

“Strong Men of the Regiment Sobbed Like Children”:

John Reynolds’ I Corps  
at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863

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John Reynolds’ I Corps at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863*



John Michael Priest

“Strong Men of the Regiment Sobbed Like Children”:

John Reynolds’ I Corps  
at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863

Foreword

by Bradley M. Gottfried



Savas Beatie  
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Title: “Strong Men of the Regiment Sobbed Like Children”:

John Reynolds’ I Corps at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863 / by John Michael Priest.

Description: El Dorado Hills, CA: Savas Beatie LLC [2024] | Series: The Savas Beatie Essential Gettysburg Series | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Summary: “The fighting on the first day at Gettysburg, July 1, 1863, was heavy, confusing, and decisive. Much of it consisted of short and often separate simultaneous engagements or “firefights,” a term the soldiers themselves often used to describe the close, vicious, and bloody combat. Several books have studied this important inaugural day of Gettysburg, but none have done so from the perspective of the rank and file of both armies. Priest’s “Strong Men of the Regiment Sobbed Like Children”: John Reynolds’s I Corps at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863, rectifies this oversight”— Provided by publisher.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023023638 | ISBN 9781611216899 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781954547612 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Gettysburg, Battle of, Gettysburg, Pa., 1863. | Reynolds, John Fulton, 1820-1863. | United States. Army. Corps, 1st (1862-1865) | United States—History—Civil War, 1861-1865—Campaigns. | Soldiers—Confederate States of America. | Soldiers—United States—History—19th century.

Classification: LCC E475.53 .P945 2023 | DDC 973.7/349—dc23/eng/20230606

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023023638>

First Savas Beatie Edition, First Printing



**SB**

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To Rhonda,  
my wife and partner since 1969.  
I could not survive without your love, support, and understanding.



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for the benefit of the reader.

## Acknowledgments

It has taken ten years to research and write this book. I could not have accomplished this without the assistance of some very gifted and generous historians and Civil War enthusiasts. In no particular order, I want to thank the following for their contributions.

Joyce Henry, a mounted artillery specialist/trainer, fox hunter, and movie consultant, graciously shared her expertise in helping me ascertain the capabilities of a cavalry horse.

Special thanks to Gettysburg author David G. Martin for permission to use his and John W. Busey's *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg* in the Order of Battle. Both are superb researchers.

Tom Elmore, a major contributor to the online discussion group Civil War Talk, shared hard-to-find Confederate sources from his personal collection dealing with couriers, Iverson's Brigade, the capture of the 149th Pennsylvania's flags, and other sources dealing with Joe Davis's Brigade.

Phil Spaugy, whose passion is the study of the 19th Indiana, graciously provided me with valuable primary sources about the color guard of that Iron Brigade regiment as well as Hollon Richardson's speech at an Iron Brigade reunion in Indianapolis.

Mike Lavis of Buffalo, New York, is a devoted living historian with the 49th New York and a brother in Christ. He read the rough draft of the manuscript and offered some insightful suggestions. Bob Lehman, Mahoning Valley Civil War Round Table, accompanied by several of his close friends, trekked the rough terrain along Willoughby Run a couple of times. He also read and critiqued the manuscript. Former teaching colleague and avid miniature

wargamer, Adam Perry also read the manuscript. He patiently listened me bounce my reasoning behind many conclusions on how bits and pieces of this part of the battle was fought. I greatly appreciate his honest observations and excellent knowledge of Napoleonic tactics.

William T. Venner, the author of *Hoosiers' Honor, The Seventh Tennessee Infantry in the Civil War*, and *The 11th North Carolina Infantry in the Civil War*, also reviewed portions of the book. His well-documented regimentals provided me with a treasure of primary sources to hunt up and read.

Joseph Bilby, renowned Civil War weapons expert and the author of *Small Arms at Gettysburg*, *The Irish Brigade in the Civil War*, and other topics, introduced me to “patent cartridges,” the Enfield cartridge, and the standard U. S. cartridge. He explained how the first two types of ammunition facilitated loading while on the march.

Lance Herdegen, the nationally recognized historian of the Iron Brigade, the author of many books on that unit, and my friend, gave his imprimatur to my description of the Westerners' role in the fighting, including the famous charge by the 6th Wisconsin against the railroad cut. Lance provided good suggestions that improved the writing. He is a great fellow. “You betcha!”

James McLean, former owner of the prestigious Butternut and Blue, is a true Gettysburg expert. Jim is the author of several studies and the renowned historian of Lysander Cutler's brigade. His classic on that outfit has just been revised and released by Savas Beatie as *“The Bullets Flew Like Hail”*: *Cutler's Brigade at Gettysburg, from McPherson's Ridge to Culp's Hill*. Jim generously provided me with a copy of one of his sources involving the 76th New York's encounter with Alfred Iverson's men.

Fellow historian David Ward scrounged his exhaustive files and shared several primary sources with me.

Steve Stanley provided the excellent base maps upon which I placed troop movements specific to the various actions on the field.

Bradley Gottfried, fellow Antietam battlefield guide and the author, cartographer, and the man who came up with the idea of the Savas Baeatie Military Atlas Series (which includes *The Maps of Gettysburg*), was kind enough to pen the Foreword for this book. He also patiently listened to how I arrived at my conclusions of the fighting on July 1, some of which varies from traditional interpretations. Brad is extremely knowledgeable and a most affable fellow for whom I have the greatest respect.

I would be remiss if I did not thank John Heiser, former National Park Service archivist and historian at the Gettysburg National Military Park library.

John was a joy to work with and his encyclopedic knowledge of the campaign and battle provided me with a plethora of primary sources, published and unpublished, from the massive files and books stacks at the library. I shall miss not seeing him there. He is a national treasure.

I particularly want to thank James Pula, the recently retired editor of *Gettysburg Magazine*. Over the years Jim published several of my articles related to the research behind this book. His two-volume set *Under the Crescent Moon with the Eleventh Corps in the Civil War* (Savas Beatie) remains the best history of this oft- maligned corps in print.

To Theodore P. Savas of Savas Beatie, thank you for including this study in the Essential Gettysburg Series, and for working with me throughout the years. Your attention to detail and willingness to answer my questions about the intricacies of the publishing industry has made me a better author. I appreciate your straightforward and unpretentious frankness.

Mitchell "Mitch" Yokelson, an outstanding military historian and archivist at the National Archives, does incredible work as the series editor in finding and filtering manuscripts for publication. Ted assigned Joel Manuel to an early draft of the manuscript. Joel helped edit a rough draft and it was a pleasure working with him. His meticulous attention to detail has smoothed out the rough edges in the book and made it so much better. Thanks also to the wonderful SB ladies, including Sarah Closson and Lisa Murphy, for their hard work behind the scenes on this series.

I am particularly grateful. for my wife of 54 years, Rhonda. She has put up with the long hours of writing, research, and annoying but necessary map revisions. More importantly, she has shown me how to balance my time between my love of history and the family. She is the voice of common sense and truth in my life.

For those of you reading this book, I humbly thank you. History, not propaganda and mythology, is the lifeblood of a nation and its culture. Thank you for perpetuating the memory of those who preceded us.

Finally, any mistakes that made it into print, whether of fact, grammar, or interpretation, are mine alone. In a work of this magnitude, undoubtedly some crept in. I apologize in advance.

John M. Priest  
April 2023

# Foreword

When I ask battlefield guides and other folks who study Gettysburg about the most intriguing part of the engagement, I am always surprised by how many reply, “The events of July 1.”

All three days of the battle were filled with action, drama, and seminal events, but July 1 may hold the most interest for the most people. Perhaps it was the “accident” that caused Maj. Gen. Henry Heth’s Confederate division to collide with Brig. Gen. John Buford’s Union cavalry outside of Gettysburg and the gallant stand made by the troopers until the infantry and artillery of Maj. Gen. John Reynolds’s I Corps appeared.

The subsequent pendulum swings during the morning are the stuff of legend, when fate (and perhaps a bit of good luck) smiled on the Union troops. The Iron Brigade appeared at just the right moment to catch Brig. Gen. James Archer’s brigade crossing Willoughby Run in front and flank, causing many Confederates to throw up their hands, including Archer himself—the first of Robert E. Lee’s generals to turn over his sword during a battle. A short time later, Brig. Gen. Joseph Davis’s Rebel brigade achieved success on the north side of the Chambersburg Pike, driving Brig. Gen. Lysander Cutler’s brigade from its position on Seminary Ridge. A well-timed counterattack by two of Cutler’s regiments and one of the Iron Brigade, however, caused Davis’s men to seek refuge in an unfinished railroad cut, where scores were captured.

The ensuing lull allowed both armies to bring up reinforcements. Brigadier General John Robinson led his Second Division men north beyond the Chambersburg Pike to Oak Ridge. They wanted the more dominant Oak Hill farther north, but Maj. Gen. Robert Rodes’s Confederate division beat them to

it. Rodes, however, launched an uncoordinated attack. Robinson held his ground and inflicted heavy losses. The sudden and violent repulse of Brig. Gen. Alfred Iverson's exposed Tar Heels still brings chills to all of us.

While the I Corps was fighting west of town, Maj. Gen. Oliver Howard's XI Corps marched through Gettysburg and took up a position north of it. The terrain there was not optimal for a defensive action. Blocher's Knoll was used to anchor the right flank. A cloud of Confederates from Maj. Gen. Jubal Early's Division attacked the XI Corps from the north as part of Rodes's Division attacked from the north and west. This combined effort broke apart Howard's corps and drove Robinson's brigades from their positions.

To the south of the Chambersburg Pike, the Iron Brigade continued strengthening its position on McPherson's Ridge as the rest of Heth's Division appeared in its front about 3:00 p.m. Outnumbered and outflanked, the tough Westerners were driven from their positions on the ridge, as was Col. Chapman Biddle's brigade, which had formed in an open field behind it and to its left, without ever making contact.

Fresh Confederate troops from Maj. Gen. Dorsey Pender's Division replaced Heth's bloodied and exhausted men. Driving through the open fields leading to Seminary Ridge, Pender's infantry encountered what was left of the I Corps making its last stand. The gallant charge by Pender's men threw the Union troops off defensibly ground and into the streets of Gettysburg, where chaos ensued. What occurred next, or perhaps what did not happen, may have sealed the outcome of the battle: A. P. Hill, Lee's Third Corps commander, chose not to attack Cemetery Hill/Ridge, and Second Corps leader Richard Ewell decided to wait to assail Culp's Hill. The battle's first day drew to close.

The story of Gettysburg's inaugural day has been recounted in several very good books. That fact alone might cause some to throw up their hands and announce, "No! Not another book on Gettysburg!" For those of us who value the complexity and importance of the battle, however, Mike Priest's new study is a breath of fresh air.

There are many books on Gettysburg; this one is different. "*Strong Men of the Regiment Sobbed Like Children*": *John Reynolds' I Corps at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863* delves into the battle from the soldiers' point of view. Many fine works tell the story of Gettysburg via seminal events, while others concentrate on leaders, strategy, and tactics. This one puts readers in the shoes of the men who did the actual fighting.

Mike has made a career out of telling the story of the Civil War through the actions and words of the men who pulled the triggers, yanked the lanyards, and

fired the carbines. What began with a pair of books on the Maryland Campaign moved on to two more on the Battle of the Wilderness. This is not Mike's first book on Gettysburg. In 2016, Savas Beatie published his best-selling "*Stand To It and Give Them Hell*": *Gettysburg as the Soldiers Experienced it From Cemetery Ridge to Little Round Top, July 2, 1863*.

I have always appreciated Mike's enthusiasm for research. He is especially interested in solving mysteries or correcting erroneous but widely accepted views on the battle. He regularly approaches me with new finds/interpretations on Gettysburg and his passion is contagious. This shows in his prose, which draws you in and makes you feel that you know the men he is writing about.

There are many things I like about this book. Yes, it covers the I Corps—John Reynolds's boys—in great detail, but it also adds context by fully covering the Confederates who eventually overwhelmed them. This helps to better understand what the I Corps and cavalymen faced as they encountered overwhelming numbers of enemy while waiting for reinforcements. I also appreciate the time he took to assemble the statistics on the strengths and losses of both sides at the end of the book. His thoughtful analysis of the roles of terrain and man-made features is outstanding. Finally, the list of references and extensive footnotes make it clear that Mike spent considerable time researching the actions he describes. Not everyone will agree with all of his conclusions or analysis, but there is no doubt he will make you reflect more deeply on a wide range of issues.

No matter your level of interest and experience with the battle of Gettysburg, you will find this book fascinating and enlightening. I thank Mike for making the effort to share the story with all of us.

Bradley M. Gottfried  
Fayetteville, Pennsylvania





# Introduction

“Pray, that you may never know,  
the Hell where youth and laughter go.”

On Tuesday, August 11, 1863, 41-year-old hospital steward John N. Henry (Company I, 49th New York, Sedgwick’s VI Corps, Army of the Potomac), who had barely recovered from sunstroke, scrawled the following in his diary:

My general health is failing and my day of usefulness and improvement is nearly passed. My hair is turning gray and I am growing old. I have not seen my family for nearly two years and have but faint hope of ever seeing them again. The practice here in the army is to drag men along when they are of any use and then turn them out to die like a mule.<sup>1</sup>

Traditionally, many historians and the general reading public cited Gettysburg as the turning point of the Civil War—the infamous “High Water Mark of the Confederacy.” John Henry, whose VI Corps saw limited action in the most written-about battle in history, emphasized the brutal reality of the effects of the battle on the men—both veteran and green—who fought it. Soldiers of all wars have felt the same way.

The effects of combat affected me because I grew up with them. My father, Ira Lee Priest, never left the Marine Corps, or, for that matter, Guadalcanal. Like many men who had seen too much combat, he seldom talked about the war.

<sup>1</sup> John Michael Priest, ed., *Turn Them Out To Die Like A Mule* (Leesburg, VA, 1995), 258.

During the few time he did, his eyes reflected the deep trauma he had experienced during World War II. His pupils dilated and turned black as he spoke. The distant frightening “thousand-yard stare” overshadowed his face. The memories of his six months in the South Pacific haunted him for the rest of his life. It is no exaggeration to say those months siphoned the soul out of him and entombed him in a mental grave from which he was unable to extricate himself. His loneliness, anger, and nightmares affected the entire family.

