer drama of the fate of the nation hanging in the balance, it could rightly be claimed that the Angle area and the Clump of Trees was a high water mark. But Ziegler's Grove should be considered and interpreted and preserved as a more significant battlefield landmark than it has been. To landscape it as a complement to the intrusive Cyclorama Center with gingko trees, maple trees, pin oak trees, and elm trees is as much a travesty to its historic significance as putting asbestos multi-colored shingling on Meade's Headquarters, in order to "liven it up" and make it more attractive. The grove should be restored to its war-time stately appearance, with white oaks and a smattering of perhaps black cherry and chestnut oak trees.

There are enough facts, already related, to claim the significance of the clump of trees and the Angle area without claiming more than may be readily proven about the trees as any kind of "aiming point". Despite the fact that Spotsylvania claimed it had the only "Bloody Angle", Gettysburg's battlefield also had an area which for many years was referred to by the soldier/participants as the "Bloody Angle". According to one, this Bloody Angle took its name "from the conformation of the stone wall . . . and the fact that more men fell here than on any other part of the field."¹⁸ But, we should not forget that there were other significant sites on the battlefield, some bloodier and some more striking, which should not be sacrificed to the busy pens of the Virginians or the monumental developments of past administrators and historians of the battlefield.

"Pickett's charge was sensational, and because it was the culminating repulse of Lee at Gettysburg it has been given much more publicity than its merits deserve. As a matter of fact, the first day's battle at Gettysburg was by far the greatest of the three days, the losses of the First and Eleventh Corps nearly equalling in that one day's battle the combined losses of the rest of the Army of the Potomac in the second and third days' battles. . . .

"An element which enters into the discussion of the charge is that the Virginians, who were exceedingly active advertisers, have claimed all the credit of Pickett's charge to their State. The North Carolinians vigorously resent this and show by the records that the North Carolina men . . . went further than Pickett, and that there were many more North Carolinians killed in the charge than Virginians."¹⁹

¹⁸"The Battle of Gettysburg--Third Day, July 3, 1863," The Evening Telegraph (July 3, 1903), in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings #6, Relating to the Battle, p. 134.

¹⁹"Pickett's Charge," The National Tribune (January 29, 1914), in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings #6, Relating to the Battle, p. 178.

Tipton Photo No. 543 "Entrance to Hancock Ave. and Ziegler's Grove."

(1882-1884) This view looks westward from the Taneytown Road, showing the gate entrance to the newly laid out Hancock Avenue through Ziegler's Grove. Only the northern section of the large oak grove remains and is shown. The southern section, of which a small portion is visible at the extreme left background, was cut down and is not there in the photograph. One of the early GBMA wooden signs, appended to an oak tree is visible at the center left, probably marking the position of Robinson's Division of the First Corps on the 3rd of July, 1863.

(GNMP photo file)

Tipton Photo No. 236. "Position of 126th N. Y. above Ziegler's Grove"

(1884-1889) This view looks eastward from the developed Hancock Avenue, and shows one of the Massachusetts cast iron markers erected in the fall of October 1884. The cannon tubes lying on the ground in the foreground were condemned cannon donated to the GBMA from the War Department, and stored there until needed for field display or for melting down for the metal. At the extreme left is the remnant of Ziegler's Grove, while the ridgeline to the right of the large tulip poplar tree is barren of trees, where they were cut and before they were replaced by the superintendent of grounds N. G. Wilson in 1888-1889.

(GNMP, Tipton collection, #1885)

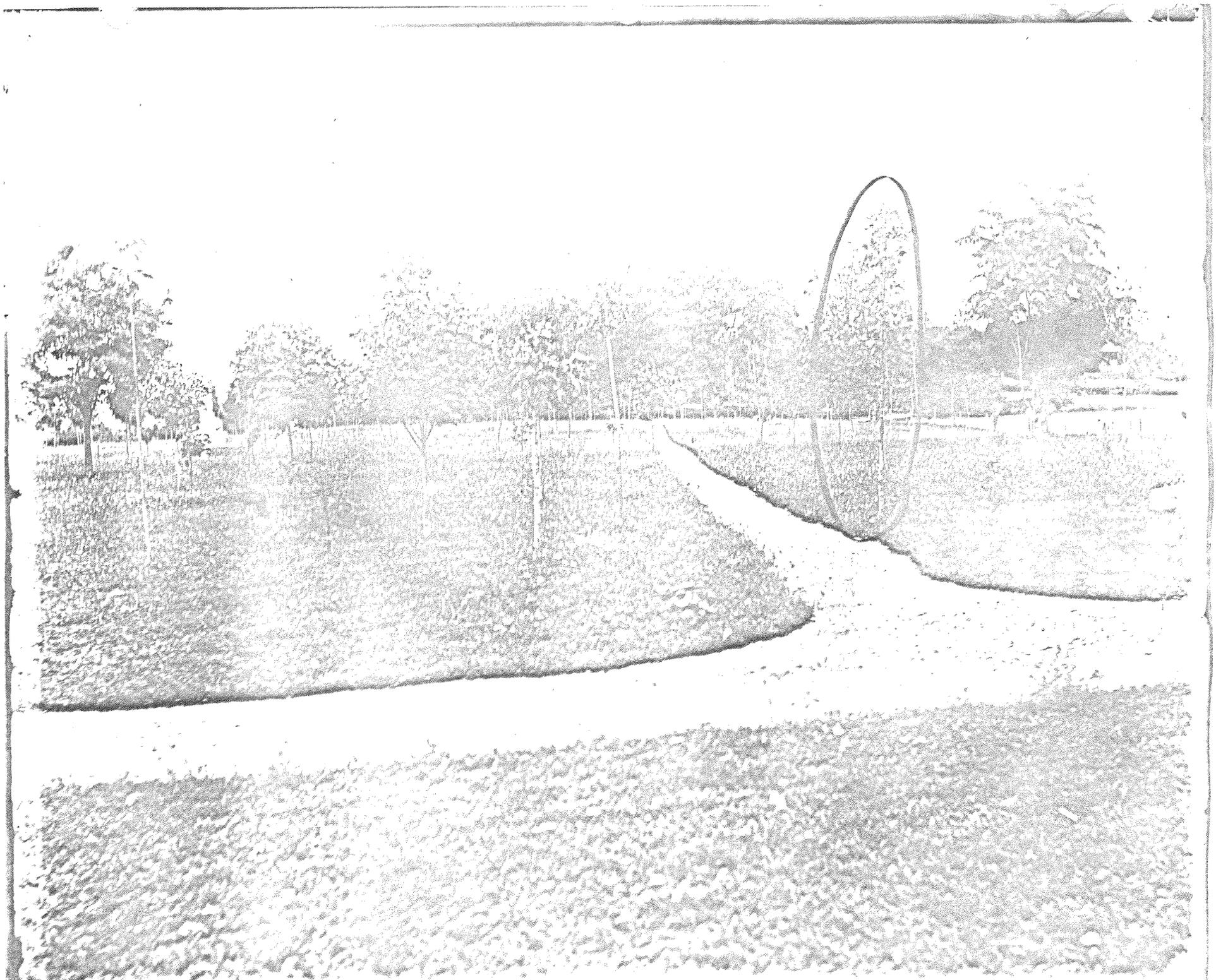


Tipton Photo

View in Ziegler's Grove

(1897) This view looks northward in the grove from the approximate position of the present High Water Mark walk interpretive panel and the entrance plaza to the Cyclorama Center. The walkways were installed by the War Department to provide access to the Hancock Avenue observation tower, out of the photograph to the left. The view shows the progress of the growth of the trees planted by Superintendent Wilson in 1888-1889. The tree in the foreground just to the right of the walkway is a sycamore maple, and it still exists just outside of the plaza west of the Cyclorama Center. The large trees in the background are the remnants of the historic Ziegler's Grove.

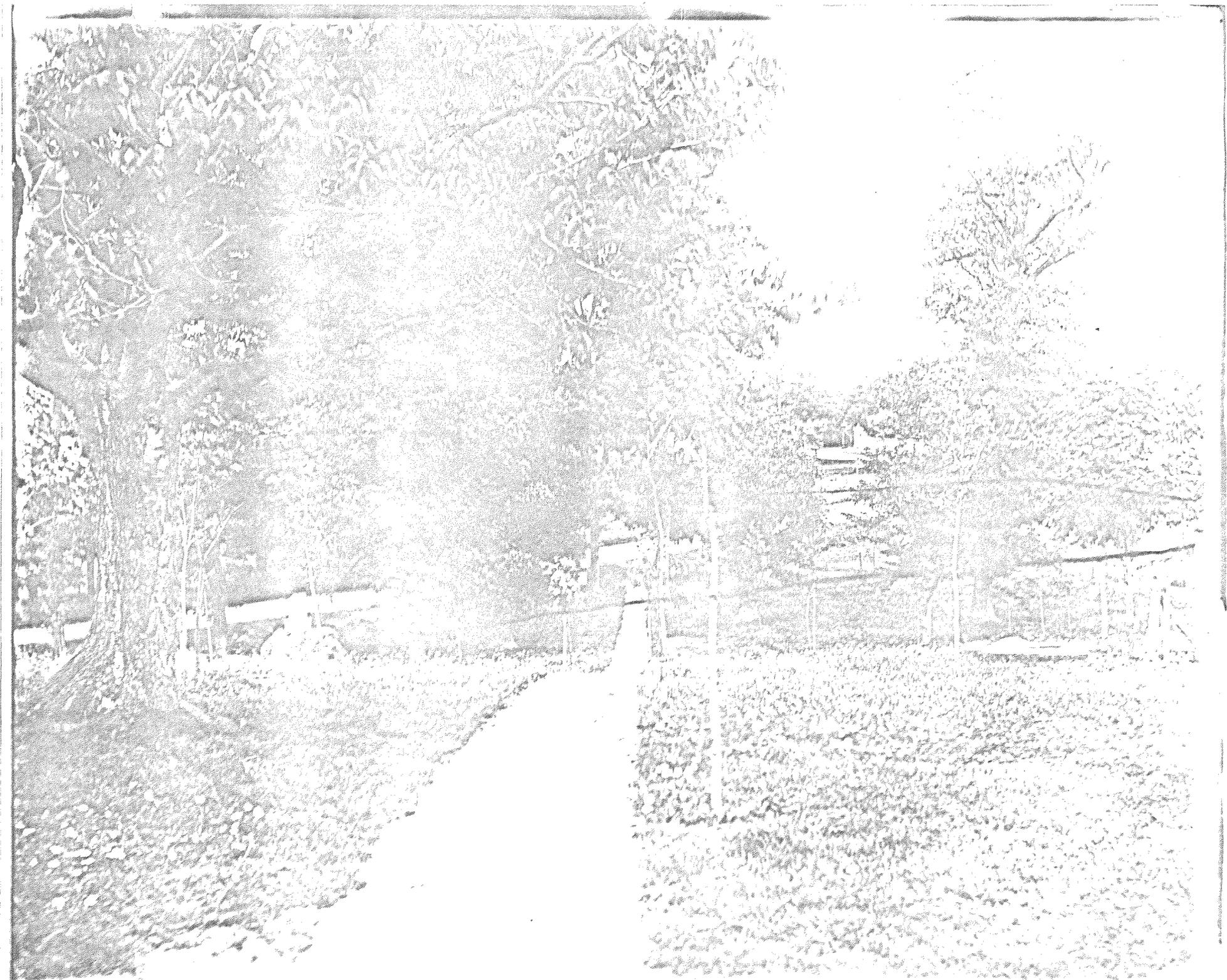
(GNMP, Tipton file #2877)



Tipton Photo "The Walk Through Ziegler's Grove, looking north"

(1897) Contrary to the title of this photograph, the view is really towards the northeast, with the Taneytown Road and the entrance to the National Cemetery in the center background. At the left in the foreground is an old black cherry tree, while all the older trees in the grove behind this cherry tree appear to be white oaks. The small markers in the center and towards the left, in the middle ground, are to the 12th Massachusetts and the 88th Pennsylvania, respectively. The area encircled is now parking facility for the Cyclorama Center. This lower portion of the grove gives the viewer an idea of the scope and enormity of the woods at the time of the battle.

(GNMP, Tipton file #2956)



Edwin Forbes Drawing "The Battle of Gettysburg"

(1863) This pen and ink drawing by Edwin Forbes depicts the field of Pickett's Charge, apparently from a point near the McMillan Farm buildings and orchards (visible at the left of the drawing). The view is eastward and, according to Forbes' own description, depicts "the Great Charge of Pickett's Div. of Longstreet's Corps, on the Centre of the Union Line. On the Afternoon of July 3rd 1863. Ziegler's Grove on the Left. Culps Hill Showing above the Union Line on Right. Union Position held by the First and Second Corps." Most importantly, Forbes mentioned specifically "Ziegler's Grove" and not any copse or clump of trees. In fact, Forbes does not depict any copse or clump of trees on the landscape of the Union line except for those in Ziegler's Grove, on the height at the center left. It is somewhat significant that Forbes would mention the grove as early as 1863, the year of the battle, perhaps denoting that it had some real significance to the battle.

(Library of Congress, GNMP print)



The Battle of Gettysburg
Sketch of the front of the 1st Corps of Longstreet's Corps, on the eastern of the
main line, on the afternoon of July 3rd 1863, just before the assault on
Culp's Hill, showing the position of the 1st and 2nd Divisions.
Main position held by the 1st and 2nd Corps. *W. H. H.*

Edwin Forbes Drawing "The Battle of Gettysburg" (enlargment)

(1863) This enlargement of the previous pen and ink drawing shows primarily the wartime appearance of Ziegler's Grove as sketched by the artist, Edwin Forbes. The view is over the advancing Confederate lines toward the east.

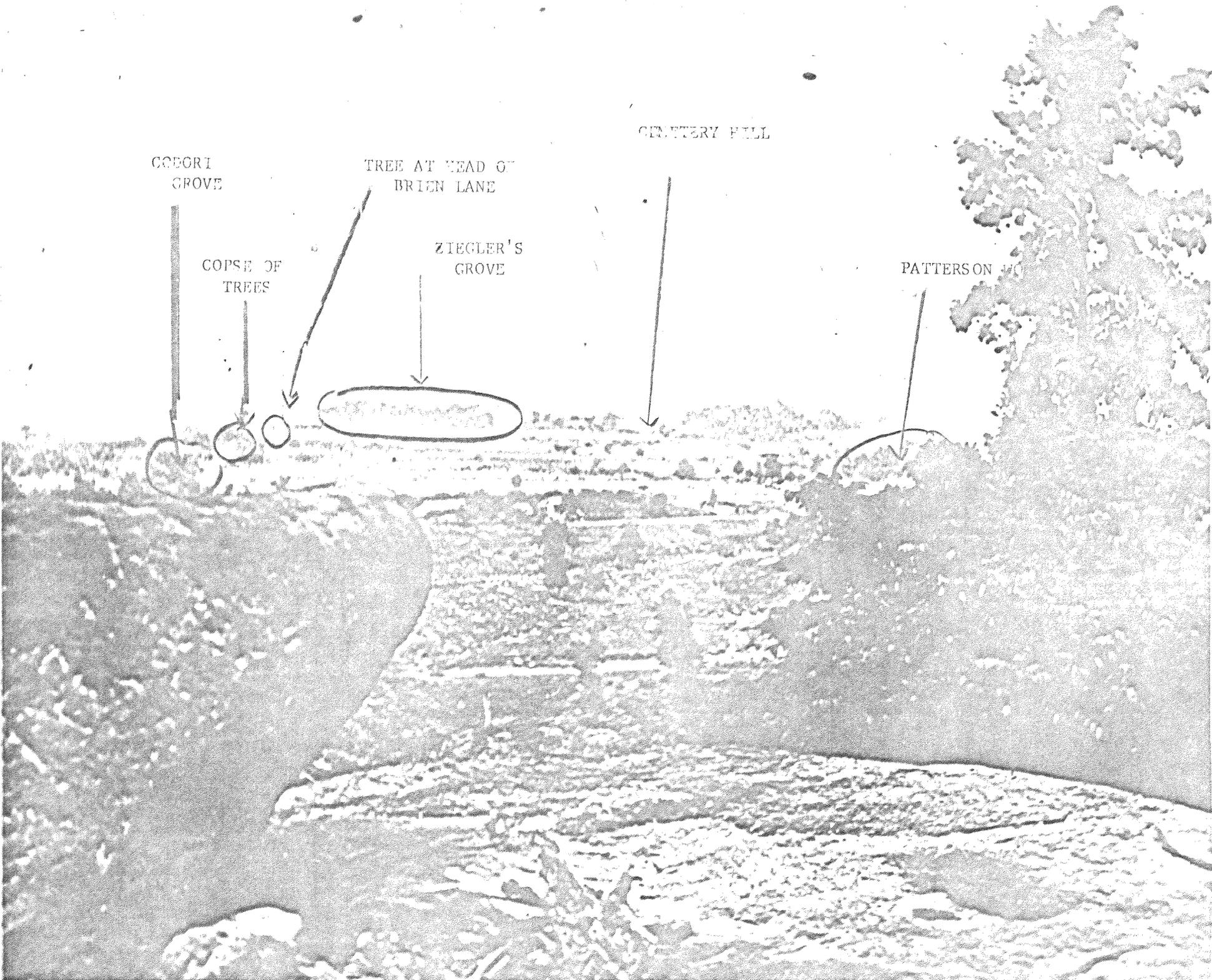
(Library of Congress, GNMP print)



Brady Photo "Scene looking northward toward Cemetery Hill from the crest of Little Round Top"

(July 1863) This view, while concentrating on the foreground and the fields of the George Weikert Farm, is the only 1863 photograph extant showing the field of Longstreet's Assault of July 3, 1863. Ziegler's Grove dominates the horizon at the left center, while one is hard pressed to find the copse of trees. Both have been labelled for identification, as well as other identifiable trees mentioned in battle histories. The comparable heights of Ziegler's Grove and the copse of trees may not be apparent, but a measurement of the images on the photograph reveals that the average height of Ziegler's Grove trees is 4 - 5 mm, while those in the copse of trees range from 2 - 3 mm (almost half the height, even though the image of the copse of trees is closer to the camera, and should be that much larger).

(Library of Congress, GNMP enlargement)



COEGLI
GROVE

TREE AT HEAD OF
BRIEN LANE

GENETERY HILL

COPSE OF
TREES

ZIEGLER'S
GROVE

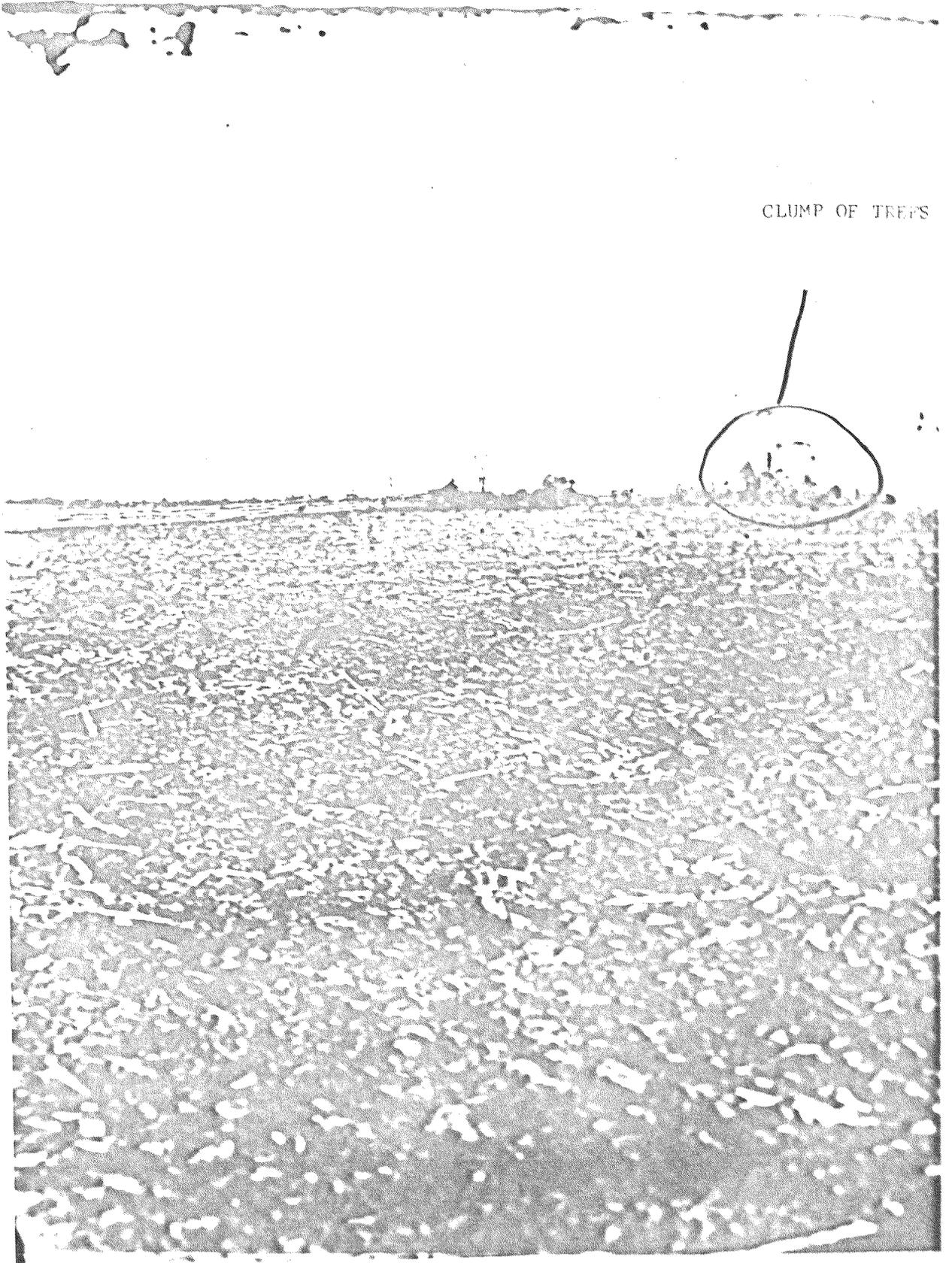
PATTERSON

Tyson/Tipton Photo No. 526 "Showing part of ground occupied by Hancock
at time of Longstreet's charge!" (enlarged)

(1870s, before fall of 1877) This view is southeast from the
Emmitsburg Road, and is part of a series of three taken
by the photographer, which swept from the Angle to the
Codori buildings. This particular photograph shows the
appearance of the Angle and the clump of trees during
the fall. We are looking almost head-on to the angle
in the stone wall, which embraces a rider throughout its
length. The clump of trees is on the horizon at the right,
its composition comprising a dozen or so closely spaced
saplings.

(Tipton file #1890, GNMP)

CLUMP OF TREES



Tipton Photo Panorama for Cyclorama painting, clump of trees (enlarged section)

(1881) This view of southwestward toward the clump of trees and the position occupied by Webb's Brigade. The larger growth in the clump is comprised of from 15 - 20 closely planted trees, while a multitude of saplings and undergrowth is coming in around the clump proper. Stretching down to the wall is another thick growth of saplings, perhaps representative of the condition of the vegetation that was cut at the slashing and in this same area, as described by men of the 69th Pennsylvania. This thicker growth is really a re-growth, then, where the original was cut down at the time of the battle.

In the background at the right is the Codori orchard. Just to the right of the clump of trees are the larger trees of the Codori-Trostle thicket, which grew along the course of Plum Run.

(Tipton file #2649, GNMP)

CODORI-TROSTLE
THICKET

CLUMP OF TREES

CODORI
ORCHARD

GROWTH TO WALL



Tipton Photo No. 200 "The Copse--Round Top in background"

(August 1884-November 1884) This view across present Hancock Avenue shows the clump of trees just to the right of the newly erected monument of the 106th Pennsylvania Infantry of Webb's Brigade. (That monument was moved to the Emmitsburg Road about 1889 to denote its July 2 position.) The height of the trees in comparison to the horse and carriage shows the growth over the 21 years since the battle of the trees. The density of the growth contrasts with today's openness within the fence, and confirms the kind of dense growth that would have occurred had the closely planted trees shown in earlier photos been allowed to grow unaltered. The view is southward along the rear of Gibbon's line.

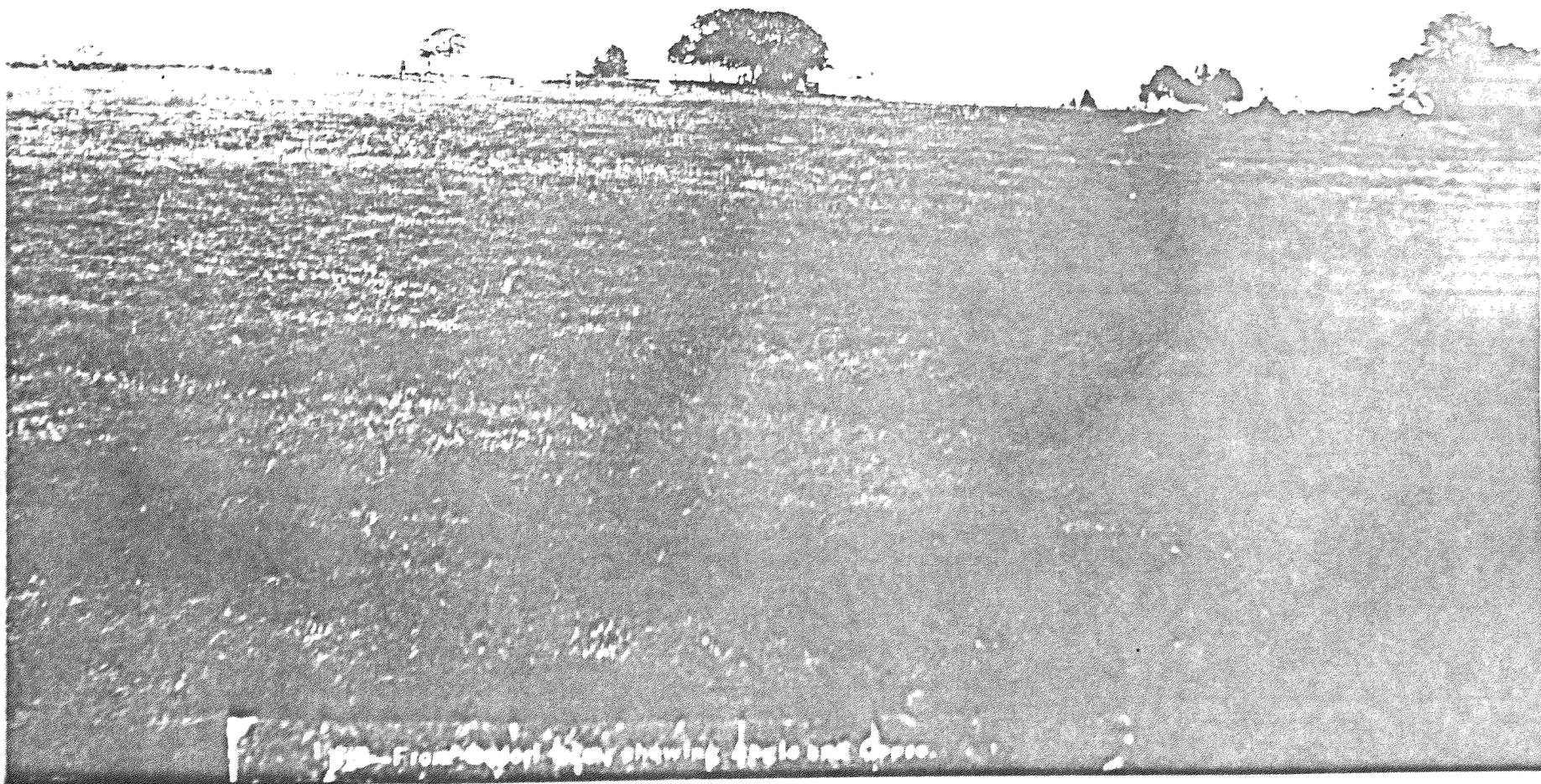
(Tipton file #1884, GNMP)



Tipton Photo No. 638 "From Codori farm, showing Angle and Copse"

(1889-1891) This photo from the west of the Angle, in the fields of the Codori farm, shows the clump of trees surrounded by the cast iron fence constructed in the summer of 1888 by Gilbert and Smith. At the extreme right are the trees which grew up in the slashing area. Note that their size is similar to that of the clump of trees, even though the slashing trees had to grow from scratch after the battle.

(Tipton file #1887, GNMP)



1950 - From report - showing apple and orange.

Tipton Photo Hancock Avenue from Ziegler's Grove tower (enlarged section)

(1895-1899) This view is southward from Ziegler's Grove, and shows the clump of trees and the re-grown slashing in front of Hall's position. The area just west of the clump of trees shows no vegetative growth outside of the fence surrounding the copse. The height of the trees in the slashing is just less than the height of the copse of trees, indicating it was not much older than the slashing.

(GNMP files)

CLUMP OF TREES

SLASHING

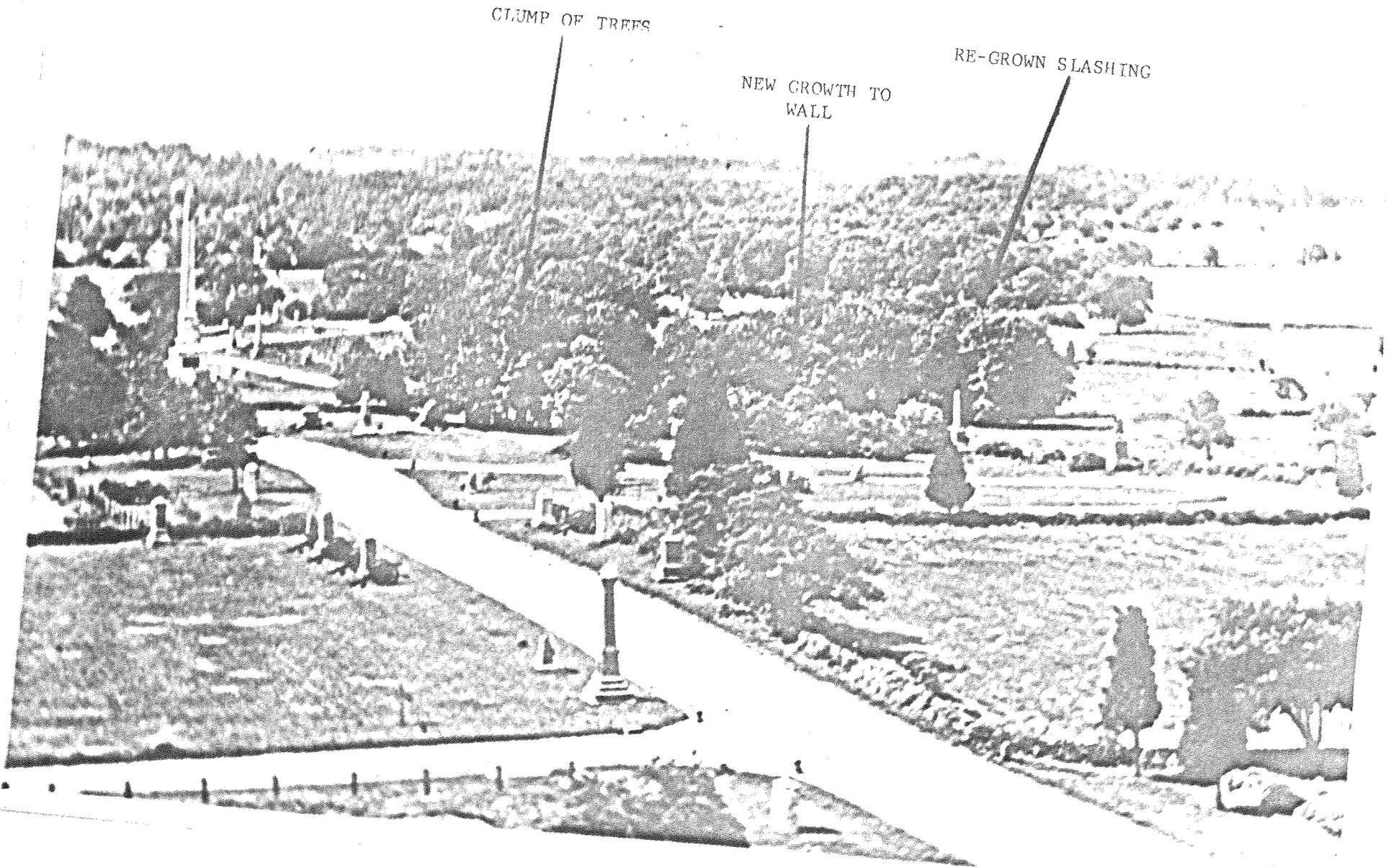


Tipton Photo View south over Hancock Avenue from Ziegler's Grove tower (enlarged section)

(after 1911) This view is comparable to the previous photo, but shows a much-changed area between the copse of trees and the stone wall to the west, along the position of the 69th Pennsylvania Infantry. In the area which was clear of vegetative growth during the 1890s decade, we see a number of saplings and bushes coming in. This growth may be on the same terrain as that documented by the members of the 69th, wherein they cut some trees down to the wall and let some bushes and smaller growth remain during the battle. Since we saw this same area in a thick undergrowth of young trees and bushes in the 1881 Tipton photo, it may have been natural for the trees to regenerate in that area. This view, then, approximates the appearance of the area covered by the clump of trees on July 3, 1863.

