



*“Full Authority over That
Line of the Battle...”*
OR
“A Sheer...Usurpation of Authority”
A Brief History and Analysis of the
The Hunt-Hancock Controversy

Eric A. Campbell

*“If it was...then, on his own representation that Gettysburg was a purely field fight...Maj. Gen. Hancock’s orders to McGilvery and his batteries was a sheer attempted usurpation of authority....”*²

Brig. Gen. Henry Jackson Hunt

*“Hancock had full Authority over that line of the battle; he used that authority according to his own best judgment, and he beat off the enemy. That is the substance of it.”*³

Lt. Col. Francis A. Walker

History

One of the most well-known controversies associated with the Battle of Gettysburg was that of Major General Winfield Scott Hancock and Brig. Gen. Henry Jackson Hunt, two of the most able and famous officers who served with the Army of the Potomac. Known today as the Hunt-Hancock controversy, it centered around the use of Union artillery on July 3, 1863 during both the great cannonade and the repulse of Pickett's Charge. This essay will explore the history of the controversy (from the events of July 3 through its continuation into the post-war years), and offer a critical analysis of the generals respective arguments and how their actions impacted the July 3 battle.

Henry Jackson Hunt, 43, was a thoroughly professional soldier. He graduated from West Point in 1839 (standing nineteenth out of a class of thirty-one) and spent his entire pre-war career in the artillery branch. He saw action during the Mexican War (1846-1847), being wounded once, along with receiving two brevet promotions for gallantry.⁴ Recognized as a leading authority on the artillery service, Hunt co-wrote (along with Capt. William French and Capt. William Berry) the *Instruction for Field Artillery* just prior to the Civil War. This manual was considered to be the "bible" for the proper training and use of that branch of service during the war which soon followed.⁵

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Hunt was brevet major recently assigned to Fort Pickens, off the Florida coast. Recalled to Washington, D.C., in May 1861, he saw action at First Bull Run, commanding Battery M, 2nd United States Artillery, but was soon tapped to command the newly created artillery reserve of the Army of the Potomac, when it was organized in early 1862. Colonel Hunt led the reserve effectively through the Peninsula campaign that spring and through the Seven Days in early summer, where it proved of great value, especially at Malvern Hill on July 1, 1862, where the reserve batteries shattered the Confederate assaults against the Union position.

Hunt's superior leadership of the reserve was awarded in September 1862, when he was promoted to brigadier general and made the Army of the Potomac's chief of artillery in the midst of the Maryland campaign. He would remain in that position throughout the remainder of the war, and in that capacity should be given credit for molding that arm of service into the superb and powerful organization that it became.⁶

It is obvious that Hunt had an excellent grasp of artillery theory and tactics, and that that knowledge enabled his batteries to have their greatest impact on numerous battlefields during the war. Throughout his tenure as chief of artillery, Hunt also continually strived to improve the effectiveness of his arm. An excellent example concerned his constant efforts to get the most efficient fire from his guns. From the war's onset, Hunt felt one of the biggest problems with Union artillery was its blatant waste of ammunition on the battlefield. A series of orders to correct this, however, made Hunt appear to be bureaucratic. During the Seven Days battles outside of Richmond, Hunt issued this order:

The firing will be *deliberate* and the greatest care will be taken to secure accuracy. Under no circumstances will it be so rapid that the effect of each shot and shell can not be noted when the air is clear.... There is no excess of ammunition, what we have must be made the most of [emphasis Hunt's].⁷

While on the surface it appears that Hunt's main goal was to harbor his ammunition supply, what he was really concerned about was the overall effectiveness of his batteries on the battlefield. If a battery used up all of its ammunition rapidly, it signaled to the chief of artillery that the officers and crews were not being very attentive to the effect of their fire. In essence, Hunt believed that rapid and ineffective fire equated to poor discipline, which in the artillery

service, where careful teamwork and precision were paramount, was unacceptable. Another order issued by Hunt, just prior to the Battle of Fredericksburg, serves as a good example of how Hunt's theories on the proper use of artillery contradicted the accepted practices of the time:

Camp near Falmouth, Dec. 4, 1862

The attention of the chief of artillery has been called to the very lavish expenditure of artillery ammunition. In small skirmishes between 300 to 400 rounds of ammunition per battery are often expended, the fire frequently averaging, and sometimes exceeding, one round per minute, per gun....⁸

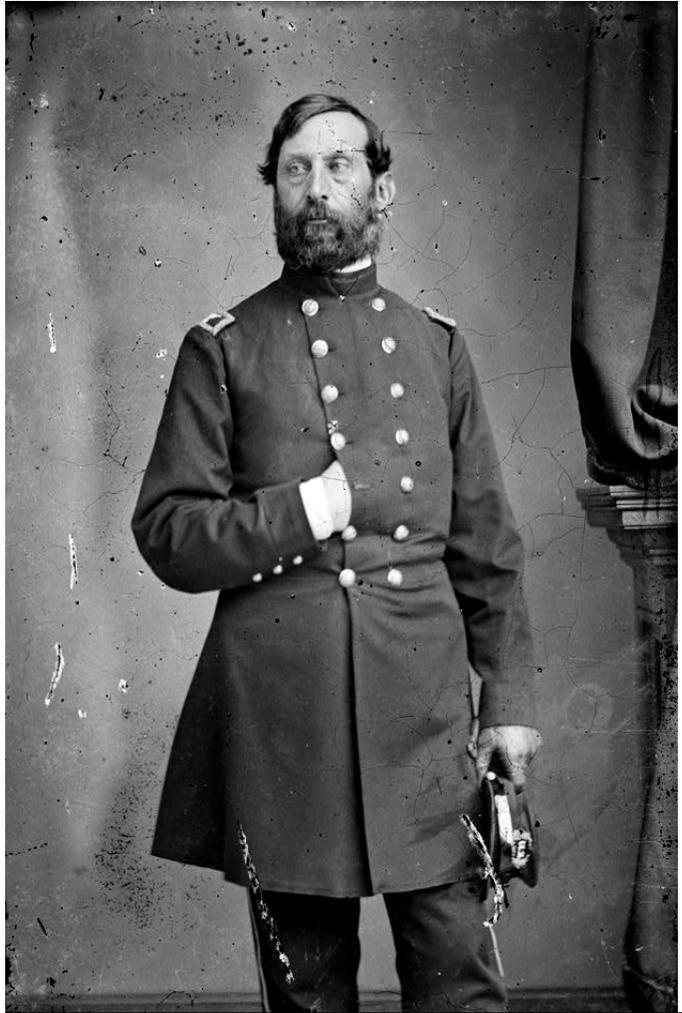
While one round a minute was well within the parameters of the accepted artillery practice at that time, Hunt believed that rate of fire was too fast and, thus inefficient. In the same order Hunt explained in detail his reasoning:

...while in general engagements batteries have been known to expend all their ammunition in little over an hour and a half... An officer who expends ammunition improperly proves his ignorance of the proper use of his arm, and a want of capacity for the command of a battery.

In no case, except when firing canister at short ranges, should the fire exceed one round from each gun in two minutes; and that rate should only be reached at critical moments, when the distance, numbers, and formation of the enemy are such that the fire is sure to be effective. At all other times one round in four to six minutes is as rapid as should be permitted.⁹

In this order Hunt also spelled out his entire philosophy on the proper use and rate of fire of artillery:

The value of rifled cannon consists principally in its accuracy; accuracy requires careful pointing, with close observation of the effect, and these require time. Twelve shots in an hour at an object over 1,000 yards distant; the time being spent in careful loading and pointing, will produce better results than fifty shots will ordinarily produce from the same gun in the same time.¹⁰



Brigadier General Henry Jackson Hunt. LC

Hunt felt so strongly about this that he instituted strict measures to control the rate of fire of his batteries:

The campaign allowance of 250 rounds per gun...is calculated to suffice for a general action and the combats which usually precede it; and, under ordinary circumstances, an officer who expends all his ammunition in a few hours renders himself liable to the suspicion that his reckless expenditure was promoted by a desire to quit the field. In future, batteries will not be permitted to leave their positions under this plea. The guns and cannoneers will remain on the ground until ammunition is furnished.¹¹

Another improvement Hunt implemented was the practice of concentration of firepower. While the value of massing batteries together for combined fire was recognized before the war, it was not put into practice immediately due to organization policies. Early in the war individual batteries were attached to brigades, and even at times, regiments, making concentrating artillery practically impossible. Even later changes, which allowed batteries to be assigned to divisions, hindered the easy massing of guns. This system continued through the Chancellorsville campaign in the spring of 1863. Only that disaster finally allowed Hunt to reorganize the artillery into the structure which he had long sought.¹²

Hunt's new system involved grouping the batteries together into fourteen artillery brigades, which in turn were assigned throughout the army by corps. Generally, five batteries made up each artillery brigade. These brigades, in turn, were assigned to the corps; one each to the seven infantry corps and two to the cavalry corps. The final five brigades made up the army's artillery reserve. While this new system did not completely isolate the artillery from control of infantry commanders, it did allow for much more flexibility in the use of the batteries on the field, as batteries assigned to the infantry could be assigned anywhere along their corps' front, and it certainly made it easier to quickly concentrate batteries for maximum firepower, especially with the guns from the artillery reserve. This system would be tested for the first time when the Army of the Potomac reached Gettysburg later that summer.¹³

Another problem Hunt hoped the reorganization would solve was obtaining proper ranks for his officers. Ideally he envisioned each of his new brigades being commanded by either a colonel or brigadier general (which would also result in corresponding promotions for those artillery officers higher up in the chain of command). These promotions would not only give the artillery officers the rank Hunt felt they rightfully deserved, but would also result in making the artillery more independent from the influence of infantry commanders. Unfortunately these promotions never occurred, and thus of the fourteen new artillery brigades only four were commanded by field officers. The breakdown was as follows: two colonels, one lieutenant colonel, one major, nine captains, and one lieutenant (Lt. Edward Mulhenburg commanded the 12th Corps artillery brigade).¹⁴ This situation, as will be detailed later, in part led to the controversy over the role the Union artillery played during the fighting on the final day at Gettysburg.

Hunt's personality and dedication were largely responsible for his success in implementing the reorganization of the artillery arm. He was fiercely independent and confident in his own abilities, yet he got along well with both his superiors and those who served under him. One colleague later wrote:

He possesses in a high degree, chivalrous, rectitude, frankness, dignity and kindness which grace and enforce stern discipline without rendering it hateful to his subordinates.¹⁵

Hunt also had a very straightforward candor, and at times could be stubborn. Yet overall, he was well liked and respected by his comrades. One observer noted:

There is probably no officer in the United States army who was more popular with both officers and men than...Hunt. Modest, unassuming, warm-hearted, and just to all, he was indeed the true type of a soldier and gentleman.¹⁶

Yet throughout Hunt's tenure as chief of artillery, his abilities and experience were not always put to their best use. Under some of the army's commanders, such as Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan at the Battle of Antietam, and Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside at Fredericksburg (both occurring *before* the artillery reorganization), Hunt was given "the absolute control...of all the artillery in the army, and would be held responsible for it." From Hunt's perspective this included batteries "both that [were assigned to]...divisions and that in reserve, with the power to use the name of the general (commanding) whenever I came in [?] contact with anyone of superior rank to my own." Yet Hunt's status changed when Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker took command of the army in January 1863. Hooker felt his chief of artillery should only have control and responsibility of the "administrative duties" of that branch of the service. Thus, by stripping away Hunt's tactical battlefield authority, Hooker made Hunt a mere advisor, or essentially a staff officer.¹⁷

It was, of course, under Hooker's leadership that the Army of the Potomac suffered one of its worst defeats, at Chancellorsville, later that spring. While the inefficient use of the army's artillery arm was only one of many reasons for this disaster, Hunt did not pull any punches concerning his situation when he filed his official report of the campaign with Hooker, writing:

The command of the artillery, which I held under Generals McClellan and Burnside...was withdrawn from me when you assumed command of the army, and my duties made purely administrative, under circumstances very unfavorable to their efficient performance. ...I doubt if the history of modern armies can exhibit a parallel instance of such palpable crippling of a great arm of the service in the very presence of a powerful enemy.... It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that confusion and mismanagement ensued....¹⁸

Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, assigned to command the army on June 28, was apparently not aware of the limitations of Hunt's authority. Therefore, almost immediately after arriving at Gettysburg in the early morning hours of July 2, when he ordered his chief of artillery to "see that the artillery was properly posted," Meade unknowingly, and unofficially, restored Hunt's status as the army's artillery *commander*. At least, that is how Hunt himself viewed his situation following Meade's orders, writing, "I proceeded at once to act upon that assumption...from that time I exercised all the duties of commander of the artillery...that is, I took full control of the artillery...." He justified this attitude in his official report on the battle, writing:

I considered this...order...as a recognition, for the present, at least, of the position I had held at Antietam and Fredericksburg, as commander of the artillery of the army, and proceeded to make the necessary dispositions and to give all directions I considered necessary during the *rest of the battle* [emphasis added].¹⁹

This final statement is critical, for it explains many of Hunt's actions during the crucial fighting on the final day of the battle, as will be discussed later.

Hunt's belief that he commanded all of the artillery was also proven by his actions throughout the fighting on July 2. Throughout the second day's struggle, Hunt appeared along the entire length of the Union line, giving orders to batteries that belonged to nearly every Union corps, along with those of the Artillery Reserve. In many cases he was on the front line in the very

midst of the fighting, directing artillery fire, shifting and placing batteries, and calling for reinforcements. Hunt was tireless in his efforts, which did not end with the cessation of fighting. As the Army of the Potomac's artillery arm suffered heavily on July 2 in men, horses, and equipment, Hunt and his subordinate officers worked hard to prepare for the next day. Hunt recounted in his official report:

The night of the 2nd was devoted in great part to repairing damages, replenishing the ammunition chests, and reducing and reorganizing...batteries.... By daylight next morning this duty had been performed so far as possible....²⁰

Obviously, these efforts prevented Hunt from attending the famous council-of-war held that evening at Meade's headquarters. Nevertheless, Hunt had his batteries properly prepared for whatever action they would face on July 3.²¹

The other principal participant in the controversy was **Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock**, 39, commanding the Army of the Potomac's 2nd Corps. Born in eastern Pennsylvania in 1824, Hancock graduated from West Point in 1822 (finishing eighteenth out of a class of twenty-five). Brevetted for gallantry in the Mexican War, he was a captain in the quartermaster department, serving at the small California outpost of Los Angeles when the Civil War began in 1861. Shortly after his arrival on the East Coast, Hancock received a promotion to brigadier general of volunteers, to rank from September 23, 1861. The following spring and early summer Hancock commanded a brigade during the Peninsular campaign (where he earned the nickname "Hancock the Superb" for his actions at the Battle of Williamsburg) and the Seven Days outside of Richmond. With the mortal wounding of Maj. Gen. Israel B. Richardson at the Battle of Antietam (September 17, 1862), Hancock took command of the 1st Division, 2nd Corps and was made a major general to rank from November 29, 1862. He led his division through both the Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville campaigns, and following the resignation of Maj. Gen. Darius Couch, Hancock was given command of the 2nd Corps on May 22, 1863.²²



Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock. LC

Although the Gettysburg campaign marked his first true test as a corps commander, Hancock had the complete trust of Meade. Meade gave evidence of this during the afternoon of July 1, 1863, when he received news of the death of Maj. Gen. John Reynolds, the ranking officer on the field, in the fighting that had broken out at Gettysburg. Meade ordered to

the front the one person whom he trusted completely, both for an accurate assessment of the situation at Gettysburg and advice on further action: Winfield Scott Hancock. Hancock reached Gettysburg at approximately 4 P.M. and was immediately thrown into a critical moment of the first day's struggle. The Union 1st and 11th corps, having fought for hours west and north of town, were in full retreat through the streets of Gettysburg and were attempting to reform their lines on Cemetery Hill. Hancock, working with 11th Corps commander Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard, was instrumental in rallying these men and establishing a new line of battle on both Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill. His update to Meade of the situation, sent via courier, also helped convince the army commander that Gettysburg was the place to continue the struggle. Hancock's appearance during this crisis was described by one Union soldier in words which capture Hancock's commanding battlefield presence:

...in the center of the plateau was a group of generals with staff officers and orderlies. It was a scene of the utmost activity, yet there was no confusion. ...in the center of the group, on horseback, unmoved by all the confusion among the retreating soldiers, sat a man, born to command, competent to evolve order out of the chaos, the master of the first position that day found for successful resistance. I shall never forget...the inspiration of his commanding, controlling presence, and the fresh courage he imparted. I recall even his linen, clean and white, his collar open at the neck, and his broad wristbands rolled back from his firm, finely moulded hand. This was General Hancock.²³

Others agreed with this sentiment. One 2nd Corps staff officer wrote:

Upon horseback, I think he was the most magnificent looking general in the whole Army of the Potomac, at that time. With a large, well-shaped person, always dressed with elegance, even upon that field of confusion, he would look as if he was "monarch of all he surveyed," and few of his subjects would dare to question his right to command, or do aught else but obey. His quick eye, in a flash, saw what was to be done, and his voice and his royal hand at once commended to do it.²⁴

While never overwhelmed by the confusion of a battlefield, Hancock's temper was legendary. Another Union staff officer recalled "Hancock always swore at everybody, above all over the battlefield." Gettysburg proved no different for Hancock, who at one point during the fighting on July 2 let loose, according to another Union soldier, "a stream of profanity which one expected from a drunken sailor, but not a gentleman...." Despite his temperament, Hancock always remained in control and performed his best when the situation seemed bleakest. A fellow officer later recalled:

Of his peculiar qualities on the field of battle, I can say that his personal bearing and appearance gave confidence and enthusiasm to his men, and perhaps no soldier during the war contributed so much of personal effect in action as did General Hancock. In the friendly circle his eye was warm and genial, but in hour of battle it became intensely cold, and had immense power on those around him.... In General Hancock...the nervous, the moral, and the mental systems were all harmoniously stimulated [by combat] and...he was therefore at his very best on the field of battle.²⁵

As instrumental as Hancock's actions were on July 1, he was simply brilliant throughout the fighting on July 2. When the left-center and center of the Union line, along Cemetery Ridge,

faced a looming crisis that early evening, Hancock found himself thrust into the middle of the maelstrom. Ordered to take command of the 3rd Corps following the wounding of Maj. Gen. Daniel Sickles, Hancock positioned and then directed the counterattack of Col. George Willard's brigade. He also ordered the now-famous sacrificial counterattack of the 1st Minnesota, rallied segments of the broken 3rd Corps, and directed the counterattack made by elements of Brig. Gen. George Stannard's 1st Corps Vermont brigade. All of these actions helped to thwart several Confederate attacks that threatened to break the Union line. Finally, and without orders or requests for assistance, Hancock sent Col. Samuel Carroll's 2nd Corps brigade over to East Cemetery Hill when further Confederate assaults endangered that section of the Union line.²⁶

Following these exhausting efforts, Hancock attended the council-of-war at the Lydia Leister house, Meade's temporary headquarters, behind the Union center on Cemetery Ridge. This meeting, which took place in a small, cramped, and stuffy room, lasted nearly three hours and ended with a polling of the various corps commanders and staff as to the army's future movements. When questioned on whether the Army of the Potomac should shift from defensive to offensive operations, and if so, when should this occur, Hancock's response aptly reflected his personality: "Can't wait long. Can't be idle."²⁷

Hancock followed his own words to the letter, for although the council-of-war broke up around midnight, he returned to the front and continued to oversee the reforming and strengthening of his lines long into the night. At most, he was able to snatch about two hours of sleep in an ambulance near Meade's headquarters, rest he would badly need to face the momentous events of July 3.²⁸

July 3, 1863

Dawn broke at approximately 4:30 A.M., and with it renewed fighting erupted along the Union right at Culp's Hill. This marked the beginning of the longest sustained combat of the entire battle. Hunt observed and supervised the Union artillery fire along this front until sometime between 10 and 11 A.M. when, he recalled, "everything looking favorable at Culp's Hill I crossed over to Cemetery Ridge, to see what might be going on at other points." The massing of Confederate artillery batteries in that area was a rude surprise, to say the least. Years later Hunt could still vividly describe the scene:

Here a magnificent display greeted my eyes. Our whole for two miles was covered by batteries in line or going into position. They stretched—apparently in one unbroken mass—from opposite the town to the Peach Orchard, which bounded the view to the left, the ridges of which were planted black with cannon. Never before had such a sight been witnessed on this continent, and rarely, if ever, abroad.²⁹

What Hunt saw was a Confederate artillery force that numbered approximately thirty-five batteries totaling around 155 cannon. Immediately, Hunt asked himself the most obvious question: What did it mean?³⁰

Writing with perfect hindsight years later, Hunt stated:

It most probably meant an assault on our center, to be preceded by a cannonade in order to crush our batteries and shake our infantry; at the least to cause us to exhaust our ammunition in reply, so that the assaulting troops might pass in good condition over the half mile of open ground which was beyond our effective musketry fire.³¹

The first part of Hunt's statement is correct, of course, for the Confederate batteries were being placed in preparation for the great cannonade which preceded their final climatic attack on July 3,

Pickett's Charge. Yet Hunt's statement also proves that hindsight is not always perfect, for while Gen. Robert E. Lee did fully expect the Confederate artillery to "crush [the Union] batteries and shake [the Union] infantry," he did not expect the cannonade to "exhaust [Union] ammunition in reply, so that the assaulting troops might pass in good condition over the...open ground" during their assault.³²

Ranging even further from actual Confederate intentions, Hunt also wrote, "With such an object the cannonade would be long and followed immediately by the assault..." In reality, Lee envisioned that the bombardment would be short, possibly thirty minutes in length, for it would be overwhelming in scope.³³ The lack of surplus Confederate artillery ammunition necessarily dictated a short cannonade, as Lee's plan called for the artillery to play a vital role during the infantry assault itself. He described this in his official report, writing:

...the assaulting column [was] to advance under cover of the combined [artillery] fire of the three [Confederate corps]. The batteries were directed to be pushed forward as the infantry progressed...and support their attacks closely.³⁴

A prolonged cannonade, such as the one Hunt claimed to have predicted, would instead exhaust the Confederates' limited ammunition supply, and thus eliminate the essential artillery support Lee's plan required (which is exactly what transpired later that day).

What Hunt's statements really reveal is his ever-present concern (near fixation), as discussed earlier, with ammunition conservation and his batteries' rate of fire. While some historians have made Hunt's apparent obsession over ammunition a weakness in leadership (i.e., characterizing him as a "micro-manager"), in actuality this character trait is an example of one of Hunt's greatest strengths: his constant efforts to mold the artillery into a powerful branch of service on par with the infantry. And Hunt believed that there was only one way to make this goal a reality: to place *all* of the army's batteries under the control of the chief of artillery. At no time did Hunt believe this idea more than on July 3, 1863 at Gettysburg, as he explained later:

From the great extent of ground occupied by the enemy's batteries, it was evident that all the artillery on our west front, whether of the army corps, or the reserve, must concur as a unit, under the chief of artillery, in the defense... It was of the first importance to subject the enemy's infantry, from the first moment of their advance, to such a cross fire of our artillery as would break their formation, check their impulse, and drive them back, or at least bring them to our lines in such condition as to make them an easy prey.³⁵

Although this last statement was written more than twenty years after the battle, all of Hunt's orders and actions on July 3 (prior to any hindsight and second-guessing) point to the fact that he strove to implement this idea on the final day at Gettysburg. As an example, from the moment he saw the large concentration of Confederate batteries along Seminary Ridge, Hunt took preventive action to prepare for a possible enemy bombardment, as he later described:

...beginning on the right [of the 2nd Corps], I instructed the chiefs of artillery and battery commanders to withhold their fire for fifteen or twenty minutes after the cannonade commenced, then to concentrate their fire with all possible accuracy on those batteries which were most destructive to us—but slowly, so that when the enemy's ammunition was exhausted, we should have sufficient left to meet the assault.³⁶

Hunt started at the northern end of Cemetery Ridge, near Zeigler's Grove, and then rode south to deliver these new orders, and thus the first batteries he encountered belonged to the 2nd Corps.

The corps' chief of artillery was Capt. John Hazard, who was responsible for five batteries, totaling twenty-six cannons. While his official report did not specifically mention Hunt's appearance, it is fairly evident that the captain and the general spoke for, in describing the cannonade, Hazard wrote, "The [2nd Corps] batteries did not at first reply" to the Confederate fire. The most obvious explanation for such action (i.e., non-action) would be that Hazard had followed Hunt's orders.³⁷

Continuing southward along Cemetery Ridge, the next substantial artillery force Hunt encountered was commanded by Lt. Col. Freeman McGilvery: eight batteries totaling thirty-five cannon, mostly belonging to the Artillery Reserve. While McGilvery, like Captain Hazard, did not mention Hunt's visit in his official report, it is again obvious that the two spoke. Proof of this comes from the reports of two of McGilvery's battery commanders, including Capt. Patrick Hart, commanding the 15th New York, who wrote:

General Hunt, passing along the line, told me to hold my position and not to return the enemy's fire unless I saw his infantry advancing.... This order was afterward repeated to me by Major McGilvery, which I obeyed....³⁸

Capt. Charles Phillips, 5th Massachusetts Battery, reported:

About 1 o'clock the enemy opened a heavy fire from a long line of batteries.... Having received orders from General Hunt and from you [McGilvery] not to reply to their batteries, I remained silent....³⁹

It was these orders delivered to Hazard, McGilvery, and other artillery commanders that provided the spark which ignited the Hunt-Hancock controversy later that afternoon.

Hunt completed his ride down the Union line, arriving at Little Round Top shortly before 1 P.M., when, he recalled later:

I had just given these orders to the last battery on Little Round Top, when the [Confederate] signal-gun was fired, and the enemy opened with all of his guns. From that point the scene was indescribably grand.⁴⁰

While "grand" as seen from the summit of Little Round Top, the Confederate cannonade was exactly the opposite along the center of the Union line, where most of the Southern batteries were directing their fire. It was Winfield Hancock's 2nd Corps which held this sector of the Union line. Long before his troops became the target of this intense bombardment, Hancock had spent the day preparing his men for this final struggle, such as ordering them to entrench and delivering a short speech to the men of Brig. Gen. John Caldwell's division. At noon he, along with other high-ranking officers, including Meade, were gathered for an informal lunch at Brig. Gen. John Gibbon's headquarters. Hancock then made a final inspection of his line, which he had just finished when the Confederate batteries opened fire. Lt. Col. Francis Walker, adjutant general on Hancock's staff, later described the cannonade's fury:

The air shrieked with flying shot, the bursting shells sent their deadly fragments down in showers upon the rocky ridge and over the plain behind; the earth was thrown up in clouds of dust as the monstrous missiles buried themselves in the ground, or glanced from the surface to take a new and, perchance, more fatal flight.... All that is hideous in war seemed to have gathered itself together, to burst in one fell tornado upon Cemetery Ridge.⁴¹

In his official report Hancock called the cannonade, “the heaviest artillery fire I have ever known.” Describing it in detail he also reported:

Their guns were in position at an average distance of about 1,400 yards from my line, and ran in a semicircle from the town of Gettysburg to a point opposite Round Top Mountain. Their number is variously estimated at from one hundred and fifteen to one hundred and fifty. The air was filled with projectiles, there being scarcely an instant but that several were seen bursting at once. No irregularity of ground afforded much protection, and the plain in rear of the line of battle was soon swept of everything moveable. The infantry troops maintained their position with great steadiness, covering themselves as best they might by the temporary but trifling defenses they had erected and the accidents of the ground. Scarcely a straggler was seen, but all waited the cessation of the fierce cannonade, knowing well what it foreshadowed.⁴²

This account, much like Hunt’s version quoted earlier, was written with perfect hindsight, which explains Hancock’s statement that “all waited the cessation of the fierce cannonade, knowing well what it foreshadowed.” In reality, at the time it occurred, Hancock was not at all sure what the bombardment actually meant. According to Brig. Gen. John Gibbon, who had spent his entire pre-war service in the artillery, Hancock sent one of his aides to ask him “what I thought the meaning of this terrific fire.”

Gibbon himself did not know, and his answer reflected his uncertainty. “I replied,” he recalled, “I thought it was the prelude either to a retreat or an assault.”

Whatever it foreshadowed, all Hancock, Gibbon, and the rest of the Union line could do was wait out the tremendous Confederate fire.⁴³

While most of the Southern batteries targeted the 2nd Corps, along the Union center, others directed their fire against the Northern artillery along other parts of the line, including Cemetery Hill and McGilvery’s batteries along Cemetery Ridge. McGilvery described this in detail in his official report, writing, “...the enemy opened a terrific fire upon our lines with at least 140 guns. This fire was very rapid and inaccurate, most of the projectiles passing from 20 to 100 feet over our line.”⁴⁴

As per Hunt’s previous orders, McGilvery withheld the fire of his batteries. Other Union artillery, however, did respond, including the batteries located on Cemetery Hill. These guns, numbering around thirty, were commanded by Maj. Thomas Osborn, the 11th Corps’ chief of artillery, and replied to the Confederate cannonade because they had never received Hunt’s orders to withhold their fire (Hunt had only delivered his orders to the batteries along Cemetery Ridge and Little Round Top). Osborn recalled, “Our guns were worked with great coolness, energy, and judgment” and described the cannonade in more detail later:



Lt. Col. Freeman McGilvery. Maine State Archives

The firing on both sides was exceedingly rapid, going up from two to four shots a minute from each gun on both sides. That is about as rapidly as the chief of the gun could take good aim.... I was determined to hold the hill no matter how severe the fire might be.⁴⁵

The 2nd Corps batteries also engaged the Confederate guns. The principal reason for this, despite Hunt's earlier orders, was Hancock. His attitude toward the proper use of artillery conflicted directly with that of the army's chief of artillery, and it was this clash of opposing ideas that is at the very heart of the Hunt-Hancock controversy.

