



THE GAP

Meade's July 2 Offensive Plan

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The name of George Meade and the word *offense* do not usually go together, and the stigma plagued him then as it does today. At the time Meade won the battle of Gettysburg, he was not celebrated but was rather criticized for perhaps not electing to fight at Gettysburg on July 1, for wanting to cut-and-run on July 2, for not counter-attacking on July 3 after Pickett's Charge, and for not pursuing Lee back to Virginia in the days that followed. Today, visitors to the battlefield not too infrequently raise these same questions about Meade's timidity during the Gettysburg campaign. Any discussion of his victory on the fields of Pennsylvania has to be qualified first with a systematic response to the accusations above. When his legacy is analyzed, three primary reasons for this reputation readily surface. First, historians tend to only look at final outcomes of an event and then unfairly superimpose their knowledge of the future onto the participant who had only partial glimpses of final results at best. From this line of reasoning it follows that because Meade's offensive plans never reached a level of maturity, he must never have intended to carry them out. From this digressive pattern of thinking, one naturally concludes that Meade only planned to defend or worse at Gettysburg.

The first problem with this rigid approach is with its faulty historical methodology, stemming from historians who are either unable or unwilling to see a historical event within its original context. The historian who pursues this course does so with an air of sound judgment, believing his conclusions are factually sound, when in reality there is a wrong presumption made that all players in an event are omniscient. It is a problem of epidemic proportions in this field that will not likely go away. It should be clear that to fairly evaluate a figure from the past the historian has to forget his knowledge of the future.

A secondary point on this discussion about final outcomes is the very real fear among historians that someone will accuse them of fabricating. A trepidation of hearing "Where's your source?" or "That's fiction," or "That's a 'what if' scenario" or "That's counter-factual history" (the trendy term), discourages the probing mind from working toward a more logical explanation. The application here is that regardless of how well-developed Meade's offensive plan for his right

flank was on July 2, because attention shifted to his left flank by day's end, then in the minds of some, the former "didn't happen." If it "didn't happen" in the strictest terms, then it is out of the realm of discussion, even if the planning phase consumed Meade's thought processes for part of two days. For offense to become an option, all Meade had to do was entertain the thought. The distinction then becomes how far along the option developed towards implementation. If one is only analyzing final outcomes and chooses to ignore all options developing to different degrees, then analysis will fall far short of what actually transpired. Meade would not recognize most of what is written for public consumption about him today.

General Meade and the term *offense* do not fit well together for a second reason. That is, Meade's reputation, thanks to the Committee on the Conduct of War, is tainted even now with accusations that he wanted to retreat from Gettysburg. Congressional hearings held in Washington, D.C., which begin in March 1864, sought to label the commanding general a man who fought only because major generals John F. Reynolds and Daniel Sickles forced him too.

Interestingly, the four questions that consistently held together sworn committee testimony related directly to this perceived flaw in his generalship. The reoccurring queries asked of Meade's major generals in the spring of 1864 were: (1) Did Meade wish to fight at Gettysburg? (2) Did Meade want to retreat on the evening of July 2 during the council of war at Army Headquarters? (3) Why didn't Meade counterattack after Pickett's Charge? and (4) Why didn't Meade pursue Lee more vigorously back to Virginia?¹ The lingering effects of the damage these proceedings did to Meade's reputation have, even now, short-circuited a balanced discussion on Meade's offensive plans on July 2.

A third explanation for the words *Meade* and *offense* not fitting well together is found in the "show up and shoot" approach to Civil War battlefield history. It is a problem of significance in Civil War circles, where the historian of troop movements views a battle largely from the regimental level. At that lower level of analysis, the common man is being celebrated, which is a trendy and popular course for the historian to follow. The logic of this is that enough has been written on the major generals and it is time to herald the everyday fellow and give him his due.

Such a course of action is fine as long as the big picture is never far from reference. It is when broader explanations are not constantly balanced with localized fighting that a disjointed and illogical explanation develops. "Show up and shoot" by definition suggests that units on the Union and Confederate sides fought key battles without plans, goals, and objectives. That they fought with deliberate plans has been lost on too many in the Civil War community. "Defeating the enemy" is wrongly thrown around by some as an adequate plan, goal, or objective in battle, when in truth it is merely a stated purpose. Plans, goals, and objectives are specific to the teamwork of thousands in battle, and planned battles should be consistent with broader government strategies. If a historian cannot or will not identify general plans, with primary and secondary tactical objectives, consistent with overall strategy, then it is to his discredit and not the historical figure being analyzed.

Carrying this idea a bit further, regimental officers had regimental-sized objectives, whereas brigade, division, and corps commanders had goals at their respective levels. All objectives at the lower levels were to support the general plan at army command level. When a historian examines only regimental and brigade objectives, he misses the reason the attacks are being made in the first place. As with a building contractor who subcontracts plumbers, electricians, masons, carpenters, interior decorators, and security systems specialists to carry out the details of completing a building, so it was with a Civil War army commander who placed trust in lower levels of command to do specialty work toward a deliberate plan or objective. To narrowly focus only on what the plumber is doing as wholly indicative of what goes into the construction of a new building is the equivalent to examining only the regimental commander's actions on a Civil War battlefield. Again this is a big problem among Civil War historians who prefer to be vague on such matters.

A fourth reason that Meade and the idea of offensive plans are incongruent for July 2 concerns a narrow definition that battle chroniclers operate from regarding what is significant. In the minds of many Civil War historians, significance refers to numbers of casualties. Losses are the measure of importance, of what is remembered, treasured, and preserved versus that which is left exposed to modern development. The higher the casualty rate per square inch, the greater the significance, or so goes the thinking in our field.

The hitch with this model is that it does not always hold up under close scrutiny, as is the case with the death of President Lincoln. On April 14, 1865, for example, only one man was killed with one bullet fired. Is this incident less significant in comparison to thousands wounded on a battlefield? According to the Civil War interpretive model it is. And what about maneuvers by large bodies of troops in preparation for battle, where no one is killed? Can such marches occasionally trump casualties in overall importance? Certainly, if an element of surprise or decisive victory results from their careful movement with deception. Regarding the role of commanding generals during a bloody fight, were their duties limited to looking good on a horse, or were they burdened with broader worries and concerns? Do the equestrian statues of Meade and Robert E. Lee at Gettysburg symbolize puppet figures with nothing better to do than look stoic for posterity, or do they instead remind us of the endless days of thinking and planning prior to the actual clash that was, for them, only the tip of the iceberg? For them, casualties were one aspect of warfare in the broader scheme of military posturing. That perspective should always govern a “losses per square inch” approach when determining what is significant.

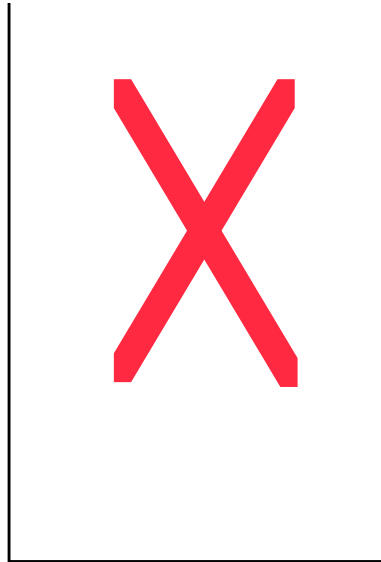
The application of this fourth point is that Meade applied himself to preparing an offensive plan on July 2, 1863 that consumed half of his waking hours. While only a few casualties resulted from this venture, it absorbed much of his energy, in turn producing great collateral consequences on other fronts of his line, like the sector of the Union 3rd Corps that was not attended to in person. In this sense his preoccupation with his right flank indirectly produced the scenario of alarming casualties later on his left flank. Few federals were killed on his extreme right, but personal attention given there in contrast with limited attention given elsewhere had far-reaching consequences.

For Meade, the planning phase of an all-out assault on his right flank began during the evening of July 1, 1863 as he was leaving Taneytown to ride toward Gettysburg. Major General Henry Slocum started the thought process by sending a transmission to Meade suggesting the right could be extended.² What Slocum was likely thinking was that Major General George Sykes’ Union 5th Corps was on the road from Hanover and would encamp only four miles east of Gettysburg that evening. If Sykes resumed the march the next morning, his thousands would be able to extend General Alpheus Williams’ 1st Division, Union 12th Corps line, which was already northeast of the Baltimore pike, pointing toward the Hanover road. Slocum hoped to bring Brigadier General John W. Geary’s 2nd Division, 12th Corps from the Union left over to Culp’s Hill, while Williams reached northeast for the newly arriving 5th Corps.

Based on later actions by Slocum, he likely considered the extension of his right with the 5th Corps as strictly a defensive posture. At 3:40 A.M. on the morning of July 2 he ordered the whole 12th Corps to Culp’s Hill.³ The order was only partially followed, with Geary’s division going there to connect with Brigadier General James S. Wadsworth’s division of the 1st Corps near the upper summit, while Williams’ division, with the exception of the 3rd Wisconsin, remaining east of Rock Creek to straddle Wolf Hill. Slocum understood that part of the danger on the right was the ground beyond Rock Creek, concealed by Wolf Hill, which offered an enticing avenue of approach to the Army of the Potomac’s line of communication and supply at the Baltimore pike. He had to cover it with Williams’ division at least until the 5th Corps relieved them, yet countermarching orders were not given to his early-morning edict to concentrate the entire 12th Corps on Culp’s Hill. Because Meade’s original guidelines were not put into action, it is natural to believe that he had made the adjustment. Slocum preferred to pull everyone in his

corps west of Rock Creek and anchor on Culp's Hill, trusting the 5th Corps to temporarily cover his right beyond the stream.

What Slocum may have also thought was the potentiality of Major General John Sedgwick's Union 6th Corps being sent to the right as well.⁴ In this occurrence, Slocum might be placed in operational command of the 6th, along with the 5th and 12th corps, leading to his elevation as wing commander. One might question whether Slocum would have sought such a title, having already



Brig. Gen. Alpheus S. Williams.
LC

deferred army command status to Meade after Chancellorsville, but he did promote Alpheus Williams to temporary 12th Corps commander and reserved for himself wing commander rank through the second and third days of the battle.⁵ It is a fact that Meade authorized Slocum with operational command of all three corps' during the morning of July 2, making the latter right wing commander for a few hours. Although the title existed only for executing Meade's offensive plan on the right, Slocum did not relinquish it through the duration of the battle.⁶ This issue caused confusion for both men for months after Gettysburg, a subject that will be revisited.

