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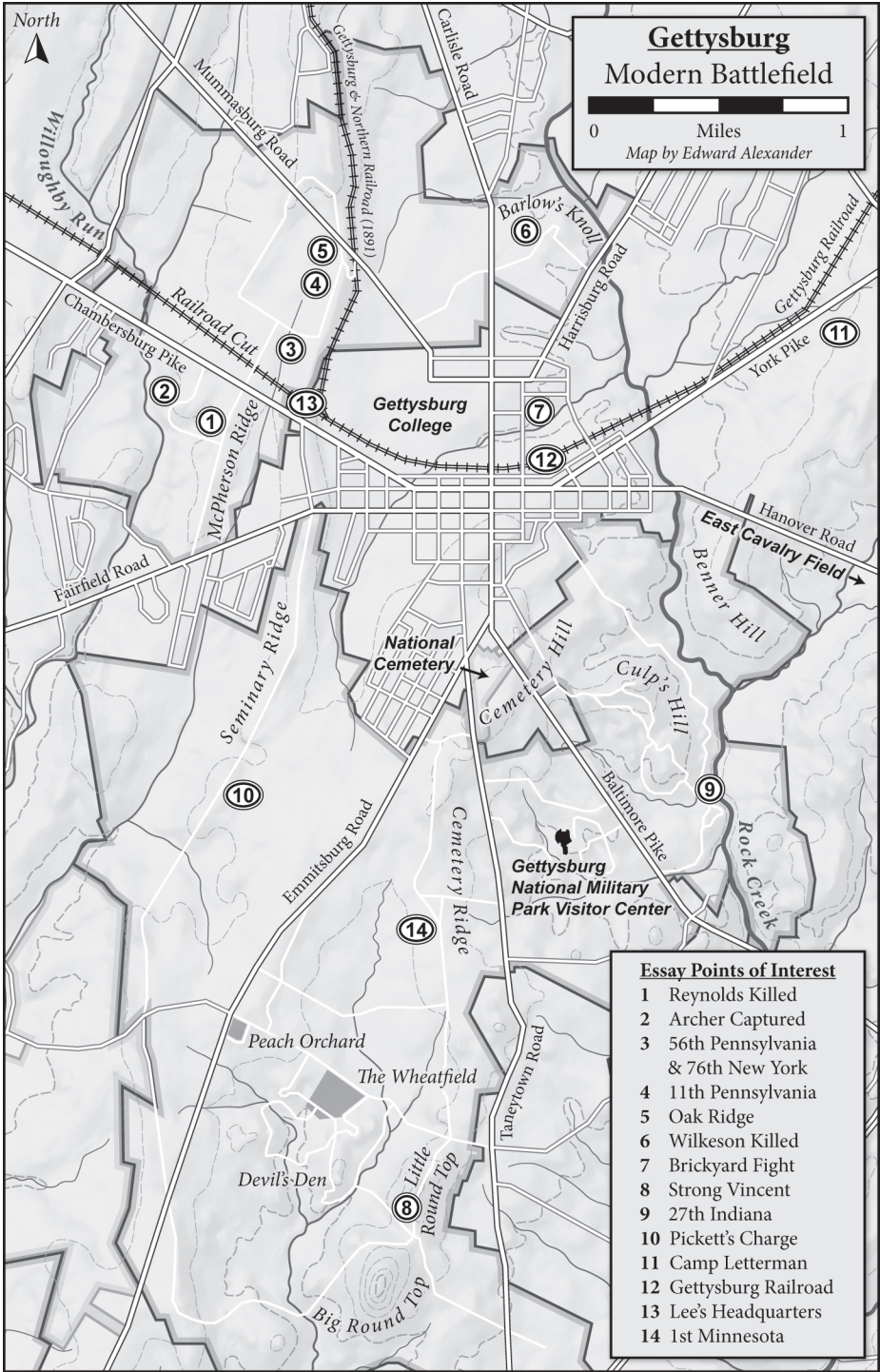
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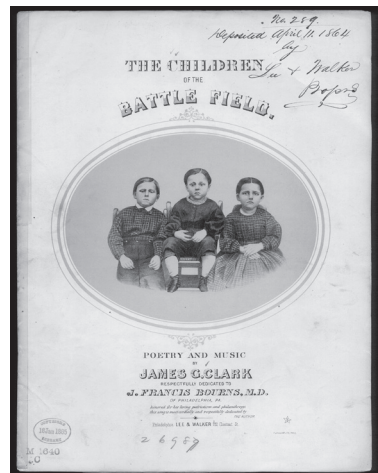
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ABOVE, FROM “ESSAY POINT OF INTEREST” 3: Veterans of the 11th Pennsylvania made room in the back row of their group photo so the camera could capture the small statue of the regiment’s mascot, Sallie, on the front of the regimental monument. For more on Sallie’s story, see “Man’s Best Comrade” by Edward Alexander on pg. 66. *ECW*

