"I Ordered No Man to go When I Would Not go Myself"

Norman Hall, Alexander Webb, Alonzo Cushing, and the Art of Leading Men in Battle

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Webster's Third New International Dictionary states that leadership is "that ingredient of personality which causes men to follow," and that "leadership molds individuals into a team." It adds that "only a few people possess the quality of leadership." Leadership can also be defined as the ability to motivate and inspire. In no human activity are these qualities put to a more severe test than in leading people into battle, for in this deadly arena, the leader must motivate and inspire those he leads to risk their lives. As if to underscore that point, a Union officer in the 11th Corps wrote in May 1863, "Troops without confidence in their leaders are worth nothing."[1]

This is the story of three men who led soldiers into battle at Gettysburg and who embodied Webster's definition of leadership. They were Brigadier General Alexander Webb, Colonel Norman J. Hall, and Lieutenant Alonzo H. Cushing. What made these men good leaders? How did they develop as leaders? How did they earn their men's trust and confidence? This ability is especially important, for Webb, Hall, and Cushing did not command untested troops -- their men were veterans who knew the risks of battle. And finally, what did these men do at Gettysburg that marked them as effective leaders? These three men were Union officers who commanded troops in the same area of the battlefield on July 2 and July 3. But what made them successful was universal in the Union and Confederate armies, indeed, in any army. By examining their experiences prior to Gettysburg and what they did during that battle, we can perhaps come to a fuller understanding of Webster's statement that "only a few people possess the quality of leadership."

Norman J. Hall

Hall, like Webb and Cushing, was a West Pointer, class of 1859. In fact, all three men were at the United States Military Academy at West Point together for two years. During Hall's third year and Cushing's plebe year, Webb joined the academy faculty as a mathematics instructor. Although he was born in New York State, Hall spent most of his young life in Michigan and

received his appointment to the academy from that state. His record at the Point was average. He piled up a fair share of demerits his first three years, probably due more to immaturity than anything else, but by his senior year he had matured, and his record reflected this. Morris Schaaf, who was a plebe in Hall's last year, recalled him as "a mature, scholarly-looking man, with a large, broad, clear forehead, chestnut hair, and quiet, unassertive manner."[2] Hall graduated thirteenth in a class of twenty-one, and following graduation was assigned to the 1st U.S. Artillery as a brevet second lieutenant. He was ordered to report to Fort Monroe, at the tip of the Virginia peninsula. In less than one year he received orders reassigning him to Fort Moultrie in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. As a twenty-three-year-old second lieutenant, Hall found himself the lowest man on the totem pole among the officers in the Moultrie garrison and the recipient of what one writer described as the "two most thankless tasks" at the post: quartermaster and commissary officer. As if this were not enough to keep Hall busy, he was also appointed the post adjutant.[3]

It was Hall's good luck -- or bad luck, depending upon how one looks at it -- to be inserted into the very center of a great crisis that would plunge the country into civil war. Lt. Colonel John Lane Gardner was the garrison commander. As adjutant, quartermaster, and commissary officer, by necessity Hall probably had more contact with Gardner than anyone on post. He certainly learned nothing about leadership from him. Gardner was sixty-seven in 1860. He had seen service in the War of 1812, in the war with Mexico, and against the Seminoles. But by 1860 Gardner was a burned-out cinder of a soldier. One of his officers assessed him as "utterly incompetent to command a post under the most favorable circumstances." Since Gardner lived off-post and everyone else lived on-post, Hall probably had more contact with the line officers of the two companies that garrisoned Moultrie, E and H, 1st Artillery. Captain Abner Doubleday commanded E Company, and Captain Truman Seymour led Company H. Lieutenant Jefferson Davis was Doubleday's second in command, and Lieutenant Theodore Talbot was Seymour's. The post's assistant surgeon was Samuel W. Crawford. All but Talbot became generals in the coming war. Talbot never had the chance. He died of disease in 1862.[4]

These officers were experienced soldiers. Doubleday, Seymour, and Davis were Mexican War veterans, and Talbot had seen service on the frontier. They may not have been overly fond of the garrison's new lieutenant. Doubleday charitably wrote after the war that Hall was "full of zeal, intelligence, and energy," but he may not have been as fond of him in 1860. Hall himself admitted once, "In the army I have the unfortunate reputation of being a terribl[e] talker. I talk so fast and so constantly." This characteristic likely did not sit well with the seasoned regulars he shared close quarters with. An officer who served in Charleston in 1865 wrote that "I notice that Hall is generally disliked by officers of the old army," which was not a completely true statement, but might have reflected the feelings of some of the officers who served with him at forts Moultrie and Sumter from 1859 to 1861.[5]

In November 1860, with the sectional crisis heating up, it was clear that Lieutenant Colonel Gardner did not possess the leadership skills necessary to continue in command of such an important post, and orders were dispatched relieving him and replacing him with Major Robert Anderson. Anderson was a modest, gentlemanly person, whose demeanor offered scarcely a hint of his great personal courage or the grim field service he had seen in the Black Hawk War, the Seminole War, and the Mexican War, in which he was wounded five times at Molino del Rey. It is abundantly clear that after getting to know Lieutenant Hall, Anderson both liked him and thought him highly capable. Despite his reputation as a fast talker, Hall's personality had some of the same characteristics as Anderson's. During the months of crisis in Charleston Harbor, Anderson would entrust Hall with several delicate missions, a reflection of Anderson's confidence in the lieutenant.[6]

Although Hall's duties at Fort Moultrie, and later Fort Sumter, did not usually require him to command other soldiers, he would have certainly learned something of what it took to command under pressure from Major Anderson. He also learned what it meant to command under fire,

during the bombardment of Fort Sumter on April 12 and 13, 1861. Despite the danger and excitement, Anderson, Doubleday, and Seymour calmly and coolly directed their men throughout the bombardment. Hall also showed something of the stuff he was made of when on the second day of the bombardment a Confederate shot struck the fort's flagstaff and sent the colors crashing down into the courtyard. The courtyard at this moment was a smoky hell. Confederate shells had set the fort's barracks afire. The fire burned furiously, producing thick, choking smoke. The smoke and heat were so severe that to Abner Doubleday, "It seemed impossible to escape suffocation." Assistant Surgeon Crawford described the scene as "pandemonium." Hall dashed into this inferno of smoke, flame, and rubble. The heat was so intense it singed his hair and burnt off his eyebrows. His brass epaulets grew so hot he had to tear them off. But he managed to remove the flag from its halyards. As he did so it burst into flames, but he smothered or stamped out the fire. A sergeant, an engineer lieutenant, and a civilian laborer joined Hall and they strode up to the fort's parapet and raised the flag again, under fire, to the cheers of the garrison. Surely, at that moment, Hall at least earned the respect of the old army men.[7]

On April 14, Hall was selected to command the gun crews that fired the fifty-gun salute to the U.S. flag before the surrendered garrison. Why Anderson picked him from the various officers of the garrison is unknown. Perhaps it was in honor of his gallantry in saving the flag, but this is pure speculation. At any rate, the duty nearly cost the lieutenant his life. During the firing of the salute, one of the guns exploded prematurely while a gunner was ramming a blank cartridge down the tube. The explosion took off the poor fellow's right arm, and he bled to death. It also set off a secondary explosion of a nearby pile of cartridges that mortally wounded another soldier and seriously wounded four others. Hall escaped unharmed, but he had brushed shoulders with death and wounds, and had experienced the death and wounds of men under his command. He also had experienced the humiliation of surrender.[8]

Four days after the capitulation and evacuation of Fort Sumter, Hall was reassigned to duty at Fort Hamilton in New York harbor. He remained there for two months, during which time his promotion to first lieutenant came through. He also may have met Louisa Latham during this time. They were married in February 1862. Hall performed various staff duties until the Peninsula campaign in the spring of 1862, when the army assigned him as adjutant to the chief engineer of the Army of the Potomac, the very talented General John G. Barnard. This was a responsible position and reflected positively on Hall's intelligence and efficiency. He did well under Barnard, but staff work and a lieutenant's rank, even a regular one, were not to Hall's liking. All around him classmates were taking commissions in the volunteers, frequently as colonels of infantry. Hall pulled what strings he could to find a volunteer commission from either New York or Michigan. A vacancy had occurred in the colonelcy of the 7th Michigan, and he was offered the position. He accepted and on July 14 was promoted to colonel of the 7th.[9]

By this time Hall was seriously ill, suffering from dysentery and probably typhoid fever, both of which he may have contracted during his service at Moultrie and Sumter. On August 5 his regiment accompanied a force under General Joseph Hooker on a reconnaissance toward Malvern Hill. Among notes Hall jotted down about his service he wrote that he had to leave his bed to join the march, and that he "had to take brandy to enable me to sit on my horse." That he remained in the field at all offers some insight into his character as well as the example he set for his officers and men. Despite an illness that literally prostrated him, when active operations were impending he placed his personal comfort and health secondary to his duty.[10]

Illness continued to afflict Hall through the Maryland campaign. "Did only my duty till Antietam," he wrote. On September 17, at Antietam, he did more than his duty. His regiment was part of John Sedgwick's 2nd Division, 2nd Corps. In approximately one-half hour the division lost 2,200 men in the West Woods. Hall's regiment endured what his brigade commander called "the most terrific fire I ever witnessed." In minutes the 7th lost 39 killed, 178 wounded, and 4 missing. Fifteen officers, nearly all the regiment carried into action, were killed or wounded. Fortune smiled on Hall that grim day, and he emerged from the firestorm with only a slight

injury. His brigade commander, General Napoleon J. T. Dana, went down badly wounded. As he left the field Dana directed Hall to take command of the 42nd New York, in addition to his own regiment. In the confusion, Hall thought Dana meant that he should assume command of the entire brigade. He soon learned that this was not what Dana meant and promptly sought out the senior surviving colonel in the brigade, Colonel William R. Lee, of the 20th Massachusetts, to inform him that by seniority Lee now commanded. Lee was no coward, nor one to shrink from his duty, but the slaughter he had just experienced in the West Woods had shaken him. He "positively declined" to take command and asked Hall to do so "and give such orders as I saw fit, and he would obey them." The incident was illuminative about Hall's character. He kept his head in times of crisis. His regiment had suffered twice the casualties of Lee's, yet he maintained his composure and coolness in the heat of battle, and continued to function and inspire confidence in those around him. Although he was hardly a hardhearted person, Hall, it appeared, could stand the killing and do his duty, a crucial necessity of a Civil War leader.[11]

Colonel Norman J. Hall. The photograph was probably taken in April or May 1863. **Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania NMP**

General Dana's long convalescence from his wound left Hall in command of the 2nd Brigade. On the morning of December 11, efforts to lay pontoon bridges across the Rappahannock River in order to cross elements of the army into Fredericksburg had stalled in the face of deadly sharpshooter fire from Confederates concealed in the city and along the southern banks of the river. Hall was ordered to report to General Daniel P. Woodbury, commander of the Engineer Brigade, at the upper pontoon bridge. Woodbury needed covering fire for his bridge builders, and Hall deployed the 7th Michigan and 19th Massachusetts along the riverbank to engage the enemy. But neither Hall's small arms fire, nor artillery fire, could silence the well-covered Confederates.