Extension of the right for Slocum further stemmed from his time spent there on July 1, securing a route for his 1st Division under General Alpheus Williams to circle east of town around the Confederate left flank under Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell. One of the least-understood maneuvers and actions of the battle was Williams' flanking maneuver of Ewell, as the latter pursued the Union 11th Corps through the streets of Gettysburg. Williams saved them, Culp's Hill, and the key position of Cemetery Hill with his partial envelopment.⁷ There

is little doubt of this when one examines the facts, but there has been reluctance among historians of the battle to consider the evidence for several reasons. One is the lack of understanding of the battlefield between the Hanover and York roads. Few people really know it.

Secondly, to give serious consideration to Williams' July 1 maneuver forces a rethinking of the whole matter of why Ewell broke off pursuit. The traditional view of the battle is steeped in questions surrounding Lee's discretionary orders, Lieutenant General A. P. Hill's unwillingness to cooperate, and the age-old predictions involving Lieutenant General Thomas Jonathan Stonewall Jackson. Because casual battlefield visitors and seminar enrollees are likely to be somewhat well-versed in the traditional view, Civil War authors and lecturers do not risk the blank stares that result from introducing a new, albeit correct paradigm. It's too fun to argue about old Stonewall.

A third reason for the slow acceptance of Williams' successful flanking maneuver on July 1 is the silly hang-up that historians have had over the meaning of certain petty words such as the preposition "on." Confederate reports warned during the late afternoon of July 1 that a large force of Union infantry, cavalry, and artillery were advancing "on" the York road and threatening the flank and rear.⁸ Although this is a clear reference to Williams' division flanking Ewell's left, the obvious is missed because Union troops were not literally "on" the York road. The issue is settled easy enough by defining "on" as "onward" or "toward." During the Civil War "on" frequently meant "toward." "Advancing on the colors," or "On to Richmond," or "moving on the capital," are just a few examples. Moving up-and-down the valley, or attacking up-and-down a road are other instances of how "on" did not always precisely translate "upon."

Yet another mental block involves the proper name Wolf. Because several Union 12th Corps accounts from Williams' division refer to the north Hanover road extension of Benner's Hill as Wolf Hill, casual readers and traditionalists become confused about William's location during the

late afternoon of July 1. They imagine that his 1st Division did not progress through the two-hump, camel-back pass of Wolf Hill to begin ascent of Benner's Hill. Puzzled historians love to say "we can never know" where Williams was that day. The reality is that we can know with great certainty, especially once it is realized that the north ridge extension of Benner's Hill was crowned by the George Wolf farm, a fact that misled the wounded about the hill's correct identity. Although in 1873 historian John Bachelder named it Hospital Hill in honor of Camp Letterman, many who convalesced there in 1863 associated the hill with the Wolf Farm.⁹ The result was that Wolf Hill, Hospital Hill, Benner's Hill, and Brinkerhoff Ridge all became interchangeable in early participant descriptions. It has been easier for historians to hoist up the white flag and conclude that Williams was "lost" and that "we can never know" where his division was on July 1. Once the historian is armed with correct code names for each of these hills, it becomes easier to solve the riddle. What emerges from the haze is the clear picture that Williams' division passed through Wolf Hill proper, straddled the Hanover road on its western slopes, and advanced at least three hundred skirmishers northeast through the Daniel Lady farm toward the York road. Even had they chosen not to turn through Wolf Hill and had continued marching north behind the hill, an unavoidable intersection with the York road was onward or straight ahead anyway.

The fifth and perhaps biggest reason for befuddlement about Williams' role on July 1 falls back on a misunderstanding between Slocum and Meade about 12th Corps command status during the battle. That is, Meade did not recognize Williams as a temporary corps commander, and because the commanding general would not read division reports, he could not read Williams' official report.¹⁰ If he had, the flanking maneuver of July 1 would have been unambiguous to him, because Williams' explained it with great clarity.¹¹ Because Meade's final report is a foundational source for many articles and books written on the Gettysburg campaign, and because he did not incorporate particulars about the 12th Corps that could only be found in Williams' report, most historians miss the connections. By 1870 Meade began to see Williams' flanking maneuver as crucial to stopping Ewell's pursuit on July 1. His evaluation of this matter was recorded in a personal letter published in 1884, in which he stated that Ewell confided to him that the 12th Corps was responsible for his fatal hesitation.¹² Although the account is candid, the traditional paradigm is so entrenched with thoughts of old Stonewall and related fables that Meade's own words, though in the public domain for a century, go unnoticed.

Even when the riddle of Williams' whereabouts on July 1 is decoded and solved, there is reluctance to incorporate the solution into mainstream histories of the battle. This is because of the need for consensus. Every historian must agree without reservation, which cannot happen until everyone who is in print to the counter has assented to the change. A steady resistance continues until a new generation comes along and incorporates the sensible. That day will come, but in the meantime it must be understood that Williams' flanking maneuver of Ewell's corps on July 1 was a deliberate action designed by Slocum, who established the route for Williams' 12th Corps. Williams' men were not wandering lost in the wilderness, and their appearance on the Army of Northern Virginia's flank was not an accident. Likewise, it was not happenstance that their path was perfectly on line with the 11th Corps position at Barlow's Knoll. A mounted Slocum and staff rode to Hospital Hill perhaps as early as 3 P.M. on July 1 and saw the precarious position of the 11th Corps. Alpheus Williams wrote that Slocum's staff directed him from the Baltimore pike out to a commanding ridge east of town, where 12th Corps artillery and reserve could fire down on the rebel masses in the streets of Gettysburg.¹³ Slocum's staff could not direct without orders, and Slocum could not give the orders without examining the ground, which he did.¹⁴ The traditional view likes to imagine "Slow come" hiding out near Powers Hill hoping to avoid assumption of operational command from Major General Oliver O. Howard. Instead he played an active role in trying to place his 1st Division in a favorable position to save Howard's right flank.¹⁵ He likely rode for several hours that afternoon around and through Wolf Hill plotting the path of greatest concealment for element of surprise. He succeeded.

During the morning of July 2, when Slocum informed Meade that he had already studied the ground for offensive potential, he was referring to Williams' earlier flank march.¹⁶ Slocum had roamed east and northeast of Gettysburg on July 1 for three or four hours until around 5:30 P.M., when he began recalling Williams back to the Baltimore pike. His reason for withdrawal was that the 11th Corps had retreated to Cemetery Hill, and 12th Corps men were well beyond the new position south of town.¹⁷ In other words, their mission was complete. The 1st Division had originally been sent toward the York road for the purpose of preserving the 11th Corps flank at Barlow's Knoll or stabilizing that corps' flank in the event of retreat. Williams' two brigades, along with perhaps the 5th Maine Battery, at Steven's Knoll succeeded in siphoning away three brigades of Major General Jubal Early's division, diverting them to positions below the umbrage of Hospital and Benner hills.¹⁸ Slocum then decided to pull Williams back to the Baltimore pike to cover the army's lines of communication and supply.¹⁹ By keeping the 1st Division east and south of Rock Creek, he smartly guarded the only access around the creek's mill ponds, thus covering the easy path to the supply trains and retreat route.

The trouble with falling back was that a vacuum was created east of Wolf Hill and south of the Hanover road, which was quickly filled by Confederate troops under the cover of darkness. Major William Terry's 4th Virginia Infantry and Colonel J.Q.A. Nadenbousch's 2nd Virginia Infantry moved into the void and crept south under cover of woods' roads and old logger trails along the spine of Wolf Hill. Owing to their penetration in the direction of the Baltimore pike, Colonel Archibald L. McDougall's 1st Brigade, Williams' 1st Division, Union 12th Corps marched north on the same line to traverse the spine roughly in conformity to modern-day Clapsadle Road.²⁰ Williams had ordered the 1st Brigade there for damage control to seal off further penetration. Meanwhile, Brigadier General Thomas H. Ruger's 3rd Brigade of the same division ordered the advance of Colonel Silas Colgrove's 27th Indiana Infantry on a parallel track slightly east of the 1st Brigade to contain at a point a quarter-mile north.²¹

Originally Ruger ordered Colgrove there for reasons other than containment. When first conceived, the movement was to lead the 27th Indiana on a return to the Daniel Lady farm, the scene of skirmishing with Company D, 49th Virginia, Brigadier General William "Extra Billy" Smith's brigade from the evening before.²² The 27th Indiana, with Company F in advance as skirmishers, was to pass through the same two-hump camel-back pass of Wolf Hill that Williams' two brigades funneled through on July 1 en route to Hospital Hill.²³ Brigadier General James A. Walker's Virginia brigade had begun to plug the gap with the 2nd and 4th Virginia, which assumed an offensive posture.

Presence of Walker's brigade stemmed from the broader placement of Major General Allegheny Johnson's division around the Daniel Lady farm west of Wolf Hill. Johnson's four brigades of six thousand enlisted men and officers had rushed to the battlefield by way of the unfinished railroad grade, bypassing Lieutenant James Longstreet's supply trains about seven and one-half miles from Gettysburg between Flohr's Church and Seven Stars along the Cashtown road. Climbing out of the cut near Gettysburg College, they followed the railroad bed through the north end of town over to the York road to relieve Early's division and secure the left flank of the Army of Northern Virginia.²⁴ Due to uncertainty about the location and strength of the Union 12th Corps, it was after dark before three of Johnson's four brigades carefully crossed over the summit of Hospital Hill and down onto the Lady farm, noted incorrectly in a couple Virginia officers' reports as the Culp Farm. Extra precaution was exercised by Johnson when Walker's brigade refused his line north of the Hanover road at right angles with the rest of division to face Wolf Hill. Sometime after nightfall on July 2 the refused flank acted as a *crochet* to pivot several hundred skirmishers right from an easterly direction to a southerly one rotating clockwise below the Hanover road. Skirmish lines from Colonel J.Q.A. Nadenbousch's 2nd Virginia, Major William Terry's 4th Virginia, Colonel J.H.S. Funk's 5th Virginia, and Captain J.B. Golladay's 33rd Virginia permeated the woods, rocks, roads, and fields in and around Wolf Hill. Elements from all of Walker's regiments except perhaps Lieutenant Colonel D.M. Shriver's 27th Virginia

participated in the probing mission. Once completed, the anchor of their left and that of the Army of Northern Virginia had fanned out to the E. Deardorff house and barn. Colonel Nadenbousch's 2nd Virginia held that hitching post, and the only southern cavalry to speak of was one or two squadrons of the 35th Battalion of Virginia Cavalry roaming the area, probing for federal strength along the Hanover road.²⁵

