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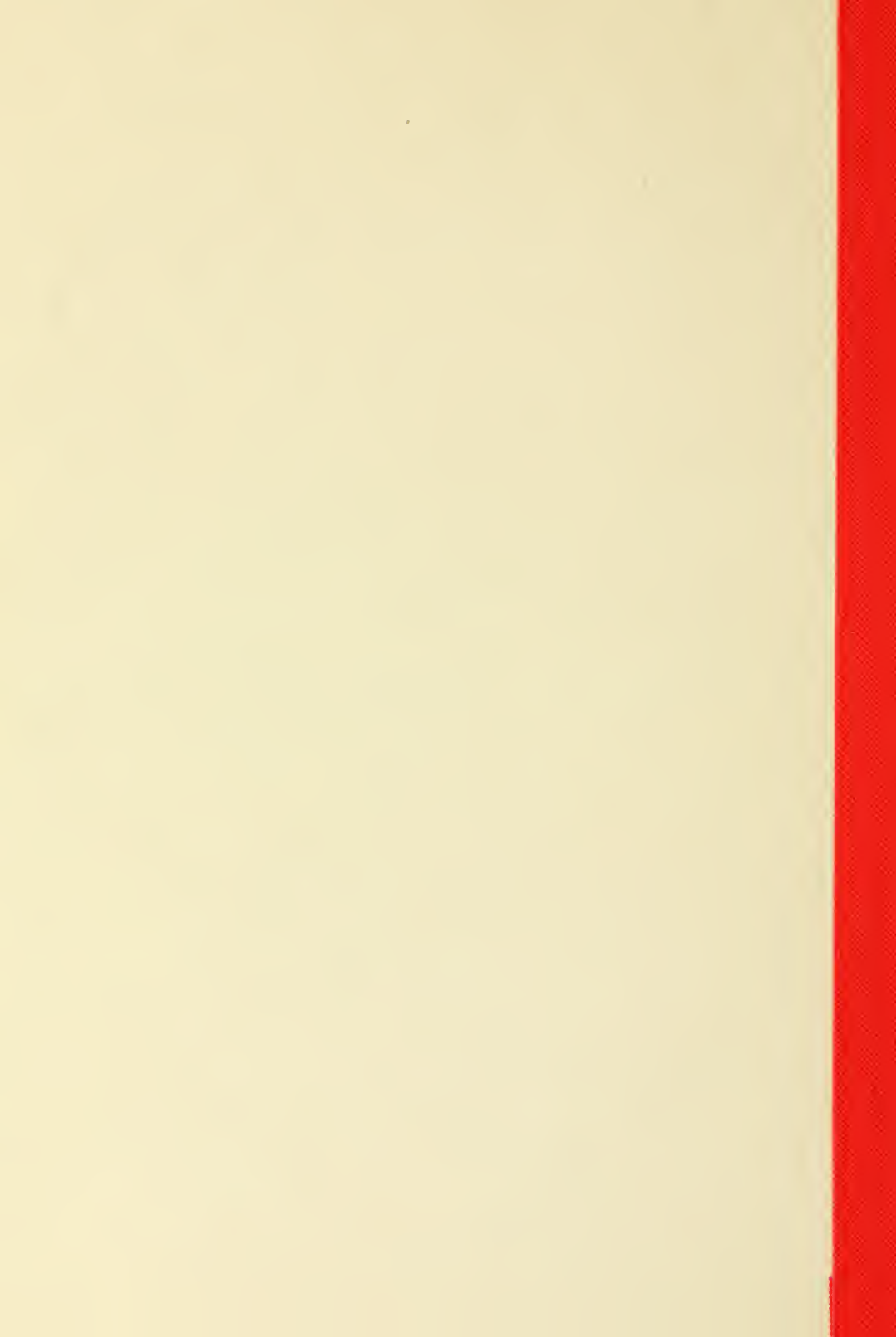
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THE STATEMENTS
OF TIME ON JULY 1
AT GETTYSBURG PA.
1863

“It might be at twenty
minutes past eleven, and
it might be at twenty
minutes past twelve; we
ain't got no watches here
to know the time by.”

An Examination of the Official Reports
by James Beale late of 12th Mass. Infantry
2d Brigade 2d Division 1st Corps
Army of the Potomac

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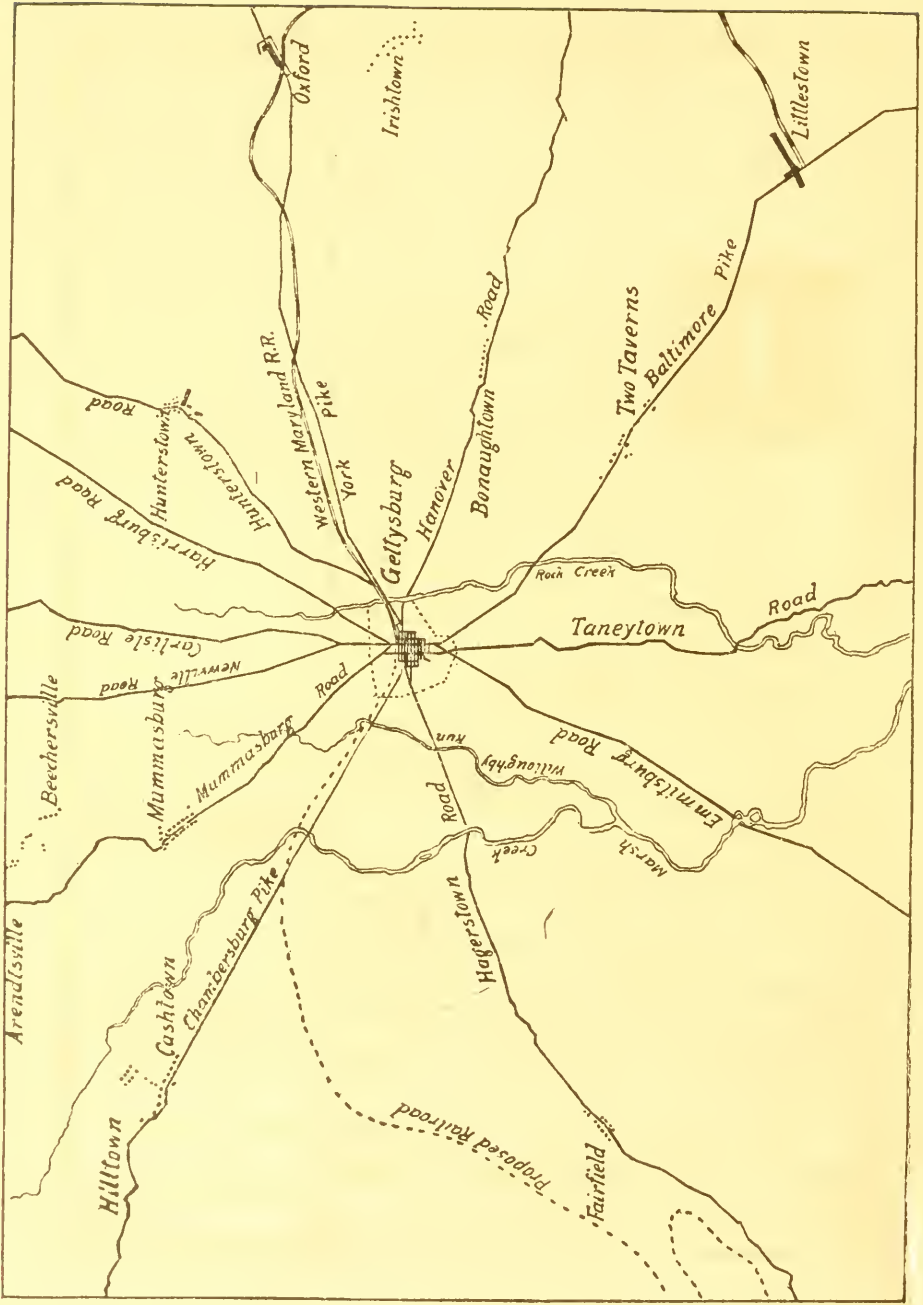




The Statements of Time

on July 1 1863

at Gettysburg Pa.