Union Chief of Artillery Henry J. Hunt, who had observed the futile efforts to build the bridges opposite Fredericksburg, proposed that they fill the pontoon boats not yet placed in the river with infantry, row across, and drive the Confederates from their hiding places. Hunt pitched his plan to Woodbury, who agreed. They summoned Hall and explained the plan to the young colonel whose men would have to carry out the perilous effort. "I accepted the task with some modifications of my own," wrote Hall. The concept for the river assault was Hunt's, the details belonged to Hall. The arrangement he worked out was for the Union artillery to open a heavy bombardment of the Confederate positions in Fredericksburg. While they did so the engineers would place boats at intervals along the bank of the river and provide volunteers to row and steer them. Hall would put one of his regiments in the boats, while another provided covering fire from the bank. Everyone agreed, and Hall carried the plan to army commander Major General Ambrose Burnside for his approval. Burnside agreed, provided the plan was executed only with men who volunteered.[12]

Hall returned to his brigade and explained the plan to the commander of the 7th Michigan, Lt. Colonel Henry Baxter. Baxter and his entire regiment immediately volunteered, as did the commander of the 19th Massachusetts. With evident pride, Hall recorded in his notes, "the whole brigade would have done so (volunteered)." Around 3 P.M. Hall had completed his preparations, coordinating with the artillery for covering fire and the engineers to man the boats. A signal was made to the artillery, and it opened a furious bombardment of the city. Then Hall's plan went awry. When the engineers emerged to place the boats in the water they instantly came under fire from the Confederates in the city and quickly ducked to cover. Most of them positively refused to expose themselves again. Hall improvised. He told Lieutenant Colonel Baxter that unless his men could man the boats unassisted they could not make the river crossing. Baxter and Hall both knew how deadly this undertaking was, even with men accustomed to maneuvering the boats. But Baxter's infantry had no experience, and Hall feared that disaster and death for the colonel and his men might well be their fate. Baxter knew the risks. His men would go.[13]

When all was ready, Hall sprang up and shouted the command, "forward to the boats." The instant he exposed himself he drew a fusillade of bullets from the alert Confederates on the south bank of the Rappahannock. One struck him in the back of the head. "It only made a lump and gave me head ache," Hall wrote – but he joined in the general rush to the boats. Some of these were already in the water; others had to be unloaded from their tracks, where the engineers had abandoned them. Unknown to Hall, several engineers joined in the rush, including Lieutenant James L. Robbins, of the 50th New York Engineers, with a crew of three men, who manned the lead boat. There were some sixty to seventy infantrymen in the first wave. There were casualties, but they were not heavy. One man was killed, and Baxter and several others were wounded. The south shore was reached, and the Michigan men poured out of their boats and up the southern bank of the Rappahannock, securing a group of houses along Water Street and taking some thirty-one prisoners.[14]

Hall quickly sent the rest of the 7th Michigan, the 19th Massachusetts, and the 20th Massachusetts across to enlarge his bridgehead, and arranged for renewed artillery support to prevent the Confederates from reinforcing their troops in the city. Between Hall's infantry and the Union artillery all small arms fire on the bridges was silenced, but the engineers near the upper bridge still refused to expose themselves in order to finish the bridge. Hall approached Burnside, who had come down to observe the situation at the bridges, and explained the situation. He omitted Burnside's initial reaction from his official report of the action, but in private notes Hall wrote that Burnside said, "Why don't you build the bridge yourself?" Clearly, leadership was not emanating from army headquarters that day. Hall hunted around until "I got a Lieutenant of Engineers and he got a good Col. of engineer troops for 30 to 50 and went down." The bridge was completed, and Hall immediately brought the remainder of his brigade across into Fredericksburg. Desperate as the river crossing had been, it was only the beginning of Hall's

battle that day. The bloodiest fighting remained to be done, for the streets and houses of Fredericksburg had to be cleared of the enemy.[15]

Hall deployed the 7th Michigan, 42nd New York, and 19th Massachusetts in the houses along Water Street, and formed the 20th Massachusetts in column on the same street as a reserve. When he ordered the 20th to move east on Water Street, they came under fire while crossing Hawke Street, and a civilian guide accompanying the regiment was killed. At the next intersection they reached, Water and Fauquier, the fire was heavier, and to Hall it was "evident that the enemy was in considerable force" concealed in buildings and other cover in the city blocks south of Water Street. Sending troops in column along any of the north-south streets would expose them to heavy casualties. Hall wanted to fight them with irregular formations, which meant skirmishers, but this would take time, and dusk was falling. His division commander, Brigadier General Oliver O. Howard, was pushing the rest of the division across the pontoon bridge creating a "compact and unmanageable mass" of troops on the bank of the river. Hall's "urgent requests" to stop sending troops across the river until he could clear the streets in his own way were denied. Howard ordered him to push forward. For a second time that dismal day Hall was confronted with a gut-wrenching situation from which there was no honorable escape. Against his better judgment he gave the orders he knew would send many of his men to their deaths, and instructed Captain George N. Macy, commanding the 20th, "to clear the street leading from the bridge at all hazards." He added a grim addendum to the order that may have reflected the pressure of the situation. Macy was to "bayonet every **male** found – **take** no prisoners." The 20th ignored this part of the order, but it is clear that Hall's anger and frustration with fighting an enemy who fought from concealment and fired with seeming unerring aim had boiled over inside him.[16]

In the space of fifty yards Macy had ninety-seven officers and men shot down. "The street fighting was the most desperate I ever saw," wrote Hall, who also added the bitter comment that "I could have taken the city with 1/10th loss." Macy cleared the city, with some help from the 59th New York. Darkness fell on a bitter, depressing day.[17]

On December 13 the futile attacks upon Mayre's Heights commenced. That afternoon Hall received orders to bring his brigade up. There were less than 800 effective fighting men left in the brigade. As they reached the edge of the city Hall encountered his corps commander, Major General Darius Couch, with 1st Division commander Brigadier General Winfield Hancock. The latter ordered Hall to charge "up the road" (either Plank Road or Telegraph Road leading to Mayre's Heights) in column. Hall had already had a look at the ground his brigade would charge over and had seen that it was completely exposed to musketry and artillery fire from Mayre's Heights. He considered Hancock's orders "an order for the utter destruction of my whole brigade with no possible chance of any other result." But he obeyed them. Forming as broad a column as the road would permit, Hall made ready to charge the heights when mercifully General Couch, learning of Hancock's orders, countermanded them, and ordered Hall to deploy his brigade in a general line of battle to the right of the road and attack the heights.[18]

The first assault failed. Hall and his staff rallied the regiments and tried again. Hall admitted in his private notes on the battle, "although I tried faithfully to take them [Confederate position on Mayre's Heights] and lost many men, I was glad I could not succeed as nothing could possibly be gained. I was positiv[e] of it." As though the memory of the futile assaults still angered him he added emphatically, "I knew it and I know it." Hall lost 515 men in two days, only 33 were missing, and most of them were from the 127th Pennsylvania, who had been attached to another brigade during the assaults on December 13. Seven officers and fifty-six men were dead. Fredericksburg left Hall discouraged and sick. He wrote to his wife Louisa; "If all the troops could be depended upon to do what mine did, no army that Ever assembled would stand before them, but such is not the case. Mine will not do it again for a long time." He contemplated resigning from the army. "I have seen chances enough," he wrote Louisa. His constant poor health also concerned him and the thought that the war might leave him a physical wreck. On December 26 he applied for sick leave.[19]

Fredericksburg left no doubt in the minds of Hall's men about his ability to lead them into battle, or his willingness to speak his mind plainly to preserve their lives. He was ambitious. Hall wanted to be a general as much as any colonel in the army, but not at the cost of his men's lives. In return his men gave him their trust. One of them, Lieutenant Sumner Paine, of the 20th Massachusetts, wrote, "Our brigade commander, Colonel Hall, is one of the best officers in the army. … If he hadn't been remarkably cool at Fredericksburg, our whole brigade would have been cut to pieces. He handled us splendidly." Illness kept him away from the brigade through all of January and February. In early March he stopped in to visit with his command, telling the officers he would be well enough to return in 10 days. Captain Henry L. Abbott, an excellent officer in the 20th Massachusetts, wrote to his father that night about Hall's promise to return soon: "I hope to heaven he will be here before the campaign opens."[20]

Hall returned in time to lead his brigade during the Chancellorsville campaign. He and his regiments returned to familiar ground. His division, John Gibbon's 2nd Division, 2nd Corps, was assigned to support Major General John Sedgwick's 6th Corps, whose mission was to cross the Rappahannock River at Fredericksburg, storm Mayre's Heights, and pinch the main body of the Army of Northern Virginia against the balance of the Army of the Potomac at Chancellorsville. In the fighting to capture Mayre's Heights on May 2, and the fighting that ensued on the next two days when the Confederates counterattacked Sedgwick and forced the Federals to retreat across the Rappahannock, Hall upheld the trust and confidence his men placed in him. During the effort to capture Mayre's Heights, Hall's brigade was sent around the Confederate left as a diversion to the main effort in front of the heights. In executing this maneuver, the Confederates managed to place two cannon that enfiladed Hall's command, and they opened a destructive fire that apparently caught everyone by surprise. Captain Abbott, writing three days later, described for his father how Hall "showed wonderful coolness & self possession, where many a man in an open space under a heavy fire would have lost his head & destroyed us." There were casualties, but everyone knew that Hall's quick thinking in maneuvering his regiments to cover saved many from death or wounds.[21]