In the absence of Major General J.E.B. Stuart's division of cavalry, only the 17th and 35th Virginia cavalries, the latter known better as White Comanches, were available to cover the army's left in the morning. Some traditionalists like to comment "See, Lee did have cavalry," or if they recognize that two regiments were inadequate protection, an afterthought is added that, "Stuart's absence made little difference." The same individuals then herald the work of Brigadier General John Buford on July 1, without noticing the contradiction. Another favorite argument related to Stuart is that Lee had other brigades of cavalry at his disposal. This dispute still exists in some circles, but Kent Masterson Brown's *Retreat from Gettysburg* has put most of it to rest. His work spells out the extent of Lee's forage and ordnance train during the campaign, revealing how the available brigades of Confederate cavalry were needed to cover passes and gather supplies over the expanse of Northern Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.²⁶ The point is that only two, perhaps three, cavalry regiments were free to guard the army's left flank on July 1, and only one hundred mounted men were unspoken for on the right through the morning of July 2. The rebel army was okay in this respect as long as it was not attacked. Going on the offense masked this problem for Lee, which is, in part, why he attacked. A division of cavalry is usually needed per flank to cover an army's left and right if the intent is to remain on the defense. Lee had perhaps three cavalry regiments to cover both during the morning of July 2. The few available mounted sentinels were reduced to the task of breaking into small squadrons with six men each and probing the federal right, a vital job nonetheless.²⁷

The job was vital because of a note that fell into Confederate hands during the evening of July 1. General Johnson had authorized a scouting party to investigate Culp's Hill after 7 P.M., and a portion of the party was captured by the 7th Indiana near the highest point of the summit.²⁸ The few who escaped intercepted a courier representing Major General George Sykes, whose message informed General Slocum that the front of 5th Corps columns camped only four miles east of Gettysburg at Bonaughtown and would resume their march at 4 A.M. Ewell received this intelligence around midnight, and it contributed to his concern about the army's left flank and worries about assaulting either Culp's Hill or Cemetery until Lee could be consulted.²⁹ The commanding general visited there to examine Ewell's position and the left of the army, where Early and Johnson resided, with a view of making an attack there.³⁰ Based on Lee's official report, it seems clear that he and Ewell discussed orders for the day, which were that his corps was to demonstrate. Modern terminology for his mission would be deception or decoy. Ewell was to deceive Meade into believing that the main assault was coming toward the federal right and center. This was to hold as many union reserves there as possible and away from Lee's true point of assault, which was to launch from the Peach Orchard against the southern slopes of Cemetery Ridge. The objective point for Lee was further up the ridge at its highest point of Cemetery Hill, another reason why Culp's Hill was demonstrated against. Culp's Hill was the position on the federal line nearest Cemetery Hill that if threatened continually through feint or assault would draw strength away from the central position in preparation for Major General James Longstreet's main assault up the Emmitsburg road to that point.³¹

When Lee reached Ewell for a conference and examination of the ground east of town perhaps around 10 A.M., the men must have capitalized on the view of Culp's Hill, Powers Hill, Cemetery Hill, Rock Creek valley, and Wolf Hill that was gained atop Benner's Hill. With Benner's Hill naturally serving as the best point of observation on the Confederate left, it is little wonder that Ewell's headquarters was found either at the Lott House or Lady farm. Basic reasoning tells us that his center of operations was located next to the hill for a purpose, most likely to view his whole line, which stretched from Seminary Ridge on one side of Gettysburg to

Wolf Hill on the other. That Lee visited the Almshouse cupola north of Gettysburg around 9 A.M. involves the same rationale.³² What Lee and Ewell must have been worried about was the potential build-up of the Union 5th Corps from the east. It was known since midnight of July 1 that Sykes was proceeding towards Ewell's left along the Hanover road.³³ Thus the White Comanches were broken into small groups to probe the Rock Creek ravine south to the Baltimore pike on the west side of Wolf's Hill, while another small squad roamed the Hanover road east of that hill to watch for the arrival and deployment of the 5th Corps. Further protection for the rebel left was added by the crochet pivot of Walker's Stonewall brigade beyond Wolf Hill to the Hanover road. These security measures checked 5th Corps deployment and provided critical feedback to Johnson, Ewell, and Lee about the safekeeping of their left flank. Once it was determined that Meade would not assault Benner's Hill or its northeast extension, later called Hospital Hill, Lee and Ewell could proceed with plans to have the Army of Northern Virginia converge or mass on Cemetery Hill from two or three directions. Ewell was to be the anvil, Longstreet and Hill the hammer, and Cemetery Hill the stricken object between.

On the federal side General Meade was becoming interested in extending his right with the 5th and 6th corps. Slocum suggested this on July 1 around 9:20 P.M., after Meade had vowed to attack with his whole force if all of his people were up.³⁴ If the memoranda exchanged between Slocum and Meade are taken in context, then the commanding general was completing the right wing commander's extension idea to include a decisive attack there. Meade's actions from perhaps 12 A.M. on July 1 to 12 P.M. on July 2 confirm that this was his thought pattern. Not every historian can agree that Meade engaged himself seriously for twelve hours with the idea of a decisive attack on his right. Rejection of this notion has little to do with a contrarian's supportable evidence and more to do with the institutional power structures that regulate the dissemination of information. What am I saying here? Simply that consensus historians or traditionalists are bound by the code of group-think and a sense of obligation to their department constituents not to consider an idea outside the realm of an agreed-upon view. That is why new ideas rarely emerge from older educational institutions. Instead they begin in fringe schools where the potential reward is high and risk is low. Once a new concept is evaluated and accepted, then older universities, for example, gradually assimilate into the curriculum. Unconventional ideas tend to threaten institutionalized history along with its delicate power structures. Tenure for professors and candidate status for potential new Ph.D.'s can be at stake if an idea or work is too controversial. Methods of control are invisible to the average reader but are powerful forces that historians must cope with in order to maintain their public practice of history.

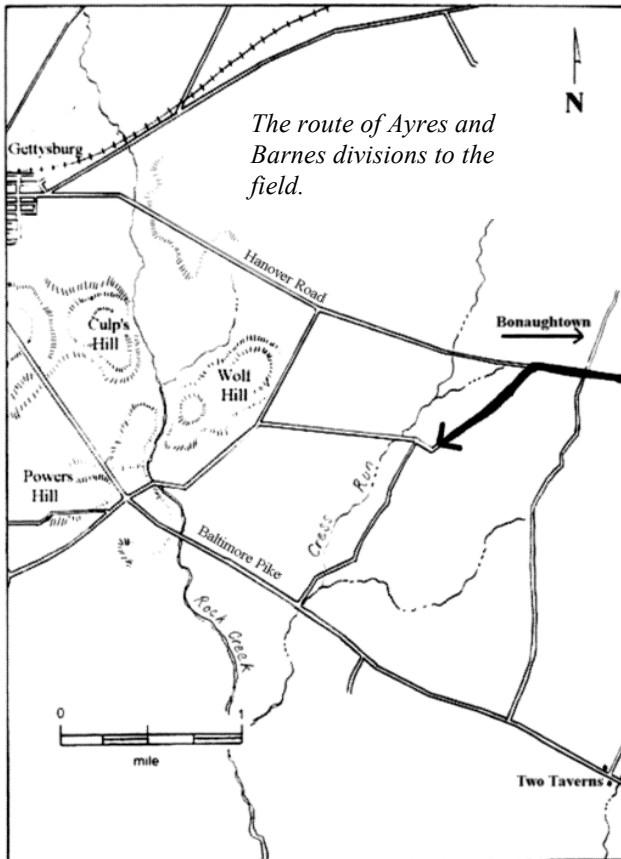
Complicating this issue are antiquarians who can present another dilemma altogether, one that has little to do with invisible institutional pressures. Many of them are only interested in facts, figures, and questions of who-shot-whom where and when. The problem here is that a concept like the one about to be advanced is foreign within a circle where relic collections are celebrated apart from broader meaning. As was stated in the introduction, the narrative that follows lies outside the comfort zone for both the consensus historian and the antiquarian. Let it be clear that all the facts and figures are present, which makes it that much more intriguing. This is not fiction. Still, it takes a non-traditionalist approach, and there are not many who dabble in that exercise.

How did Meade's offensive plan develop on July 2? As the front of Sykes' 5th Corps reached the eastern outskirts of Gettysburg, "they met outriders of Slocum's corps already in place" who guided them in.³⁵ The goal was to marry them with Williams' 1st Division, 12th Corps, east of Wolf Hill. A traditionalist might agree with this much, but then interpret the link to represent an attempt at continuity until the 5th Corps found its way to a reserve position along the Baltimore pike south of Powers Hill. To adopt this perspective one must ignore Meade's orders as found in official records, and imply that the commanding general lied under oath before Congress, which this author is not prepared to do. Meade swore that these two corps were to be held in readiness

for a decisive attack, and Slocum defined that readiness as a state of precarious detachment from the Army of the Potomac.³⁶ It all adds up, as we shall see.

The divisions of brigadier generals James Barnes and Romeyn B. Ayres led the way with Samuel Wiley Crawford's division trailing by eight to ten miles just west of Hanover. Both Barnes and Ayres had made torrid marches covering fifteen, twenty-three, and twenty miles over three days to arrive on July 2.³⁷ In fact, they had marched so rapidly from Frederick, Maryland between June 29 and July 2 that Crawford's men were not given a chance to catch up.³⁸ Even though it is beyond the scope of this work to properly address the issue of Meade's Pike Clay Creek line as a position preferred by Meade over Gettysburg, there is one fresh perspective that can be added here. That is, for those who have argued that Meade was not committed to fighting at Gettysburg on July 1, believing instead that Major General John F. Reynolds forced his hand, let it be noted to the contrary that most of the 5th Corps forced-marched fifty-eight miles in seventy-two hours. If Pipe Clay Creek had been the only option Meade considered in his first three days of command, why did he allow two-thirds of his former corps to proceed that far north without pause? Meade must have been looking at Hanover and Gettysburg as potential points of contact with his enemy.³⁹ If circumstances demanded, then concentration points for his army might develop for one or the other, as happened with Gettysburg. Admittedly Hanover was the less-preferred option, but it was within the range of possibility, depending on Lee's area of concentration.