The slashing, beyond the new growth, has reached a mature height by the time this photo was taken, and rivals the appearance of the clump of trees as a battlefield landmark.

(GNMP files)



CLUMP OF TREES

NEW GROWTH TO
WALL

RE-GROWN SLASHING

Appendix C--Statistics and Casualties

The elements of strengths and casualties were not presented in the body of the text due to the contradictory, confusing, and oft-times inaccurate or incomplete, data available in secondary and some primary resources. While the individual character studies are important, statistical records should not be slighted, since they often prove the validity of a unit's ability to fight and also help in the interpretation and understanding of the resource itself, i. e., the historic landscape.

William F. Fox, one of the primary students of Civil War statistics, evaluated the use of numbers of strengths and casualties in any study of a battle or campaign:

The history of a battle or a war should always be studied in connection with the figures which show the losses. By overlooking them an indefinite, and often erroneous, idea is obtained. By neglecting them, many historians fail to develop the important points of the contest. They use the same rhetorical description for different attacks, whether the pressure was strong or weak; the loss, great or small; the fight, bloody or harmless.

"To properly understand the relative importance of the various movements on a battle field, the student must know the loss of life at the different points of the line. He will then see where the points of contact really were; where the pressure was greatest; where the scenes of valor and heroism occurred. There is no better way of doing this than by noting the place in the line held by the various regiments and ascertaining the loss of life in each."¹

Fox's commentary, though valid and stimulating to thought, is somewhat unrealistic. As we shall see, many units during the war failed to keep accurate day-by-day records of casualties and strengths, so that it is vir-

¹William F. Fox, Regimental Losses in the American Civil War 1861-1865 (Albany, 1889), p. 1.

tually impossible to ascertain on which particular day a casualty occurred. For example, most of the casualties suffered in Theodore Gates' 20th New York State Militia were recorded as simply July 1-3. Since the regiment was heavily engaged on both July 1 and July 3 it is difficult to tell where and how heavy the casualties were for that particular regiment on a certain day.

And while a study of the nature of casualties would be beneficial, it also is impractical. Nowhere is there an inclusive listing of types of wounds (gunshot, shell fragment, other) suffered by each member of a regiment for each battle. The closest record would be found in the Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, but that only lists a small percentage of casualties in any kind of in-depth case study. The records used to compile the History were apparently destroyed after the volumes were completed, thus eliminating forever the hospital and surgical records from the battlefields, which would have been the best source for the kinds of casualty/statistical studies that Fox proposed.

An easy, or shorthand, method for determining comparative casualty rates was proposed by the North Carolinian W. R. Bond, and its premise has some merit. Bond reported that since "it was the custom in some commands to report every scratch as a wound, and in others to report no man as wounded who was fit for duty, the most accurate test for courage and efficiency is the number of killed."² And Fox added that "the proportion of killed increasing where the fighting is close and destructive, while in long range fighting the proportion of wounded increases"³, it should be relatively simple to determine which units were engaged in the heavy and desperate

²Bond, Pickett or Pettigrew?, p. 40.

³Fox, p. 22.

conflicts. Fox figured that there could be determined a ratio which would show the proportion of wounded (including those mortally wounded) to those killed outright. He did not include the captured and missing men into these calculations since the relative proportion of wounded and killed in that figure could not be ascertained. He asserted that it did not make any difference to omit these captured and missing from the figures because it "probably would not differ enough from the usual ratio to change the average to any extent." His average ratio for a Civil War battle was 4.8, meaning that the number of wounded outnumbered the killed by 4.8 times. Fox contended that the lower ratios (3.0 at Williamsburg, 3.5 at Fort Wagner, 3.6 at Crampton's Gap, 3.9 at Rappahannock Station, &c) were due to a closer, more destructive fighting. Gettysburg was very close to the national average for the war at 4.7, just a little deadlier than the usual.⁴

Looking at the Gettysburg casualties on the third day, however, one does not get the same ratio that Fox did. By studying the July 3, 1863 numbers of killed and wounded for eight Union regiments involved in the repulse of Pickett's Division, we came up with a ratio of 4.0.

13th Vermont	(16% killed July 3)	6.3
14th Vermont	(25% killed July 3)	4.0
16th Vermont	(16% killed July 3)	6.3
19th Mass.	(13% killed July 3)	7.7
20th Mass.	(34% killed July 3)	3.0
151st Pa.	(25% killed July 1-3)	4.0
42nd N. Y.	(50% killed July 3)	2.0
59th N. Y.	(21% killed July 3)	4.9
average	25% killed to wounded	4.0 ratio

⁴Ibid., p. 23.

The casualty records for both Union and Confederate forces engaged in the attack and repulse of Pickett's Division are incomplete, and, at best, approximations and averages in many cases. For instance, statistics for the 19th Maine Infantry of Harrow's Brigade varied in each of five sources consulted, and matched one in the sixth. One said 199 casualties; one said 206 casualties; one said 216 casualties; one said 217 casualties; and two said 206 casualties. Figures for those present for duty on July 3 are even harder to ascertain, and even if found they do not always reflect the actual numbers engaged. In one instance, however, the historian of a Union regiment cited the names of all officers and men who were killed, wounded, and captured. Although each separate type of casualty total did not correspond to that of Fox, the sum total was exactly the same.⁵ In this instance, we are even fortunate to have a breakdown of the casualties of each company within the regiment.

From the sources available without consulting the manuscript records held by the National Archives (which are an imperative tool for any study of the battle which can ever be complete), we can therefore chart out the regimental losses for Meade's Union brigades that withstood the cannonade and the attack by Pickett's Division:

⁵Anthony McDermott, January 27, 1887 letter to John B. Bachelder, in Bachelder Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.

UNION FIRST CORPS

	<u>Engaged</u>	<u>July 3 Casualties</u>	<u>July 1-3 Casualties</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Rowley's Brigade				
20th New York S.M.	287	11 k. 13 w. 1 m.	1 k. 82 w. 3 m.	max. 39%
151st Pennsylvania	c.137	1 k. 4-16 w.		max. 12%
	<u>c. 424</u>	<u>42 k.w.&m.</u>	<u>86 k.w.&m.</u>	<u>max. 30%</u>
Stannard's Brigade				
13th Vermont	710 max.	14 k. 82 w.		min. 13.5%
14th Vermont	c.500	20 k. 75 w. 1 m.		c. 19%
16th Vermont	732 max.	14 k. 87 w. 1 m.		min. 12.5%
	<u>1942 max.</u>	<u>291 k.w.&m.</u>		<u>min. 15%</u>

UNION SECOND CORPS

	<u>Engaged</u>	<u>July 3 Casualties</u>	<u>July 1-3 Casualties</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Webb's Brigade				
69th Pennsylvania	258	41 k. 83 w. 18 m.		55%
71st Pennsylvania	c.421		21 k. 58 w. 19 m.	c. 23%
72nd Pennsylvania	c.458	44 k. 145 w. 2 m.		c. 42%
	<u>c. 1137</u>	<u>333 k.w.&m.</u>	<u>99 k.w.&m.</u>	<u>c. 38%</u>
Farrow's Brigade				
82nd New York	c. 244	18 k., c. 51 w.		c. 28%
19th Maine	c. 317	c.12 k. c. 64 w.		c. 24%
15th Massachusetts	239 max.	12 k. 8 w.	1 k. 81 w. 22 m.	c. 52%
1st Minnesota	115	17 k. & w.		15%
	<u>c. 915</u>	<u>c. 182 k.w.&m.</u>	<u>104 k.w.&m.</u>	<u>c. 31%</u>

	<u>Engaged</u>	<u>July 3 Casualties</u>	<u>July 1-3 Casualties</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Hull's Brigade				
59th New York	c. 120	3 k. 14 w.		c. 14%
19th Massachusetts	131	8-9 k. 51-59 w. 1-8 m.		c. 51%
20th Massachusetts	230 max.	32 k. 93 w. 2 m.		min. 55%
42nd New York	361 max.	18 k. 36 w.		min. 15%
7th Michigan	152	16 k. 25 w.		27%
	<u>c. 974</u>	<u>c. 315 k.w.&m.</u>		<u>c. 32%</u>
Cushing's Battery A, 4th U.S. ?		41 k. & w.; 65 horses k. & w. (caissons #1, #2, #3 blown up)		
Rorty's Battery B, 1st New York		11 k. 16 w.		
Cowan's 1st New York Battery		4 k. 8 w.; 14 horses k.		
Weir's Battery C, 5th U.S.			2 k. 14 w.	
Fitzhugh's Battery K, 1st New York		7 w.		
Parson's Battery A, 1st N. J.		2 k. 7 w.		
Brown's Battery B, 1st R. Is.		2 k. 15 w.		
Total	c. 5392	c. 1276 k.w.&m.	305 k.w.&m.	c. 29%

The sources for the figures in the foregoing chart included:

Fox, Regimental Losses, pp. 211, 16, 278, 279, 213, 134, 161, 164.

Jesse Bowman Young, The Battle of Gettysburg--A Comprehensive Narrative (Dayton, Ohio, 1976), pp. 389, 390, 393.

Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York for the year 1901. . . . Registers of the Seventy-fifth, Seventy-sixth, Seventy-seventh, Seventy-eighth, Seventy-ninth, and Eightieth Regiments of Infantry, Serial No. 29 (Albany, 1902), pp. 1080-1357.

"Returns of the 20th New York State Militia for the Month of July 1863", photocopy in GNMP files.

John B. Bachelder Correspondence, New Hampshire Historical Society, vol. 3, p. 16.

Bates, History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, vol IV, pp. 681-697.

Owen, August 6, 1866 letter to Bachelder.

Theodore S. Peck, ed., Revised Roster of Vermont Volunteers (Montpelier, 1892), pp. 482-501, 505-523, 549-567.

John B. Bachelder Correspondence, New Hampshire Historical Society, vol. 2.

Benedict, A Short History of the 14th Vermont Reg't, p. 44.

McDermott, June 2, 1886 letter to Bachelder, pp. 381-382.

"69th Pennsylvania Has Glorious Record," The Philadelphia Record (May 1, 1904), in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings #6, p. 138.

McDermott, January 27, 1887 letter to Bachelder.

Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the State of New York for the year 1900. . . . Registers of the Eighty-first, Eighty-second, Eighty-third, Eighty-fourth, Eighty-fifth, and Eighty-sixth Regiments of Infantry, Serial No. 30 (Albany, 1902), pp. 247-493.

New York Monuments Commission, In Memoriam A. S. Webb, p. 43.

Hamlin, et al., ed., Maine at Gettysburg, p. 314.

John B. Bachelder, Notes, Huntington Library, GNMP microfilm.

Ford, The Story of the Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts.

John B. Bachelder Correspondence, New Hampshire Historical Society, vol. 1, p. 83.

Andrews, ed., Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars.

Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the State of New York for the year 1900 . . . Registers of the Fifty-seventh, Fifty-eighth, Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth, Sixty-first, and Sixty-second Regiments of Infantry, Serial No. 26 (Albany, 1901), pp. 368-656.

Waitt, History of the Nineteenth Regiment Massachusetts, p. 247, and roster.

Bruce, The Twentieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry.

Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the State of New York for the year 1900. . . Registers of the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first, Forty-second and Forty-third Regiments of Infantry, Serial No. 23C (Albany, 1901), pp. 892-1101.

Record of Services of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, vol. 7 (Kalamazoo, 1903), p. 2 and roster.

First Lieutenant Alexander B. Dyer, "Fourth Regiment of Artillery," Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States, vol. 11 (1890), p. 852.

Fuger, "Cushing's Battery at Gettysburg," p. 407.

John H. Rhodes, The History of Battery B 1st Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery in the War to Preserve the Union 1861-1865 (Providence, 1894), p. 214.

ORs, vol. 27, part 1, p. 187.

Fox, New York at Gettysburg, vol. 3, p. 1278.

As already mentioned, Confederate statistics are not as readily available, and those statistics which have been published or documented are often incomplete. However, there is a rather complete listing of field and staff officers killed and wounded in Pickett's Division, which might be interesting to note since it reflects the attrition rate among those Southern leaders who accompanied their forces into the field:

PICKETT'S DIVISION

Major-General George E. Pickett, commanding

Staff

Major Charles Pickett, Assistant Adjutant-General
 Major Walter Harrison, Assistant Adjutant-General & Inspector-General
 Major Charles W. Chancellor, Surgeon
 Major M. M. Lewis, Surgeon
 Major R. Taylor Scott, Chief Quartermaster
 Major Horace W. Jones, Chief Commissary
 Captain David Meade, Assistant Quartermaster
 Captain Thomas Wallace, Assistant Quartermaster
 Captain William B. Edmonds, Assistant Quartermaster
 Captain W. Douglas Stuart, Chief Engineer
 First Lieutenant Samuel G. Leitch, Chief Ordnance Officer
 First Lieutenant Edward R. Baird, Aide-de-Camp
 First Lieutenant W. Stuart Symington, Aide-de-Camp
 First Lieutenant Robert A. Bright, Aide-de-Camp
 First Lieutenant F. W. Brooke, Aide-de-Camp
 Captain Raymond Fairfax--Pioneer Corps
 Orderlies and Couriers--Harrie Hough, Richard Avery, Robert Hempston,
 Thomas R. Friend, James Ryals, Martin V. B.
 Campbell, George Stultz, Twenty-fourth Infantry;
 John E. Whitlock

Garnett's Brigade

Brigadier-General Richard B. Garnett, KILLED

Staff

Captain Charles F. Linthicum, Assistant Adjutant-General
 Captain Edmund C. Fitzhugh, Assistant Adjutant-General
 Captain James D. McIntire, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, WOUNDED
 Captain Henry Danforth, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General
 Captain Charles F. Berkeley, Adjutant and Inspector-General
 Major Samuel A. McConkey, Surgeon
 Major George T. Jones, Quartermaster
 Major James Johnson, Commissary
 First Lieutenant John Simpkins Jones, Aide-de-Camp
 First Lieutenant Thomas R. Harrison, Aide-de-Camp
 First Lieutenant W. S. Fowler, Aide-de-Camp

Regiments

8th Virginia--Colonel Eppa Hunton, WOUNDED; Lieutenant-Colonel
 Norbonne Berkeley, WOUNDED; Major Edmund Berkeley,
 WOUNDED
 18th Virginia--Lieutenant-Colonel Henry A. Carrington, WOUNDED
 19th Virginia--Colonel Henry Gantt, WOUNDED; Lieutenant-Colonel
 John T. Ellis, KILLED; Major Charles S. Peyton,
 WOUNDED
 28th Virginia--Colonel Robert C. Allen, KILLED; Lieutenant-Colonel
 Nat. Claiborne Wilson, KILLED
 56th Virginia--Colonel W. D. Stuart, KILLED; Lieutenant-Colonel
 P. P. Slaughter, WOUNDED; Captain James G. Wyant,
 KILLED

Armistead's Brigade

Brigadier-General Lewis A. Armistead, MORTALLY WOUNDED

Staff

Captain James D. Darden, Assistant Adjutant-General, WOUNDED

Captain Peyton Randolph, Assistant Inspector-General

Captain William L. Randolph, Ordnance Officer

Major J. N. McAlphine, Surgeon

Major R. H. Carter, Quartermaster

Major W. W. Herbert, Commissary

First Lieutenant W. Keith Armistead, Aide-de-Camp

Regiments

9th Virginia--Colonel John C. Owen, KILLED; Lieutenant-Colonel
Jasper J. Phillips, WOUNDED; Major W. J. Richardson,
CAPTURED

14th Virginia--Colonel James G. Hodges, KILLED; Lieutenant-Colonel
William White, WOUNDED

38th Virginia--Colonel E. C. Edmonds, KILLED; Lieutenant-Colonel
Powhatan B. Whittle, WOUNDED; Major Joseph R. Cabell

53rd Virginia--Colonel W. R. Aylett, WOUNDED; Lieutenant-Colonel
Rawley Martin, WOUNDED; Major J. C. Timberlake

57th Virginia--Colonel John Bowie Magruder, KILLED; Lieutenant-
Colonel Benjamin F. Wade, KILLED; Major Clement R.
Fontaine, WOUNDED

Kemper's Brigade

Brigadier-General James L. Kemper, WOUNDED

Staff

Captain William Fry, Assistant Adjutant-General, WOUNDED

Captain Thomas Gordon Pollock, Assistant Inspector-General, KILLED

First Lieutenant George E. Geiger, Aide-de-Camp, KILLED

Captain William Galt Allen, Assistant Adjutant-General

Captain Kinloch Nelson, Ordnance

First Lieutenant Volney Harris, Aide-di-Camp

Major Charles B. Morton, Surgeon

Major N. R. Crisler, Quartermaster

Major James W. Green, Commissary

Regiments

1st Virginia--Colonel Lewis B. Williams, KILLED; Major Frank H.
Langley, WOUNDED

3rd Virginia--Colonel Joseph Mayo, Jr.; Lieutenant-Colonel A. D.
Callcote, KILLED; Major W. H. Pryor

7th Virginia--Colonel W. Tazewell Patton, MORTALLY WOUNDED; Major
C. Swindler, WOUNDED AND CAPTURED

11th Virginia--Lieutenant-Colonel Kirkwood Otey, WOUNDED; Major
J. Risque Hutter, WOUNDED; Captain John Holmes Smith,
WOUNDED

24th Virginia--Colonel William R. Terry, WOUNDED; Major J. A. Hambrick,
WOUNDED; Major W. W. Bentley, WOUNDED.

(extracted and revised from newspaper clipping in Virginia Monument Correspondence, GNMP archives.)

Confederate losses on the field during the attack and repulse of Pickett's Division were reported by different parties according to their partisanship as much as by the sources they consulted. A North Carolina publication, embroiled in the defense of that state's role in the battle, discussed the relative casualties in North Carolina units compared to those in Pickett's Virginia Division:

"Lane carried in 1,300 and lost 600, nearly all killed and wounded. Pettigrew's Brigade was about 1,700 strong, and lost 1,100, the greater part killed and wounded. . . .

"The three Virginia brigades numbering over 4,700 strong, lost 224 killed and 1,140 wounded, a total of 1,364. They had besides 1,499 missing. While the North Carolina brigades did not have so many captured as Pickett's troops, they doubtless suffered a heavier loss in killed and wounded, although they took into the fight a smaller force. . . ." 6

C. Irvine Walker, studying the losses in Pickett's Division long after the war, arrived at the conclusion that the loss in the division was only 22%, with "more than half being prisoners, leaving 11 per cent killed and wounded."⁷ Walker got his figures from the published official records, which are (at the moment) the best we have for all the Virginia regiments concerned. The flaw in these records is the vast number of those listed as missing. These 1499 men were supposedly comprised of a large number of killed and wounded not able to be verified or accounted for in Pickett's reports. They can still be used, however, in the same manner as the Union records were used to come up with a chart of Pickett's casualties:

⁶ Ashe, "The Pettigrew-Pickett Charge," pp. 158-159.

⁷"Percentage of Loss in Pickett's Charge," Confederate Veteran Magazine, vol. 31 (August, 1923), p. 286.

PICKETT'S DIVISION

	<u>Engaged</u>	<u>Casualties</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Garnett's Brigade			
staff	12	1 k.	8%
8th Virginia	211	6 k. 48 w. c. 90 m.	c. 68%
18th Virginia	361	10 k. 77 w. c. 144 m.	c. 64%
19th Virginia	?	10 k. 34 w. c. 73 m.	?
28th Virginia	c. 428	19 k. 58 w. c. 128 m.	c. 48%
56th Virginia	?	22 k. 40 w. c. 104 m.	
	<hr/> 1,287	<hr/> 68 k. 257 w. 539 m.	<hr/> 67%
Armistead's Brigade			
staff	8	1 k.	12%
9th Virginia	c. 375	71 w. c. 77 m.	c. 39%
14th Virginia	c. 445	17 k. 91 w. c. 122 m.	c. 52%
38th Virginia	c. 440	23 k. 147 w. c. 191 m.	c. 82%
53rd Virginia	452	17 k. 87 w. c. 117 m.	c. 49%
57th Virginia	c. 518	26 k. 95 w. c. 136 m.	c. 50%
	<hr/> c. 2,238	<hr/> 84 k. 491 w. 643 m.	<hr/> c. 55%
Kemper's Brigade			
staff	10	2 k. 2 w. c. 2 m.	c. 40%
1st Virginia	c. 360	2 k. 62 w. c. 66 m.	c. 36%
3rd Virginia	342	16 k. 51 w. c. 66 m.	c. 39%
7th Virginia	c. 348	15 k. 79 w. c. 95 m.	c. 54%
11th Virginia	c. 382	12 k. 97 w. c. 110 m.	c. 57%
24th Virginia	409	17 k. 111 w. c. 129 m.	c. 63%
	<hr/> c. 1,851	<hr/> 64 k. 402 w. 317 m.	<hr/> c. 42%
Total	<hr/> c. 5376	<hr/> 216 k. 1150 w. 1499 m. = 2865 k.w.&m.	<hr/> c. 53%

The sources used for the chart showing Pickett's losses was extracted and adapted from:

ORs, vol. 27, part 2, p. 339, 387.

J. W. Busey, April 18, 1979 letter to Kathleen R. Georg, in GNMI files, quoting information from Confederate muster rolls, Army of Northern Virginia for June 28-July 1, 1863. RG 109, National Archives.

We can thus ascertain from the foregoing lists of numbers and casualties the strengths and comparable casualties suffered by both Union and Confederate forces engaged in the attack and repulse of Pickett's Division on the afternoon of July 3, 1863. The Virginia Division numbered about 5,000, then, if we subtract the 300 or so men who were in brigade guard-houses during the attack. While the figure of 1,287 for Garnett's Brigade was reported in the records as being present at the time of the charge on July 3, there is no official report detailing exact figures for Armistead's or Kemper's Brigades. The figures for these brigades was extrapolated from records found in the National Archives by using known company strengths and averaging those figures for the unknown company strengths. For example, six companies of Kemper's 1st Virginia reported a total of 222 officers and men. By averaging these six companies, we estimated an average of 35 men for each of the four remaining companies of the regiment that were not reporting--giving an additional 140 men to the regiment, or bringing the total for the 1st Virginia up to $222 + 140 = c. 360$ men. Most regiments thus averaged lacked reports from only one through four companies, but there were two instances where the extrapolation may be unrealistic because of the limited numbers of companies which reported. These were the 38th Virginia (with only two

companies reporting 88 men, thus forcing the averaging of the eight remaining companies at 44 men apiece) and the 57th Virginia (with half of its ten companies reporting a total of 259 men, and obliging us to add another 259 for a total of 518 men). Since both of these latter averages raised the total considerably for Armistead's Brigade, perhaps that aggregate of about 2230 for his brigade is a little high. However, the one regiment with all ten companies reporting (53rd Virginia) comprised 452 men, which was higher even than the estimated average for the 38th Virginia.

Looking at the figures for Pickett's Division we can see the logic for placing Armistead in the rear supporting the front line of Garnett's and Kemper's Brigades. Armistead's was the largest brigade by far, having about 2,000 men to Garnett's and Kemper's 3,000 men. His line, then, would fairly cover the rear of both brigades when they were in front of him, and would have almost doubled the length of the line had he been in line with them. Since each brigade line was made up of two ranks, the length of each brigade line can be computed by multiplying half of its strength by at least two feet (the amount of space occupied by one soldier in line). In other words, Kemper's line should have been about 1800 feet in length; Garnett's about 1300 feet long; and Armistead's over 2200 feet long. (In football-field terminology, Kemper's line would have been 600 yards; Garnett's 430 yards; Armistead's 730 yards). These figures obviously changed as the advanced got closer to enemy lines and wounded and dead dropped out of the ranks, forcing each brigade to close ranks and dress to the colors.

Those Union forces immediately engaged in repelling Pickett's attack (excluding the artillery) were roughly the same strength as the enemy divi-

sion, having almost 5400 men. Many times the interpretation of historians has been that Gibbon's line was outnumbered badly, but this was not the case. The forces available in the front line alone equally matched the area attacked by Pickett, and these, supplemented by the artillery which remained there and which was brought up at the height of the repulse and by the infantry of the First and Third Corps which was in close supporting distance, were well prepared to fend off the unsupported attack by Pickett's 5000 men. Considering the defensive position of Gibbon's Division, it is surprising that the Virginians broke through at all.

Appendix D

Honor to Whom Honor is Due: Monumentation

"A soldier, who is in a battle can tell you about as little about the battle as anyone in the world. It's not what you think. It's all smoke and dust and noise. At first we could see the Confederates moving around and putting up their guns. At that stage there was just occasional firing by the skirmishers and not enough smoke to hide anything. But later when the volleying began you might as well have been blind. The smoke lay over everything so that you were lucky to see the man next to you. Your ears couldn't distinguish shot from shot. It was all one roar, so that the hillside shook. You couldn't hear orders or guess them from seeing the man who gave them. You did just what the man ahead of you did, or the man next to you. When the officers gave orders, they would start one man going the way they wanted him to go, or doing the thing they wanted him to do. The rest would follow as well as they could.'

"After the first order to fire, everyone fired as often as they could. That part was alright, for you had something to keep your mind on. Load as fast as possible and shoot as often as you could see anything to shoot at.'

"When I first went into a battle, each battle, I would be scared and rattled and nervous, like all the rest. But after I had been fighting a little while, I would get control of myself again before I knew it. I would realize what was going on and see it and hear the noise. It had all been a kind of dazed feeling before. I could keep pretty calm while I was shooting away, but when I had to stand still and take fire--well, that tries the nerves.

"But the battle as a whole leaves just an impression of being hot and sweaty and seeing people fall, and a jumble of smoke and dust and roar and now and then a glimpse of the hot sun, and being too busy to feel tired and feeling tired none the less. And then a bullet and then quiet and the rain, and not much more.'" ¹

¹Account of Bernard Matthews, Company A, 108th New York in "Leg Taken Off by Gettysburg Shell," The Louisville Evening Post (July 3, 1913), in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 6, p. 102.

Despite this soldier's kaleidoscopic impressions of the battle, many soldiers were to remember more than just the "jumble" initially remembered and described by so many. As the months and years passed, there was soon a great flurry of activity to properly recognize the heroes who fell at Gettysburg, first with the formation of the Soldiers' National Cemetery. This was followed by a grass-roots effort to preserve the scenes of the conflict by the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, chartered in 1864, but purchasing lands in late 1863. With the war ending in 1865, veterans from both sides went home to write their memoirs, organize regimental survivors' associations, and join national organizations such as the Grand Army of the Republic and the United Confederate Veterans.

Individuals and units scrambled to achieve recognition for efforts and deeds at Gettysburg in July 1863. The historian tried to maintain an objectivity and sense of fairness to all sides, even when trying to sort out the movements and actions of the enemy. Bachelder explained that he made an effort to talk to wounded Confederates left on the battlefield after the battle was over, including officers from Armistead's, Pettigrew's, and Archer's Brigades. Since each "occupied different positions in the column" Bachelder attached "great credit to their statements". He continued:

"As the column of attack was composed of troops from five different States, and of three divisions, brought upon the field under different circumstances, moving from different directions, over different surfaces to one common centre, it is important to a clear understanding of the whole that the circumstances connected with the movements of each be carefully considered." ²

²Bachelder, October 29, 1877 letter to General A.M. Scales, in "The Third Day's Battle," The Philadelphia Weekly Times (December 15, 1877), in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings. vol. 1, p. 35.

But veterans of the repulse of Pickett observed a marked contrast between an historian's objectivity and a veteran's bias. Wheelock Veazey, whose Vermonters turned against both Pickett and Wilcox/Lang, wrote as early as 1866 that some regimental units were usurpers of others' fame:

". . . I discover not only an unwarrantable spirit of exaggeration on the part of some officers but a disposition to detract from others what rightfully belongs to them. . . ."3

And, as already noted in the text, Webb would have to defend the prowess of his own brigade's contributions in halting Pickett's attack. In response to the many regimental claims that they had had a part in the fighting in the Angle, Webb wrote, "Men passed to the fence after the Rebels laid down their arms, and lots of warriors developed like sand fleas when the bullets stopped 'bee-ing' around our ears."<4 That Webb and his forces were the envy of other Union officers and soldiers AFTER the battle (but not so much during the battle) was put into words by his own superior, Major General Winfield S. Hancock:

"In every battle and on every important field there is one spot to which every army / officer / would wish to be assigned--the spot upon which center the fortunes of the field. There was but one such spot at Gettysburg and it fell to the lot of Gen'l Webb to have it and to hold it. . . ."5

When others tried to detract from the amount of Webb's "glory" by claiming a portion of it for themselves, Webb was quick to note the error of their ways:

³Wheelock Veazey, August 21, 1866 letter to John B. Bachelder, in Gettysburg Correspondence, New Hampshire Historical Society.

⁴A. S. Webb, June 16, 1888 letter to John B. Bachelder, in Gettysburg Correspondence, New Hampshire Historical Society.

⁵Coddington, The Gettysburg Campaign, p. 528.

" . . . [Let] us refer for the last time to some of the reports and histories which have been written with the desire to wrest your laurels from you.

"One writer thus describes the action of the enemy 'after they found his' (the writer's) 'command too much for them.' 'I moved my command by the right flank to the foot of the "bluff", delivering our fire as we marched, and keeping between the enemy and the object of his enterprise.' (i.e., us). 'He succeeded in reaching the fence at the foot of the bluff, but with ranks broken, and his men evidently disheartened. Some succeeded in getting over the fence,' &c, &c.

"This one we should be thankful to. He was the saviour of the clump. Can you find the bluff?

"And now another: 'The charge was aimed directly at my command, but owing apparently to the firm front shown them, the enemy diverged midway and came upon the line on my right.' Then he took them in flank and probably without loss, captured not Lee, but the main portion of those Lee had dared to point towards him, 'the larger portion of them surrendered and marched in not as conquerors but as captives.' This all took place on our left, and beyond the position of those who really were with us in our hour of need." ⁶

This portion of Webb's address delivered at the dedication of the 72nd Pennsylvania Monument on August 27, 1883, illustrates the disdain General Webb felt for those not belonging to Gibbon's Division who claimed part of the honor for the repulse of Pickett. First Webb criticized the official report of Theodore Gates, which was ludicrous in Webb's eyes because of Gates' preoccupation with heaping honor on his own troops and in his unclear use of words in describing the terrain features near the clump. In reality, Gates was indeed at fault for both errors--one of judgment and the other of description. Anyone would be hard pressed to find any area near the Angle which resembles the common acceptance of the word "bluff". The second commander taken to task by Webb was General George Stannard, who (as already stated) fell into the same error so common to those on the left: that of attributing

⁶New York Monuments Commission, In Memoriam A. S. Webb, p. 119.