RIGHT, FROM “ESSAY POINT OF INTEREST” 6: Amos Humiston of the 154th New York was killed in the fight at the brickyard on July 1. Initially unidentified, Humiston had with him a photo of his three children, which was widely circulated and eventually led to Humiston’s identification. The story of “The Children of the Battlefield” became so popular it was even adapted into a song. For more on the plight of the 154th, see “Mainly a History of Individuals” by Dan Welch on pg. 82. *LOC*



OPPOSITE: GETTYSBURG: MODERN BATTLEFIELD—Particular points of interest discussed in some of the essays are marked on this map for easy reference.



Editors' Note

Emerging Civil War serves as a public history-oriented platform for sharing original scholarship related to the American Civil War. The scholarship we present reflects the eclectic background, expertise, interests, and writing styles of our cadre of historians. We've shared that scholarship not only on the Emerging Civil War blog, but also in the pages of the Emerging Civil War Series published by Savas Beatie, in other general-audience and academic publications, at our annual Emerging Civil War Symposium at Stevenson Ridge, on our monthly podcasts, and even through social media.

Our Emerging Civil War 10th Anniversary Series captures and commemorates some of the highlights from our first ten years.

This compendium includes pieces originally published on our blog; podcast transcripts; and transcripts of talks given at the ECW Symposium. It also includes an assortment of original material. Previously published pieces have been updated and, in most cases, expanded and footnoted. Our attempt is to offer value-added rather than just reprint material available for free elsewhere.

Between the covers of this series, readers will find military, social, political, and economic history; memory studies; travelogues; personal narratives; essays; and photography. This broad range of scholarship and creative work is meant to provide readers with a diversity of perspectives. The combined collection of material is *not* intended to serve as a complete narrative of events or comprehensive overview. Rather, these are the stories and events our historians happened to be interested in writing about at any given time. In that way, the collection represents the sort of eclectic ongoing conversation you'll find on our blog.

As a collective, the individuals who comprise ECW are encouraged to share their own unique interests and approaches. The resulting work—and the respectful discussions that surround it—forward ECW's overall

effort to promote a general awareness of the Civil War as America's defining event.

Another of ECW's organizational priorities is our ongoing work to identify and spotlight the next generation of "emerging" Civil War historians and the fresh ideas they bring to the historical conversation. (Some of us were "emerging" when ECW started up ten years ago and have perhaps since "emerged," but the quest to spotlight new voices continues!)

Most importantly, it is the common thread of public history and the ideals of interpretation that so strongly tie our seemingly disparate bodies of work together. America's defining event should not be consigned to forgotten footnotes and dusty shelves. As public historians, we understand the resonance and importance history's lessons can have in our modern world and in our daily lives, so we always seek to connect people with those great stories and invaluable lessons. Emerging Civil War remains committed to making our history something available for all of us—writers, readers, historians, hobbyists, men, women, young, old, and people of all races and ethnicities—and by doing so, making it something we can engage, question, challenge, and enjoy.

Please join us online at www.emergingcivilwar.com.



Acknowledgments

First and foremost, as editors, we'd like to thank our colleagues at Emerging Civil War, past and present. ECW has always been and remains a team effort. We've worked with some wonderful historians, writers, and "emerging voices" over the past decade, and we're proud to show off some of that work here.

Thanks, too, to Theodore Savas and his entire team at Savas Beatie, with a special thanks to our editorial liaison, Sarah Keeney. Ted took a chance on us when we were still a young blog, accepting Kris White's pitch for the Emerging Civil War Series. That proved to be a game-changer for us. Together, ECW and Savas Beatie have produced some great work, and we're thankful to Ted for agreeing to help us celebrate ECW's tenth anniversary by allowing us to produce more great work. We thank everyone at Savas Beatie for all they do to support the work of Emerging Civil War.