Death lurked everywhere on Guadalcanal, which stank of decaying wildlife and vegetation. Dad was always worse at night, especially during lightning storms. When the weather turned noisy outdoors, he would pace the floor while vehemently cursing. Sometimes he cried. He often woke up suddenly, frightened and angry. We never approached him while he slept.

Death haunted him. He often cursed God for not letting him die like a large portion of his battalion at Peleliu. Crippled with malaria and weight loss, many Marines, my father among them, had to be evacuated on stretchers. Every summer after that the disease returned to knock him flat. I can still see him on the couch covered with quilts, saturated with sweat, delirious, and freezing.

Dad taught me the lessons of history rarely found in books. He taught me how fragile love and compassion are. He taught me never to forget the “little man.” He showed me that emotional scars run deeper than the physical ones, and that many men like himself have carried and will carry bitter memories and broken spirits to the edge of eternity. In so many ways, these men died long before they grew old.

A navy doctor who examined the Marines after they left Guadalcanal concluded they suffered not so much from “a bloodstream infection nor gastrointestinal disease but from a disturbance of the whole organism—a disorder of thinking and living, or even wanting to live.” It is no coincidence that Dad suffered from “survivors’ guilt.” He equated death in combat with sainthood. After the Canal he lived to die—to release himself from the bondage of his memories.<sup>2</sup>

Civil War veterans suffered every bit as much my father or other World War II survivors. Many never left the battlefields. Some drank to forget, but intoxication often intensified the clarity of their memories. Others self-medicated with opiates like morphine, sitting in the shadows remembering while feeling real pain in arms and legs they no longer had. Thousands helped

2 George McMillan, *The Old Breed* (Washington, D.C., 1949), 159.

monument the battlefields with cenotaphs to remember the dead and the mortally wounded. For far too many, the monuments also marked the places where their emotions had died.

*“Strong Men of the Regiment Sobbed Like Children”* describes what the men of both armies endured in vivid detail. Their memoirs, diaries, letters, books, and articles wrote this book. I merely clarified and corrected occasional mistaken recollections, and did my best to organize them into a cohesive storyline.

Few if any intentionally exaggerated what they experienced. Some made mistakes, all of them understandable; the fog and confusion and chaos of combat impacted everyone, and each man only witnessed a small slice of that sprawling battlefield. Each absorbed it through their own chaotic prism. It took some of these men many long years, and in some cases many decades, to talk or write about their personal trauma. The death, the maiming, and the horror of it all, left countless survivors empty and lost.

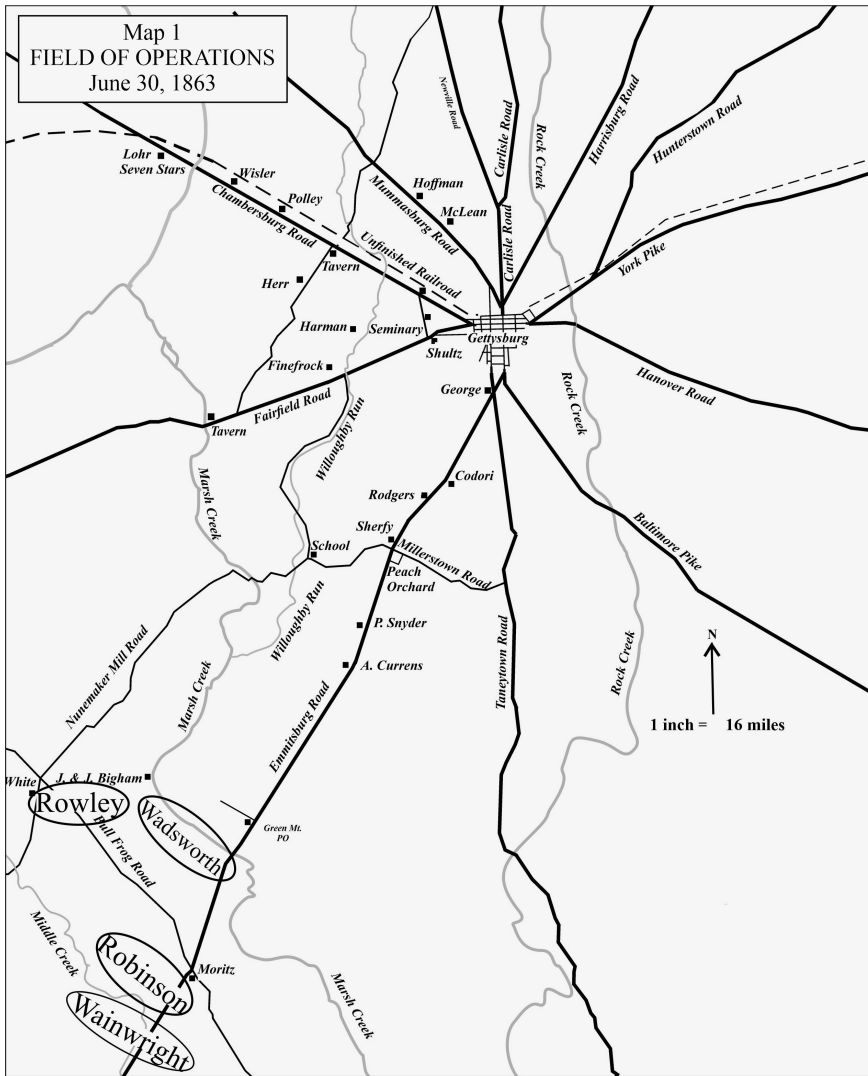
In his World War I poem “Suicide in the Trenches,” English combat veteran Siegfried Sassoon aptly wrote, “Pray, that you may never know, the Hell where youth and laughter go.” Erich Maria Remarque, a German veteran of that war, penned *All Quiet on the Western Front*, one of literature’s all-time classics and a groundbreaking portrayal of trench warfare. Like Sassoon, Remarque spoke for all combat soldiers throughout the ages when he penned:

This book is to be neither an accusation nor a confession, and least of all an adventure, for death is not an adventure to those who stand face to face with it. It will try simply to tell of a generation of men who, even though they may have survived its shells, were destroyed by the war.<sup>3</sup>

John Michael Priest

3 Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front* (New York, NY, 1930), 1.

Map 1  
FIELD OF OPERATIONS  
June 30, 1863



## Chapter One

“Well, I guess some of us will be bait for the crows pretty soon.”

— *Anonymous soldier, 2nd Wisconsin, June 29, 1863*



### First Contact: June 29 to 30, 1863

Brigadier General John Buford’s Union cavalry division, comprised of Cols. William Gamble’s and Thomas C. Devin’s brigades, and Lt. John H. Calef’s Battery A, 2nd U.S. Artillery, was on the last part of its arduous reconnaissance from Middletown, Maryland to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. By crossing to the west side of South Mountain, Buford could quickly alert the Army of the Potomac of any Confederate movement that could threaten its advance north through Maryland.

The column rode west from Middletown on the National Pike across South Mountain to Boonsboro, then north along the western base of the mountain range into Pennsylvania. At Waterloo (now Rouzerville), Pennsylvania, it recrossed the mountain through Monterrey Pass and headed east toward Emmitsburg, Maryland, from which it was to ride north to Gettysburg. Buford had until the evening of June 30 to cover the 55 miles. The first leg of the march, 32 miles in 14 hours of essentially nonstop riding, ended at 10:00 p.m. on June 29 at Fountain Dale on the eastern base of the South Mountain range.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Series 1, vol. 27, Part 3, p. 376, hereafter cited as *OR 27/3:376*; Abner Frank, *Diary*, June 29, 1863, USAHEC,

June 30, 1863

The second day's march began in an impenetrable fog at 4:00 a.m. when Buford, apparently to save time and unnecessary hardship for his saddle-sore men and spent horses, attempted to get to Gettysburg by way of the Fairfield (Hagerstown) Road, thereby bypassing the longer march to Emmitsburg. His lead regiment, the 8th Illinois Cavalry, stumbled into a Confederate picket outpost commanded by Lt. William E. Kyle (Company B, 52nd North Carolina) at the covered bridge on the Jacks Mountain Road. A brief but heated firefight ensued. Buford abruptly disengaged rather than bring on a general fight in the fog. The 8th countermarched, accidentally leaving a dismounted trooper, Pvt. Thomas Withrow (Company C), behind; Withrow's horse joined the column without him. Captain William L. Heermance's squadron (Companies B and C, 6th New York Cavalry) from Devin's brigade replaced the Hoosiers on the line to cover the division's escape. Heermance dismounted his men in skirmish order and put up a sporadic fight until the column slipped away.<sup>2</sup>

---

Carlisle, PA; Eric J. Wittenberg, *"The Devil's to Pay": John Buford at Gettysburg, A History and Walking Tour* (El Dorado Hills, CA, 2014). Wittenberg's groundbreaking study—the first dedicated to the role of the Federal cavalry during the battle—is an essential source and should be among the first consulted.

2 Abner Hard, *History of the Eighth Cavalry Regiment, Illinois Volunteers* (Aurora, IL, 1868), 255; Committee on Regimental History, *History of the Sixth New York Cavalry (Second Ira Harris Guard), Second Brigade, First Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac, 1861-1865* (Worcester, MA, 1908), 133; Letters and Partial Diary of Capt. William L. Heermance, 91, Library, BV 487-01 ts, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (FSNMP); Sarah Sites Thomas, Tim Smith, Gary Kross, & Dean S. Thomas, *Fairfield in the Civil War* (Gettysburg, PA, 2011), 42; Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War*, 5 vols. (Goldsboro, NC, 1901), 3:236; "Account of Captain Benjamin F. Little, Co. E, 52nd North Carolina," Vertical Files, V7-NC52, Library, GNMP. The traditional story says the 6th New York Cavalry clashed with the Confederates on the Iron Springs Road (Maria Furnace Road), which paralleled the Jacks Mountain Road. Buford, however, made no mention of splitting his column before or after he reached Fountain Dale. Heermance specifically wrote, "I was sent to check them [the Confederates] with my squadron while the column took another road." Company B, 52nd North Carolina engaged some Federal cavalry (yet unidentified) on the night of June 29-30 on the road to Emmitsburg.

*Emmitsburg, Maryland**8 miles southeast of Fairfield, Pennsylvania*

The rainy morning of June 30 found this prosperous farming community occupied by the larger part of two Federal corps. Most of the I Corps, Maj. Gen. John F. Reynolds commanding, had arrived during the late afternoon and night of the previous day.<sup>3</sup>

Brigadier General James S. Wadsworth (First Division) placed four of Brig. Gen. Lysander Cutler's five regiments north of the town to cover the Emmitsburg Road to Gettysburg. The 56th Pennsylvania, stuck behind a lengthy wagon train as the rear guard, reached Emmitsburg sometime between midnight and 1:00 a.m. on June 30. Unable to catch up with the rest of the brigade, Col. John W. Hofmann ordered his weary men into a big clover field alongside the Emmitsburg Road just south of the town near St. Joseph's Academy. Except for his headquarters guard, Hofmann's thoroughly soaked soldiers spread their gum blankets over the equally wet grass and collapsed in a deep sleep.<sup>4</sup>

Brigadier General John C. Robinson posted his Second Division about half a mile west of town, north of the Fairfield Road. Having seen war's devastation before, the veterans took little note of the debris from a fire that had destroyed the square and eastern side of the town a little over two weeks earlier. Musician Samuel Webster (Company D, 13th Massachusetts) curtly noted in his diary that Emmitsburg was "half burnt." The Third Division (Maj. Gen. Abner Doubleday commanding) filled the gap between Robinson's men and Wadsworth's.<sup>5</sup>

The gray drizzly morning began with an irritating rain between 3:00 a.m. and 5:00 a.m. In Brig. Gen. Henry Baxter's brigade (Robinson's division), Pvt.

3 Ladd & Ladd, *Bachelder Papers*, 2:939. Lieutenant Colonel William W. Dudley said his 19th Indiana covered about 22 miles in 8.5 hours on June 29.

4 Benjamin F. Cook, *History of the Twelfth Massachusetts Volunteers (Webster Regiment)* (Boston, 1882), 100; J. W. Hofmann, "The Battle: Twenty-Three Years Ago," *Gettysburg Compiler*, June 29, 1886; John Nicholson, ed., *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, 3 vols. (Harrisburg, PA, 1893), 1:315; Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, 5 vols. (Harrisburg, PA, 1869), 2:220.

5 Samuel Webster, *Diary*, June 29, 1863, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; Survivor's Association, *History of the 121st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers: An Account From the Ranks* (Philadelphia, 1906), 51. I based Rowley's position on an account in the 121st Pennsylvania's history.

Robert S. Coburn (Company H, 83rd New York) grouched in his diary, “Still raining for the last four days. Wet through all the time.” Corporal Charles Smedley (Company G, 90th Pennsylvania), despite the rain, woke up refreshed around 5:00 and set about his morning routine.

Not long thereafter an elderly couple in their farm wagon rumbled into Companies B’s and G’s bivouacs. The gentleman and his wife surprised Capt. Jacob M. Davis by dismounting and handing out delicacies to his men in Company B. When Davis asked what they were doing, they calmly replied the obvious: they had food for his soldiers. Knowing that the “boys” would more than likely throng the couple and frighten them away, Davis started shouting at his men to form a line. Company G joined them.

Corporal Smedley waited his turn to get what he could of the biscuits, buttered bread, and donuts. He listened as one of the good Samaritans said, “Poor fellows, we’ll give you all we have, if you drive the rebels off, and hope you’ll not get killed.” Smedley and Davis never forgot the old pair. Davis, noting their plain clothes and the beardless gentleman’s cropped hair, mistook them for Quakers.<sup>6</sup>

### *XI Corps*

Major General Oliver O. Howard’s XI Corps wheezed into Emmitsburg and camped southwest of town around Mount St. Mary’s Convent (the “White House”) and St. Joseph’s Academy between 4:00 pm. and 6:00 p.m. on June 29. The soldiers admired the convent’s well-kept grounds and farm fields. Their beauty astounded Lt. William Ballentine (Company E, 82nd Ohio), who wrote, “The institution of the Sisters of Charity (whose grounds we are now on) farm and building (especially the latter) is the finest I ever saw.” The white crosses on the grassy graves and the tiny chapel with its “saintly group of gentle worshippers” greatly impressed Ballentine’s captain, Alfred E. Lee. A native of Lima, New York, Pvt. John T. McMahon (Company E, 136th New York)

<sup>6</sup> Robert S. Coburn, Diary, June 30, 1863, *Civil War Times Illustrated* Collection, Manuscript Department, USAMHI, Carlisle, PA; The Ladies’ and Gentlemen’s Fulton Aid Society, *Life in Southern Prisons; from the Diary of Corporal Charles Smedley, of Company G, 90th Regiment Penn’a Volunteers* (Lancaster, PA, 1865), 54. Davis specifically said they were Quakers; they could have been Mennonites. While he did not describe their appearances, the one way to tell the two sects from the German Baptist Brethren and the Amish was that married men in the former two did not grow beards.



scrawled in his diary, “The country here is the best I have ever seen. It will beat our land at home.”<sup>7</sup>

Between 3:00 a.m. and 5:00 a.m. on June 30, orders rippled through the XI Corps to Maj. Gen. Carl Schurz’s Third Division to be ready to march at daybreak. The morning dawned gray, and a heavy rain pelted the soldiers as they struck their tents and squatted by their smoldering breakfast fires.