THE official report of General Meade, dated October 1, 1863, drew from General Robinson* on November 15

an indignant protest, to which, however, no attention seems to have been paid. Since that time historians have arranged matters as best suited their individual preferences, one or two facts alone standing unchallenged.

It is agreed on all sides that General Buford's cavalry† opened the battle by engaging the Confederate infantry division of General Heth.‡

On the Union side three of the participants made reports in which the hour of beginning the battle is stated.

General Buford† says "between eight and nine"; Colonel Gamble § and Lieutenant Calef || say "about eight."

Captain Dana** quotes from his diary "a little after sunrise"; Prof. Bates*† says "a little before ten."

* 2d Division 1st Corps.

† 1st Div. Cavalry Corps.

‡ Third Corps Army of Northern Virginia.

§ 1st Brig. 1st Division.

|| A, 2d U.S. Artillery.

** 8th Illinois Cavalry.

*† "Battle of Gettysburg" page 58.

* "History Civil War,"
vol. iii, p. 59.

† "Twelve Decisive
Battles," p. 328.

‡ "Life of R. E. Lee,"
p. 299.

§ "The Civil War in
America," vol. iii, p. 546.

|| 9th N. Y. Cavalry
quoted in "Battles and
Leaders of the Civil War,"
vol. iii, p. 275.

** Co. F, 9th N.Y. Cav.

*† 8th Illinois Cavalry.
quoted from Philadelphia
"Weekly Times."

Lossing* says "a little past ten;" Swinton† says "at ten;" John Esten Cooke‡ "about ten;" and the Comte de Paris§ avers that at "about eight o'clock" the cavalry opened fire, and the artillery fire commenced "a little before nine o'clock."

So out of the five historians quoted, four evidently ignored the statements made in the official reports, and the fifth accepts with modification.

The official map "published by authority of the Hon. the Secretary of War, 1876," at a spot one-eighth of a mile west of Herr's Tavern on the Chambersburg road, and one and three-quarters miles from Gettysburg, locates Marye's Artillery with the legend "opening guns of the battle;" yet Captain Newel Cheney|| says that "about five-thirty a.m.," "from behind the abutments of the bridge" across Willoughby Run, Corporal Alphonse Hodges** fired "the first shots from our side." Lieutenant M. E. Jones*† is also credited with firing the first shot "a little after sunrise" from the vicinity of the Chambersburg road.

On July 1 the sun rises at twenty-five minutes past four, and here are statements differing from a little after

sunrise to a little past ten ; a variation of at least five hours.

Cutler's brigade* seems to have been the first infantry on the ground, it was closely followed by Meredith's brigade.†

Six reports from the First Division mention the hour of arrival. One ‡ says "about nine"; three § say "about ten"; one || says "about ten-thirty"; one** says "at eleven"; and General Cutler* "moved from camp early."

Captain Hall,*† who accompanied the division, says "at nine a. m." he marched.

General Hancock*‡ quotes from a letter written by Lieutenant Jerome*§ :

"As early as seven a. m. I reported their (the Confederate) advance, and took my station in the steeple of the Theological Seminary. . . I called the attention of the General (Buford) to an army corps advancing some two miles distant, and shortly distinguished it as the First, on account of their corps flag."

Mr. E. B. Garison, who was one of General Buford's scouts, quotes his note-book, "the first infantry was on the ground at nine-fifteen a. m."

* 2d Brig. 1st Div.
1st Corps.

† 1st Brig. 1st Div.
1st Corps.

‡ Col. Morrow, 24th Mich.

§ Brig.-Gen. Wadsworth.
1st Div. 1st Corps.

Maj. Mansfield, 2d Wis.
Col. Robinson, 7th Wis.

|| Capt. Cook, 76th N.Y.

** Col. Hofmann, 56th Pa.

*† 2d Me. Battery.

*‡ "Galaxy," Dec. 1876,
page 827.

*§ Signal officer with the
1st Div. Cavalry Corps.

* Then on staff of Gen.
J. F. Reynolds.

General S. M. Weld* has a memorandum that at exactly ten a.m. he left the Seminary, bearing a despatch sent by General Reynolds to General Meade.

Thus the estimates of time as made by the First Division vary from about nine to eleven o'clock—two hours.

† Quoted in Bates'
"Battle of Gettysburg,"
page 61.

General Cutler, in a letter to Governor Curtin,† speaks of "the atmosphere being a little thick." Whether this was the fog of a summer morning or the smoke of the cavalry fight is not stated.

The Third Division seems to have been the next to arrive.

‡ Commanding 1st Corps.

General Doubleday‡ in his report intimates that this division reached the field at about two p.m. Eight of the reports from the division mention time.

§ Lt.-Col. McFarland,
151st Pa.

|| Col. Gates,
20th N.Y.S.M.

** Col. Dana, 2d Brigade.

*† Brig.-Gen. Rowley,
3d Div. 1st Corps.

*‡ Col. Roy Stone, 2d Brig.

*§ Col. Wister, 2d Brigade.

*|| Lt.-Col. Huidekoper,
150th Pa.

†† Col. Chapman Biddle,
1st Brigade.

†‡ L, 1st N.Y. Artillery.

One§ says "at ten-thirty"; one || "between ten and eleven"; one** at "about eleven"; one*† says "towards eleven"; one*‡ "at eleven"; one*§ at "about twelve"; one*|| "about noon." One†† was "within a mile of the town about eleven a.m."

Lieutenant Breck†‡ says at "about

eleven," and Captain Cooper,* "about twelve."

Colonel Alexander Biddle† reports that he "marched from W. R. White's house, Freedom township," but fixes no time of reaching the battlefield. The rest seem of opinion that they marched "about six miles." Some "marched early," one twice says he "marched at eight," and one marched at "about nine-thirty." So the estimates of time by the Third Division vary from half-past ten o'clock to about twelve—a margin of one and one-half hours.

Next, and last of the First Corps, came the Second Division. Six reports specify the hour of arrival. Two ‡ say at "about eleven"; one § "about noon"; three || "about one."

Two ** "marched at six a.m.," and one *† at "about eleven" was two miles from a stone fence, which the context indicates as being on Seminary Ridge, near the Mummasburg road.

The 12th Massachusetts Infantry *† was near Gettysburg "at ten o'clock," the regimental record says "reveille at four a.m., marched at six."

* B, 1st Pa. Artillery.

† 121st Pa.

‡ Brig.-Gen. Baxter,
2d Brig, 2d Div.

Col. Coulter, 11th Pa.

§ Brig.-Gen. Robinson,
2d Division.

|| Col. Prey, 104th N.Y.

Lt.-Col. McThompson,
107th Pa.

Col. Wheelock, 97th N.Y.

** Lt.-Col. Farnham,
16th Me.

Lt.-Col. Bacheider.