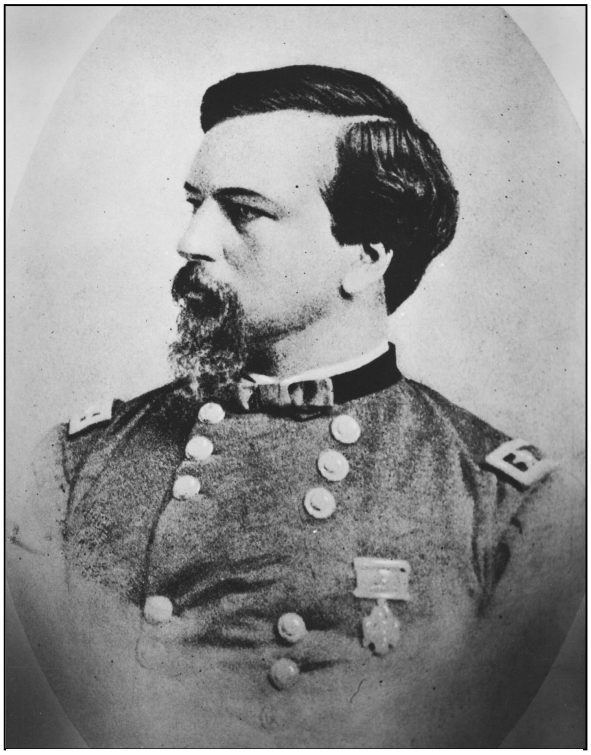
Clearly Hall was proficient in tactics and kept his head under the most extreme pressure, but Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville also revealed that he possessed the capacity to command. At Fredericksburg, bravery was not enough to ensure success during the river crossing. Hall had to win cooperation of troops and officers outside of his command, and coordinate with them to be successful. The fighting around Fredericksburg on May 3 and 4 during the Chancellorsville campaign tested these abilities again, and he met the challenge. When Sedgwick moved on after capturing Mayre's Heights, Hall was left with his brigade of some 1,200 men to guard the city of Fredericksburg. The Confederates recovered quickly from their setback on May 2 and moved in force to isolate Sedgwick. Before daylight on May 3, pickets came rushing in from beyond Mayre's Heights reporting that the enemy was advancing in force along the Telegraph and Port Royal roads. It was Jubal Early's division. Hall kept his cool. "I immediately made disposition of all my force to meet him and hold the city," he reported. There is a certain fiber and tough sinew that still resonates in this statement. Hall would not be stampeded or panicked. You had to fight him to lick him. He put everyone on the front line, except for three companies that he organized as a mobile reserve. Some 200 or more 6th Corps stragglers were rounded up. Hall organized them and ordered them to bolster his front, threatening to shoot them if they disobeyed. There were several hundred wagons in the city; probably the supply trains of the 6th Corps and some 2nd Corps wagons. Hall sensed that if the enemy had regained possession of Mayre's Heights then Sedgwick was in trouble, and leaving the wagons south of the Rappahannock with only his slim force to defend them was courting disaster. On his own responsibility he ordered them to the north side of the river during the night. Before daylight he received orders to withdraw his command as well which, he wrote, "I accomplished without loss and in as perfect order as if on drill, taking up the bridges." Captain Abbott boasted afterward that the movement was so well executed that his regiment had been nicknamed "Hall's Regulars."[22]

In the aftermath of Chancellorsville, the army readied itself for a new campaign. Hall lost the 127th Pennsylvania from his brigade when it mustered out at the expiration of its nine months of service. That left him with perhaps 1,200 men in five veteran regiments, the 19th and 20th Massachusetts, 7th Michigan, and 42nd and 59th New York. Although the 20th might have earned the right to be compared to regulars, not all the regiments in the brigade came up to the same standard. During Hall's absence during the winter, discipline in some regiments had slipped. His own 7th Michigan was one. Inspections revealed carelessness in the unit that implied weak leadership. Hall cancelled all furloughs and other amenities until the regiment improved its appearance and discipline. Part of the problem may have been Major Hunt, who had taken command when Lieutenant Colonel Baxter was wounded at Fredericksburg. That battle had established that Hunt was no combat leader. On April 20, 1863 he received a discharge on a surgeon's certificate, clearing the way for Hall to promote more qualified leaders. Captain Amos Steele, Jr. received a lieutenant colonel's commission, and Captain Sylvanus W. Curtiss filled the major's vacant slot.[23]

More serious leadership problems existed in the 59th New York. In April, Hall discovered that there had been mismanagement and misuse of the 59th's regimental fund by its commander, Colonel William Northridge. Hall placed Northridge under arrest on April 23 pending investigation of the charges against him. Before the investigation could be completed the army set in motion for the Chancellorsville campaign. When the 59th prepared itself to march on May 2, Northridge left his quarters, where he had been fortifying himself with the bottle, and took his place at the head of the regiment, announcing to the men that he, not Lt. Colonel Max Thoman, would lead them. Thoman reminded Northridge he was still under arrest and should return to his quarters. At this Northridge drew his sword and declared he would "run Thoman through," and that the lieutenant colonel was a coward. Thoman arrested Northridge again, then rode away to prepare the necessary papers, placing Captain Horace Rugg in command in his absence. Northridge, still with his sword in hand, remained and threatened to run Rugg through as well. Someone finally managed to get Northridge back to his quarters, but the next day, May 3, when the regiment crossed to the south bank of the Rappahannock River, he followed along. When the regiment came under fire later in the day Northridge again rode to the front of the regiment, again under the influence of alcohol, drew his sword, declared Thoman was a coward and that the men should not follow him. An argument ensued between the two men and Northridge eventually withdrew. Hall court-martialed the colonel immediately after the campaign ended. He was found guilty on all counts and dismissed from the service. But Northridge had his allies in the regiment, and a split developed over those loyal to the colonel and those who backed Thoman. Over the weeks before Gettysburg a series of resignations and dismissals -- including the major -- left the regiment critically short of officers and, one would imagine, somewhat demoralized. Because of the shortage of officers Hall consolidated the unit into a battalion of four companies.[24]

Hall's poor health continued throughout the early stages of the Gettysburg campaign, as the Army of the Potomac marched north through Virginia into Maryland. He endured the "intense suffering" of his dysentery only because the "exigencies of the service" demanded it. His personal suffering apparently did not affect his leadership and expectations of his brigade, for he noted with pride that during the severe marches across northern Virginia in the searing heat of late June that "no man straggled from my command," a claim very few brigade commanders in the army could make. These hard marches eventually brought Hall and his command to the eastern slope of Little Round Top, two miles south of Gettysburg, on the night of July 1. A test of his leadership ability as severe as Fredericksburg awaited him.[25]

Alexander Stewart Webb



Alexander Stewart Webb. **GNMP**

Soldiering ran deep in Webb's family. So too did his roots in America, stretching back to 1632 when Richard Webb of Gloucestershire, England, settled in Boston. His grandfather, Samuel B. Webb, faced the British as a Continental lieutenant at Bunker Hill, where he was wounded. He later served as a secretary and aide-de-camp to General George Washington. Webb's father, James W. Webb, ran away from home at age seventeen to Washington, D.C., where he wrangled a commission as a second lieutenant in the 4th Artillery. After eight years of service he left the army and settled in New York City, where he purchased the *New York Morning Courier*, of which he also served as editor-in-chief. He later acquired the *Enquirer,* as well, and combined the two papers into one. Alexander was born into this successful, cultured family in 1835. After private schooling Webb received an appointment to West Point at age sixteen. He graduated in 1855, thirteenth out of a class of thirty-four. With a commission as a second lieutenant in the 2nd Artillery, he joined his regiment in operations against the Seminoles in Florida. The army saw fit to expose young Webb to weather extremes, and after several months sent him to Massachusetts in 1856, then to Minnesota where he served until 1857, when his brainpower was tapped and he received an assignment to the Military Academy at West Point as an assistant professor of mathematics. It is probable that both Hall and Cushing were among his students.[26]

During his tenure at the academy, Webb served as a junior officer on Captain Charles Griffin's West Point Battery. Griffin was a blunt-spoken, hard-headed regular, and not an entirely likeable fellow. A volunteer officer who served with him during the Civil War found him "overbearing and supercilious." But he knew soldiering, and Webb likely derived some lessons both positive and negative from Griffin on leadership and how to treat the men under his command. The West Point Battery was a show unit, something akin to the Old Guard of today, but when the war broke out Griffin led it to the front to see the elephant as Battery D, 2nd U.S. Artillery. After a brief assignment with Battery A, 2nd U.S Artillery, Webb re-joined Griffin as a section commander during the first Manassas campaign. On Henry House Hill, Webb experienced battle close-up and personal, when his battery was overrun in the desperate fighting that took place there.[27]

After Manassas Webb was reassigned to duty as assistant to the chief of artillery of the newly organized Army of the Potomac, Brigadier General William F. Barry, a genial but highly efficient officer of long army experience. Webb accompanied Barry on the Peninsula campaign, and he deeply impressed the general with his abilities. In September 1862, when Barry transferred from field duty to a less arduous position he penned a ringing endorsement of his subordinate:

> In conclusion, I beg to assure you that in all the soldierly attributes of subordination, intelligence, energy, physical endurance and the highest possible courage, I consider him to be without his superior among the younger officers of the Army. I also consider that both aptitude and experience fit him to command, and to command well, anything from a regiment to a division.[28]

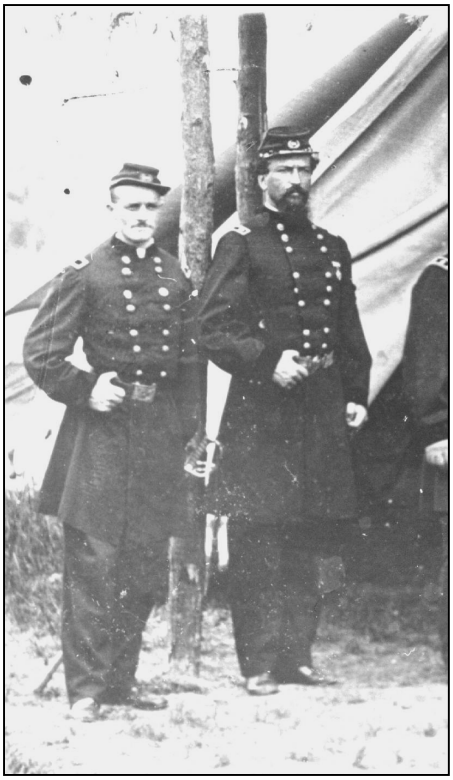
Webb's unique abilities were not lost on the army, for 5th Corps commander Brig. Gen. Fitz-John Porter selected him to serve on his headquarters staff as inspector-general. His superior efficiency earned him the added duties of the corps chief of staff, a position he held through the Maryland campaign. When Porter was relieved in November 1862, Webb found a post as inspector of artillery at Camp Barry, in Washington, D.C. In January, the new 5th Corps commander, Major General George G. Meade, asked Webb to join his staff as the corps inspector-general, which he did serving through Chancellorsville and into the Gettysburg campaign. Webb, it seemed, impressed everyone he came in contact with. Colonel Theodore Lyman, who served with him later in the war, described him as a man who was "very jolly and pleasant, while, at the same time, he is a thorough soldier, wide-awake, quick, and attentive to detail." Colonel Charles Wainwright, who had frequent contact with Webb from early in the war on, echoed Barry's sentiments when he wrote in his journal that he thought Webb "as one of the most conscientious, hard-working and fearless young officers that we have." After Chancellorsville, Meade singled Webb out among his staff for special commendation. "I desire to call particular attention to the intelligence and zeal exhibited by Lieutenant-Colonel Webb," he wrote.[29]

