

# The Gettysburg Campaign

While Chancellorsville was a major, albeit costly, Confederate victory, the Federal Army of the Potomac still lurked across the Rappahannock River at Fredericksburg. The Federals' supply lines were protected, and they could both threaten Richmond from their position and send troops to ransack the Shenandoah Valley. Confederate commander Robert E. Lee needed to maneuver the Federals out of Virginia. Farmers could then plant crops. If Lee ventured north of the Potomac River, he could feed his men on the rich countryside as they marched across it. "An invasion of the enemy's country breaks up all of his preconceived plans, relieves our country of his presence, and we subsist while there on his resources," Henry Heth recalled Lee saying. (SHSP, 4:153) Plus, Confederates moving north might draw off Federal forces besieging Vicksburg in Mississippi, and a Confederate victory on Northern soil could bring about foreign recognition and an end to the war.

The Gettysburg Campaign began on June 3, 1863, as Lt. Gen. James Longstreet's corps began moving from Fredericksburg toward Culpeper Court House. Lieutenant General Richard Ewell's corps was to follow, leaving Lt. Gen. A.P. Hill's corps at Fredericksburg to cover the road to Richmond. Federal commander Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker received word from his intelligence forces that something was happening in Confederate camps. Over the next few days, small groups of Federals moved across the river and attacked the Confederates, attempting to ascertain what was transpiring. The largest of these forays was on June 9 when Federal cavalry attacked Confederate cavalry at Brandy Station. While initially surprised, Confederate cavalry under Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart held the field after fourteen hours of fighting. Brandy Station, also called the battle of Fleetwood Hill, was the largest cavalry engagement of the war.

Hooker pleaded with his superiors for permission to cross the river in force and push toward Richmond. He was told that Lee's army, not Richmond, was his main concern. Ewell's men captured Winchester on June 14-15. The previous day, Hooker had realized that Lee had stolen a march on him. Hooker set the Army of the Potomac in motion. Portions of Lee's army began crossing the Potomac River into Maryland on June 15. A cavalry brigade under Brig. Gen. Albert G. Jenkins was ordered by Maj. Gen. Robert Rodes to press ahead toward Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, entering the town on the evening of June 15. Rodes's division of Ewell's corps began crossing the Potomac River into Maryland on June 16. Federal cavalry forces were still trying to ascertain Lee's actual location. Three different cavalry battles in the Loudoun Valley occurred between June 17 and June 21. Confederate cavalry successfully screened the Confederate columns from their Federal counterparts. With orders to join Ewell's column in Pennsylvania and finding his most direct route blocked by Federal infantry, Stuart led three of his five cavalry brigades on a circular track around the Federal army. The other two brigades remained behind to guard the mountain passes in Lee's rear.

On June 22, Lee ordered Ewell to move his corps into Pennsylvania, with instructions to move as far as the Susquehanna River and Harrisburg. Lee himself crossed over the Potomac River into Maryland on June 25, the same day that Stuart began his ride around the Army of the Potomac. Portions of Hill's corps crossed the Potomac River into Maryland on June 25 at Shepherdstown, while Longstreet's corps crossed at Williamsport. Longstreet's corps went into camp in and around Chambersburg following the river crossing, while A. P. Hill's corps encamped near Fayetteville, Pennsylvania. Ewell's corps reached Carlisle on June 27. By June 29, Jenkins's cavalry troopers were just outside Harrisburg.

Hooker was replaced as commander of the Army of the Potomac on June 28, 1863. His replacement was Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, commander of the V Corps in the Army of the Potomac. That same day, Lee learned that the Federal army had crossed over the Potomac River and that Hooker had been replaced. This information was brought by one of Longstreet's scouts, Henry T. Harrison, the actor. Lee sent orders to Longstreet, Ewell, and Hill to move east of the mountains. Hill, followed by Longstreet, was to move in the direction of Cashtown, while Ewell proceeded south from Carlisle.

Lee's plan was to concentrate at Cashtown, or maybe Gettysburg, protecting the passes in the mountains that were shielding his line of communication and supply. Meade's original plan was to concentrate his army at Pipe Creek, in between Manchester and Middleburg, Maryland. This would allow Meade to protect Washington, D.C. and Baltimore. To get a better grip on the terrain, Meade sent an infantry corps to Gettysburg, while his cavalry continued to look for the Confederate forces.