At 6:00 a.m., having moved not a yard, officers commanded the men to pitch their saturated tents again and wait. Nineteen-year-old drummer William R. Kiefer (Company F, 153rd Pennsylvania) awakened with a stiff knee and blistered feet, and felt particularly old that morning. His two “pards,” Pvts. Stephen “Feldy” and Edwin “Chunky” Knecht, came in from picket duty and joined him for breakfast. The worn-out musician longed for smoking tobacco but had no money to pay for it. Out of nowhere, his extremely sick captain, Lucius Q. Stout, defied the surgeon’s orders and showed up with the “insidious weed” and dry socks, both of which he gave to Kiefer. (The previous evening, he had told the boy that he had \$79.00 on his person. By daylight he had spent the entire amount to provide his company with socks, tobacco, and other niceties.)<sup>8</sup>

Buford’s cavalry reached Emmitsburg between 6:00 a.m. and 7:00 a.m. Without halting, the general directed his two brigades north on the Emmitsburg Road toward Gettysburg. Gamble’s regiments took the lead, with the 8th New York holding the “post of honor” at the front of the column. On the way through town, one of Buford’s aides stopped momentarily in Battery B, 4th U.S. Artillery’s bivouac to inform Lt. James Stewart of their brush with a contingent

7 John W. Hand, “Gettysburg,” *National Tribune*, July 24, 1890, 3, hereafter cited as *NT*; John Michael Priest, ed., *John T. McMahon’s Diary of the 136th New York, 1861-1864* (Shippensburg, PA, 1993), 53; *OR 27/733*; William R. Kiefer, *History of the One Hundred Fifty-third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, Which Was Recruited in Northampton County, PA, 1862-1863* (Easton, PA, 1909), 207; Stephen A. Wallace, *Diary, June 29, 1863, Diaries and Journals, Collection, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, PA*; “A Company Officer,” “Reminiscences of the Battle of Gettysburg,” *Lippincott’s Magazine*, New Series (Philadelphia, 1883), 32:54; John A. Miller, “Monterrey Pass Battlefield Institute’s ‘When War Passed This Way,’” <https://southmountaincw.wordpress.com/>; D. G. Brinton Thompson, “From Chancellorsville to Gettysburg: A Doctor’s Diary,” <https://journals.psu.edu/pmhb/article/viewFile/42056/41777>. The officer in question was Capt. Alfred E. Lee, Company E, the only wounded and captured officer in the 82nd Ohio.

8 T. A. Dodge, *Diary, June 30, 1863, Vertical Files, VF 6-NY119, Library, GNMP*; Kiefer, *History of the One Hundred Fifty-third Regiment*, 207; Wallace diary, June 30, 1863.

of Lt. Gen. Ambrose P. Hill's Rebel corps, and that they expected to have a battle the next day.

Stewart, having mustered and inspected the battery that morning, found himself between the proverbial "rock and a hard place." With June 30 being the last day of the month, he, like every battery and regimental commander that morning, found himself preoccupied with filling out and comparing the unit's June returns with the payroll. Every number had to match. Additionally, he had to compile and reconcile the quartermaster, commissary, ordnance, and regimental returns, and have them in the mail no later than the following morning—in addition to preparing his battery for a possible engagement.<sup>9</sup>

Buford stopped briefly at headquarters to inform Reynolds that the Confederates occupied Fairfield. Reynolds immediately sent that information via courier to Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, Army of the Potomac, commanding at Taneytown. Reynolds, whom Col. Charles S. Wainwright (Chief of Artillery, I Corps) described as "better at carrying out plans than at devising them," immediately issued orders for the corps to march. By the time the infantry divisions got under way, Buford was miles closer to Gettysburg.<sup>10</sup>

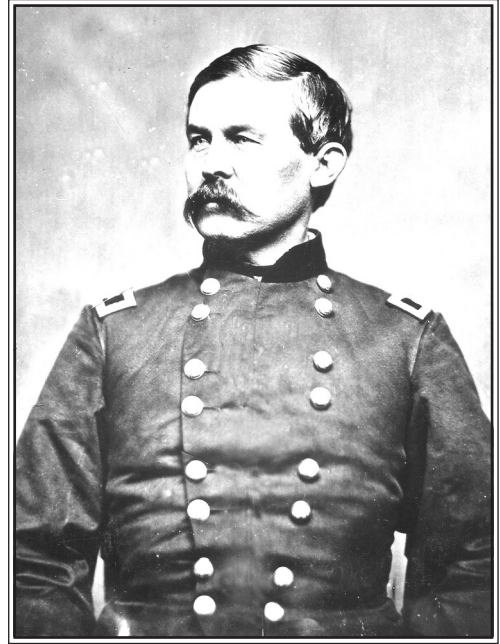
Reynolds's I Corps lurched northward at 8:00 a.m. Wadsworth's division, as the command closest to the Pennsylvania line and Marsh Creek, left its bivouac first, followed by Robinson's two brigades, then Doubleday's division.

9 James Stewart, "Battery B Fourth United States Artillery at Gettysburg," in *Sketches of War History, 1861-1865; Papers Prepared for the Ohio Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, 1890-1896*, 8 vols. (Cincinnati, 1896), 4:183; J. William Hofmann, "Remarks on the Battle of Gettysburg," *Paper Read Before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania March 8th 1880* (Philadelphia, 1880), 3. General James Wadsworth's division drew pay that day.

10 Allan Nevins, ed., *A Diary of Battle: The Personal Journals of Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, 1861-1865* (Boston, 1998), 229; John Watts De Peyster, "The Death of Reynolds," *Army and Navy Journal*, June 22, 1867, 43, 4:694; Michael J. Riggleman, *Poinsett's Cavalry Tactics for Reenactors* (2nd U.S. Cavalry, Co. A/9th VA Cavalry, Co. D, Training Committee, 2005), 3 (<https://tinyurl.com/3989uhf7>, accessed Jan. 10, 2023); OR 27/1:926, 3:419; Abner Hard, *History of the Eighth Cavalry Regiment*, 255; John Watts De Peyster, *The Decisive Conflicts of the Late Civil War, or Slaveholders Rebellion*, No. 3 (New York, 1867), 27. *The Army and Navy Journal* began publication in 1863 and exists today as *The Armed Forces Journal*. Based upon Mr. Riggleman's interpretation of *Poinsett's Cavalry Tactics* and knowing that it would have taken about four hours for Buford to enter Gettysburg around 11:00 a.m., I estimated his departure from Emmitsburg to have occurred between the hours stated above. The Army of the Potomac's left wing consisted of the I, III, and XI Corps. Wainwright noted that the I Corps marched at 8:00 a.m.

Brigadier General John Buford's best day of the war was on July 1, 1863, where his stout defense gave time for the rest of the army to come up and possess the high ground below Gettysburg. LOC

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The XI Corps received the orders at 8:30 a.m. but did not get under way on schedule.

General Schurz used the delay to find himself some suitable quarters. He called upon Sister Ann Simeon, Mother Superior of the Sisters of Charity, for permission to use one of the school's buildings for his headquarters. After he reassured

her that his presence would ensure the school's safety better than a posted sentinel, she graciously agreed. She asked Father James F. Burlando, C.M., the school's chaplain, to take the officers on a tour of the main campus building. The reverend father permitted one of the staff to play the chapel organ.<sup>11</sup>

### *Emmitsburg Road, South of Gettysburg*

A mile or so south of Gettysburg, a rotund farmer on an emaciated horse intercepted Lieutenant Calef's Battery A, 2nd U.S. Artillery, near the tail of Buford's column. Exhausted by the "long, hot dusty march," Calef and Lt. John W. Roder reined in on the roadside, broadly grinning at one another over the comedic-looking fellow's stout body and red face. "How you vas, Shentlemens?" the civilian blurted. Roder, being German, replied in Deutsch.

The "Dutchman," thinking they were grinning at his pathetic mount, said he had hidden his good horses in the "woots, and those damned rebels won't get

<sup>11</sup> Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, 3 vols. (New York, 1908), 3:3; *The Catholic Church in the United States of America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1914), 2:48. Saint Vincent de Paul founded the Congregation of the Mission (C.M.) in the 1600s.

them sometimes.” Before the words had cleared his mouth, two cavalry stragglers with “captured” chickens slung over their saddles and sabers slashing the air stampeded past the three men, covering them in dust. Calef loudly ordered them to halt, knowing full well he was wasting his time. They stopped long enough for him to demand they identify their command and to reprimand their inappropriate behavior. Ignoring him, they “dug spurs” and clattered down the road, the officers’ grins following them as they disappeared.

The farmer misinterpreted their response and yelled after them, “That’s right, fellers: goes in and knocks down everything what comes before you.” Roder and Calef choked back their laughter to tell the farmer that those men were the type who “lived to fight another day.”<sup>12</sup>

*Cashtown, Pennsylvania*  
7 miles northwest of Gettysburg

*Brigadier General J. Johnston Pettigrew's Brigade,  
Heth's Division, A. P. Hill's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia*

Dawn found musician Julius A. Leinbach and his comrades in the 26th North Carolina drenched from the evening rain. Before the men had stoked their morning fires, a disturbing command arrived from brigade headquarters for them to leave their knapsacks in camp along with anyone not able to endure a “forced march.” To Leinbach’s relief, his colonel, Henry K. Burgwyn, gave the regimental band the option to participate in the excursion or to remain behind. The band members, all Moravian pacifists, decided to stay with the knapsacks and their disabled comrades.<sup>13</sup>

*McKnightstown, Pennsylvania*  
1.5 miles southeast of Cashtown

Colonel William S. Christian (55th Virginia, Heth’s Division), who had not slept at all within the last 24 hours, was not in a good spirits. His misery had

12 John H. Calef, “Gettysburg Notes,” *Journal of Military Service Institution of the United States*, 40:45-46.

13 Julius A. Lineback (Leinbach), Untitled Newspaper Article, “26th North Carolina Band,” 55, Julius A. Lineback Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.

begun at sunset the previous evening when his men stacked their arms on a hill west of Cashtown. Hungry and looking for something edible other than army rations, he had started riding toward town to procure an edible meal when an orderly from his brigade commander, Col. John M. Brockenbrough, rode up to him with an urgent message. The colonel wanted Christian to uproot his regiment and head east on the Chambersburg Pike to establish a picket line at a suitable location. Miffed at not getting supper, the colonel heard the messenger blather something about not mistaking friends as foes, and that he would probably encounter troops from Richard Ewell's Second Corps, or perhaps some of General Stuart's cavalry. Christian blocked out whatever else the fellow droned on about.

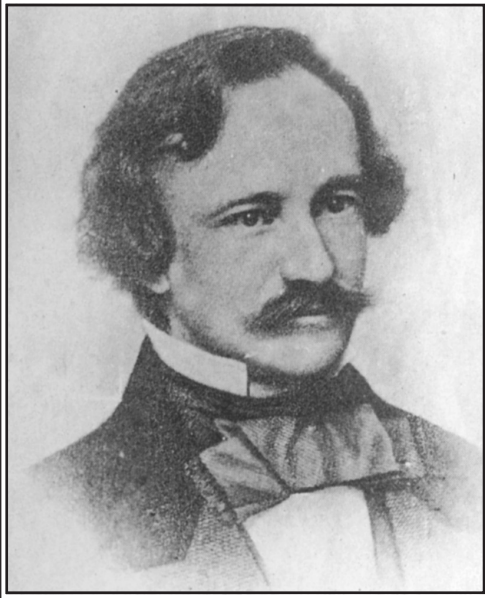
The frustrated colonel rode to brigade headquarters and asked Brockenbrough to clarify how far out was he to establish his picket. Brockenbrough brushed him aside by saying that Christian knew no more than he did, and that it was an exact copy of an order from General Heth. Christian spurred to division headquarters, where Heth told him the order had come down from General Hill. No one seemed to know much of anything.

Christian returned to his regiment in the dark, formed his companies, and marched about a mile and a half east to the crossroads at McKnightstown. The colonel posted the bulk of his men in a cemetery in the southeastern section of the intersection and placed the rest of the regiment across both sides of the crossroads. Nothing of any importance occurred during the night except that someone "confiscated" several Pennsylvania chickens before daylight and had them cooking by sunup.<sup>14</sup>

### *Cashtown*

General Heth ordered Brig. Gen. Johnston Pettigrew to proceed to Gettysburg with most of his brigade and requisition supplies, including shoes. Under no circumstances was he to bring on a general engagement should he encounter any organized force. Word rippled through the 11th, 26th and 47th North Carolina regiments to strip down for a quick advance. The men of the

14 <https://tinyurl.com/rhbh4rx4>, Map #22: Map of Adams County, Pennsylvania, 1858 (accessed Jan. 15, 2023), hereafter cited as Map #22; W. S. Christian to John W. Daniel, October 24, 1903, Vertical Files, V 7-VA 55, Library, GNMP. The McKnightstown crossroad consisted of the Lutheran and German Reformed Church (southwest), T. J. Cooker's store (northwest), a schoolhouse (northeast), and the cemetery (southeast).