As the 1st and 2nd divisions, 5th Corps closed in on Gettysburg around 6 A.M. on July 2, there were references in their reports of forming to the right of a road which casual readers can easily mistake for the Hanover road. In actuality, 5th Corps' accounts were referencing a field road that



helped them merge with the 1st Division, 12th Corps.⁴⁰ Barnes and Ayres turned left, not right, off the Hanover road and proceeded south half a mile, then turned west to guide on the field road that was parallel to the Hanover road. Only a little confusion has surfaced on this issue, not so much in print as in written and verbal exchanges with colleagues in the last five years. What is a field road? Simply put, it was a direct access route across a farm, linking one major road to another. Field roads were quite common in the 19th century and used often in Civil War battles. Such concourses frequently incorporated farm lanes, wagon paths, and even walking trails. In the pre-automobile era, when travel was slow and arduous, straight lines of journey cut down on lost time. In part, that is why local guides were so important to Civil War units trying to find their way across country. One reads about it

frequently from staff officers who were called to act in situations where haste was necessary, and when county maps did not show obscure routes. The treks were not macadamized but usually clear of trees and debris, often level, and suitable for horse and buggy.

The connector between the Hanover road and the field road was a road that no longer exists. White Run Road, as it was called, was condemned in the 1960s to make way for the Lake Heritage housing development. A portion of White Run today lies within the Lake Heritage development, and a few small sections of the surviving lane have become extended driveways immediately to the south of the Hanover road. The 1858 Adams County Map shows this thoroughfare running north to south from the Hanover to Baltimore pikes.⁴¹ It ran parallel to White Run's eastern bank with the entrance a quarter mile west of the Joseph Spangler farm, across from the modern entrance to East Cavalry Field. Barnes, Ayres, and later Crawford turned left onto it from the Hanover road and looked for opportunities to fill their canteens.⁴²

After marching about four hundred yards south along White Run, Ayres and Barnes' men turned right onto the field road to guide west. The field road today is marked by a string of high tower poles capped by industrial-strength transformers and high-voltage cables, strung east-west intersecting the Low Dutch and condemned White Run roads to a termination point at bypass Route 15. Similar to a plumb-bob chalk line, the field road directed Ayres by his right flank west toward Wolf Hill, while Barnes' division formed at right angles to Ayres and faced north toward the 2nd Virginia, which was trying to envelope from the Hanover road. Barnes, with his line parallel to both the field road below and Hanover road above, advanced a skirmish line toward the rebel position around the E. Deardorff buildings.⁴³ The stone house is still there, but the adjacent barn has upper floors of modern concrete construction. Because Colonel Nadenbousch's 2nd Virginia held the house, there is an oral tradition suggesting that Wesley Culp might have perished in the fight with Barnes's skirmish line on the Deardorff property. It is only one of several locations where Culp may have met his fate.⁴⁴

Barnes' regiments eventually pulled back their skirmishers, breaking contact with the 2nd Virginia, then changed direction by wheeling left to face west. With their left guiding on the field road they marched toward Wolf Hill to extend Ayres' line north. With both 5th Corps divisions pointing west and directing on the field road, the dual camel humps of Wolf Hill loomed on their front cresting at 470 and 540 feet north to south.⁴⁵ The avenue of approach actually split the humps and sliced through to the Daniel Lady property along the Hanover road. Although Barnes and Ayres did not go that far, that is where they were headed had Meade's plan matured. In other words, the field road ultimately provided direct concealed access to the left flank of the Army of Northern Virginia. It was one of only three east-west passages on that end of the field, and was the same route that Williams' 1st Division, 12th Corps had used the evening before to threaten the enemy flank. In fact, orders from Williams during the morning of July 2 directed Brigadier General Thomas H. Ruger's brigade to advance skirmishers towards the Bonaughtown or Hanover road, but marksmen from several of Walker's Virginia regiments had stopped their northerly progress.⁴⁶ The brigade itself settled perhaps at a point south of the M. Wolf farm, whereas the 27th Indiana probed further to challenge the camel-back entrance.⁴⁷ When Ayres' division guided west toward Wolf Hill, its center aligned with the M. Wolf farm. Ruger's rank-in-file settled into a position at right angles to Ayres in close proximity to the D. Clapsadle farmhouse, while his left extended toward McDougall on a line to McAllister Mill.

Because Ruger's men were trying to access the Lady farm through the two more northern summits of Wolf Hill, and because both divisions of the 5th Corps were on course to do the same, the big question is naturally raised here. What was their greater intent? Why position more than ten thousand soldiers opposite a pass that leads to the Daniel Lady farm, Benner's Hill, and the flank of Lee's army? The answer is found in official correspondences between Meade and Slocum between 9:30 A.M. and 11 A.M. It began with Meade's message to Slocum at 9:30 A.M. asking him to look into the "practicability" of executing an attack on his right.⁴⁸ Students of the battle should find this fascinating in light of all the attention given over the last hundred years to

Ewell's July 1 order from Lee to assail if practicable. Not only was Ewell's order not exclusive during the war, it was not even unique during the battle. The disproportional attention given to the examination of the meaning of Ewell's order over the years represents a part of what can be wrong with the conventional view of the battle. That is, traditionalists have a tendency to look at every battle action in a vacuum, apart from context within and outside of the battle. Cross comparisons and contrasts are missing in many facets of standard works on Gettysburg.

The 10 A.M. message from Meade to Slocum was the most direct one in revealing the intent of 12th and 5th corps' maneuvers and battle positions east of Wolf Hill on July 2. Plainly he stated "make your arrangements for an attack," and "hold in readiness" that it is to be made "as soon as he [Meade] gets definite information of the approach of the 6th Corps, which will be also directed to co-operate in this attack."⁴⁹ Then Meade added that he wished this to be "a strong and decisive attack."⁵⁰ The key words here are "make your arrangements" and "hold in readiness," both of which Slocum did not do. If one is operating under the traditionalists' view, Meade's orders cannot make sense. That perspective, which is largely a legend, espouses that Meade considered making an attack off of Culp's Hill during the morning of July 2, that he contemplated charging the 12th and 5th corps up through Rock Creek valley towards Johnson's Confederate position out there somewhere. The mostly oral and vague conventional view has another element, which is that Slocum and Chief Engineer Gouverneur K. Warren checked out the terrain where the attack was to occur and determined it was poor. Meade then dropped the idea. This perspective reflects a lack of attention given to examination of the sources, the ground, and reflective thought on the subject.⁵¹

The first shortcoming with the conventional outlook is that a state of digging entrenchments and building breastworks on Culp's Hill does not equate a condition of "making arrangements" and "holding in readiness" for a strong attack. Slocum could not charge off of Culp's Hill. For someone to state that a decisive strike could have blossomed there is to admit to not having walked that part of the battlefield. The Confederates later learned the difficulties of charging over this same terrain the hard way. In truth, when Warren visited Slocum to discuss the attack, Slocum had given up on the idea, and axes, picks, and shovels were clanging against rock and timber all over the hillside.⁵² Earthworks, abatises, embrasures, traverses, intersecting zones of cross-fire, and all sorts of accidents and obstacles were being constructed under Slocum's direct oversight. Warren was there more under the pretense of making an attack than anything else. He recognized at first glance that it was foolish to charge off of Culp's Hill, that the hill was better disposed for defense. Because he was representing Meade, it is probable that the real purpose of his visit was to find out why Slocum had given up on the idea.

The sketchy conventional view imagines Slocum and Warren riding out in front of Culp's Hill examining the ground for attack, but Warren was unavailable throughout the morning of July 2 for this kind of reconnaissance. The chief engineer spent part of daybreak riding back from Taneytown where he had finished inspecting fall-back positions the evening before along the Taneytown and Baltimore roads.⁵³ He did not record what hour he left Taneytown, nor could he say what hour he arrived in Gettysburg, but these can be determined by clues left in his account. One hint is that after Meade directed him to reconnoiter the right he claimed to have "at once did this" and found Slocum's men "there on the ground entrenching themselves."⁵⁴ If his only reconnaissance found the 12th Corps entrenching, then he was not there until after 10 A.M., after Slocum pulled the plug on Meade's offensive plan. The right wing commander had examined the terrain on the right earlier and made the decision on his own to not attack. Meade was no one's fool, and likely let a dead dog lie during congressional hearings nine months later. When Warren reported to Culp's Hill circa 10 A.M. he examined ground that was strictly reserved for defense rather than the offensive position east of Wolf Hill that Slocum was to hold in readiness.

What did holding in readiness mean? It meant positioning the 5th with the 12th Corps in such a way as to provide frontage and fields of fire for infantry and artillery across a wide front. It meant choosing ground that allowed opportunities for maneuver and massed fire. At 11 A.M., it

could not have meant an assault launched from Culp's Hill when Confederates were not yet there and would not be for another seven to eight hours. Johnson's division was a mile away and not easily reached. Moreover, there were two dams with mill races to power a grist and saw mill along Rock Creek below Culp's Hill. Water tables were waist high for an average-height soldier along the entire 12th Corps front, and marshy flood plains were formidable from the southerly Spangler meadow up through the more northerly triangular area between Wolf, Benner, and Culp hills. Lady Run and other Rock Creek tributaries in the triangle offered up mud, soft swampy ground, and an overall quagmire to any frontal assault against Johnson. When Johnson's men crossed this same terrain after 6 P.M. on July 2 to strike Culp's Hill, at least they had the advantage of walking down into the soft ground rather than charging up it into Major Joseph W. Latimer's artillery, which is what the 12th Corps would have had to do in that tight triangle of muck and mire.

This raises another red flag about the prospects of making a decisive attack with two or three corps through this triangular area better known as Rock Creek ravine. That is, there was only enough frontage space for the passage of three brigades, as was demonstrated by the Confederate attack later that day. In the later rebel attack, Johnson was able to squeeze in three brigades belonging to Brigadier General John M. Jones, Colonel J.M. Williams, and Brigadier General George H. Steuart. The fit was so tight between the Hanover road and Wolf Hill that officers among Steuart's Marylanders, North Carolinians, and Virginians found themselves having to dismount due to their left dragging through the heavy timber of Wolf Hill.⁵⁵ Walker's Stonewall brigade of Johnson's division naturally was bumped to the other side of Wolf Hill. Granted, Walker's Virginians had another mission, which was to play the role of cavalry and protect the flank east of Wolf Hill in the absence of Brigadier General Wade Hampton's Georgia Legions of cavalry detained at Hunterstown. Still, Walker had to form in battle lines east of Wolf Hill to have space to participate equally with the rest of the division.