By Chancellorsville, Webb had served Griffin, Barry, Porter, and Meade, each an excellent soldier in his own right from whom Webb could observe models of effective leadership. But Webb was his own man, and he disliked some characteristics of his chiefs. He told Charles Wainwright during the Gettysburg campaign that he found Meade's explosive temper "intolerable." It is likely he held a similar opinion of the hard-bitten Griffin. But his personal views of his commanders' personalities never affected his performance as a soldier. Some historians have described him as something of a dandy, whose long experience in staff work left him ill-prepared for commanding troops in the line. This is an assessment that is quite wide of the mark, for Webb was no dandy. He was a regular officer, and a gentleman, but he had already demonstrated during the Peninsula campaign, and in other campaigns of the army, that he was a courageous man and willing to share any hardships of the men he led. His work on the staffs of Barry, Porter, and Meade had placed him in the company of men from whom he observed first hand the art of handling troops in battle. As Barry and others testified, Webb was of superior intelligence and learned quickly.[30]

Webb understood that only by commanding troops in the line could he gain promotion. The strong endorsements he received from his commanders, combined with his solid reputation in the army, and perhaps, some help from his distinguished father, won him promotion to brigadier general of volunteers on June 23, 1863. Five days later Meade assigned him to command a brigade in John Gibbon's division of Hancock's 2nd Army Corps. Officially, this was the 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 2nd Corps, but it was known in the army as the Philadelphia Brigade, as its four regiments were recruited in the area of the city. It had also earned a reputation, whether deserved or not, for heavy straggling.[31]

Webb took command of the brigade the same day he received his assignment. The brigade had just completed a march to Frederick, Maryland. He arrived in his sharp, unsoiled uniform, which easily marked him as a member of the staff rather than the line. "His dress and personality attracted us the moment we first laid eyes on him," recalled a lieutenant in the 71st Pennsylvania. It is unlikely there was much enthusiasm for Webb. He was a stranger from the 5th Corps, and a staff officer to boot. Apparently, Webb spent his first day familiarizing himself with his new command and duties, and with preparations for the next day's march.

No orders came to the new brigadier on the morning of June 29, even though the entire corps decamped and started to march. There had been a mix-up, and Webb had been overlooked when orders were sent out from corps headquarters. The mistake was not discovered until nearly the entire corps had departed. By the time Webb received his orders and had his brigade underway, they were well behind the 2nd Division in the column of march. Webb was determined to make a good showing on his first day of brigade command, and he decided to take a detour that he thought would enable him to get around the 1st Division, in front of him, and re-join his own division. The detour brought the brigade to a point on the Monocacy River where no bridge existed. The men immediately halted and began to remove shoes and socks in preparation for fording the creek, a typical practice by infantrymen to avoid the severe blisters wet shoes and socks caused. Webb decided this was taking too much time and he ordered his regiments to wade the creek at once, shoes, socks and all. Thinking to set an example to the men he dismounted and strode to the middle of the creek. But the water did not come above the tops of his leather boots, and his men were quick to observe this and let the general feel their displeasure. The historian of the 106th Pennsylvania recalled the men "were not backward in expressing their feelings in terms not very complimentary to the General, and the remarks might have been heard by him had he chosen to listen." One soldier in the 69th Pennsylvania made sure Webb heard him, exclaiming to the general, "Sure it's no wonder ye can stand there when ye are leather up to your waist." Webb ignored the comment and the laughter that followed it, and continued to urge his men across. Once the brigade cleared the creek he ordered the pace accelerated to quick time, hoping to beat the 1st Division to a crossroads ahead. But when his brigade arrived at this point, the head of the 1st Division was already passing by. Webb's three-mile detour at the quick time had failed to get the brigade ahead in the corps column, and his brigade was forced to rejoin the column at exactly the same point it had been at before the detour, a fact not lost on his foot soldiers whose feet paid the price.[32]



Webb, right, evidences the "spit and polish" image he presented to the Philadelphia Brigade in this 1865 photograph. **USMHI**

At Liberty, Maryland the entire corps halted, but Webb pressed on even though his brigade had already marched nineteen miles without rest, determined that his command would take its proper place in the column. It finally did, but by the time the brigade reached Uniontown it was "completely used up," and had covered thirty-five miles (three miles more than anyone else in the corps) in about fourteen hours. This was the longest day's march the brigade made during the entire war. Webb had shown iron determination, but he won no friends or respect with his new command.[33]

The entire corps received a badly needed day of rest on June 30. Webb took this opportunity to issue an officer's call. Lieutenant John Rogers, of the 71st Pennsylvania, recalled that few of the brigade's officers wore insignia of rank. "Our experience in battle led us to know that we were safer if we were not conspicuously dressed, as officers were the first to be picked off by the enemy, and hence we tried to be as little conspicuous as possible in our dress," Rogers observed. In America's wars in the twentieth century this would be a common precaution for officers to observe. But from Webb's perspective it reflected badly on the brigade's leadership. The officers

were more interested in preserving their skin than leading their men. As Rogers recalled the meeting, Webb addressed the assembled group: "I presume you are all officers as you attend the call. There are but few of you whom I am able to recognize as officers, as you have no insignia of office except your swords." Webb ordered the men to return to their regiments and replace their shoulder straps "so that when he met us he would know our rank." Rogers and the others thought Webb's orders "far fetched," but they were compelled to obey.[34]

The next day was July 1. While the brigade broke camp and prepared to march that morning, Webb made another officer's call. This time he addressed the brigade's straggling. He related that he had been told that this brigade had a reputation for this malady of efficient marching, and that he intended to bring it to a stop. He gave orders that from now on officers "should arrest any of the men found straggling and to bring them to him and he would shoot them like dogs." This left many officers inclined to think Webb "untempered and fresh." It appears to have been partly bluff on Webb's part, for he did not shoot anyone, but the threat worked, for when the brigade took roll on the morning of July 2, out of the entire number of men present for duty when Webb took command on June 28, only thirteen men were absent without leave. Some of these men had fallen out during the severe marches and joined the brigade during the course of the battle.[35]

On the eve of their entry into the battle of Gettysburg, Webb remained a question mark to his officers and men. The incident at the Monocacy, his insistence on pressing the march that same day to catch up with the brigade's position in the column, and his lectures to the brigade's officers had "the effect to make him unpopular." But Webb's training and personal experiences in the war to that point had prepared him well for the challenge of leading men into battle, and made him confident of his ability and courage. He was experienced enough to know that his volunteers would remain skeptical of him until he proved himself on the battlefield. The opportunity to do so awaited him at Gettysburg.[36]

Alonzo H. Cushing

Had Cushing survived the war he might have said that one of the most influential people in his development as a leader was his mother, Mary Cushing. His father died when he was six, leaving his mother with five young children and utterly broke. Mary moved the family to Fredonia, New York, in western New York State, to honor a request of her dying husband. The family grew up poor, but they were never destitute, and Mary maintained an atmosphere of respect and patience in her household. Alonzo's youngest sister recalled years later the "respect and courtesy" everyone in the family displayed toward one another. "I never received a reproof or heard an impatient word from either of my brothers," she said. Patience, determination, respect, and a desire to excel were all traits Cushing inherited

Cushing as a cadet, 1861. **USMA Archives**

from his mother, and they would serve him through his life.[37]

In the fall of 1856 Mary sought an appointment for Alonzo to the U.S. Military Academy from their congressman, Francis Edwards. Edwards selected Alonzo, adding in his endorsement of the fifteen-year-old, "his mother is poor, but highly committed and her son will do honor to the position." Cushing arrived at the academy only several months before Webb joined the faculty as a math instructor. He faced a tough five-year curriculum to graduate. Joining him in what was expected to be the class of '62 was Patrick O'Rorke, George Armstrong Custer, and George A. Woodruff.[38]

Cushing's experience at West Point paralleled Webb's and Hall's academically until 1861 when the great secession crisis gripped the country. His record reflected a well-rounded young man: a solid, but not outstanding student; a fun-loving fellow, but not in a vindictive or mean way; and his record showed a steady maturity from a boy to a man. To his friends, he was "Lon." No one who knew him called him Alonzo, a name he disliked.[39]

Even before the secession crisis boiled over, a bill had been submitted in U.S. Congress to cut the course at West Point back to four years. The outbreak of war following the firing on Fort Sumter provided added impetus to this movement, and in May the bill passed and the course at the academy was officially shortened to four years. But this meant that Cushing's class had to cram what would have been a fifth year into six weeks between May and June. The work was intense. Cushing wrote to his brother Milton, "They are putting us through nearly a whole year's course in six weeks and all who are not thoroughly proficient at examination will be turned back for another year. … We would all be grey headed in six months if it was to continue this way."[40]

Cushing's class graduated on June 24, 1861, and he ranked twelfth in a class of thirty-four. He was commissioned a first lieutenant in the 4th Artillery and ordered to report to Washington, D.C. for duty. Neither the prospect of combat nor the probability he might face some of his former classmates on the battlefield troubled him. He positively looked forward to the likelihood of seeing action, and he left no doubt where he stood on the nation's crisis. On April 17 he wrote to his mother,

> The disunionists are rapidly resigning and my class is already reduced to about 40 members. I want to see every man go who has any scruples about fighting their 'Southern Bretheren [sic]' … All I want now is to graduate right away. I could not for anything stay here a whole year longer. I want to fight my 'Southern Bretheren.' They would like very well to whip us and kill us, and it is just and right that we return like compliment. Three cheers for the Stars and Stripes, American Eagle and Yankee Doodle.