† Capt. Patterson, 88th Pa.

*† Mass. Adj.-Gen. Report
1863, p. 603.

* 5th Me. Battery.

† 1st Div. 1st Corps.

‡ 2d Brig. 1st Div.
1st Corps.

§ 149th Pa.

|| Commanding 1st Corps.

Lieutenant Whittier* arrived "at a few minutes past two."

Thus the Second Division varies at least two hours in its statement of the hour of arrival. But General Wadsworth† says it was "very soon after" "about ten-fifteen," while General Cutler‡ thinks it was "two o'clock."

Lieutenant-Colonel Dwight§ in his report speaks of passing in rear of the First and Second Divisions, "which were then in position and engaging the enemy." If this is not a misprint, one can only marvel how he accomplished the feat.

General Doubleday|| seems of the opinion that the Second and Third Divisions arrived simultaneously with the Eleventh Corps, for he says in his report that "Howard's corps was already passing through the streets of the town, and the remaining divisions of the First Corps were almost up."

The First Corps had marched from Marsh Run, not over six miles from Gettysburg; the Eleventh Corps had marched from Emmittsburg, at least four miles farther south, and in a letter written on August 7, 1877, General Doubleday says that "they lagged

horribly, and Howard could not get them forward." General Howard * considers Emmittsburg eleven miles from Gettysburg, and fixes the route of his Second and Third Divisions as covering thirteen miles. He also says that the Second Division First Corps was in position prior to the arrival of any Eleventh Corps troops,† and that his "infantry marched more slowly." ‡ And he did not expect any of his corps until "a little after one." § General Doubleday very distinctly says that "after General Schurz || had formed his division there was a wide interval between the two corps," and that he "directed General Robinson ** . . . to send one of his brigades there." It is impossible to reconcile the report of General Doubleday with the reports from Robinson's division, and General Howard flatly contradicts him.

The Eleventh Corps reports are the next to be considered.

Though the First Division *† was expected first, it having the shortest route, it appears to have been "much obstructed all the way by trains and artillery carriages," ** ‡ and the Third Division * § would seem to have been

* "Atlantic Monthly,"
July, 1876, page 53.

† Ibid, page 55.

‡ Ibid, page 56.

§ Ibid, page 53.

|| 3d Division 11th Corps.

** 2d Division 1st Corps.

*† Brig.-Gen. Barlow.

** ‡ "Atlantic Monthly,"
July, 1876, page 53.

* § Maj.-Gen. Schurz.

* Lt.-Col. Dobke,
45th N.Y.
† Maj. Willis, 119th N.Y.

‡ Maj. Ledig, 75th Pa.
§ Lt.-Col. Bown, 61st O.
|| Col. Jacobs, 26th Wis.
** Maj.-Gen. Schurz.

*† I, 1st Ohio Arty.
*‡ G, 4th U.S. Arty.
*§ Command'g 11th Corps.

*|| 3d Division 11th Corps.

†† 2d Division 11th Corps.

†‡ Brig.-Gen. Barlow.
†§ Col. Harris, 75th Ohio.
†|| Maj. Brady, 17th Conn.
†† Capt. Lutz, 107th Ohio.

the first troops of the Eleventh Corps to deploy north of the town.

Six reports from this division give time of arrival.

One* "arrived at eleven"; one† at "about twelve," and "at this time the First Corps had commenced to retire"; one‡ says "one-thirty a.m.," which must be a misprint; one§ "about one-thirty"; one|| "at two p.m.,"; one** "about two p.m."

Captain Dilger*† says "about ten"; Lieutenant Bancroft*‡ "at eleven."

General Howard*§ says that at "about twelve-thirty" "the head of column of the Eleventh Corps entered the town," and he "ordered Schurz*|| to halt."

General Steinwehr†† reports reaching Cemetery Hill at "about two," he adds "when I arrived the First and Third Divisions were engaged." No other reports from this division make any statement of time.

Three reports from the First Division†† fix the hour of reaching the field. One†‡ says "about one p.m.,"; one†|| "between one and two"; and one†† "about two."

Major Osborne* says that "about eleven a.m." he ordered Wilkeson's Battery† to report to General Barlow, who "was engaged."

So the Eleventh Corps statements vary from about ten to about two.

Estimates of when the battle ended are equally irregular.

The cavalry demand from "two" to "several" hours as their share ere the infantry came. The First Corps range anywhere from "three p.m."‡ to "nearly five p.m."§ And this is extended by the Eleventh Corps to "after five p.m."||

General Hancock's report says "at three p.m. I arrived at Gettysburg," and is promptly contradicted by his despatch to General Meade, which is marked "five-twenty-five p.m." and commences "when I arrived here an hour since." But as twenty years ago** he insisted on the correctness of his official report, the despatch must be a misprint. He quotes General Warren that "at that time the First Corps had fallen back pretty badly damaged, and what there was of the Eleventh Corps was in great confusion."*†

* Chief of Artillery,
11th Corps.

† G, 4th U.S. Artillery.

‡ Col. Coulter,
1st Brig. 2d Div. 1st Corps.

§ Gen. Robinson,
2d Div. 1st Corps.

|| Gen. Schurz,
3d Div. 11th Corps.

** "Galaxy," Dec. 1876,
page 823.

*† Ibid, page 828.

* 3d Corps Army of
Northern Virginia.

† Commanding Division
A. P. Hill's Corps.

‡ Tennessee Brigade.

§ 7th Tennessee Infantry.

|| Pegram's Battalion
Reserve Artillery.

** Mississippi Brigade.

On the Confederate side General A. P. Hill* says that on July 1 his corps was in the vicinity of Cashtown, "some eight miles from Gettysburg," that "at five a.m. Heth† took up the line of march," and "about three miles from Gettysburg" Archer's‡ brigade "encountered the advance of the enemy."

Brigadier-General Heth† repeats this and fixes the hour as "nine o'clock." Lieutenant-Colonel Shepard§ makes the report for Archer's brigade. He fixes no time, but says that General Buford's pickets "gradually fell back . . . for about three miles," when Archer's brigade "came in sight of the enemy upon a slight eminence . . . to the right of the road." Captain Brunson|| adds "it was at this time and point that Major-General Reynolds of the Yankee army is reported to have been killed."

Brigadier-General Davis** says that "about ten-thirty o'clock a line of battle was formed," and he thinks that "about one p.m." was the hour of the capture of part of his brigade in the railroad cutting, after which General Heth says "it was not deemed advisable to bring it again into action."

Major Jones* commanding Pettigrew's brigade, says it "remained in line of battle until two p.m., when orders to advance were received."

There are no reports from Brockenbrough's brigade.

Major Engelhard† reports that Pender's division moved "at eight" a.m., passed through Cashtown, and "about three miles from Gettysburg" formed in line of battle.

Colonel Perrin‡ reports for McGowan's brigade that it was "in supporting distance of General Heth's division" "until about three o'clock," when it advanced "probably a half mile," and "remained in this position probably until after four o'clock," when it joined in the final advance.

Brigadier-General Lane§ seems to have been but slightly engaged until the close, when his "men gave a yell" and the First Corps made "a hasty retreat to Cemetery Hill."

Brigadier-General Thomas|| says he was "in readiness to support General Heth's division."

Brigadier-General Scales** reports hard fighting, but makes no mention of time.

* 26th N. C. Infantry.

† A. A. G. Pender's Div.

‡ 14th S. C. Infantry.

§ North Carolina Brigade.

|| Georgia Brigade.