One of ECW's prime directives is to help our contributors make opportunities for themselves. Edward Alexander's development as a cartographer over the past few years has been a perfect illustration of that guiding principle. We're proud of his work, and we're grateful for the maps he's contributed to this volume. Visit him for cartography services at www.makemeamapllc.com. (And, yes, Edward's "Make me a map" is a reference to Stonewall Jackson's directive to Jed Hotchkiss in March 1862.) That said, we've been extremely lucky to work so long with cartographer Hal Jespersen, whose maps have been a distinctive part of the Emerging Civil War Series; we're pleased to include some of his maps in this volume, as well.

Sarah Kay Bierle, as ECW's managing editor, manages the content on the blog on a daily basis. Her work made it a lot easier for us to collect the material we've assembled in this volume. Our official un-official archivist, Jon-Erik Gilot, has helped us make it easier to access our past work.

Christopher Kolakowski, as our chief historian, provides overall quality control for our work, offering a soft but firm guiding hand. Dan Davis previously served in that role, and Kris White, as one of our co-founders, originated that role. Our thanks to all three of them for ensuring a high bar for our writers in service to our readers.

Thanks to John Foskett and Patrick McCormick, who both reviewed the text and made valuable suggestions and observations. Thanks also to Denise Hardy for

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Finally, a special thanks to co-founders Chris Mackowski, Jake Struhelka, and Kristopher D. White, whose brainstorming over beers, cigars, and history led to ECW's creation. To quote Kris's wife, "Not too bad for three idiots sitting on a porch."

* * *

Chris: I'd like to thank Dan Welch, who expressed an interest in learning how to edit a book. This book was his guinea pig. He stepped up and then jumped in! He's been a stalwart partner to work with on this project, and I appreciate all his hard work and eager learning.

I'd like to thank Kris White for also stepping up. Because of the demands of his day job at the American Battlefield Trust, he's in a perpetual state of "semi-retirement" with ECW, but he always answers the call for us. As one of our principal Gettysburg guys, his participation was critical for this volume.

Finally, as always, my thanks to my family, especially my kids, Stephanie, Thomas, and Sophie Marie (my first grandchild!); Jackson; and Maxwell James. Most of all, thanks to my wife and partner, Jenny Ann, who's been by my side through most of this and still hasn't left me on a battlefield yet.

* * *

Dan: I'd like to thank Chris Mackowski and Ted Savas for giving me an opportunity to learn the role of an editor for this series. I appreciate the time and patience they have shown the newcomer to this side of the pen. I would not have been able to do this project without their excellent tutelage.

I would also like to thank all of those contributors for the opportunity to work with them in this exciting new series. It has been a true delight to learn from your "emerging voices" as the series came together.

Lastly, but importantly, I would like to thank my family. My grandparents, John and Juanita, and parents, Rick and Janice, for their support in taking me to battlefields and buying me Civil War books when I was young; my uncle and aunt, Scott and Dar, for hosting many family holidays at their home where stories about our Civil War ancestors inspired my passion; and my wife, Sarah, for enduring all the battlefield hikes, research trips, days and nights of my absence while I wrote in my home library, and the hours spent in bookstores near and far hunting for just one more volume for my library. Thank you.



Foreword

by Kristopher D. White

“No tourist considers his study of countries complete unless the famous fields of historical battles, near which he may be, are visited and studied,” proclaimed Lt. Col. John B. Bachelder. “The Battle of Gettysburg—equal in magnitude, in gallantry and desperation of the combatants, in human slaughter, and in the interests which hung upon the issue, to any recorded in history—has brought the name of Gettysburg from rural obscurity, to world-wide celebrity.”¹

Arguably, no one person did more to help usher Gettysburg from rural obscurity to a household name. Even if the average American cannot place Gettysburg within the confines of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Civil War, or even the broader context of American history, they have at least heard of the battle. That is more that can be said of the other 10,000 or so battles, engagements, and skirmishes of the Civil War.