A month later, with only about four weeks of study left and looking forward to graduation, he wrote, "Then hurrah for a brush with the Rebels. In less than six weeks I shall undoubtedly have an opportunity of smelling gunpowder." Like so many young men who choose the military for their profession, Cushing thirsted for action.[41]

Less than one month after graduation, Cushing smelled powder at the first Battle of Bull Run, as a section commander in Battery G, 2nd U.S. Artillery. His first experience in the reality of combat did not diminish his enthusiasm. "I fancy I did some of the prettiest firing that was done that day," he wrote his mother, "You ought to have seen me pour the spherical case and shell into their column."[42]

In the aftermath of Bull Run, Cushing was reassigned to the combined regular batteries A and C, 4th U.S. Artillery. Their commander was 17-year-old Lieutenant Evan Thomas, the son of the U.S. Army adjutant general. Although Thomas had not attended West Point, his commission apparently pre-dated Cushing's, which gave him command by seniority. It is unlikely that Cushing learned anything about leadership from Thomas. The youngster was brave and learned quickly, but lacked Cushing's professional training. But Cushing accepted his position without complaint and served with the battery until January 1862, when his division commander, Brig.

Gen. Edwin Vose Sumner picked him to serve on the division staff as the ordnance officer. Two months later, Sumner was promoted to command the newly formed 2nd Corps, Army of the Potomac. He asked Cushing to remain on his staff as an aide-de-camp.

Sumner was sixty-five years old, and his flowing white hair and beard gave him a grandfatherly look. By the time Cushing joined his staff Sumner had forty-three years of service in the U.S. Army, most of it on tough frontier service. His courage was legendary. His intellect was not. Army gossip had it that during an engagement on the frontier a ball had bounced off Sumner's forehead, earning him the nickname "Old Bullhead." But one gets the sense that this story was also told as a reflection of Sumner's thickheadedness. Before the war, when Sumner was colonel of the 1st U.S. Cavalry tasked with keeping the peace in Kansas, Joe Johnston warned George B. McClellan, who was preparing to rejoin the regiment, that under Sumner a junior officer had to behave as if "he is utterly ignorant, professionally - & that his colonel is not." Johnson added that he found "the last most difficult." When he wrote his memoirs, McClellan charitably described Sumner as "an old and tried officer; perfectly honest; as brave as a man could be; conscientious and laborious. In many respects he was a model soldier." These were all true of the man, but McClellan revealed a far lower opinion of Sumner in private letters to his wife.[43]

Sumner's positive attributes – honesty, bravery, and hard work – reinforced what West Point had instilled in Cushing. Sumner also provided Cushing with a model of how an officer behaved under fire in front of his troops. The old general never shied away from exposing himself to enemy fire, despite his rank. Personal safety and comfort came second to duty and your men. Cushing clearly identified with this style of leadership, particularly exposure to enemy fire. His experience in battle during the Peninsula campaign did not moderate his taste for combat. He described the fighting at Fair Oaks on May 31 as

Cushing in 1862, while on Sumner's Staff. **LC**

> the grandest sight I ever witnessed … I can conceive of nothing more grand than the spectacle presented, nor nothing so exhilarating as that splendid bayonet charge. It was enough to almost lift one out of his boots. I never expect to witness another as beautiful a fight if I live to be as old as Methuselah.

During the fighting, while riding the lines with Sumner under a heavy fire, Cushing took a bullet in the chest. His dispatch book and pistol absorbed most of the shock. "It only knocked the breath out of me," he related to his mother, as if his brush with death or a serious wound were a trifle.[44]

On July 4, 1862, Cushing left Sumner's staff to return to Battery A and C, which was short of experienced officers. He remained with the battery serving through the Maryland campaign and Battle of Antietam. His role in the campaign and battle is not well documented, but the battery was heavily engaged at Antietam. Five days after the battle Cushing learned that he had been recommended for transfer to the elite topographical engineers. His desire was to remain in a line unit, but so long as Lieutenant Thomas remained as commander of Battery A and C, Cushing knew he would remain a section commander. He accepted the transfer to the engineers.[45]

One week before his transfer Cushing learned that batteries A and C were to be divided and that command of Battery A was his if he desired it. The prospect of his own command and combat held more allure to the lieutenant than staff service in the engineers. Cushing immediately penned a letter to the army adjutant general, asking that

his request for transfer to the engineers be withdrawn. "I can now have command of a battery in the 4th Arty., and under existing circumstances would consider it much more to my advantage to remain in the regiment," he wrote. Cushing's request carried with it the endorsement of the 2nd Corps artillery chief, Henry J. Hunt, and the Army of the Potomac commander, McClellan. The army processed paperwork slowly, and Cushing was not reassigned to Battery A until February 1863. In the meantime he joined the topographical engineers, serving for a time on McClellan's staff, and when he was relieved and replaced by Burnside, returning to Sumner's 2nd Corps staff for the Fredericksburg campaign.[46]

Cushing formally took command of Battery A on February 24, 1863. Although a regular army battery, most of the enlisted men were volunteers. Only about 20 of the 147 enlisted men were regulars. Over the next few months Cushing earned the respect and admiration of his men. One of his sergeants, Frederick Fuger, recalled his commander was "possessed of mental and physical vigor, joined to the kindest of hearts, he commanded the love and respect of all who knew him." Other men of the battery in their post-war memoirs sound a similar sentiment. How they felt about him before Gettysburg is unknown, as there are no known contemporary accounts from men in the battery. But the admiration and respect Cushing commanded among his peers indicate that these post-war reminiscences provide an accurate reflection of how his men felt about him during the war. He ran his battery with regular army discipline, but it seems that like Hall and Webb, he applied that discipline in a manner his men considered fair and just. And, like Hall and Webb, he demanded nothing of his men that he did not demand of himself. It was a simple but vital element of his success as a leader of men.[47]

Although Battery A was present at Chancellorsville, it was not brought into action. Cushing spent the rest of May and early June around Falmouth, Virginia, preparing his battery for a new campaign. Through early June rumors abounded in the army's camps that the Confederates were on the move across Virginia, heading north. But the army remained stationary until June 11, when elements of it began to break camp and march north. On June 14 Cushing received his marching orders. The Gettysburg campaign had begun, and in less than one month he, Hall, and Webb would face their most severe test near a crossroads town in Pennsylvania.

Gettysburg

The 2nd Corps spent the night of July 1 near the east side of Big Round Top and Little Round Top. About 3 A.M. on July 2, Webb, Hall, Cushing, and the other 2nd Corps leaders ordered their men to be awakened. After gulping down a hasty breakfast, companies and regiments formed up for a rigid inspection of weapons, ammunition, and equipment. All knew of the heavy fighting near Gettysburg on July 1, and the inspection of arms and ammunition confirmed the veterans' hunch that more fighting lay ahead. The June 30 muster recorded Webb's strength at 1,472 officers and men, Hall's at 1,141, and Cushing's battery at 3 officers and 133 enlisted men, with six three-inch rifles. But this was paper strength and included men detailed to non-combat duties. Webb's and Hall's effective fighting strength may have been as many as 200 men less than their present-for-duty numbers. Even at that early hour the day promised to be warm and humid. Once the inspections were finished, the brigades and batteries filed onto the Taneytown road and marched north toward Gettysburg. After some two miles the column halted, fronting north, with the mass of Cemetery Hill rising in front. Gibbon's 2nd Division massed east of the Taneytown road. A high, open ridge rose on its left toward Cemetery Hill, with a stand of mature oaks on the northern end of the ridge. While the troops waited for orders to deploy, Webb used the time to address his brigade. He told the men they were now going to be called upon to defend the soil of their state, and that every man would be required to do his full duty. He added that anyone found shirking would be severely dealt with and that he would shoot any man who left the line to avoid combat. Much of this was pretty standard fare, and many of his men, who already disliked their

new brigade commander, may have tuned him out or listened with a veteran's cynicism to what they may have considered pure bombast. But then Webb called upon his men to shoot him if he failed in his duty, and he made a solemn promise "that they had a commander that would not fail in his duty nor allow the men to fail in theirs." There may have been nodding of heads at this, for this was talk soldiers liked to hear: a commander who held himself to the same standard he expected of his men.[48]

After waiting an hour orders were barked out to change front to the west and for the three divisions and five batteries of the corps to deploy along the open ridge facing west. This was Cemetery Ridge. Gibbon's 2nd Division, with Hall's and Webb's brigades, climbed over the fencing along the Taneytown road, south of the small house and barn of Lydia Leister, where army headquarters were being established, and tramped over Peter Fry's tidy fields of corn, wheat, and oats. Webb and Hall advanced side by side, Webb on the right, in column of regiments (each regiment deployed in line of battle, one behind the other).

While the infantry moved cross-country, Cushing led his battery up a farm lane that left the Taneytown road immediately north of the Leister house and ran west up the ridge. Captain John G. Hazard, 2nd Corps artillery chief, would have reconnoitered ahead to study the ground and determine where to post his five batteries as they came up. He found Brigadier General John Robinson's 2nd Division, 1st Corps, deployed along the western side of the ridge behind a low stone wall, from the woods to a scrubby clump of small trees about 400 yards to the south, and George Stannard's Vermont brigade on Robinson's left. He ordered Lieutenant George A. Woodruff's Battery I, 1st U.S. to the woods on the north end of the ridge, which would become known after the battle as Ziegler's Grove. Some 150 yards south of Woodruff he placed Captain William A. Arnold's Battery A, 1st Rhode Island (six three-inch rifles). Just yards south of Arnold, Cushing brought his guns into position. Fewer than 100 yards south of Cushing, the Rhode Islanders of Lieutenant T. Fred Brown (four Napoleons) unlimbered. The fifth battery of the brigade, Battery B, 1st New York, joined the 1st Division on the far left of the corps, where the ridge leveled off.[49]

There was nothing remarkable about the position where Cushing deployed, although his position and Woodruff's were probably the most exposed. The stone wall that covered the front of Arnold's battery, turned ninety degrees to the west near Arnold's left, then ran west for about 50 yards before turning ninety degrees to the south. Cushing's guns were some 30 to 40 yards back from the wall, so the gunners derived no cover from it. The battery's left was screened by a clump of scrubby oak trees that ran from near the crest of the ridge to the wall and south along the wall for some distance. About one mile to the west stood a strip of woods, marking Seminary Ridge, which nearly paralleled Cemetery Ridge. The farm buildings of Nicholas Codori stood some 400 yards to Cushing's left front, along the Emmitsburg road. The hazy early morning light also revealed the enormous bank barn, house, and outbuildings of William Bliss, situated about 1,000 yards to Cushing's right front. The lieutenant likely took special note of this farm, particularly the barn, for it offered excellent cover for enemy sharpshooters with a clear line of sight to his gun crews.

The steeper eastern slope of Cemetery Ridge gave Cushing excellent cover to place his caissons. It is unlikely he located them at the regulation eleven yards in rear of the limbers because of the proximity of Gibbon's infantry. Brown's battery placed theirs in rear of the infantry and Cushing probably did likewise. By necessity the limbers would be located near the guns. Regulations also dictated that these vehicles be eleven yards behind the guns. If Cushing's guns were located at the crest of the ridge, some ten or fifteen yards back from where the guns today are located to mark his battery's position, then the limbers could have been slightly on the reverse slope of Cemetery Ridge, giving them some cover from enemy observation.