Hancock felt that in this type of situation, the Union artillery should respond to the Confederate bombardment. Thus, when he noticed that the 2nd Corps' artillery, as Capt. Hazard wrote in his official report, "did not at first reply," Hancock immediately overrode Hunt's orders. Captain Hazard, in this same report, described the effect of Hancock's command upon his batteries, writing:

...they returned it [Confederate fire] till all their ammunition, excepting canister, had been expended; they then waited for the anticipated infantry attack of the enemy.⁴⁶

Obviously a mere captain could not stand up to a major general, particularly when the general was his direct superior. Not satisfied with having only his own batteries opening fire, Hancock then rode south along Cemetery Ridge and began ordering all the artillery in this area to engage the Confederate batteries.⁴⁷ Upon reaching the right end of McGilvery's line of guns, Hancock ordered three of these batteries to fire: Capt. James Thompson's Battery C & F, 1st Pennsylvania, Capt. Charles Phillip's 5th Massachusetts and Capt. Patrick Hart's 15th New York. Captain Phillips later recounted this episode:

About half past one General Hancock ordered us to reply, thereby showing how little an infantry officer knows about artillery. The rebels were not doing us any harm, and if they wanted to throw away their ammunition I do not see why we should prevent them. However, we obeyed orders....⁴⁸

After the battle, McGilvery personally related this incident to Hunt, who later described it, writing that Hancock:

...galloped to [McGilvery's] position, demanding with great emphasis why he did not fire, and ordered him to open at once, and fire rapidly. Major McGilvery, a cool and clear headed officer, replied that he had received special instructions, and the time was not come. Gen. Hancock then demanded from whom he received his instructions and he replied "from the Chief of Artillery." Gen. Hancock then stated that Gen. Hunt had no idea of anything like this when he gave his orders, to which McGilvery replied that I had predicted just what was then occurring and that my orders were given to meet this very case. Gen. Hancock then said "my troops cannot stand this cannonade and will not stand it if it is not replied to" and ordered him to open fire at once.⁴⁹

Being only a lieutenant colonel, McGilvery could no more stand up to Hancock than Captain Hazard could. Thus he reluctantly ordered his batteries to open fire. Satisfied, Hancock then rode away, at which point McGilvery quickly countermanded the orders, as he described in his official report:

About one-half hour after the commencement, some general commanding the infantry line ordered three of the batteries to return the fire. After the discharge of a few rounds, I ordered the fire to cease and the men to be covered.⁵⁰

The most peculiar part of the above passage is “some general commanding....” How is it possible that McGilvery did not recognize Hancock, a major general? While there may be several reasonable explanations, it is unlikely that McGilvery did not know Hancock (as will be discussed in detail later), and may have thought it expedient to omit his name in an official document. The end result was that, through an indirect method, McGilvery was able to deflect Hancock’s orders and reserve his batteries’ ammunition.

At this same time, Hunt was also quite active. After watching the opening of the cannonade from the summit of Little Round Top, he rode over to the artillery reserve and artillery ammunition train, which he found had moved further to the rear. (Brig. Gen. Robert O. Tyler, commanding the reserve, had ordered this change due to the damage caused by Confederate artillery accidentally overshooting Cemetery Ridge.) Hunt ordered batteries and ammunition from the reserve to the front, and then rode to the main line himself to inspect batteries and oversee the effect of their counter-battery fire. He started with McGilvery’s batteries first, who by this time were returning the Confederate fire, as per Hunt’s previous instructions, with “a slow, well-directed fire from all the guns...concentrated upon single batteries of the enemy of those best in view....”⁵¹

As Hunt’s ride continued he later noted with satisfaction that “Our fire was deliberate,” but also grew concerned, for as he was “inspecting the [limber] chests I found that the ammunition was running low....” He immediately rode to Meade’s headquarters in order to advise the commanding general to cease the counter-battery fire. Upon reaching the Leister farmstead, however, Hunt remembered:

The headquarters building, immediately behind the ridge, had been abandoned, and many of the horses of the staff lay dead. Being told that the general had gone to the cemetery, I proceeded thither. He was not there, and on telling General Howard my object, he concurred in its propriety, and I rode back along the ridge, ordering the fire to cease.⁵²

In testimony before Congress, just eight months after the battle, Hunt explained his actions, stating:

...I ordered [our batteries], commencing at the cemetery, to slacken their fire and cease it, in order to see what the enemy were going to do, and also to be sure that we retained a sufficient supply of ammunition to meet, what I then expected, an attack.⁵³

Throughout the cannonade Hancock had also been extremely active and involved. After returning from McGilvery’s guns, Hancock returned to the 2nd Corps front and attempted to encourage his men through personal example. At one point, followed by only a single orderly carrying the corps’ flag, Hancock rode slowly along the line, disregarding the incoming fire. Capt. Henry Bingham, on Hancock’s staff, later vividly recalled the scene:

It was a gallant deed of heroic valor...& withal not a reckless exposure of life without object, for the noble presence and calm demeanor of the commander as he passed through his line during that fiery crisis, encouraging his men set an example before them with an hour later cropped out and served their stout hearts to win the greatest & bloodiest battle ever fought on American soil.⁵⁴

His actions apparently had the intended affect, for less than three weeks after the battle Bingham described his commander in a letter home, writing:

Our General, I mean Gen. Hancock, was the hero of the fight. Oh, he is a gallant man! When we rode along our line of battle...every man looked up, and saw the perfect soldier in their General, and as he spoke to them here and there cheer after cheer ascended, for all have and had the most unbounded confidence in him.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, the Union counter-battery fire began to slacken, either due to Hunt's orders or the dwindling long-range artillery ammunition (especially in the batteries belonging to the 2nd Corps). Confederate batteries soon followed suit, as their officers mistakenly believed the weakening Union resistance meant that the cannonade had finally achieved success. In reality, this was simply not the case. While the batteries along the Union center could no longer fire, either due to lack of ammunition and/or battle damage, the remainder of the Union guns stood ready. This included more than thirty cannons massed on the western slopes of Cemetery Hill and the thirty-five guns located along the lower end of Cemetery Ridge under Lt. Col. McGilvery's command. Both Union and Confederate accounts of Pickett's Charge refer to the power and impact these batteries had upon the Confederate assault.⁵⁶

In his official report, McGilvery recalled the attack and his batteries' role in repulsing it:

At about 3 p. m....appeared three extended lines of battle... advancing upon our center. These...presented an oblique front to the guns under my command, and by training the whole line of guns obliquely to the right, we had a raking fire through all three of these lines. The execution of the fire must have been terrible, as it was over a level plain, and the effect was plain to be seen.⁵⁷

What made the fire of McGilvery's line of guns so terrible was, as he noted above, its ability to rake the Confederate ranks lengthwise. One of the Confederates in Pickett's division facing this fire was Lt. G. W. Finley, 56th Virginia, who later described its devastating impact:

...the artillery opened upon us all along our front. I soon noticed that shells were also coming from our right and striking just in front or in rear of our moving line—sometimes between the line and the file closers.... This fire soon became strictly *enfilading*...and whenever it struck our ranks was fearfully destructive—one company a little to my right, numbering 35 or 40 men, was almost swept, 'to a man,' from the line by a single shell.⁵⁸

While much has been written about this raking artillery fire from the left and left-center of the Union line against the right flank of the Confederate attack, the same was true for the Southern troops that comprised the left flank of the assaulting column: the divisions under the command of Brig. Gen. J. J. Pettigrew and Maj. Gen. Isaac Trimble. The fire these men faced came from the Union guns, commanded by Major Osborn, along the western face of Cemetery Hill. A soldier in the 7th Tennessee, Pettigrew's division, later recalled:

Many batteries hurled their missiles of death in our ranks from Cemetery Hill...in our front and...belched forth their commingling smoke of battle that obscured the scene with a dreadful and darkened magnificence and a deepening roar that no exaggeration of language can heighten.⁵⁹

Major Osborn himself left a detailed description of the impact his guns had on the advancing Confederate lines:

From the very first minute our guns created sad havoc in that line.... These two lines of battle, nearly a mile distant, were...the sole object of fire of all the guns which could be made to bear upon them. The effects of this fire could very soon be seen.... The artilleryman endeavored to roll the solid shot through the ranks and explode the percussion shells in front of the lines. This method was effective to a large degree, as we would see the ranks thinned at many points and here and there a wide gap made as from two to a dozen men were taken out....⁶⁰

One of the most vivid accounts of this destructive Union artillery fire upon Pickett's Charge comes from Randolph Shotwell, a member of the 8th Virginia, Pickett's division, who later wrote:

Shot, shell, spherical case, shrapnel...-thousands of deadly missiles racing through the air to thin our ranks! A bomb explodes in front of a regiment—three men fall lifeless,—five men limp, moaning, to the rear—“Close up men!”—the gap disappears and there is no falter in the line. Two or three men drop out of different companies...“Close up men!” An officer's head is blown off by a round shot—the men step over his body—“Close up!”—“Not too fast on the left”—“Major take command, Colonel is down”—on moves the devoted column into the jaws of Destruction!⁶¹

Braving this horrific fire, the Confederates continued their steady advance, eventually coming within canister and then musketry range. Despite their mounting losses, the Southern columns made their final rush and reached the Union line along the 2nd Corps front held by Brig. Gen. Alexander Webb's brigade, where they achieved a minor breakthrough at what is known today as the “High Water Mark” area. It was near this time that Hancock, while attempting to organize a counterattack against the right flank of Pickett's division, was seriously wounded near Brig. Gen. George Stannard's Vermont Brigade.⁶²

Meanwhile, Hunt found himself in the “eye of the storm,” being present at the point of the Confederate breakthrough. In a letter to his wife written the next morning, Hunt's description puts the reader in the middle of the action:

They drove our men and I stood fast with a [battery]...until we were in our extreme front. The display of Secesh Battle flags was splendid and scary. As I was the only mounted officer on either side I was particularly [imperiled] and although I was untouched, poor Billy [his horse] within a space of less than two minutes was shot in the neck, the chest, the left fore shoulder, the right knee and the head which brought the poor fellow down at last.⁶³

The battery Hunt was with was Capt. Andrew Cowen's 1st New York Artillery, positioned at the Copse of Trees. Cowan also remembered Hunt's reaction to this critical moment:

General Hunt was on horseback in my battery, and I was standing at the left side of his horse, when I opened with canister.... He soon began firing his pistol at those rushing on, exclaiming: “See ‘em! See ‘em!” when in a moment his horse fell dead under him.⁶⁴

Minutes later, Pickett's Charge was repulsed and with it the Army of the Potomac had won the Battle of Gettysburg. That victory was achieved, at least partially, through the efforts of both

Henry Jackson Hunt and Winfield Scott Hancock. Yet in the after-glow of this great victory the first low rumblings of discontent between these two men was heard occurred. They would be the first shots of what would become the Hunt-Hancock controversy.

The Controversy

Within hours of the repulse of the final Confederate attack Hunt became aware of the orders Hancock had issued to the various battery commanders during the cannonade. Obviously displeased, as these orders contradicted his own directives, it did not take long before Hunt began to voice his complaints to fellow artillery officers. Col. Charles Wainwright, 1st Corps chief of artillery, recorded in his diary a conversation he had with Hunt on July 4:

General Hunt told me that one of the corps...commanders, Hancock I think, nearly ruined himself by insisting that the batteries along his line should keep up a heavy fire, after he, Hunt, had ordered them to cease. The consequence was they expended all their ammunition, and had none when the tug came.⁶⁵

At this same time Hancock apparently took exception to Hunt's actions of July 3, and he did so directly to Meade. On July 4, the same day that Hunt complained to Wainwright about Hancock, Meade revealed to Hunt that a general officer had complained to him about a battery refusing to engage the enemy artillery during the cannonade. Hunt later recalled this conversation, writing that "Gen. Meade informed me the day after the battle that a general had complained to him that a battery captain had refused to obey his orders to open fire during the cannonade...." Apparently Hunt wanted to know which officer brought the complaint, but Meade refused to reveal a name.⁶⁶

There is no primary evidence to prove that Hancock was "the complaining general," and it seems unrealistic to suspect it was him, for he had been seriously wounded at the end of Pickett's Charge and by July 4 had already started a difficult journey home to recuperate. Yet, another well-known Hancock document created at this same time suggests it might have been Hancock.⁶⁷

Immediately after Pickett's Charge, as his wound was being treated and he was being led to safety in the rear, Hancock dictated a note to Meade announcing the victory and offering unsolicited advice. The most famous part of this note reads:

I have never seen a more formidable attack, and if the Sixth and Fifth Corps have pressed up, the enemy will be destroyed. The enemy must be short of ammunition, as I was shot with a tenpenny nail. I did not leave the field till the victory was entirely secured and the enemy no longer in sight.⁶⁸

But one need only look at the first sentence of this same note to find evidence that Hancock may have been the officer who protested to Meade about the use of artillery. He is *complaining*:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND CORPS, *July 3, 1863.*

Although I repulsed a tremendous attack...I, much to my sorrow, found that the twelve guns on my salient had been removed by some one, whom I call upon you to hold accountable, as without them, with worse troops, I should certainly have lost the day.⁶⁹

While Hancock's specific complaint here is about the removal of batteries from his front, the main point is that, despite his wound, he brought a grievance about artillery to the commanding general *immediately* after the battle. Thus it seems at least plausible that Hancock also

complained to Meade about “a battery captain [who] had refused to obey his orders...during the cannonade....”⁷⁰

Hunt wrote there was “no doubt in my mind” that Hancock was the general who went to Meade, especially after talking to both McGilvery and Hazard sometime after the battle. Hunt later stated that “They clearly pointed out Gen. Hancock as the complaining general....” Armed with this knowledge, McGilvery urged Hunt to make an official complaint concerning this episode in his after-action report, as Hunt later detailed:

McGilvery did wish me to state all the facts of the case [in Hunt’s official report], and to do it himself in his report, but I dissuaded him for the reason that it would lead to controversy without adequate result; would be distasteful [sic] and even embarrassing to General Meade...specially because although Major General Hancock had committed a great fault...it would be a very ungracious thing whilst he was absent from the army because of his wounds received in the assault, to ...reflect upon his conduct since the battle was won notwithstanding his error.... McGilvery finally assented to this view, and to this I attribute the peculiarity of his report...[where] McGilvery uses...[the] purposely indefinite phrase “some general” but he takes care to state *the fact* in his report....” [emphasis Hunt’s].⁷¹

The above account, written nearly twenty years after the battle, makes it clear that McGilvery knew perfectly well who the “some general commanding the infantry line” was on July 3 and also explains why he did not call out Hancock by name in his official report. While Hunt indicates here that he dissuaded McGilvery from naming Hancock directly, another account he wrote in 1877 contained a different version of this episode. Writing to Count de Paris, Hunt claimed:

Gen. Meade evidently did not desire to make a point of the matter—[or] rather evidently did desire not to make trouble—the victory was won, no possible benefit could arise from discussing what might have been, nor any useful result to the service for personal or official bickering. I therefore dropped the matter entirely....⁷²

Meade’s attempt to soothe the strained relationship between his generals was temporary for he personally provoked the next episode of the controversy when he gave Hunt a slight reprimand for “some mismanagement in the marching of the heavy ammunition trains of the reserve artillery” as the army crossed the Potomac River on July 20. This seemingly minor incident brought to the surface the subject of Hunt’s authority as the chief of artillery under Meade’s command. As this authority had never been officially established or clearly spelled out since Meade’s promotion, Hunt had continued to operate under the “assumption” he had made on the morning of July 2 at Gettysburg.⁷³

When confronted on these points, Meade apparently refused to clearly define Hunt’s position, and, to Hunt’s anger, he found Meade’s “tenor” towards him less than respectful. Feeling forced to defend his honor, and probably still smarting over the events of July 3, Hunt offered his resignation on July 26, writing in part, “Under existing orders and practices the position is not one that I can hold with any advantage to the service consistently with self-respect,” for he felt the “system does not give the chief powers over the artillery necessary to the efficient administration and circumstances and...[are] unfavorable to its successful working.” He further stated:

I...would not now accept the position of Chief of Artillery of this army with the restrictions as to command imposed...and do not desire to retain it upon such conditions willing aside the evil effects on the service which have been fully demonstrated.... I do not belong to any staff department. I do not desire any

mere administrative position, and if I did I could not occupy one on terms which degrade my arm of service in comparison with others....⁷⁴

This continuing argument was a particularly sore point with Hunt, considering the sacrifice he had made in “any professional advancement.” Thoroughly aggravated, he wrote on July 30:

At the beginning of the rebellion, at the request of my superiors who believed that my experiences as an artillery officer in active service in the field made it desirable that I should remain in it at all costs to myself, I declined rank and position offered me elsewhere that I might devote myself to my own [branch]...of the service.⁷⁵

Eventually the incident was resolved when Brig. Gen. Andrew A. Humphreys, Meade’s new chief of staff, intervened and smoothed Hunt’s (and Meade’s) ruffled egos. Hunt was persuaded to remain on as chief of artillery.⁷⁶

The result was Meade’s issuance of General Orders No. 82 on August 21, 1863, which specifically spelled out the duties and authority of the army’s chief of artillery. While Hunt received some of what he was seeking, the order fell short of his expectations. In part the order made Hunt “responsible for the condition of all the artillery, wherever serving” and stated that “all artillery not attached to other troops [i.e., Artillery Reserve batteries] will be commanded by the chief of artillery.” As for his battlefield authority, the order gave Hunt the ability to “distribute and place in position the reserve artillery.” As for batteries attached to the individual corps, Hunt could “select positions,” but only when directed to by Meade. The order also specifically spelled out restrictions placed upon the chief of artillery:

He will give no orders that would interfere with the military control exercised by the commander of a corps or division over the batteries attached to other troops...unless directed to do so by the general commanding the army.⁷⁷

While Hunt’s private reaction to this order is unknown, it was probably similar to that of Col. Charles Wainwright, commanding the 1st Corps artillery, who remarked in his diary:

It is a kind of halfway thing as regards his powers, while it clearly makes him responsible for the “condition of all the artillery, wherever serving.” It makes us responsible to General Hunt as to the equipment and supplies, as well as regards the instruction and discipline of our batteries; yet it gives him no control over those supplies...or do anything else much. In fact, all the good it might do is annulled by it saying: “He will give no orders that would interfere with the military control exercised by corps and division commanders over batteries attached to their troops.” Hunt has been working very hard to get his duties defined, and this is the result of it.⁷⁸

Although Hunt accepted the orders professionally, he did not completely give up his theories on the proper employment of artillery and still attempted to exert some influence over those batteries assigned to the infantry and cavalry corps. On January 15, 1864, Hunt issued General Orders No. 2, approved by Gen. Meade, which provided a series of directives to artillery officers, touching upon such subjects as selecting battlefield positions, targeting, the expenditure of ammunition, and when to open fire. These orders also covered the circumstances that so irritated Hunt at Gettysburg, especially in regard to Hancock’s orders of July 3. It would probably not be too hard to imagine that Hunt wrote some of these orders specifically to rebuff Hancock’s actions. As an example, concerning the choosing of targets, Hunt wrote, “When acting on the defensive

the enemy's *infantry* and cavalry are the most proper objects of fire." [emphasis added]. On the expenditure of ammunition, Hunt directed:

An officer who expends ammunition...[by rapid firing] proves his ignorance of the proper use of [this] arm.... It is not so much the loss of ammunition that should be considered...as the loss of effect from too distant and too rapid firing.⁷⁹

Hunt's orders which seemed to best match the situation at Gettysburg dealt with the subject of "opening fire." Hunt wrote:

There are moments in which we should not fire, or only very slowly, and others of a critical nature in which there should be no question of saving of ammunition; but the latter are only of short duration and do not lead to a lavish expenditure, while *the inefficient constant fire at long ranges always has that effect* [emphasis added].⁸⁰

As the war continued throughout 1863 and into the campaigns of 1864, Hunt and Hancock were entirely too occupied with their own demanding duties to continue a feud, even one as low-key as theirs was at this point. A brief spat between the two did flare up in September 1864 during the Petersburg siege which, not surprisingly, concerned the issue of authority. The incident involved the replacement of batteries controlled by Hunt with those assigned to Hancock's 2nd Corps. The two generals traded a series of insulting notes and telegrams until the complaints reached Meade's headquarters. Once again, it was Andrew Humphreys who stepped in and settled the issue, although probably not to the complete satisfaction of either party. From this point the professional differences between the two officers quieted for the next eleven years.⁸¹

With the end of the war in 1865 both Hunt and Hancock remained in the army and moved on to a variety of other assignments. Hancock, by this time a major general in the regular army, served in several posts and departments until assuming command of the Department of the East, with headquarters at Governors Island, New York, in 1877. Hunt, with the demobilization of the military, was reduced in rank to colonel in the regular army and received numerous assignments in far-flung locations across the country.⁸² Hunt also served on several special military boards which were involved in reorganizing the post-war army. It was his assignment to one of these boards in 1871 that became the spark which would not only re-ignite the Hunt-Hancock controversy, but would take it to a new level.⁸³

The board to which Hunt was assigned was charged by Congress, specifically the House Committee on Military Affairs, to create a set of "Revised Army Regulations." Many of these regulations had not been updated in decades, and thus were either obsolete or in dire need of revision. Hunt was chosen to serve on the board because of his recognized knowledge and expertise on the artillery arm. As a matter of fact, by this time, Henry Hunt was considered *the* authority on that branch of service. The work of the board was time-consuming and meticulous. After nearly three years of "much labor and inquiry into the practical needs of the service," the board's completed revisions were literally "voluminous." The recommendations submitted by the committee covered a wide spectrum of issues and regulations, both minor and major, and included, among others: the tenure of officers and their assignments/duty stations, the responsibilities and spheres of authority in the subsistence and quartermaster departments, court martials, the grazing of horses on the Plains, leaves of absences (i.e., who could grant them and for how long), medical records of military patients, the maximum number of "General Officers" per branch of service, and the definition of "staff" and their powers of authority. It would be the last issue, that of "staff," that rekindled the debate between Hunt and Hancock.⁸⁴

The regulations proposed by the committee concerning the scope and authority of “staff” included new rules or policies to give future chiefs of “special arms” (artillery and engineers) more battlefield authority and make their units more independent from commanders of infantry corps and divisions. Not surprisingly, these new rules were created by Hunt. The rub was that before these new regulations could be officially adopted by the military, the committee had dozens of the leading active officers review and comment on them. Among these reviewing officers were men such as Nelson Miles, John Pope, E. D. Townsend, R. B. Marcy, and Winfield Scott Hancock.⁸⁵

Not surprisingly, Hancock took exception to some of the revisions and was vocal in his opposition. One of his primary arguments was that past practice, along with Supreme Court rulings, had earlier placed the power to “establish...modify, or repeal” military regulations solely with the executive branch, and through it, the War Department. Therefore, the revised regulations, created through Congressional action, Hancock claimed, could not be adopted. He reserved his most strenuous and detailed arguments, however, against the proposed changes that effected “special arms.” Specifically, Hancock was totally opposed to the new regulations that would have put artillery and other special arms under the direct and total control of their respective chiefs. All of these arguments were made in a January 1874 letter to Gen. William T. Sherman, chief of the army, and read in part:

[The new regulation] evidently contemplates officers commanding engineers or artillery forces serving with corps or divisions shall be, in a measure, independent.... This would place corps or division commanders in subordinate positions to the artillery and engineer commanders of the same Army, regardless of what their relative rank might be. It is thought to be common sense and much safer that those commanders who fight the troops in time of war, and are responsible for the success or failure of the operations, should have the same control of those special arms as they have over the other arms not designated as special, rather than to have them subject to the commands of officers who would not be responsible whether the battle was lost or won. Such a regulation, when brought to the test of practical operation in the presence of an enemy, would undoubtedly lead to confusion and failure.⁸⁶

Hancock even went so far as to write that orders of a corps commander should “not [be] interfered with by the chief of that arm at superior headquarters...who may be disposed to have the artillery used according to his own views....”⁸⁷

Such statements alone would have been enough to pique Hunt’s temper, but Hancock inflamed the situation even more when he drove his argument home by using the incident of July 3 at Gettysburg as an example. Hancock wrote:

As an instance in point...I may state here that at “Gettysburgh,” during the last day of the battle...while the enemy’s great cannonade was in progress, just previous to their grand assault, I...found that the guns of a battery...were silent.... I sent orders...to the commander of the battery, (which happened to belong to the reserve artillery...) to open fire at once.... This order was not obeyed, and I was informed that the battery commander had orders not to fire, from the chief of artillery of the Army of the Potomac [Hunt]. I then rode to the battery myself, and was actually compelled to threaten force on my own line of battle before I could cause the battery to fire upon the enemy. I would have been held responsible in the event of the loss of the line, while the chief of artillery of the Army would have had no responsibility in that event.⁸⁸

One can well imagine Hunt's reaction when Hancock's letter was published as part of the official congressional record of the committee's report in 1874.

Hancock probably never imagined that his letter to Sherman would be published as a public document. Furthermore, his entire description of the Gettysburg incident comprised just five sentences out of a letter that covered four full printed pages. Hunt, not surprisingly, took exception to Hancock's comments and he composed a hand-written response for General Sherman that took up twenty pages.⁸⁹ He answered in great detail each of Hancock's charges, ending with the statement that Hancock "has forced upon me as an act of self defense, the discharge of a very disagreeable duty."⁹⁰ The Hunt-Hancock controversy had resumed.

General Sherman's reaction to Hunt's letter only fanned the flames. Instead of attempting to settle the difficulties between the two officers, or simply letting the matter die, he magnified the problem by providing a copy of Hunt's letter to Hancock. In doing so the army chief not only escalated an unfortunate argument between two prominent officers, but in doing so clearly revealed his bias toward Hancock - something Sherman continued to do throughout the life of controversy.

It was now Hancock who felt his reputation had been insulted, which compelled him to respond to Hunt's arguments. Hancock's second letter, also addressed to Sherman, was written in 1879 and answered each of the points contained in Hunt's letter. (The various arguments and counter-arguments made by both Hunt and Hancock will be discussed in detail in the analysis section of this essay.) It was now Hancock's turn to react with indignation, writing, "Hunt...disputed my statements, contested my opinions, discredited my own action at the battle of Gettysburg, and attributed to me remarks...which I never made.... He...has succeeded...in spreading upon the records of the nation a presumptuous, incorrect, and abusive statement." Sherman again fueled the controversy by publishing Hancock's second letter as part of the official congressional record.⁹¹

To no one's surprise, Hunt replied, writing a second (and even longer) letter to General Sherman in 1880.⁹² Along with refuting all of the points and arguments in Hancock's 1879 letter, Hunt also asked that his letter also be included as part of the official Senate report. Sherman's answer, which probably infuriated Hunt, read in part:

I do believe that all matters of controversy growing out of the war, should if possible be determined by the parties chiefly in interest, whilst they are living and when survivors still survive. ...therefore if you insist in its being filed I must decide that Genl Hancock shall have a copy and a full year in which to reply-both papers then to be filed and left for the judgment of History-neither to be printed at this time.⁹³

Understandably exasperated, Hunt wrote passionately to Sherman about what he saw as unfair treatment by the commanding general, and to hint at pursuing justice outside of normal military protocol:

When his [Hancock] attack upon me reached you it was not referred to me nor any opportunity given me to be heard in the matter but the Department took prompt action upon it adverse to me. ...I was very desirous that my paper should...meet the same treatment that...[Hancock's] charges did, be filed with them in the archives of the War Department and a copy transmitted by the Secretary to the Senate.... My paper is not an original attack on Gen Hancock...it is a reply to his attack on me and I prefer that it be sent as it is without note or comment.... I have suffered too much from delay already and every day makes it worse.... I have so far followed...the ordinary rules as to discussions between officers, but I am the guardian of my own honor and if I find

that this course only obstructs a delay of public vindication I will be compelled however & reluctant to take the matter into my own hands and to act as my own judgment may dictate....⁹⁴

Sherman pigeon-holed Hunt's letter, refusing to send it on to the Secretary of War. According to Hunt, the general sent a copy of the letter to Hancock "and filed it under 'protest' for 'history' and as I understand with his [Sherman's] own endorsement which he declined to show me, stating that it must not be published." Hunt felt "it is the manifest determination of Gen. S.[herman] to suppress it if he can, and so far (as I look upon it) pervert the history of the battle, in the interest of Gen. Hancock."⁹⁵

Undaunted, Hunt carried forward with this threat "to take the matter into my own hands and to act as my own judgment may dictate," and prepared to publish his letter publicly, at his own expense. Hunt's plan was foiled, however, with the opening of the Democratic national presidential convention that summer in Cincinnati. That posed a problem because Winfield Scott Hancock was a candidate for the Democratic nomination and Hunt, still a man of honor, felt "it would not have been the fair thing to publish then...and it would have been looked upon as a political thing." Hancock was eventually nominated, which kept Hunt from pursuing his idea until after the election, as he did not "want to do any thing that can be used against [Hancock]." After the election that fall, Hunt still bided his time, feeling the political situation was still too unsettled, writing, "It is too late & too soon to publish *now*."⁹⁶

In the end, although Hunt's second letter was never published publicly during his life-time, he made sure that John Bachelder, the first official historian of the Battle of Gettysburg, received a copy, "solely to set right any wrong impressions you may get from [Hancock's] paper." Bachelder was then working on a full-length study of the battle and Hunt, feeling that the "whole matter of that cannonade & assault as bearing on my act & Gen. Hancock, has now become important as a matter of history" wrote to the historian that "I don't want in a work like yours any error, least of all such as will be to my detriment."⁹⁷

This entire affair, from Hunt's original assignment to the board, the completion of the "Proposed Regulations," to Hancock's two letters and Hunt's two replies, lasted nearly ten years. To add further to Hunt's frustrations, most of the "Proposed Regulations" that he had worked so hard to create and promote, were never approved or adopted by the army. Hunt was obviously disappointed in this result, writing to General Sherman:

Their final rejection, with the adoption of Major General Hancock's views instead, will, I do not hesitate to say it, mark the success of a long pursued and tortuous policy...and...complete the triumph over sound military principles.... It would certainly so far emasculate the authority and functions of the commandant of artillery and engineers as to make their special knowledge useless.⁹⁸

Sensing defeat concerning his continuing controversy with Hancock, Hunt also made clear his disappointment to Sherman, writing that Hancock's accusation "involves my good name literally the only thing I have after forty years service—to leave to my children."⁹⁹

This episode also explains the particular mechanics of the Hunt-Hancock controversy. The amount of primary source material relating to the controversy is very lopsided in favor of Hunt. His correspondence on Gettysburg is voluminous and concentrates heavily on the events of July 3, 1863. These documents were mostly letters to fellow soldiers, historians, comrades, family, ex-Confederate officers, politicians, publishers, and a host of others. In contrast, Hancock wrote two letters (the ones that were published as part of the official congressional record). While part of this disparity might be a reflection of their differing personalities, Hunt wrote more because he perceived he was losing the argument, and was bitter about it. Sherman's stonewalling of Hunt's letters only compounded the problem. In the end Hunt was simply attempting to get his version

of the controversy heard. While he might have lost the debate within official military channels he could still use the power of the pen to assure that his version of the events of July 3 were heard publicly.

The final brief flare-up of the controversy occurred in mid-1880s. Hunt had written a three-part article on Gettysburg for *Century* magazine's Civil War series, which was later published as the four-volume *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* series. Hunt's coverage of July 3 touched upon the great cannonade and the use of Union artillery which, not surprisingly, was critical of Hancock's actions. By this time Winfield Hancock was dead, having passed away on February 9, 1886. Nevertheless, Francis Walker, Hancock's former adjutant general, came to his chief's defense, responding with a short essay titled "General Hancock and the Artillery at Gettysburg." Hunt fired back with a "A Rejoinder by Henry J. Hunt," countering Walker's arguments. And thus, Henry Hunt got in the "last word" of the Hunt-Hancock controversy.¹⁰⁰

Analysis

For this controversy to hold any true meaning an analysis is necessary. Who was right? Who was wrong? What was the final result of the controversy? To answer these questions the main points or arguments of each participant must first be examined. This will then be followed by an analysis of each point, both pro and con.