Henry Heth, commanding a division in Hill's corps, ordered one of his brigade commanders, Brig. Gen. James J. Pettigrew, to take his brigade to Gettysburg on the morning of June 30. In his official report, Heth stated that he sent Pettigrew to Gettysburg to search for supplies, "shoes especially." (OR, Vol. 27, pt. 2, 637) About two miles from Gettysburg, members of Pettigrew's command questioned a local doctor, learning that there were Federals close by. Another officer reported hearing the roll of a drum on the other side of town, and members of the 47<sup>th</sup> North Carolina were fired upon at long range. Pettigrew was positioning skirmishers for a general advance when he spied a long, dark column advancing along the Emmitsburg Road. He was able to discern that the troops were Federal cavalry. With orders not to bring on a general engagement, Pettigrew fell back three and a half miles on the Cashtown Road, going into camp at a stone bridge over Marsh Creek. He then went to find Heth, and while Pettigrew was reporting his observations, Hill arrived. Neither Heth nor Hill believed Pettigrew, and Heth received permission to take his entire division into Gettysburg the following day.

Pettigrew was correct. Two brigades of Federal cavalry, with artillery support, were in Gettysburg. Heth's division set out for Gettysburg at 5:00 am on July 1. Hill ordered Maj. Gen. William D. Pender's division to follow Heth. James J. Archer's brigade was in the lead, with the 13<sup>th</sup> Alabama leading the column. Just past Marsh Creek, Archer deployed his brigade in a line of battle, throwing out skirmishers. The brigade of Brig. Gen. Joseph R. Davis deployed to the other side of the Chambersburg Pike, and with the brigades of Pettigrew and Col. John M. Brockenbrough in reserve on Herr's Ridge, began to advance. A couple of miles outside of town, Federal cavalymen exchanged shots with Heth's skirmishers before falling back. Confederate artillery under Maj. William J. Pegram deployed forward, unlimbering at the Lohr farm. Not long after those first rifle shots, Confederate artillery lobbed a shell toward the Federal position. The main defensive line for the Federal cavalry was located on McPherson's Ridge.

Federal cavalry stubbornly contested the ground in front of their main line in places like Herr Ridge and Willoughby Run. By the time that Heth had everything in position to brush aside the Federal cavalry and artillery on McPherson's Ridge, Federal infantry began to arrive. Davis's brigade moved first, the three regiments in his brigade becoming separated. Federal infantry fired first, targeting the regiment on Davis's right, the 55<sup>th</sup> North Carolina. The Tar Heels returned the fire. After driving the Federals from Herr Ridge and Willoughby Run in his front, Archer's brigade paused. Archer wanted to wait for the rest of Heth's division to come up in support. Instead, Heth ordered Archer forward. Archer re-aligned his small brigade of Alabama and Tennessee troops, then pushed ahead. Archer's brigade ran into the Iron Brigade (1<sup>st</sup> Division, I Corps) and Federal artillery in Herbst Woods. The two Federal guns quickly

withdrew. However, the veteran Federal infantry held the high ground and pushed Archer's men back down McPherson's Ridge toward Willoughby Run. Archer was captured in the melee and his men fell back beyond Herr Ridge. Pressure from Davis's brigade to the north of the Chambersburg Pike forced the Federals to withdraw back toward Gettysburg. This exposed the flank of the Federal artillery, which also withdrew.

To the south of Chambersburg Pike, the Federals still held. The Federal line was in a loose L-shaped formation. Soldiers of Davis's brigade dropped into an unfinished railroad cut, affording the Confederates some protection. However, Federal reinforcements arrived, sealing off the eastern end of the cut and firing down its length. Many of Davis's Mississippi and North Carolina soldiers surrendered, while others fled out of the western end. The morning encounter cost Davis 600 soldiers.

General Heth paused his attacks, while the Federals solidified their position with additional reinforcements. Heth kept Davis's brigade to the north of the Chambersburg Pike. To the south, along Herr Ridge, were the brigades of Brockenbrough, Pettigrew, and what remained of Archer, now led by Col. Birkett D. Fry. The four brigades of the Light Division, under General Pender, were arriving behind Heth's soldiers. Both the artillery battalions of Heth and Pender played upon McPherson's Ridge, outgunning their Federal counterparts.