The enemy made its presence known by occupying Bliss's barn with sharpshooters, who opened fire on Cushing's gunners soon after they unlimbered. Cushing responded by sending some shrapnel and shell at the barn, which quieted the deadly antagonists for a time.[50]

While Hazard posted the 2nd Corps batteries, Gibbon's infantry formed to support Cushing's and Brown's batteries. Webb, his brigade still in column of regiments, forty paces between regiments, halted behind the batteries, with his right in rear of Cushing. Hall brought his brigade up on Webb's left, with Brown's Napoleons to his left front. Harrow, commanding the 1st Brigade, formed the division reserve, in rear of Hall and Webb. Cemetery Ridge concealed the entire division from view of the enemy.[51]

Around 8 or 9 A.M., Gibbon ordered Webb and Hall to relieve Robinson's men on the forward slope of Cemetery Ridge, in front of Brown and Cushing, and to deploy skirmishers to the front. Webb advanced the 69th Pennsylvania in front of the clump of trees to the stone wall, which it found had partially strengthened by Robinson's men, who had piled fence rails on it. Cushing's battery stood on the 69th's right rear and Brown's to its left rear. Hall ordered the 7th Michigan and 59th New York forward on the same line as the 69th, to the Pennsylvanians' left, but leaving a gap for a field of fire for Brown's Napoleons. Both regiments were quite small. The 7th contained only 14 officers and 151 enlisted men, while the 59th counted but 152 officers and men. Robinson's line had not extended to this part of the ridge, so the men of both regiments went to work immediately tearing down nearby rail fences to build up the slight cover offered by the low stone wall in their front. They also cut down brush that obstructed their field of fire and arranged the cutting to partially screen their position from enemy observation. The balance of Hall's and Webb's brigades remained concealed behind the crest of Cemetery Hill, but close enough that they could rapidly deploy to the forward slope if an attack developed. Brown's six Napoleons anchored Hall's left. Beyond Brown, Stannard's big Vermont regiments had been withdrawn and moved to Cemetery Hill, leaving a brigade-sized gap between the left of the 2nd Division and right of the 1st Division. To cover the division front, Webb deployed a strong skirmish detail of four companies, two each from the 72nd and 106th Pennsylvania. Hall did likewise, posting two companies from the 42nd New York and 20th Massachusetts to the skirmish line.[52]

Apart from some occasional artillery exchanges and the incessant sharpshooting that made movement along Cemetery Ridge hazardous, the morning of July 2 passed in comparative quiet. Hall, Webb, and Cushing likely used this time to study the ground they might be obliged to fight on. There were other details to attend to: making arrangements for the evacuation of casualties, positioning ammunition, checking on the status of rations for the men, and administrative paperwork that even with a battle impending had to be done to keep the wheels of the army administration churning. A competent brigade or battery commander enjoyed little rest during periods of active operations.

High clouds shielded the fighting men from the full power of the sun, but the temperature still rose to 82 degrees, accompanied by uncomfortable haze and humidity. The day dragged on lazily, punctuated by intermittent flare-ups on the skirmish line, or the thunder of a brief battery duel. The enemy's intentions were unknown. During the morning hours, army commander Major General George G. Meade rode up to Cemetery Ridge and stopped to talk with Webb. During their conversation Meade stated he would like to know the strength of the enemy in front, along Seminary Ridge. Displaying more eagerness than good sense, Webb offered to advance his brigade and find out. Meade said no, he did not want to precipitate an engagement, but that Webb could probe the enemy line with skirmishers, which he did.[53]

During the early afternoon a stir along the left flank of the army, held by Major General Daniel E. Sickles' 3rd Corps, caught the attention of the 2nd Corps men along Cemetery Ridge. Regiments and brigades were moving forward to the high ground along the Emmitsburg road, well in front of the general line of battle. The meaning of this movement was unknown to everyone in the corps, including its commander, Major General Winfield S. Hancock. To the professionals, like Hall, Webb, and Cushing, the movement was positively puzzling. Not only was the 3rd Corps a good half-mile in advance of the general line of battle, but its right flank dangled dangerously in the air. The threat was readily apparent, for the increasing crackle of musketry along the skirmish lines in front of the 3rd Corps signaled the enemy was nearby in

force. Around 3:30 P.M. the crack and roar of Confederate artillery added its noise to the growing tumult of battle. Union guns along the 3rd Corps front responded. Everyone sensed a general engagement was impending.

To cover Sickles' exposed right flank, General Gibbon dipped into his reserve and ordered the 82nd New York and 15th Massachusetts from Harrow's 1st Brigade to take position along the Emmitsburg road with their left on the Codori farm. To protect their flank Gibbon directed Lieutenant Brown to take his battery forward and unlimber on a ridge and rock outcropping about 150 yards in front of the 69th Pennsylvania. By the time these units took position, the crash of musketry and artillery had become an incessant roar.[54]

As the pressure upon the 3rd Corps increased, the clamor for reinforcements grew more urgent. Around 4:30 P.M., Caldwell's 1st Division moved off to bolster Sickles' imperiled left, leaving a large gap in the Cemetery Ridge front. To partially fill this gap and bolster the seam between the 3rd and 2nd Corps, Gibbon dispatched the remaining two regiments of Harrow's 1st Brigade, the 1st Minnesota and 19th Maine. To help the hard-pressed 2nd Division of the 3rd Corps, Gibbon ordered Hall to send two regiments. He picked the 19th Massachusetts and 42nd New York from his reserve line. They departed out of sight in the thick smoke that lay like a fog over the battlefield.[55]

The very dense smoke severely limited visibility, but it would have been apparent to Hall, Webb, and Cushing that things were going badly, for the roar of battle was advancing rather than receding. Around 6 P.M., Confederate artillery opened a severe fire upon the position of both brigades and Cushing. Only a handful of casualties were inflicted, but one was Colonel Paul Revere, commanding the 20th Massachusetts, who was killed. Lt. Colonel George N. Macy, an officer of well-known courage and ability, took his place. On the heels of this barrage the enemy's infantry was seen advancing beyond the Codori farm. It was Brigadier General Ambrose Wright's Georgia brigade. By this time the entire 3rd Corps line along the Emmitsburg road was in full retreat. Confusion reigned. Hall's and Webb's skirmishers harassed the advancing Georgians bravely but suffered severe losses. The Confederates rolled up to Gibbon's advance line on the Emmitsburg road and after a brief but bloody engagement, sent the 82nd New York and 15th Massachusetts dashing to the rear in retreat. Brown's Rhode Islanders swung their guns around to face the southwest and opened fire on the Georgians with shrapnel. Fuses were cut for four seconds, then three, two, and finally one second. Still Wright's men continued to advance, loading and firing as they came on. Brown ordered canister, then double canister. When this failed to stop the Georgians, the lieutenant ordered his battery to limber up and get out. The Confederates poured a deadly fire into their midst, shooting down horses and men. Brown was wounded, and one of his guns had to be left on the rocky outcropping. The other five came thundering to the rear, making for a gateway in the stone wall between the right flank of the 59th New York and left flank of the 69th Pennsylvania. The first two limbers and guns made it through safely, but the next two reached the gate at the same time and jammed, forcing the trailing limber and gun to halt completely exposed to a heavy fire. Two horses on this vehicle were almost immediately shot, immobilizing it. Cutting out the dead horses at that point was courting death or wounds, and the drivers and gunners had no choice but to abandon the gun and limber and scatter for cover.[56]

From Norman Hall's perspective the Confederate advance appeared "irresistible, its regularity surprising, and its rapidity fearful." Not only had Wright's men shot up Brown's battery, but they overran three guns of Battery C, 5th U.S. Artillery south of the Codori farm buildings, and were surging up toward the nearly quarter-mile gap on his left flank. He ordered the 7th Michigan and 59th New York to open fire. Between the two regiments they counted perhaps 251 rifles, but they delivered what Major Sylvanus W. Curtis, of the 7th, described as a "rapid and destructive fire" that knocked down many of Wright's men. But the Georgians pressed on to within thirty or forty yards of Hall's line, using rocks and bushes for cover from which to return a "galling fire." One of their minié balls mortally wounded Lt. Colonel Max Thoman. Hall still had the steady 20th

Massachusetts in reserve, but he hesitated to commit it until absolutely necessary. He may have also been holding it back in the event he needed a force to counterattack Wright's flank if the Confederates succeeded in penetrating into the quarter-mile gap. He spotted reinforcements forming in rear of his line. Who they were is something of a mystery. They may have been part of Robinson's 2nd Division, 1st Corps. Whoever they were, Hall saw no general officer with them and he hurried to them and took the responsibility to order what he thought were "several regiments" toward the open gap on his brigade's flank. Hall was not the only one working to plug the gap. Both Hancock and Gibbon were alert to the danger and were moving troops to do so, as was Doubleday of the 1st Corps, who sent part of the big 13th Vermont to the threatened sector.[57]

On Hall's right Webb had the 69th Pennsylvania open fire on Wright's men when Brown's batterymen cleared the front. He called up the 71st Pennsylvania to the support of the 69th, although exactly where it formed is not certain. Around the same time Hancock seized upon Webb's other two regiments, ordering both the 72nd and 106th to immediately counterattack Wright. Nearby, Cushing ordered his three remaining guns to fire canister at some of Wright's Georgians, who were swarming around Brown's abandoned gun and limber on the rocky knoll. The volume of fire upon this part of Wright's line must have been considerable, since the full firepower of the 69th Pennsylvania as well as most of the 59th New York was directed upon it. But Wright's men had good cover behind the knoll and they used it effectively, blazing away at the Federal line in their front. Some of the Georgians braved the fire to attempt to unlimber Brown's Napoleon, load it, and fire it at their antagonists. Cushing's guns probably drew the heaviest small arms fire. The biggest, most dangerous weapons always do in war, and his guns must have been doing severe damage to the Georgians. Lieutenant Canby, commanding the left section, took a bullet through the hand that took him out of the fight. Two privates were killed and nine other enlisted men wounded. But the tide was turning against Wright and his men. Their losses were high and the numbers and firepower building up against him were considerable. Both the brigade commander and his men realized they were in danger of isolation. They had no flank protection and no supports in the rear. Their line wavered under the murderous fire, and Wright sensed that they had attained all that they could and that remaining longer only courted death or capture.[58]