Pickett's (Kemper's) movement to the right to the powerful front shown by his own command. Webb's closing comments seem to relay the impression that he considered anything that went on outside of his own division on the left as insignificant and non-contributory to Pickett's defeat on his own front, which was obviously not true. Kemper's Brigade was almost wholly defeated on the fronts of Gates, Stannard, and Harrow, without any impact from Webb whatsoever.

To others, however, Webb was more generous. This was especially true of his respect for Colonel Norman Hall, commanding the brigade next to Webb:

"Col. Hall deserves more credit than he gets. Do be prepared to give it to him.

"The Sergt of the 72^d I believe did not live after I took hold of his colors. 'He pulled back & did not go to the front I could not drag him forward.' So let it be. Rather let him be forgotten.

"The moment of hesitation of the enemy is the moment of defeat. My force could not defeat. Hesitation was caused by Halls movement & by the stubbornness of the 69th & 71st Penna. . . .

"I have had to drive out two or three pretenders. You will find it no easy task to cull the truth." ⁷

This letter to the artist commissioned to portray the moment of defeat for Pickett at the Angle (Peter Rothermel), was written early and before the passage of years had assigned more importance to the Angle fighting than it deserved. Webb was still embittered by the desertion of the 72nd Pennsylvania from their duty of obeying his orders on July 3, 1863, and was not as reconciled to assigning them partial credit for the repulse of Pickett's Division as was shown in the previous quotation from his address at the dedication of their monument twenty years after the battle. It was contention that Rothermel should not paint the image of the color-bearer of the 72nd Pennsylvania because of his reluctance to advance upon the foe. It would be

⁶⁷Alexander S. Webb, January (1869?) letter to Peter F. Rothermel, in MG-108, Peter F. Rothermel Papers, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

justice to not portray the sergeant at all than to give him any honor by painting him at the head of his regiment with the national colors.

One particular officer who was subject to Webb's intolerance was General William Harrow, commanding Gibbon's First Brigade and the left of the division line on July 3. While Hall was immediately recognized by Webb as his champion, coming to his rescue at the clump of trees, Harrow was never so recognized. In fact, Webb insisted that any claims made by Harrow's troops to assisting in the defeat at the clump were false, and that that brigade did not arrive on the scene of conflict until it was virtually over. However, Webb's statements to not agree with those made by men in Harrow's Brigade, which we have already examined, as well as with later arrivals such as Gates' forces. Perhaps Harrow was the victim of Webb's dislike from the very beginning. A little more than a month after the battle Harrow was relieved of command of the division (which he assumed upon the wounding of Gibbon), and was replaced by Webb at that post. A week later Webb wrote to his wife:

"I do not know whether General Harrow is coming back or not. Since he left the division picked up a great deal but if he comes back I believe he will destroy all except my brigade. He is an ass and no one respects him. If he comes I shall apply to leave at once." ⁸

It is not hard to see from the above that Webb had little respect himself for Harrow, and would have resented giving the "ass" any credit for helping him out of a fix (caused partially by his own men not advancing--the 72d). Perhaps as a result of this personal animosity, Harrow's men were not to receive proper credit for their contributions at the clump of trees.

⁸Alexander S. Webb, August 22, 1863 letter to wife, in Alexander S. Webb Papers, Yale University.

And perhaps the unkindest cut of all was due to the fact that Harrow did not claim undue credit for the repulse. He himself said in his official report that

"It would be gross injustice to claim a greater share of this triumph for one brigade of the division to the exclusion of another. It was a common struggle and a common success, as the gallant dead and wounded of each of the brigades of the division there fallen amply testify." ⁹

Yet Webb's definition of justice and injustice apparently differed from that earlier stated by General Harrow. Webb believed that justice demanded more for his own dead than for those of Harrow's Brigade:

"Some men of the other brigades of our division passed in rear of our Seventy-second Regiment to its right, and, after the assault, to our front, who were not at any moment in the immediate face of the rebels, and who yet claim to have passed through that regiment. They did not.

"Justice--simple justice--to these, our dead, require this declaration, and if I am to-day brought in direct conflict of statement with some of those who so patriotically endeavored to assist us on July 3d, it is not through a want of appreciation of their efforts. God knows that I was grateful enough to them; but it is simply through my sense of duty to the memory of these, over whose graves we hold this service." ¹⁰

And it was not much later that men of Webb's Brigade began to repeat their commander's sense of exclusivity, and derided the claims of all others to their line of fighting or defense until after their own brigade had single-handedly defeated Pickett's Division:

"It may be proper to here state that other organizations have claimed to have fought at the stone wall, mingling with the men of the Sixty-ninth. This claim is based upon

⁹ORs, vol. 27, part 1, p. 420.

¹⁰New York Monuments Commission, In Memoriam A. S. Webb, p. 117.

the fact of individuals from other regiments picking up rebel flags thrown down or abandoned by the enemy at the close of the fight, and for which service medals have been awarded by Congress. We here state emphatically, that no regiment, company, or part thereof, approached that part of the stone wall held by the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania during the period of the fighting." ¹¹

Apparently the only one to receive a Medal of Honor in the area whom the the 69th Pennsylvania would have approved was Alexander S. Webb, who won his for distinguished personal gallantry in leading his men forward at a critical period. The ironic part about that endorsement is that Webb and others were adamant in the earlier years in stating that the 72nd Pennsylvania did NOT come forward at the critical period, but after that time had been passed. According to Webb's earliest letters, it was Colonel Hall who should have received the medal for coming to the rescue at the critical period.

Those others who would receive Medals of Honor for their deeds at or near the clump of trees on this day (or for their part in the repulse of Pickett's Division) included the following:

- Hugh Carey, Company E, 82nd New York (Harrow's Brigade) for capture of the flag of the 7th Virginia (Kemper's Brigade).
- John Clopp, Company F, 71st Pennsylvania (Webb's Brigade) for capture of the flag of the 9th Virginia (Armistead's Brigade).
- Joseph DeCastro, Company I, 19th Massachusetts (Hall's Brigade) for capture of the flag of the 19th Virginia (Garnett's Brigade).
- Benjamin F. Falls, Company A, 19th Massachusetts (Hall's Brigade) for capture of an enemy flag.
- Benjamin H. Jellison, Company C, 19th Massachusetts (Hall's Brigade) for captured of the flag of the 57th Virginia (Armistead's Brigade).
- Henry D. O'Brien, Company E, 1st Minnesota (Harrow's Brigade) for picking up his fallen colors and advancing ahead of his regiment, though severely wounded twice, and up to the muzzles of the enemy's guns.

¹¹Anthony W. McDermott, A Brief History of the 69th Regiment Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, from its Formation until Final Muster Out of the United States Service (Philadelphia, 1890?), p. 33.

Major Edmund Rice, 19th Massachusetts (Hall's Brigade) for conspicuous bravery on July 3, in a countercharge against Pickett's Division, where he fell severely wounded within enemy lines.

John Robinson, Company I, 19th Massachusetts (Hall's Brigade) for capture of the flag of the 57th Virginia (Armistead's Brigade).

Marshall Sherman, Company C, 1st Minnesota (Harrow's Brigade) for capture of the flag of the 28th Virginia (Garnett's Brigade).

Colonel Wheelock Veazey, 16th Vermont (Stannard's Brigade) for rapidly assembling his regiment and charging the enemy's flank; for changing front under heavy fire, and charging and destroying a Confederate brigade, all this with new troops in their first battle.

Sergeant James Wiley, Company B, 59th New York (Hall's Brigade) for capture of the flag of the 18th Virginia (Garnett's Brigade).

Lieutenant George Benedict, Company C, 12th Vermont (Stannard's Brigade) for passing through a murderous fire of canister in delivering orders.

Sergeant Frederick Fuger, Battery A, 4th United States Artillery (Hazard's Brigade, 2nd Corps artillery) for fighting the remaining gun of the battery with most distinguished gallantry until ordered to withdraw.

There were more medals awarded for events connected with the repulse of Pickett's Division on the fields of the area of this study than on any other portions of the battlefield--a total of fourteen. (This compares to the other "high-medal areas" of eight for Sickles' Emmitsburg Road line defense on July 2; six for the attack on the John Weikert farmhouse north of Devil's Den on July 2; five in the McPherson Farm area on July 1; and eleven in Hays' Division on July 3.)

Because of the honor which accrued to those regiments which fought against Pickett's Virginians, there was a post-war flurry of monumentation activities in the area of the most dramatic fighting--the clump of trees.

No real policies regarding monumentation design or placement or composition regulated the erection of these individually and regimentally sponsored memorials at the first. Although the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association eventually adopted such policies, they were criticized even at the time of their demise in 1895:

"It is probably within the fact to say that there are not four pieces of good sculpture on the battlefield of Gettysburg, including the beautiful and appropriate Celtic Cross which marks the position of a body of Irish troops. There are a few unobtrusive pieces of natural rock which fittingly express willing sacrifice or unyielding valor; but for the most part that beautiful field--the chosen valley for the nation's salvation--has become for lack of co-ordination in plan and good taste in execution an unsightly collection of tombstones. In this respect it is only less so than the ordinary cemetery; the objection to it is that it is a cemetery; and a mere cemetery, we maintain, a great battlefield should not be allowed to be made.'

"As the fields of Antietam and Shiloh are now passing into Government control it may not be too late to urge upon those in charge a few practical considerations. . . .

"1. Every Commission should avail itself of the advice of the best landscape architects, so that park-like effects may be retained as far as may be consonant with the more practical objects of the reservation.

"2. Lines of battle should be marked clearly but unpretentiously with a low uniform stone, and the whole plan should be worked out artistically before large monuments are erected.

"3. The Commission should have the advice of a competent board of sculptors, and should be guided by them in the acceptance of plans for monuments.

"4. The monuments to be of artistic excellence, must be few; and to this end the unit of celebration, so to speak, should be the corps.' The sense of historical perspective is lost by allowing each regiment to determine the proportions and character of the memorial.'" ¹²

Although none of these recommendations were accepted by the incoming administration under the War Department or by the newer-yet National Park

¹²Article from Century Magazine from September 1895 quoted in "Battlefield Notes," Star and Sentinel (September 10, 1895), in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 1, p. 119.

Service, they were a legitimate echo of the concern shared by many. One criticism not raised by the Century article was the one policy which gave the GBMA and the War Department continuing problems--that of the proper location of regimental monuments. While regimental survivors erected monuments in the earliest years just about where they wanted since they usually purchased the grounds for the monument from private farmers (and thus were not under the control of the GBMA policies), later monuments on GBMA land had to comply with policy. The most controversial of these policies was that which stated all monuments were to be erected on brigade line, and not on advance positions. When the association gained title to lands on which sat regimental monuments erected before the policy was accepted, the GBMA decided to remove them to their correct place in line. This was done with a number of monuments without much challenge from the survivors who erected them. But one regiment, the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry, took the association to court before they even had the chance to remove their site from them.

The intentions of the 72nd Pennsylvania were rumored before the event took place:

"One of the regimental associations whose monument at the Gettysburg battlefield is not placed where the members think it ought to be, has been talking about going to law in some way or another to test the authority of the Gettysburg Memorial Association in the premises. . . .

"Even the men who were actually engaged in the battle cannot always agree, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, upon the exact spot occupied or reached by each regiment; and it is necessary to have some one authority to decide disputes and assume the responsibility in the location of monuments." ¹³

¹³Star and Sentinel (July 21, 1888).

Indeed, it was stated that "for years it required the services of an experienced guide to enable even a participant in the battle to locate the position of his own regiment, brigade or division. . . ."14

When they did remember their position, it was sometimes in exaggerated advance positions where they proposed erecting the monument. One director of the GBMA, serving as vice president, expressed his opinion concerning the monument questions. Regarding the regimental commands on both sides (Union and Confederate), he saw a

". . . disposition to magnify the particular work of their regiment. Standing by these numerous monumental dedications, it is simply amazing to hear the most preposterous & absurd claims. Each regiment seems to have the impression that it had the conspicuous honor of saving the day. I account for this general tendency, partly because the members of each command saw only what transpired in its immediate front, and then again the recollections of what did occur are frequently colored by camp-fire stories, until fact and fancy become intermingled." 15

Because the clump of trees area was considered by members of Gibbon's Division as the place where each regiment had this "conspicuous honor of saving the day", there was a propensity for each survivors association to erect its early monuments near that point:

"The first state to make an appropriation for a monument was the State of Massachusetts. The Governor of the state called the batteries / sic / together to determine where they should be placed. Delegates were appointed, and they came to Gettysburg and each marked the position where it desired to have its monument located. Batteries Fifteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts, which were engaged at and near to the copse of trees, went out once to the copse of trees, some of them through it, and stated that they wanted their monument there. However, by unanimous consent, it was agreed that no monument should be placed in the copse of trees as it would result in its

14"The Gettysburg Battlefield," The Philadelphia Times (December 16, 1895), in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 2, p. 1.

15David A. Buehler, December 13, 1886 letter to John B. Rachelder, in Gettysburg Correspondence, New Hampshire Historical Society.

disfiguring this mark which indicates the general point of Pickett's charge, but it was determined that the monuments should be as near to the copse of trees as they could be placed without injury to the trees themselves. Here these three regiments drove the stakes indicating their position, and it was there that their monuments were placed. It was soon found that not only these three regiments but a very large number of others had left their position in the line of battle and had also gone up to that point. The board of directors discovered that there was concentrating upon that central point of the field the Seventy-first, Sixty-ninth, Seventy-second and One hundred and Sixth Pennsylvania regiments, the Fifty-ninth New York, Seventh Michigan, Twentieth Massachusetts, Nineteenth Massachusetts, Fifteenth Massachusetts, First Minnesota, Eighty-second New York, Twentieth New York State militia and One Hundred and Fifty-first Pennsylvania all of whom went up to the copse of trees, as shown by the official reports of the battle, and that to place the monuments of all those regiments at that point would have a tendency to mislead the public in the future, rather than to illustrate the battle. It was also found that on other parts of the field regiments left their positions in the line of battle and moved up to some other point, where they were engaged. . . . I went to Washington, consulted with the Secretary of War, consulted with the officers of the regular ranks of the army. . . . / It / was agreed that the legend on the monuments should tell the story of any command and that the tablets might be erected at any place to which the command had moved. The embarrassing question which came before the association was as to the three monuments which had already been erected by the Massachusetts troops, but when the rule, together with the necessity for it, was explained to them, they, as good law-abiding citizens, acquiesced in the position and allowed their monument to be placed back of the line of battle and their monument now stands to mark their position in the line of battle." 16

Because the 72nd Pennsylvania, that regiment which Webb had become so disgusted with because they would not advance, wanted to place its monument at the stone wall of the Angle it was trying to break this rule of the GBMA. The line of battle of the 72nd Pennsylvania had already been marked by an earlier monument, now at the intersection of Webb and Hancock Avenues and

¹⁶Survivors of the 72d Pa. vs GBMA, et al., pp. 294-295.

just north of the clump of trees. This monument, funded by the State of Pennsylvania, would mark the advance position of the regiment at the stone wall. The GBMA attempted to halt the erection of the monument by arresting one of its members when he tried to excavate the ground for its foundations, and they were in turn taken to court by the survivors association. The main argument of the associations centered on the location of the monument, and the GBMA channeled its arguments towards the logic of its policy:

"Shall, therefore, the Seventy-second regiment be allowed to erect its monument twenty feet from the stone wall, simply because it advanced to that position, and other regiments who advanced with them, not be given that right? Or shall they all be allowed to erect their monuments there, and make of what is now a beautiful and instructive field a ridiculous absurdity?"

" . . . [It] would seem to resolve itself into a matter of evidence exclusively. I don't see how the battlefield memorial association could assume any arbitrary action in the premises."

"These monuments are to show the spot where the regiment fought. You know of course, that a regiment is composed of its officers and men. Desultory fighting by one or two men does not fix the ground upon which the regiment fought. Where the regiment followed the colors that is the place where the regiment has done its fighting."¹⁷

Thus, the association argued against the 72nd Pennsylvania along two lines: that the monument would not be along the battle line nor would it reflect that place where the regiment stood in line and did its best fighting as a unit. Yet the judge, considering all the testimony of participants in the repulse at that point, ruled that the 72nd did indeed fight along the stone wall and the GBMA had no right to revoke the original permission given the regiment because it had second thoughts or revised its policies.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. cx, 22, 206.

The decision may have reversed the case of the 72nd Pennsylvania, but did not reverse the decisions previously announced and acted upon by the GBMA over the Massachusetts and other monuments. While Colonel Bachelder complained that the order of the battlefield was now gone awry, veterans of those Massachusetts regiments had other cause to complain:

" . . . / It / strikes me that the comrades of the 19th and other Mass. regiments are the ones that have cause to complain and not you or your associates. As you stated before the committee the directors of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association have full power to place monuments where they please and move them if they think best after once located, no matter who is displeased with its location or relocation they are powerless to change it without order from the courts. My regiment with others have had their confidence misplaced once and I as a humble member of the 19th Mass. Vols. don't propose to be placed in the same position again if it is possible to prevent it.

" The only men as far as I know who have been wronged are the 15th, 19th and 20th Mass. I do not know what action the 20th have taken but I do know that the 15th and 19th have made the moving of their monuments subjects for discussion at regimental reunions and in the 19th they are to a man of the same opinion as myself. . . . I was one of a number of men who fought on that field. We left many of our men there and they cannot speak for themselves. But the living and dead who were in that battle made a record second to none and it is my duty, and the duty of every man living to see that the glory they won that day shall not be taken from them." 18

The commander of the 19th Massachusetts, Colonel A. F. Devereux, was as distressed as Captain Adams (above) in the decision rendered in favor of the Pennsylvania regiment:

"I see by one of the papers here that the 72d Pa. won their case against the Battlefield Memorial Assnⁿ. No details were given. How is it? and if as stated on what grounds? I am naturally a little curious to know.

"It might be pertinent also to enquire what is the value of official record in reports at date of the battle and competent testimony since? Would your Hon^{ble} Board of Trustees permit me to put the monument of my Regt. to the

18Captain J. G. B. Adams, March 19, 1891 letter to John B. Bachelder, in Gettysburg Correspondence, New Hampshire Historical Society, Microfilm Reel 5.

front where it belongs or must it stay away back where it gives no sort of idea of the service performed by it?

"What is the value of a monument on the field anyhow when it attempts to enforce a lie? I permitted the removal of my Regt's monument back to meet the ideas of the Trustees but not anticipating such a travesty of truth thereby. . . . There will be lots of trouble grow out of this if not remedied." 19

Devereux failed in his attempt to have the 19th Massachusetts relocated again to its original site at the clump of trees. Perhaps it was because Colonel Bachelder and the GBMA came up with a solution to mollify the three Massachusetts regiments. At some later date (after 1889, but before 1895) three bronze tablets were erected by the clump of trees which described the participation in advanced position by the 15th, 19th, and 20th Massachusetts Regiments. While these were erected as official markers, denoting the contributions of the three Bay State units, they were taken down by the National Park Service sometime before 1946 for some unknown reason. In all fairness to the regiments, especially to the 19th Massachusetts (which was credited by Webb for its role in the repulse), the bronze markers should be re-erected. At present, there is nothing in the inscription of the 19th Massachusetts monument which describes its movements or contributions during that decisive action on July 3. Moreover, the monument has been placed on its line of battle, on the east side of Hancock Avenue, where it gives the impression that this important regiment served as a support unit only. The inscription was probably never altered on the monument because Devereux and his veterans expected the bronze tablet to explain their deeds.

19Colonel A. F. Devereux, December 10, 1894 (?) letter to John B. Bachelder, in Gettysburg Correspondence, New Hampshire Historical Society, Microfilm Reel 5.

John Vanderslice echoed the fears and concerns of the GBMA in an article penned during the 72nd Pennsylvania monument controversy:

"The Seventy-second wants to place its monument on a line with that of the Sixty-ninth and Seventy-first," said Colonel Vanderslice, 'on the plea that they came to the help of the other regiments and participated in the struggle in the "Bloody Angle". If the commission permitted the Seventy-second to do so it would also have to permit the Nineteenth Maine, Seventh Michigan, Forty-second New York, Eighty-second New York, Fifteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Massachusetts and First Minnesota to do the same, as these regiments also came to the rescue from their positions and took part in the fight about the "Bloody Angle". This would present a curious spectacle to the visitor to find a group of ten or twelve monuments in a space not large enough for one regiment and all of them in rear of the Sixty-ninth and Seventy-first, and the proper place of these regiments in the formation for battle left unmarked and wholly to conjecture. In truth many of the monuments on that ground, but the commission objecting for these reasons, they had them removed without complaint.

" . . . Let the inscriptions on the monuments tell the story, or let markers be planted on selected spots inscribed with the action there; but we must maintain the original order of battle or become swamped by demands from all parts of the country for special display." 20

Aside from the special advance or second position markers advocated by Colonel Vanderslice, and eventually adopted for the Massachusetts regiments, there was another proposal for a general monument on the site of the clump of trees and the repulse of Pickett's Division which would recognize all participants in the attack and the repulse of Longstreet's Assault. This proposal was that shared by, and supposedly conceived by, Colonel Bachelder. C. Carleton Coffin, writing in the Boston Globe on October 26, 1883, reinforced Bachelder's concept:

"Riding down the avenue we come to the spot where a monument ought to be reared with this inscription: "Here was a turning-point in the world's history, where it was decreed that this government of the people should not perish from the earth." The survivors of the regiments will remem-

20 "The Gettysburg Wrangle," in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 3, p. 49.

ber the spot. The line of fence rails, the large oak tree, the two or three smaller ones along the line, the copse at their left, where the two Vermont regiments poured their fire; Cushing's battery by the stone wall; the eighty guns upon the crest behind them. Ah! what a supreme moment it was when Pickett's superb lines rolled over the ridge by the Emmettsburg road. Not on this continent has there ever been another charge like this in which the mighties power of the Confederacy was centered.'

"Now gallantly the Confederates advanced, their ranks thinning every moment by the remorseless fire of more than one hundred cannon, yet, never faltering, they moved on to deal the blow which they fondly hoped would divide the Army of the Potomac at its centre, and send it fleeing over the fields, shattered and beaten on its own chosen ground. Then comes a roll from the Vermonters--men never before under fire--men who would not flee. The advancing wave divides before them; sweeps past them. Right into the faces of the foe flash the muskets of the Massachusetts men, Then comes the hand to hand struggle; the fight at the mouth of the cannon; the rush of the First Minnesota; the swinging out of Webb's brigade; the quick springing of the Vermonters closing in on the rear of the rebels. Brief the struggle. The wave has lost its force. . . .'" 21

The High Water Mark monument, designed by Bachelder and funded by the states, was designed to not only mark the site of the Pickett's repulse, but to honor the participants at the site, and thus prevent the erection of the scores of monuments at the site. To placate the Massachusetts regiments, however, the bronze tablets were erected anyway, and Devereux wrote afterwards that the tablet for his regiment was "most satisfactory . . . and has settled all discontent among my men, some of whom failed to be convinced of the reason for carrying back the monument." 22

Yet other problems would linger or arise over the span of years after the dedication of the High Water Mark monument. Confederate monumentation was restricted to almost nothing until the War Department took over in 1895,

²¹Wert, A Complete Hand-Book of the Monuments, pp. 45-46.

²²Colonel A. F. Devereux, November 15, 1891 letter to John B. Bachelder, in Gettysburg Correspondence, New Hampshire Historical Society, Microfilm Reel 5.

and then was severely limited because of the stringent policies of the War Department. That organization, following the lead of the GBMA, permitted the erection of Confederate monuments only on lines of battle and not on any advanced position. So, instead of allowing Southern regiments to erect their monuments where they did their fighting (i.e., in advanced position) they mandated that all monuments be placed on lines along such places as Confederate Avenue, often hundreds or thousands of yards from the site where the fighting was done and their casualties were taken. This was despite the fact that several scores of Union monuments were not on lines of battle, but on scenes of fighting at advanced position from their original stations--the monuments in Pitzer Woods, the Second and Fifth Corps monuments in the Wheatfield and Rose Farm areas being most notable.

The War Department, through its Gettysburg National Park Commission, undertook the marking of Confederate lines by underwriting the expense of erecting brigade, division, and corps tablets along these lines of battles, and (in a few instances) erecting cast iron tablets to mark and describe the advance positions of select Confederate brigades. Yet many of these lines of battle, especially those of the artillery units, were keyed to tracts of land over which the War Department had jurisdiction and title. The process of gaining title to Confederate positions was slow and difficult, since the battlefield was already much developed and already a visitor attraction. A land syndicate arose, sponsored and backed by wealthy out-of-town entrepreneurs, but composed of the same farmers or descendants of farmers whose lands made up the 1863 battlefield. Demanding high prices for their acres, the syndicate was able to stall development of the Confederate avenues and lines of battle. The electric trolley line, its road bed already more than half laid, pre-

empted other Confederate positions. Interestingly, the railroad was condemned on the basis that it did just that and prevented the War Department from fulfilling its Congressionally charged duties of marking the lines of battle. Yet, after the maps were drawn up and the condemnation hearings favored the battlefield commission, the Confederate lines of battle for Hood's and McLaws' Divisions were never marked. Such delays caused much consternation among Confederate veterans hoping to see the lines of advanced positions marked. To mark positions "on the ground by tablets or monuments requires that the title to that ground be first obtained, and 'thereby hangs a tale'--a tale which every southern man who feels impatient at the slowness with which Confederate lines and positions are being marked here should inquire into." ²³ To dispell any blame placed on the government, Major Robbins attempted to reveal the land syndicate as the culprit to the marking delay. Yet, the government was also slow to respond to true historical research and accurate marking of the battlefield, especially pertaining to Lee's army.

The War Department was not the only guilty party. As already mentioned the National Park Service took down three vitally important bronze markers at the clump of trees and some time after 1946 removed the company markers erected by the 69th Pennsylvania to accompany its monument. These company markers were the only such markers on the battlefield, locating the position of each of the regiment's companies in line of battle at the wall. For some unknown reason these markers were also removed, and no one seemed to protest or note the removal. The alarming point made by all this is that, after the veteran died (indeed, even in his own lifetime) those seeking to "order" or unclutter the park removed and relocated monuments and markers to their own

²³"Letters from the People--Monuments at Gettysburg," The Atlanta Constitution (October 24, 1898), in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 2, p. 105.

purposes or needs. In the case of the company markers of the 69th Pennsylvania, the markers were undoubtedly put up to denote how important each company was at this crucial point in the Union line. By taking them down, the National Park Service not only eliminated a cultural resource erected by the survivors of the battle, but eliminated the meaning of the markers. Now the 69th Pennsylvania monument stands alike with all other regimental monuments, no longer heralding the importance of each small unit in turning the tide of battle and depriving the 69th Pennsylvania of its role in history.

Whereas the monuments were erected by the veteran soldiers and their grateful states, the cannon on the battlefield were, in most instances, derived from U. S. ordnance depots by the GBMA and the War Department. These cannon were placed beside artillery monuments to clarify their branch of service more than to locate lines of battle. Indeed, Confederate officers (including Alexander and Eshleman) returned during the War Department years to stake out the position of their cannon in line, but the War Department never fulfilled the wishes of these officers in placing the cannon along lines of battle as they were so eager to place the monuments along such lines. As a result Confederate cannon flank markers on West Confederate Avenue that never once held those positions; Union cannoneers had little to do with the placement of cannon at their monuments either. Most of the cannon were put out long after the monuments were erected, and the soldiers had nothing to say about their placement, contrary to the opinion of past historians. As a matter of fact, the cannon themselves (except for those few specifically purchased by the states or organizations to accompany a monument) were never intended for use as memorials, but as exhibits or tools to mark the various positions, so far as the same are or may become known, of the various bat-

teries" in the battle. In other words, the cannon were to mark the positions of the batteries just as the monuments were to mark the battle lines of the regiments. It is also important that the law turning over the cannon to the GBMA specified that they could mark the battery positions as then known or as "may become known". This conditional statement was injected in the bill so that any errors in placement could be corrected. Bachelder was just then working on the revision of his famous troop position maps, and the War Department, Congress, and the regimental survivors would not want to be tied down to permanent marking of wrong positions.²⁴

The monumentation, however, was, to the veteran soldier, his history in granite and bronze for future generations to admire, wonder at, and cherish. The dedications of the monuments were accompanied by music, poetry, addresses, camp-fires, singing, tears. As the decades passed, the attitudes and feelings of those battle survivors grew dimmer and less understandable to the new generations. Even a Vermont veteran knew that this would happen, stating that "none but a soldier who fought on this field can comprehend the intensity of our feelings as we participate in these ceremonies."²⁵ Speech after speech alluded to this fraternity of battle experience, and most likened the monuments to the memory of the soldiers themselves:

"No memorial that could be erected could add to the reputation and valor of the 7 regiment 7, upon this or any other field.

"The heroism of its members will endure in history more lasting than monuments."²⁶

²⁴A Bill to provide for marking the positions of the regiments and batteries on the battle-field of Gettysburg. H.R. 4624. 46th Congress, 2nd session (February 20, 1880).

²⁵Sturtevant, p. 806.

²⁶Star and Sentinel (July 6, 1897), in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 2, p. 50.

Monumentation on the battlefield of Gettysburg was a natural outgrowth of the soldier's memories of his fleeting glory on that one spot in his life and in his country. Another veteran of the battle expressed these sentiments:

"And when an old soldier who has struck an honest blow for his country shall, in his wanderings, have reached this point. . . there will come upon him a flood of memories the most precious of his life; his soul will be stirred with the recollection of the glory which he here shared, and there will go out from it an expression of gratitude to the Ruler of the Universe, that on this and other fields of battle, he enjoyed the privilege of proving his manhood and his love for country." 27

And, the Vermonters again summed up the feelings of their countrymen at the dedication of their own monument:

"As we again look over these hills and valleys, and now view the hundreds of grand and costly monuments of granite, marble and bronze, telling of the heroic deeds of the living and the dead, we but faintly realize how sacred the place where once stood in battle array the bravest of the brave, the Nation's heroes in defence of their country.

"Nothing could possibly be more befitting than for the survivors of regiments to erect in this National Park, in places of greatest danger and conspicuous valor, enduring structures and monuments, that the deeds here done shall be perpetuated; that the story of sacrifice and devotion, valor and loyalty so often on this field conspicuously illustrated can forever be read by the lovers of liberty, equal rights, and just governments. This occasion, which has brought us from our distant homes, thrills our hearts not only with joy, but sadness too; for the book of memory opens wide and again we hear all along the line the booming cannon, the screeching shell, the clash of arms, the piteous moans of the wounded and dying. We see the desperate struggle, the gallant charge, our comrades fall. . . ." 28

²⁷James K. P. Scott, "The Events that Led to the Appointment of George Gordon Meade to the Command of the Army of the Potomac," in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings #6, Relating to the Battle, p. 186.

²⁸Sturtevant, p. 805.