Winfield Hancock's version of the debate was fairly straightforward and can be organized into four main points:

1. Hancock claimed that he "commanded the left center of our Army, composed of three corps," stretching from the northern end of Cemetery Ridge to just north of Little Round Top.¹⁰¹
2. He further claimed that this command gave him authority over *all* of the troops holding this line, (which included elements of the 1st Corps, all of the 2nd and 3rd corps and batteries from the 6th Corps, Cavalry Corps and Artillery Reserve).¹⁰²
3. Hancock stated that he *alone* was responsible for the success or failure of holding that line. In his second letter to General Sherman (1879) Hancock wrote:

I claimed and exercised the right to command my artillery [meaning all of the batteries positioned along the Union left-center] in actual battle. Colonel Hunt, chief of artillery of the Army, denied this right, and asserted his own right as superior to mine.... The fact is, Colonel Hunt had no right, either in his own name or in that of General Meade, to take from me a part of my command in the battle of Gettysburg. His attempt to do so failed.¹⁰³

4. Lastly, Hancock claimed that the principal reason he ordered the artillery along his line to open fire during the cannonade, was that "there was a portion of my line on which there was no infantry...." He wanted the batteries to fire, and to fire rapidly, "so that it would appear to the enemy that that point was strongly defended...[in case] the enemy should select that point for their attack."¹⁰⁴ (As will be discussed in more detail below, it should be noted that this claim first appeared during the post-war flare-up of the controversy and completely contradicts the most prevalent accounts that surfaced immediately following the battle, which stated that Hancock ordered the batteries to open fire in order to boost the morale of his infantrymen.)

Further strengthening Hancock's point of view were the opinions of one of the Confederacy's best artillerists, Col. E. P. Alexander, who commanded nearly half of the Southern batteries

involved in the great cannonade of July 3. Writing in his personal memoirs (those intended only for his family and later published as *Fighting for the Confederacy*), Alexander stated:

I think a corps commander should be supreme in his corps, & the [artillery] chief must submit.... The [artillery] chief ought to have, of course, a reserve of his own, & that should answer all his purposes. Hunt had such a reserve, & a large one.... I rather think too that I concur with Gen. Hancock's idea that the Federal policy at Gettysburg should have been to keep their batteries firing at least as long as ours were. For they had superiority in number, & calibre of guns, &, of even greater importance, in quality and quantity of ammunition. Their policy should have been always to fight us to exhaustion.... Exhaustion would have come to us first.¹⁰⁵

Henry Hunt's argument also had four main points, all of which appear logical. The first two points centered on the question of authority. How much did he have and from where did his authority derive? As discussed earlier, Hunt based most of his authority over the artillery arm at Gettysburg on General Meade's verbal orders on the morning of July 2, "to see that the artillery was properly posted."¹⁰⁶ Hunt's main points were:

1. Meade's verbal orders allowed Hunt to assume *full* control over *all* of the artillery. As Hunt explained later:

These orders recognized, in fact necessarily vested in me all the powers of a commander-in-chief of the artillery in their plenitude...and it was a full sense of the responsibility thus imposed that I immediately assumed the active command of the Artillery and exercised it during the remainder of the battle. These facts and circumstances are stated in my official report of the battle made to Gen. Meade, and he informed me that he had supposed that in all orders I had found it necessary to give to the artillery of the corps during the battle I had used his name an authority and this whether I had or not consulted him before hand.¹⁰⁷

All the actions and orders that Hunt issued throughout the remainder of the battle on July 2 and 3 seem to bear out the truth of the above statement. As Hunt himself stated:

It was in discharge of my duties as commander of the artillery of the army that I went to every point of attack, where it was frequently necessary to use the artillery of adjoining corps, together with portions of the reserve artillery.... I gave all the orders I found necessary under these circumstances at all the points of attack.¹⁰⁸

Meade's very orders, and some of his subsequent directives to Hunt throughout the remainder of the battle, seem to validate Hunt's assumption. As an example, just after dawn of July 2, when informed that a substantial gap existed in the 12th Corps line on Culp's Hill, along the Union right, Meade directed Hunt "to make the necessary arrangements to meet the emergency...." By issuing this order Meade reinforced Hunt's belief that his total authority as chief of artillery had been restored, for the only person (other than Meade) who could then pull all of the army's available artillery resources together in order to cover this gap was, of course, Hunt. Using his newly restored power Hunt eventually ordered the entire 12th Corps artillery brigade, along with four batteries from the Artillery Reserve, and three 11th Corps batteries to form what is referred to now as the "Baltimore Pike Artillery Line."¹⁰⁹

During the great cannonade on July 3 Meade, concerned about the amount of artillery ammunition his batteries had on hand, ordered a cease fire. To insure this order was carried out Meade sent his staff officers to Hunt, who would then pass them on to the individual batteries. Hunt was quick to point out, “Gen. Meade’s order to cease our fire [was] sent to the *Chief of Artillery* and thus recognizing all the batteries on the line as under his command...” [emphasis Hunt’s].¹¹⁰

Further strengthening Hunt’s claim for the amount of authority he held, or was granted by Meade, are the statements and actions of fellow Union artillery officers. A simple perusal of the official reports from the Army of the Potomac supports Hunt’s version. Of the seven officers who commanded artillery brigades attached to the infantry corps, four of them (57 percent) submitted their after-action reports to Hunt, and not their individual corps commanders. This percentage increases to 67 percent when one takes into account that only six of these men submitted reports.¹¹¹ Thus, at least the majority these men seemed to believe that Hunt was in command of their batteries at Gettysburg.

2. Hunt further claimed that he had *total control* of the batteries belonging to the Artillery Reserve. Before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War Hunt testified in March 1864, “I took full control of the artillery where, by the regulations and necessities of the service, it was not under the exclusive command of others.” This, of course, also included the Artillery Reserve batteries under Lt. Col. Freeman McGilvery’s command on July 3, to which Hancock had given orders to open fire; orders which were in direct conflict with Hunt’s previous directives. Hunt felt so strongly about this point that he claimed, “Maj. Gen. Hancock’s orders to McGilvery and his batteries was a sheer attempted usurpation of authority...”¹¹²

3. Hunt felt that United States Army regulations concerning the authority granted to chiefs of artillery, engineers, and other “special arms” were badly flawed, and made the knowledge and expertise of these officers practically useless. He constantly and repeatedly urged the army to adopt regulations similar to those used in European armies, which gave these officers the type of authority that Hunt sought. Hunt even quoted one of the most respected of military theorists of the time, Henri Jomini, who wrote:

To obtain the best results possible from the artillery, the superior command of this arm should be given to a *general of artillery*, who is at the same time a tactician and strategist. He should have the right to dispose not only of the artillery reserve, but of half the artillery attached to army corps and divisions. He could thus arrange...the times and places for employing considerable masses of artillery [emphasis Hunt’s].¹¹³

As discussed earlier, this arrangement is what Hunt fought so hard, and ultimately unsuccessfully, for, during his assignment to the post-war military board that created the “Revised Army Regulations.”

4. Hunt repeatedly stated that Hancock, not being specifically trained in the science and tactics of the artillery arm, did not understand its proper use. Therefore the orders Hancock issued to the artillery on July 3, 1863 went against accepted army regulations and good military practice. As a case in point, Hunt cited a regulation that existed in 1863 which was applicable to the situation faced by the Army of the Potomac that day:

The one single regulation on this subject which had survived the prunings of the war office and was in force at the time of the battle...ought to have enlightened

him [Hancock] on that occasion, but he did not probably comprehend its significance.

It is as follows:--

Par 727 A. R. 1861-63—“In the *attack* the artillery is employed to silence the batteries that protect the position. In the *defense* it is better to direct its fire on the advancing troops. In either case as many pieces are united as possible, the fire of artillery being formidable in proportion to its concentration.” ...

In securing obedience to his hasty and ill advised orders, Major General Hancock not only thwarted my purposes and threw away our advantages, but disobeyed a regulation of the army which exactly covered the case, and with which my order was in perfect accord.¹¹⁴ [emphasis by Hunt]

5. Lastly, and along these same lines, Hunt stated that the central idea behind all the orders he issued on July 3, 1863 was to have the artillery act as a coordinated branch, or arm of service, along the entire Union battle line. As he later explained, “our line must be considered *as a whole*, all the artillery of which, including that of the corps as well as that of the reserve, must concur as *a unit* in the defence.” Hunt explained further that his orders were given:

...with that view to subject his troops from the first moment of their advance and whilst beyond musketry range to a heavy concentrated cross fire of artillery in order to break their formation, check their impulse and bring them in as disordered a condition and with as much loss as possible to the point of attack.... [emphasis Hunt’s].¹¹⁵

While Hancock’s and Hunt’s arguments and points of view seem logical on the surface, a more detailed examination reveals serious flaws in each. For example, Hancock’s main premise, on which he based practically his entire argument, was his broad claim that he had total authority over the entire left-center of the Union battle line on July 3 (which included infantry belonging to three corps, artillery attached to four infantry corps, the Cavalry Corps, and the Artillery Reserve). The main problem with this argument, however, is that nearly all the primary sources available contradict or fail to support Hancock’s claim.

Other than Hancock’s post-war assertion, the only other primary account that obliquely gives him credit for commanding the entire left-center of the Union line was General Meade’s official report. But even this source mentions Hancock’s sphere of command only once and even then in an indirect fashion. In describing the repulse of Pickett’s Charge, Meade wrote, “During the assault, both Major-General Hancock, commanding the left center, and Brigadier-General Gibbon, commanding the Second Corps, were severely wounded.” Even in his own official report, Hancock never claimed he had such wide authority. In fact, he contradicted this idea when he wrote that, “I had the misfortune to lose the valuable services of a distinguished officer, Brig. Gen. John Gibbon, *commanding Second Division*, who was severely wounded” [emphasis added].¹¹⁶

No one else who filed a report on Gettysburg verified Hancock’s claim of command for July 3, including all of the officers who would have fallen under Hancock’s authority, if indeed he was in charge of the left-center of the Union line that day. This includes Maj. Gen. John Newton (commanding the 1st Corps), Maj. Gen. Abner Doubleday (commanding the 3rd Division, 1st Corps), Maj. Gen. David Birney (commanding the 3rd Corps), and all of the various artillery battery commanders assigned as support to that section of the line.¹¹⁷

Maj. Gen. John Newton flatly denied Hancock’s claims. Newton, whose 3rd Division (under Maj. Gen. Doubleday) was positioned along the 2nd Corps front, south of the famous Copse of Trees, wrote in his official report that “my line” was “between the left of General Hancock’s

[Brig. Gen. John Gibbon's division] and the right of General Sykes' [5th Corps positioned just south of the George Weikert farmstead]." After the war Newton stated bluntly:

I was not put under Hancock by Genl. Meade...nor did I ever hear of Hancock[']s claim until...months after the battle. Hancock never gave me an order, nor intimated the possibility of such a thing, though I saw a good deal of him during the...day.... I was...exercising all the functions of an independent command with Genl Meade's knowledge, and never heard of or encountered Genl Hancock's supervision. To conclude—I was not under Hancock's orders.... I was never directed to report to Hancock.¹¹⁸

Even more telling was the statement of Gen. John Gibbon, the man who supposedly took over the 2nd Corps while Hancock was commanding the Union's left-center. Writing in his official report just one month later, and referring to the time immediately before Pickett's Charge, Gibbon stated, "General Hancock having resumed command of the corps, I returned to my division...."¹¹⁹

It seems obvious that Hunt was correct when he later wrote, "No order...was issued extending Gen. Hancock's command beyond the Second Corps and the line it occupied. Nor did he by any act of authority...make known such extension...."¹²⁰

The only source that supported Hancock's claim to his expanded authority on July 3 was a secondary account by Francis Walker, Hancock's adjutant general at Gettysburg, who years after the war wrote emphatically but without supporting evidence, "Hancock had full authority over that line of the battle; he used that authority according to his own best judgment.... That is the substance of it."¹²¹

Another problem with Hancock's version concerns his reasons for ordering all of the artillery along Cemetery Ridge to reply to the Confederate bombardment. As discussed above, Hancock stated after the war that he ordered the batteries to fire in order to cover "a portion of my line on which there was no infantry...so that it would appear to the enemy that that point was strongly defended...." There are two problems with this statement. First, no section of the Union line matches Hancock's description that "there was no infantry...." The entire length of the Union line on Cemetery Ridge, including the left-center (which Hancock declared he had total authority over), was defended by Union infantry. The left-center included the central section of Cemetery Ridge, where McGilvery's batteries were located and where Hancock specifically stated there was no infantry. But McGilvery's batteries were supported by the infantry of Brig. Gen. John Caldwell's 1st Division, 2nd Corps. To McGilvery's right front, located along a small elevation known today as Codori Knoll, were three large regiments of Brig. Gen. George Stannard's Vermont Brigade (1st Corps). Just behind Stannard's regiments, and immediately to McGilvery's right was Brig. Gen. Roy Stone's brigade (1st Corps). Finally, just off to McGilvery's left rear was the bulk of the 3rd Corps, arranged in columns of regimental lines, by brigades. Far from having "no infantry," as Hancock stated, this small section of line was held by approximately 10,375 men. Even if the 3rd Corps is not included the total is still more than 4,450 infantry.¹²²

Hunt also correctly pointed out, in his February 1880 letter to General Sherman, another inconsistency in Hancock's statement for ordering McGilvery to open fire:

But the alleged prime fact, on which all this elaborate...argument is based, namely: "that there was no infantry there" is not fact. There was no lack of infantry on that part of the line, of this I had the evidence of my senses at the time, and have that of the government maps now: and besides, the same orders to open fire were given by him [Hancock] to Hazard's [2nd Corps] artillery at the other end of the crest, where there was no pretext of a deficiency of infantry, or of the undesirability of an attack on that point [emphasis Hunt's].¹²³

Freeman McGilvery also contradicted Hancock's account of why he wished the batteries to continue firing. According to Hunt, McGilvery talked to him about his encounter with Hancock several times in the months after the battle. Hunt wrote:

Gen. Hancock...noticed that the batteries...did not reply.... He soon after as Major McGilvery reported afterwards informed me galloped to his position, demanding with great emphasis why he did not fire, and ordered him to open at once, and fire rapidly. Major McGilvery, a cool and clear headed officer, replied that he had received special instructions, and the time had not come. Gen. Hancock then demanded from whom he received his instructions and he replied, "from the Chief of Artillery." ...Gen. Hancock then said "my troops cannot stand this cannonade and will not stand it if it is not replied to" and ordered him to open at once. This Maj. McGilvery declined to do before the time set by his own commander. He added in explanation of this to me "I was not under Gen. Hancock's orders, and I could not see why the Second Corps could not stand the fire as well as the other corps, or as well as my gunners...."¹²⁴

While one may argue that Hunt's retelling of the story above cannot be fully trusted, other sources corroborate McGilvery's account. Capt. John Bigelow, one of McGilvery's battery commanders, later related essentially the same version of events:

During several weeks of the winter of 1863-64, Col. McGilvery of the Maine Artillery....stopped with me at Brandy Station, as my guest. Repeatedly he...told me of his Experiences at Gettysburg, especially on July 3rd.... He told me that during the cannonade by the enemy Genl. Hancock came riding up in hot haste and wished him to reply to the enemy with his batteries, giving the old excuse that it was necessary in order to keep his men steady.... There again he [McGilvery] was in no wise under Genl. Hancock's orders, more than any other Superior Officer who might happen along. He was placed in command and received his instructions from Genl. Hunt.... And, if there was any responsibility in refusing to obey, he was willing to accept it, the more especially since Genl. Hancock seemed unnecessarily excited, was unduly emphatic and...his orders would result in a most dangerous and irreparable waste of ammunition.¹²⁵

Capt. Patrick Hart, commanding the 15th New York Battery, also supported McGilvery's account. Hart not only was an eyewitness to the entire event, but also controlled one of the batteries Hancock ordered to open fire on July 3. Hart later recalled:

Col. [Patrick] Kelly, Col. McGilvery and I were standing in my Battery when Genl Hancock rode up and asked why in hell do you not open fire with those Batteries. Col. McGilvery answered that our instructions were to reserve our fire as long as we possibly could. General Hancock answered with an oath that unless our Batteries opened fire his troops would not stand it much longer.¹²⁶

Hancock, of course, flatly denied ever making such statements, writing in 1879:

...I never, to Major McGilvery or any one else, made use of the expression which Colonel Hunt attributes to me as having come to him through Major McGilvery; and I feel convinced that the officers and soldiers of the Second Corps will rest assured that I never said and never could have said, that they could not, or that they would not, stand that cannonade or any other. The troops of that corps had

breasted too many storms of fire to shrink even before Lee's one hundred guns at Gettysburg.¹²⁷

The weight of evidence, however, stands against Hancock. Not only does the weight of sources contradict his statements but so do the accounts given by two of his very own staff officers. Both Lt. Col. Charles Morgan, Hancock's chief of staff, and Lt. Col. Francis Walker, Hancock's adjutant general, made statements which essentially pointed to the morale issue as the main reason their former commander ordered the batteries to fire. Morgan stated, "General Hancock insisted and properly that the enemy's fire should be stoutly returned on account of the moral effect on the infantry...." Ironically, Walker contradicted Hancock while attempting to defend him in his 1880s *Battles and Leaders* article, "General Hancock and the Artillery at Gettysburg:"

...the loss of morale in the infantry...might have resulted from allowing them to be scourged, at will, by the hostile artillery.... Every soldier knows how trying and often how demoralizing it is to endure artillery without reply.... [Hancock had] that intimate knowledge of the temper of troops which should qualify him...to judge what was required to keep them in heart and courage under the Confederate cannonade at Gettysburg, and to bring them up to the final struggle, prepared in spirit to meet the fearful ordeal of Longstreet's charge.¹²⁸

Perhaps the most damaging rebuttal to Hancock's argument is the important question that must be asked when evaluating this controversy: What was the result of Hancock's orders for the artillery to open fire? The answer is that Hancock's directive caused his own 2nd Corps batteries to deplete their long-range ammunition by the time Pickett's Charge began. Captain Hart later recalled that during the Confederate advance "Hancock['s] arty was as silent as the grave. They had exhausted their ammunition...." Captain Bigelow was even more pointed when he wrote:

...McGilvery...was ready with an abundance of ammunition, and from his batteries gave a heavy and destructive fire. The fire from Hazard on the contrary was very light, probably because his ammunition had been expended as General Hancock ordered.¹²⁹

Hancock even admitted in his own official report that during the cannonade, "The artillery of the corps...continued their fire until only canister remained to them, and then ceased." In this same report Hancock blamed the "feeble fire" of his batteries during the attack to the guns being "imperfectly supplied with ammunition," which is specious for it was Hancock, as the corps commander, who bore responsibility to see that his batteries were properly supplied with ammunition.¹³⁰

Not surprisingly, Hunt was sharply critical of the consequences of Hancock's orders. Hunt employed Hancock's own words as ammunition against him:

"No attempt was made to check the advance of the enemy until the first line had arrived within about 700 yards...when a feeble fire of artillery was opened upon it, but with no material effect...."

Why was this? Simply because under his own imperative orders to Hazard, and against the earnest remonstrances of the latter, the artillery of his corps had thrown away in an utterly useless cannonade every round of its long range ammunition, and therefore it *could not* open on the advancing troops until they came within canister range of his...batteries. Of course the fire was "feeble".... He [Hancock] complains that I had ordered all the artillery both of the Second Corps and of the reserve, to withhold its fire. That is true, and it was with the

object of making the advancing troops pass through, not a “feeble fire of artillery” but a heavy cross-fire from the whole line...from the first moment of their advance and before they came under infantry fire. His counter orders...*resulted in the artillery* fiasco he describes and moreover in a fearful loss of life and a narrow escape from defeat [emphasis Hunt’s].¹³¹

The artillery chief later opined that Hancock “seems to have given his orders on the spur of the moment, without reflection, certainly without forecast, and rushing into the trap set for us, he played the enemy’s game by throwing away his own ammunition during the cannonade without taking proper means to replace it for the assault....” He continued:

Had my instructions been followed here [by the 2nd Corps batteries], as they were by McGilvery, I do not believe that Pickett’s division would have reached our line. We lost not only the fire of one-third of our guns, but the resulting cross-fire, which would have doubled its value.¹³²

In Hunt’s professional opinion Hancock had blundered: “My arrangements were broken up by Gen. Hancock and I have always believed he seriously imperiled the battle....”¹³³

While Hunt underlined the flaws in Hancock’s argument, his own version of events was not without error. The most serious of these is Hunt’s principal belief, upon which he based the very foundation of his argument, “...at the battle of Gettysburg I commanded the artillery, in pursuance of & full authority to do so specially vested in me by the Commanding General.”¹³⁴

As discussed earlier, the validity of this point is questionable for several reasons. First, it must be recalled that Hunt’s authority as chief of artillery, under Major General Hooker’s leadership of the army, was very limited, being almost purely administrative. What changed his status and the scope of his authority, Hunt claimed, were the verbal orders Meade gave to him on the morning of July 2 to “see that the artillery was properly posted....” Thus, the “full authority...vested...by the Commanding General,” which Hunt claimed Meade had granted him, were never put into writing. Secondly, and more importantly, Meade did not think that these verbal orders “recognized” Hunt’s authority to “command” all of the army’s artillery. Hunt later admitted as much when he described this incident in 1884, writing that Meade “directed me to...see that the artillery was properly posted. He had thus recognized my ‘command’ of the artillery, indeed, he did not know it had been suspended. I resumed it, therefore, and continued it to the end of the battle.” Thus his authority as “commander-in-chief of the artillery in their plenitude,” was based on what Hunt even admitted was an “assumption.”¹³⁵

Hancock was quick to point out this questionable reasoning on Hunt’s part, stating:

The fact is when General Meade took command of the Army of the Potomac, June 28th, Colonel Hunt was not in command of the artillery.... [His] exact status in that Army, as fixed by General Hooker, was unquestionably...in force at the battle of Gettysburg, as General Meade had not revoked or modified them, although Colonel Hunt seems to have reasoned himself into the belief that they were rescinded by certain verbal instructions....

In well-regulated armies high commands are not left to be deduced by subordinates through the operation of logic, but are conferred in orders. Would not General Meade have let the rest of the army know it, if he had intended to enlarge to this extent the command of one of his officers...? It is due to General Meade to say that I never knew him to undertake such an extravagant and informal delegation of authority as that which Colonel Hunt claims to have received.... The alleged delegation of power was verbal.... Was there ever in a modern army so flimsy a pretext for so much assumption?¹³⁶

The irony is that Hancock had invoked the same reasoning in his claim that he commanded the entire left-center of the Union battle line on July 3. Neither Hancock nor Hunt had the proof of written orders to back up their respective claims.

Meade's August 21, 1863, directive (General Order No. 82), which spelled out more specifically the duties and authority of the army's chief of artillery, does further damage to Hunt's assertion that he had full control over all the army's artillery. These orders did not give Hunt the full power he claimed to have had on July 3, 1863 and specified that only "artillery not attached to other troops will be commanded by the chief of artillery." Furthermore, it declared that the chief "will give no orders that would interfere with the military control exercised by the commander of a corps or division over the batteries attached to their troops...." Thus, Hunt was prohibited from giving orders to any batteries, other than those belonging to the Artillery Reserve, "unless directed to do so by the general commanding the army." Hancock clearly pointed out that Hunt did not do this on July 3 at Gettysburg:

Although Colonel Hunt...takes the ground that, in giving orders to my artillery, he was acting for General Meade and not for himself, it does not appear that he mentioned General Meade's name.... [Hunt] had not consulted the general [Meade] in relation to the matter....¹³⁷

Another problem plaguing Hunt's arguments are the fact that they rested in large part on evidence that either appeared to be based on hindsight or on eyewitnesses whose statements could not be verified. An example of how hindsight crept into Hunt's memory of the battle appears in his 1875 letter to General Sherman, in which he claimed to have foreseen the great Confederate cannonade and assault on July 3:

...on the morning of July 3...I passed over the position occupied by Hancock's corps, and found that the enemy was posting large bodies of artillery opposite our centre and left...a distance of over two miles, Whilst it was possible that this was only to replace infantry...or perhaps simply to strengthen their line against a counter attack...it appeared to me certain that it indicated an attack on that front, to be preceded by a heavy cannonade, with the intent to weaken our line at the point of attack, but above all...to induce us to throw away our ammunition *in reply*, previous to the assault, so that his infantry might pass without serious injury or disorder over...his advance.... With such an object it was manifest that the enemy's cannonade would be violent, long continued and followed immediately by on its cessation by a heavy assault... [emphasis Hunt's].¹³⁸

When he read this Hancock was quick to point out that Hunt had not been so clairvoyant on July 3:

Colonel Hunt furnishes another example...of foreseeing events long after they have occurred. He probably confounds information which he has gained and theories which he has constructed since July 3, 1863, with what he knew and what he said at that *time*. ...he claims to have known in the morning of the 3d of July, an hour or two before the enemy's cannonade opened, that it was coming; that it "would be furious and long-continued"; [and] that an assault would follow the exhaustion of the enemy's artillery ammunition.... This is merely an attempt to establish the extravagant claims of what is known as "wisdom after the fact".... The effort will not stand the test even of comparison with Colonel Hunt's own accounts given at an earlier day, and therefore more reliable as to

what he knew at the time. When before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, April 4, 1864, he said that starting about 10 a.m. on the 3d of July, he moved from Cemetery Ridge “along the right to Round Top, as I saw the enemy were placing batteries in position in the woods opposite our lines; *whether with a view to opening on us preparatory to an attack, or fearing an attack from us, I could not judge.*”] This shows how much he really *knew at the time* [emphasis Hancock’s].¹³⁹

Indeed, Lee had no plans for a “long-continued” bombardment. He anticipated his artillery would play a vital supporting role during the infantry assault itself, and thus the cannonade had to be of short duration, possibly thirty minutes, in order to conserve the limited Confederate artillery ammunition for the attack.¹⁴⁰

As for the criticism that Hunt’s argument is based on the statements of eyewitnesses that could not be verified, one needs to look no further than his heavy reliance on the words of men such as Lt. Col. Freeman McGilvery or even General Meade. Hunt used the statements of these two men to strengthen his claims, yet both were dead by the time the controversy heated up after the war (McGilvery died in September 1864 and Meade in November 1872). Meade’s verbal orders on the morning of July 2 were the core of Hunt’s entire argument giving him the authority he claimed to exercise during the battle. McGilvery’s opinion of the impact of Hancock’s interference with the Artillery Reserve batteries on July 3 added great weight to Hunt’s argument. Thus, with the deaths of these two eyewitnesses Hunt’s version of the controversy lost some credibility, as neither could be questioned, nor their statements verified. Hancock criticized Hunt in both of these instances, writing, “General Meade was dead when Colonel Hunt wrote [his 1875 letter to General Sherman]. A conversation such as this, twelve years old, is not to be relied upon, especially when but one party is left to repeat it....” As for using McGilvery’s statements, Hancock mocked Hunt for “citing...twelve years after the events the verbal statements of a witness who is dead.”¹⁴¹

With all of the point and counterpoint between these two distinguished officers, the question remains: Who was right? Hancock or Hunt? Did the back and forth between the two clear the mist and reveal the unvarnished truth? While it is impossible to give definitive answers to these questions in an essay of this length, some conclusions can be drawn from the evidence.

First, Hancock was absolutely correct in his statement that he commanded *all* of the units along his line. Whether this line was the entire “left center of our Army,” as he claimed (thus including the 1st and 3rd infantry, along with the batteries of the 6th Corps, cavalry corps, and Artillery Reserve, assigned to that sector of the line) is still debatable. But it certainly meant his own 2nd Corps, including its artillery batteries. It is undeniable that Hancock had every right to order those last-named batteries to open fire during the cannonade on July 3.¹⁴²

Did Hancock’s orders to the batteries along his line really seriously imperil the battle’s outcome, as Hunt claimed, or was Hunt overstating his case? Since the attack was repulsed it would appear that this is an exaggeration. Yet, one might reconsider that assumption when confronted by another valid point made by Hunt, “Had McGilvery also exhausted his ammunition before the assault, the enemy would in all probability have succeeded in carrying the position.” What if McGilvery had followed Hancock’s orders to open fire with his batteries during the cannonade?¹⁴³

As for Hunt’s belief that “Had my [pre-cannonade] orders been fully carried out...[by the 2nd Corps batteries], as they were by McGilvery” the Confederates’ infantry “would have been...driven back before reaching our position,” one only need to ask the battle-hardened veterans of the Army of Northern Virginia. They emphatically disagreed. As one former Confederate soldier wrote:

No friend of the Confederate soldier will permit himself to engage in the dastardly effort of attempting to pluck a single leaf from the laurel crown of achievement which adorns the head of the spirits of the brave Confederate soldiers who...[advanced] up the slope of Cemetery Ridge...[during] that famed assault....¹⁴⁴

Taken as a whole, however, Henry Hunt's arguments seem to make the most sense. Despite the fact that the question of authority appeared repeatedly (who had it, how much, and whose orders did the various batteries have to obey), when boiled down to its simplest terms, the Hunt-Hancock controversy is about the proper use of artillery. Undoubtedly, Henry Hunt understood the proper use of artillery better than Winfield Hancock. By concentrating solely on how the Union artillery was used on July 3, 1863, it seems obvious that it would have been much more effective if Hunt's orders had been obeyed. Essentially, if Hancock had not ordered the 2nd Corps batteries to fire during the cannonade (countermanding Hunt's orders), then they would have retained enough long-range ammunition to assist in the repulse of the Confederate infantry attack that followed. It follows, therefore, that the damage inflicted upon the Southern infantry would have been much greater. Hancock's adjutant general, Francis Walker, all but admitted this in his *Battles and Leaders* article, writing, "Unquestionably it would have been a strong point for us if...the limber chests of the artillery would have been full when Pickett's and Pettigrew's divisions began their great charge."¹⁴⁵

The Hunt-Hancock controversy will never be fully settled, and future historians will undoubtedly continue the debate. At the time both generals sensed that it would spill beyond their lifetimes. Complaining about Sherman's suppression of his 1880 letter, Hunt wrote:

Gen. Sherman...persuaded the Secretary of War to withhold it and file it in the War Dept. "for *future* history." I prefer that it should be so far known as to have its benefit in *present* history [emphasis Hunt's].¹⁴⁶

As for Hancock, in a letter to Sherman about Hunt, he wrote, "I feel called upon to notice the attempt he makes to detract from my reputation.... Let history settle that."¹⁴⁷

The author wishes to thank Bert Barnett and Chuck Teague for their assistance with research and analysis in the completion of this essay.