Observing the wavering along Wright's line, the 72nd and 106th Pennsylvania, joined by the 71st Pennsylvania and remnants of the 82nd New York, advanced precipitating an immediate retreat by the Georgians. The 106th pursued them all the way to the Emmitsburg road, scooping up a number of prisoners. Here their colonel called a halt and ordered his regiment back to Cemetery Ridge. By this time dusk had descended over the battlefield. The fighting on the army's left and center had subsided, but the sound of heavy fighting echoed loudly from the direction of Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill. Webb received orders to send the 106th Pennsylvania to Cemetery Hill. Soon after they moved off toward the sounds of firing, Webb was ordered to send a second regiment to the threatened sector. He sent Colonel R. Penn Smith and the 71st Pennsylvania.[59]

In the afternoon's fighting Hall and Cushing behaved with the coolness and self-possession that their men expected from them. Webb seems to have spent most of the fight in the general vicinity of the 69th Pennsylvania. His only tactical maneuver during the action had been to bring up the 71st Pennsylvania and send it forward when Wright's attack faltered. Hancock's intervention took the rest of his brigade out of his hands at the critical point. However, his handling of the 69th and 71st earned the approval of his officers and men. "All could see that the general had a lot of grit and sagacity as well as grace and he won our confidence and admiration," wrote a member of the 71st. Apparently, Webb kept his head when decisions had to be made quickly, showed good judgment in his handling of the 71st, and stood with his men in the thickest of the fight. Tactical proficiency and courage were attributes that earned fighting men's confidence. The first helped preserve their lives, the second demonstrated that their commander was willing to take the same risks as his men.[60]

As night fell over the field of battle Webb, Hall, and Cushing attended to the details to be handled after a fight and to prepare their commands for renewed fighting on July 3. Ammunition needed to be replenished. Had the commissary wagons come up yet? The men needed food to restore their energy. But were any rations available? This had to be investigated. Details to refill the regiments' and batteries' canteens needed to be made. In Cushing's battery, the horses had to be taken care of as well. The fierceness of the Confederate attack convinced Hall and Webb that the slight works their men had for protection were not substantial enough. Hall put his men to work strengthening the brigade line "as much as possible with rails, stones, and earth thrown up with sticks and boards, no tools being obtainable." Webb also directed the 69th to improve its defenses, but he evidently did not inspect the work, for the evidence indicates that the regiment did nothing substantial to improve its cover, although men of the regiment did collect several hundred fallen muskets in their front to bolster their firepower.[61]

There were casualties to be attended to, both friendly and enemy. The 69th had absorbed the majority of Webb's loss. But the skirmish companies of the 106th and 72nd had also taken a number of casualties. Lieutenant Canby's wound deprived Cushing of one of his section commanders and left him with only one other officer beside himself. Sergeant Frederick Fuger already commanded one of his sections, and Cushing apparently lacked the confidence that any of his other non-commissioned officers were capable of commanding a section, for he reorganized his battery into two sections of three guns each with Fuger commanding one and Lieutenant Milne the other. Hall reckoned his casualties at around 150 killed or wounded, including the detached 19th Massachusetts and 42nd New York. He may have exaggerated his losses. The 7th Michigan reported 9 killed and 10 wounded. The 59th New York lost 3 killed and 14 wounded, and the 20th Massachusetts suffered 11 or 12 casualties from artillery fire. The 19th Massachusetts did not report its losses, but the 42nd's numbered 3 killed and 12 wounded, and the 19th's were probably similar. At most, Hall lost 100 men, but this included two of his five regimental commanders. The 20th Massachusetts was in good hands under Macy's leadership, but what confidence the men of the 59th New York had in Captain McFadden is unknown.[62]

Both Hall and Webb used the cover of night to adjust their dispositions. Hall strengthened his front by moving the 20th Massachusetts into line on the 7th Michigan's left. The New Englanders scrounged a single shovel from somewhere and with it threw up a rifle pit one foot deep and one foot high. On Hall's right, Brown's Battery B, 1st Rhode Island, now under the command of Lieutenant William S. Perrin, returned and took position on the crest of the ridge. Because of the loss of horses on July 2, Perrin could field only four Napoleons. The four three-inch rifles of Captain James Rorty's Battery B, 1st New York were positioned in rear of the 20th Massachusetts. Gibbon placed Harrow's 2nd Brigade into line on Hall's left, enabling him to keep Hall's 19th Massachusetts and 42nd New York as a reserve and support for Rorty. With one-half of his brigade detached, Webb's dispositions were simple. The 69th remained in the front line, and the 72nd formed behind Cemetery Ridge, where it could provide support to either Cushing or Brown. During the night the two companies of the 106th, under Captain Lynch, who had been on the skirmish line but had gone to the rear to re-supply with ammunition, returned and discovered their regiment gone. Lynch reported to Webb and asked if he should join his regiment on Cemetery Hill. Webb said no, and ordered Lynch to attach his companies to the 72nd in the reserve line. Wright's fierce attack of that evening left no doubt in Webb's mind that if the Rebels attacked again on July 3, he would need every rifle he could muster.[63]

Around midnight Webb was surprised by the return of the 71st Pennsylvania. From Cemetery Hill it was sent to Culp's Hill. There it was hastily thrown into action on the far Union right. It was dark and bewildering. The whereabouts of friendly and enemy troops were not clear. When the regiment took fire on its flank and rear and lost 14 men captured, Colonel Smith decided to take his command where he at least knew where the front line was. Without orders he marched his regiment back to Cemetery Ridge and reported to Webb. Here was a dilemma for Webb. Should he order Smith back to Culp's Hill or keep him? There were only three regiments in the

reserve line for the entire division, and no reserve, save the 72nd, to fill the space between the 69th and the Angle, the weakest point on the entire 2nd Corps front, if it were necessary. Webb consulted with Gibbon and possibly Hancock. They decided to keep the 71st. Webb ordered Smith to form in rear of Cushing, just behind the crest of the ridge, but he did not intend to let Smith's behavior to go unpunished. He alerted Captain Banes that after the battle he intended to court-martial the colonel.[64]

With the return of the 71st, Hall and Webb had approximately 800 officers and men in four regiments on the front line, supported by ten three-inch rifles and four Napoleons in three batteries. There were about 710 men in three regiments in the support line. They were defending the most vulnerable point on the 2nd Corps front.[65]

When all arrangements were completed, Hall, Webb, and Cushing probably wrapped themselves in their blankets and sought two or three hours of sleep. Hall, wracked with illness, needed it the most, but the excitement and fear that pumped adrenaline through their bodies during the battle had subsided, and all must have been exhausted.

The first streaks of light on July 3 were celebrated with the crack of rifle fire on the skirmish line. Even at that early hour, the air was close and humid, and it promised to be another hot, unpleasant day. Sharp firing, punctuated by the heavy booming of artillery, sounded from the direction of Culp's Hill. If Hall, Webb, and Cushing were not awake before the first skirmisher's rifle sounded, they were after it. Perhaps their first thought as they rose from their blankets to face another day of battle mirrored that of Gibbon's aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Frank Haskell. "Oh, for a moment the thought of it was sickening to every sense and feeling!" he wrote. But duty and responsibility beckoned, and Hall, Webb, and Cushing were not men to shirk. They did not rush about and wake their men at that early hour, even though the firing around the Bliss farm intensified. The skirmishing was an affair of outposts, not the herald of a general attack. Their veterans were accustomed to shooting and slept through the firing, even though now and then a spent bullet dropped into their midst. Eventually, the skirmish subsided and quiet returned to the area between Cemetery and Seminary ridges.[66]

As the light increased, the clouds covering the sky began to break up revealing the sun. The soldiers all along the 2nd Corps line were awake now, rolling up blankets, boiling coffee, joking, chatting, and gazing out toward the enemy lines. "No enemy, not even his outposts, could be discovered, along all the position where he so thronged upon the 3rd Corps yesterday," wrote Lieutenant Haskell. Several 2nd Corps officers, possibly including Hall and Webb, gathered to discuss and debate the enemy's intentions. Haskell recalled that some thought the enemy had enough on July 2 and would retreat for the Potomac. Others, with what the lieutenant thought "better, and controling [sic] judgment," thought the Rebels would "make another grand effort to pierce or turn our lines. Hancock thought the enemy would test the center. Meade stopped by around 9 A.M., inspecting his lines. He did not agree with Hancock. The approaches were swept by artillery and the center "was not the favorite point of attack with the Rebel." But if he were wrong, Meade was unconcerned for he could quickly reinforce the center.[67]

The morning wore on. Fighting continued to rage on Culp's Hill, and the skirmishing between the ridges, particularly around the Bliss farm, heated up. Sharpshooters targeted anyone who exposed himself along the 2nd Corps front. Around 8 A.M., Confederate batteries on Seminary Ridge opened fire on Cushing's battery. At that moment Cushing was standing behind the limber to the number three gun in Milne's section, conferring with army chief of artillery, Brigadier General Henry Hunt, on the location of the reserve ammunition train. Webb, whose command post was just in rear of the clump of trees, came over and joined the group. One of the Confederate shells struck the limber for Cushing's number one gun and exploded, detonating the ammunition within. The explosion was so violent it blew up the limber boxes to the number two and three guns as well. The concussion of the blast shook the earth and knocked men to the ground. Luckily the force of the explosion traveled vertically rather than horizontally, so no man or horse was killed or wounded, although Sergeant Fuger observed that some of the wheel horses

"had their tails singed." Pandemonium reigned for a few moments within the battery. Horses panicked. Those on the limber for gun number one stampeded over the stone wall near the Angle and galloped to the Confederate lines. The explosion ended the meeting with Hunt. The horses were settled down and Cushing ordered the caissons for the number one, two, and three guns to come forward and replace the exploded ammunition chests on the limbers.[68]

Throughout the morning Confederate batteries lobbed shells at Cushing's position as well as the other batteries of the 2nd Corps. Sometimes they drew a response. Woodruff's battery in Zeigler's Grove counted eight separate engagements during the morning. A member of Battery A thought it took part in a dozen brief duels, but it probably was not so many. During these intermittent artillery exchanges Cushing stood between his number three and four guns with his field glasses, observing where his shells exploded and speaking words of encouragement to his men or instructions to his section and gun commanders. At one point Cushing spotted several mounted Confederate officers riding in front of the woods on Seminary Ridge. He ordered the number four gun loaded with spherical case (shrapnel) and indicated their target. The first shell went over the group and exploded in the woods. Cushing ordered adjustments in the range. The second shell burst over the group causing the riders to scatter for cover. A cheer erupted from Battery A. Captain John Hazard observed the entire incident and was not amused. Battery commanders were not to be wasting ammunition on such targets, and he rode over to Cushing and scolded the lieutenant, "Young man, are you aware that every round you fire costs the government two dollars and sixty-seven cents?" Battery A's target practice, and fun, ended.[69]