"As long as stars endure
And God and truth are sure;
While love still claims its own,
While honor holds its throne

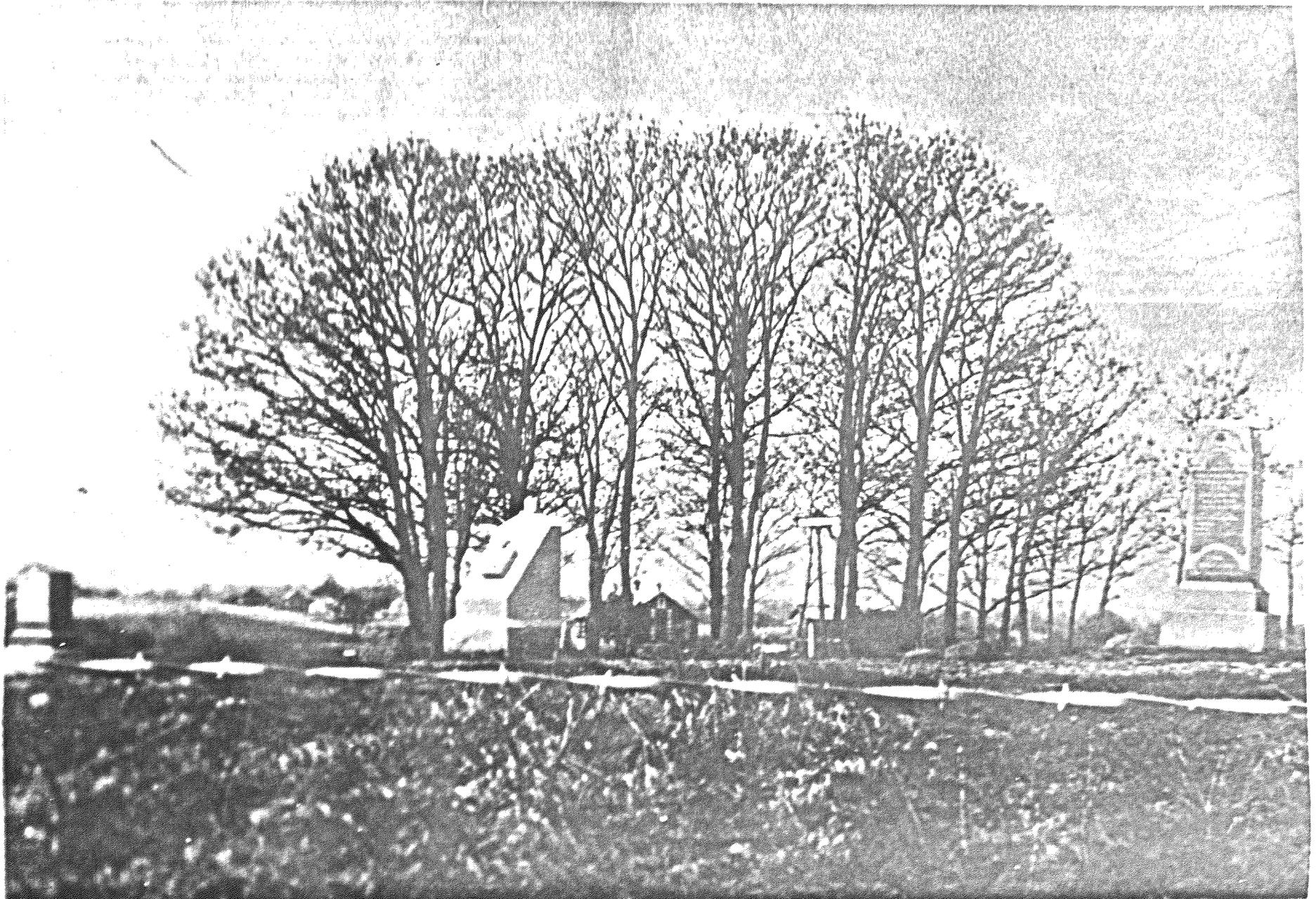
And valor hath a name,
Still shall these stony pages
Repeat to all the ages
The story of your fame." 29

²⁹Ibid., p. 774.

Unknown photographer, Clump of Trees and early monuments

(Fall 1885-Summer 1887) This view across Hancock Avenue and through the Brinkerhoff barbed-wire fence erected along GBMA boundaries looks westward to the clump of trees about twenty-five years after the battle. The scene shows from the left the 15th Massachusetts Monument, the top of the "pudding stone" of the 20th Massachusetts Monument, the 19th Massachusetts Monument in the left center, the 15th Massachusetts iron marker erected in the fall of 1884 by the state, and the 106th Pennsylvania monument. None of these monuments are located on these sites today. The Massachusetts monuments were relocated according to the requests of the GBMA in the summer of 1887; the 106th Pennsylvania monument was relocated westward to the Emmitsburg Road, near the Codori farmhouse (visible through the trees in the background); the iron marker was removed and possibly scrapped by the National Park Service in the 1940s.

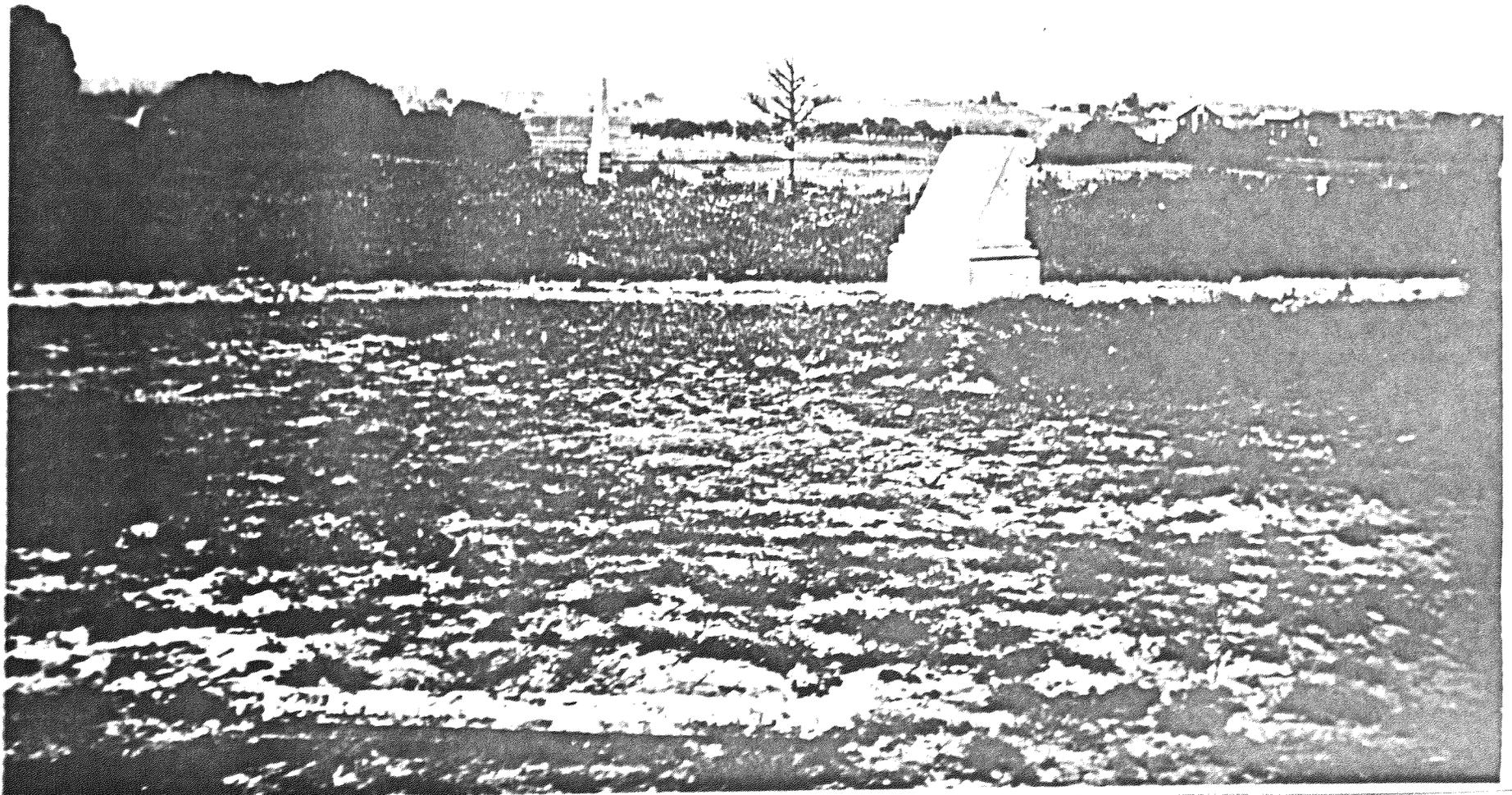
(reproduced from post card view, GNMP files)



Tipton Photo No. 965 "Marker where General Armistead fell--Bloody Angle"

(after 1887) This view southwestward focuses on the Armistead marker, east of the stone wall of the Angle, and denoting the place where Confederate Brigadier General Lewis Armistead fell wounded. In the background appears the monument of the 69th Pennsylvania Infantry, with its company markers (connected with a chain) just visible above the high grass and weeds. An old hand-lettered wooden sign attached to the tree to the right of the 69th Pennsylvania was put up by the GBMA before the regimental monuments were erected.

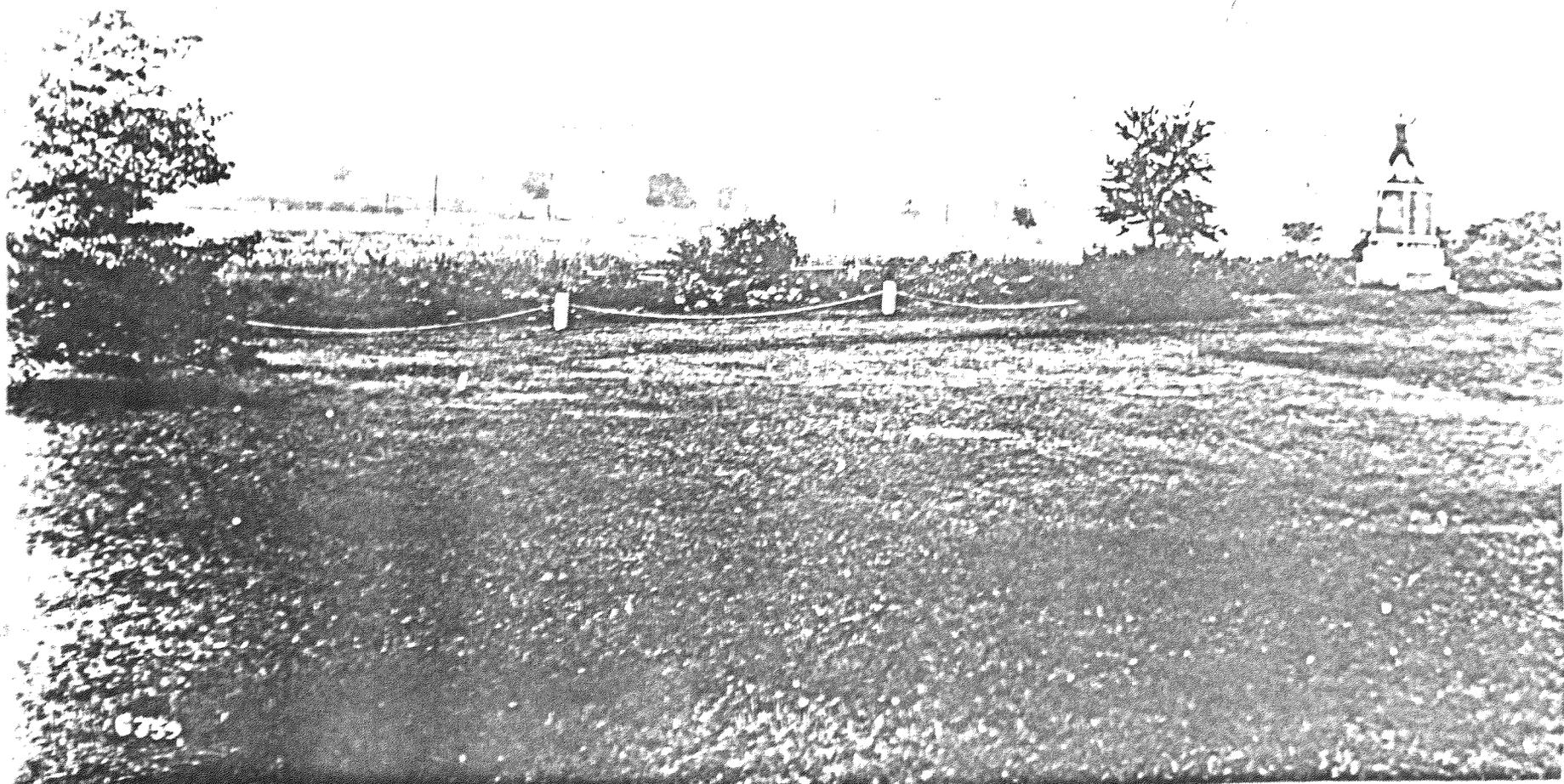
(Tipton file, GNMP)



Tipton Photograph #6359 "View from the Angle toward the Bliss Farmsite"

(after 1889) This view is from the clump of trees toward the right flank held by the 69th Pennsylvania Infantry on July 3, 1863. The monument on the right, showing the soldier with the clubbed musket, represents the advanced position of the 72nd Pennsylvania Regiment. Two of the company markers of the 69th Pennsylvania are clearly visible in this photograph. Between the two markers and over the overgrown stone wall can be seen the posts and pipes outlining the boundaries of the plot purchased by the 72nd Pennsylvania Regiment. When the GBMA halted erection of their monument and the regiment took them to court to win the right to put the monument at its present location, the 72nd purchased this plot from the Codori family. In the eventuality that the case went against the 72nd, that regiment intended to erect the monument on the west side of the wall on property not owned by GBMA, and certainly less accurate than even the present site, since it would imply that the 72nd was on the enemy's side of the wall and be more confusing.

(GNMP files)



6759

Appendix E

Tactics and Terms

The advance and the march

Common Time: 210 feet or 70 yards per minute could be covered. In applying it to the advance of Pickett's Division, a span of 15 to 20 minutes would mean that a soldier could advance from 1050 to 1400 yards.

Quick Time: 256 feet or 82 yards per minute could be covered. This meant that Pickett's Division could advance from 1200 to 1600 yards in 15 to 20 minutes.

Double-Quick Time: 454 feet or 150 yards per minute could be covered. In 15 to 20 minutes the division should cover from 2200 to 3000 yards.

These also could be defined as ninety steps per minute (at 28 inches per step) for common time; 110 steps per minute for quick time; and 165 steps per minute (at 33 inches per step) for double quick time. The soldier was urged to breathe through the nose at the double quick step to prevent fatigue at the longer distances.

Order of march: According to the infantry tactics manual the colonel of the regiment was supposed to be about 30 paces in rear of the file closers, who were themselves two paces behind the rear rank. The lieutenant colonel was to be behind the right wing of the regiment about twelve paces. The major would be on the other side of the line and behind the left wing of the regiment about twelve paces. The adjutant and the sergeant major of the regiment were to be eight paces behind the file closers and aid the lieutenant colonel and the major respectively.

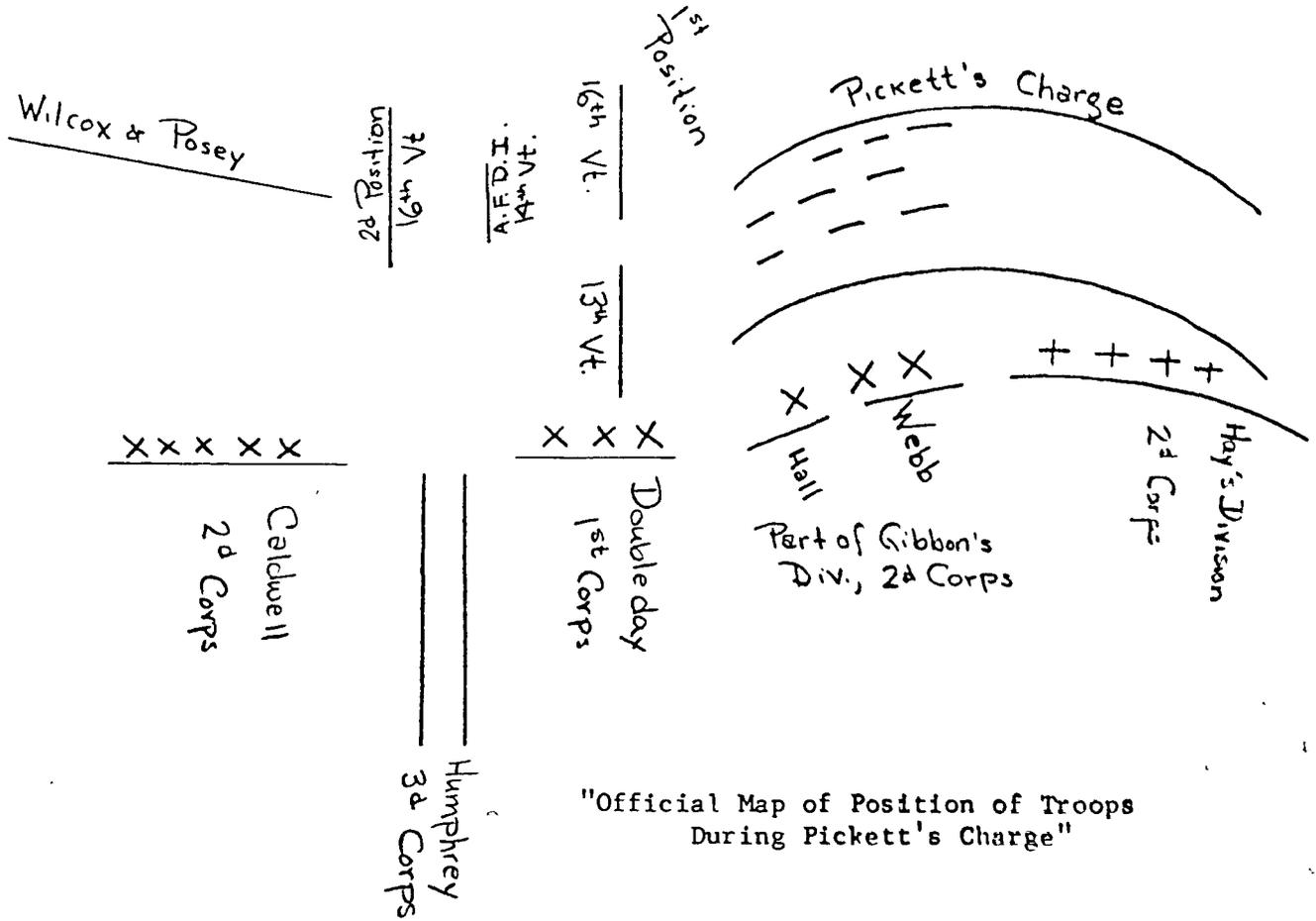
The colors and the guard were supposed to be to the left of the right center company, and the guard was composed of eight corporals and a color-bearer sergeant. These corporals were selected "from those most distinguished for regularity and precision, as well as in their positions under arms as in marching. The latter advantage . . . are to be more particularly sought for in the selection of the color-bearer."

The regiment itself was formed into two ranks during the advance.

The captain of each company was to march on the right of the company, and the covering first sergeant (or right guide) was directly behind the captain.

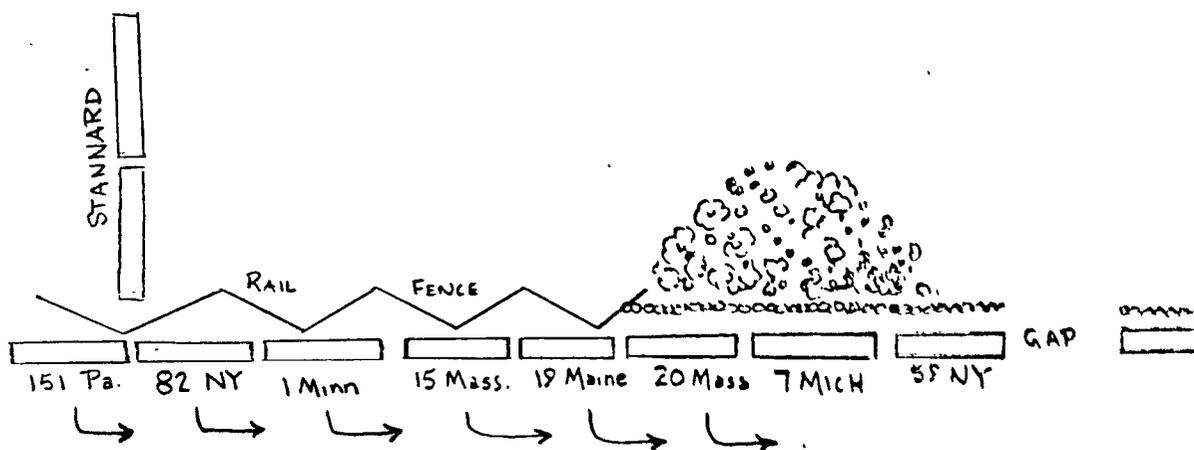
Appendix F--Maps

This appendix presents maps found in other sources which were not used in the main body of the text. They are presented here to show the vast differences in interpretation by historians and participants over the years. They range from the utterly simplistic to those based on years of research.



from George Grenville Benedict, A Short History of the 14th Vermont Regt
(Bennington, Vt., 1887), p. 12.

Map showing the movements of the infantry regiments of the brigades on Webb's left, consisting of Hall's, Harrow's, Stannard's, and Gates' Brigades, at the time of the repulse. This may be the most accurate of any map in a regimental history, pertaining to both the terrain features (the gap in the fence, the composition of the fencing itself,

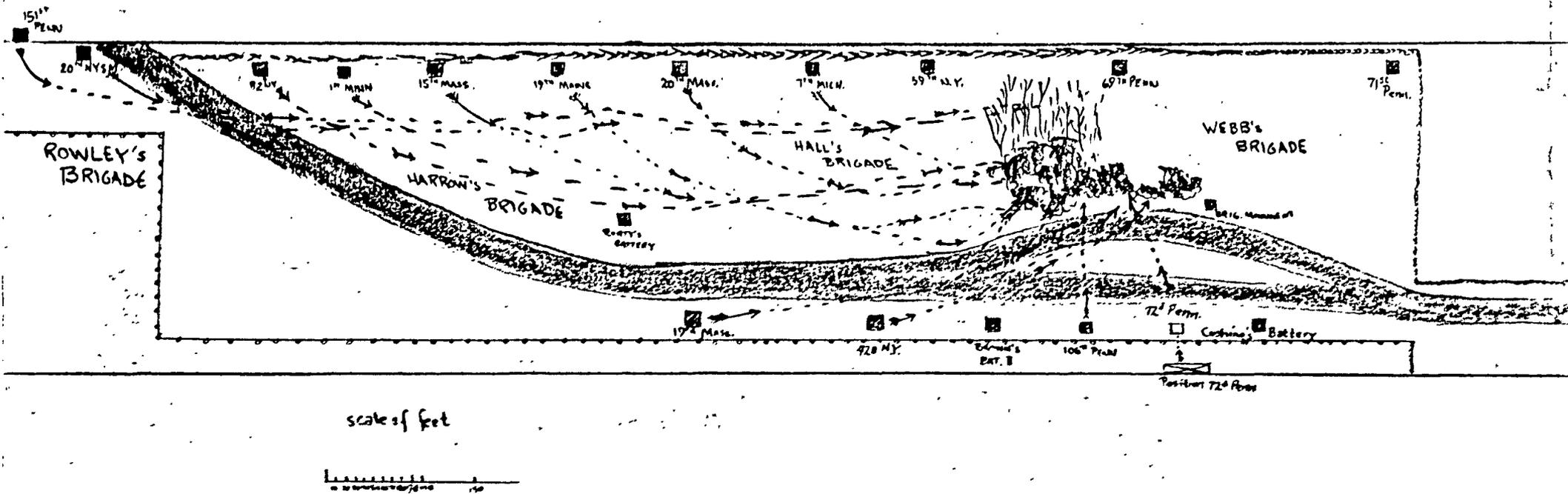


the position of the slashing) and the movements of the regiments.) The map accurately depicts that most of the 7th Michigan and the 59th New York remained in position.

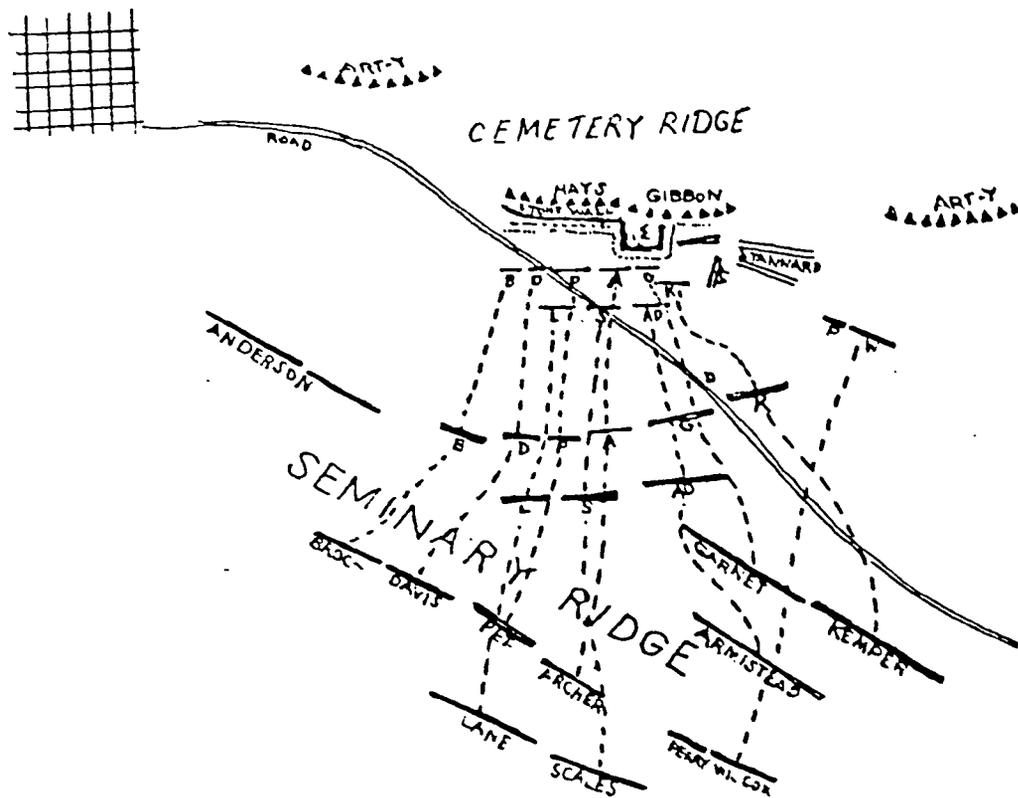
from John H. Rhodes, The History of Battery B 1st Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery in the War to Preserve the Union 1861-1865 (Providence, 1894), opposite p. 204.

This map was used in the testimony at the trial for the placing of the monument of the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry. It shows the routes of movement to the clump of trees by the various regiments.

MAP OF THE POSITION
 OCCUPIED BY
 GIBBON'S DIVISION
 July 3, 1863

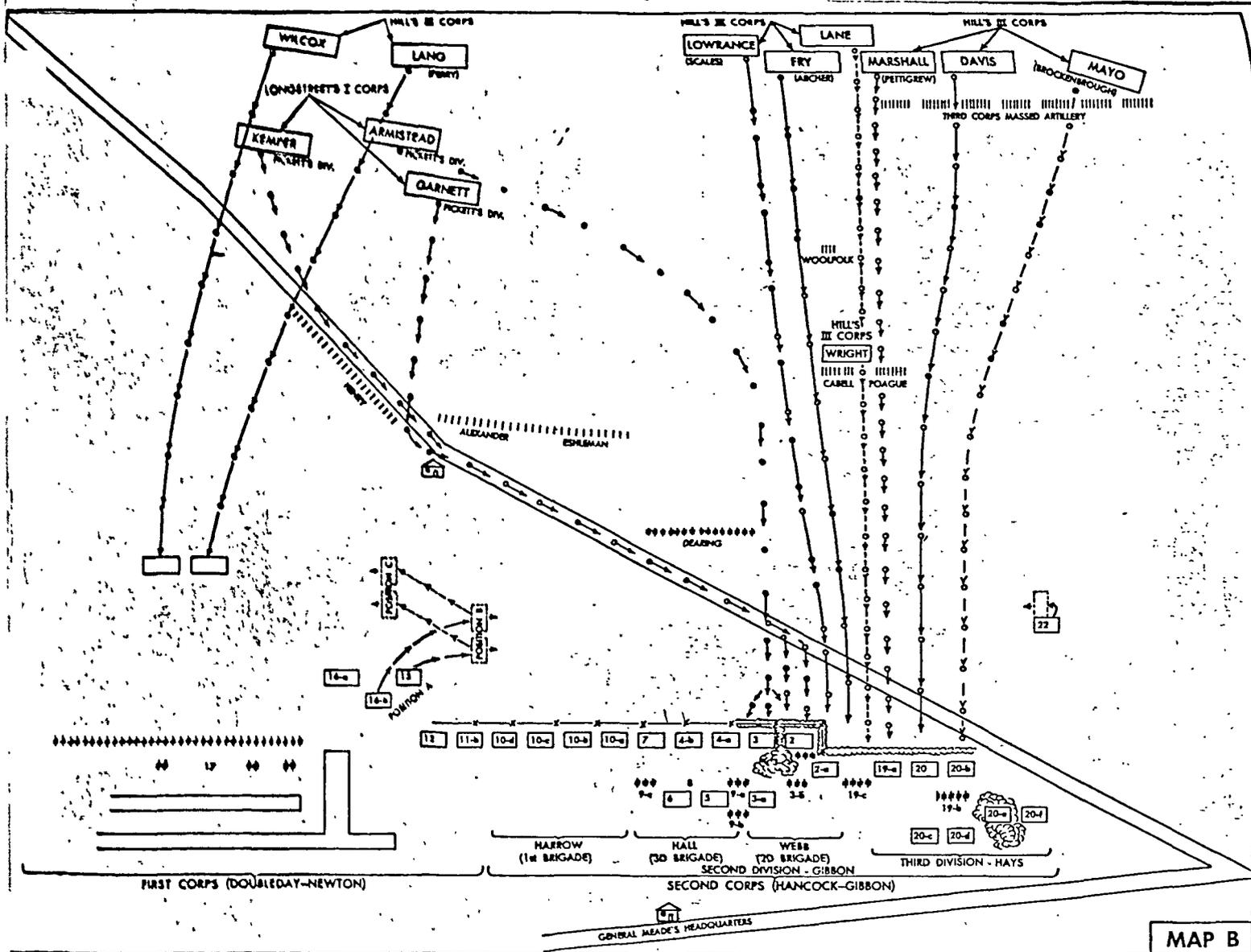


from Survivors of the 72nd Pa. vs GBMA, et al , opposite p. 180.



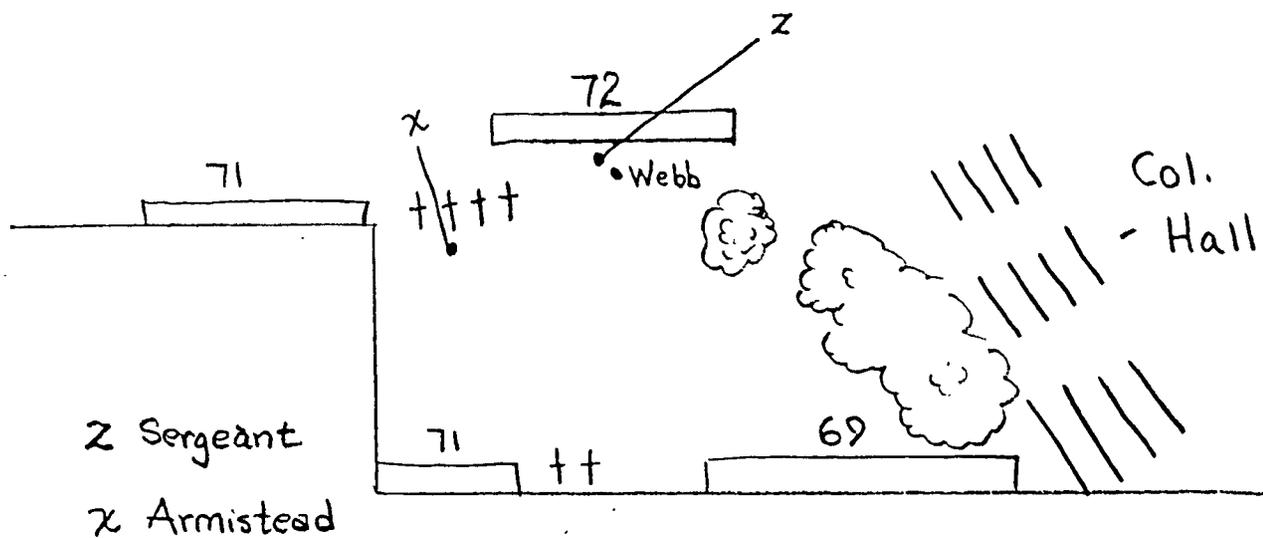
This map represents an attempt to present the whole of Longstreet's Assault on the front of Gibbon's and Hays' Divisions. While it is almost wholly accurate, because of its general nature, it does place the brigades of Perry (Lang) and Wilcox in the wrong location at the beginning of the attack.

from Captain S. A. Ashe, "The Pettigrew-Pickett Charge. Gettysburg, 3 July, 1863," in Walter Clark, ed., Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-65, vol. 5 (Goldboro, N. Ca., 1901), p. 145.