Notes

¹ Francis Walker, "Gen. Hancock and the Artillery at Gettysburg," in Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, 4 vols. (New York: The Century Co., 1884-1887), 3:386; Henry J. Hunt to Gen. William T. Sherman, February 25, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress [Hereafter cited as Henry Hunt Papers.], also quoted in David L. Ladd and Audrey J. Ladd, eds., *The Bachelor Papers, Gettysburg In Their Own Words*, 3 vols. (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Press, 1994), 2: 807. See endnote 92 for an explanation concerning the date this letter was written.

² Hunt to Gen. William T. Sherman, February 25, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers, also quoted in Ladd and Ladd, 2: 807.

³ Johnson and Buel, 3:386.

⁴ Edward Longacre, *The Man Behind the Guns, A Biography of General Henry Jackson Hunt, Chief of Artillery, Army of the Potomac* (South Brunswick, New York: A.S. Barnes & Co., 1977), 30, 31-83. Hunt was born in 1819 in the Michigan Territory. Not only were Hunt's father and grandfather officers in the American army, but a Hunt ancestor two centuries before had served in the British Royal Army. In Mexico Hunt was brevetted to captain for gallantry at the battles of Contreras and Churubusco and to major at the Battle of Chapultepec. He also served with the 2nd U.S. Artillery during the Utah War in 1857 against the Mormons. His permanent (regular army) promotions to captain and major were in 1852 and 1861, respectively. See, Longacre, 19-22, 47-58.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 67-69.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 88-123.

⁷ General Orders No. 94, June 20, 1862, Records of Headquarters, Artillery Reserve, Army of the Potomac, RG-393, National Archives, as quoted in, Longacre, 112.

⁸ U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), Series I, 21:827. [Hereafter cited as *OR*.]

⁹ *Ibid.*, 827-828.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 828.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² L. Van Loan Naiswald, *Grape and Canister, The Story of the Field Artillery of the Army of the Potomac, 1861-1865* (Washington, D.C.: Zenger Publishing Co., 1960), 29-31.

¹³ *OR*, Series I, 25(2):471-472; Naiswald, 329-330.

¹⁴ *OR*, Series I, 25(1):252; *OR*, Series I, 27(1):155-168, 242-243. In his testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, Hunt stated, "There was a great deficiency of field officers to command the artillery.... In fact...there were over 400 guns in the army at the time of the battle of Chancellorsville, with nearly a thousand artillery carriages, large trains of ammunition, some 10,000 men, and 8,000 or 9,000 artillery horses; and for the command and management of that force, including the administrative duties, there were but five field officers in the army, and including myself, but six above the grade of captains." See, *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War at the Second Session Thirty-Eight Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865): 94. [Hereafter cited as *JCCW*.]

¹⁵ Longacre, 35.

¹⁶ Longacre, 36.

¹⁷ *JCCW*, 92

¹⁸ *OR*, Series I, 25(1):252. Hunt went so far as to testify before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War that, "I do not know that any person commanded the artillery, in the proper sense of the word, from the time General Hooker deprived me of the command down to the time he was relieved from the command of the army...." (See, *JCCW*, 93)

¹⁹ Hunt, "The Second Day at Gettysburg," in Johnson and Buel, 3:293; *JCCW*, 448; *OR*, Series I, 27(1):232. Hunt's "assumption" was just that, as Meade never made this change in Hunt's status official.

As a matter of fact it was impossible for the new army commander to do so, as Meade was not even aware any type of “change” had been made.

²⁰ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):237.

²¹ *JCCW*, 452. Hunt testified “that night I was down at the artillery reserve, refitting and reorganizing the batteries that had been cut up that day. I received a message from General Meade’s headquarters...stating that both General Tyler, who commanded the reserve artillery, and myself, were wanted at headquarters. I told General Tyler that it was impossible for me to go up just then, but if the question came up of falling back, to cast my vote against it...”

²² David Jordon, *Winfield Scott Hancock, A Soldier’s Life* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1996), 5, 11, 13-19, 28-34, 36, 40-76; Stewart Sifaks, *Who Was Who in the Union* (New York: Facts on File, 1988), 175-176; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 202-203. Hancock was brevetted to 1st lieutenant for gallantry at the battles of Contreras and Churubusco.

²³ Edward N. Whittier, “The Left Attack (Ewell’s) at Gettysburg,” *Civil War Papers, Read Before the Commandery of the State of Massachusetts, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States* (Boston: Commandery of the State of Massachusetts, 1900), 1:76. Whittier was a lieutenant in the 5th Maine Battery, which was just finishing its retreat through the town.

²⁴ Frank A. Haskell, *The Battle of Gettysburg* (Boston: The Mudge Press, 1908), 9. Haskell was a lieutenant on Brig. Gen. John Gibbon’s staff.

²⁵ John N. Craig to Henry Hunt, July 17, 1879, Henry Hunt Papers; Benjamin W. Thompson, “Recollections of War Times” (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Unpublished manuscript, 1910), photocopy in Gettysburg National Military Park Library [Hereafter cited as GNMP.], 39; Statement of Maj. Gen. William Farrar Smith, as quoted in Cornelia Hancock, *Reminiscences of Winfield Scott Hancock* (New York: Charles I. Webster & Co, 1887, Reprint: Digital Scanning, Inc., 1999), 235-236.

²⁶ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):370-372, 425, 453, 457, 469, 472, 474.

²⁷ John Gibbon, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1928), 140-143; John Gibbon, “The Council of War on the Second Day” in Johnson and Buel, 3:313-314.

²⁸ St. Clair Mulholland, *The Story of the 116th Pennsylvania Infantry* (Philadelphia: F. McManus, 1899), 377; Gibbon, *Personal Recollections*, 145.

²⁹ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):237-238; *JCCW*, 451; Hunt, “The Third Day at Gettysburg,” in Johnson and Buel, 3:371-372.

³⁰ John W. Busey and David Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg* (Hightstown, New Jersey: Longstreet House, 1994), 130, 136, 142, 147, 148-149, 173, 178, 184, 191-193; Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *Fighting for the Confederacy, The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 245-246, 247-250; E.P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate, A Critical Narrative* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1907), 418-422.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *OR*, Series I, 27(2):308, 320, 351-352, 359; Gallagher, ed., *Fighting for the Confederacy*, 245-246; Alexander, *Military Memoirs*, 420-422; Hunt, “The Third Day at Gettysburg,” in Johnson and Buel, 3:372.

³³ Hunt, “The Third Day at Gettysburg,” in Johnson and Buel, 3:372; E. Porter Alexander, “The Great Charge and Artillery Fighting at Gettysburg,” in Johnson and Buel, 3:364; Gallagher, ed., *Fighting for the Confederacy*, 245-246; Alexander, *Military Memoirs*, 422-423. Lee realized that if the cannonade contained between 140 and 150 cannons, as he envisioned, it would be, at that time, the largest artillery barrage ever ordered in United States history, and thus “overwhelming in scope.”

³⁴ *OR*, Series I, 27(2):320.

³⁵ Hunt, “The Third Day at Gettysburg,” in Johnson and Buel, 3:372.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):480.

³⁸ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):888. McGilvery’s promotion to lieutenant colonel occurred just a week before the battle (June 23, 1863) and thus many participants referred to him by his lower rank.

³⁹ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):885.

⁴⁰ Hunt, “The Third Day at Gettysburg,” in Johnson and Buel, 3:372.

⁴¹ Francis A. Walker, *History of the Second Army Corps in the Army of the Potomac* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1887), 292.

⁴² *OR*, Series I, 27(1):372-373.

⁴³ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):372-373; Gibbon, *Personal Recollections*: 149.

⁴⁴ *OR*, Series I, 27(1): 883-884.

⁴⁵ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):748-750, 884, 885, 888; Herb Crumb, ed., *The Eleventh Corps Artillery at Gettysburg, The Papers of Major Thomas Ward Osborn, Chief of Artillery* (Hamilton, New York: Edmonstone Publishing, Inc., 1991), 69, 70.

⁴⁶ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):480.

⁴⁷ There is no direct primary evidence or sources that indicate that Hancock ordered either Capt. Jabez Daniel's 9th Michigan Battery or Lt. Evan Thomas's Battery C, 4th United States Artillery to open fire. There is no official report for Thomas, and Daniel's report only mentions orders being given by Maj. Gen. John Newton and Maj. Gen. Abner Doubleday. See, *OR*, Series I, 27(1):1022-1023. However, with both being along the Union left center it seems likely that Hancock probably did so (it being unlikely that he would have neglected to give orders to these batteries, when McGilvery's guns, even further south, were ordered to open fire).

⁴⁸ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):885, 888; John Nicholson, ed., *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg, Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Monuments* (Harrisburg: William Stanley Ray, State Printers, 1904), 2:911. Thompson's battery was armed with five 3-inch rifles, Phillips had six 3-inch rifles, and Hart's battery was equipped with four Napoleons.

⁴⁹ Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers, see also Ladd and Ladd, 1:432-433. (See endnote 89 for an explanation concerning the date of this letter.)

⁵⁰ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):884.

⁵¹ Hunt, "The Third Day at Gettysburg," in Johnson and Buel, 3:373-374; "Account of Brig. Gen. Henry Hunt," in Ladd and Ladd, 1:430-431; *OR*, Series I, 27(1):874, 884.

⁵² Hunt, "The Third Day at Gettysburg," in Johnson and Buel, 3:374. There is a small controversy concerning which officer ordered the Union artillery to cease fire. Three men claimed the honor: Meade, Hunt, and Maj. Thomas Osborn (see, Crumb, ed., *The Eleventh Corps Artillery*, 39-40). More than likely Meade and Hunt had the same idea, independently of each other, around the same time. Osborn stated in his official report that he ordered his batteries to cease fire (see, *OR*, Series I, 27(1):750), but it was in his post-war account where he asserted that he convinced Hunt to cease fire, thus claiming all of credit for himself.

⁵³ *JCCW*, 451.

⁵⁴ Henry W. Bingham, "Memoirs of Hancock," 1872, courtesy Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, photocopy in GNMP.

⁵⁵ Henry Bingham to his sister, July 18, 1863, in possession of Professor George D. Wolf, Lock Haven State College, Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, transcript copy in GNMP.

⁵⁶ *JCCW*, 451; *OR*, Series I, 27(1), 239; Alexander, *Military Memoirs*, 423; Gallagher, ed., *Fighting for the Confederacy*, 258-259.

⁵⁷ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):884.

⁵⁸ G. W. Finley, "The Confederate Story," *Buffalo Evening News*, May 29, 1894, copy in Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, vol. 4:43, GNMP Archives.

⁵⁹ J. H. Moore, "Longstreet's Assault," *Philadelphia Weekly Times*, November 4, 1882.

⁶⁰ Crumb, ed., *Eleventh Corps Artillery*, 41-42.

⁶¹ Randolph A. Shotwell, "Virginia and North Carolina in the Battle of Gettysburg," *Our Living and Our Dead*, vol. 4, March to August, 1876 (Raleigh, North Carolina: S. D. Pool, Editor), 91-92.

⁶² *OR*, Series I, 27(1):353, 373-375, 417-418, 428.

⁶³ Henry Hunt to "Dear Mary," July 4, 1863, Henry Hunt Papers.

⁶⁴ Address by Andrew Cowan in, New York Monuments Commission, *In Memoriam, Alexander Stewart Webb, 1835-1911* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., Printers, 1916), 66-67. Temporarily pinned beneath his dead horse, Hunt was quickly freed by some of Cowan's men, at which point he mounted one of the battery's horses and rode away. As he departed, Cowan recalled, much to his dislike, Hunt "calling over his shoulder to me: 'Look out or you will kill our men,' meaning our infantry behind the low wall in front of my guns. But I had no thought of firing over their heads at such close range." (See Address of Andrew Cowan, *Memoriam*, 67). Unfortunately, Cowan's battery did just that, resulting in the death of at least four men belonging to the 69th Pennsylvania and 59th New York. See, Scott Hartwig, "It Struck Horror to Us All," *The Gettysburg Magazine* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Press, January 1991), Issue 4: 97.

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- ⁶⁵ Allan Nevin, ed., *Diary of Battle, The Personal Journals of Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, 1861-1865* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), 252-253.
- ⁶⁶ Hunt to Count de Paris, July, 1877, Henry Hunt Papers.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):366.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid. Two 2nd Corps batteries, totaling twelve guns, were withdrawn around this time (Lt. Fred Brown's, B, 1st Rhode Island, and Capt. William Arnold's A, 1st Rhode Island). Hancock's complaint, however, lacks accuracy, for Brown's battery was replaced by Capt. Andrew Cowan's 1st New York just as the assault began, and Arnold's guns were replaced by both Lt. Gulian Weir's C, 5th United States, and Capt. Robert Fitzhugh's K, 1st New York (see, *OR*, Series I, 27(1):239, 480, 874, 880, 896).
- ⁷⁰ Hunt to Count de Paris, July, 1877, Henry Hunt Papers.
- ⁷¹ Hunt to Sherman, February 25, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers, also in Ladd and Ladd, 2:819-820.
- ⁷² *OR*, Series I, 27(1):884; Hunt to Count de Paris, July, 1877, Henry Hunt Papers.
- ⁷³ *JCCW*, 448; *OR*, Series I, 27(3):726.
- ⁷⁴ Hunt to A. A. Humphreys, July 26, 1863 and July 27, 1863 and July 30, 1863, all in Henry Hunt Papers; Humphreys to Hunt, July 27, 1863, Henry Hunt Papers. Hunt's final comments are quoted from his July 30 letter to A. A. Humphreys, and in response to Humphrey's suggestion that Hunt's authority be defined by General Orders 110, issued by Gen. McClellan in 1862, which were more administrative in nature.
- ⁷⁵ Hunt to Humphreys, July 30, 1863, Henry Hunt Papers.
- ⁷⁶ Hunt to A. A. Humphreys, July 26, 1863 and July 27, 1863; Humphreys to Hunt, July 27, 1863, all in, Henry Hunt Papers; Longacre, *Man Behind the Guns*, 180.
- ⁷⁷ *OR*, Series I, 29(2):84-85.
- ⁷⁸ Nevins, ed., *Diary of Battle*, 276-277.
- ⁷⁹ *OR*, Series I, 42(2):574-582.
- ⁸⁰ *OR*, Series I, 42(2):579-580.
- ⁸¹ *OR*, Series I, 42(2):758-761
- ⁸² Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 204, 242; Jordan, *Hancock, A Soldiers' Life*, 176-213; Longacre, *Man Behind the Guns*, 222-233. Immediately following the war, Hancock oversaw the executions of the Lincoln assassination conspirators, then commanded the Military Department of Missouri, served two brief tours of duty on the Plains, commanded the 5th Military District in the Reconstructed South (with headquarters in New Orleans) and was finally assigned to the Department of the East. Hunt was assigned to numerous duties and posts, including the command of the Frontier District (with headquarters at Ft. Smith, Arkansas), numerous military boards in Washington, D.C. (including the "Permanent Artillery Board" that lasted eleven months), Ft. Independence (Castle Island, Boston Harbor), Ft. Sullivan (Eastport, Maine), Ft. Jefferson (Florida), Ft. Adams (New England), Malone, New York, and commanding the District of North Carolina. He was also made colonel of the 5th United States Artillery.
- ⁸³ *Report of the Secretary of War* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1874), 1:xxviii.
- ⁸⁴ House of Representative Bill 844 "Revised Army Regulations," Act of July 15, 1870, as quoted in, House of Representatives Report No. 592, *Reports of the Committees of the House of Representatives for the First Session, of the Forty-Third Congress, 1873-'74*, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1874), 1. [Hereafter cited as *HR* No. 592.]
- ⁸⁵ *HR* No. 592, 2.
- ⁸⁶ Hancock to Sherman, January 22, 1874 in, *HR* No. 592, 2-3, 7.
- ⁸⁷ Hancock to Sherman, January 22, 1874 in, *HR* No. 592, 8.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ⁸⁹ Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers; see also Ladd and Ladd, 1:424-435. The letter is ten pages long when printed in single spaced, 11-point type. The date of Hunt's letter is questionable, as the original copy in the Hunt Papers lacks a date, and the printed version in the Bachelder Papers (which appears to be a copy of the letter which Hunt forwarded to Bachelder) is January 20, 1873. This, of course, cannot be correct, as Hancock's letter was dated January 22, 1874. More than likely, the letter was written in 1875 and the date on the Bachelder version is a typographical or transcription error. [It will, therefore, will be cited hereafter as Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers].
- ⁹⁰ Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers; see also Ladd and Ladd, 1:435.
- ⁹¹ Hancock to Sherman, January 21, 1879, in "Papers in Relation to the Reorganization of the Army," 46th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 14, 1879, *The Miscellaneous Documents of*

the Senate of the United States for the First Session of the Forty-Sixth Congress (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1879), 41-46. [Hereafter cited as “Papers in Relation to the Reorganization of the Army,” Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 14.]