Ewell's corps proceeded south from Carlisle. Rodes's Division was in the lead, and Maj. Gen. Jubal Early's division was behind Rodes's, while Maj. Gen. Edward Johnson's division was moving from Chambersburg with the corps wagon train. Word arrived mid-morning that Hill had engaged the Federals at Gettysburg. On nearing the field, Ewell directed Rodes to the northern end of the Federal infantry going into position. He posted his five brigades in two lines. The first line was composed of the brigades of Brig. Gen. Alfred Iverson, Col. Edward A. O'Neal, and Brig. Gen. George Doles. Brigades in the second line belonged to Brig. Gen. Junius Daniels and Stephen D. Ramseur. It was probably close to noon as the Confederates went from a marching column to their battlelines. Rodes added his artillery to the shelling of the Federal position on McPherson's Ridge.

Rodes's attack was uncoordinated and ineptly handled. Instead of finding a small number of Federal soldiers on Oak Ridge, Rodes's men ran into several regiments, with others quickly arriving. O'Neal's brigade attacked first but was forced to fall back. In one area, the Federals had the benefit of a stone wall for protection, and Iverson's brigade posted no skirmishers. A withering, point-blank fire drove back the brigade. Iverson lost hundreds of men in the short fight. Some claimed he was drunk, or hiding, during the assault. Likewise, Daniels's brigade, on Iverson's left, was stopped in the charge to occupy the Chambersburg Pike and driven back. The failure of Rodes to coordinate the Confederate attack was costly.

Lee had held Heth's men back from a second attack. Seeing the Federals shifting men to counter the thrust from Ewell's corps, the Confederate commander saw an opportunity. Orders came mid-afternoon for Heth to renew the attack. Brockenbrough and Pettigrew's brigades moved ahead, engaging the Federals along McPherson's Ridge. The fighting between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> North Carolina regiments and the Iron Brigade was some of the costliest during the war. Fifteen color bearers of the 26<sup>th</sup> North Carolina were shot down in a matter of just a few moments, including their 21-year-old colonel, Henry King Burgwyn. They lost 549 of 800 men that afternoon. To their right, the 11<sup>th</sup> North Carolina fared little better, losing 250 of 550 men engaged. Heth claimed that his division lost 2,400 soldiers in just

thirty minutes of fighting. Slowly, the Federals were pushed off McPherson's Ridge and back toward Gettysburg.

To the north, Maj. Gen. Jubal Early, commanding a division in Ewell's corps, deployed along the Harrisburg Road. The attacking force consisted of the brigades of Brig. Gen. Harry T. Hays, Brig. Gen. John B. Gordon, and Col. Isaac E. Avery, commanding the North Carolina brigade of the wounded Brig. Gen. Robert F. Hoke. Doles's brigade of Rodes's division went onto position about a quarter mile from Early's left, straddling the Carlisle Road. Gordon led the attack, with Avery and Hays in support. It took Gordon's and Doles's Georgians fifteen to twenty minutes of hard fighting to overrun the Federals on Blocher's Knoll. Federal attempts to retake the position met with failure. Another attempt by Federal infantry to secure the north side of Gettysburg from the Confederates likewise failed at the Brick Yard, near the Kuhn farm. Avery's and Hays's brigades pushed these Federals back toward Culp's Hill and Cemetery Ridge. Likewise, the brigades of O'Neal, Ramser, and Daniels pressured the Federals off their position on Oak Ridge.

To the west, Pender's division filed past the battered brigades of Heth's division. Commanding brigades in Pender's division were Brig. Gen. James H. Lane, Brig. Gen. Alfred Scales, Brig. Gen. Edward Thomas, and Col. Abner Perrin. Pender positioned Scales on the left, Perrin in the center, and Lane on the right, with Thomas on the far left. The main push was delivered by Scales and Perrin. At this point in time, Lane's brigade was the right of the army. Federal cavalry was still present, and there was always the threat of more Federal infantry close by. Prudently, Lane strung more than a regiment at right angles to his main line, protecting that flank. Federal commanders in the area gave the order for the Federals to retreat through the town to Cemetery Ridge.

Day one of the battle of Gettysburg was a costly Confederate victory. Federal forces had been pushed out of their defensive positions north and west of town to a series of hills and ridges south of town. Henry Heth was wounded late in the day, and General Archer was captured. While it is difficult to ascertain the exact losses, about 6,500 Confederates were killed, wounded, or captured on July 1. Federal losses were over 9,000.