This map is almost wholly inaccurate as far as the movements of Pickett's Division are concerned, as well as the location of all artillery units supporting the assault.

from Alan M. Hollingsworth and James M. Cox, The Third Day at Gettysburg: Pickett's Charge (New York, 1959).



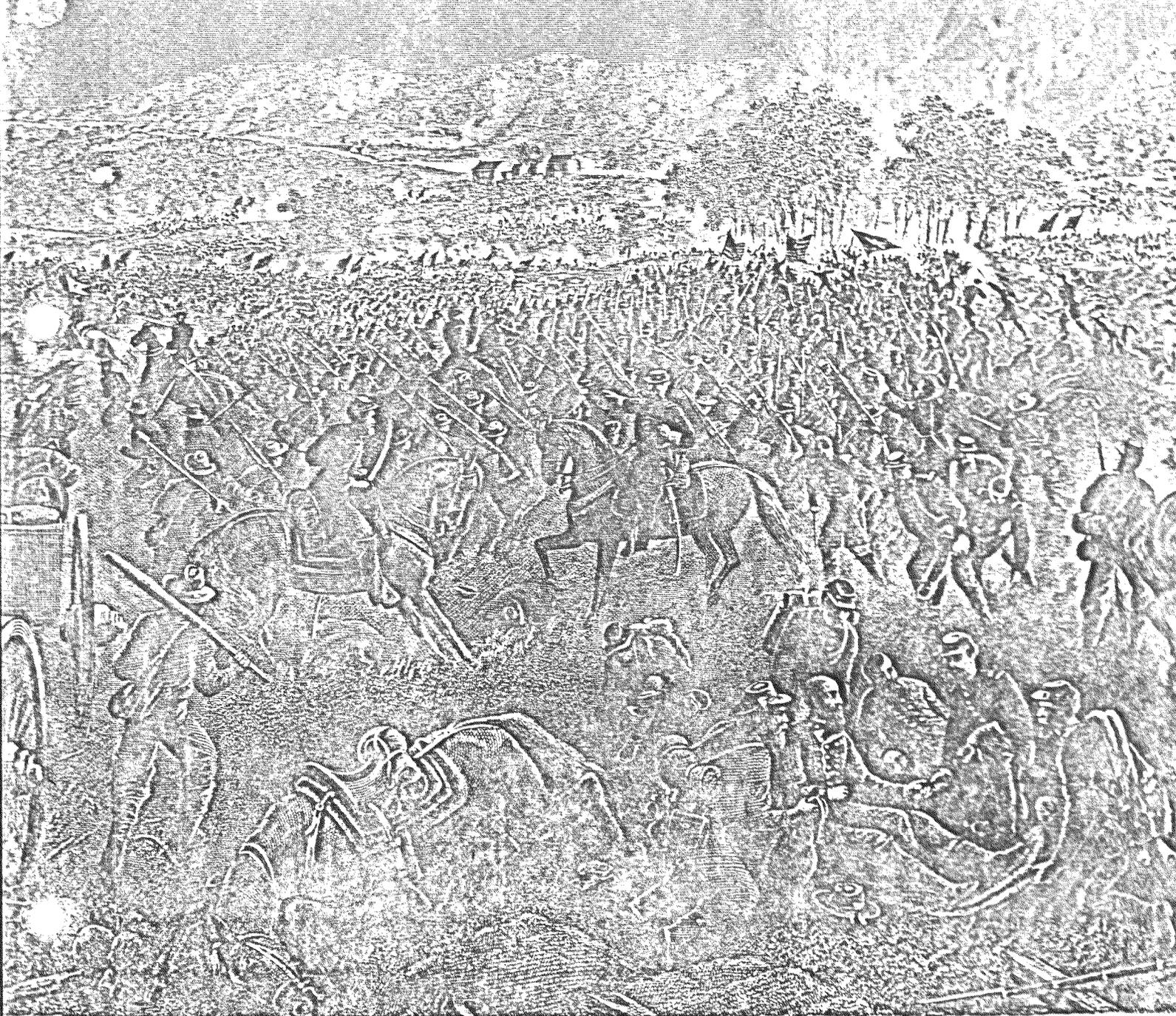
This is a representation drawn by General A. S. Webb for the artist Peter Rothermel, showing the positions of his brigade at the climax of the assault by Longstreet's Virginians. Webb specified in this sketch map the location of Armistead's wounding, and the place where he had the contest with the color sergeant of the 72nd Pennsylvania.

from Alexander S. Webb, January (1869?) letter to Peter Rothermel, in MG-108, Peter F. Rothermel Papers, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Appendix G--Iconographics and Illustrations

Engraving of James Walker's painting "Repulse of Longstreet's Assault at
the Battle of Gettysburg" (portion) ca. 1870

This engraving from the painting shows the scene of conflict between Gibbon's Division, Stannard's Brigade and Pickett's Division. The large trees represent the clump of trees at the Angle. The seated figures in the foreground included General Lewis A. Armistead and Lieutenant Colonel Rawley Martin. The descriptive key by Colonel Bachelder, included on the following page, identifies other important figures.

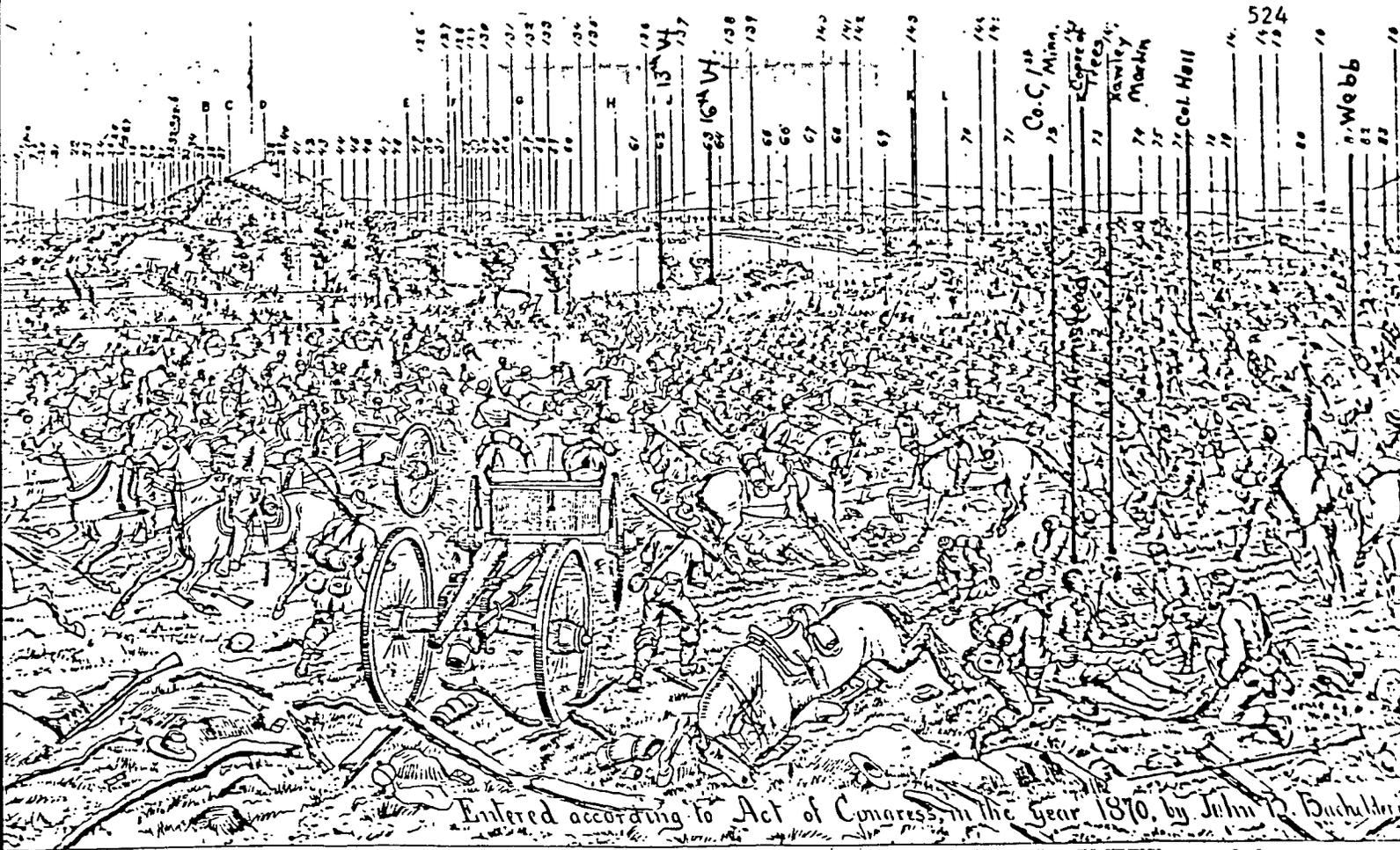


Colonel John Bachelder's comments and description of the painting included the following:

"Colonel Hall's brigade is represented massing on General Webb's left; its gallant leader can be seen directing its movements. It had been formed on a prolongation of Webb's lines, with three regiments in the front line, protected by a slight work of earth and rails, and two in the second line, on the left of Rorty's battery, which occupied the crest, Brown's battery had been in position between Rorty's and Cushing's

"As General Hancock rode in front of the 19th Massachusetts, which, with the 42d New York volunteers, formed Hall's second line, Colonel Devereux of the former regiment went to him and asked permission to move up and engage the troops then advancing on Webb. Receiving permission to do so, these two regiments hurried to Webb's relief, as seen in the painting, passing in rear of the copse of trees M; and immediately afterward Colonel Hall ordered the 7th Michigan and 20th Massachusetts to 'break from their right to the rear' and move rapidly to the same place, which was done with remarkable promptness, during which Lieutenant-Colonel Steele, commanding the 7th Michigan, was killed. The 59th New York volunteers remained at the works on the front line, and Harrow's brigade, with the 20th New York S.M., and the 151st Pennsylvania volunteers followed the course of Hall's regiments, and charged up to the trees, the two latter regiments passing in front of them. During this movement regimental organizations were completely lost; the colors were pushed indiscriminately to the front followed by the enthusiastic men. The 13th and 16th Vermont volunteers, of Stannard's brigade, moved to their right, 'changed front forward,' and opened fire on Pickett's right flank."

from John B. Bachelder, Descriptive Key to the Painting of the Repulse of Longstreet's Assault at the Battle of Gettysburg (July 3, 1863). . . . (New York, 1870), pp. 37-38.



"Descriptive Key to accompany the James Walker painting"

Other than the key figures identified above, there are a number of other interesting and significant items which can be identified:

- 59--Cowan's 1st New York Battery going into action (from the wrong direction!)
- 65--Captain Andrew Cowan (the mounted officer to the right of the gun)
- 70--Captain John G. Hazard, 2nd Corps Artillery Brigade (mounted beside Cowan)
- 76--Lieutenant Alonzo Cushing being carried off (beside Hazard, and above Martin)
- 49--near the extreme left is the silhouette of General Hancock receiving his dangerous wound

John Bachelder, "Flank Attack of Stannard's Brigade"

This engraving was made for G. G. Benedict's The Battle of Gettysburg and the Part Taken therein by Vermont Troops (Burlington, 1867).

Colonel Wheelock Veazey wrote to Bachelder, describing what he hoped could be portrayed in the sketch:

"I claim no more for the 16th Regt. than for the others of the Brigade. It is true the 13th and 16th were then moving and charging regiments, but while so doing the 14th stood firm as ordered and kept up their fire, and so cooperated in the movement, and contributed to the grand result as fully as the other regiments, and are entitled to equal credit. The 14th also desires to share in the expense of the proposed depiction and wish of course to be represented. In order to do this it has occurred to me and others interest that a cut representing the line of the enemy with the 14th in position firing to the right oblique, but standing on a line parallel to the enemy's line or nearly so, and the 13th and 16th just starting on the charge, in a line formed obliquely to the line of the 14th, the right refused, so that the line of the charging regiments would form or represent a line at an angle of about 45 degrees with the line of the 14th, would be the nearest accurate and most satisfactory that could be adopted. . . . You are doubtless aware that there is a little slope or depression in the ground from the position of the Vt. regts. towards the enemy's line."

from Colonel Wheelock G. Veazey, undated letter to John B. Bachelder, in Gettysburg Correspondence, New Hampshire Historical Society, Microfilm Reel 1, pp. 69-70.

John Bachelder, "Attacking Wilcox in Flank"

This engraving was also made for G. G. Benedict's The Battle of Gettysburg and the Part Taken therein by Vermont Troops. It depicts Veazey's 16th Vermont on the right of the sketch, attacking the Florida Brigade under Colonel David Lang near the headwaters of Plum Run and the Codori-Trostle thicket.



10TH VT. VOL., COL. VEAZZY.
ATTACKING WILCOX IN FLANK.
Gettysburg, July 3d,
1862.

F. D. Briscoe "Artillery Duel--Hancock's Ride Along the Line" (1886)

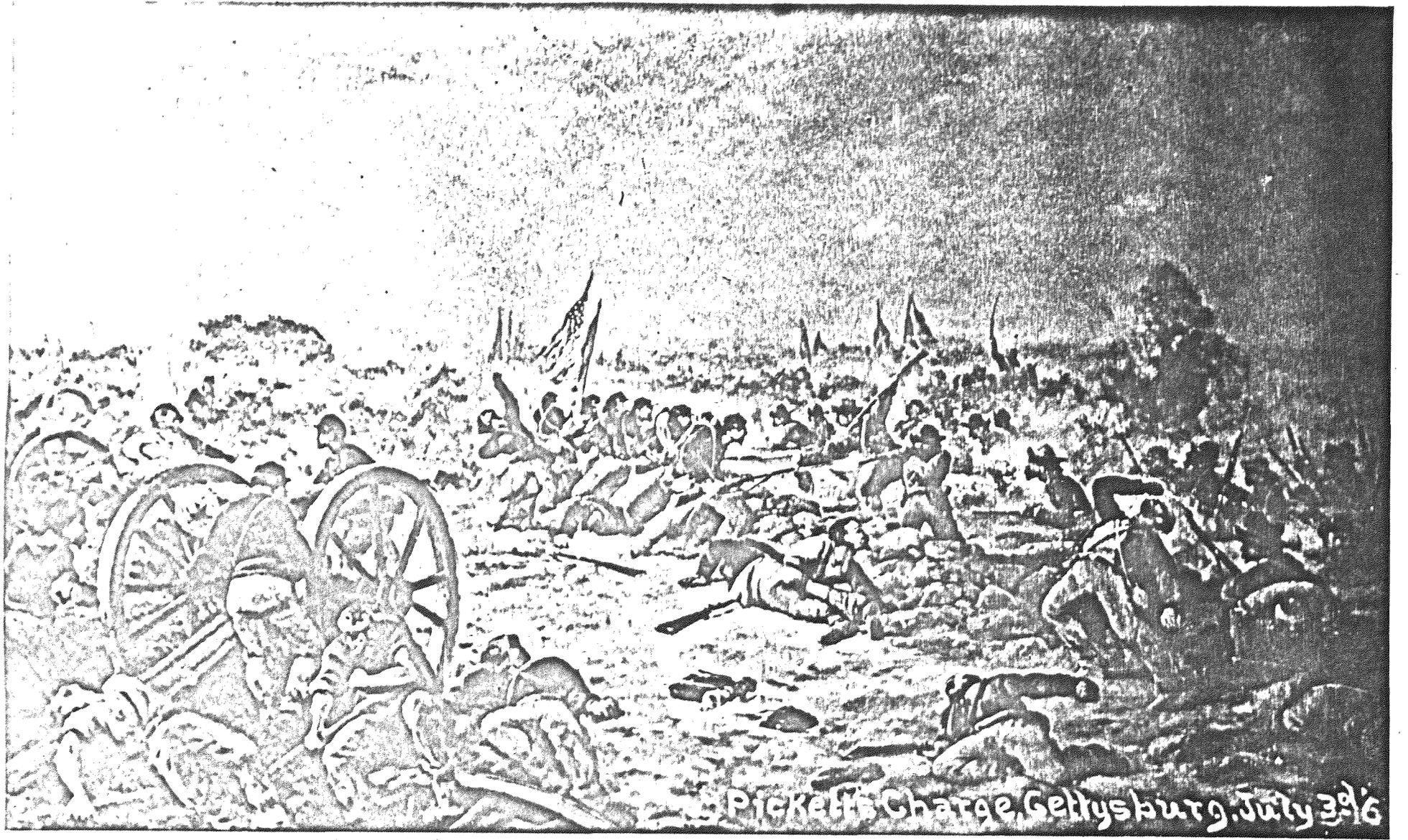
This painting depicts General Hancock riding along his Second Corps line (presumably near the division line of Alexander Hays) during the cannonade preceding the attack of Pickett's Division. The clump of trees appears at the left.



Gettysburg - Artillery - Buel, Hancock's ride along the line.

F. D. Briscoe "Pickett's Charge, Gettysburg. July 3d, '63" (1886)

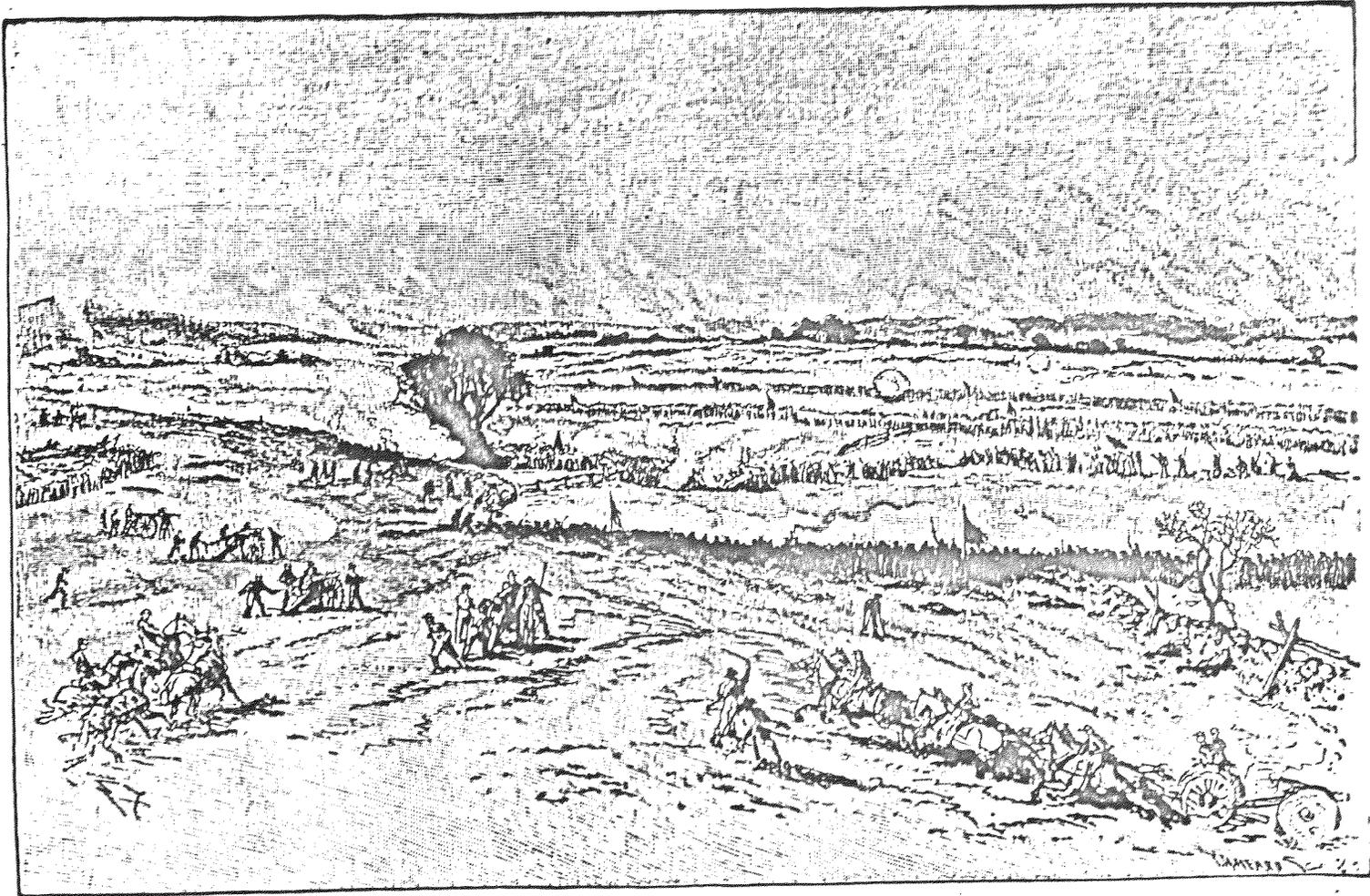
This painting apparently depicts the attack by Garnett's Brigade at the stone wall of the Angle, before Fuger's few artillerists had to abandon their remaining guns and before the wall was entirely overrun by the Confederates. The mounted officer with upraised sword may be a representation of General Richard Garnett, before he was killed.



Pickett's Charge, Gettysburg, July 3, 1863

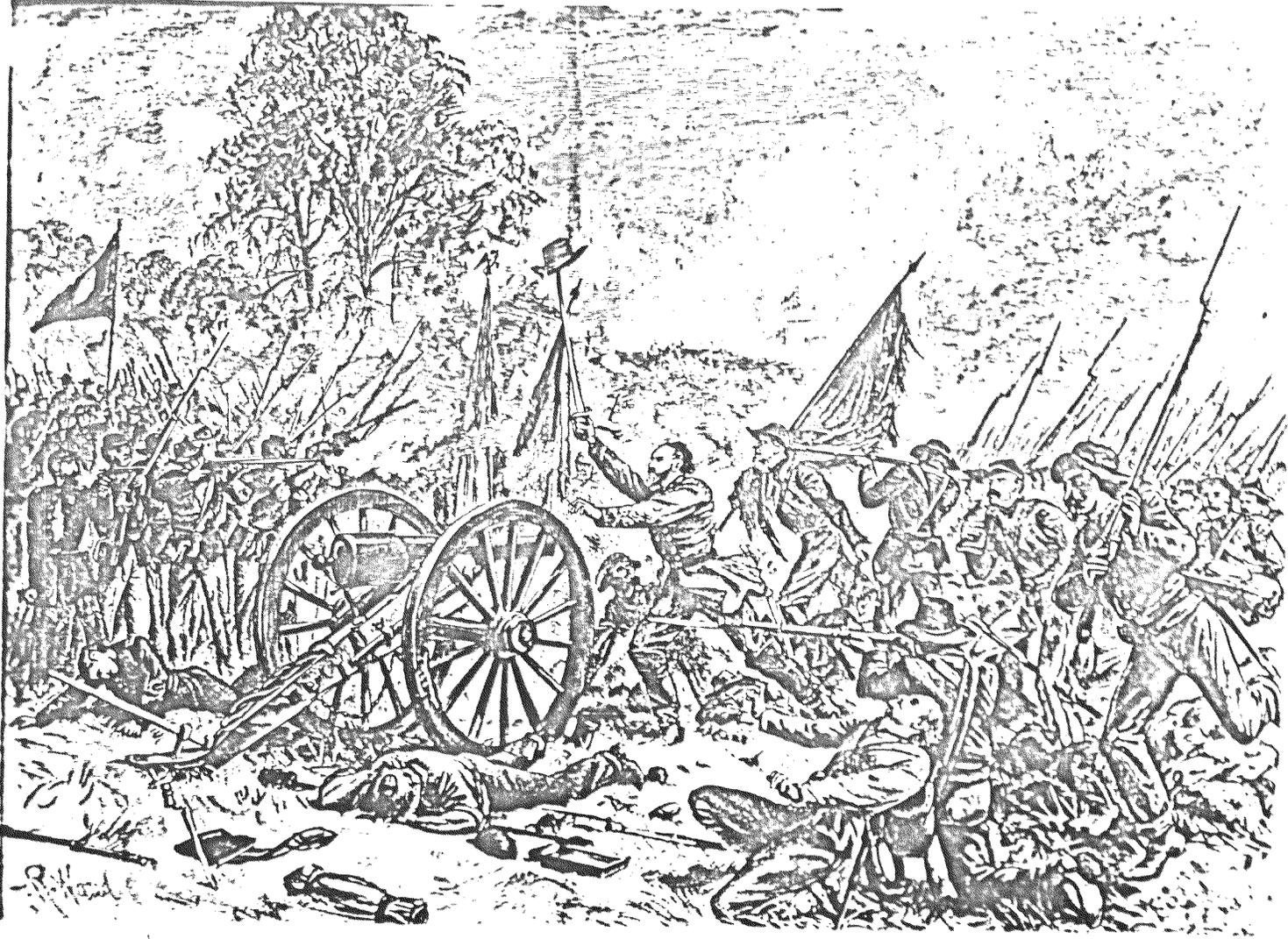
T. H. Heard engraving of Edward Forbes sketch "The Charge of Pickett, Pettigrew, and Trimble"

This sketch, while not depicting much detail, shows the center of Hancock's Second Corps line from behind, overlooking the field of the Confederate attack. The clump of trees is quite prominent at the left center.



A. R. Waud, sketch showing the climax of Armistead's attack.

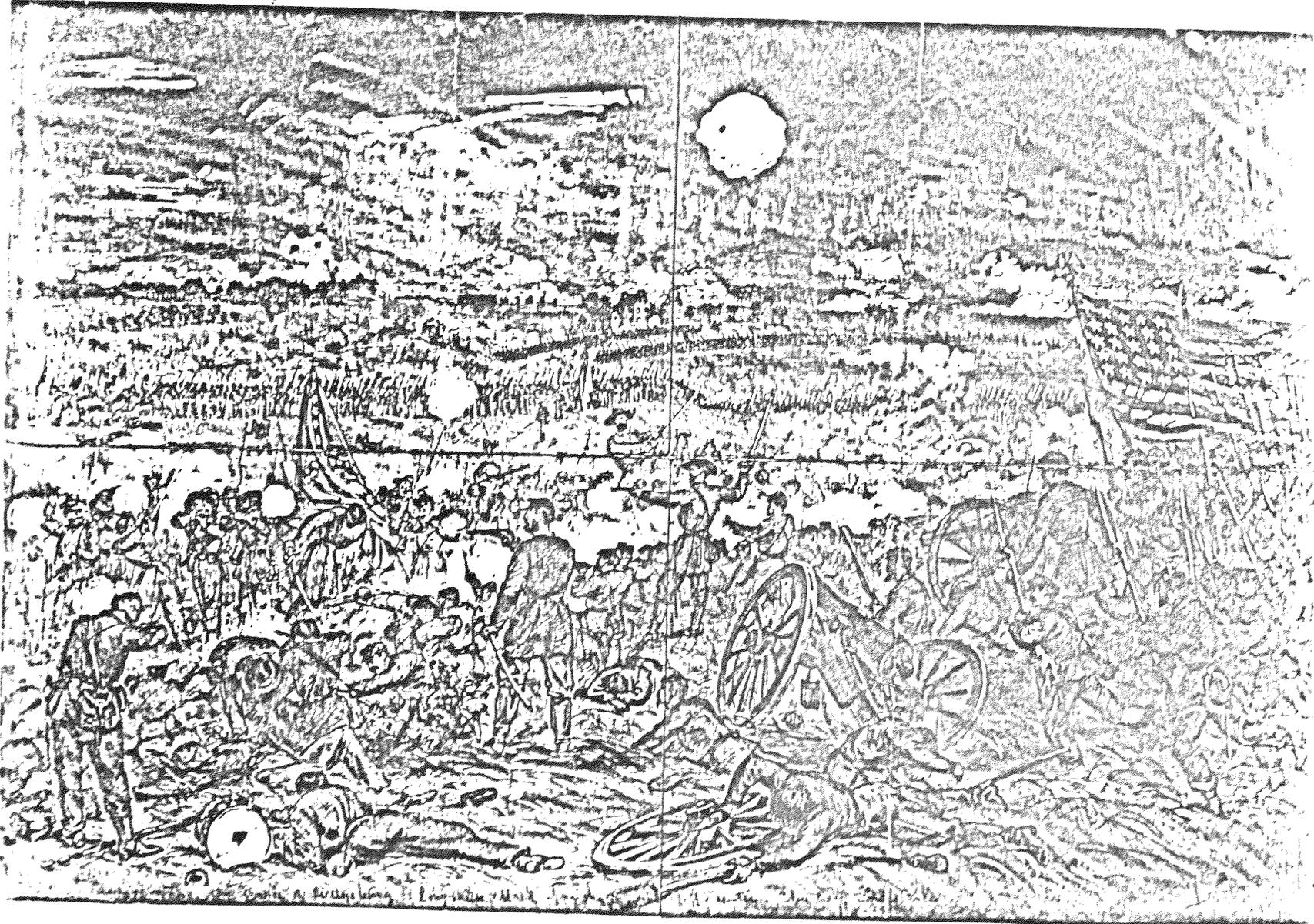
The sketch by the battlefield artist Alfred R. Waud depicts the impending death of General Armistead near the second line of cannon of Cushing's Battery. Waud, however, has made the mistake of portraying a Parrott rifle which Armistead was reaching for to claim, when Cushing was equipped with 3-inch ordnance rifles. Supposedly, the large tree looming above the smoke of the Union muskets represents the clump of trees.



A. R. Waud, "Battle of Gettysburg. . Longstreet's Attack upon the left center. Blue Ridge in distance"

This preliminary drawing for Harper's supposedly depicts the attack on Hancock's line on July 3, but the topography of the background, especially the position of the "Blue Ridge in distance" seems reversed from its physical nature. The historical accuracy of the incident portrayed is highly questionable, although Waud did not specify on the sketch what part of the line he was depicting. The long lines of advancing Confederates in the background (just behind the mounted Southern officer) appear to be leisurely strolling to the slaughter instead of advancing at the quick step and the double quick as they would have been by the time they reached the position at which they are portrayed.