** North Carolina Brigade.

* 2d Corps Army of Northern Virginia.

† Chief of Artillery.

‡ North Carolina Brigade.

§ Alabama Brigade.

|| 3d Alabama Infantry.

** 12th Alabama Infantry.

*† 26th Alabama Infantry.

*‡ Georgia Brigade.

*§ 4th Georgia Infantry.

*|| 21st Georgia Infantry.

Rodes' division of Ewell's* corps was to the left of A. P. Hill. General Lee reports that it came with Carter's artillery at "about two-thirty."

Brigadier-General Pendleton† thinks Carter's artillery battalion arrived at "perhaps two o'clock."

Major-General Rodes gives a very detailed account of his movements, but makes no attempt to fix time.

Brigadier-General Iverson‡ was "in the advance of General Rodes' division," but is silent as to the hour.

Three reports from O'Neal's§ brigade fix time. Colonel Battle|| says "the morning"; Colonel Pickens** "at eleven"; and Lieutenant-Colonel Goodgame*† "about twelve."

Brigadier-General Doles*‡ "formed in line of battle about one p.m." and encountered a "cavalry picket," whose position he occupied at "about three-thirty p.m.," when he "moved toward the Theological College." He complains of losing "several men killed and wounded" by the fire of "one of our own batteries." Major Willis*§ was "in line of battle (say at twelve o'clock)"; Colonel Mercer*|| says it was "about four o'clock," but he evidently refers to the last advance of the

brigade, which General Doles says was made at "about three-thirty."

Brigadier-General Daniels* "arrived within two and one-half miles of the town about twelve." Four reports from this brigade mention time. Colonel Brabble† was in line of battle "about two-thirty p.m.," and "met the enemy about four"; Colonel Lewis‡ was in line "two or two and one-half miles from Gettysburg" at "about one"; Colonel Owens§ says "about one"; and Captain Van Brown|| "entered the engagement with the remainder of the brigade between the hours of twelve and one."

Brigadier-General Ramseur's** brigade was "in rear of the division train," and the last of Rodes' division to reach the field. There are four reports from this brigade. Captain Williams*† says "about one"; Major Lambeth*‡ "about two"; Major Silvers*§ "early part of the afternoon"; and Colonel Grimes*|| "about four."

Three brigades of Major-General Early's division complete the Confederate list.

Major-General Early himself fixes no hour.

* North Carolina Brigade.

† 32d N. C. Infantry.

‡ 43d N. C. Infantry.

§ 53d N. C. Infantry.

|| 2d N. C. Battalion.

** North Carolina Brigade.

*† 2d N. C. Infantry.

*‡ 14th N. C. Infantry.

*§ 30th N. C. Infantry.

*|| 4th N. C. Infantry.

* Louisiana Brigade.

† Commanding
Hoke's N. C. Brigade.

‡ Georgia Brigadz.

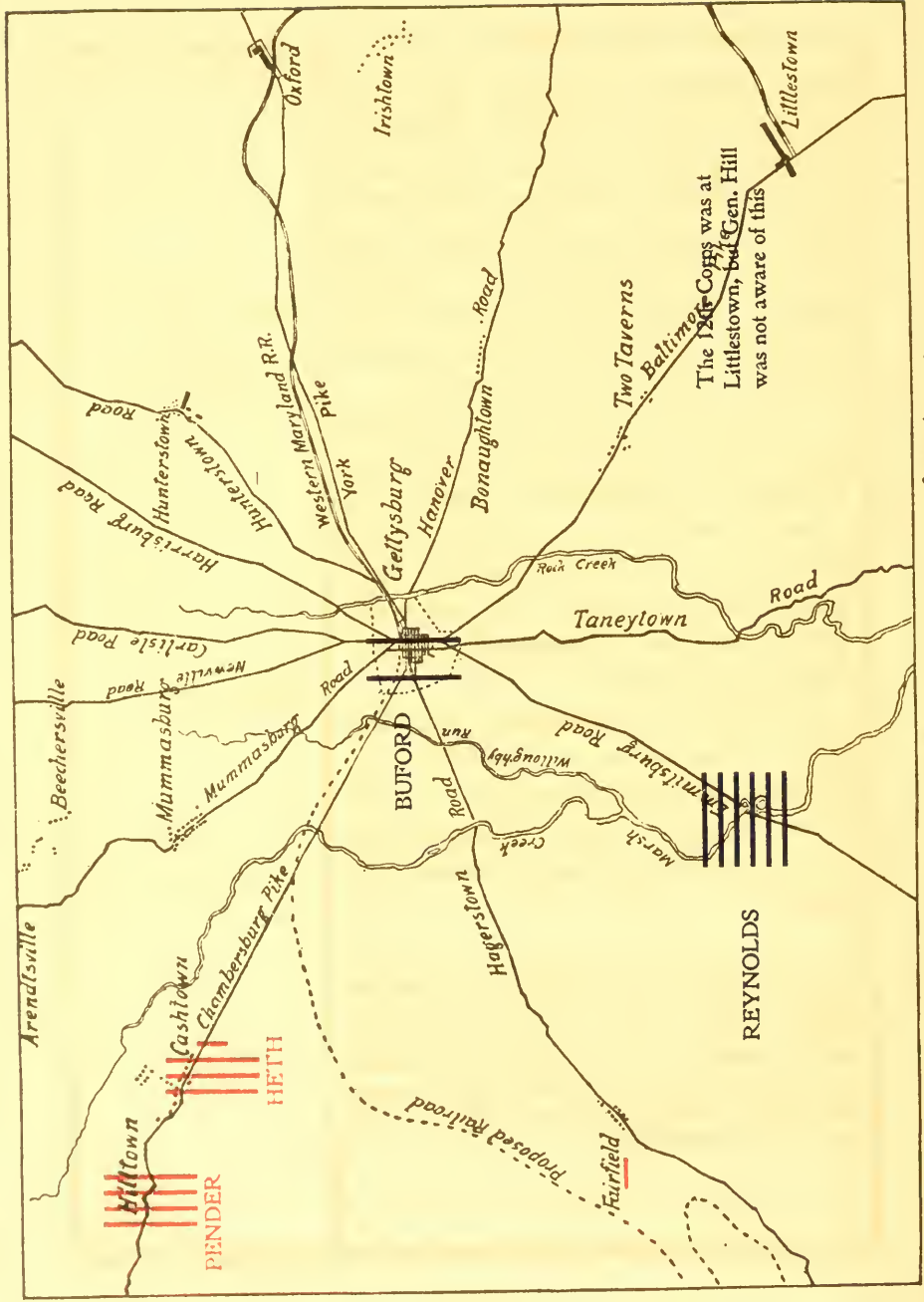
Brigadier-General Hays* says "a little after two" Gordon's brigade was ordered to advance, and in a short time he moved to its support. Colonel Godwin† says "at three p.m. the order to advance was received." Brigadier-General Gordon‡ says "about three p.m. I was ordered to move my brigade forward."



It would seem a fair inference that many of these estimates of time were guesses and not literal statements. The frequent use of the qualifying "about," "toward," "a little after," or "a little before," in itself indicates that there was no idea of being held to absolute exactness. Yet somewhere amid all this variation the truth is hidden. Can it be established?