John Bachelder was not a combatant at the battle of Gettysburg. In fact, he was not a soldier at all, nor was he even present for any phase of the three days of action. Rather, Bachelder was an artist, schooled at the Gymnasium and Military Institute in Pembroke, New Hampshire. By the 1850s, he found himself working at the Military and Scientific Institute in Reading, Pennsylvania. Due to this post, Bachelder was appointed as a lieutenant

1 John B. Bachelder, *Gettysburg: What to See, and How to See It* (Boston: John B. Bachelder, Publisher, 1889), 2.

colonel in the Pennsylvania state militia.² At the outbreak of the Civil War, the Granite State native sought what any artist craves: the perfect muse. Unlike Michelangelo or da Vinci, who turned to people or nature as their muses, John Bachelder turned to battle, traveling with the Army of the Potomac in search of the perfect action to capture on canvas. He found what he craved in July 1863, but rather than making a masterpiece of art, Bachelder worked on a different type of masterpiece—a written history of the battle of Gettysburg.

While Bachelder did produce artwork based on the battle, including an impressive series of maps, the written and spoken word on the battle turned into his life's passion and work. The artist-turned-historian traveled to the battlefield time and again; he met with officers during and after the war to interview the participants; he wrote and received volumes of letters; and he even produced a guidebook, *What to See, and How to See It*, for visitors to the battlefield. By 1880, he and his supporters convinced the federal government to pay him the exorbitant sum of \$50,000 to produce a history of the battle.

As his wealth and fame grew, so did his ego. Many veterans took Bachelder's knowledge of the battle unquestioningly at face value, while



John Bachelder shaped the Gettysburg battlefield to reflect his narrative that Gettysburg was the turning point of the Civil War. Like a lot of Civil War wives, Elizabeth looks unhappy that she's been dragged to the battlefield by her husband yet again. *ECW*

2 Thomas A. Desjardin, *These Honored Dead: How the Story of Gettysburg Shaped American Memory* (Cambridge, MA.: Da Capo Press, 2003), 83-84.

others doubted his stories and interpretation of the action. No less an authority than Winfield Scott Hancock himself balked at the site Bachelder marked as the location of Hancock's July 3 wounding. In 1866, the Pennsylvania general had visited Gettysburg with the historian and marked the spot. Bachelder later changed the location, which elicited a quick rebuke from the former II Corps commander.³

Regardless of what any detractors said, Bachelder and other proponents of the battle planted the spotlight squarely on the battle and the town. Some 1,400 monuments, markers, and tablets dot the south-central Pennsylvania countryside, and millions of visitors each year travel to the "American Valhalla" to trek across one of the world's great battlefields. "[Gettysburg] is . . . a consuming place, engulfing aficionados in a number of ways. Like holy men, zealots drawn into Gettysburg's vortex renounce life elsewhere and attempt to survive off of the tourist industry," accurately claims author Jim Weeks.⁴ Weeks's notion is supported by historian Thomas Desjardin: "To a fan of history, and particularly a Civil War buff . . . a battlefield tour was the adult equivalent of a trip through the haunted mansion of Cinderella's castle."⁵ Wars don't happen in a vacuum of time and space, yet when you step onto the Gettysburg battlefield or take a tour of the field, you cannot help but think that *this* battle was all encompassing, that *this* was *the* turning point of the American Civil War.

However, while Gen. Robert E. Lee was soundly defeated at Gettysburg, the war went on for nearly two more years. Lee's army remained intact. The Federals in the Eastern Theater of the Civil War were no closer to victory or defeat than they had been after their defeats at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. The Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia settled back into their "Virginia waltz," with battles and engagements in late 1863 adding to the casualty rolls but carrying neither side to ultimate victory.

Still, there *was* a shift in the tides of war in 1863—major actions whose consequences reverberated far beyond the conclusion of a single campaign

3 Ibid., 91.

4 Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 5.