⁹² Hunt to Sherman, February 25, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers; see also Ladd and Ladd, 2:790-829; Sherman to Hunt, February 29, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers. Hunt’s second letter to Sherman was seventy-seven pages long in hand-written script, and just over thirty-seven pages long in single-spaced 11-point type. As before (see endnote 89), the date of Hunt’s second letter, as it appears in the Bachelder Papers (February 1882) is incorrect. Hunt’s second letter was definitely written in February 1880. It will, therefore, be cited hereafter as Hunt to Sherman, February 25, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers.] See, Hunt to Gen. Townsend, Adjutant General, U.S. Army, February 25, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers.

⁹³ Hunt to Sherman, March 9, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers; Sherman to Hunt, February 29, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers.

⁹⁴ Hunt to Sherman, March 9, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers.

⁹⁵ Hunt to Bachelder, February 9, 1881, Ladd and Ladd, 2:741; Hunt to Bachelder, May 16, 1882, Ladd and Ladd, 2:866.

⁹⁶ Hunt to Sherman, March 9, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers; Hunt to Bachelder, July 27, 1880, Ladd and Ladd, 1:674; Hunt to Bachelder, February 9, 1881, Henry Hunt Papers. Hancock lost the 1880 presidential election to James Garfield by a mere 7,023 votes. Eventually Hunt published a short article in the *New York Tribune*, “The Artillery at Gettysburg, Its Effectiveness Curtailed,” (July 30, 1880) but this was an extremely short story compared to the full length, seventy-seven-page letter he had written to Sherman.

⁹⁷ Hunt to Bachelder, July 27, 1880, Ladd and Ladd, 1:675; Hunt to Bachelder, May 2, 1881, Ladd and Ladd, 2:752.

⁹⁸ *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1874, 1:xxviii; Hunt to Sherman, February 25, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers; also see in Ladd and Ladd, 2:801.

⁹⁹ Hunt to Sherman, March 9, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers.

¹⁰⁰ Hunt, “The First Day at Gettysburg,” “The Second Day at Gettysburg,” “The Third Day at Gettysburg,”; Francis Walker, “General Hancock and the Artillery at Gettysburg,” Hunt, “A Rejoinder by Henry J. Hunt,” all in Johnson and Buel, 3:255-284, 290-313, 369-385, 385-386, 386-387; Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 204.

¹⁰¹ Hancock to Sherman, January 22, 1874, in *HR* No. 592, 8.

¹⁰² *JCCW*, 407-408; Hancock to Sherman, January 22, 1874, in *HR*, 592, 8; Hancock to Sherman, January 21, 1879, in “Papers in Relation to the Reorganization of the Army,” Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 14, 42. The left-center of the Union line on Cemetery Ridge that day consisted of the 2nd Corps, 3rd Corps, Maj. Gen. Abner Doubleday’s 3rd Division, 1st Corps, and fourteen batteries (in addition to the those belonging to the 2nd Corps), as follows: Capt. James Cooper (B, 1st New York, 1st Corps), Capt. Andrew Cowan (1st New York, 6th Corps), Capt. Jabez Daniels (9th Michigan, Cavalry Corps), Capt. W. D. Rank (3rd Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery, Cavalry Corps), Capt. Charles Phillips (E, 1st Massachusetts, Artillery Reserve), Capt. Patrick Hart (15th New York, Artillery Reserve), Capt. James Thompson (C & F, 1st Pennsylvania, Artillery Reserve), Capt. Robert Fitzhugh (K, 1st New York, Artillery Reserve), Lt. Edwin Dow (6th Maine, Artillery Reserve), Lt. Augustin Parsons (A, 1st New Jersey, Artillery Reserve), Capt. Nelson Ames (G, 1st New York, Artillery Reserve), Lt. Gulian Weir (C, 5th U.S., Artillery Reserve), Capt. John Sterling (2nd Connecticut, Artillery Reserve), and Lt. Evan Thomas (C, 4th U.S., Artillery Reserve).

¹⁰³ Hancock to Sherman, January 22, 1874 in *HR*, 592, 8; Hancock to Sherman, January 21, 1879 and published in, “Papers in Relation to the Reorganization of the Army,” Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 14, 42, 45.

¹⁰⁴ Hancock to Sherman, January 22, 1874, in *HR*, No. 592, 8. Note that, in an apparent attempt to add weight to his arguments, Hancock always referred to Hunt by his post-war rank (colonel) and not the rank he held at Gettysburg (brigadier general).

¹⁰⁵ Gallagher, ed., *Fighting for the Confederacy*, 260.

¹⁰⁶ Hunt, “The Second Day at Gettysburg,” Johnson and Buel, 3:293.

¹⁰⁷ Hunt to Gen. Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers, also see in, Ladd and Ladd, 1:426-427.

¹⁰⁸ *JCCW*, 448.

¹⁰⁹ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):232-233, 749, 756, 758, 779, 869-870, 896-897; Hunt, “The Second Day at Gettysburg,” Johnson and Buel, 3:297.

¹¹⁰ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):117; Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers; also see in Ladd and Ladd, 1:431.

¹¹¹ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):359, 481, 585, 661, 751, 871. No report appears in the Official Records for Capt. Charles Tompkins, who commanded the 6th Corps artillery brigade. The two officers commanding the artillery brigades assigned to the Cavalry Corps (Capt. James Robertson and Capt. John Tidball) submitted their reports directly to corps headquarters (see, *OR*, Series I, 27(1):1022, 1029). The two artillery brigade commanders who did not submit their reports to Hunt were Capt. John Hazard (2nd Corps) and Capt. George Randolph (3rd Corps). Ironically, Brig. Gen. Robert Tyler, commanding the five brigades that made up the artillery reserve, submitted his report directly to army headquarters, instead of Hunt (see *OR*, Series I, 27(1):875).

¹¹² *JCCW*, 448; Hunt to Sherman, February 25, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers, also see in Ladd and Ladd, 2:790-829.

¹¹³ Hunt to Sherman, February 25, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers, also see in Ladd and Ladd, 2:796-801; Hunt “The Third Day at Gettysburg,” Johnson and Buel, 3:372; Hunt, “Rejoinder by Henry J. Hunt,” Johnson and Buel, 3:387. Baron Antoine-Henri Jomini was a Swiss-born member of Napoleon’s staff and expert on Napoleonic tactics. His *The Art of War* (1838) was the authoritative study of tactics. The original quote comes from the 1862 English translation of *The Art of War* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1862), 318-319.

¹¹⁴ Hunt to Sherman, February 25, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers, also see in Ladd and Ladd, 2:821-822.

¹¹⁵ Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers, also see in Ladd and Ladd, 1:428-429.

¹¹⁶ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):117, 371-374, 375.

¹¹⁷ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):258, 262-262, 484, 485, 690, 880, 883-884, 885, 888, 890, 896, 898, 899, 900, 901, 1022, 1023. The artillery commanders included Lt. Col. Freeman McGilvery (Artillery Reserve), Capt. Charles Phillips (E, 1st Massachusetts, Artillery Reserve), Capt. Patrick Hart (15th New York, Artillery Reserve), Capt. James Thompson (C & F, 1st Pennsylvania, Artillery Reserve), Capt. Robert Fitzhugh (4th Volunteer Brigade, Artillery Reserve), Lt. Edwin Dow (6th Maine, Artillery Reserve), Lt. Augustin Parsons (A, 1st New Jersey, Artillery Reserve), Capt. Nelson Ames (G, 1st New York, Artillery Reserve), Lt. Gulian Weir (C, 5th U.S., Artillery Reserve), Capt. Andrew Cowan (1st New York, 6th Corps), and Capt. Jabez Daniels (9th Michigan, Cavalry Corps). The only officer who seemed to agree with Hancock’s claim was Capt. James Cooper (B, 1st New York, 1st Corps), whose battery was positioned near McGilvery’s line on July 3. Cooper wrote in his official report that he was “ordered into position among the batteries in the Second Corps front...” (See *OR*, Series I, 27(1):365). Significantly, the reports of Captain Fitzhugh and Captain Parsons, whose batteries were both positioned directly along the 2nd Corps line on July 3, stated that it was General Hunt who issued them orders, not Hancock.

¹¹⁸ *OR*, Series I, 27, (1):261; John Newton to Henry Hunt, May 13, 1879, Henry Hunt Papers. Newton even claimed that Brig. Gen. John Caldwell’s division (1st Division, 2nd Corps), which was positioned to Newton’s left, was “not then forming part of General Hancock’s line of battle, and with this officers’ consent I put it in position on the left of the Third Division [1st Corps]” (see *OR*, Series I, 27(1):261).

¹¹⁹ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):417.

¹²⁰ Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers; also see in Ladd and Ladd, 1:434.

¹²¹ Walker, “General Hancock and the Artillery at Gettysburg,” Johnson and Buel, 3:386.

¹²² “Third Day’s Battle,” *Map of the Battle Field of Gettysburg, July 1st, 2nd, 3rd 1863* (Office of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, Secretary of War, 1876); Kathleen G. Harrison, Senior Historian, *Cultural Landscape Report, Emmitsburg Road Ridge, Battle Narrative* (Gettysburg National Military Park, National Park Service, July 2004), Volume II, Part 1, Map “July 3 noon-2:30 p.m. Cannonade” (located between pages 102 and 103); Busey and Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses*, 241, 242-243, 245-246. All of the following strengths for July 3 are approximate and factor in casualties suffered on July 1 and 2: Caldwell’s division: 2,045, Stannard’s brigade: 1,900, Stone’s brigade: 520, 3rd Corps: 5900.

¹²³ Hunt to Sherman, February 25 1880, Henry Hunt Papers; also see in Ladd and Ladd, 2:803-804.

¹²⁴ Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers; also see in Ladd and Ladd, 1:432-433.

McGilvery never left his own account of this incident (other than his official report), because he died on September 3, 1864 from the effects of chloroform overdose during the amputation of one of his fingers.

¹²⁵ Bigelow to Hunt, November 4, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers.

¹²⁶ Hart to Hunt, June 30, 1879, Henry Hunt Papers. Col. Patrick Kelly commanded the famous “Irish Brigade,” which belonged to Brig. Gen. John Caldwell’s 2nd Corps division.

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- ¹²⁷ Hancock to Sherman, January 21, 1879 and published in, "Papers in Relation to the Reorganization of the Army," Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 14, 46.
- ¹²⁸ Charles Morgan, "Report of Lt. Col. Charles H. Morgan," as published in Ladd and Ladd, 3:1361; Walker, "General Hancock and the Artillery at Gettysburg," Johnson and Buel, 3:386. Morgan also made a similar statement in a post-war publication, "Narrative of the Operations of the Second Corps, from... June 9, 1863... until the close of the Battle of Gettysburg," which appeared in Cornelia Hancock's *Reminiscences of Winfield Scott Hancock* (New York: Charles L. Webster & Co, 1887). Morgan wrote, "General Hancock justly insisted, however, that the enemy should be stoutly answered, because of the moral effect a cessation of fire might have upon the infantry." (see Cornelia Hancock, *Reminiscences of Winfield Scott Hancock*, 208).
- ¹²⁹ Hart to Bachelder, February 23, 1891, Ladd and Ladd, 3:1798; Bigelow to Hunt, November 4, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers.
- ¹³⁰ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):373.
- ¹³¹ Hunt to Sherman, February 25, 1880, Henry Hunt Papers; also see in Ladd and Ladd, 2:814.
- ¹³² Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers; also see in Ladd and Ladd, 1:434; Hunt, "The Third Day at Gettysburg," Johnson and Buel, 3:375.
- ¹³³ Hunt to Bachelder, May 8, 1875, Ladd and Ladd, 1:444.
- ¹³⁴ Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers; also see in Ladd and Ladd, 1:426.
- ¹³⁵ Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers; also see in Ladd and Ladd, 1:426; Hunt, "The Second Day at Gettysburg," Johnson and Buel, 3:293; *JCCW*, 448.
- ¹³⁶ Hancock to Sherman, January 21, 1879 and published in, "Papers in Relation to the Reorganization of the Army," Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 14, 43, 44, 45.
- ¹³⁷ *OR*, Series I, 29(2):85; Hancock to Sherman, January 21, 1879 and published in, "Papers in Relation to the Reorganization of the Army," Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 14, 44, 45.
- ¹³⁸ Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers; also see in Ladd and Ladd, 1:428.
- ¹³⁹ Hancock to Sherman, January 21, 1879 and published in, "Papers in Relation to the Reorganization of the Army," Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 14, 43, 44, 45. Hunt's testimony, which Hancock quoted here, appears in *JCC*, 451.
- ¹⁴⁰ *OR*, Series I, 27(2):308, 320, 351-352, 359; Gallagher, ed., *Fighting for the Confederacy*, 245-246, 247-250; Alexander, *Military Memoirs*, 420-423; Hunt, "The Third Day at Gettysburg," Johnson and Buel, 3:372; Alexander, "The Great Charge and Artillery Fighting at Gettysburg," Johnson and Buel, 3:364.
- ¹⁴¹ Hancock to Sherman, January 21, 1879 and published in, "Papers in Relation to the Reorganization of the Army," Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 14, 42, 43.
- ¹⁴² Hancock to Sherman, January 22, 1874 in, *HR* No. 592, 8.
- ¹⁴³ Hunt to Bachelder, May 8, 1875, Ladd and Ladd, 1:444; Hunt to Sherman, January 20, 1875, Henry Hunt Papers; see also in Ladd and Ladd, 1:432.
- ¹⁴⁴ Hunt, "The Third Day at Gettysburg," and "Rejoinder by Henry J. Hunt," both in Johnson and Buel, 3:375, 386; John Purifoy, "The Artillery at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863, Evidences of the Conflict of Authority," *Confederate Veteran* (Nashville, Tennessee), 33(1):13.
- ¹⁴⁵ Walker, "General Hancock and the Artillery at Gettysburg," Johnson and Buel, 3:386.
- ¹⁴⁶ Hunt to Bachelder, April 13, 1881, Ladd and Ladd, 2:750.
- ¹⁴⁷ Hancock to Sherman, January 21, 1879 and published in, "Papers in Relation to the Reorganization of the Army," Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 14, 45.