A similar model can be applied in reverse for an assault by Meade through the same ravine. If Meade contemplated cramming his whole assault from beginning to end into that space, he was asking for disaster on the scale of Marye's Heights on December 13, 1862. As ravines funneled federal troops into lines of fire at Fredericksburg, so did Rock Creek ravine restrict and confine the advance of troops. If one factors in the mud, morass, and wetland conditions, then Agincourt might prove a better parallel of catastrophe in military history.⁵⁶ There, the front was so narrow and the column so long that rear elements were not able to uncover and expand their lines. Row upon row was defeated in gauntlet-like succession. If one were to calculate one division of 12th Corps, supported by two divisions of 5th Corps and two or three divisions of 6th Corps, advancing strictly through the triangular marsh on a three-brigade front, the columns stack all the way back to Big Round Top, an absurd consideration, yet one that passes for legitimacy in conventional circles.

To go along with the marshy flood-plain conditions and the narrow three-brigade front, there is one other inadequacy to the legend of Meade's contemplated assault on July 2 for his right. That is, to ignore Wolf Hill and the ground to its east in the scheme of a decisive attack is to miss the dilemma the hill created for both armies sharing that flank. Both the Federal right and Confederate left had to be on guard for ambush there from July 1 to July 4, 1863. As evidence, it can be noted that bands of infantry and cavalry regiments either deployed or picketed around the hill to a grand total of 25,000 strong through four days. That constitutes twice the number of combatants who guarded or threatened Little Round Top from July 2 to July 3, 1863. In quick review, 1st Division, 12th Corps operated there on July 1 through 4, 5th Corps maneuvered and lightly engaged on July 2, Brigadier General David M. Gregg's cavalry division contested on July 2, Walker and Smith's Virginia brigades defended on July 2 to 3, and Brigadier General Thomas H. Neill's 3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 6th Corps sealed off Wolf Hill's southerly access to the Baltimore pike on July 3. The twenty-five thousand figure does not include additional brigades that fought at East Cavalry Field on July 3, although it probably should. The charges and

countercharges there were an outgrowth of the tie that both armies had to their flanks at Wolf Hill.

However, the various summits, slopes, and passes of the hill were crawling with blue and butternut. Five major summits extending over two miles from north of the Hanover road to south of the Baltimore pike rose to heights of 470 feet, 470 feet, 450 feet, 540 feet, and 473 feet, respectively. In actuality there is an extension of the 470-foot hill north of the Hanover road that stretches with ebbs and flows into Brinkerhoff Ridge to cover another two miles to the York road.⁵⁷ The four-mile series of hills that make up Wolf Hill might be considered Gettysburg's Great Wall of China. Alpheus Williams named it the "good curtain," which is close enough.⁵⁸ What this great partition made problematic was that it divided forces visually and communicatively. One of Napoleon's favorite tactics was to maneuver until his opponent straddled a natural geographic break such as a mountain or river. From a roughly central position his forces would attack and defeat sectors in detail, who were isolated in half-strength. He understood that to sit astride such a barrier could lead to separation by intervals, seclusion, and possibly a divide-and-conquer outcome.⁵⁹ Robert E. Lee attempted such trickery along the North Anna River in May 1864, but Ulysses S. Grant discovered the hoax and backed out of the trap.⁶⁰ The great wall of Wolf Hill played a part on July 1 in halting Ewell's pursuit of Howard's 11th Corps simply because of the unknown that lay beyond. The emergence of 12th Corps troops from it and melting back into it added to the illusion.

Lee's original concerns with permitting Johnson's division to occupy the zone amid the Hanover and York roads was due to the carve-up that the town, Benner's Hill, and Wolf Hill established within Ewell's Corps and with that corps' separation from the other two-thirds of the army. As long as Ewell was east of Gettysburg, those features ensured his isolation from the corps of Hill and Longstreet. The far-reaching consequences of this were two-fold. First, Longstreet's turning the Union flank idea was dead as long as Lee permitted Ewell to remain there. That's why the two divisions belonging to major generals John B. Hood and Lafayette McLaws were obliged to attack up the Emmitsburg road on July 2. They had to attack toward Hill and Ewell, not move away in another direction. Upholders of the conventional view of the battle turn a deliberate blind eye to this essential truth. The second consequence of posting one-third of Lee's army east of Gettysburg was that Ewell had to bridge the great wall of Wolf Hill to secure his flank. The hill's imposing presence required that his men infiltrate all of the intersecting woods roads for four miles and post at least one brigade at all times to sentry the Wolf Hill intersection with the York road. Smith's Virginia and Gordon's Georgia brigades exchanged turns at this watch-dog duty.

Altogether it was not feasible for Meade to contemplate an assault across the triangular marsh of Rock Creek ravine with Confederate troops firing under the cover and concealment of Wolf Hill's rock clefts and heavy timber. Awaiting the attackers was soft, squishy earth stemming from the back wash of dams and tributaries. To advance up the open slopes meant leaving the mill ponds in their path of retreat. The ascent into Latimer's artillery was bad enough in theory, but made worse by the limited fire power of a three-brigade front. At least when Johnson's Confederates tested the ravine during their assault, they soon found cover behind trees and rocks on Culp's Hill, which allowed a sustained fight of nearly thirteen hours over two days. Put all of these considerations together and one has a recipe for debacle. When one considers that Meade was a topographical engineer, it becomes apparent that this was not his plan.

So what was the plan? Where could significant portions of three Union corps find room to maneuver and gain advantage against Ewell's left flank? The quick and dirty answer is that the assault had to begin east of Wolf Hill where the 5th and 12th corps originally formed in lines of battle. Early-morning maneuvers by divisions belonging to Williams, Ayres, and Barnes around the field road were not incidental but in effect were the embryonic beginnings of Meade's offensive plan. East of Wolf Hill was the only location where two to three corps could assemble, remain in a state of readiness, and uncover their full division frontages when attack orders came.

Gregg's division of cavalry, which was due to arrive from Hanover around noon, would cover the flank and rear during the assault.⁶¹ Meade stated then and later, during testimony before a congressional committee, that the attack was to hold in readiness until he learned that the 6th Corps was within supporting distance, which he believed it was. Close proximity of the 6th Corps was to be the trigger to begin. Meanwhile Slocum was to be ready to turn Ewell's left on a moment's notice. Falling behind the mill ponds of Rock Creek and entrenchments upon Culp's Hill was not part of the attack order. Some will point to the Captain Paine map as evidence that Meade wanted to recall 12th and 5th corps east of Rock Creek at dawn. Paine's map, begun around 4 A.M. by Meade's direction, shows both corps west of Rock Creek settled around Culp's and Powers' hills, respectively.⁶² It is more likely the map was completed around noon for three reasons. The first was the significant chatter exchanged during the morning between Meade, Slocum, Williams, Ruger, Colgrove, Hunt, Osborn, Sedgwick, and Warren regarding substantial movement by the right wing. Second, the map depicts 6th Corps troops to the left-front of the Round Tops, which was a later development on all counts. Third, the Paine map was copied and distributed for each of the corps, including the map prepared by Captain William H. Willcox, A.D.C. of Reynolds' staff, upon which he marked the completed dispositions as "PM of 2nd."⁶³ Because the division frontages of Williams, Ayres, and Barnes predictably extend in scale measurements for at least a mile around Wolf Hill, Slocum's fallback to Culp's Hill added that much more time to resetting the table. Unfortunately he did not buy into the hurry-up-and-wait mode.

So, how was the assault to proceed, and what was to be its goal and objective? Simply put, Slocum was to follow the field road into the woods roads of Wolf Hill, the way Williams had the day before. Once his men passed to the western side of the hill they were to fan out under cover of the extensive curtain of woods, the way Williams had on July 1. After deployment, the first three-division wave, owning a three-to-one ratio, should have overrun Johnson's Confederate division upon the Lady farm and seized Benner's Hill with its northern extension, Hospital Hill. This is the same easterly ridge that Slocum's staff had directed Williams to the afternoon before. With Benner's and Hospital hills in hand, 12th and 5th corps artillery could be posted to command Early's flank on the Henry Culp farm and threaten all Confederates in the town. The 6th Corps coming up in support would have circled to the right to uncover their divisional fronts and extend the 12th and 5th corps lines another mile to the eastern half of Cress ridge before swinging around to the current location of Wal-Mart. With Lee's left badly enveloped, the town would have to be evacuated and his left pulled back to Oak Ridge. Such a retrograde would threaten his line of communication and supply along the Cashtown road and cause repositioning or retreat. This meets Jomini's first rule for conducting an assault with temporary detachments, which is "to compel your enemy to retreat to cover his line of operations, or else cover your own."⁶⁴

A skeptic might ask, when did Meade state these particulars? The answer is that the commanding general said as much when he expressed his desire that this be a "strong and decisive attack."⁶⁵ To the layperson, the term *decisive* has no special meaning, nor does it denote uniqueness to historians who are not trained in military terminology or who feel that such subtleties in military terminology cannot pertain to reports and testimonies from the Civil War. We miss so much if this is our belief. There was a whole subculture of language shared among West Pointers, Virginia Military Institute cadets, and soldiers trained in the numerous demerit schools from the era. Army officers on both sides were also lawyers, engineers, medical doctors, accountants, surveyors, professors and other professionals who paid great attention to precise language. If anything, many Civil War battles need to be reinterpreted anew in consultation with modern military officers. There are so many secrets to be uncovered once original meanings are grasped. This is especially the case with *decisive*. It means to make an attack that brings the battle to a final decision. That is why the assault against Johnson could not end with the seizure of Benner's Hill, which alone was a two to three division-sized objective. By the way, the conventional view is not accustomed to identifying distinct objectives at the brigade, division,

corps, and army levels. Traditionalists instead imagine a “show up and shoot” approach where Civil War armies clash without thought of goals and targets. So to state that Benner’s and Hospital hills were primary or secondary objectives in a broader scheme is already beyond the scope of traditional thought.