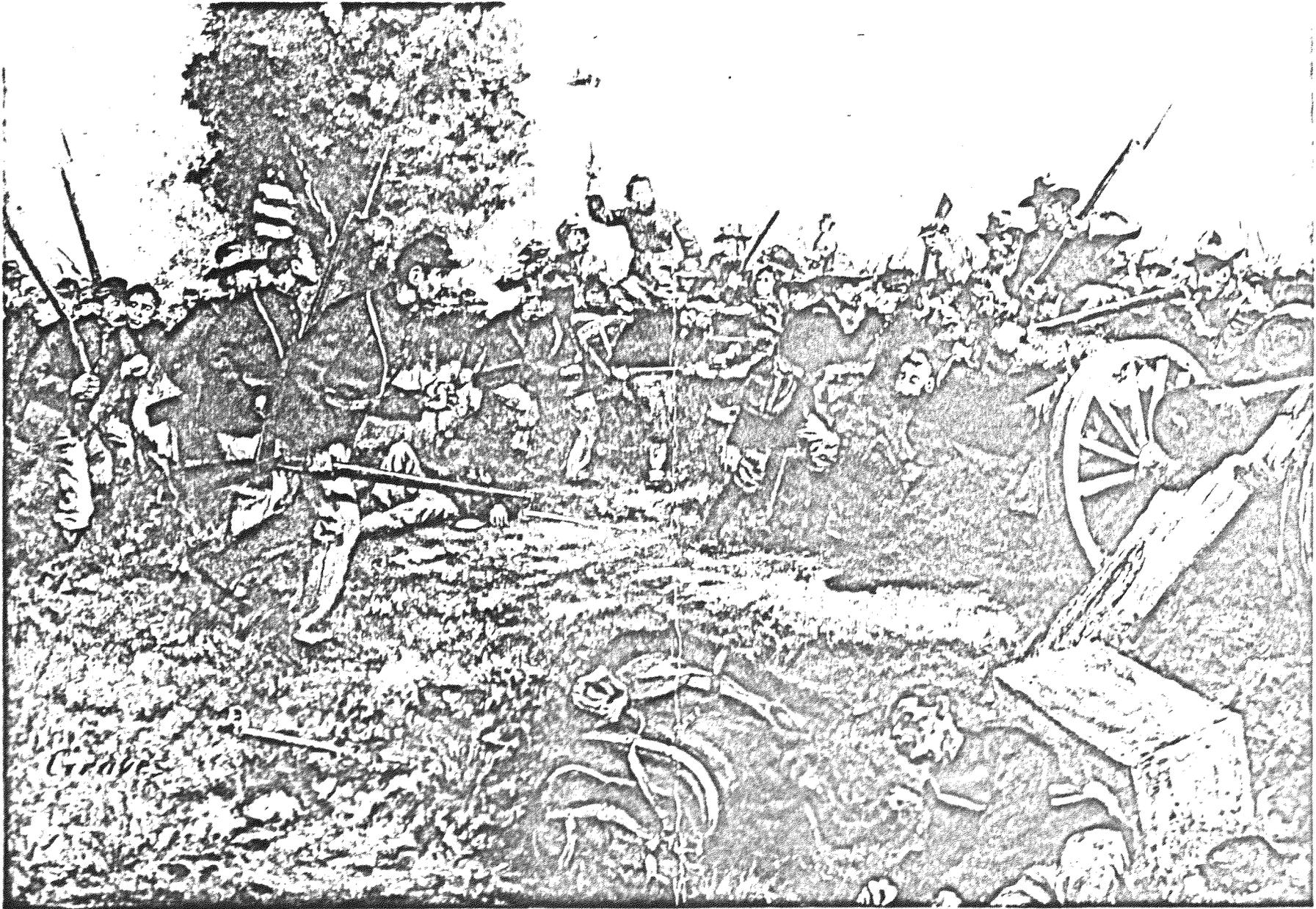
(Library of Congress reproduction)



C. D. Graves, "Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg"

This rather exciting but limited portrayal of the height of Armistead's attack concentrates its focus on the surge of the Virginians into the Angle. For sake of drama the artist as inaccurately posed the Confederate general standing atop one of Cushing's cannon. Who is the mounted officer to the right of Armistead? There were apparently no remaining mounted Confederates in the area after Armistead gained the wall. This artist did little historical research, including in the field of accoutrements and uniforms of the Civil War.

(Library of Congress reproduction)



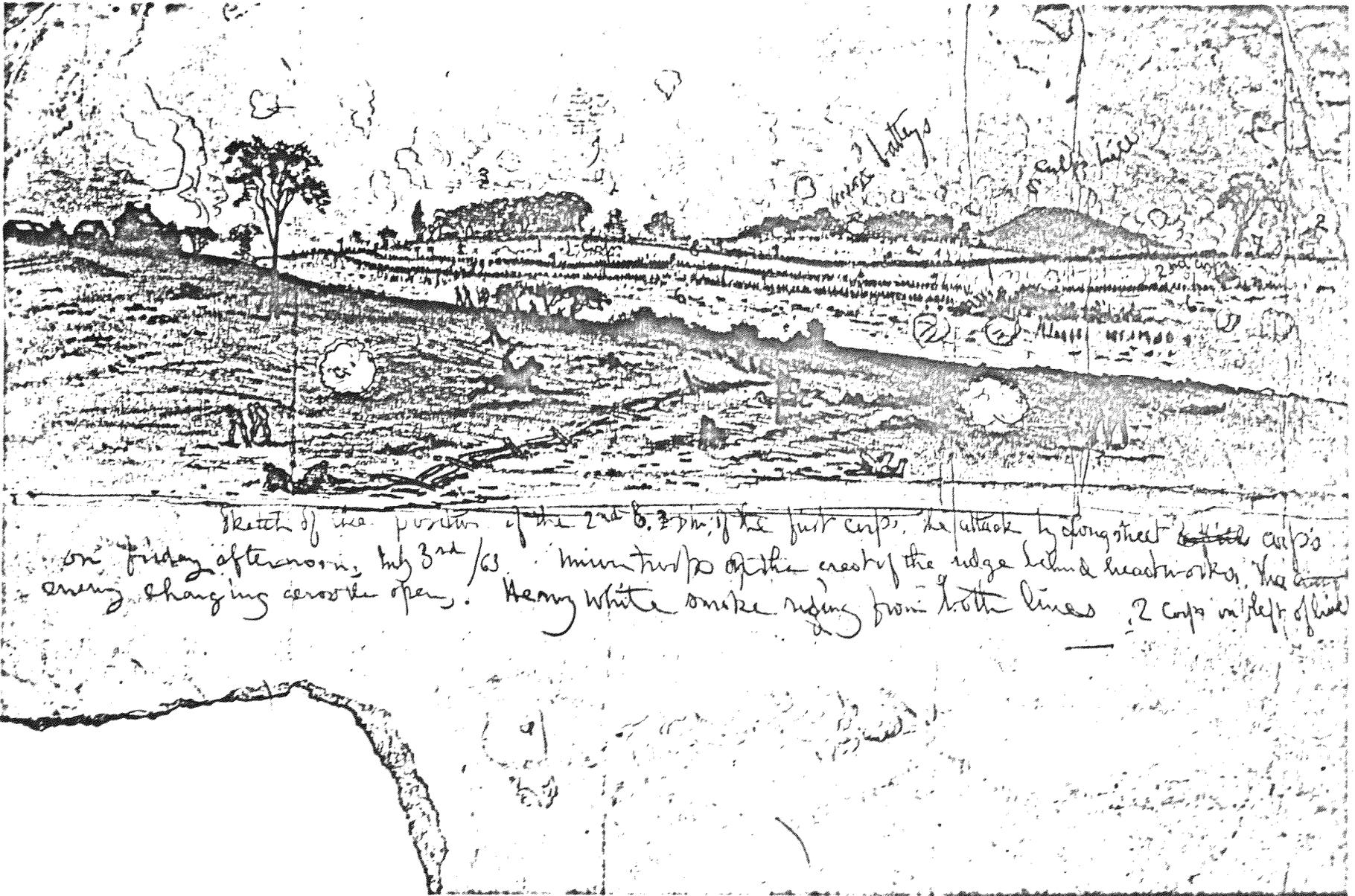
Printed by C. D. Graves

PICKETT'S CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG

Edwin Forbes, "Sketch of the position of the 2nd & 3 Div. of the first corps. The attack by Longstreet (& Hills--crossed out) corps on Friday afternoon July 3rd/63."

This is the preliminary field sketch for that engraving sketch shown in Appendix B. The most significant features in the drawing include the large solitary tree in the foreground, to the south of the McMillan (?) buildings, the group of trees on the left horizon identified in the later sketch as Ziegler's Grove, the trees on the horizon of Cemetery Hill at the center, Culp's Hill, and the large solitary tree on the 2nd Corps line.

(Library of Congress reproduction)

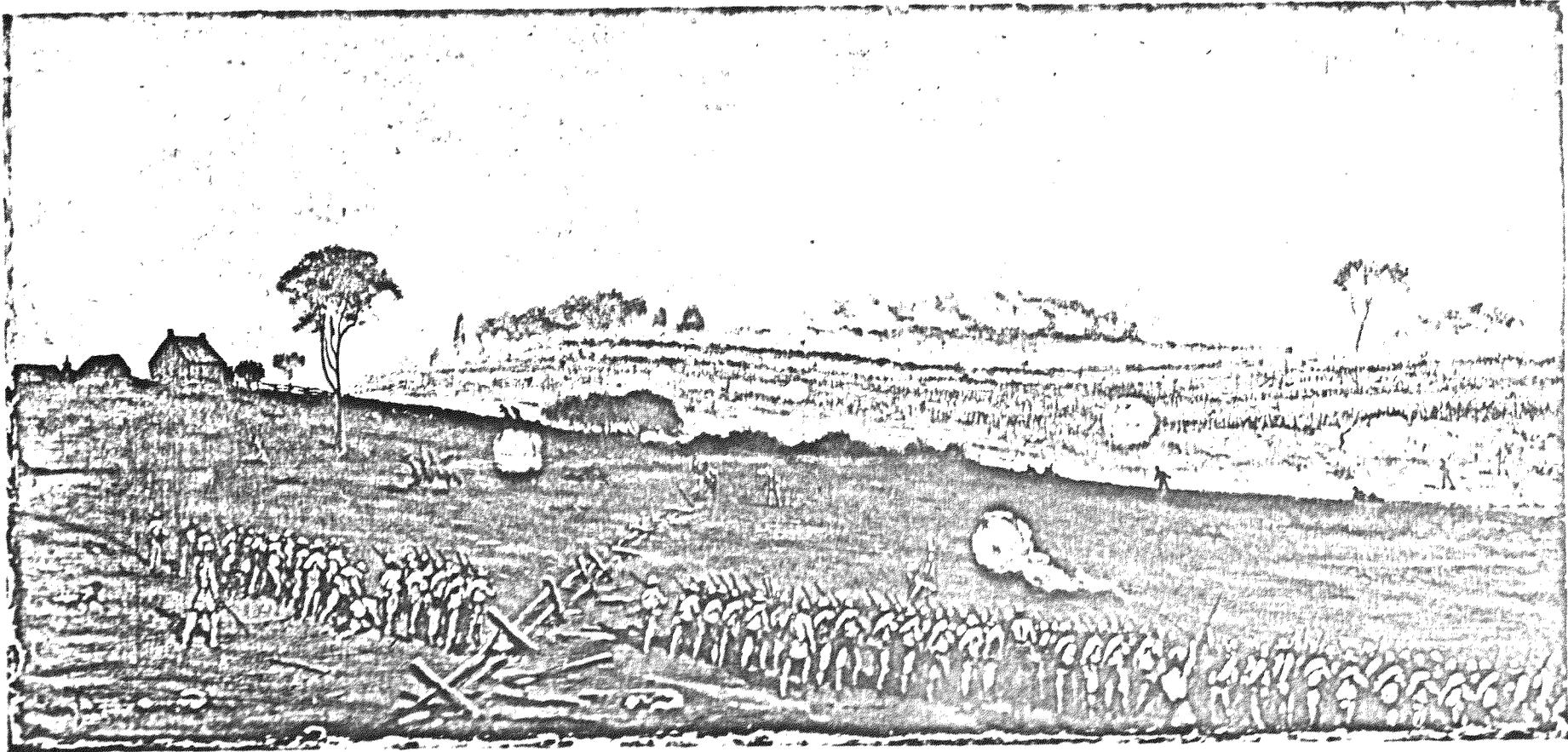


Sketch of the position of the 2nd B. 25th of the first corps, the attack by along street ~~to the~~ corps
on Friday afternoon, July 3rd /63. Minutemen of the crest of the ridge behind breastworks, the ~~line~~
evening changing across the open. Heavy white smoke rising from both lines. 2 corps on left of line

Edwin Forbes, Oil painting representing the attack on the Union 1st and 2nd Corps lines

This painting is the finished product of the various sketches and pen and ink drawings completed by Forbes of this subject. The same topographic features enumerated in the previous sketch appear in this painting. The differences wrought by Forbes, however, included the addition of the line of Confederate troops in the foreground and the changing of some other details in the foreground. The two prominent solitary trees on both sides still appear in this painting.

(Library of Congress reproduction)



Edwin Forbes, Oil painting of "The Charge of Pickett, Pettigrew, and Trimble"

This painting is the final version of the T. H. Heard engraving from Forbes' sketch, depicting the attack from the rear of the Second Corps line. Forbes has rearranged the artillery, which was the only fighting element shown in the foreground of the engraving, and added lines of advancing infantry to his painted foreground. He has also lessened the height of the clump of trees and made them more "bushy" and extended. The lone tall tree south of the McMillan buildings (?) is still visible in this painting from the opposite side. The solitary tree that showed in the sketches from the Confederate perspective as being near the clump of trees is not shown in this painting.

(Library of Congress reproduction)

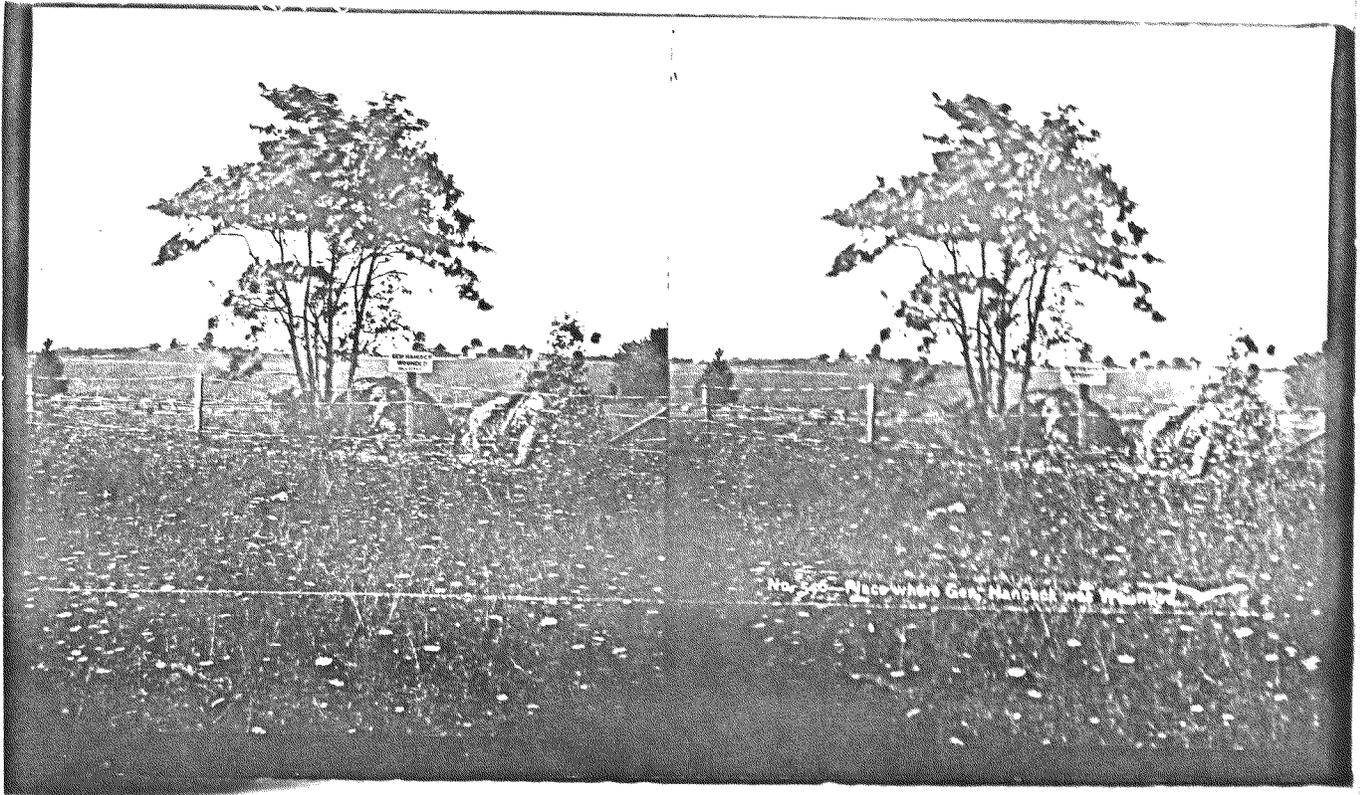


Tipton Photo No. 546 "Place where Gen. Hancock was Wounded"

(1882-1888) This stereo view to the southwest indicates the place marked by the GBMA as the site where Hancock was wounded. The field in the background was the site of Kemper's movement by the left flank toward the Codori buildings (out of the picture to the right), and the scene of the flanking movement and the change of front by the two regiments of Stannard's Brigade.

Interestingly, when Hancock viewed the site selected by the GBMA (Bachelder) he disagreed with the site, saying that he did not recollect any such large boulders anywhere near where he fell. Hancock's opinion, however, held no sway with the dogmatic historian Bachelder, and the permanent marker was erected on this same site in 1888. Since the Vermont position has also been wrongly monumented (too far northward), it is likely that Hancock was right, and he was wounded further south in the field with no boulders near Codori Spring.

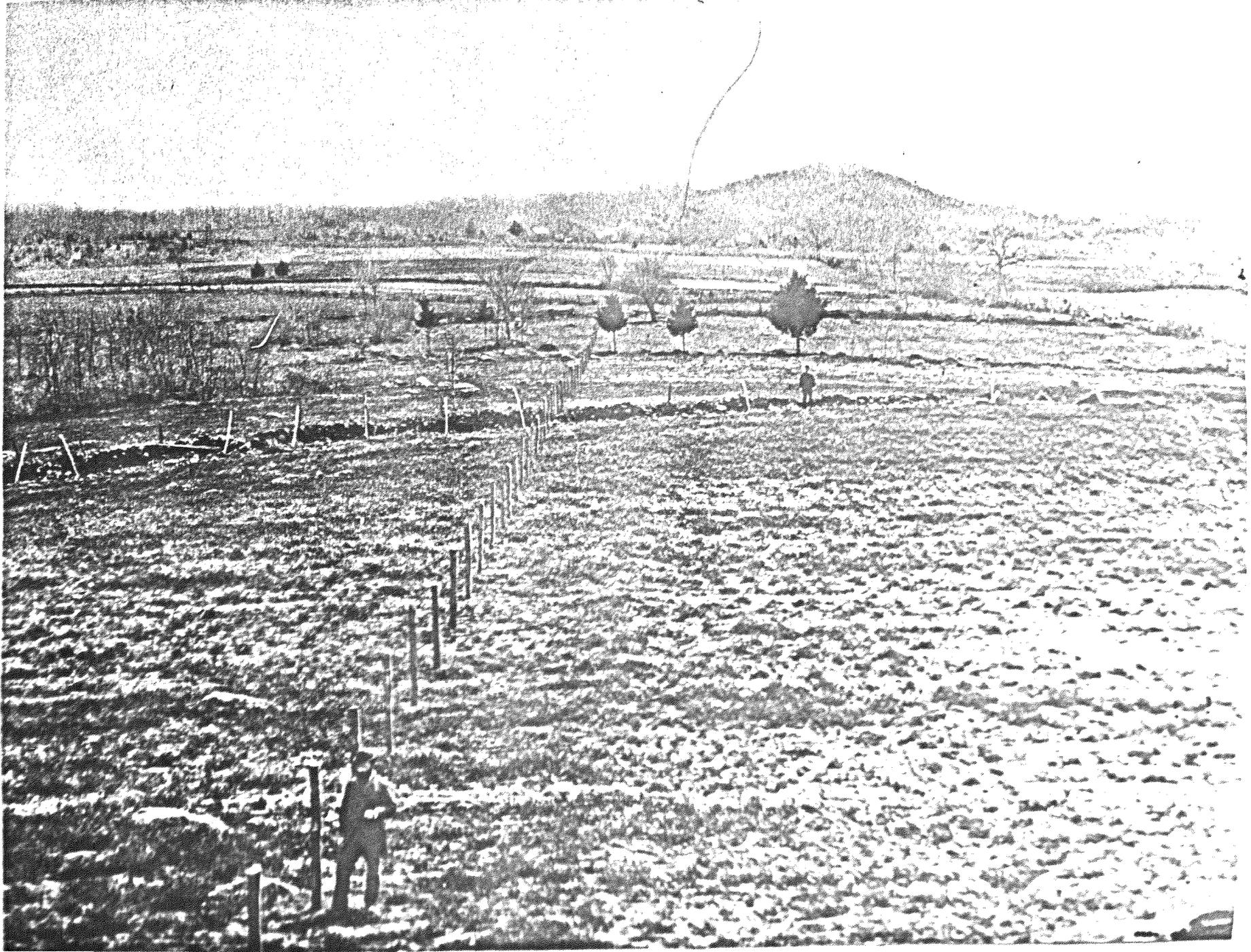
(Tipton file #1868, GNMP file



Tipton Photo, Panorama segment for cyclorama painting, view south behind Union line.

(1881) This view from a position just northeast of the Angle, looks southward behind Gibbon's line towards the position held by the First Corps and the artillery line on the crest of the ridge. The large bare tree along the fenceline and beneath the right slope of Big Round Top is the walnut tree near which General Gibbon was wounded. The walnut tree was saved by the efforts of tree surgeons during the administration of the War Department, and its concrete and rock-stuffed trunk is still visible along Hancock Avenue.

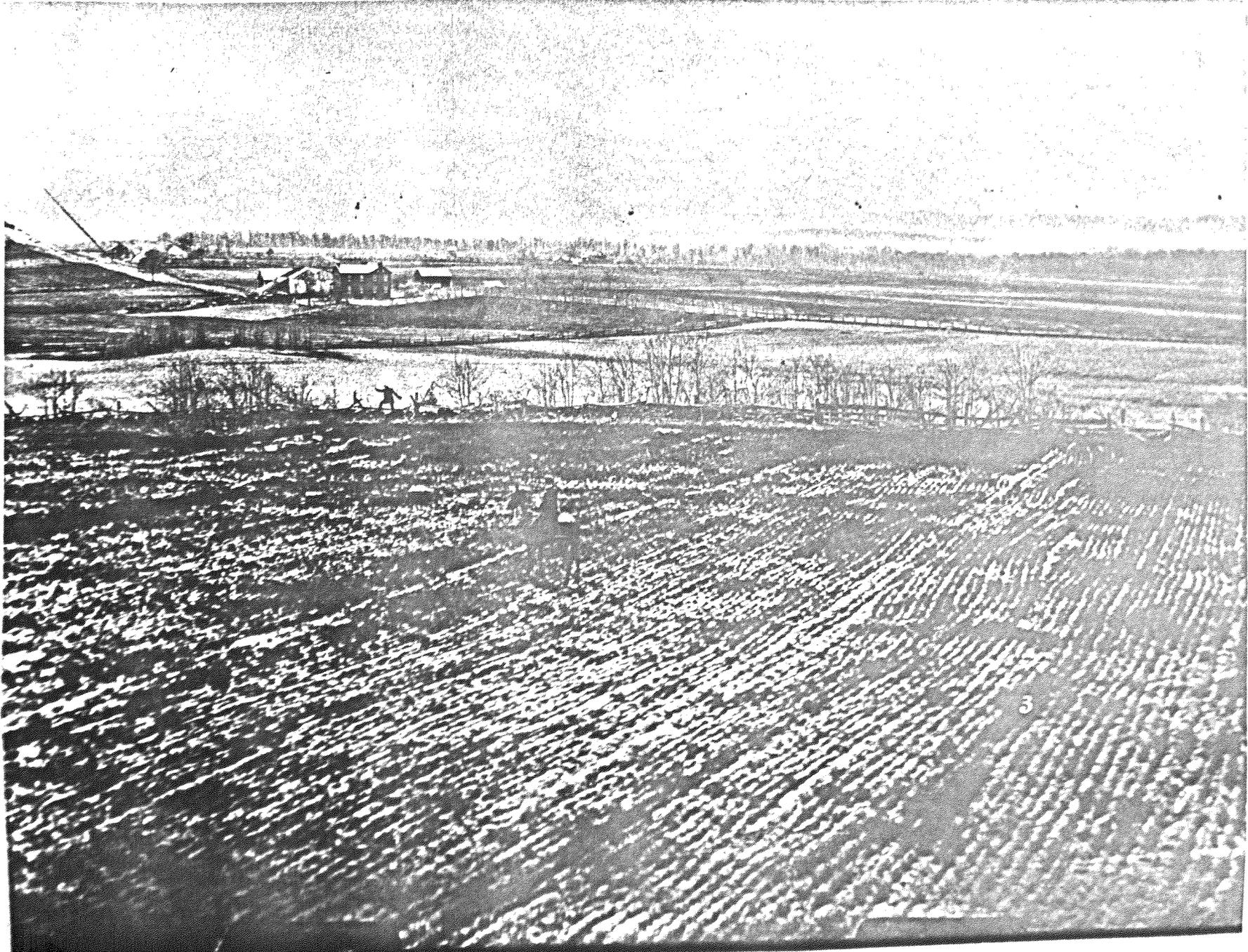
(Tipton file, GNMP)



Tipton Photo, Panorama segment for cyclorama painting, view southwest over the Angle wall.

(1881) This view to the southwest from a point just opposite the Angle and northeast of the clump of trees, shows the stone wall of the Angle, along which the right flank of the 69th Pennsylvania would have lain at the left of the photograph. The wall is surmounted by a rider fence and at some points (especially at the right of the photograph) by a combination of rider and post and rail to accommodate for low portions of the wall. In the background is the Emmitsburg Road, passing from the left to the right of the photo, and beside which sit the Codori farm buildings. Spangler Woods appears at the right background of the picture, while the Spangler buildings are barely visible in the swale to the right of the Codori buildings.

(Tipton file, GNMP)



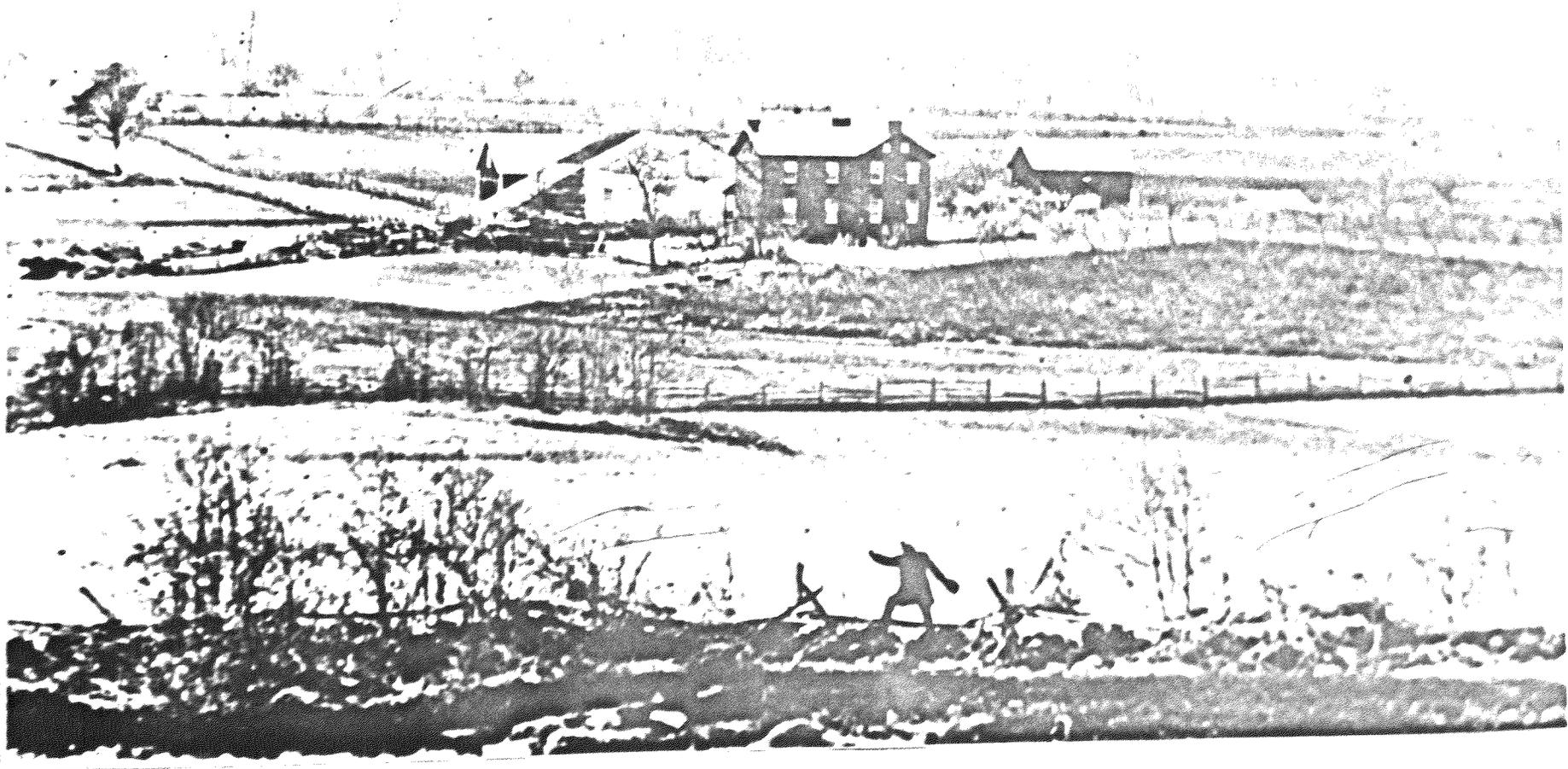
Tipton Photo, Panorama segment for cyclorama painting, view southeast, enlarged.

(1881) This enlargement of the previous photographs concentrates on the environs of the Codori Farm and shows the condition of the pre-war barn some twenty years after the Battle of Gettysburg. As can be seen, the white-painted structure was hardly an imposing bank barn, as accepted by many historians who attribute the Codori barn to have had the walls referred to wherein Pickett was seeking refuge. The rear ell of the farmhouse was a post-war addition, the house itself having only the front section at the time of the battle. The buildings on the opposite side of the Emmitsburg Road are also of post-war construction.

The solitary tree along the Emmitsburg Road at the left of the photograph was probably the tree in which the Confederate sharpshooter was stationed, who was harrassing the Vermonters and who was dispatched by one of the New Hampshire sharpshooters.

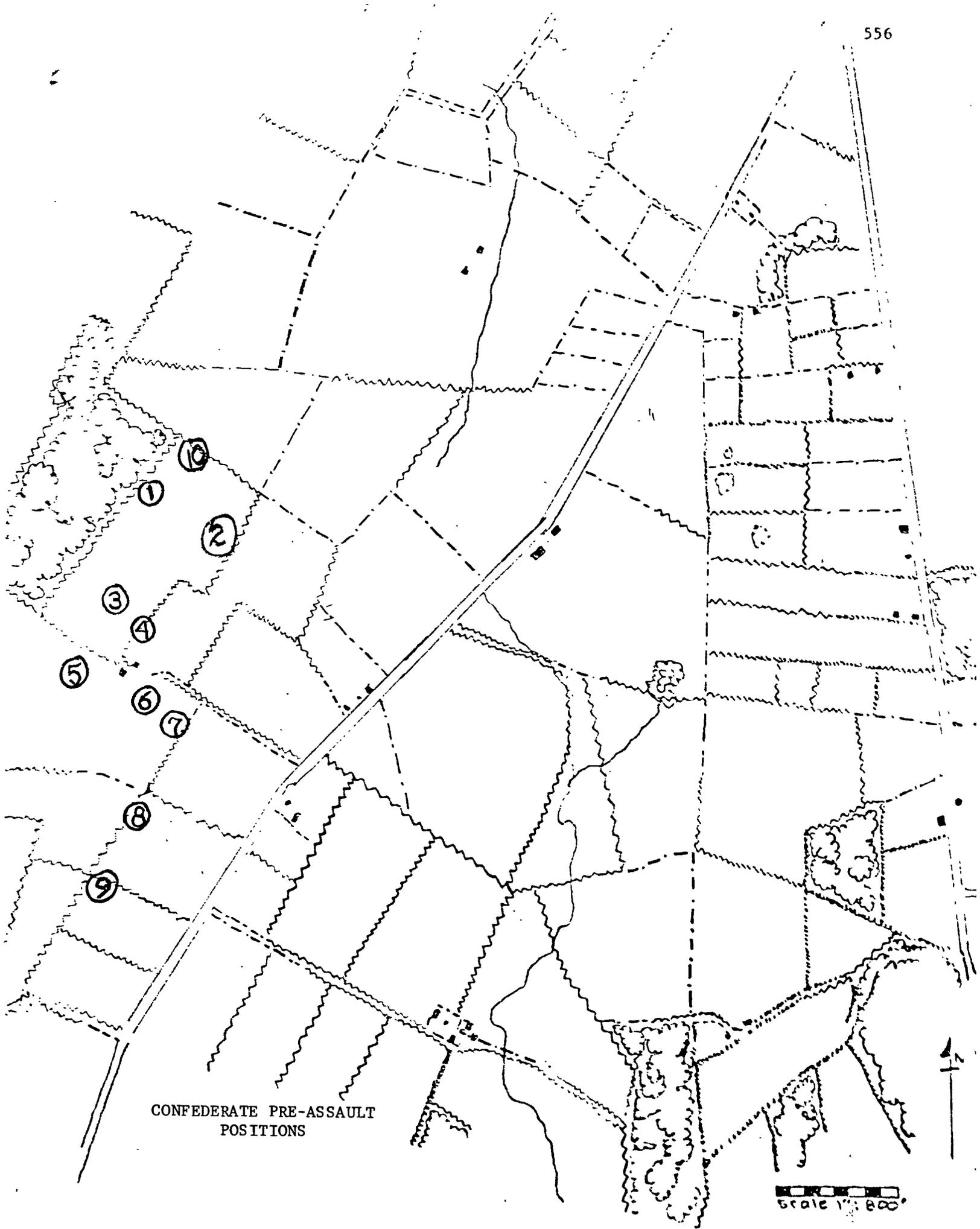
The brush-covered knoll at the left center, between the Angle wall and the Codori buildings, was probably that bush-covered knoll where many Virginians sought cover during the repulse, and which was described by many Union participants.