In the first place it is clear there was no "surprise" on July 1, 1863, to either Generals Hill and Heth, or to Generals Reynolds and Buford. On the Confederate side we have the ex-

MAP II Positions as known to Gens. Reynolds and Hill June 30



PLICIT assertion of General Heth that on June 30 he "ordered Brigadier-General Pettigrew to take his brigade to Gettysburg," and that "Pettigrew found a large force of cavalry near the town, supported by an infantry force."* General Hill says that Heth "reported that Pettigrew had encountered the enemy at Gettysburg."†

On the Union side General Buford says that on June 30 he found near Fairfield "a considerable force of the enemy's infantry, . . . which proved next day to be two Mississippi regiments and two guns." He met Pettigrew's brigade "entering the town," and drove it back.‡

A "P.S." to a despatch from Buford to Pleasonton on June 30 says, "General Reynolds has been advised of all I know," and at half-past ten o'clock that night Buford wrote Reynolds:

"I am satisfied that A. P. Hill's corps is massed just back of Cashtown, about nine miles from this place. Pender's division of this corps came up to-day, of which I advised you. . . . Ewell's corps is crossing the mountains from Carlisle, Rodes' division being at Petersburg in advance. Longstreet, from all I can learn, is still behind Hill."

* Heth's report.

† A. P. Hill's report.

‡ Buford's report.

* A. P. Hill's report.

† Heth's report.

‡ Philadelphia
"Weekly Times," 1878.

§ See page 12, ante.

|| See page 3, ante.

A. P. Hill says, "I intended to advance the next morning and discover what was in my front."* General Heth "supposed it consisted of cavalry, most probably supported by a brigade or two of infantry."† The report of General Heth is dated September 13, 1863, but fifteen years after he wrote:

"I did not have so much as a skirmish with General Buford's cavalry or with any other cavalry. The first force of the enemy that I struck was infantry (Reynolds' corps). . . . I opened the battle of Gettysburg—stumbled into it—going to Gettysburg to get shoes, not to fight."‡

One feels tempted to further quote:

"Of all the preposterous assertions in connection with the war, this is the most so that has ever come to my knowledge.‡

It is very probable that when Heth's division marched from Cashtown "at five a. m."§ it advanced cautiously and therefore slowly; and as it seems to have moved about five miles, it is not unlikely that it was "between eight and nine"|| a. m. on July 1 when Heth seriously attacked Buford's line. And it is probable there was skirmishing at an earlier hour, for General Buford declares his purpose to have been "to prevent him (Heth) from getting the

town before our army could get up.”*
So that the memoranda referring to
“a little after sunrise,” etc., may all be
perfectly correct, without violence to
the reports of General Buford, Colonel
Gamble, or Lieutenant Calef,† and still
not conflict with General Heth’s “nine
o’clock.”‡

Next comes a positive statement.

Headquarters 1st Cavalry Division,
Gettysburg, July 1, 1863, 10.10 a.m.

The enemy’s force (A. P. Hill’s) are advancing on
me at this point and driving my pickets and skirmish-
ers very rapidly. There is also a large force at Heid-
lersburg that is driving my pickets at that point from
that direction. General Reynolds is advancing, and is
within three miles of this point with his leading divi-
sion. I am positive that the whole of A. P. Hill’s force
is advancing.

JNO. BUFORD,
Brigadier-General commanding.

General Meade,
Command’ng Army of Potomac.

General Weld’s memorandum‡ is
also positive, and I construe that just
before ten o’clock General Reynolds
was near the Seminary, started Weld
at ten, and himself left to bring up his
First Division. It is known that Gen-
eral Reynolds rode rapidly through
the town to the Seminary and then
went back to bring Wadsworth’s di-
vision by the shorter cut across the

* Buford’s report.

† See page 3, ante.

‡ See page 12, ante.

‡ See page 6, ante.

* Bates' "Gettysburg,"
page 60.

† See page 5, ante.

‡ Lt.-Col. Bachelder,
13th Mass. Infantry.

§ See page 17, ante.

|| Col. Hecker,
82d Illinois Infantry.

** 24th Michigan Infantry.

*† 6th Wisconsin Infantry.

*‡ 7th Wisconsin Infantry.

*§ 76th N.Y. Infantry.

fields.* So it is very possible that the "three miles" in the despatch may be an overestimate, and the First Division First Corps reached the field very soon after ten-thirty, perhaps as early as that. This is later than the majority claim,† but the time marked on the despatch negatives an earlier hour for the arrival of Wadsworth's division.

On the previous afternoon this division "encountered the pickets of the enemy,"‡ but no mention of this is in any of its reports. If this was the force General Buford found at Fairfield§ it seems to have left that town about two p.m. on June 30.|| On the morning of July 1 Wadsworth's division does not appear to have been in any hurry until it neared the Seminary. Then "there was mounting in hot haste." Colonel Morrow** says he halted to load, but was ordered "to move forward immediately without loading." Lieutenant-Colonel Dawes*† took his regiment in at double-quick, "the men loading as they marched." Colonel Robinson*‡ had not halted to load," but his men loaded "while on the double-quick." Captain Cook*§ says his was "the extreme advance regiment of the First Corps," and that

“while marching by the flank was opened upon by the enemy.”

Many of the reports—Union and Confederate—speak of a lull in the engagement. A despatch from General Wadsworth, marked twelve-ten, reads :

“I think the enemy are retiring, and that we should advance promptly upon them. I am not sure that they are not moving round on our right flank, though I do not see any indication of it.”

The Third Division seems to have reached the field during this lull. The report of Lieutenant-Colonel McFarland* reads, “all firing now ceased for perhaps an hour, when about noon the enemy opened on our right.” The majority of the reports from the Third Division† indicate eleven a.m. as the hour of its arrival, and I incline to the belief that this was the fact.

The Second Division also came during this lull; it closely followed the Third Division. Most of the reports from the Second Division give “about one”‡ as the time, but the Confederate evidence§ is against so late an hour. I think a study of the

* 151st Penna. Infantry.

† See page 6, ante.

‡ See page 7, ante.

§ See page 14, ante.

* 2d Corps Army of
Northern Virginia.
† 2d Division 1st Corps.

‡ Seminary Ridge and
Mummasburg Road.
§ 5th Alabama Infantry
O'Neal's Brigade.

|| 43d N.C. Infantry
Daniel's Brigade.

** Lt.-Col. Farnham,
16th Me. Infantry.
Maj. Moffett, 94th N.Y. Inf.
Col. Prey, 104th N.Y. Inf.
*† Lt.-Col. Bachelder,
13th Mass. Infantry.

*‡ 11th Pa. 97th N.Y. Inf.

*§ Brig.-Gen. Baxter.

movements of Rodes'* division and of Robinson's† will show that the latter must have reached the Seminary very soon after eleven o'clock.

General Rodes formed his division at considerable distance from his point of attack,‡ for Colonel Hall§ says that when two miles from Gettysburg the "brigade moved one and a half miles at a right wheel," his regiment being on the left of the brigade. Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis|| says his brigade was "drawn up in line of battle about two or two and a half miles from Gettysburg."