If one steps back and further examines Meade’s contemplated attack involving elements of three corps, there are some fascinating thoughts to reflect upon. First, the attack in full maturity should have stretched south to north from the current cul de sac on Benner’s Hill to the modern-day Staples office store. Presumably much of the 6th Corps artillery should have frowned from the contemporary Giant supermarket down to the new Sheetz convenience store. Along with this thought is that artillery fire there would have formed at right angles with Colonel Charles S. Wainwright’s and Major Thomas W. Osborn’s guns on Cemetery Hill to produce cross-fire into the bowl-like valley between Benner’s and Oak hills. One can also observe that considering the depleted condition of the Union 1st and 11th corps after July 1, the numbers that Meade’s attack called for totaled more than half the army’s remaining strength. Interestingly, the three-corps assault plan aligned with West Point tactics too, as the right wing pivoted on the central point of the cemetery like a compass pivots on a point to trace a circle. This is one of the advantages of holding a central or salient position: The defender can easily pass from the defense to offense by ordering one or both wings to pivot on the center, thereby taking an enemy in reverse. Lieutenant Colonel Joshua Chamberlain demonstrated this principle in miniature on Little Round Top by having his left swing on Color Company F, but Meade possessed this option with his whole army on July 2. Jomini’s *Art of War* refers to the circling wing as the *crochet*.⁶⁶

One might ask why Meade contemplated such a decisive attack with more than half his army. Comte de Paris, who traveled with the Army of the Potomac in 1862 but was not present at Gettysburg, set himself to the task of researching and writing a gem of a book on the battle after the war. Copyrighted in 1886, his work on Gettysburg combined sophisticated command-level analysis with insider information obtained from many participants and eyewitnesses. For me, it is still the most intellectually satisfying book written on the three-day battle. The criticism of his book is that he frequently did not cite sources, but once one is around the subject matter for a few years, his informants are easily recognized. With that said, the Comte reasoned that as the morning of July 2 passed without an angry shot fired by Southerners, Meade grew concerned that it was not like Lee to let, as it turned out, twelve daylight hours go by without attacking.⁶⁷ Meade did not know about the internal conflict going on between Lee and Longstreet, but thought it odd that Lee permitted all but three hours of sunlight to expire. The Comte explained that as the morning progressed in quiet, Meade concluded that Lee must not have all his troops up. Because Union signal stations did not account for Longstreet’s presence until 1:30 P.M., Meade had the full morning to doubt that Lee’s army was fully concentrated. If this was Lee’s reason for delay, then the onus of military protocol fell on Meade to attack.⁶⁸

The first choice originally was on his right, where Slocum had informed the line could be extended with the 5th Corps. It was the same location where Meade wanted to attack if all of his people were up. According to several sources, Meade entertained the thought of an attack on his left in the afternoon with the 3rd and 5th corps.⁶⁹ The window of opportunity for this was perhaps ninety minutes, from 12 P.M. to 1:30 P.M., because Meade stated that it was his “intention of ordering an attack from there,” after the 5th Corps arrived.⁷⁰ Having circled around the southern tip of Wolf Hill at Wolf Walk Ridge and turning north on the Baltimore pike, the 5th Corps reached the Rock Creek bridge by 11:30 A.M. and filed off in reserve behind Powers Hill within minutes of 12 P.M.. That’s about the same time Warren advised against an attack on the right and when Meade turned over communication with Sedgwick to Butterfield, signifying that he had given up on 6th Corps support for his right. At 1:30 P.M. Meade received a transmission from the Little Round Top signal station, warning of a major shift in Confederate forces to the right,⁷¹ marking the closure of attack possibilities on the left. That sent him looking right again. Research may reveal one day a link between Sickles’ forward move and Meade’s brief

contemplation of an offensive move on his left. Such hatred exists towards Sickles in some circles that this information has been ignored for years, and in some cases, authors have taken deliberate measures to suppress it. It is hard to comprehend today that not everyone disliked Sickles in 1863, especially within the ranks of the 11th, 12th, and 3rd corps in 1863. Understandably, men of the 2nd and 5th corps resented him for pulling them into his overextended line.

Going back to Meade's schemes for his right, there is another reason that he became preoccupied with making an attack there on July 2, which involves his unease with Lee's main strike possibly emerging from Benner's Hill. Meade's trepidation was such that he wanted to make a pre-emptive strike, to try to get the enemy before they got him, so to speak. His apprehension concerning his right was four-fold. First, he was anxious about the Baltimore pike being too easily accessible by way of the Hanover road, which offered four joining roads: the modern-day Highland Avenue Road, White Run Road, Low Dutch Road, and Two Taverns Road. In somewhat peculiar fashion the Baltimore pike turned east enough that it was roughly parallel to the Hanover road and dangerously reachable. The second reason to fear a major attack there was the Confederate pattern of attack on July 1 from the federal left to right. Counter-clockwise the rebel assaults spread like clock work from the Hagerstown and Chambersburg roads to the Mummasburg, Carlisle, Table Rock, Harrisburg, York and Hanover roads. With knowledge that Stuart's cavalry was last encountered in Hanover, just twelve miles to the east, a trend was developing. Worst fears even seemed confirmed at 12:35 P.M. when a Cemetery Hill signal officer reported that, "I think our trains are being destroyed" to the southeast.⁷² A third factor drawing Meade's attention to his right was the penetrating moves that the 2nd and 4th Virginia made toward the Baltimore pike during the early morning of July 2. That infiltration, along with intentional demonstrations by Ewell, gave the impression that attack on the right was eminent. One example was the train of Nelson's battalion which rode over Hospital Hill in full view of the Union signal station atop Cemetery Hill.⁷³ Ewell was all too happy to rattle his chains, because he was in the business of deception much of the day.

A fourth and final tip that the right was in danger were the signs that the noose was tightening around Cemetery Hill, the key position. With rebel marksmen perched in most of the two-story buildings in Gettysburg shooting at artillerymen on Cemetery Hill, and with Confederate artillery circling the hill from Seminary Ridge west to the Railroad Cut north to Benner's Hill east, the omens suggested a mass convergence of fire there. One way to loosen the grip was to push Johnson off Benner's Hill and make the rebel presence in town a precarious one. Moreover, to gain Benner's Hill was to set up yet another buttress to go along with Culp's Hill, Wolf Hill, McAllister's Hill, Powers Hill and Wolf Walk Ridge, between Lee's left and the Baltimore pike. Seizing Benner's Hill, if nothing else, eliminated the only real launch pad that Lee could use to assault the federal right. When Slocum wrote to Meade around 11 A.M. that the ground did not give the enemy "any peculiar advantages," this is what he was referring to.⁷⁴ That is, in his estimation Benner's Hill did not support the kind of attack that Meade was worried about.

The final question to be answered is why did Meade abort a decisive attack that he spent eighteen hours contemplating? The answer is that Slocum terminated it for him, forcing the commanding general to acquiesce. The loose thread that began to unravel the whole plan involved a gap in the Army of the Potomac's line. Slocum became increasingly nervous about maneuvering ten thousand infantry in a secluded corridor east of Wolf Hill, isolated from lines of sight and communication, and separated by a gap of one-and-a-half miles from brigadier generals James S. Wadsworth and John W. Geary's divisions on Culp's Hill.⁷⁵ Specifically, the gap was largely composed of the Rock Creek ravine, the triangular valley discussed earlier that provided the most direct north-south access to the Baltimore pike for Ewell. Brigadier General Henry J. Hunt wrote that Slocum worried that while Barnes, Ayres, and Williams deployed in lines of battle east of Wolf Hill, a stretch from the closest supports at Culp's Hill, that Johnson's Confederates at the Lady farm might split his forces by making a straight shot for the Baltimore

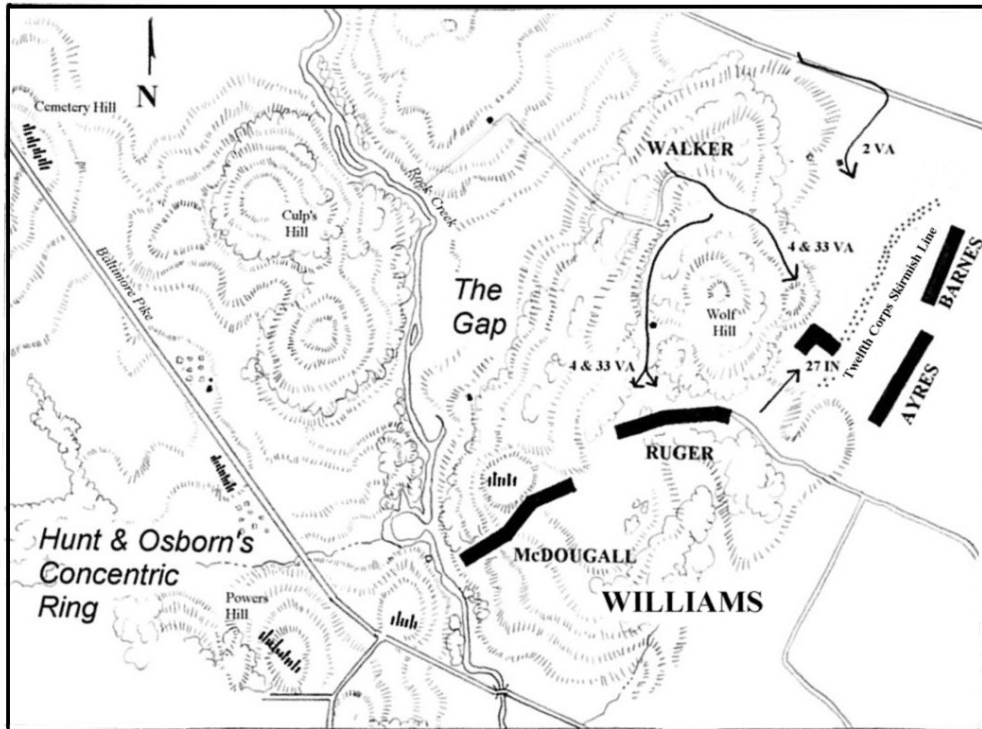
pike.⁷⁶ The predicament of terrain did raise cause for concern. To be exact, there were three defiles to the Army of the Potomac's lines of communication and supply. These egresses all circumvented the hills on the federal right. The first one was the V-shaped valley between East Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill, where Winebrenner Run and Menchy Spring colluded. The second direct avenue of approach was the Rock Creek ravine, a natural wedge severing Wolf and Culp's hills. The third line around all obstacles involved the four north-south roads connecting the Hanover and Baltimore roads east of Wolf Hill. Each of these had impediments, but if lightly defended offered an opportunity for southerners to avoid assaulting hills of 500 feet.