(Tipton file, GNMP)



Appendix H--Modern Photographs and Commentary

(Each map preceding the photographs indicates thereon the position of the camera when the picture was taken.)



CONFEDERATE PRE-ASSAULT
POSITIONS

Scale 1" = 800'



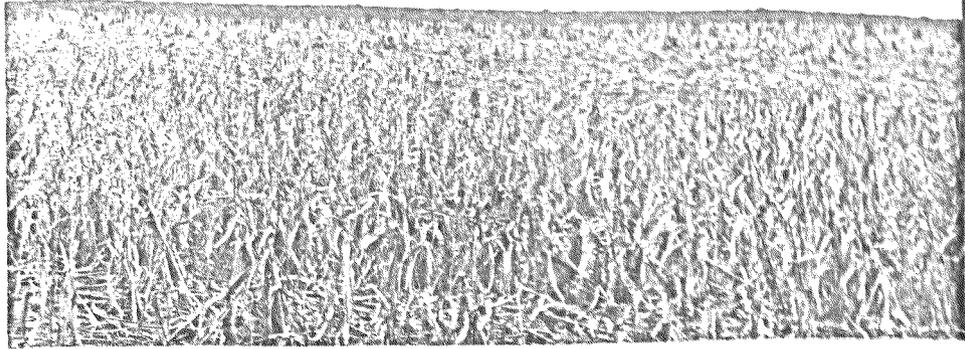
①

Probable position of extreme left of Armistead's Brigade
at eastern edge of Spangler's Woods; view looking
northeast to left end of Alexander's artillery



①

Probable position of extreme left of Armistead's Brigade
at eastern edge of Spangler's Woods; view looking
northeast to crest of ridge on which artillery
line was situated. Cemetery Ridge not visible.



Probable position of extreme left of Armistead's Brigade at eastern edge of Spangler's Woods; view is eastward to Cemetery Ridge, which is not visible over the crest



From probable position of extreme left of Armistead's Brigade at eastern edge of Spangler's Woods; view is southeastward to Spangler farm buildings at right over the crest. Summit of Big Round Top is visible in center background, right of car.



②

From probable position of Armistead's left during the advance from Spangler's Woods to the crest of the artillery ridge; view is northeastward to Ziegler's Grove and Hays' Division



②

From probable position of Armistead's left during the advance from Spangler's Woods; view is eastward, with roofs of Codori farm buildings at left and dome of Pennsylvania Memorial at right. Emmitsburg Road and Cemetery Ridge not visible from here.



From probable position of Armistead's left flank during the advance, looking northward; the topography of the ground prevents anyone in this vicinity from seeing the advance of any but Archer's Brigade, to their immediate left. Would not be able to see Brockenbrough, Davis, Pettigrew, &c.



From probable position of Garnett's Brigade behind the crest of the artillery ridgeline; view is northeastward, with the treetops of Ziegler's Grove at extreme left, today's Copse of Trees at center, and Codori barn roof at the right.



From probable position of Garnett's left behind the first crest east of Spangler's Woods; view is eastward with the dome of the Pennsylvania Memorial at left center and the trees near the Rogers farmhouse site at extreme right.



From probable position of Garnett's left flank; view is southeastward to the Spangler farm buildings.



From probable left center of Garnett's Brigade as it advanced to the crest of the first ridge east of Spangler's Woods; view is northeastward to Ziegler's Grove at left, trees at the Angle at right (but only the top half is visible).



From probable left center of Garnett's Brigade as it advanced to the crest of the first ridge east of Spangler's Woods; view is eastward, and shows dome of Pennsylvania Memorial at center background, trees at Rogers farm site at right



④

From probable left center of Garnett's Brigade position as it advanced to the crest of the first ridge; view is southeast and shows Klingel farm buildings at left background, Spangler farm buildings at right foreground.



⑤

From probable advance position of the left of Kemper's Brigade in the morning, across the run and swale east of the Wilcox Brigade wall; view is northward to position of Garnett's right flank behind the Spangler barn.



From probable position of Kemper's left flank east of the run and swale at the southeast corner of Spangler's Woods; view is north-east and shows Spangler Barn in center; Union lines not visible.



From probable position of Kemper's left flank before the advance; view is southeastward. Alexander's artillery line ran along the horizon at the road; Sherfy buildings at right



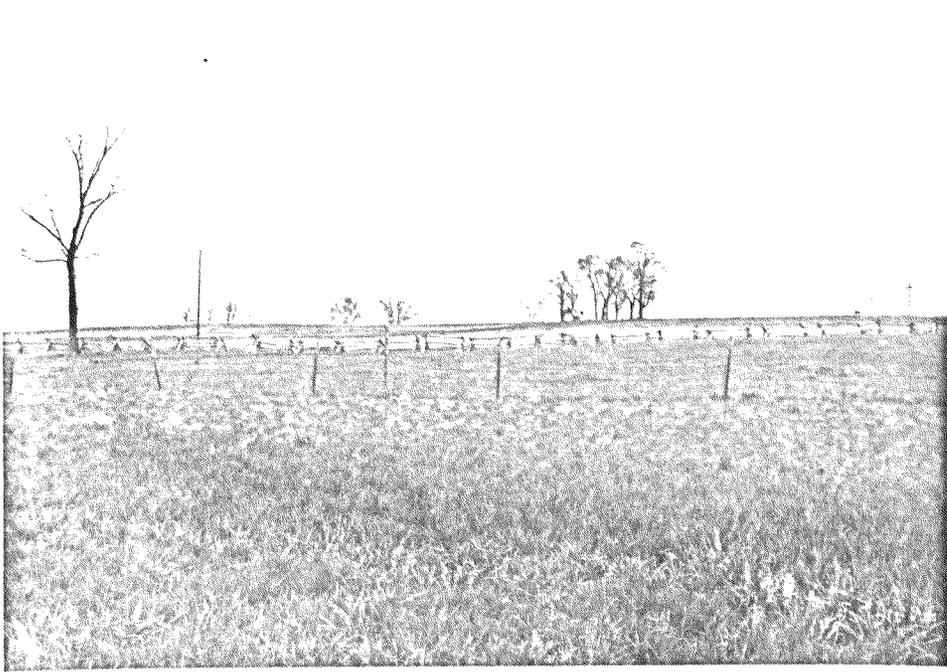
⑤

From probable position of Kemper's left to the run and swale at the southeast corner of Spangler's Woods; view is westward.

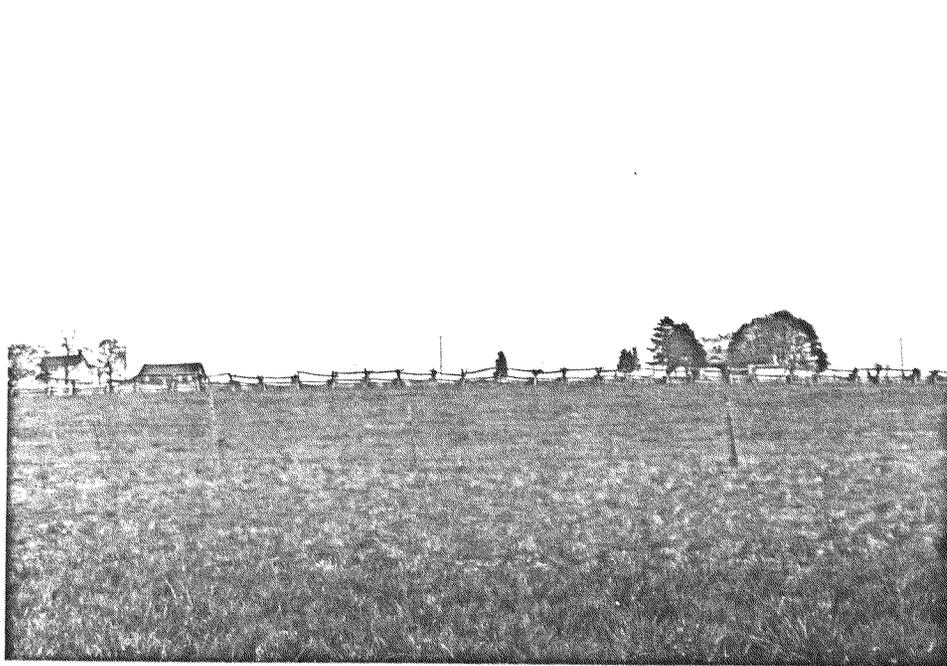


⑥

From probable position of Kemper's advanced position before the cannonade, in the second swale east of the ridge; view is northward and shows Spangler farm buildings



From probable position of Kemper's left flank during the cannonade; view is northeast across Spangler's farm lane and shows the trees at the Rogers farmhouse site at right center. Wilcox and the artillery line would be between Kemper and the horizon



From probable position of Kemper's left flank during the cannonade; view is eastward and shows the Klingel farm buildings at left, Emmitsburg Road beyond the crest of the ridge at horizon



⑥

From probable position of Kemper's left flank during the cannonade; view is southeastward toward the Sherfy farm buildings. Big Round Top is visible at left distance, Little Round Top not visible.



⑦

From probable position of Kemper's left flank during the cannonade or during the advance; view is northwestward to the the Spangler farmhouse from the slope of the Emmitsburg Road ridge. Spangler woods in left distance.



⑦

From probable position of Kemper's center left during the cannonade or during the advance; view is northward across Spangler lane. The tops of the trees in Ziegler's Grove visible in middle distance.



⑦

From probable position of Kemper's center left during the cannonade or during the advance; view is eastward to the Emmitsburg Road. Trees at Rogers house site in middle distance.



⑦

From probable position of Kemper's center left during the cannonade or during the attack; view is eastward to the present Klingel farm buildings along the Emmitsburg Road. None of Cemetery Ridge is visible beyond the road's ridge.



⑧

From probable position of Kemper's center left during the cannonade or during the advance; view is southeastward toward the right flank. Sherfy farm buildings at right horizon.



From probable position of Kemper's center right during the cannonade or during the advance; view is northwestward along the front line of Pickett's Division. Spangler Woods in left distance, Spangler farm buildings at left and center.



From probable position of Kemper's right center during the cannonade or during the advance; view is northward to Spangler lane. Tops of trees in Ziegler's Grove visible on center horizon. Pettigrew's Division in position and advancing would not be seen beyond the ridgeline of the Spangler lane.



⑧

From probable position of Kemper's center right during the cannonade or during the advance; view is northeastward toward the Emmitsburg Road, with the Rogers site at extreme left, part of Dearing's artillery line visible on center horizon, and Klingel buildings at right.



⑧

From probable position of Kemper's center right during the cannonade or during the advance; view is southeastward to the ridge of the Emmitsburg Road. Non-historic building at left, no part of Union positions visible over the ridgeline.



⑧

From probable position of Kemper's center right during the cannonade or during the advance; view is southeastward toward Big Round Top in right distance. Sherfy farm buildings at extreme right, tops of trees at crest of Little Round Top over horizon at left.



⑨

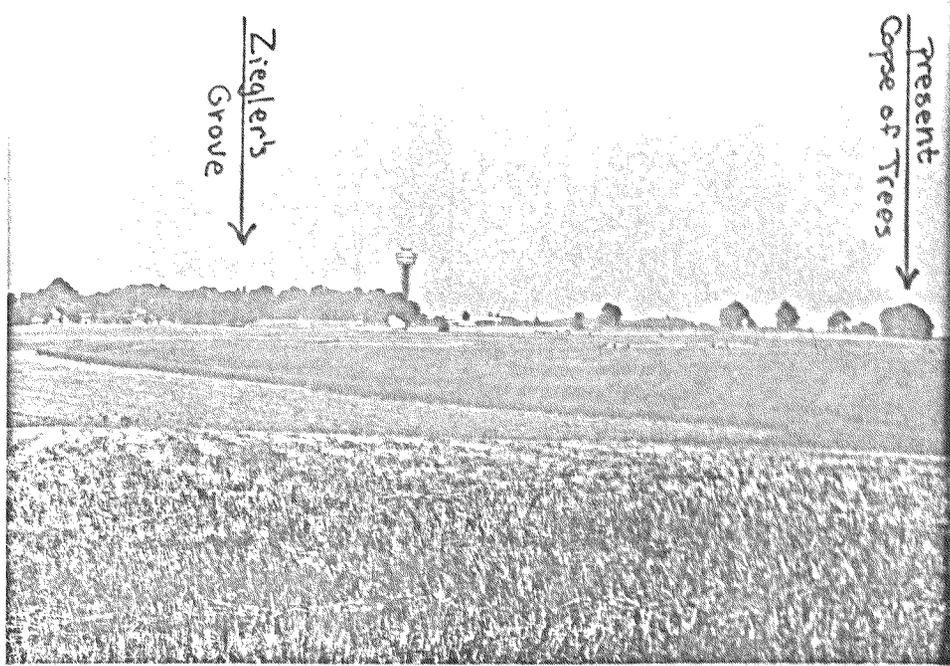
From probable position of Kemper's right during the cannonade or during the advance; view is northwestward along Pickett's Division line. Spangler Woods at left, McMillan Woods on center horizon.



From probable position of Kemper's right during the cannonade or during the advance; view is northward and shows Ziegler's Grove in center background. Cemetery Ridge is not visible over ridgeline.

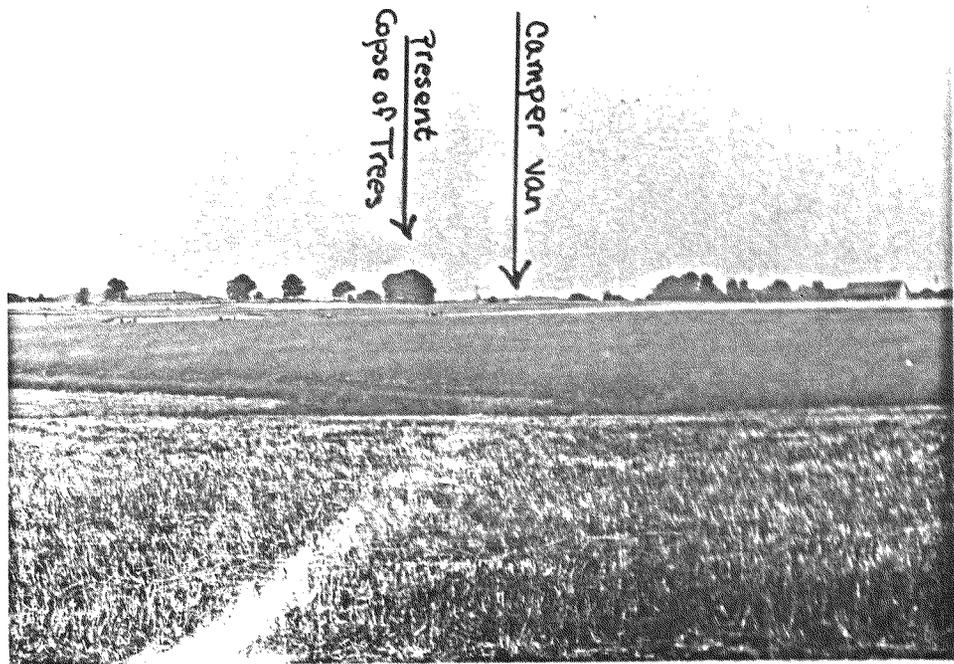


From probable position of Kemper's right flank during the cannonade or during the advance; view is northeastward. No part of the Union line on Cemetery Ridge is visible over the ridgeline.



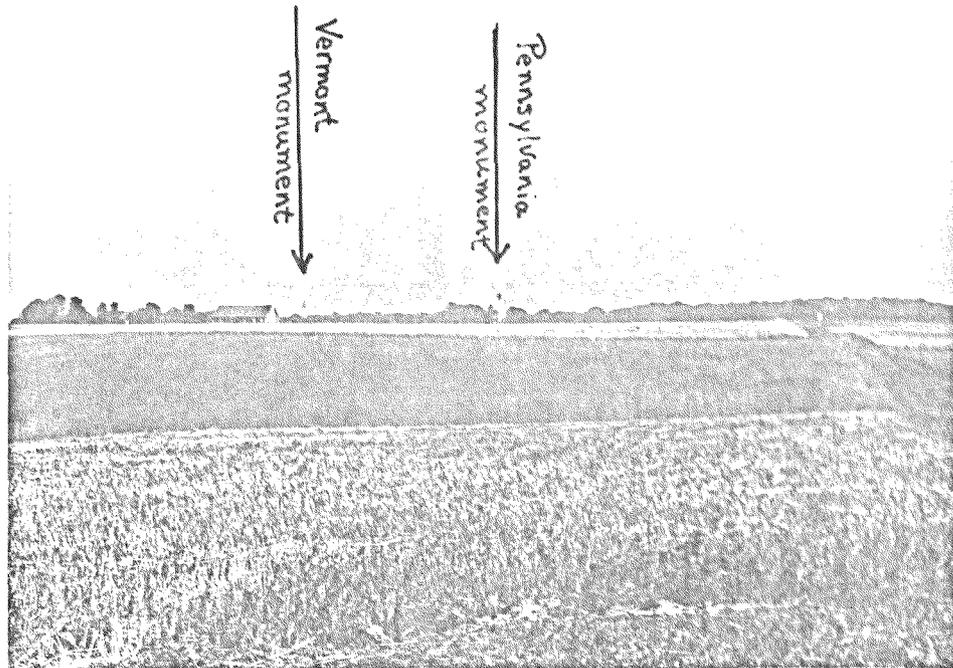
(10)

View from Colonel E. P. Alexander's reported position during the cannonade. Union line from Ziegler's Grove to the Copse of Trees is visible from Point of Woods.



(10)

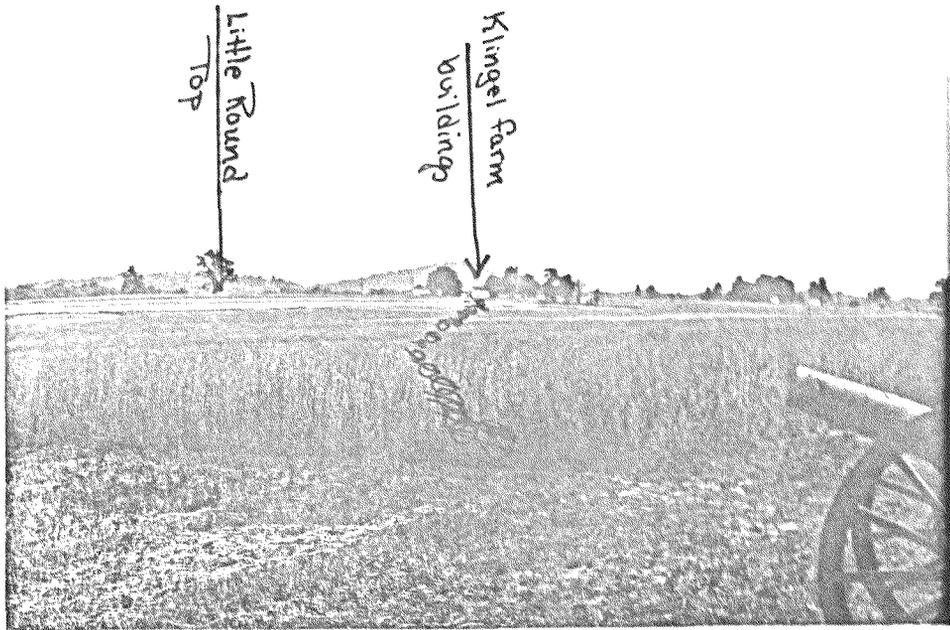
View from Colonel Alexander's reported position during the cannonade. Union line not visible to right, or south of Copse of Trees. Top of camper on Hancock Avenue, following Union line, just visible.



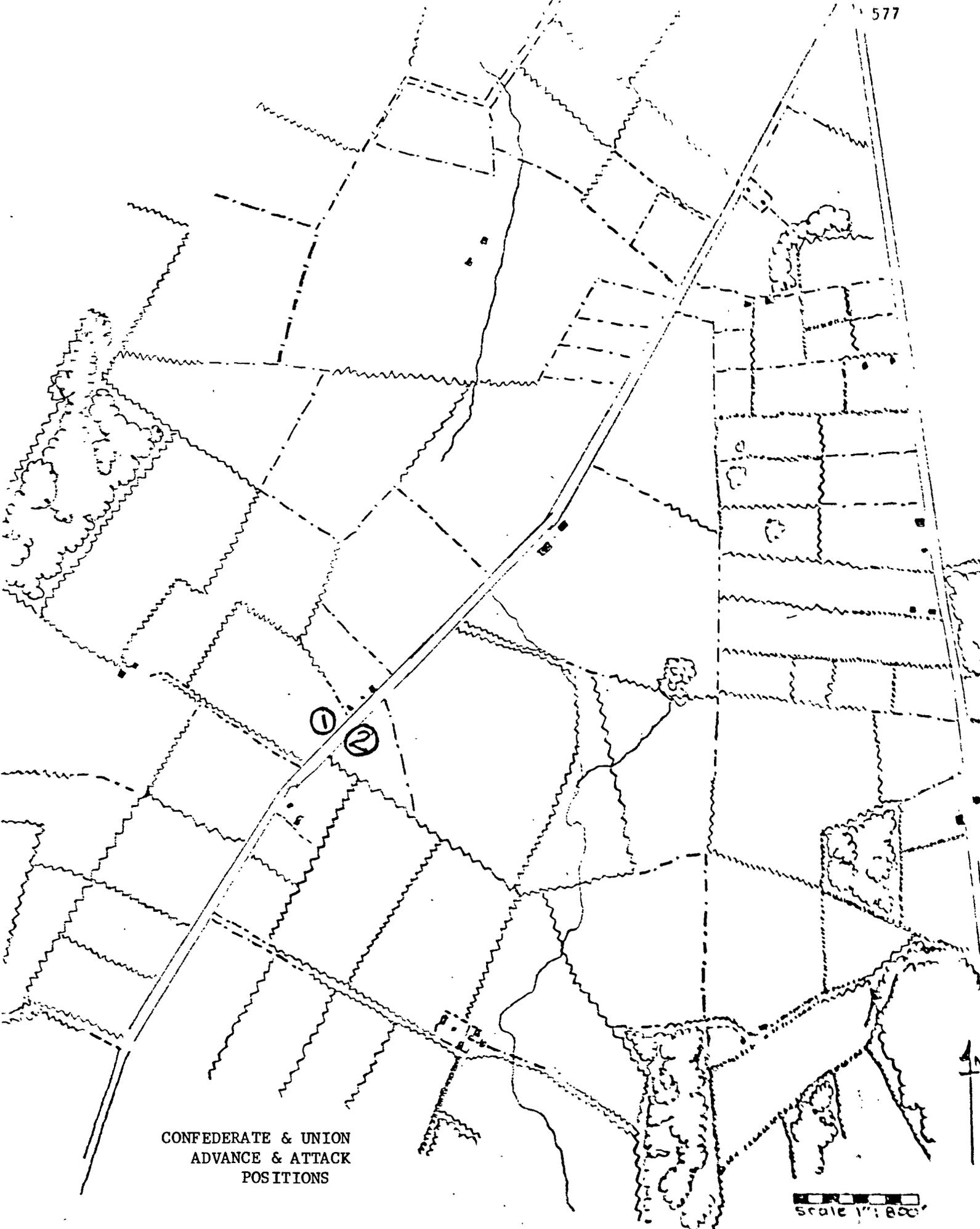
View from Colonel Alexander's reported position during the cannonade. View is almost due east toward Union position of Stannard's Brigade and McGilvery's line. Only tops of Vermont monument and Pennsylvania monument are visible. Union line would not be.



View from Colonel Alexander's reported position during the cannonade. View is southeast toward McGilvery's line. Only tops of mature trees in present Codori-Trostle thicket are visible. Union line would not be visible.



View from Colonel Alexander's reported position during the cannonade. View is southeastward along line of his artillery toward Klingel farm buildings and Round Tops in background.



CONFEDERATE & UNION
ADVANCE & ATTACK
POSITIONS

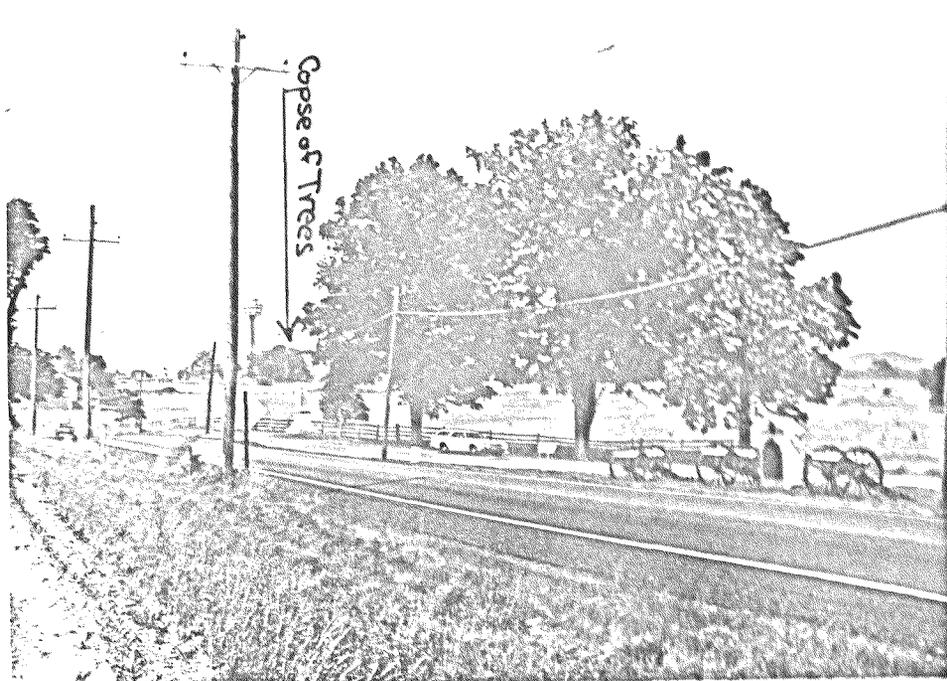
Scale 1/2 inch = 800 feet



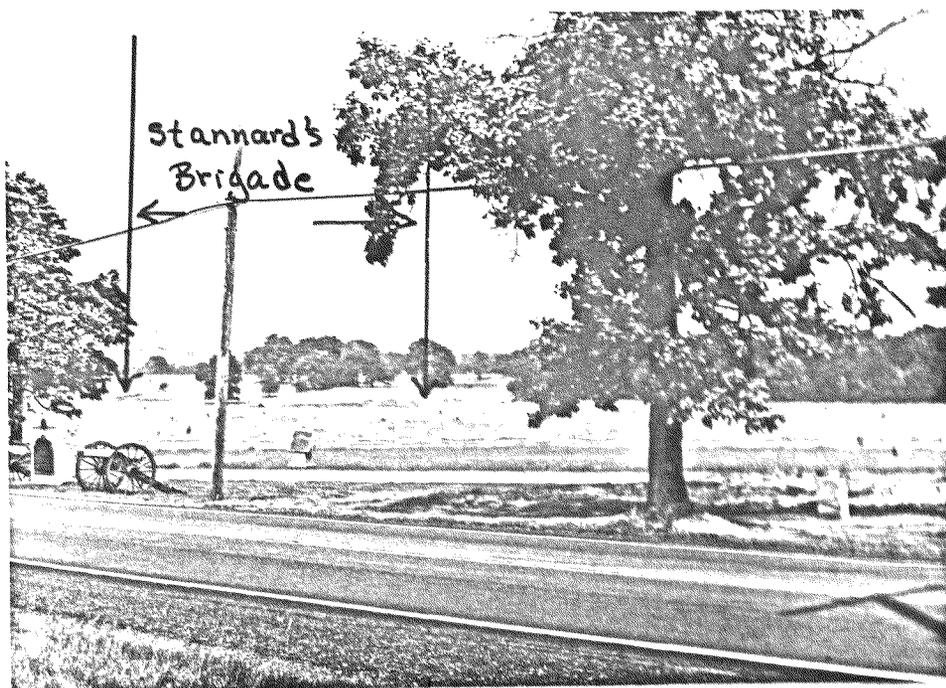
View southward to position of Kemper's Brigade as it made its initial left flank movement to clear the Klingel farm buildings. Part of Dearing's Battalion is visible by Spangler lane.



View southwestward to position of Kemper's Brigade (left flank) as it made its initial movement by the left flank to clear the Klingel farm buildings. Original position was behind ridgeline.



View from position of Kemper's Brigade as it began its forward movement to cross the Emmitsburg Road. Cope of Trees is at left center, Stannard's position at the right background.

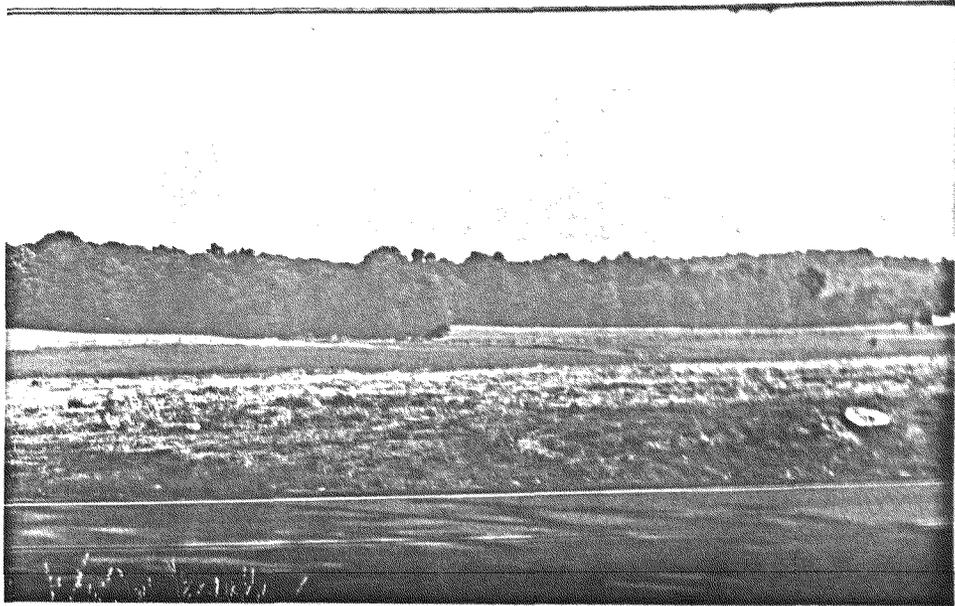


View northeastward from Kemper's position as he prepared to cross the Emmitsburg Road during his forward movement. Hancock Grove and position of Stannard's Vermont Brigade at left center. Codori-Trostle Thicket at right background.



①

View eastward from position of Kemper's Brigade as it prepared to cross the Emmitsburg Road during its initial forward movement. View would be across Plum Run through Codori-Trostle thicket, directly opposite the 49 guns of McGilvery.



①

View southeastward from position of Kemper's Brigade as it prepared to cross the Emmitsburg Road during the advance. Little Round Top on right, Codori-Trostle thicket overgrown in foreground.