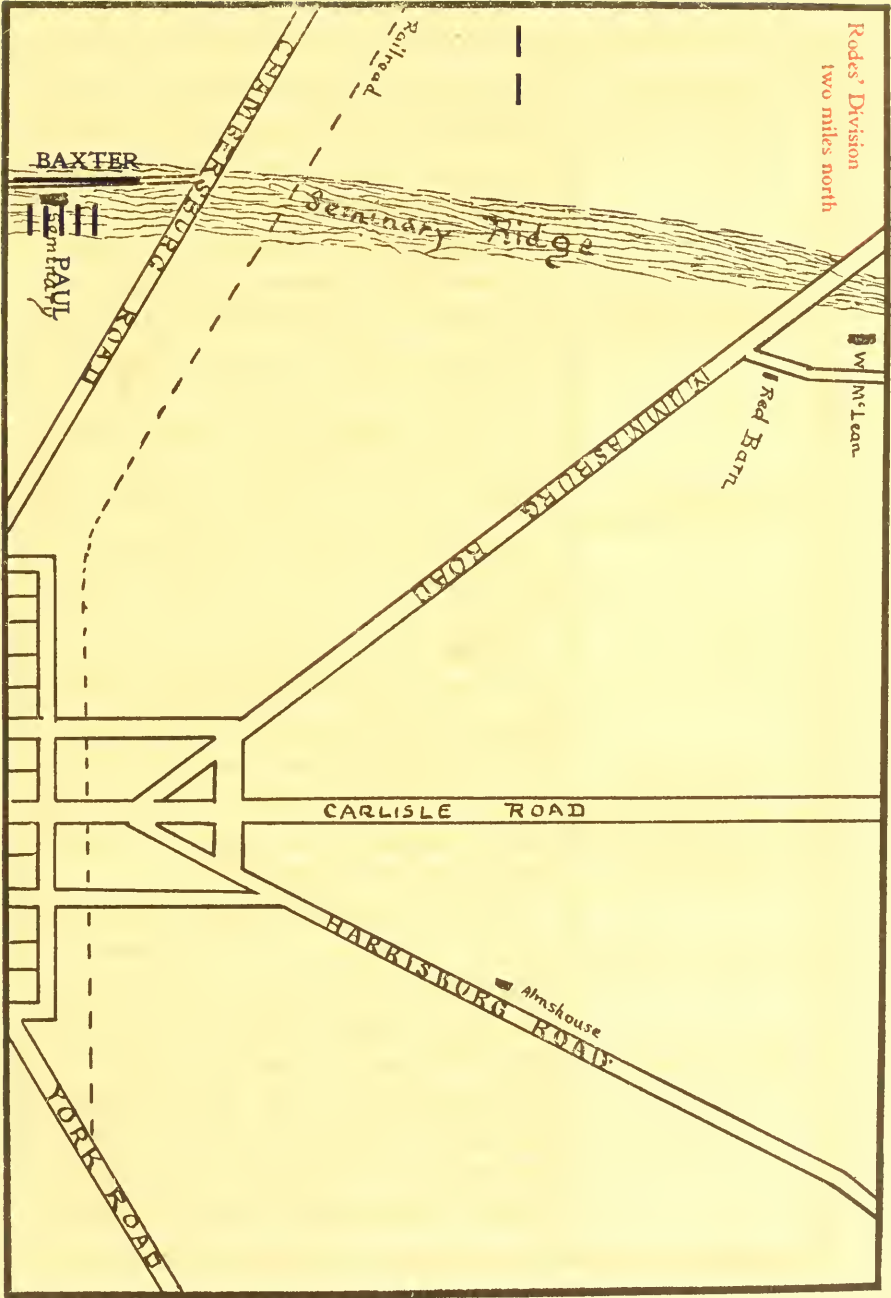
While General Rodes was performing these long-distance evolutions Robinson's division reached the Seminary. Paul's brigade halted east of the building, erected barricades,** and when it finally moved to the right, "was sent into action by regiments."*†

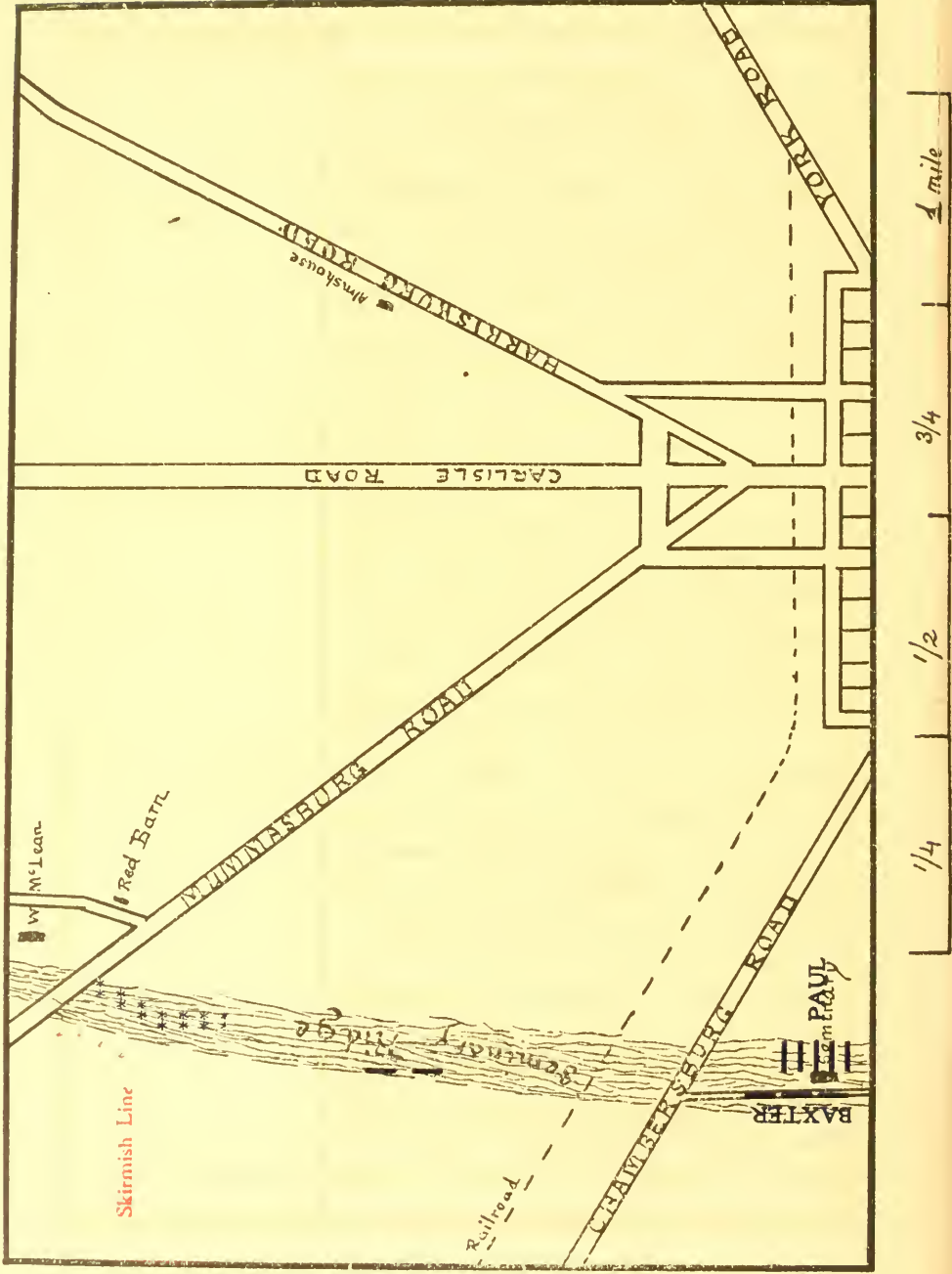
Baxter's brigade went to the west of the Seminary. Two regiments*‡ "continued their march, moving to the front," and formed on right of the First Division.*§ The rest of the brigade halted, the 12th Massachusetts Infantry—now the right of the line—being west of the Seminary in what is now a wide road, but then was a nar-

MAP III

Arrival of Robinson's Division

Rodes' Division
two miles north





row lane. In the grove in front some pieces of artillery were partially covered with branches of trees. General Baxter says "in a very few moments" (but I think he understates the time) the 12th Massachusetts Infantry was moved north, and, keeping Seminary Ridge on its left, marched to the Mummasburg road. Colonel Bates reports "at this time no enemy was visible in our immediate front except a line of skirmishers,"* and these he dislodged by moving one company forward. The rest of the regiment lay with General Robinson in the hollow, facing north and watching proceedings.