The first one was enclosed with artillery at Stevens Knoll supported by Wadsworth's 1st Corps troops, who set up converging fire with Brigadier General Adelbert Ames' 11th Corps men across Winebrenner Run valley. The second gap at Rock Creek, the one that undid Meade's offensive plan, was at first undefended except by a unit here and there with advanced skirmishers such as that supplied by the 3rd Wisconsin of McDougall's brigade, although this was hardly adequate.⁷⁷ Rock Creek ravine offered serious shortfalls as assault ground for three Union corps, but if left undefended permitted back-door access for Johnson's division to disrupt army trains. The third level passageway as the crow flies was of course east of Wolf Hill and protected for the moment by Slocum's ten thousand in readiness to wrap around Johnson through cover of Wolf's Hill in the execution Meade's offensive plan. As Slocum was becoming fearful that he could not detach enough infantrymen to make the attack that Meade wanted, Major Thomas Osborn was working to cover the gap with artillery. He later wrote that he saw the gap at sunrise and knew something had to be done to hem it in.⁷⁸ Osborn scrambled around to place ten cannon in an arc across the Baltimore pike from Powers Hill around to McAllister Hill. With Hunt's help a concentric ring was strung from East Cemetery Hill south to Kinzie Knoll to Powers Hill, turning east to McAllister Hill and perhaps further east to Wolf Hill to complete the ring.⁷⁹ Altogether up to forty-four pieces held some part of the ravine in their sights. Brigadier General Stephen H. Weed, who was mortally wounded on Little Round Top before day's end, assisted in the posting of Hunt's artillery encirclement of the gap.⁸⁰ His untimely death punctuates how a historical event is developed or underdeveloped according to who survives to write about it. The same could be said for many men who perished from the 5th Corps in the Wheatfield or Little Round Top. Had they lived we would know much more about Meade's offensive plan. Survivors, even more than winners, tell the story.

Slocum did not abandon the ground east of Wolf Hill all at once, but began to seal the gap to his left in gradual stages while maintaining a mode of readiness along the field road on his right. His deliberate and measured attempt to bridge the gap from Wolf Hill over to Culp's Hill first necessitated extending McDougall's brigade of Williams' division westerly toward the mill ponds. That brigade was already straddling Wolf Hill to form at right angles with 5th Corps fighting men, who faced west on both sides of the field road. To have McDougall shield the gap merely required the lengthening of his left. Ruger's men, who fronted north too at right angles in relation to Ayres and Barnes, adjusted in stages by widening their left to remain connected with McDougall. At first what resembled a precautionary shift left soon evolved into a snail-like withdrawal to Culp's and Powers hills.⁸¹ Oddly enough, the evacuation and relocation were apparently undetected by Meade, who believed Slocum was preparing to attack. When Meade gave that order at 10 A.M., the evidence suggests that Slocum had withdrawn everyone including the 5th Corps west of Rock Creek. All three divisions had vacated by their left flank to block the gap and or prevent easy access to the Baltimore pike, with the 12th Corps finding its way to Culp's Hill, while the 5th Corps moved into reserve at Powers Hill. Heavy timber, thick foliage, wagon-size boulders, and five major hills amid the federal right make it understandable that Meade lost track of the extent to which Slocum had relinquished the ground.

Slocum informed Meade after relocation was complete that he did not think he could "detach enough troops" to make that attack and that he had "taken up a new line," which of course was Culp's Hill.⁸² *Detach* is another one of those loaded military words with special tactical and

strategic meaning. It infers that a component of an army is operating far from its base of support. Wolf Hill created that sort of isolation and vulnerability. Slocum then softened the impact of his decision by stating that the ground did not “possess any peculiar advantages” for the enemy, which was discussed earlier. The conventional view misinterprets these words to mean that the terrain was bad and that is why Slocum couldn’t attack, when it actually meant that he did not believe Benner’s Hill needed to be taken with a pre-emptive strike because the hill did not give the “enemy” any peculiar advantages, in his estimation.⁸³



If Meade thought about the gap as a factor to undoing his offensive plan, he understood that gaps can be closed in two ways, by attacking and by falling back. Slocum chose the latter, which reveals his mindset to be defensive on July 2. A sweeping takeover of Benner’s and Hospital hills by two Union corps would have closed the gap as well and much more, but Slocum chose the safer option. One can argue that he selected correctly, because the Union army did win after all. However, the drawbacks to his decision were twofold. First, he took up the new line without Meade’s foreknowledge or approval. He admitted to this in his own official report by listing all of the commanding general’s orders which he properly followed that morning, before slyly noting an independent decision “at about 8:00 A.M.” to evacuate to Culp’s and Powers hills.⁸⁴ It was quite remarkable that he was bold enough to do this, which leads us to the second unfortunate aspect of Slocum’s decision. That is, he robbed Meade of the option for offense on his right on July 2. Someone could argue that the attack might still be made even after the relocation. This is true, but unlikely. Attack plans, like most coordinated endeavors, have energy levels. Peak moments must be seized and capitalized on, and when those moments have passed, opportunities are difficult to remanufacture. Timing is a valuable commodity in battle and can prove the difference between victory and defeat. The odds of success in that attack plummeted after the 12th and 5th corps retired to the west side of Rock Creek. Re-crossing was unlikely and perhaps so were Slocum’s chances of staying with the Army of the Potomac from that time forward.

Some final thoughts on the subject must include the 6th Corps' failure to arrive that morning. The front of its columns began to trickle in at 2 P.M., whereas the rear elements came up as late as 8 P.M. How could Meade have expected Major General John Sedgwick's three divisions to be near enough to Gettysburg to participate in a decisive attack on the right? Apparently the snapping turtle, as Meade was sometimes called, thought it possible. Perhaps had the men not crossed from the Baltimore pike to the Taneytown road before retracing their steps, or had they not run into so many army trains, an earlier arrival at Gettysburg would have been possible.⁸⁵ This is a matter for further research and discussion, but it is clear that Meade anticipated Sedgwick in person at 11 P.M. on July 1, and was looking for him and a part of his 6th Corps as early as 2:40 A.M. on July 2.⁸⁶ That they did not arrive until later is something that Slocum might have learned and factored into his decision to withdraw. If he did, then we may partially exonerate him on the basis of the belief that the assault could not be decisive without at least two divisions of the 6th Corps present. However, Slocum cannot be fully acquitted because there is no written evidence that he consulted with Meade on the matter. He confessed to the contrary in his report.⁸⁷

Long after the official phase of the attack had passed, Meade was still looking to his right. As discussed earlier, divisions belonging to Early and Johnson were separated and isolated from easy support, as well as from the majority of Lee's army, because of the town. Even as late as July 3, Meade considered overwhelming the secluded divisions. His interest in doing so on July 2 may have been linked with signal station reports of an enemy force of ten thousand moving from the federal left to right. After all, that is why Brigadier General Judson Kilpatrick permitted his cavalry brigades to reconnoiter between Heidlersburg and Hunterstown "to ascertain if the enemy" was circling through "that position in force," and "to see that the enemy did not turn our flank."⁸⁸ That is why Brigadier General George A. Custer assaulted rebel cavalry with such ferocity around 4 P.M. on July 2. Custer's assault not only pinned down Brigadier General Wade Hampton's Georgians and South Carolinians at Hunterstown, they likely were responsible for Brigadier General Alfred Jenkins' Virginia cavalry staying on Barlow's Knoll to cover the Heidlersburg road. The greater point for our purpose is that Meade's obsession with his right flank on July 2 contributed to his guarding that flank with both available divisions of Union cavalry. Kilpatrick and Gregg's thousands were disproportionately assigned to thoroughly screen admittance to the right flank.

That leads to a few summary thoughts about Meade's offensive plan on his right on July 2. First, to grasp Meade's plan, one must comprehend the particulars of Williams' flank march to Benner's and Hospital hills on July 1 as a precedent and foreshadowing of the commanding general's intent on July 2. The two events go hand in hand. Secondly, one needs to realize that Meade wanted to take advantage of the projected arrival of the 5th and 6th corps to extend the right and eliminate a threat from Lee to his lines of communication at the Baltimore pike. He was also uneasy with the build-up of Confederate artillery around the apex of his line at Cemetery Hill. Couple that with a sharpshooter's haven in the town aimed at his artillery there, and Meade could see that to relieve this tightening noose he might have to push Ewell off of Benner's and Hospital hills.

Third, Meade was befuddled by Lee's allowing twelve of a possible fifteen hours of daylight to expire without attacking. Meade read this inaction to signify that Lee's forces were not all up, and thus the onus of attack fell to him. Fourth, the attack was to be decisive, meaning that this assault had the potential of bringing the battle to a decision. The first wave was bold enough, with three Union divisions slated against only one Confederate division, but with 6th Corps support penciled in, Meade's assault had the numbers to threaten Lee's line of communication along the Chambersburg road. Fifth, Meade's offensive plan did not involve funneling twenty thousand infantrymen through the Rock Creek valley ravine. Perhaps one or two brigades might be left there to guard direct access to the Baltimore pike, but Union divisional fronts alone, stacked beside each other, stretched for two miles from Culp's Hill to eastern Cress ridge. Sixth,

Slocum became nervous about the mile-long gap separating his detached divisions east of Wolf Hill from the nearest supports atop Culp's Hill. He informed Meade that he did not have the numbers to hold that secluded position in the event of a decisive Confederate attack on the right. Therefore, he alone made the decision to pull everyone back west of Rock Creek to Culp's and Powers hills. Meade reacted by sending Warren to speak with him, and found the 12th Corps building elaborate earthworks. The commanding general, who had a topographical engineering background, could have examined Slocum's new line as well as Warren, but chose not to, perhaps due to fear that his temper could get the best of him in a face-to-face meeting with the right wing commander. The shipment of Slocum and his corps to the western theater might be related to his having abruptly removed this option from Meade

The biggest consequence of Meade's obsession with his right flank was that he did not personally inspect Sickles' front until it was too late. The whole story of Warren talking to the signal station on Little Round Top and of an artillery shot fired from Houck's ridge to determine Confederate location along Warfield ridge is the result of inattention given there all day. There's a basic rule that a commanding general will place his least trusted commander where he least expects an attack. That's what happened with Meade and Sickles on July 2. Meade was so carried away with his right that virtually all available cavalry was posted on the right, whereas the pull-out of Buford's cavalry on the left to Westminster was not immediately noticed and then not replaced except with a couple regiments, hardly equitable with the right. For those who have always wondered how Sickles got away with such a dramatic, unsupervised advance to the Peach Orchard, the answer is to be found in Meade's offensive plan on his right. Meade's surprise reaction to Sickles' new line attests to his lack of personal attention to his left until it was too late. The same goes for the battle of Hunterstown, another outgrowth of Meade's fixation with right.