Brigadier General J. Johnston Pettigrew, a scholar, author, and politician, performed well for his first time at the head of a brigade. He would be mortally wounded near the end of the campaign, and die on July 17, 1863. *Generals in Gray*

26th lost some time getting started to take roll so they could get paid later that day.<sup>15</sup>

Assembling the raiding party consumed a couple of hours of precious daylight. Pettigrew brought up 15 wagons to haul away whatever supplies they might find. Although he only anticipated minor annoyance from the local

militia, Pettigrew beefed up the column with a trio of rifled guns from the Donaldsonville Artillery. The column, in the road at prescribed distances, occupied about 2,900 feet.<sup>16</sup>

The exhausted Colonel Christian (55th Virginia) was enjoying his freshly cooked Pennsylvania chicken when he saw Pettigrew's column heading down the pike toward his picket line. The general halted his regiments at the crossroads and asked one of the Virginians to summon his commanding officer. Pettigrew informed Christian that he was on a reconnaissance and wanted his

15 Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, 5:115; *OR* 27/2:637. Heth made it a matter of record in his September 13, 1863, report that he sent Pettigrew to Gettysburg to find supplies, including shoes. Some writers have argued that Maj. Gen. Jubal Early (Ewell's Corps) had passed through the town a few days before and had found no shoes. Heth, who led a division in Hill's Corps, would not have known this.

16 Andrew R. Cross, *The War. Battle of Gettysburg and the Christian Commission* (Baltimore, 1865), 88; Michael Jacobs, *Notes on the Rebel Invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania and the Battle of Gettysburg, Jul 1st, 2d and 3d, 1863* (Philadelphia, 1864), 21; Lineback, *26th North Carolina Band*, 55. According to Capt. John H. Thorp, Co. A, "Forty-Seventh Regiment," in Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, 3:88-89, a civilian warned the column of an ambush. Given that no other regiment in the reconnaissance reported contact of any sort with Union forces, and the 26th North Carolina stayed at Cashtown to draw pay, the 47th must have led the column. According to Jacobs, "their line of march extended at least a mile and a half in length."



Virginia regiment to join the expedition. The Virginia colonel, who had just spent a sleepless night and had no orders from his brigade commander to go anywhere, predictably declined. Pettigrew acknowledged that he had no right to ask that Christian's 55th Virginia go along, but that his own regiment, the 26th North Carolina, despite being equipped well and well-drilled, had little combat experience, and he wanted a veteran regiment to come along. With that, Christian recalled, "I readily consented to go."<sup>17</sup>

9:30 *a.m.*

*Outskirts of Gettysburg*

*7 Miles Southeast of Cashtown*

Riding in advance of the column and behind a screen of skirmishers drawn from the 47th North Carolina, Pettigrew and his staff halted in the Chambersburg Pike on the crest of Seminary Ridge. The officers scanned the town in the distance with their field glasses while skirmishers swarmed into the low ground toward Elias Sheads's house and orchard. Curious civilians clustered around the knot of mounted officers. The Confederates casually gleaned fragmentary military intelligence from them. The Carolinians were marching into the hollow between McPherson's Ridge and Seminary Ridge when one of Maj. Gen. James Longstreet's scouts, Henry T. Harrison, passed alongside the column. The scout continued east and briefed Pettigrew on his mission before descending the hill into town.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, Companies F, H, and C of the 8th New York Cavalry, riding well in advance of Buford's column, entered Gettysburg from the south. Harrison spotted them and headed back to Pettigrew. A few minutes ahead of the New Yorkers, he halted long enough to tell Pettigrew that Yankee cavalry now occupied Gettysburg. Almost immediately a Knight of the Golden Circle approached the general and confirmed Harrison's report. Realizing that a larger force of unknown composition might not be far behind, Pettigrew dispatched a courier to Cashtown with orders to bring up the 26th and 52nd regiments and to

17 Christian to Daniel, October 24, 1903.

18 Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, 5:115; Jacobs, *Notes On The Rebel Invasion*, 21. I believe the 47th North Carolina may have stopped on the western slope of Seminary Ridge, because the regiment would have stayed in supporting distance of the skirmishers, and Jacobs said "a portion of Hill's corps" had gotten that far, which implies it was a larger force than a skirmish line.

request further instructions from Heth. He also sent an aide along the column to deliver the command to turn about.<sup>19</sup>

“Halt! About face—quick time, march!” reverberated through the 47th North Carolina, recalled Capt. John H. Thorp (Company A). As the Carolinians reversed direction, shots, apparently from both sides of the road, reverberated over the ridges behind them. Unbeknownst to the captain, Company F, 8th New York Cavalry, in advance of the other two companies, had just chased the 47th’s skirmishers away from the Sheads house. With scattered rounds snapping overhead, the Rebs withdrew without responding.<sup>20</sup>

The New Yorkers saw a couple of mounted officers on the top of the hill but did not approach them. What they did not know was that Pettigrew had left behind his aide-de-camp, Lt. Louis G. Young, and his ordnance officer, Lt. Walter G. Robertson, to observe the Federal cavalry. The general was reluctant to break off his scout because of the arrival of companies of Union cavalry, but prudence dictated that he do so. According to Young, “It was purely an affair of observation on both sides and the cavalry made no effort to molest us.” Colonel William S. Christian (55th Virginia), having been informed by the orderly that Pettigrew “had found all that he came for,” turned back toward McKnightstown.<sup>21</sup>

19 Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, 5:115; Jacobs, *Notes On The Rebel Invasion*, 21; Cross, *The War*, 26; Robert E. L. Krick, *Staff Officers in Gray: A Biographical Register of The Staff Officers in the Army of Northern Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2003), 311. In 1901 Lt. Louis G. Young, Pettigrew’s aide-de-camp, mistakenly recalled that Harrison reported that Buford’s entire division was in the town. Harrison would not have been able to see the entire command, nor would he have known it was Buford’s division. Young’s postwar knowledge influenced his recollection. Pettigrew did not send back for the 52nd North Carolina (of his brigade) and the 42nd Mississippi (Davis’s Brigade), as Lt. Young also later recalled, because he did not have the authority to call up the latter. He may have called up the 26th North Carolina, which had remained behind to muster for pay. Captain Benjamin F. Little (Co. E, 52nd North Carolina) said Pettigrew sent back for his regiment.

20 Cross, *The War*, 88-89; Walter B. Norton, “The Last Word About the First Shot,” *NT*, April 24, 1884, 7; Frank E. Willett, “Another Gettysburg,” *NT*, December 1, 1892, 4. Willett recalled firing at the Confederates while Norton remembered them falling back without any resistance. Captain Thorp claimed several long-range shots came in from both sides of the road as the regiment headed back toward Marsh Creek.

21 Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, 5:116; Thomas J. Luttrell, *Diary*, June 30, 1863, Manuscript Department, William R. Perkins, Library, Duke University, Durham, NC; Christian to Daniel. Christian may have found the rest of his brigade in bivouac at the crossroad because it makes sense that Brockenbrough would have followed Pettigrew’s two remaining regiments forward. Whether he did or not remains unclear.



*Gettysburg, Pennsylvania**11:00 a.m. to Noon*

While Pettigrew backpedaled, the rest of 8th New York (Gamble's brigade) led the division into Gettysburg on the Emmitsburg Road between 11:00 a.m. and noon. As the column crested the western side of Cemetery Hill the men, glancing to the northwest toward Seminary Ridge, noticed Lieutenants Young and Robertson watching them from the Fairfield Road and assumed they were Confederate cavalymen. Private Andrew Foulds, Jr. (Company K, 8th New York) believed the Rebs were paying attention to the size of the column.

Turning to the left onto South Washington Street at the Taneytown Road intersection, the troopers rode into a wildly enthusiastic crowd of civilians. Foulds took note of the stark contrast between battle-scarred northern Virginia and Gettysburg. The ladies sang, waved their handkerchiefs, and blew kisses at the cavalymen, fondly recalled Cpl. James M. Gardner (Company E, 12th Illinois).

Fifteen-year-old Tillie Pierce, along with her sister and other girls, ran down the "side street" from her home on Baltimore Street and clustered on the corner of Washington and High streets to greet the soldiers as they passed Catherine Foster's house. Her sister broke into the chorus of "Our Union Forever" and the other girls chimed in. Not knowing the rest of the song, they repeated the chorus ad nauseam until the last weary soldier passed.<sup>22</sup>

Women proudly wearing red, white, and blue badges and carrying U.S. flags thronged Company C, 6th New York Cavalry. The sounds of "Rally Round the Old Flag Once More" and "We Will Fight For the Union" inundated the street. When one of the ladies handed Capt. William L. Heermance flowers

22 James M. Gardner, "Union vs. Rebel Cavalry," *NT*, November 8, 1898, 8; Andrew Foulds, Jr. to Rev. R. S. McArthur, September 7, 1896, Vertical Files, V6-NY8 Cav, Library, GNMP; Norton, "The Last Word About the First Shot"; William Gamble to W. S. Church, March 10, 1864; Frank diary, June 30, 1863; *OR* 27/1:923-924; David A. Murdoch, "Catherine Mary White Foster's Eyewitness Account of the Battle of Gettysburg, with Background on the Foster Family Union Soldiers," *Adams County History*, no. 5 (1995), 1:49, <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ach/vol1/iss1/5/> (accessed January 11, 2023); Tillie Pierce Alleman, *At Gettysburg, or What a Girl Saw and Heard of the Battle* (New York, 1889), 28-29; Edmund J. Raus, Jr., *A Generation on the March: The Union Army at Gettysburg* (Lynchburg, VA, 1993), 93. Foster stated the cavalry rode by her home on the corner of S. Washington and High streets. They did not reach the Eagle Hotel by way of Baltimore Street. Tillie Pierce Alleman also said the troopers passed by that corner.

and a flag, his eyes welled with tears. He bit his lips to stifle his surging emotions.<sup>23</sup>

Lieutenant Calef (Battery A, 2nd U.S.) stared at the schoolchildren decked out in white and carrying bunches of flowers and wreaths standing on the street corners and greeting the artillerymen with “The Battle Cry of Freedom.” A young girl, in what the lieutenant described as a “very coy and diffident manner,” boldly walked into the middle of the street and handed him a huge bouquet.<sup>24</sup>

Another child, about 10 years old, stepped off the sidewalk and tried to pin a corsage on a passing trooper of the 8th Illinois. Seeing she could not reach him, he dismounted. After fastening it on his uniform, she handed him a long purple ribbon, saying, “Soldier, I want you to wear this ribbon in the next fight you’re in, the one you’re going to have now.” “Thank you, my little lady,” he politely replied, “and I will, if there is a fight, but I don’t think we will have one.” “Oh, yes you will, soldier,” she insisted. “There’s thousands of rebels there, and you will surely have a fight!” “I hope not,” he reassured her, “but I thank you very much, and if there is a fight, I will wear it.”<sup>25</sup>

Riding alongside Company A, 8th Illinois, Lt. William C. Hazelton encountered a married couple at their front yard gate. They repeatedly asked him to come in and eat: “Can’t we do something for you?” one of them pleaded. The lieutenant responded, “You will have an opportunity to do something for us to-morrow.” “Why,” the startled woman replied, “will there be a battle to-morrow?” The lieutenant rode on without replying.

As the cavalrymen walked their jaded horses through the town, civilians of all ages vied with one another to grasp their filthy hands. They passed beer, wine, cakes, and milk out to every cavalryman within reach. Hazelton sadly recollected, “The careless, happy lads of a few years before had been transformed into stern, resolute veteran soldiers.” Bright-eyed women crowded open windows and doorways along the route, waving handkerchiefs at the

23 William L. Heermance to Susie Leeds, July 4, 1863, Vertical Files, VF 48701, FSNMP.

24 Calef, “Gettysburg Notes,” 46-47. The 6th New York had only six companies in action on July 1, 1863. Companies D and K, being the II Corps’ headquarters escort, did not join the regiment until the morning of July 2. Company A served as the III Corps’ headquarters escort. Company L was the provost guard of the 2nd Brigade, First Cavalry Division, and Companies F and H were in Yorktown, Virginia, with the IV Corps.

25 Anonymous Veteran, 8th Illinois Cavalry, *New York Times*, July 1, 1913, Vertical Files, V6-III.8 Cav., Library, GNMP.

troopers. A matronly looking lady, who Hazelton assumed had a boy in the army, managed a doleful smile through tears that trickled down her cheeks.<sup>26</sup>

With Buford in the lead, the division worked its way through the throngs of joyous civilians to the Washington Street-Chambersburg Pike intersection. The general and his staff established headquarters at John L. Tate's Eagle Hotel on the northeast corner of the intersection. He ordered Colonel Gamble to proceed west, instructing him to identify the best lines for battle beyond the town, to find cover to shelter the brigade, to send one or two squadrons out to find the enemy, and to establish picket lines. Gamble ordered Maj. John L. Beveridge (8th Illinois Cavalry) to conduct the reconnaissance. Despite the run-down condition of his horses and men, Colonel Devin was tasked with scouting every road northwest and north of Gettysburg.<sup>27</sup>

The 8th New York broke to the southwest along the Fairfield Road where it forked from the Chambersburg Pike near the John Burns house. In passing the Lutheran Seminary on the crest of ridge, the men latched their eyes upon women sporting white dresses thronging the plaza and the balcony of the main building. The ladies, who seemed peculiarly angelic to many of the onlookers, burst into the "Star Spangled Banner" as the colors of the regiment came into view. The soldiers responded with "Three Huzzahs and a Tiger." Private Foulds could not tell who rejoiced more—the delivered or the deliverers. "Inside of five minutes we expected guns would be cracking and bullets singing a deadly tune to (the) rebels," he recalled.

Proceeding to the top of McPherson's Ridge, the New Yorkers halted. Below them lay Willoughby Run and, to the west, wooded Herr's Ridge. No Confederates were in sight. Just below the western crest of McPherson's Ridge they encountered John Horting, who rented the place from George Arnold. Horting told the New Yorkers that the Rebels had spotted the column's approach and vacated the premises not 10 minutes earlier.<sup>28</sup>

26 William C. Hazelton, "People of Gettysburg," *NT*, March 24, 1892, 4.

27 Hard, *History of the Eighth Cavalry*, 256; Gamble to Church; Frank diary, June 30, 1863; *OR* 27/1:923-924; Ladd & Ladd, *Bachelor Papers*, 1:201; Murdoch, "Catherine Mary White Foster's Eyewitness Account." Lieutenant Aaron B. Jerome's letter to Winfield Scott Hancock, Oct. 18, 1865, confirms Buford's headquarters were in a hotel on June 30, 1863.

28 Foulds to McArthur. Foulds erroneously identified the Horting residence as John Burns's house. According to a 1998 map by Thomas J. Desjardin, Horting was a tenant of George Arnold, who owned the property.