While here a cavalryman rode to the front and around a red barn north of the Mummasburg road near the buildings marked "W. McLean" on the War Department maps. Perhaps this was the "Sergeant Ebenezer S. Johnson, 1st Maine Cavalry," mentioned in General Robinson's report.

General Baxter now came to the right, and a Confederate skirmish-line appeared on Seminary Ridge, to the left and rear of the 12th Massachusetts Infantry, which, facing west, ascended the ridge. During this ascent one man† was shot in the arm by a skir-

* Mass. Adj.-Gen. Report,
1863, page 603.

† Geo. Bates, Co. I.

* Statement of
Adj. Chas. G. Wehrum.

† Mass. Adj.-Gen. Report,
1863, page 603.

† Iverson's men offered
no resistance, in fact their
line was marked by flut-
tering white handker-
chiefs, etc.

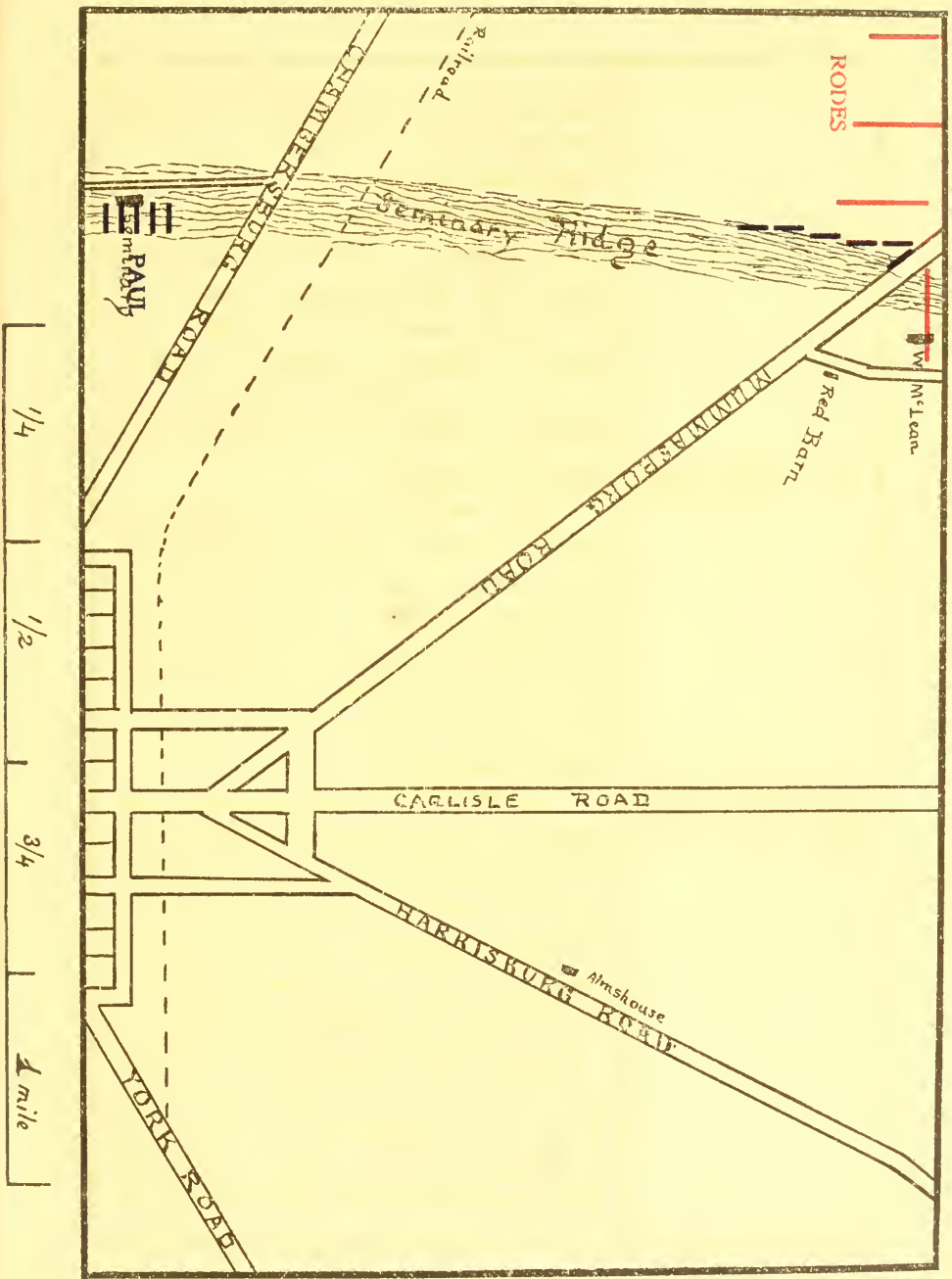
misher, who—kneeling near where our regimental monument now is— took deliberate aim.

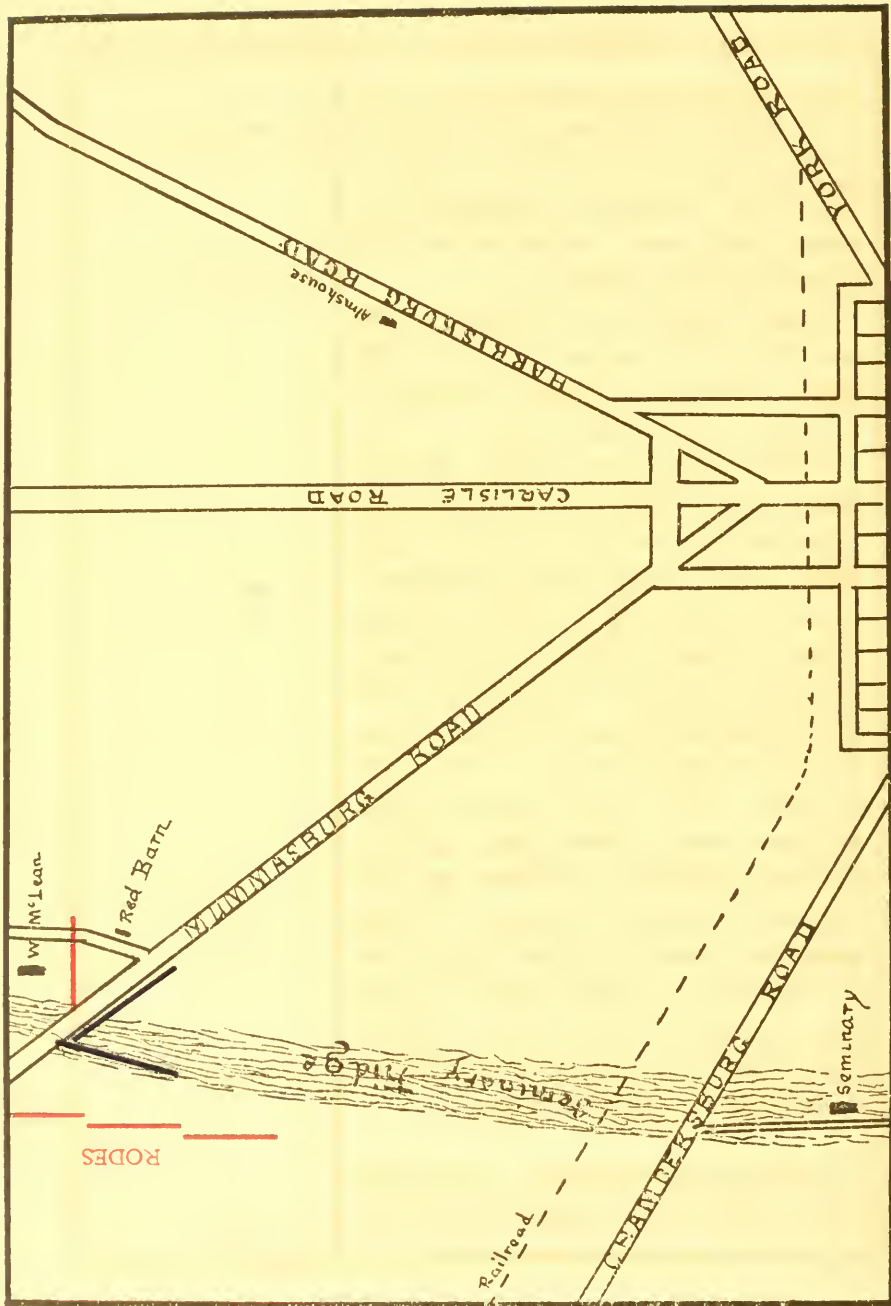
Reaching the crest “the 12th formed like a letter L,”* part facing the north beside the Mummasburg road, and part facing west on the ridge. The balance of Baxter's brigade formed on our left, the 83d N. Y. being in the position credited on the maps to the 88th Pa. Infantry.†