5 Desjardin, xiii.

and which shook the very foundation of the Southern Confederacy. By mid-1863, the Federal war effort had come its closest yet to implementing Winfield Scott's scoffed-at Anaconda Plan. As the armies of the Potomac and Northern Virginia waltzed, a Federal naval blockade of the Gulf and Atlantic coasts was slowly strangling the international trade of the Southern Confederacy. In the Western Theater, Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans prepared for his thrust across Central Tennessee toward the vital rail center of Chattanooga, which would open the Deep South for overland Federal forays to Atlanta and beyond. Farther west, Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant undertook his campaign to capture Vicksburg, Mississippi—one of the many “Gibraltars of the Confederacy”—while farther south along the Mississippi River, Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks set his sights on capturing the Confederate bastion at Port Hudson, Louisiana

After the fall of New Orleans, Memphis, and other strategic points along the mighty Mississippi in 1862, only Vicksburg and Port Hudson remained as major Southern holdouts. President Abraham Lincoln declared, “See what a lot of land these fellows hold, of which Vicksburg is the key. . . . Let us get Vicksburg and all that country is ours. The war can never be brought to a close until that key is in our pocket.”⁶ Numerous forays against Vicksburg—including canal projects, bayou expeditions, and overland advances—failed miserably. But time and again, Grant remained undeterred. Like Charlie Brown, he was going to kick that football come hell or high water.

Experienced in combined Navy-Army operations, Grant devised a plan to have gunboats and transports run the guns of Vicksburg. To some it seemed lunacy; to Grant, it was a calculated risk that paid dividends. After marching his army down the western side of the river, Grant had his men ferried across the river to Bruinsburg, and by early May he was driving northeast through Mississippi's interior. After the fall of the state capital, Jackson, Grant turned west and trapped the Confederate defenders in their works at Vicksburg. On July 4, 1863, after a 47-day siege, the Southern garrison capitulated, and Grant captured his second Rebel army of the war.

6 “Educator’s Guide: Social Studies: Vicksburg is the Key,” Vicksburg National Military Park, last modified April 15, 2015, <https://www.nps.gov/vick/learn/education/social-studies-vicksburg-is-the-key.htm>.

Five days later, Banks secured Port Hudson. “The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea,” Lincoln declared.⁷

Meanwhile, near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, the Union Army of the Cumberland lay in wait for the opening of its 1863 campaign. The prior year was taxing on what had previously been known as the Army of the Ohio. Many of the men in this force were now veterans, having served at Shiloh, Perryville, and Stones River. However, after their Stones River victory, the Army of the Cumberland did not campaign for six months. It needed to be refitted and reorganized: logistics were of paramount importance.

The ultimate prize for Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans in the summer of 1863 was Chattanooga, a small town of some 2,400 residents tucked near two bends of the Tennessee River. The river and rail lines running past and through the city were key to any Union push into the Deep South. But to get to their prize, the Federals needed to cross a massive expanse known as “The Barrens.” General Braxton Bragg and his Confederate Army of Tennessee were located in this region throughout the winter and spring of 1863. Thus, what little sustenance that this area could provide for soldiers was being gobbled up by Southern soldiers in the region. This meant that Rosecrans’s army must be prepared to carry all of the food, fodder, and supplies it needed from Murfreesboro to Chattanooga—some 83 miles as the crow flies.

In late June, Rosecrans undertook a masterful campaign of maneuver to force Bragg back toward Chattanooga. Bragg and his army were on their heels as Rosecrans and his men secured most of Middle Tennessee for the Union with little actual fighting. “The flanking of Bragg at Shelbyville, Tullahoma and Chattanooga is the most splendid piece of strategy I know of,” declared Abraham Lincoln.⁸ In early September, Chattanooga was in Federal hands.

While the Federals held the strategic initiative in the Western Theater through the spring of 1863, in the east Lee wrested the inertia of that theater

7 “Educator’s Guide: The River and the Campaign,” Vicksburg National Military Park, last modified April 14, 2015, <https://www.nps.gov/vick/learn/education/educators-guide-the-river-and-the-campaign.htm>.

8 William M. Lamers, *The Edge of Glory: A Biography of General William S. Rosecrans, U.S.A.* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), 290.

from the hands of Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker at the battle of Chancellorsville. In mid-May, with Vicksburg and Port Hudson threatened by Union forces, Lee convinced the Confederate high command to refrain from sending any of his troops to the west but rather to reinforce his army and allow him to press the war north toward Washington, D.C. It was a fateful decision, as the Confederates allowed themselves to be handcuffed by their aggressiveness while giving free hands to Grant, Banks, and Rosecrans. Over a six-day span of July 3-9, 1863, the Federals won each major battle of each campaign at Gettysburg, Tullahoma, Vicksburg, and Port Hudson. Four disastrous defeats in less than a week served as the second major turning point of the American Civil War.⁹ That turning point was not a lone Union victory at Gettysburg—which generated the greatest number of casualties but was by far the least important strategic or tactical victory of the summer of 1863, let alone of the Civil War. “The high tide of the Confederacy” in the summer of 1863—the breakthrough of a few hundred Confederates during Pickett’s Charge at Gettysburg—was met by a tsunami of Federal victories all across the country.