*McPherson's Ridge*

12:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.

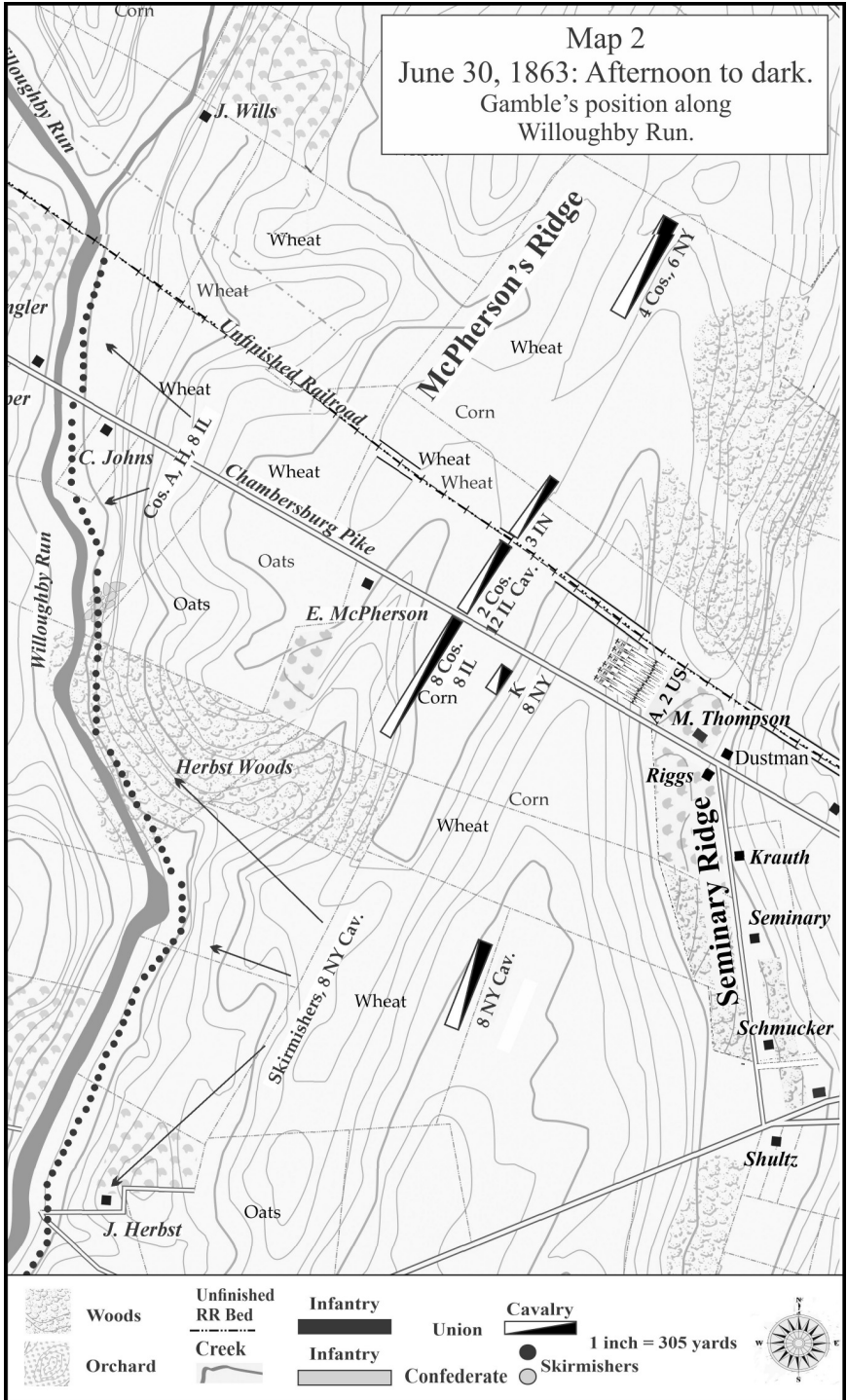
Lieutenant Colonel William L. Markell (8th New York) ordered Companies B and F west to picket on both sides of the Fairfield Road. They deployed into the low ground on the east bank of Willoughby Run with some of the line extending north along the western face of Herbst Woods. Two mounted videttes from Company F ascended Herr's Ridge to the crossroad west of the Henry Meals house. Twelve "volunteers" from Company C headed down the road under orders to scout as far as Fairfield. Captain Charles D. Follett followed them with Company D and established a second picket line along the eastern base of Bream's Hill. He posted two videttes in the road cut toward the western crest of the hill within sight of the Black Horse Tavern on Marsh Creek.<sup>29</sup>

The rest of the regiment filed into the low ground just west of the Lutheran Seminary. Company K held the right of the line on the Chambersburg Pike. Leaving their horses saddled, the troopers dismounted to give their worn-out and underfed animals and themselves some respite. Within the hour, however, Colonel Gamble sent Companies H and M back into town with orders to proceed southeast on the Baltimore Pike to Littlestown, some 10 miles away. They were to patrol and picket the area, watching for signs that the Confederates had crossed the Federal lines between York, Pennsylvania, and Westminster, Maryland. The disgruntled saddle-stiff troopers mounted and walked back into town along the same route they had entered.<sup>30</sup>

Farther to the right front (northwest), Maj. John Beveridge halted the 8th Illinois in the Chambersburg Road on the crest of McPherson's Ridge. To the west he spotted what appeared to be troops (47th North Carolina) in the road moving away from the town. He dispatched Capt. Henry J. Hotopp's squadron

29 Frank E. Willett, "Another Gettysburg: A Comrade Who Says the 8th N. Y. Cav. Opened the Great Battle," *NT*, December 1, 1894, 4; Norton, "The Last Word About the First Shot"; Henry Norton, *Deeds of Daring or History of the Eighth N. Y. Volunteer Cavalry* (Norwich, NY, 1889), 147; George B. McClellan, *Regulations and Instructions for the Field Service of the U.S. Cavalry in Time of War* (Philadelphia, 1862), 64, 65. Subsections 215 and 220, *ibid.*, specifically state that videttes should occupy heights during the day to observe approaches to the field, and that pickets were to occupy crossroads. Based on this, I placed Company D and its forward videttes near and on Bream's Hill. Herbst Woods has traditionally been called McPherson's Woods.

30 Foulds to McArthur.



(Companies D and F) to find out who they were. Hotopp reined in atop Knoxlyn Ridge. His men had lost sight of the enemy, who had crossed safely to the west side of Marsh Creek and disappeared over the next ridge. From his picket outpost on the Lohr Farm, Lt. John H. Moore (Company B, 7th Tennessee) spied a few of the distant Union troopers. Being so far away, and because Heth's Division had no cavalry with it, Moore automatically assumed they were Yankee scouts and nothing more. Nevertheless, he sent word of their presence back to Cashtown.<sup>31</sup>

Had the Hoosiers pursued the 47th North Carolina over the first ridge beyond the stone bridge over Marsh Creek, they would have run into the newly arrived 26th and 52nd North Carolina regiments in the small village of Seven Stars. The 26th bivouacked to the south side of the road in a well-kept grove while Colonel Burgwyn posted Lt. Col. John R. Lane with the pickets along the soggy bottom land west of Marsh Creek and south of the 52nd. With his brigade situated for the evening, Pettigrew and his aide, Lieutenant Young, rode back toward division headquarters at Cashtown.<sup>32</sup>

### *McPherson's Ridge*

Hotopp's troopers returned with two black servants who had strayed from their officers in the North Carolina brigade. Major Beveridge ordered Capt. Daniel W. Buck with his Company E and Company H forward on the pike and

31 Marcellus E. Jones, *Journal*, Monday, June 29, 1863, Perrin-Wheaton Chapter, National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Wheaton, IL, n.p.; John H. Moore, "Seventh Tennessee Infantry," in John Berrien Lindsley, ed., *The Military Annals of Tennessee, Confederate, First Series* (Nashville, 1886), 245; Jacobs, *The Rebel Invasion*, 22. Jacobs's description of the Confederates deploying two regiments on both sides of the Chambersburg Pike under the cover of a hill near Marsh Creek, while the third was sent a short distance forward (east) in the road to decoy the Union cavalry into pursuing them, dovetails with Young's account. "Whenever it [Hotopp's squadron, 8th Illinois] would come within three or four hundred yards of us we would make our appearance, mounted, when the column [47th North Carolina] would halt until we retired." Moore said he spotted the Federals around noon.

32 Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, 2:342 and 5:116; Jones, *Journal*. Assistant Surgeon George C. Underwood (26th North Carolina) wrote that the regiment marched 3.5 miles during the afternoon, which would have placed it near the village. This is my conclusion based upon Jacobs's and Young's accounts. It substantiates Young's claim that Pettigrew was "willing to make an attack had not his orders forbidden it." Jacobs's assertion that two Confederate regiments covered the creek crossing included the 26th North Carolina, which came up later in the afternoon.



gave the officers the standard admonition to immediately report any enemy activity and not be taken by surprise. His second lieutenant, Marcellus E. Jones, sarcastically noted, "This advice, while good, was perfectly useless."<sup>33</sup>

Buck took his men into the low ground to the west, crossed the small bridge on Willoughby Run, and ascended to the crest of Herr's Ridge. He established his headquarters at the tavern south of the pike and placed his picket reserve under Lt. Amasa E. Dana in the Herr Ridge Road where it intersected the pike at the tavern. The command of the advance picket post devolved upon Lieutenant Jones: "It fell my lot to have charge of the picket line." Major Beveridge, meanwhile, dismounted Lt. William C. Hazelton's picket reserve along the eastern bank of sluggish Willoughby Run. Company G, the other half of the squadron, straddled the Chambersburg Pike just east of Isaac Leeper's house.<sup>34</sup>

Jones set off with 35 men from his company. About a mile farther to the west he dismounted all but six troopers below the eastern side of Knoxlyn Ridge. About 600 yards beyond them, near Ephraim Wisler's house at the crossroads on the crest of the hill, Jones posted Sgt. Levi S. Shaeffer and Pvts. George S. Sager, James O. Hale, T. Benton Kelley, George Heim, and Horace O. Dodge. Remaining mounted, they operated in pairs with instructions to keep within sight of each other. Kelley, who supposed it was around 4:00 p.m., recalled that he and Hale stayed in the road while the others spread out to either side. Dodge settled down for what would be a long and boring night. While the advanced part of Company E secured Knoxlyn Ridge, the rest of the regiment

33 Jones, *Journal*; Hard, *History of the Eighth Cavalry*, 167, 256; McClellan, *Regulations and Instructions*, 58, 63, 65. Based on Hard's early description of the regimental organization and including the changes occasioned by Gettysburg, the 8th Illinois Cavalry consisted of the following squadrons: K/B, F/D, L/C, M/I, H/E, A/G. The soldiers' descriptions of the picket posts clearly illustrate that they were implementing McClellan's instructions for posting pickets and videttes as described in Part II, Chapter I.

34 Jones, *Journal*; Hard, *History of the Eighth Cavalry*, 167, 256; Horace O. Dodge, "Opening the Battle: Lt. Jones, the 8th Ill. Cavalryman, Fired the First Shot at Gettysburg," *NT*, September 24, 1891, 3; Hazelton, "People of Gettysburg." Based on the available evidence, I believe Companies H and E occupied the western side of Herr's Ridge. Private Dodge (Company E) said the two companies were along the edge of the woods just east of Marsh Creek. I believe he was part of the advance picket that evening under Lt. Jones, which was very close to Marsh Creek. Company H and some of Company E, however, remained behind as the reserve picket line. Surgeon Hard (8th Illinois) said that during the fighting on July 1, he saw Lieutenant Dana, who commanded the picket line, falling back over the ridge with Company E. As the senior lieutenant, Dana would have stayed with the reserve picket and Lt. Jones would have been assigned to the forward picket line and the videttes, farther to the front.

halted in the swale between Seminary and McPherson's ridges, with its right flank near the Chambersburg Pike.<sup>35</sup>

Colonel George H. Chapman, commanding two small regiments (the 12th Illinois and his own 3rd Indiana) detached a squadron (two companies) from the 12th across Willoughby Run and up the hill into the farm lane from Herr's Tavern north to Michael Crist's home. The rest of the regiment bivouacked in the open field, between the pike and railroad cut. The 3rd Indiana (Companies A, B, C, D, E, and F) deployed north of the cut. Major Charles Lemon, the officer in charge of the pickets, led a squadron west in the roadbed down to the creek. The Hoosiers used the bridge to cross and continued uphill to the Crist house, where they dismounted and connected with the 12th Illinois' detachment.<sup>36</sup>

In the meantime, civilians inundated the regiment's bivouac, bringing plenty of decent food and showering the men with invitations to have supper in their homes. Not one to turn aside such an opportunity. Private Thomas G. Day (Company E) took his horse down to Willoughby Run and scrubbed it clean. After washing his hands and face, he headed back to town.<sup>37</sup>

35 Jones, *Journal*; T. Benton Kelley, "An Account of Who Opened the Battle By One Who Was There," *NT*, December 31, 1891, 4; Dodge, "Opening the Battle"; John L. Beveridge, "The First Gun at Gettysburg," in *Military Essays and Recollections: Papers Read Before the Commandery of the State of Illinois, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States*, 8 vols. (Chicago, 1894), 2:90. Dodge, when naming the videttes, probably meant to write "George Heim" and "J. O. Hale" but inadvertently wrote "George Hale." It could also be a typesetting error. Company E had no "George Hale." It makes sense; there would have been six men on duty, not five.

36 Frank diary; Thomas G. Day, "Opening the Battle: A Cavalryman's Recollections of the First Day's Fight at Gettysburg," *NT*, July 30, 1903, 3. Though not stated by Frank or Day, I placed the pickets in the road because it complies with the instructions in McClellan's manual to occupy crossroads and lanes of access. The cavalry was deploying "by the book."

37 Bradley M. Gottfried, *The Maps of Gettysburg: An Atlas of the Gettysburg Campaign, June 3-July 13, 1863* (El Dorado Hills, CA, 2007), 61; Day, "Opening the Battle"; Frank diary, June 30, 1863. Based on casualty returns, the 12th Illinois had elements from six not four companies (233 officers and men) at Gettysburg. The two smallest companies likely merged with two larger ones but kept their company designations. John Bachelder's Map in the GNMP library clearly shows a substantial bridge spanning the creek where the proposed rail line crossed it.