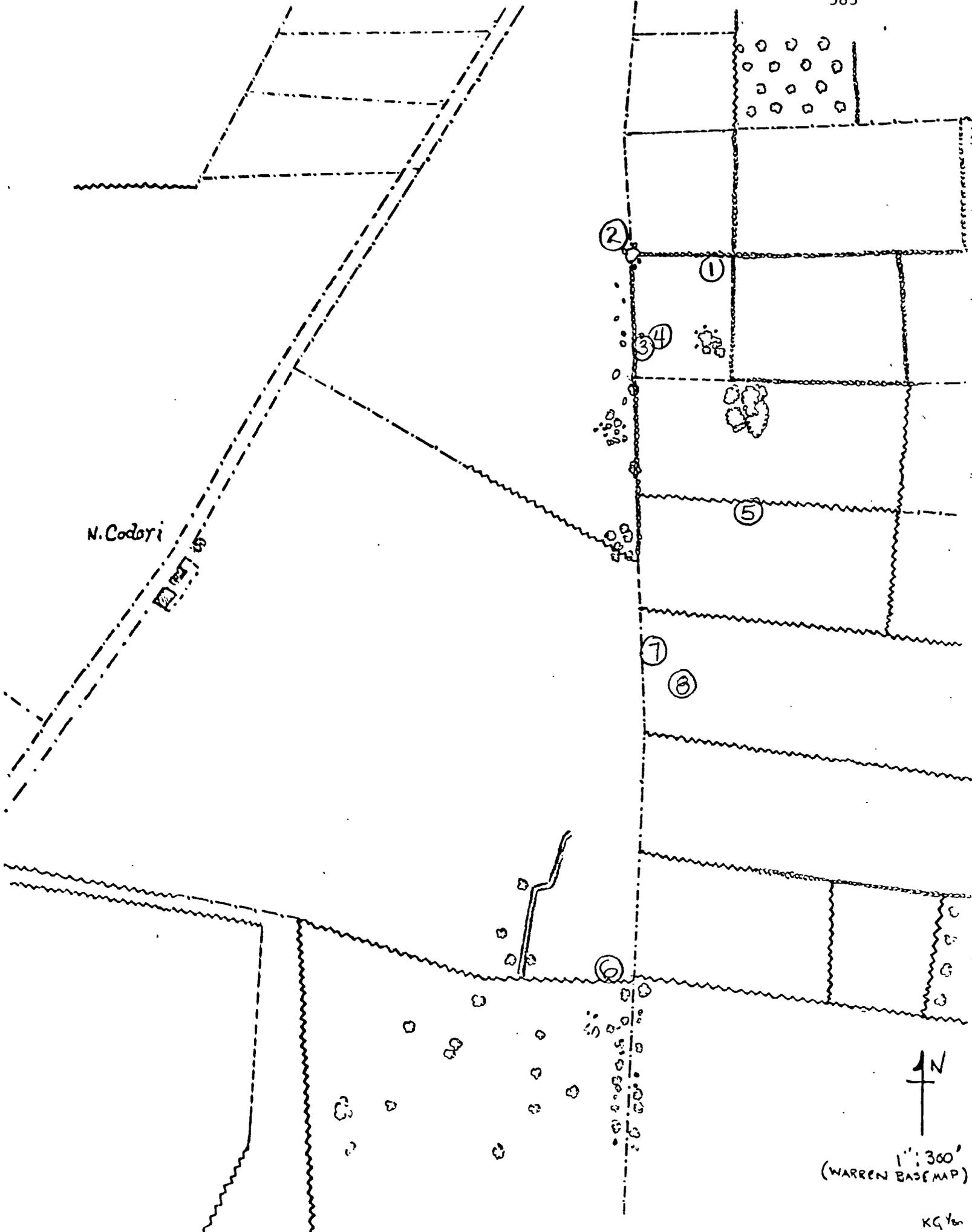
View northward to the objective point of Kemper's Brigade during the advance, and toward which the march by the left flank was aimed after crossing the Emmitsburg Road. Codori farm buildings, Ziegler's Grove and the Angle are all visible at center.



View northeastward from position of Kemper's Brigade as it marched by the left flank after crossing the Emmitsburg Road. Position of Gates' demi-brigade and Stannard's Vermont Brigade indicated.



View eastward from position of Kemper's Brigade as it
marched by the left flank toward the Codori farm
buildings. Due east of McGilvery's line of 49 guns.



N. Codori

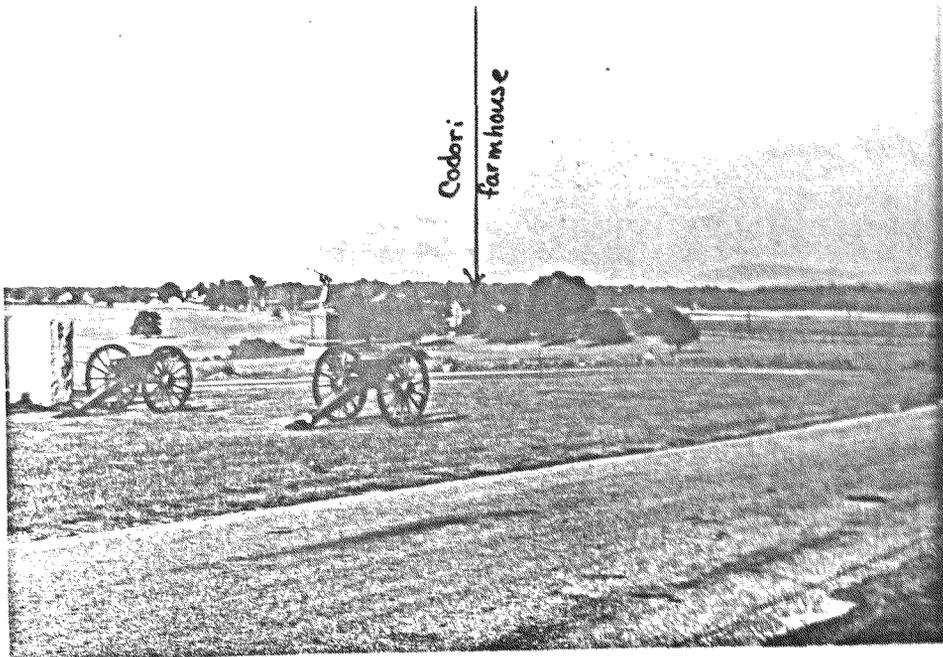


1" = 300"
(WARREN BASE MAP)



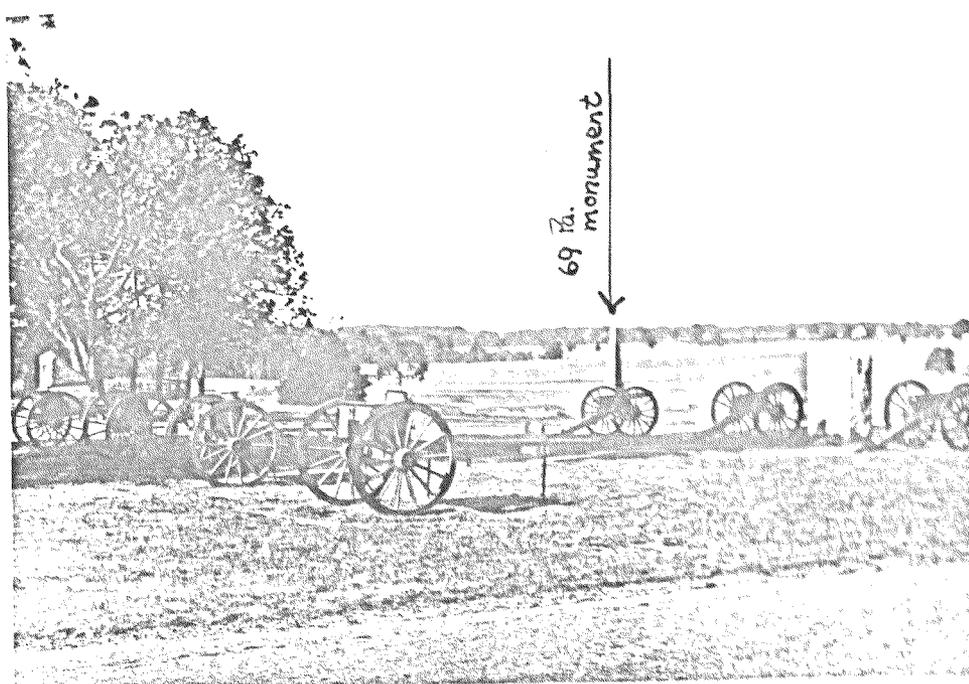
①

View into Angle, along stone wall and right flank of Webb's Brigade. Spangler's Woods in background.



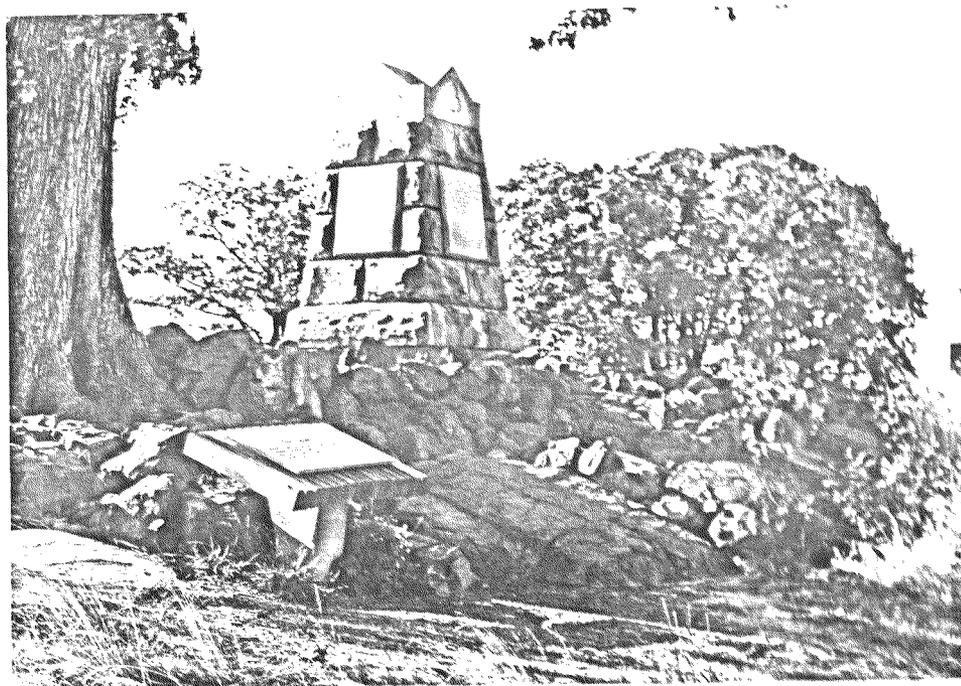
①

View into Angle, looking southwestward across stone wall occupied later by Garnett's Brigade. Codori house at center background; inaccurate position of Cushing's Battery marked by cannon.



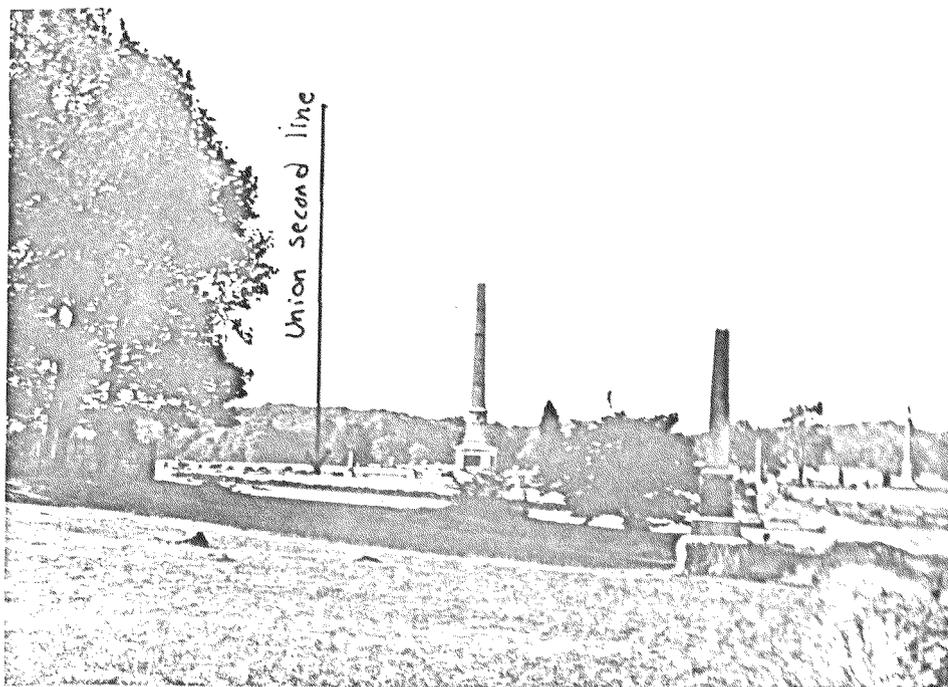
①

View southwestward across the Angle to position of the 69th Pennsylvania Regiment. Present Copse of Trees at left.



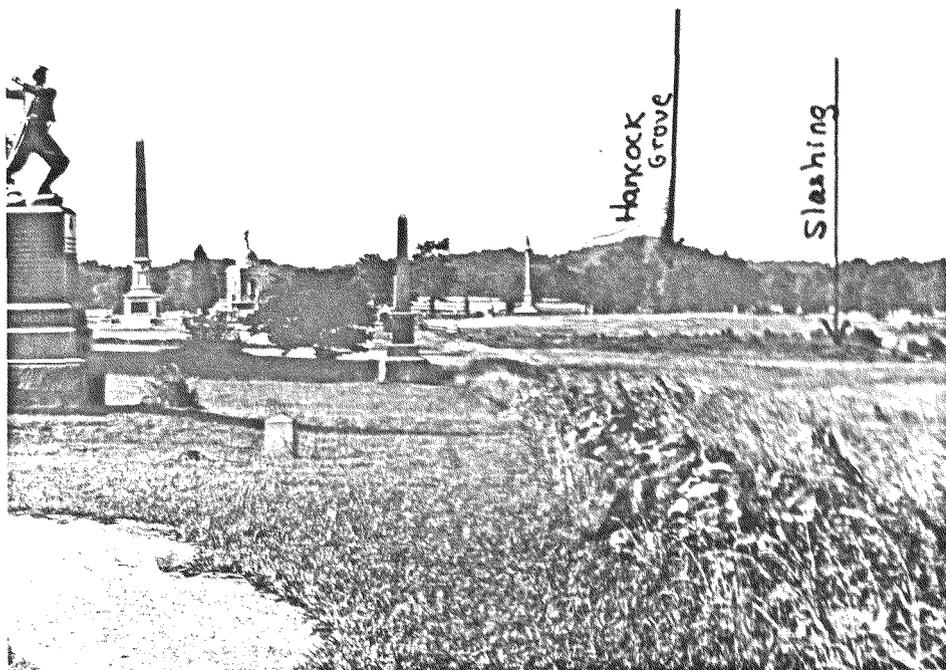
②

View southeastward at corner of the Angle, showing large stone used by Confederates as a "stepping stone" to more easily enter the Angle area.



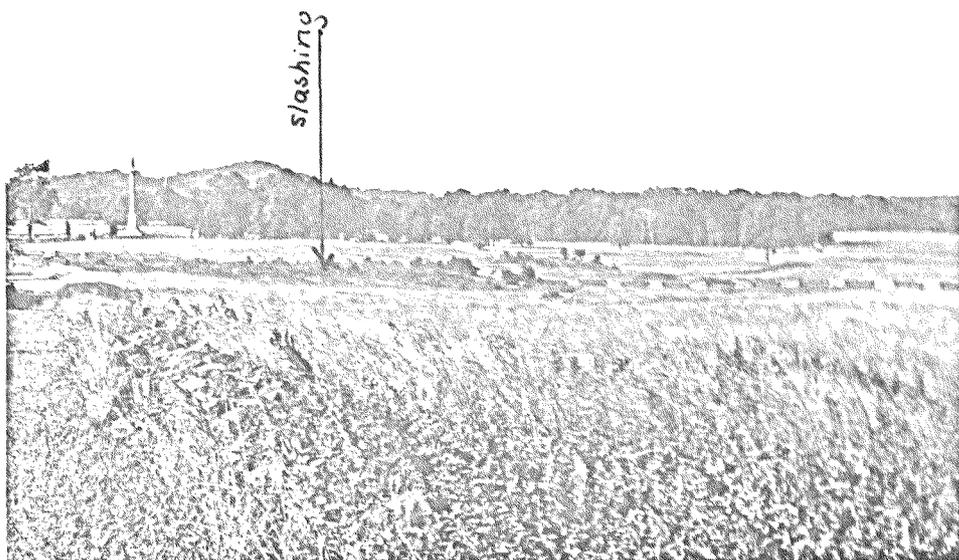
③

View southward along Gibbon's line from the right flank of the 69th Pennsylvania Regiment. Present Copse of Trees at left. Union second line on ridgeline in front of trees at left center background.



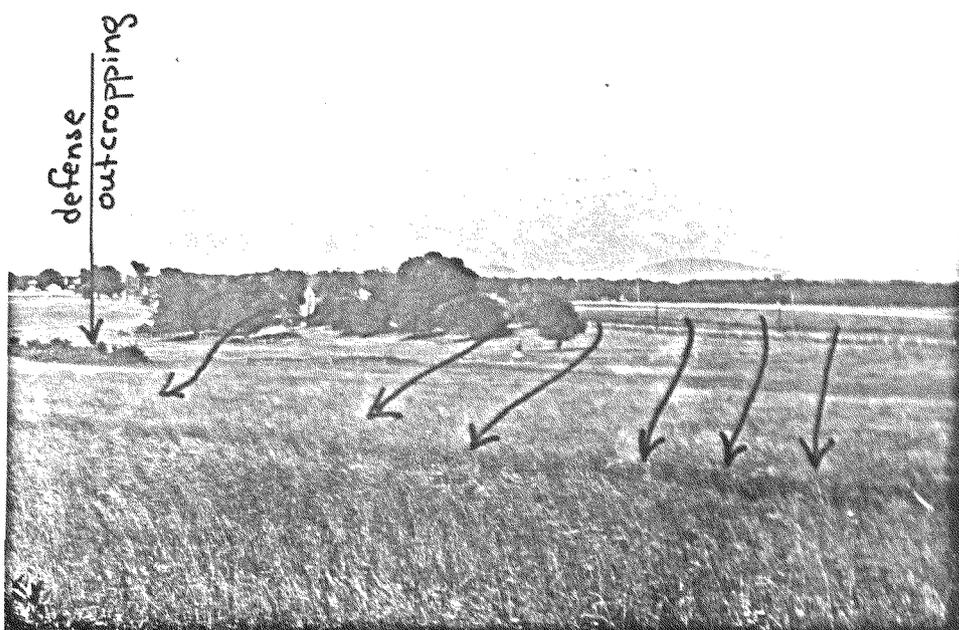
④

View southward along Gibbon's line from the advanced position of Cushing's surviving guns at the wall. Slashing to right of wall; position of Stannard's Brigade and Hancock Grove denoted.



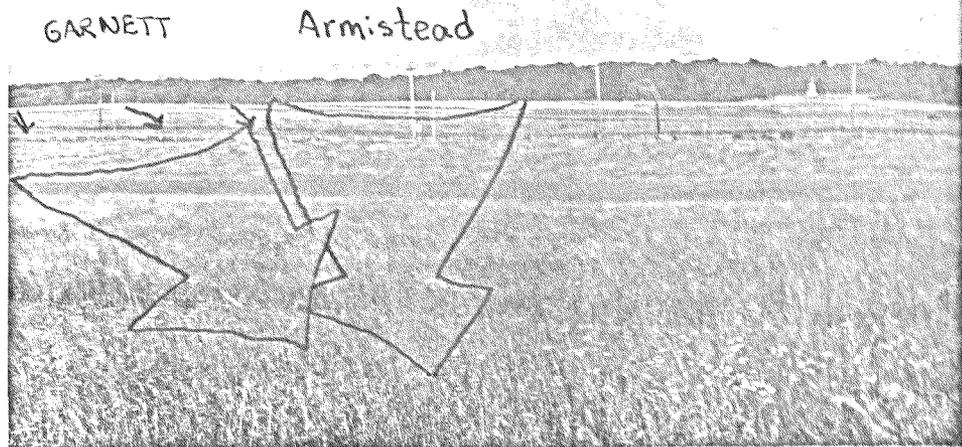
④

View southwestward from Cushing's advanced position, to slashing. Position of Stannard's Brigade and Codori-Trostle thicket in background.

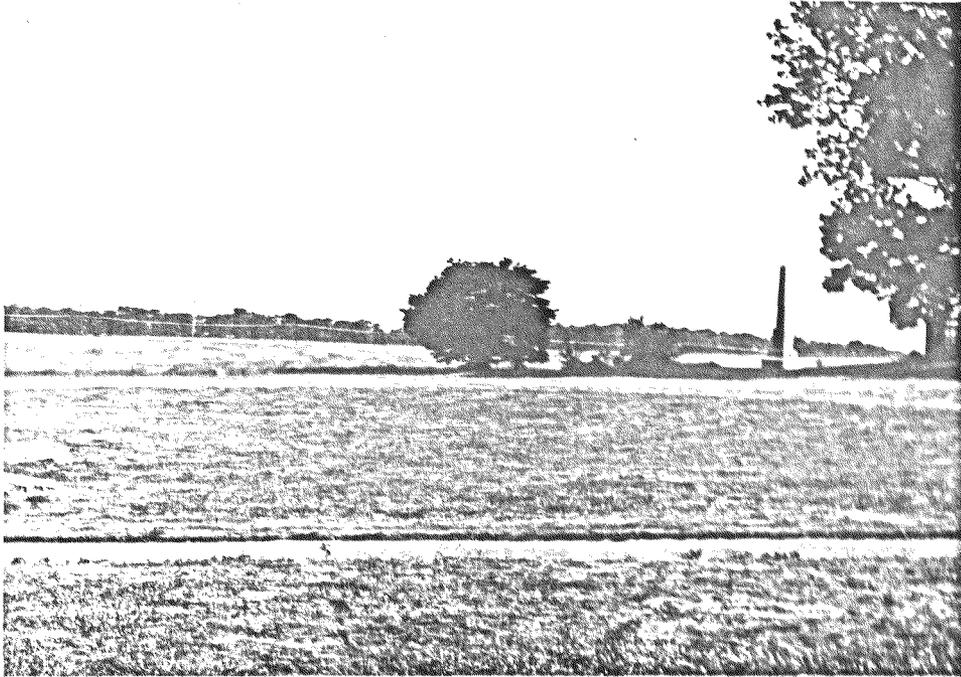


④

View southwestward across the field of Pickett's attack from the Emmitsburg Road to the Union line. Outcropping at left was used by the Virginians as a defense during the attack.



View westward from Angle position of Cushing's Battery; shows field of advance over which Garnett and Armistead's Brigades advanced. Point of Woods designated.

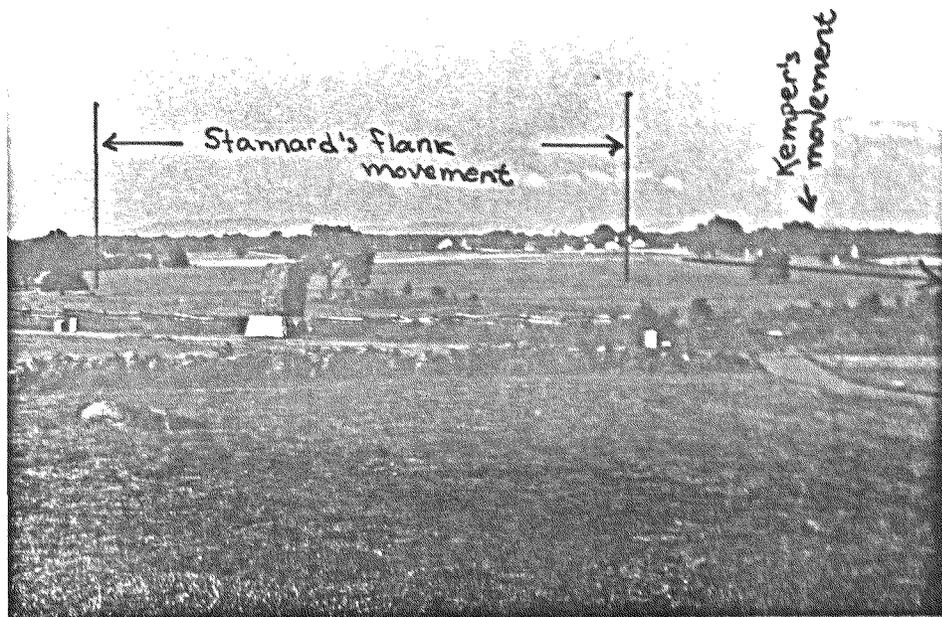


View northwestward toward the left of the 69th Pennsylvania Infantry; area between monument and camera was scene of Gibbon's counterattack from his left.



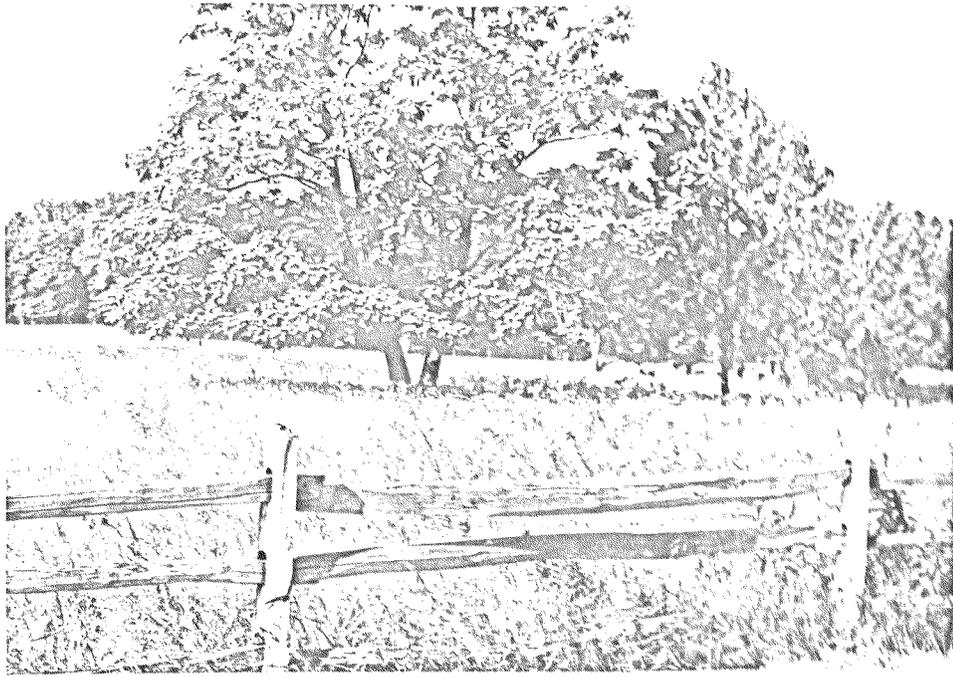
⑤

View westward toward the slashing over the 7th Michigan monument; Codori buildings along Emmitsburg Road in background.



⑤

View southwestward over the slashing to the field over which Kemper's Brigade executed the left flank march; also shows field of Stannard's advanced flank movement



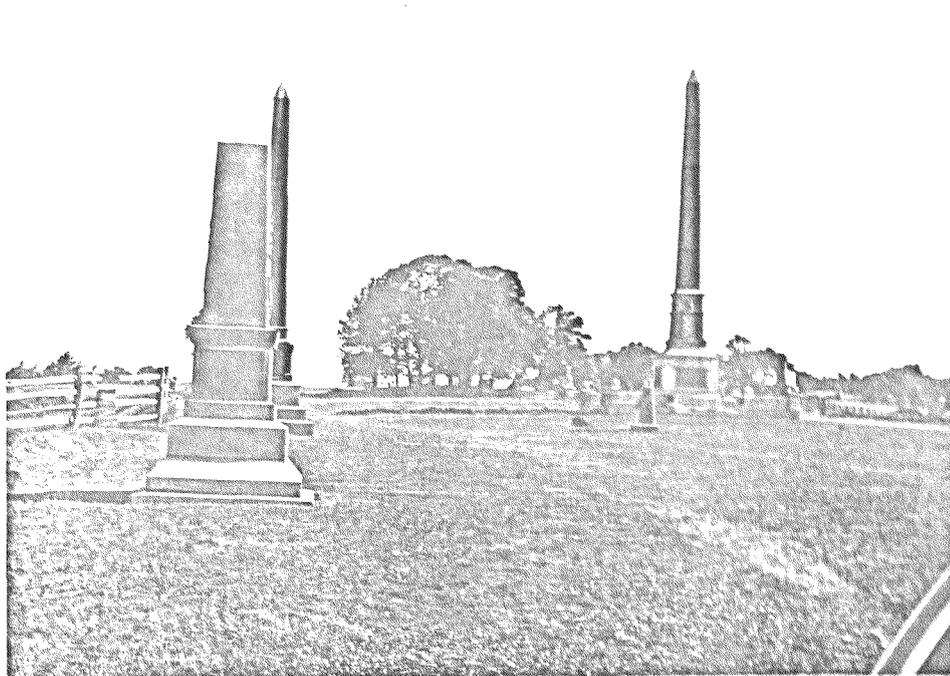
⑥

View westward to position of 14th Vermont Infantry after it was ordered forward in the morning by Colonel Veazey. Position would be between the foreground trees and the Codori-Trostle thicket.



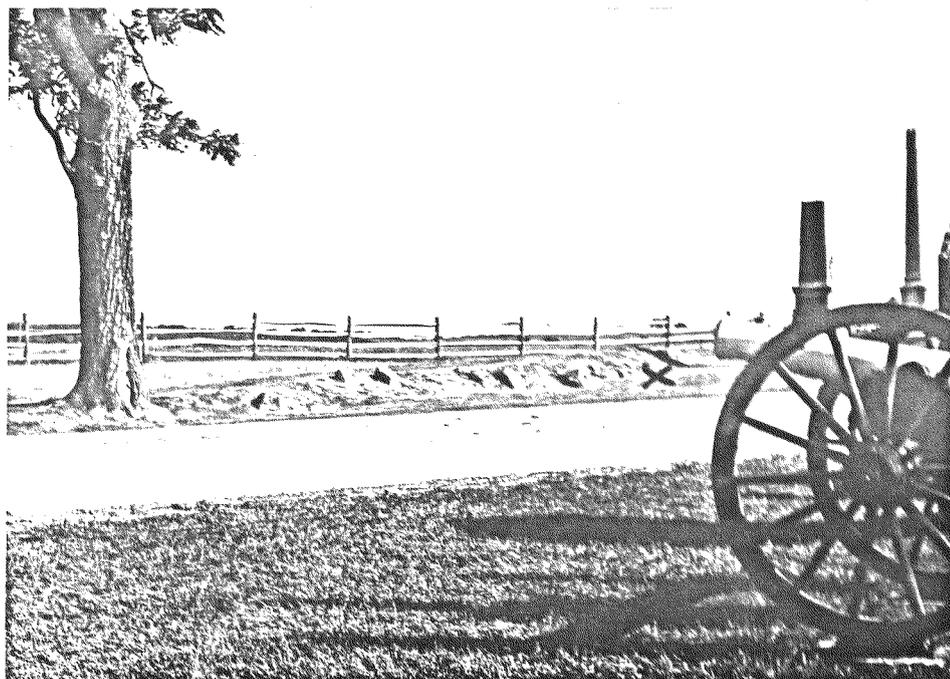
⑥

View southward from position of part of the 13th Vermont Infantry. Spring used by that regiment denoted.



⑦

View northward from proposed site of marker denoting position of 20th N. Y. S. M. on July 3, 1863. 82nd N.Y. monument in foreground. Copse of Trees in center background.



⑧

View from east side of Hancock Avenue to proposed site of marker for 20th N. Y. S. M. Monument of 82nd N. Y. above cannon. Historic walnut tree at left.

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