It was Lee's plan, on July 2, to capitalize on the success of July 1. Just a small portion of his army had wrecked two Federal corps. The federal army was dug in on the high ground south of the town of Gettysburg. The right flank was anchored on Culp's Hill, the center stretched along Cemetery Ridge, and the left would eventually rest on Little Round Top. Lee ordered Longstreet to assail the Big Round Top and Little Round Top area with two of his three divisions, while Ewell's corps would attack the Culp's Hill area once he heard Longstreet engage. The capture of either would make the Federal position untenable. Longstreet spent some time arguing against the attack, instead advocating for the Confederate army to disengage and move by the Federal left, interposing the Confederate army between the Federal army and their line of communications (and Washington, D.C.), forcing the Federals to attack the Confederates in defensive positions. Lee rejected this idea, and Longstreet spent most of the morning getting his troops into position to launch the attack.

Longstreet's plan was to march unobserved around the Federal flank and sweep up Cemetery Hill and the Emmittsburg Road, pushing off the Federals. Except for a few Federal cavalymen, the way was clear. Major General Lafayette McLaws's division led the march, while Hood's division followed. Since one of Longstreet's divisions could not arrive in time, the division of Richard H. Anderson, part of A.P. Hill's corps, was assigned to support Longstreet's attack. At one point, Longstreet discovered that his

route would expose the two divisions. He stopped the column, ordering them to countermarch and take a different road, prolonging the assault. As Longstreet emerged from his longer route, he discovered Federals moving into a peach orchard owned by the Sherfy family. Lee and Longstreet met, and the plan was modified; Longstreet's two divisions were to assault the Federals in their front, stretching from the peach orchard, along Houck's Ridge, and to the Devil's Den, before assaulting the round tops. Hood would lead this time and deployed his brigades in two lines. Brigadier General Jerome B. Robertson's brigade (the Texas brigade) was on the left front, with Brig. Gen. George T. Anderson's brigade in support. The brigade of Brig. Gen. Evander M. Law was on the right, with the brigade of Brig. Gen. Henry L. Benning in support. At 4:30 pm, Hood commenced the attack. Benning's and Robertson's brigades were able to push the Federals out of Devil's Den and the peach orchard. Hood was wounded in the left arm by shrapnel from an artillery round, removing him from action for the remainder of the campaign.

Law's brigade drifted to the right toward the round tops. Just moments before the Confederates could ascend to the top; a Federal brigade arrived under Strong Vincent (1<sup>st</sup> Division, V Corps). The first Confederate attack was launched by the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Texas Infantries. Had the Federals not received reinforcements, the Texans might have succeeded. Hood had ordered the 15<sup>th</sup> and 47<sup>th</sup> Alabama regiments to find the Federal left and turn it. The Alabama soldiers had almost accomplished that task on their first try but were forced to withdraw and re-form. As the Confederates moved up the hill once again, the left-most regiment on the Federal line, the 20<sup>th</sup> Maine (1<sup>st</sup> Division, V Corps), out of ammunition, fixed bayonets and charged down the hill, driving the Alabama soldiers before them. At the end of the day, Federal forces held both hills.

To the left of Hood's division was McLaws's division. McLaws placed his men in a similar position: two brigades up front with two brigades in the rear. On the front left was Brig. Gen. William Barksdale's brigade, with Brig. Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw on the right. Behind them on the left was Brig. Gen. William T. Wofford, with the brigade of Brig. Gen. Paul Jones Semmes. At 5:00 pm, Longstreet ordered McLaws to send in Kershaw, then Barksdale. For two hours, thousands of men struggled for control of a simple wheatfield and peach orchard. Confederate forces were able to push back the Federals, seizing Stony Hill and the wheatfield. Federal reinforcements from Brig. Gen. John Hancock's II Corps arrived, pushing Kershaw's men back into the edge of Rose Woods. Wofford's brigade counterattacked, retaking the Stony Hill and driving the Federals out of the wheatfield. Another Federal counterattack by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division, V Corps, was beaten back. As the exhausted Confederates, mostly Wofford's brigade, reached the foot of Little Round Top, they were met by a charge from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Division, V Corps. Wofford's men retreated back beyond the wheatfield to Stony Hill.