Vicksburg and Port Hudson cut the eastern Confederacy off from the Trans-Mississippi. That, too, allowed Federal commerce and war traffic to flow from Pittsburgh to the Gulf of Mexico unimpeded. Perhaps as importantly, the tenacity Grant showed most recently at Vicksburg gave Lincoln the faith to promote Grant to command the beleaguered Federal forces at Chattanooga in the fall of 1863. Victory at Chattanooga, in turn, gave rise to Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, commander of all Federal forces.

The Tullahoma campaign in summer 1863, meanwhile, had opened the door to Chattanooga, and then to the Deep South. The Confederate victory at Chickamauga in September 1863, and the subsequent siege of Chattanooga by Rebel forces that fall turned out to be only setbacks for the Union cause. When Grant’s armies around Chattanooga finally drove off the Rebels from Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain in November 1863, the stage was set for Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman and his army group to drive on Atlanta the following spring.

Gettysburg secured Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore from the Confederates and severely damaged Lee’s army, but the battle did

⁹ The first major turning point was the battle of Antietam and the issuance of the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation.



On November 19, 1863, between ten- and fifteen-thousand people attended a ceremony dedicating the newly created Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg. The main orator of the ceremony, Edward Everett, spoke for approximately 2.5 hours before President Abraham Lincoln delivered 272 words in little more than 2.5 minutes. Although not fondly thought of at first, his remarks later became immortal, forever remembered as the Gettysburg Address. Lincoln's speech reframed the battlefield—the first of many times people would repurpose the landscape. Despite the many stovepipe hats in the image, Lincoln appears here without his, which is (obviously) why he's so hard to pick out in this crowd. *LOC*

little more than reset the Eastern Theater war back to roughly the status quo of early 1863. Lee would again try and regain the initiative during the Bristoe Station campaign, but with his army weakened by the losses at Gettysburg and sans the reliable First Corps—which was shipped west to try and right the Confederate ship out there—the campaign once again added to the lengthening casualty list in the east without bringing either side closer to victory. The same could be said for the Union offensive in November and December 1863 at Mine Run: more maneuvering, posturing, and casualties, for no tangible results.

According to historian Gary Wills, Gettysburg is “A symbol of national purpose, pride, and ideals,” and perhaps that is where its true importance lies.¹⁰ Just as Lincoln's Gettysburg Address reshaped the

¹⁰ Gary Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: Words that Remade America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 20.

Union war effort, so too did it define the memorial-dotted landscape where millions of visitors from around the globe come to learn, reflect upon, and explore the intricacies of the American Civil War. Gettysburg serves as the gateway attraction to a larger world of understanding and contemplation for Civil War buffs, historians, and battlefield visitors alike. Casualties do not always equal a battle's importance or a war's ultimate outcome, but in the case of Gettysburg, it was the bloodletting on such a horrific scale (on northern soil to boot) that launched the earliest Civil War battlefield preservation efforts and gave rise to a story as broad and inspirational as the American dream. Lincoln immortalized those ideals in 272 words in ten sentences, uttered in just over two minutes.

While it is important to remember the larger story of the Civil War, and the ultimate outcome that freed nearly 3.9 million people from the bondage of slavery, the draw of Gettysburg truly is the story of place. The allure of Little Round Top, the High Water Mark, and countless spots on the battlefield in between brings people back time and again to contemplate the hows and whys of a war that tore a nation apart—and whose impact is still felt day in and day out across this nation. As a result, the battle largely serves as the axis upon which the story of the Civil War rotates.

While 1864 proved to be the pivotal year for North and South, 1863 turned the massive Union ship of war toward the harbor of victory. In the end it was the contributions of tens of thousands of soldiers spread across more than a thousand miles of territory that set the course for the remainder of the Civil War.