*Northeast, North, and Northwest of Gettysburg*

Private Ashbel R. Mix (Company F) and another enlisted man from the 9th New York Cavalry, part of Devin's brigade's advance guard, trotted ahead of the regiment as it led the brigade past the Eagle Hotel. The horsemen continued on North Washington Street to the Mummasburg Road, and then followed that beyond Pennsylvania College and farther northwest. The mounted regiment finally halted in column of squadrons in the field on the north side of the road, below Oak Ridge.<sup>38</sup>

Devin placed two competent officers from the 9th in command of the brigade's pickets. Colonel William Sackett had the left of the picket and was assigned the section running across the Mummasburg Road to Oak Hill. Captain Wilber G. Bentley (Company H) supervised the coverage of the northern approaches—the Newville, Carlisle, Harrisburg, and Hunterstown roads, a distance of about 1.75 miles.<sup>39</sup>

The 3rd Squadron (D and L) and 5th Squadron (I and G), 9th New York Cavalry, remained on the north side of the Mummasburg Road northwest of the college. Sackett deployed the first squadron—Companies F and K—west to the Forney house on both sides of the Mummasburg Road as the picket reserve. A mounted vidette consisting of a corporal and three privates continued farther west to the stone bridge over Willoughby Run.

To the left, the exceedingly small 3rd West Virginia Cavalry (63 officers and men) and the six companies of the 6th New York moved into the big wheatfield on the eastern side of McPherson's Ridge north of the 3rd Indiana. The 3rd West Virginia crossed the run and climbed the ridge into the farm lane running from Christ's house to the Samuel Hartzell house on the Mummasburg Road. The 6th New York's 1st Squadron (Companies B and C) continued the picket line to the right. Captain Heermance spread his dismounted Company C at wide intervals to deceive the Rebels into overestimating their strength.

38 Newell Cheney, *History of the Ninth Regiment, New York Volunteer Cavalry* (Poland Center, NY, 1901), 102.

39 Cheney, *History of the Ninth Regiment*, 21; Wilber G. Bentley to the Illinois Commandery of the State of Illinois (Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States), n.d., Vertical Files, V6-NY9 Cav., Library, GNMP, 2; New York Monuments Commission, *New York at Gettysburg: Final Report of the Battlefield of Gettysburg*, 3 vols. (Albany, NY, 1902), 3:1153, hereafter cited as *NYAG*.

Lieutenant John E. Hofman (Company C, 3rd West Virginia) briefly noted, "Drizzling rain."<sup>40</sup>

Devin left two squadrons of the 17th Pennsylvania Cavalry (Companies E and L, and C and I) along the Mummasburg Road just northwest of the college. Colonel Josiah H. Kellogg (17th Pennsylvania) established his headquarters at the seminary and detailed his remaining five companies north and northeast to cover most of the approach roads into Gettysburg. Companies B, F, and M, under Maj. James Q. Anderson, advanced about a mile north beyond where the Newville Road split off from the Carlisle Road. With the picket reserve at the intersection, the videttes fanned out across both roads. Lieutenant John Sweeney took his squadron (Companies A and G) out on the Harrisburg Road northeast of the college.

Corporal John Mowry and Pvt. David H. Niblo of Company A, the advance guard, rode well ahead of the column. About three miles beyond the town they ran into a pair of Confederates. They captured one and the other escaped. Once the squadron caught up with Mowry and Niblo, the two videttes continued another half mile and stopped. In the distance they saw Confederate cavalry forming a column in the road, waiting for the Pennsylvanians to charge. Lieutenant Sweeney countermarched his two companies and raced back to the seminary to report their discovery to Colonel Kellogg, who in turn commanded Capt. Henry M. Donehoo (Company B) to picket the Harrisburg Road with Companies B and L. To Sweeney's right, Companies A and H, 9th New York, patrolled Rock Creek between the Hunterstown and the Harrisburg roads.

40 *OR* 27/1:185, 938; John E. Hoffman, *Diary*, Vertical Files, V6-WV3 Cav., Library, GNMP; Committee on Regimental History, *History of the Sixth New York*, 101, 136-137; Cheney, *History of the Ninth Regiment*, 102; Heermance to Leeds, July 4, 1863. The squadron (two companies) was the basic operational unit of the cavalry regiment. In his letter, Heermance wrote that his company lost two men wounded and four missing. The regimental history reported 14 lost for the entire regiment. Eight of those casualties occurred on July 2. The *Official Records* reported nine. The 9th New York's picket outpost was never along the Chambersburg Pike, despite the assertions of its veterans. Corporal Hodges did not know the name of the road he patrolled on July 1. He was pressured into saying it was the Willoughby Run bridge on the Chambersburg Pike, rather than the one on the Mummasburg Road that had been replaced. Chances are the bridges were of similar construction, much like those along the Antietam Creek in Washington County, Maryland. I placed the pickets in the farm road because Lieutenant Jones said his pickets connected with Devin's. I believe the pickets occupied the road because it would have given them a good view of the open valley below.

Companies B and E covered the area between the Hunterstown Road and the York Pike.<sup>41</sup>

### *Cashtown, Pennsylvania*

General Pettigrew, meanwhile, reported to Harry Heth and informed him that he had not carried out his orders to secure supplies because Federal cavalry occupied Gettysburg. Further, some of his officers had heard drums in the distance south of the town. Third Corps commander A. P. Hill rode up and joined them. Heth repeated Pettigrew's report to Hill. "The only force in Gettysburg is cavalry," Hill dismissively replied, "probably a detachment of observation. I am just from General Lee, and the information he has from his scouts corroborates that [which] I have received from mine—that is, the enemy are still at Middleburg and have not yet struck their tents."

Heth reasserted his previous directive. "If there is no objection, I will take my division tomorrow and go to Gettysburg and get those shoes." "None in the world," Hill consented. Unable to let the matter go, Pettigrew insisted that Lieutenant Young be allowed to corroborate his report. The general believed that Hill might listen to Young, who had served on Hill's staff during the Seven Days' Battles.

Hill agreed, and asked Young about the size of the forces he had observed. The aide firmly explained that the cavalry maneuvered like veterans and not home guards. The general brushed the comments aside. He did not believe that any part of the Army of the Potomac was in proximity. Hill emphatically added that if it were in vicinity, this was the place where he wanted to engage it. James Archer's Brigade would rotate to the front and lead the column, followed by the brigades of Davis, Pettigrew, and Brockenbrough.

Pettigrew and Young left the meeting incredulous at the "blindness [which] in part seemed to have come over our commanders." Despite Heth's and Hill's assertions to the contrary, Pettigrew believed there was going to be a battle the

41 Henry P. Moyer, *History of the Seventeenth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry* (Lebanon, PA, n.d.), 49, 56, 329, 381; Cheney, *History of the Ninth Regiment*, 103, 105; Raus, Jr., *A Generation on the March*, 93. The 17th Pennsylvania Cavalry had 12 companies divided into six squadrons of two companies each: A and G; B and H; C and I; D and K; E and L; F and M. At Gettysburg D and H served as the V Corps' headquarters guard and Company K was attached to the XI Corps' headquarters. Company B joined the Sixth Squadron, consisting of Companies F and M. The picket line would have stretched from the Cobean farm to the Yeatts farm to Rock Creek.

next day. He showed up at Archer's headquarters and prepared him for the advance by explaining in detail the terrain between Cashtown and Gettysburg. He warned Archer to watch out for a road on Herr's Ridge that intersected the pike at right angles from the south. The Yankees could use it to flank him. Pettigrew also told him that a ridge (McPherson's) west of Gettysburg would make an exceptionally good defensive position. Archer listened, but like the division and corps commanders, he may not have believed there would be any strong resistance.<sup>42</sup>

### *The Fairfield Road and Chambersburg Pike*

*4:00 p.m. to Dark*

As Lt. William C. Hazelton (Company A, 8th Illinois Cavalry) supervised his skirmishers along Willoughby Run, Isaac Leeper invited the lieutenant and the enlisted man on duty in the road to supper. Hazelton politely declined, saying he could not leave his post, whereupon Leeper offered to walk the enlisted man's post so he could enjoy a good meal. The lieutenant replied again, "No." As it grew darker, the elderly Leeper joined the troopers on the picket line and chatted with them throughout the night. When the lieutenant finally bedded down, he dreamed of his sister waving her handkerchief at him as he left home. His thoughts also drifted to seeing another young woman, Frances A. Morill, standing under the maple tree in front of her cottage bidding him adieu. "God bless her," he said half aloud.<sup>43</sup>

The members of Battery A, 2nd U.S. Artillery tore down a section of a rotten post and rail fence along the north side of the Chambersburg Pike just west of Mary Thompson's house before filing onto her property. They parked their limbers and caissons on battery front in the field west of the orchard. The horses remained in their harnesses, facing west, with the guns still on the pintle

42 Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, 5:116-117; Henry Heth to Rev. J. William Jones, June 1877, *SHSP*, 4:157.

43 Hazelton, "People of Gettysburg"; [www.findagrave.com/memorial/112709060/william-cross-hazelton](http://www.findagrave.com/memorial/112709060/william-cross-hazelton) and [www.findagrave.com/memorial/112709047/frances-amanda-hazelton](http://www.findagrave.com/memorial/112709047/frances-amanda-hazelton), accessed Jan. 14, 2023. Hazelton said he had charge of the reserve picket that evening near a farmer's house along the Chambersburg Pike. With the picket line along Willoughby Run, Leeper's was the closest house. The 30-year-old officer had only one sister, Josephine, who was four years his junior. At the time of Gettysburg Frances was 22 years old.

hooks. The artillerists tied their animals to picket stakes and lay down in the wet freshly cut grass close to their teams. Lieutenant John H. Calef did not believe a battle would occur on the morrow. Farther west near the smithy on the east side of Marsh Creek, the videttes from the 8th Illinois observed Rebel campfires dancing in the night on a distant ridge, punctuated occasionally by a man walking in front of the lights. The Illinois troopers knew a hard day lay ahead.<sup>44</sup>

With his pickets posted along Willoughby Run, Maj. William F. Beardsley (8th New York Cavalry) allowed his reserve along McPherson's Ridge to wander into town by squads to buy victuals. They returned loaded with soft bread, biscuits, pies, cakes, meats, jellies, preserves, and fruits—gifts from the civilians. Toward evening, locals visited their bivouac with more delicacies to reward the troopers for liberating them from the Confederates.<sup>45</sup>

### *Littlestown, Pennsylvania*

*10 miles Southeast of Gettysburg*

Companies H and M of the 8th New York Cavalry arrived at Littlestown sometime in the afternoon and relieved an infantry regiment on duty there belonging to Maj. Gen. Henry Slocum's XII Corps. To the troopers' surprise and relief, the local farmers overwhelmed them with butter, milk, and gigantic loaves of bread. Their generosity blunted any anger the New Yorkers may have harbored for having drawn the extra duty.<sup>46</sup>

44 Calef, "Gettysburg Notes," 47, 50; Dodge, "Opening the Battle"; Michael Hayes, "The 2d U.S. Art.," *NT*, December 29, 1892, 4. Hayes drove the wheel team on the left piece of Sergeant Pergel's section. They would have staked the horses to keep them in place during the night. Calef wrote that the battery passed to the next ridge in front of the command after the fences were torn down along his front. That implies the guns were north of the Chambersburg Pike behind a fence. That fence was on the west side of Thompson's orchard. Calef also noted the battery had camped in the low field east of the middle ridge. The Bachelder map clearly shows a rail fence along the north side of the road from Thompsons to Willoughby Run. As of October 23, 2019, a survey of Google maps shows a fenced field 470 feet west of the restored Mary Thompson house that does not appear on any of the previous maps, probably because it runs along a contour line south to north from the Chambersburg Pike to the railroad cut. The field runs west 270 feet from the fence along the western side of the orchard.

45 Moyer, *History of the Seventeenth Regiment*, 49.

46 "Genesee," "From the 8th Cavalry—List of Killed and wounded, Westminster, Md., July 4th, 1863," *Rochester Daily Union and Advertiser*, July 9, 1863.

*Lutheran Seminary  
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania*

General Buford spent the late afternoon and early evening hours near the seminary gathering intelligence from Gamble's and Devin's patrols. One of them, an 18-man detachment from the 9th New York, bagged a prisoner on the road to Hunterstown. Buford spent a good deal of time with Devin, who had fewer men than Gamble but the largest area of the field to scout. Sometime before 10:00 p.m. Buford returned to the Eagle Hotel and ordered his lone signal officer, Lt. Aaron B. Jerome, to find the highest points from which he could observe "everything." He admonished the lieutenant to pay careful attention to campfires before daylight and for dust after that. "He seemed anxious, more so than I ever saw him," Jerome recollected. Jerome left headquarters, gathered his enlisted personnel, and headed west toward Seminary Ridge.<sup>47</sup>

*Moritz Tavern  
The Intersection of the Emmitsburg and Bull Frog Roads  
1.7 miles Northeast of the Maryland-Pennsylvania Border*

James S. Wadsworth's First Division led the army's advance that day, moving about one mile north on the Emmitsburg Road to a small covered bridge over Marsh Creek. It bivouacked there around noon on the northern and southern sides of the creek. Brigadier General Solomon Meredith's "Black Hat Brigade" (1st Brigade) bivouacked in the woods along the northern bank, leaving Lysander Cutler's 2nd Brigade on the opposite side to the east of the Emmitsburg Road.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Cheney, *History of the Ninth Regiment*, 105; DePeyster, *Decisive Conflicts*, 152. I did not include the oft-quoted discussion Buford had with Devin about the Rebels attacking in the morning with "skirmishers three deep" because Jerome was not with the general when the alleged conversation occurred. It is hearsay and not corroborated.

<sup>48</sup> OR 27/1:244; Gottfried, *The Maps of Gettysburg*, 38; A. P. Smith, *History of the Seventy-Sixth Regiment New York Volunteers; What It Endured And Accomplished* (Cortland, NY, 1867), 233; C. W. Cook, "A Day at Gettysburg," *NT*, April 7, 1898, 2; Hofmann, "The Battle"; Nathaniel Rollins, *Journal*, June 30, 1863, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI; Rufus G. Northup, "Going Into Gettysburg," *NT*, October 11, 1906, 6. Hofmann said the two brigades camped on the opposite sides of Marsh Creek. Northup (Co. A., 90th Pennsylvania) described the span as "a little covered bridge," which had a speed limit posted citing a \$5.00 "penalty for driving faster than a walk!"