Further to the left came Maj. Gen. Richard H. Anderson's division of five brigades. The brigades of Brig. Gen. Cadmus Wilcox and Col. David Lang struck first, about 6:00 pm., followed by Brig. Gen. Ambrose Wright's brigade, driving the Federals out of the Emmitsburg Road. With their attack, the line of the Federal II Corps started to collapse. Wright made the claim in his report that his brigade went past the crest of Cemetery Ridge, maybe as far as the Widow Leister's house. Meade rushed troops from other portions of the field to stabilize his left. They struck Wright's brigade in the flank, and finding himself all alone, Wright fell back. The dying of the day, coupled with the timely arrival of Federal reinforcements, prevented the attacking Confederates from holding Cemetery Ridge just south of the now-famous "Copse of Trees."

General Ewell began his attack on the opposite end of the line with an artillery bombardment at 4:00 pm. It was not until after 7:00 pm, after Anderson's assault on Cemetery Ridge ended, that Ewell launched his infantry demonstrations against East Cemetery Ridge and Culp's Hill. Lee had sent discretionary orders to Ewell the previous day to capture this area "if practical." Ewell, after driving the Federals from the north side of Gettysburg, chose not to capture the thinly defended position. By mid-morning of July 2, the Federal XII Corps was ensconced on Culp's Hill, while the XI Corps occupied eastern Cemetery Hill. Shortly before 7:00 pm, General Early ordered two brigades, one under Brig. Gen. Harry T. Hays and the other under Col. Isaac Avery, to test the Federal position on Cemetery Hill. With a Rebel yell, the Confederates stepped off. The Louisianans of Hays and the Tar Heels of Avery were able to find some weak spots in the Federal line. However, repeated calls for reinforcements went unheeded, and the Confederates were pushed back down the slopes that evening. Colonel Avery was mortally wounded in the attack, penning a short note to his family: "Major, tell my father I died with my face to the enemy."

The attack on Culp's Hill began at the same time. Johnson lined his brigades, from left to right, Brig. Gen. George H. Steuart, Col. Jesse M. Williams, and Brig. Gen. John M. Jones. Johnson's other brigade, under Brig. Gen. James A. Walker, was left to skirmish with Federal cavalry on Brinkerhoff's Ridge. Attacking Confederates found a strongly entrenched Federal line. General Jones was wounded and left on the field. Williams's Louisianians likewise were unable to make much headway after the line. Only portions of Steuart's brigade were able to flank the Federals. Yet the Federals fell back to a trench dug earlier in the day and were able to thwart further Confederate advances that evening. Confederates held on to the area near Spangler's Spring. It is difficult to assess Confederate losses for July 2. One historian places Federal losses at 10,000 and Confederate losses at 6,800.

Lee's plan for July 3 was for Ewell to renew the attack on Culp's Hill while Longstreet and Hill attacked Cemetery Ridge. Ideally, Ewell's attack would prevent Meade from sending reinforcements to the center. Lee must have reasoned that given the attacks on both flanks the previous day, the center had to be weak. Stuart's cavalry, which had arrived late the previous day, would protect the Confederate army's left flank and stand ready to cut off the retreat should the charge succeed. Before Lee could get the different corps coordinated, Federals attacked the Confederate forces on Culp's Hill. Both sides had been reinforced during the night hours. Johnson launched three different assaults against the Federal entrenchments, and each was driven back. Confederate forces were able to stymie a Federal charge against their position at Spangler's Spring. About noon, the fighting on this section of the field was over.

Instead of cancelling the attack on Cemetery Ridge, Lee proceeded. Major General George Pickett's division of Longstreet's corps, with Heth's division, now under the command of Pettigrew, with two brigades of Pender's division under Isaac Trimble, was to assault the Federal position. Prior to the infantry's advance, Confederate artillery would bombard the Federal position.

Pickett posted his brigades, from the left, Brig. Gen. Richard Garnett and Brig. Gen. James Kemper, with the brigade of Brig. Gen. Lewis Armistead behind in support. It was an all-Virginia division. Pickett's right was protected by the brigades of David Lang and Cadmus Wilcox. To Pickett's left was Heth's division. From the left were the brigades of Fry, Marshall, Davis, and Brockenbrough. Colonel James Marshall was commanding Pettigrew's brigade as Pettigrew was commanding in lieu of the wounded Heth. In support were the brigades of Lane and Lowrance. The attacking force numbered around 15,000 men. Pickett's division had yet to see combat during the campaign, while the two brigades under

Trimble were not heavily involved on July 1. Much of Heth's division was still wrecked after the bloodletting on July 1. These troops formed their battle lines in the woods along Seminary Ridge.