Three battle-lines were visible on our west front. The nearest surrendered, and proved to be a large part of Iverson's brigade. The reports credit the 12th Mass. with “a galling flank fire” on this brigade, but more than half of the regiment joined in the so-called “charge.”‡

The 88th Pa. Infantry reports capturing the colors of the 16th Alabama. No such regiment was on the field; it may be a misprint for 26th Alabama, O'Neal's brigade, which Lieutenant-Colonel Goodgame reports would have fared better “had they done their duty.”

I think this shows that at least a part of Robinson's division was in position on the right prior to the arrival of Rodes' division. The skirmishers dislodged by the 12th Mass. may have





been sharpshooters from the 5th Alabama,* but as I afterwards found dead of the 12th N.C. in that vicinity, I think they belonged to Iverson's brigade, which was "in the advance of General Rodes' division."†

Paul's brigade now formed on the ground first occupied by the 12th Mass., Baxter's brigade moving to the left to make room for it.

The reports from Rodes' division show some trouble with O'Neal's brigade, but the tenor of all is "Veni, Vidi, Vici," though they admit heavy losses in front of the First Corps. They also seem to think that Carter's artillery battalion accomplished much by enfilading Seminary Ridge. None of the reports from the First Corps complain much about Carter's guns, and my own observation suggests Captain Dalgetty's criticism on Sir Duncan Campbell's cannon: "They astonished more by their noise than they dismayed by the skaith or damage which they occasioned." General Doles‡ seems to have had doubts as to the efficacy of Carter's fire.

General Howard says "at about twelve-thirty" "the head of column of

* O'Neal's brigade.

† See page 14, ante.

‡ See page 14, ante.

* See page 10, ante.

† 13th Mass. Infantry.

‡ 97th N.Y. Infantry.

§ 45th N.Y. Infantry.

the Eleventh Corps entered the town" and he "ordered Schurz to halt."*

How long the Third Division halted is not known, but it did not appear north of the town until after Robinson's division was in position, and after the capture of Iverson's brigade. General Robinson avers it was "at no time less than half a mile in the rear," and the hour of its arrival was probably the "about one-thirty" claimed by two of its reports.* Two reports make it even later—"about two."

General Wadsworth says it retired "after partially engaging the enemy." Lieutenant-Colonel Bachelder† accuses it of "giving way before a charge of the enemy," and exposing his flank. Colonel Wheelock‡ speaks of it as "giving way."

But the Eleventh Corps reverses the story, and accuses the First Corps of these very sins.

General Howard at five p.m. July 1 wrote General Meade:

"The First Corps fell back when outflanked on its left to a stronger position, when the Eleventh Corps was ordered back also to a stronger position."

Lieutenant-Colonel Dobke§ avers "the First Corps on our left gave way

and exposed our left flank." Major Willis* says he "stood firmly until the First Division Second Corps† had fallen back toward the town, and the First Brigade of our division had disappeared from the field."

General Doles (and General Howard admiringly says he "must have been a cool man to see so clearly amid the screeching shells and all the hot excitement of battle")‡ evidently considers the only resistance he met worth mentioning that made by the First Division Eleventh Corps. He says that after, with the aid of Gordon's brigade, he had routed Barlow's division, he moved toward "the Theological College, to the right of Gettysburg, where the brigades of Generals Daniel, Ramseur, Iverson, and Colonel O'Neal were engaged with the enemy." As he advanced, this force—unquestionably the Second Division First Corps—"withdrew from the college hill to the railroad." General Doles then moved his brigade "rapidly by the left flank," but failed to intercept the retreat. General Doles must have occupied the ground between Barlow's division and the right of the First Corps. Where was the Third Divi-

* 119th N.Y. Infantry.

† Possibly a misprint for
2d Div. 1st Corps.

‡ "Battles and Leaders of
the Civil War," vol. iii,
page 200.

sion Eleventh Corps at the time General Doles made these movements?

General Ewell tells us: "meantime an attempt by the enemy to push a column into the interval between Doles and O'Neal had been handsomely repulsed by Doles, who, changing front with his two right regiments, took them in flank, driving them in disorder toward the town."

General Early, after driving Barlow's division, "saw farther to the right the enemy's force on that part of the line falling back and moving in comparatively good order on the right of the town toward the range of hills in the rear."

Barlow's division must have moved out very soon after Schurz's division — perhaps at the same time. General Gordon* met "a most obstinate resistance," but in conjunction with the brigades of Doles,* Hays,† and Hoke,‡ he overpowered and routed Barlow's division, which was the last of the Eleventh Corps to leave the field.

* Georgia Brigade.

† Louisiana Brigade.

‡ North Carolina Brigade.

Headquarters 1st Cavalry Division,
July 1, 1863, 3.20 p.m.

I am satisfied that Longstreet and Hill have made a junction. A tremendous battle has been raging since 9.30 a. m., with varying success. At the present moment the battle is raging on the road to Cashtown, and within short cannon-range of this town. The enemy's line is a semicircle on the height from north to west. General Reynolds was killed early this morning. In my opinion there seems to be no directing person.

JNO. BUFORD,

Gen. Pleasonton.

Brig.-Gen. of Vols.

P. S. We need help now.

This is a positive statement of time, and tallies with General Hancock's report,* as also with the reports from Early's division.† There were many reasons why General Hancock should have been careful to note the time, and he says "it was noted by my chief-of-staff and other staff-officers."‡

There can be no doubt that three p.m. was the hour when the battle ended on July 1, 1863.

* See page 11, ante.

† 2d Corps Army of Northern Virginia.

‡ "Galaxy," Dec. 1876, page 823.