The 14th Brooklyn (Cutler, 318 officers and men) bivouacked in one of Joseph Creager's freshly tilled fields close to his house. At Creager's request, Col. Edward B. Fowler went to see him. The farmer demanded the colonel relocate his command. Fowler apologized for upsetting him, but insisted the regiment could not comply. When Creager shot back that he would hold Fowler responsible for any damages to his property, the colonel replied that he sincerely doubted his complaint would go very far. Fowler assured him that he would "endeavor" to keep his men in line, but he had some "in that crowd" that no human could restrain. Creager stormed away and the New Yorkers, using the dark as cover, promptly stole every chicken they could find. Soon, the aroma of cooking birds inundated the bivouac.<sup>49</sup>

Meredith sent Col. Samuel J. Williams's 19th Indiana forward on picket duty. Less than half a mile into the advance on the Emmitsburg Road, the residents of the small village of Green Mount thronged the Hoosiers as they marched by, overwhelming the soldiers with their hospitality. Adjutant George E. Finney relished the fresh milk and the abundance of home cooked food, including pies, the villagers gave out. Long before the Westerners reached the Alexander Currens house some two and a half miles north of Marsh Creek, their haversacks bulged with turkey, chicken, and soft bread. At Currens, Colonel Williams ordered Companies A, B, C, and E to establish picket outposts, which spread a mile to each side of the road to cover the flanks of the I Corps. The left reached almost to Willoughby Run, while the right curved around the southern base of Big Round Top. Back at the regimental reserve, the veterans mustered for pay, despite rain that started after dark.<sup>50</sup>

The I Corps averaged a leisurely one and a half miles per hour in its four-hour march north from Emmitsburg. General Reynolds established his

49 C. V. Tevis and D. R. Marquis, comp., *The History of the Fighting Fourteenth* (Brooklyn, NY, 1911), 81-82. According to Map #22, Joseph Creager's was the only farm on the south side of Marsh Creek and was the closest to the creek.

50 Ladd & Ladd, *Bachelor Papers*, 2:939; Michael Thompson, "In Their Own Words: 19th Indiana at Gettysburg, PA, 1863," Vertical Files, VF-IN19, Library, GNMP, 2, 6; William C. Barnes to W. W. Dudley, March 28, 1883, Vertical Files, VF-IN19, Library, GNMP; David Stevenson, *Indiana's Roll of Honor*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 1864), 1:374-375. Barnes erred when he said the regiment drew pay on the morning of July 1. Adjutant Finney noted in his pocket diary that they got paid the evening of June 30. Stevenson's account places the regimental reserve at Green Mount, which the regiment had to pass through en route to Gettysburg. I decided to go with Dudley's report. The reserve would not have been 2 miles behind the picket outposts.



headquarters at Moritz Tavern and placed Maj. Gen. Abner Doubleday's Third Division and Battery B, 1st Pennsylvania Artillery, along the Bull Frog Road northwest of the inn to protect the approach from Fairfield. In Brig. Gen. Thomas A. Rowley's 1st Brigade, the 121st Pennsylvania drew picket duty. Colonel Chapman Biddle commanded the right wing of the regiment, which anchored itself on the western side of Marsh Creek at the J. and J. Bingham place and stretched west to William Ross White's house on Bull Frog Road. From there, Maj. Alexander Biddle, the colonel's cousin, extended the left wing of the regiment to William C. Topper's potato patch along Middle Creek. The annoying intermittent rain sent the rest of the brigade into the woods west of the Emmitsburg Road.<sup>51</sup>

The veteran 20th New York State Militia (80th New York Volunteers) had just joined the brigade that afternoon. The New Yorkers were less than excited about being in a Pennsylvania brigade, much less one with the 151st Pennsylvania, a new nine-month regiment whose enlistment had almost run out. As Capt. John D. S. Cook (Company I) noted, "We very naturally were not pleased with the assignment, as we were by no means sure that we could depend on them for support in action."<sup>52</sup>

*South Bank of Marsh Creek on the Emmitsburg Road*  
*1st Brigade, Third Division, I Corps*

Colonel Roy Stone's three Pennsylvania regiments, "The Second Bucktail Brigade," bivouacked along the wooded southern side of Marsh Creek, immediately west of the Emmitsburg Road. The men nestled down in the wet brush along the creek bank. It was a drizzly day, and Capt. Francis B. Jones (Company B, 149th Pennsylvania) decided to sleep off the ground to avoid waking to a bad case of rheumatism by using a lean-to of rails and slats from a nearby fence. The two top rails formed the sides of the frame. Four strategically spaced slats across the space between the rails became his "springs" and provided support for his head, shoulders, buttocks, and feet. His blanket spread over the frame served as his "mattress." The descending angle of the bed kept

51 *History of the 121st Regiment*, 51; *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, 2:730.

52 John D. S. Cook, "Personal Reminiscences of Gettysburg," *War Talks in Kansas; A Series of Papers Read Before the Kansas Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States* (Kansas City, MO, 1906), 322.



him out of the mud. Major Thomas Chamberlin (150th Pennsylvania) noted that the foliage protected his regiment from the sporadic showers that fell throughout the evening. Pursuant to Doubleday's orders, Stone had posted the brigade there to defend that portion of the line from any possible Confederate threat.<sup>53</sup>

It was the last day of the month, so Wadsworth's division was supposed to muster for pay that evening. In the 76th New York, acting Lt. Col. Andrew J. Grover dispatched one company out on picket and in the process failed to muster the regiment in time. The men bedded down that night without their money. The 56th Pennsylvania (2nd Brigade, First Division), having caught up with the brigade just after daylight, bivouacked near a mill dam in the creek. Crusty from marching in the daily rains of that week, the boys stripped down and bathed.<sup>54</sup>

### *Emmitsburg, Maryland*

Brigadier General John C. Robinson's Second Division and three I Corps batteries marched into Emmitsburg from the west around 10:00 a.m. and immediately became ensnarled with Brig. Gen. Francis C. Barlow's First Division, Oliver Howard's XI Corps, as it attempted to cross through town to the northwest, or, as Pvt. Robert S. Coburn (Company H, 83rd New York) succinctly noted, "11th Corps agoing out the other way."<sup>55</sup>

Barlow's division pushed through to the fields northwest of Emmitsburg and went into camp behind some artillery lunettes. On the way through town, Pvt. Reuben Ruch (Company F, 153rd Pennsylvania) passed by a garden with a nice onion bed and vowed to visit it later. The traffic jam stalled Brig. Gen. Carl Schurz's division before it had moved several hundred yards, forcing it to bivouac south of town. Brigadier General Adolph von Steinwehr's division did not stir at all. At noon, with Emmitsburg cleared of troops, Col. Frederick Hecker (82nd Illinois) received orders to dispatch 100 men to Fairfield, some

53 *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, 2:730.

54 *OR* 27/1:244; Smith, *History of the Seventy-Sixth Regiment*, 233; Cook, "A Day at Gettysburg"; Hofmann, "The Battle"; Rollins journal. Grover was promoted to lieutenant colonel on June 25, 1863, but was never commissioned before his death on July 1. He died holding the rank of major, but was acting lieutenant colonel.

55 Coburn diary, June 30, 1863.

seven miles away, to see if the Rebs still occupied that place. The detail set out under the command of Lt. Col. Edward Salomon.<sup>56</sup>

Robinson's division (I Corps) passed through town and north along the Emmitsburg Road toward the Pennsylvania state line about two miles away. Civilians lined both sides of the burned-out square to enthusiastically cheer them on. When the 13th Massachusetts stepped by, one of them shouted, "There goes Sam Webster!" Webster (Company D), who was unable to fall out, ignored the catcall thinking that a member of his own company was guying him.<sup>57</sup>

As the 11th Pennsylvania drew near the state line, someone showed Chaplain William H. Locke the unimpressive old tree in a fence corner along the Emmitsburg Road marking the Mason-Dixon Line. Cheering, shouts of joy, and singing erupted in the 88th Pennsylvania (Baxter's brigade) when it stepped onto Pennsylvania soil. "Home Again," and "Home Sweet Home" reverberated overhead. Samuel G. Boone (Company B) somberly predicted that for many it would be "home forever." The 90th Pennsylvania delivered nine "manly cheers." A quarter mile above the state line, the brigade went into bivouac on both sides of the road on the James Wolford farm in the vicinity of Middle Creek. Orders went out to pitch tents. Corporal Charles Smedley (Company G, 90th Pennsylvania) pulled off his brogans to tend to his painfully blistered feet. Captain Jacob M. Davis (Company B), who had not eaten all day, detailed his partner to fill their canteens with water to cook coffee while he set to work getting a fire going. When his tent mate did not return, Davis sat down by the crackling flames and waited, getting angrier with each passing minute.<sup>58</sup>

56 Kiefer, *History of the One Hundred Fifty-third Regiment*, 207; Calvin S. Heller, Diary, June 30, 1863, Civil War Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscript Department, USAMHI; Wallace diary, June 30, 1863; *OR* 27/1:733.

57 Charles E. Davis, Jr., *Three Years in the Army: The Story of the Thirteenth Massachusetts Volunteers* (Boston, 1894), 223; Webster diary, June 30, 1863.

58 William Henry Locke, *The Story of the Regiment* (Philadelphia, PA, 1868), 224; Samuel G. Boone, "Personal Experiences," Michael Winey Collection, Manuscripts Department, USAHEC; Adjutant Cyrus S. Detre, "88th Penna. Regt. at Gettysburg," October 2, 1878, RG 04, War Records Office, Union Battle Reports, Vol. 27, boxes 48-52, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., hereafter cited as NARA; *Life in Southern Prisons*, 54; Jacob M. Davis, "History of the 19th/90th Pennsylvania Volunteers," Unpublished Manuscript (copy), Archives of the Grand Army of the Potomac Museum and Library, Philadelphia, PA, 8, 9; *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, December 31, 1863* (Boston, 1864), 603.

Brigadier General Gabriel R. Paul's infantry brigade marched another two miles before stacking arms for the evening. Soon afterward, the colonels formed their regiments to read General Meade's circular encouraging the men to fight for their homeland. The last line instructed officers to instantly kill any soldier who shirked his duty. That irked the veterans in the 13th Massachusetts and generated a heated debate. The Bay State men wanted to reply in a blunt manifesto to Meade that he should have shown "more ability and judgment than his predecessors had shown when conducting a battle, and above all, avoid issuing appeals on circulars reflecting the slightest doubt on the courage of the men." Cooler heads prevailed, and no response was dispatched.<sup>59</sup>

Orders arrived at Moritz's Tavern sometime late in the day promoting Reynolds to command of the Army of the Potomac's left wing, which consisted of the I Corps, III Corps, and XI Corps. This change placed Doubleday in charge of the I Corps, gave Rowley control of the Third Division, and bumped Col. Chapman Biddle to command Rowley's brigade.<sup>60</sup>

Colonel Wainwright, who had begun his monthly returns, noted in his journal that Doubleday nominally commanded the I Corps, yet operated directly under Reynolds's supervision. Wainwright disapproved of the arrangement, noting that "he (Reynolds) looks as closely as ever after everything himself." The colonel also observed that the "Pennsylvanians did not give us an over-warm welcome." To him they seemed greedier than the Marylanders, peddling butter for an outrageous \$.50 a pound and selling skimmed milk at \$.25 a canteen. They complained to headquarters if anyone so much as burned a single fence rail.

Wainwright got into a loud argument with the farmer in whose clover field his artillerists camped. The man demanded half the value of the field to compensate for the destruction of what the gunner called a "poor crop of clover." When the colonel argued that the destroyed clover would not have

59 Davis, *Three Years in the Army*, 224; John D. Vautier, "At Gettysburg," *Philadelphia Weekly Press*, November 10, 1886; Boone, "Personal Experiences."

60 *OR* 27/2:244, 427; Jacob F. Slagle to Brother, September 13, 1863, Vertical Files, V6-149PA, Library, GNMP. General Seth Williams dispatched a message to Maj. Gen. Daniel Sickles, III Corps commanding, at 12:45 p.m. informing him of Reynolds's promotion. Lieutenant Slagle, who served as Doubleday's acting judge-advocate-general, wrote that during the evening of June 30, "We received orders to march early in the morning and at the same time General Doubleday, was notified that General Reynolds assumed command of the left wing, and that Gen'l. Doubleday should assume command of the 1st corps."

fetched \$15.00 on the market, the farmer countered that his wife had been up all night baking bread for the troops, and that she “had guv” them all her milk and butter. Wainwright knew that “guv” translated into selling the delicacies to his soldiers at three to 10 times the going price, and bluntly told the civilian what he thought of him and Pennsylvanians in general. “They fully maintain their reputation for meanness,” he concluded.<sup>61</sup>

Private B. Frank Noble (Company D, 7th Wisconsin), a detached volunteer with Battery B, 4th U.S. Artillery, ventured onto a neighboring farm with several canteens to get milk. When the farmer, who the men later referred to as an “Adams County Copperhead,” demanded too much money for the milk, Noble stormed into the barnyard and milked one of the cows without permission. The farmer followed the private back to camp and filed a report.

Lieutenant James Stewart, in compliance to general orders against looting and fearing the repercussions of ignoring the complaint (which would inevitably travel up the chain of command), reluctantly sentenced Noble to “Field Punishment Number One,” commonly referred to as “crucifixion.” Stewart had Noble tied on his back, spread-eagled over the spare wheel on the back of a caisson with the hub tight against his crotch. The artillerymen swarmed around the prisoner and the lieutenant, openly protesting the punishment. Stewart, swearing, ordered them to disperse. The mob gradually faded away with epithets and angry complaints trailing behind them. Noble, who had just returned to the battery after being severely wounded at Antietam nine months earlier, stoically bore the “crucifixion” but never forgot or forgave the lieutenant for the incident.<sup>62</sup>

61 Stewart, “Battery B,” 183; Nevins, *A Diary of Battle*, 229-230; *OR* 27/3:418,1:244. Wainwright was not the only one the locals failed to impress. Years later, Maj. Samuel H. Hurst (73rd Ohio), whose men camped northwest of Emmitsburg, wrote, “We expected to see them rising as one man, and rushing to arms to defend their homes. We only saw them rush to the fields with scythe, and reaper, and leave the work of driving back the foe all undivided to ourselves.” Samuel H. Hurst, *Journal History of the Seventy-Third Ohio Volunteer Infantry* (Chillicothe, OH, 1866), 65.