At 1:00 pm, a single Whitworth cannon fired from Oak Ridge, about three miles from the Federal center. Between 150 and 170 Confederate cannons joined in the bombardment, possibly the largest bombardment of the war. Cannons from along the entire Confederate line joined in. At first, Federal cannons did not respond, saving ammunition for an infantry assault that typically came after a bombardment. After about fifteen minutes, eighty Federal guns joined the din. With the smoke from so many cannons, the Federal position was soon obscured. Just prior to the Gettysburg campaign, Confederate artillery ammunition started coming from a different depot. Many of the Confederate gunners did not realize that, due to a different type of fuse, they were overshooting their targets along Cemetery Ridge. A few Federal cannons were disabled by the bombardment, and other Federal artillery slowed their fire to preserve ammunition.

Despite misgivings from Longstreet, around 3:00 pm, long gray lines of Confederate infantry advanced. The men had to cover a distance of almost a mile across an open field before they could close on the Federal position. While there was some protection, like swells, there were also natural and man-made obstacles, like the Bliss farm and creek, and the farmhouses of the Codori and Rogers families. The men had orders to move slowly, to refrain from cheering, and to hold their fire. On the left, Davis and Brockenbrough's brigades lagged behind the other two as they made their way forward. Federal artillery soon opened on both flanks of the attacking force. A single blast could wipe out a dozen men. Before reaching the Emmittsburg Road, Brockenbrough's brigade was flanked by two Federal regiments. With artillery fire from their front and small arms fire raking their line from the flank, Brockenbrough's brigade began to give way. Pettigrew's division struck the Emmittsburg Road first, managing to push down parts of the fence. Other parts had to be scaled. By this time, Federal infantry had joined the artillery. Confederate infantry had to repeat the process with the fence on the other side, destroying most unit cohesion. Only an estimated 1,000 men of Pettigrew's command made it over the fence. The others were killed, wounded, or pinned down in the roadbed firing at the Federals.

Before reaching the Emmittsburg Road, Pickett ordered his three brigades to oblique to the left, trying to link up with Pettigrew's command. All this maneuvering was performed under fire. At the same time, two Vermont regiments flanked Pickett's right. Pickett's brigades began to climb the fence along the Emmittsburg Road. Due to Federal skirmishers posted in the Emmittsburg Road, Confederate pioneers, advancing with the Confederate skirmishers, were unable to tear down the fence. On the other side of the fence, some of Pickett's men jumped, gave a yell, and rushed for the stone wall which the Federals were using for cover. Some of the Federals fled, and for the briefest amount of time, the Confederates held portions of the Federal position. Yet the Federal center was not weak. Reinforcements soon arrived, sealing the gaps. Armistead was mortally wounded just inside Federal lines. Kemper was grievously wounded, and his men fought over him, eventually gaining possession of their injured commander and bearing him to the rear. Garnett was never seen again.

Having an even greater distance to cover, Pettigrew's and Trimble's men fared little better. The area between the Emmittsburg Road and the stone wall atop Cemetery Ridge was a greater distance than that which Pickett faced. The stone wall actually jutted back to the east at one point. Small bands of men, once on the other side of the Emmittsburg Road, charged toward the Federal position, and at times, Federals abandoned that position, heading to the rear. Several members of various regiments

were killed, wounded, or captured close to the wall, about 100 feet further than where Pickett's men had made a momentary breakthrough. In Trimble's command, Lane's brigade was the only Confederate brigade on the field that had some semblance of organization. But even Lane's brigade had been split in two, part of it surging ahead and part moving to the left to deal with the hole left by Brockenbrough's retreat. Lane, seeing their predicament, ordered his remaining men to the rear. The surviving remnants of the three divisions, along with some of the wounded, streamed to the rear. Some were met by Lee himself. The wrecked brigades re-formed in the woods of Seminary Ridge.

Stuart tangled with Federal cavalry on the Confederate left beginning about 1:00pm. A lengthy mounted and dismounted battle ensued about three miles east of Gettysburg. There were several charges and counter-charges throughout the afternoon. Eventually, Confederate forces withdrew to Cress Ridge. On the Confederate right, Federal cavalry began probing Confederate lines about 1:00pm. Parts of the line were held by the 1<sup>st</sup> Texas Infantry, numbering fewer than 200 men. Two different brigades of Federal cavalry were present. Confederate reinforcements arrived and, with an abundance of artillery, the Federal attacks were defeated.