Notes

- ¹ “Testimony before Congressional Sub-committee in Washington, 1864,” *Army of the Potomac*, Pt. 1 & 2, (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus, 1977).
- ² U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), Series I, 27(3):468. [Hereafter cited as OR]
- ³ OR, Series I, 27(3):484.
- ⁴ OR, Series I, 27(3):468.
- ⁵ George G. Meade, *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade* (Baltimore: Butternut and Blue, 1994), 373.
- ⁶ OR, Series I, 27(1):763-765.
- ⁷ G.J. Fiebeger, *Campaign and Battle of Gettysburg* (New Oxford, PA: Bloodstone Press, 1984), 49. OR, Series I, 27(1):777.
- ⁸ Jubal A. Early, "A Review by General Early," *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Company, 1977), 4:255.
- ⁹ John B. Bachelder, *Gettysburg: What To See, and How To See It: Embodying Full Information for Visiting the Field* (New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, 1873), 38.
- ¹⁰ OR, Series I, 27(1):769-770.
- ¹¹ OR, Series I, 27(1):771.
- ¹² George Meade, “Letter to G.G. Benedict, March 16, 1870,” in Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel, editors, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War: Retreat from Gettysburg, 1884-87* (New York: Castle Books, 1956), 413-14.
- ¹³ OR, Series I, 27(1):773; Alpheus S. Williams, "Letter of November 10, 1865 to Colonel John Bachelder," in David L. and Audrey J. Ladd, editors, *The Bachelder Papers* Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Press 1994), 1:213.
- ¹⁴ Mary Alice (Jessup) Burchfield, *The Burchfield Chronicles in America and their connections to the Young, Criswell, & Hawley Families*, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.
- ¹⁵ OR, Series I, 27(3):465.
- ¹⁶ OR, Series I, 27(3):487.
- ¹⁷ OR, Series I, 27(1):773.
- ¹⁸ OR, Series I, 27(2):469, 484.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 773.
- ²⁰ OR, Series I, 27(1):783.
- ²¹ OR, Series I, 27(1):811.
- ²² Laura Virginia Hale and Stanley S. Philips, *History of the Forty-Ninth Virginia Infantry C.S.A.: "Extra Billy Smith's Boys,"* (Lanham, Maryland: S.S. Philips and Assoc., 1981), 77-78; OR, Series I, 27(2):445.
- ²³ OR, Series I, 27(1):811.
- ²⁴ OR Series I, 27(2):513, 509.
- ²⁵ Captain Frank M. Myers, *The Comanches: A History of White's Battalion, Virginia Cavalry* (Gaithersburg, Maryland: Butternut Press, 1987), 199.
- ²⁶ Kent Masterson Brown, *Retreat from Gettysburg: Lee, Logistics, and the Pennsylvania Campaign* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 19.
- ²⁷ Myers, 199.
- ²⁸ OR, Series I, 27(1):284-285.
- ²⁹ OR Series I, 27(2):446.
- ³⁰ James Longstreet, “Lee’s Right Wing at Gettysburg,” *Battles and Leaders*, 340; George Gordon Meade, *With Meade at Gettysburg* (Philadelphia: The John Winston Company, 1930), 104-105.
- ³¹ Troy D. Harman, *Lee's Real Plan at Gettysburg* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003), 21-22.
- ³² Isaac R. Trimble, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 26:125.
- ³³ OR Series I, 27(2):446.
- ³⁴ OR, Series I, 27(3):468; OR, Series I, 27(3):466.
- ³⁵ Timothy J. Reese, *Sykes Regular Infantry Division, 1861-1864* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., YEAR), 240.
- ³⁶ Army of the Potomac, Pt 2, 349. OR, Series I, 27(3):487.

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- ³⁷ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):592. Marches of June 29, 30, July 1, 2 were routed through Frederick, Liberty, Union Mills, Hanover, and Gettysburg. The author is indebted to Licensed Battlefield Guide (LBG) John Winkelman for 5th Corps marching-distance calculations.
- ³⁸ *OR*, Series I, 27(3):483.
- ³⁹ *OR*, Series I, 27(3):460.
- ⁴⁰ Edwin B. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1979), 334.
- ⁴¹ G.M. Hopkins C.E., *Map of Adams County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, PA: M.S. & E. Converse, Publishers, 1858).
- ⁴² J. Irvin Gregg, "Letter of October 18, 1884," *The Bachelor Papers*, 2:1073. Colonel Ira Abbot, 1st Michigan, "Letter of June 14, 1880," 1:664. The author is indebted to LBG John Winkelman for his research on the issue of White Run Road.
- ⁴³ W.H. Sanderson, "Sykes's Regulars, April 2, 1891," in Richard A. Sauers and James L. McLean, editors, *Gettysburg in the Pages of The National Tribune* (Baltimore: Butternut and Blue, 1998), 281-82.
- ⁴⁴ Gettysburg Licensed Battlefield Guide Sue Boardman. Conversation with author, March 2004.
- ⁴⁵ John Bachelder, "Bachelor Troop Position Maps, 1870's," "July 2, 1863 -- 4:30 AM," Plate No. 14, Gettysburg National Military Park (GNMP) Map Room, Drawer 4.
- ⁴⁶ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):773.
- ⁴⁷ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):811.
- ⁴⁸ *OR*, Series I, 27(3):486.
- ⁴⁹ *OR*, Series I, 27(3):486. *Army of the Potomac*, Pt 2, 349. Meade's congressional testimony revealed that "a great many orders and directions were written on little slips of paper and no copies kept of them." This infers that more messages were exchanged on the morning of July 2 than recorded. That's why I have included information from his testimony.
- ⁵⁰ *OR*, Series I, 27(3):486.
- ⁵¹ Coddington, 337; Glenn Tucker, *High Tide At Gettysburg: The Campaign in Pennsylvania* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958), 229-30; Edward J. Stackpole, *They Met at Gettysburg* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1956), 188-89; Harry Pfanz, *Gettysburg: Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 153-54. Each of these sources gives an accurate, albeit very brief, mention of Meade's offensive option for his right. If read carefully, none of these sources produces an urban legend. If Coddington's treatment is perused too quickly there's potential for the reader to distort, but I rather believe the urban legend of Meade attacking with five or six divisions down off of Culp's Hill and up the marshy northern slope of Benner's Hill began as an old guide story fifty to a hundred years ago. More historiography research is needed on this question, but it is quite common in GNMP circles to hear the legend repeated.
- ⁵² Emerson Gifford Taylor, *Gouverneur Kemble Warren: The Life and Letters of An American Soldier 1830-1882* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932), 121.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, 122.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 122.
- ⁵⁵ *OR*, Series I, 27(2):509.
- ⁵⁶ "Battle of Agincourt" *Military Heritage* 7(2):36-43 (2005). See also en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Agincourt.
- ⁵⁷ "Bachelor Troop Position Maps" "July 2, 1863 -- 4:30 AM."
- ⁵⁸ Williams, 213.
- ⁵⁹ *Napoleon's Maxims of War*. Translated by G.C. D'Aguilar, C.B. (Philadelphia: David McKay Publishers, 1902), 1. See also <http://www.military-info.com/freebies/maximsn.htm>.
- ⁶⁰ Gordon C. Rhea, *To the North Anna River: Grant and Lee, May 13-25, 1864* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 344.
- ⁶¹ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):956.
- ⁶² William H. Paine, RG DM, A-7-19: "Map of the Battlefield of Gettysburg Showing positions held July 2, 1863," Paine Collection of Civil War Maps, GNMP VF5 – Participant Accounts.
- ⁶³ William H. Willcox, "Battle of Gettysburg, PA July 1,2,3, 1863 – Showing Line on P.M. of 2nd" (Philadelphia: Lithograph of P.S. Duval & Son, 3rd edition – Reprint by The Civil War Map Company, 1998).
- ⁶⁴ Antoine Henri de Jomini, *The Art of War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1996), 220-21.

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- ⁶⁵ *OR*, Series I, 27(3):486.
- ⁶⁶ Jomini, 189, 191.
- ⁶⁷ Comte de Paris, *The Battle of Gettysburg: From the History of the Civil War in America* (Baltimore: Butternut & Blue, 1987), 143.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 143.
- ⁶⁹ *Army of the Potomac*, 349; *OR*, Series I, 27(1):592. Prior to 3 P.M., Sykes was “directed to support the Third Corps.” *OR*, Series I, 27(1):531. Humphreys stated, “Shortly after midday, I was ordered to form my division in line of battle, my left joining the right of...Major General [David B.] Birney...near the foot of the westerly slope of the ridge...”
- ⁷⁰ *Army of the Potomac*, 349.
- ⁷¹ *OR*, Series I, 27(3):488.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, 488.
- ⁷³ “Bachelder Troop Position Maps” “July 2, 1863 -- 4:30 AM.”
- ⁷⁴ *OR*, Series I, 27(3):487.
- ⁷⁵ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):232.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 232.
- ⁷⁷ Pvt. Wisner Hinkley, Co. E, 3rd Wisconsin Infantry, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, GNMP VF-3WI.
- ⁷⁸ Thomas Ward Osborn, *The Eleventh Corps Artillery at Gettysburg*, ed. Herb S. Crumb (Hamilton, N.Y.: Edmonston Publishing, Inc., 1991), 21.
- ⁷⁹ Henry J. Hunt, “The Second Day at Gettysburg,” *Battles and Leaders*, 297.
- ⁸⁰ A. P. Chase, “The Taking and Holding of Little Round Top,” *New York Monuments Commission: Final Report on the Battlefield of Gettysburg* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Company, Printers, 1902), 3:970.
- ⁸¹ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):759-760. See map annexed on p. 760.
- ⁸² *OR*, Series I, 27(3):487.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*, 487.
- ⁸⁴ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):759.
- ⁸⁵ A.T. Brewer, *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg: Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Monuments* (Harrisburg: Wm. Stanley Ray, State Printer, 1914), 1:380.
- ⁸⁶ *OR*, Series I, 27(3):484-485.
- ⁸⁷ *OR*, Series I, 27(1):759.
- ⁸⁸ *OR*, Series I, 27(3):490. *OR*, Series I, 27(1):992.