62 Augustus C. Buell, *“The Cannoneer.” Recollections of Service in the Army of the Potomac* (Washington, D.C., 1890), 62. “*The Cannoneer*” is a fictional history of Battery B, 4th U.S. Artillery, into which Buell inserted himself. To his credit, Buell filled the work with quotes from recollections that he acquired from many of the men in the battery. For instance, Horace Ripley’s granddaughter has the letter Buell quoted on page 39 of the book. Anything Buell wrote about his actual participation with the battery and any of the quotes associated with “his personal” recollections, however, should be read with caution.

Colonel Lucius Fairchild (2nd Wisconsin) bedded his regiment down in what Pvt. Emanuel Markle (Company B) described as a “nice woods.” The colonel personally inspected the men’s cartridge boxes, checking to see if they had serviceable cartridges. One of the “boys” cynically quipped, “Well, I guess some of us will be bait for the crows pretty soon.”<sup>63</sup>

### *Marsh Creek, Evening*

Most of Baxter’s brigade (Robinson’s division) stacked arms and camped in a lush clover field alongside the Emmitsburg Road. The 88th Pennsylvania went on picket duty in a westerly facing line from the Two Fords Farm on Marsh Creek to across the Maryland state line, just north of Emmitsburg. As soon as the 90th Pennsylvania bivouacked in a peach orchard near the road, the enlisted men busied themselves scrounging the countryside for farmers’ wives from whom to buy fresh wheat bread and hot cherry pies.

Sergeant Anson B. Barton (Company A, 12th Massachusetts) had just started filling his canteen from Marsh Creek when a slim boy who looked no older than 15 walked up to inquire about what was likely to result from the army’s advance. The veteran replied that a battle was coming. The boy’s face beamed. He asked to enlist and fight the Rebs. Barton took the youth back to the bivouac and handed him over to Capt. Erastus L. Clark: “Captain, here’s a recruit for you.” Clark listened to the boy and walked him over to Col. James L. Bates who, as the father of a teenage son, tried to dissuade him from enlisting. The lad told the colonel that he lived nearby, that he was willing to enlist, and insisted that Bates equip him to fight. “Well captain,” relented the colonel, “you may take him into your company, if you wish, but we cannot muster him in now, as the books are back with the teams.” The enlisted men scrounged up a uniform and accoutrements and took him in as one of the “boys.” Thus did Charles F. Weakley, who was actually 21, become an unregistered volunteer in Company A.<sup>64</sup>

63 Emanuel Markle, “The Story of Battle Told By Survivor,” *The La Crosse [WI] Chronicle*, Vertical Files, VF-WI2, Library, GNMP.

64 George Kimball, “A Young Hero of Gettysburg,” *Century Magazine*, November 1886-April 1887, (New York, 1887), 33:133; Allan D. Gaff and Donald H. Gaff, eds., *A Corporal’s Story: Civil War Recollections of the Twelfth Massachusetts* (Norman, OK, 2014), 211-214. In the magazine article, Kimball identified the young man as J. W. Weakley. Kimball noted his correct name and age in his memoirs. Years later, they learned

Captain Jacob M. Davis (Company B) accosted his long-absent messmate when the latter finally returned. The wayward comrade casually responded, “Well, I went for water, but when I got there, it looked too muddy, so I went further on and found better.” He handed Davis his canteen. “Just taste this and see how you like it.” The parched captain took a long swig only to discover it was not water, but corn liquor. His messmate had raided D. Rodes’s still about half a mile northwest of their camp.

Several men of the 13th Massachusetts, despite a horrendous downpour that forced nearly everyone into their shelter halves, looted the distillery and quickly got “tight.” General Reynolds found out about the boozing in the ranks and posted a detail around the still. Meanwhile, Sam Webster (Company D) learned the person who had called out his name while marching through town was a female. He snuck out of camp and returned to town to find her.<sup>65</sup>

Nearby, in the 104th New York, Pvt. Frank N. Bell (Company C) sat down alongside his best friend, English immigrant Sgt. G. Maurice Buckingham. Buckingham, who carried the national flag, turned to Bell and announced, “Frank, I have a proposition to make.”

“Anything but popping the question,” Bell quipped, “I ain’t ready for that yet.”

“I am in earnest,” the sergeant replied.

“Very well, proceed,” Bell said.

Buckingham knew that as a regimental clerk and orderly, his friend did not carry a weapon. “Since you can’t use the musket, I’ll let you carry the Colors and I’ll use the musket in the next fight.”

Bell knew he would not be allowed to comply but replied, “I’ll do it.”<sup>66</sup>

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that the 21-year-old Charles F. Weakley of Carroll County, Maryland, had never mustered into the 12th Massachusetts, but following his stint with them at Gettysburg, enlisted in Company G, 13th Pennsylvania Cavalry. On November 23, 1864, his comrades found him drowned, the victim of an epileptic seizure.

65 Northup, “Going Into Gettysburg”; Report of Adjutant Cyrus S. Detre, 88th Pennsylvania Infantry, RG 94, War Records Office, Union Battle reports, Vol. 27, Boxes 48-52, NARA; Webster diary, June 30, 1863; Davis, “History of the 19th/90th Pennsylvania Volunteers,” 8-9.

66 F. N. Bell to the State Historian, February 22, 1898, New York State Archives, GAR Surveys, B 1706-00.

*South and West of Emmitsburg, Maryland*

Lieutenant Colonel Salomon's reconnaissance from the 82nd Illinois (Schurz's division, XI Corps) reached Fairfield at 3:00 p.m. and discovered from the locals that some 2,000 Confederates had left the town about an hour before. After resting half an hour, Salomon headed back to Emmitsburg and reported his findings to Colonel Hecker by 8:00 p.m. Not knowing the whereabouts of the Rebels, a number of patrols sprayed west from all three divisions of the XI Corps. Around 10:00 p.m., the 55th Ohio (Brig. Gen. Adolph Von Steinwehr's Second Division), was roused from its tents, formed in column, and tramped into the rain-swept darkness. The regiment marched and counter marched, lost in the Stygian darkness, for an estimated two miles until it entered a wood, which the men thought was near a road of some sort.

Ordered to stay there all night, their officers prohibited them from making loud noises, sleeping, or moving about. They further instructed the men to listen for any unusual noises that might indicate enemy movement. Minutes after issuing the orders, most of the captains curled up in their ponchos and dozed off, leaving the companies under the command of the lieutenants and non-coms.<sup>67</sup>

While the Ohioans poked about in the dark, Schurz ordered Col. Wladimir Krzyzanowski (2nd Brigade) to send out another scouting party to the south toward Creagerstown. Captain Emil Koenig (Company E, 58th New York) and 100 men soon found themselves sloshing around in the gooey roads in a blinding rain searching for Rebel cavalry. Back near Emmitsburg, the rain, which drove the enlisted men into their soggy dog tents, also forced Lt. Louis Fischer and several of General Schurz's lower-ranking staff officers into a shed filled with straw that, unknown to them, had recently sheltered hogs. An hour into their sleep they found themselves blanketed with black ticks. Scurrying one by one through the narrow doorway, they escaped into the rain.<sup>68</sup>

In Barlow's division, acting Maj. George B. Fox led a detachment of 100 men from the 75th Ohio northwest on the road toward Fountain Dale and Monterey Springs atop of South Mountain. Fox's detachment had not yet

67 *OR* 27/1:733; Andrew F. Sweetland, "The 55th Ohio at Gettysburg," *NT*, September 9, 1909, 7.

68 *OR* 27/1:739-740; Memoirs of 1st Lt. Louis Fischer, Company K, 74th Pennsylvania Infantry, Vertical Files, VF-74PA, Library, GNMP; "Reminiscences of the Battle of Gettysburg," 54. Fischer had been promoted to the Pioneer Company, 3rd Division on June 29.



reached the halfway point when he learned Confederate cavalry was patrolling the immediate area. He detailed scouts to safely gather as much intelligence as they could before hunkering down in silence for the night.

Similarly, in the 153rd Pennsylvania, Lt. J. Clyde Miller (Company A), with part of his company and some men from Company F, went out on picket in the humid misty darkness. They had orders to fire on anyone appearing in front without demanding the countersign. After posting his men somewhere near a cornfield, he imagined something suspicious going on in front of his line. He advised his detachment that he was going on scout to see if any Rebs were out there and that he would softly whistle “Yankee Doodle” to identify himself on the way back. He had walked halfway into the cornfield when firing erupted on the left of the line. He heard something rushing through the corn that he believed to be Rebel cavalry. Knowing his men would not hesitate to cut loose into the corn, the lieutenant—without whistling—crashed through the field into his own line. He spent the rest of the night anxiously waiting to determine if they had dropped any Confederates.<sup>69</sup>

Just before dark, General Howard received a message at Mount St. Mary’s College requesting him to meet General Reynolds at Moritz’s Tavern. Taking two aides-de-camp, Frederick W. Gilbreth and his brother Maj. Charles H. Howard, the general started toward headquarters, which was about six miles to the north. When they reached the tavern about an hour later, the general dismounted and, leaving his aides behind, was escorted by one of Reynolds’s aides to a back room on the south side of the house.

Reynolds rose from a chair next to a document-blanketed table and greeted Howard, handing him Meade’s circular to the army (the same one that had offended members of the 13th Massachusetts). After Howard read it, the two pored over the material on the table. Reports both civilian and military, news dispatches, and communiqués from army headquarters indicated that Lt. Gen. James Longstreet’s First Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia was at Chambersburg, and that Lt. Gen. A. P. Hill’s Third Corps had crossed over South Mountain from Fayetteville to within about four miles of Gettysburg. For the next several hours the two generals studied what local maps they had on hand and agreed that some sort of encounter would take place the next day. Reynolds’s apparent depression bothered Howard, who left headquarters around 11:00 p.m. On the way back to Mount St. Mary’s, he expressed his

69 Kiefer, *History of the One Hundred Fifty-third Regiment*, 130.



personal confidence in Reynolds as an energetic and competent general as well as the feeling that there would likely be fighting on the morrow. Howard bedded down sometime after midnight and dropped off to sleep.<sup>70</sup>

*Eagle Hotel, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania*  
*Buford's Headquarters*

At 10:30 p.m., Buford sat at his desk and penned a detailed report to Reynolds. A. P. Hill's Corps had gathered nine miles west of Gettysburg with pickets, including infantry and artillery, within four miles west of town on the Cashtown [Chambersburg Pike] Road. The patrols north, northeast, and northwest, having crossed and recrossed the road from Cashtown to Oxford, had seen no evidence of large bodies of enemy forces passing through the area. "However, the place is infested with prowling cavalry parties," Buford warned.

Buford added that a patrol had captured one of Lee's couriers who, while having nothing on his person of any value, did say that Ewell's Corps, with Rodes's Division in the advance at Petersburg, was crossing the mountains from Carlisle. Longstreet was probably behind Hill. Buford concluded that, after continually hearing rumors and reports of the Confederates advancing upon Gettysburg from York, he had to pay attention to them, thus overworking his already fatigued horses and men. He had neither forage for the horses nor rations for the soldiers. He added that civilians selling or giving the men food "generates dreadful straggling."<sup>71</sup>

Under such circumstances, the cavalry commander had reason to be unusually anxious.

70 OR 27/1:699; Oliver Otis Howard, *Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, Major General United States Army*, 2 vols. (New York, 1907), 1:402-403; Charles Henry Howard, "First Day at Gettysburg," Charles Henry Howard Collection, George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections & Archives, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, ME, Box 1, Folder 55, M90.2, Articles and addresses, diaries, clippings, notes, etc., 1808-1957. In a draft of the address he later published in *Papers Read Before the Commandery of the State of Illinois*, vol. 4, Charles Howard never claimed he was the only aide who went with his brother to Reynolds's headquarters. His subsequent comment indicates that he was not inside at the meeting, either. More than likely the other aide also attended.

71 OR 27/1:923.

*The Chambersburg Pike**1 mile east of the Samuel Lohr Farm*

Brigadier General James J. Archer's undersized mixed brigade left Cashtown after dark and marched a couple of miles along the Chambersburg Pike before bivouacking along both sides of the road. It was not a pleasant march.

"It rained [an] almighty hard rain," recalled Col. John A. Fite (7th Tennessee), whose regiment camped close to a farmhouse and barn near the pike. Because the ground was so thoroughly soaked, he told some of his "boys" to search the barn for straw or anything that could be used for bedding. The party returned with the good news that the place was filled with straw. Taking a squad, Fite went to the farmhouse and told the woman living there that he wanted to get some for his men to use as ground cover to prevent sickness from lying in the mud. She adamantly refused, to which the determined colonel bluntly replied that he was going to take it anyway. The squad discovered large quantities of bacon stashed beneath the straw, which Colonel Fite reported to brigade headquarters. Archer dispatched wagons to the barn and the Tennesseans hastily loaded the contraband into them—without being allowed to take any of it for themselves.<sup>72</sup>

*Near Seven Stars, Pennsylvania**Pettigrew's Brigade*

During the evening, two frightened women wandered into the 26th North Carolina's picket line just east of Seven Stars. When they encountered Lt. Col. John R. Lane, they blurted out that their homes were between his pickets and the creek. The colonel assured them that the Confederates did not make war on women and children, and that it was his privilege and duty to protect them. To their amazement, he moved his men closer to the creek to allow the ladies safe return to their families.

The day ended quietly and rather drearily. On the summit of South Mountain west of Cashtown, Brig. Gen. Joseph Davis's Brigade bedded down in the mud under a torrential downpour. A soaking wet Lt. Joseph J. Hoyle

72 John A. Fite, "Memoirs of Colonel John A. Fite," Lebanon-Wilson County Library, Lebanon, TN, 99-100.

(Company F, 55th North Carolina) tersely summed up his experience in a letter to his wife: “We have remained in bivouac all day—Raining.”<sup>73</sup>

73 Jeffrey M. Girvan, “*Deliver Us from This Cruel War*”: *The Civil War Letters of Joseph J. Hoyle, 55th North Carolina Infantry* (Jefferson, NC, 2010), 128; Samuel W. Hankins, *Simple Story of a Soldier* (Nashville, TN, 1912), 43.