July 3 was a devastating defeat for the Army of Northern Virginia. Losses exceed fifty percent. Overall, during the three days of the battle of Gettysburg, Lee suffered an estimated 23,231 casualties: 4,708 killed, 12,693 wounded, and 5,830 captured or missing. Nearly a third of his generals were killed, wounded, or captured.

For a day, Lee waited for Meade to renew the contest. Lee consolidated his lines, pulling Ewell's corps from the Culp's Hill area to Oak Ridge and Seminary Ridge. Most Confederates built breastworks in anticipation of a Federal assault. Suffering over 23,000 killed, wounded, or captured, the Army of the Potomac was in no shape to fight again. Lee began working on evacuating the wounded who could travel. He also gathered in all of the foragers he had sent out and set them on their journey south. That wagon train was reported to be fifteen to twenty miles long and was under the command of Brig. Gen. John D. Imboden. The convoy was taking the longer route, first west through Cashtown and New Marion before turning south at Marion and moving toward Williamsport where the wagons could cross the Potomac River. It took time for the wagon trains to be loaded with supplies and 8,000 wounded and to commence their miserable journey. It did not help that it had begun to rain. The train was ambushed and harassed several times. Civilians in Greencastle attacked the train with axes on July 5, and, later that day, troopers from two different Federal cavalry regiments attacked the train at Cunningham's Crossroads.

On the evening of July 4, Lee began pulling his army out, heading back through Maryland to Virginia. Hill's corps moved first, followed by Longstreet's, then Ewell's. The route the infantry took was shorter, through Fairfield, Waynesboro, Leitersburg, and Hagerstown, heading for Falling Waters. Confederate cavalry protected the rear and left flank of the column. Meade elected at first to pursue with his cavalry, sending eight of his nine brigades to strike at the Confederates. While a small band of Confederate cavalry was able to hold off the Federals for several hours at Monterey Pass, the Confederates were eventually brushed aside, and the Federals attacked part of the wagon train, capturing 1,360 mostly wounded men. The arrival of JEB Stuart and more Confederate cavalry pushed the Federals back the following day. There were other minor skirmishes through the next few days, mostly involving Federal cavalry. The troopers attacked at Hagerstown on July 6, and while initially successful, were driven back by Stuart and two brigades of Hood's division. Federal cavalry then attempted to attack Imboden's



parked wagons at Williamsburg, but the Federals were driven back. Confederate and Federal cavalry then tangled again at Boonsboro on July 8. This battle was basically a draw. The second battle of Funkstown was fought on July 10, and, once again, the Federals fell back at the end of the day.

Confederate infantry, artillery, and cavalry occupied a six-mile defensive position covering the road to Williamsport by July 11. The Confederate right rested on the Potomac River near Downsville. The left was a mile and a half from below Hagerstown. A Federal cavalry raid had damaged the pontoon bridge over the Potomac, and recent rains had swelled the river, blocking the Confederates' route. Hence, the Confederates were forced to assume a defensive position near Williamsport. Federal infantry took up positions across from the Confederate lines, with Meade telegraphing his superiors that he intended to attack on the morning of July 13. However, when Meade awoke, he found most of the Confederate army gone. The river had subsided enough to allow passage the previous night, and the pontoon bridge had been repaired. Two Federal cavalry divisions attacked Heth's division, the Confederate rearguard. Brigadier General James Pettigrew was mortally wounded in the attack, and more than 500 Confederates were captured, but the Army of Northern Virginia had slipped away and was safely back in Virginia.

Robert E. Lee's gambit into Pennsylvania had paid some dividends. The bulk of the Federal army of the Potomac was out of Virginia and would not undertake a major campaign until May 1864. Lee had also provisioned his army while on campaign, from the countryside, and had gathered enough food and livestock from the Pennsylvania countryside to feed his army through December 1863. However, Lee had lost more than one third of his army, killed, wounded, or captured. This included five of his generals killed, several wounded, and one captured. He had failed to win a major battle in enemy territory, and foreign recognition of the Confederate States was now a fleeting dream.

Further reading:

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