One of the morning's artillery duels cost the 20th Massachusetts one of its most beloved officers. A shell fired from one of Rorty's guns burst at the muzzle, sending a large fragment through the body of Lieutenant Henry Ropes, killing him instantly. Leaders understand that in battle men will die. But for the good leaders, that acknowledgement does not translate into callousness about men who die under their command. Good leaders know the men they lead, and they care about them. To Hall, Ropes' death was a tragedy, for he believed that "of everybody in the army," Henry Ropes "was the only one fighting simply from patriotism."[70]

By 10 A.M. the fighting at Culp's Hill had subsided. The heavy skirmishing around the Bliss farm subsided as well when troops from the 3rd Division, 2nd Corps, under orders, set fire to Bliss's house and barn to deny them to Confederate sharpshooters. By 11 A.M. an uneasy peace settled over the contested ground between the two ridges, as if the scorching sun and still, humid air had sapped the soldiers' energy for battle. "The silence and sultriness of a July noon are supreme," wrote Lieutenant Haskell. One of Webb's infantrymen recalled that "the sun gave forth a heat almost stifling and not a breath of air came to cause the slightest quiver to the most delicate leaf or blade of grass."[71]

Sometime during the morning Webb ordered Lieutenant Edward B. Whitaker, of the 72nd, to post a detail of forty men across the rear of the brigade and permit no one but wounded to pass. Webb wanted Whitaker's men to shoot anyone else who attempted to flee.[72]

Around noon, with absolute quiet still prevailing over the field, Cushing ordered dinner to be prepared. His long-delayed commissary wagon with rations and cooking utensils had arrived, and he probably thought he had better get his men fed when opportunity offered. He and Milne had built a fire ring with stones behind the ridge, and they started a fire to boil coffee and cook rations. Some of Webb's infantry, who had received no rations for some 48 hours and were ravenously hungry, wandered over to see if they might bum some food off the artillerymen.[73]

At approximately 1 P.M., while Cushing's men were enjoying their meal and infantrymen dozed in the hot sun, a sharp report from a cannon on the Confederate front near the Peach Orchard echoed over the fields. Quick on the heels of this, another Confederate gun fired from the same area. Both shells struck near the 19th Massachusetts, the first, a solid shot, bounded over Cemetery Ridge "like an India rubber ball." The second shot struck Lieutenant Sherman S. Robinson, of the 19th, who had leaped to his feet when the first round landed. Robinson died instantly. "In an instant, before a word was spoken, as if that was the signal gun for general

work, loud, startling, booming, the report of gun after gun, in rapid succession, smote our ears, and their shells plunged down and exploded all around us," wrote Lieutenant Haskell.[74]

In Battery A, "every man jumped to his post at once." Christopher Smith, a gunner, wrote, "We knew that lively times were coming." Limber and caisson riders mounted. Gunners took position beside their guns. Cushing ordered his guns loaded. By this point the Confederate artillery was blazing away along nearly two miles of their front. "It was one grand raging clashing of sound," wrote a captain in the 19th Massachusetts, with the "bursting of shells so incessant that the ear could not distinguish the individual explosions." Another infantryman who hugged the earth not far from Cushing's position thought "it seemed as if all the Demons in Hell were let loose, and were Howling through the Air." From Sergeant Fred Fuger's perspective "it was the most terrific cannonade I ever witnessed … the earth shook beneath our very feet, and the hills and woods seemed to reel like a drunken man." There were between 140 and 150 Confederate artillery pieces shelling the Union line. If they were firing one round a minute, which in the early stages of the bombardment they may have been, then theoretically at least two shells were striking or exploding on the Union lines *every second*. The 2nd Corps batteries drew the majority of this fire. Destroying or silencing the 2nd Corps was critical for the Confederates in order to prevent them from damaging their infantry formations when they emerged from their shelter to attack after the bombardment ended. To stand with those batteries that hot afternoon, in the words of a member of Battery B, 1st Rhode Island, "was terrible beyond description."[75]

Absolute mayhem engulfed Alonzo Cushing. "Men and horses were being torn to piece on all sides. Every few seconds a shot or shell would strike right in among our guns," recalled Christopher Smith. Besides shot and shell that came hissing and screaming through the air -- the latter exploding with a deafening explosion sending jagged iron fragments and sometimes shrapnel balls hissing through the air -- fragments of rock from the stone wall in Battery A's front, knocked loose by the impact of Confederate shot and shells, came "flying through the air" as well. Wounded horses screamed and plunged in their traces. Dead ones dropped down and had to be cut out by the limber drivers. Men who were struck by shell fragments or solid shot were frightfully mangled. Arsenal H. Griffin was a teamster, or probably served a limber in the battery. One enemy shell came hurtling in and struck two horses. It passed clean through the first horse and exploded within the second. A fragment from the shell ripped into Griffin's abdomen. Christopher Smith saw him writhing in pain on the ground. His intestines were spilling out of the wound and Griffin begged his comrades to shoot him. When no one did, Griffin pulled his revolver and shot himself in the head to end his misery. The scene that unfolded around Cushing was not simply frightening, it was positively terrifying. Within this hell, when every human instinct cried out for self-preservation, Cushing had to motivate, lead, and direct his men to do their duty.[76]

For some minutes Cushing's and the other 2nd Corps batteries held their fire, to conserve ammunition, until the enemy fire, "becoming too terrible," they began to reply. Cushing took position between two of his guns to observe the accuracy of his guns' fire with his field glasses. The smoke at that point was not yet so dense that it obscured the enemy lines. Christopher Smith recalled Cushing "was as cool and calm as I ever saw him, talking to the boys between shots with the glass constantly to his eyes, watching the effect of our shots." No doubt Cushing was frightened. Gibbon wrote once that, "none but fools, I think, can deny that they are afraid in battle." But as the leader Cushing could not reveal fear to his men. Fear in battle is contagious, and if a leader discloses it to his men the effect can be disastrous. Cushing led by example. He also made it clear he would lead by force if necessary. About fifteen minutes into the bombardment a solid shot struck the number three gun and tore away a wheel. The gun commander, Sergeant Thomas Whitston, panicked. Whitston was a good soldier, but everyone has a breaking point, and perhaps this close brush with death was Whitston's. He started to run, and his crew followed. Cushing reacted swiftly. Drawing his revolver he shouted at Whitston, "Sergeant Whitston, come back to your post." Then he added so everyone who could hear him

over the din understood his intent, "The first man who leaves his post again I'll blow his brains out." Would Cushing have shot Sergeant Whitston? Perhaps, but we shall never know, for the threat of force and sharp words of command stopped the sergeant in his tracks and helped him regain his composure. He led his crew back to the caissons, retrieved the spare wheel, and soon had his gun firing again.[77]

Cushing's courage under fire drew the attention and admiration of all who observed him. Both Webb and Hall singled him out for praise in their after-action reports. Hall thought Cushing "challenged the admiration of all who saw him." To his brigade commander, Captain Hazard, Cushing "distinguished himself for his extreme gallantry and bravery, his courage and his ability."[78]

The bombardment continued. Thirty minutes, forty minutes, an hour, and still the guns thundered and roared. By this time a pall of smoke hung over everything. "We could see nothing on the other side of the valley," recalled gunner Smith, "all around was a great cloud of smoke." Targets were no longer visible, so the gun crews estimated the range and elevation and blazed away. At one point two enemy shells burst almost simultaneously over Cushing's limbers. The lid on one was open for a gunner to retrieve a shell. A red-hot fragment from one of the exploding shells found its mark within the limber box. It blew up, along with the neighboring limber box. Lieutenant Haskell observed the incident. "In both the boxes the ammunition blew up with an explosion that shook the ground, throwing fire, and splinters, and shells far into the air and all around, and destroying several men," he wrote. Haskell's deliberate use of the word "destroying" to describe the effect of the explosion on some of Cushing's men provides some idea of how frightfully they were mangled. More wheels were shot off other guns in the battery and repaired under fire. Casualties among the gun crews and limber horses steadily mounted. Among the wounded was Cushing. One fragment or shrapnel ball struck his right shoulder, tearing his shoulder strap so that it dangled from his jacket. A few moments after receiving this wound another shell exploded sending a fragment into his testicles or thigh. "A very severe and painful wound," recalled Sergeant Fuger, although another officer described it as a slight wound in the thigh. Cushing called Fuger over "and told me to stand by him so that I could impart his orders to his battery." Fuger suggested Cushing go to the rear. "No," Fuger remembered Cushing replied, "I stay right here and fight it out or die in the attempt."[79]

Hall's actions during the bombardment are unknown, but they were probably similar to Webb's. Gibbon found the latter behind the clump of trees near the left of Cushing's battery, "seated on the ground as coolly as though he had no interest in the scene." Lieutenant John Rogers, of the 71st Pennsylvania, observed Webb during the shelling standing "in the most conspicuous and exposed place, leaning on his sword and smoking a cigar, when all around him the air was pierced by screeching shot and shell." Rogers and others shouted to him to seek cover. Webb ignored them. "That was enough for us," said Rogers, "General Webb was no longer the dress parade soldier that we supposed him to be at first." Why did Webb expose himself? Cushing's exposure is more understandable. His duty as a battery commander required him to expose himself. Webb did not need to expose himself until his infantrymen were called to action. But Webb evidently understood that the bombardment his men were under was extraordinary and that they needed an example of leadership to encourage them and enable them to weather the storm with their morale intact. Webb also adhered to a simple principle of leadership, which he explained to his wife after the battle. "I ordered no man to go when I would not go myself," he wrote. The same might be said of the manner in which Hall and Cushing led. The danger of exposing oneself like Webb did during the bombardment was that one Confederate shell might smite him down and undo all the good his bravado had caused. But in Webb's case, it was a calculated risk that he felt had to be taken to earn his men's trust and confidence.[80]

Because the Union batteries were the principal target of the Confederate guns, and because many Confederate guns overshot the ridge as the bombardment continued and the Union position became obscured by smoke, Webb and Hall's infantry did not suffer heavy casualties. Hardest

hit in Hall's line was the 59th New York, which had a shell pass through their breastworks killing one and wounding six. The 20th Massachusetts lost four or five men. "Little or no damage" was done to the 7th Michigan, who reported that nearly every shell that came in their direction either ricocheted over them, or burst in the rear behind them. Webb thought he lost fifty men in his brigade to fire. Most were probably from the 71st and 72nd Pennsylvania. When Cushing's three limbers exploded, companies A and F of the 71st were lying near them and probably were among the men Haskell said were "destroyed" in the explosion.[81]

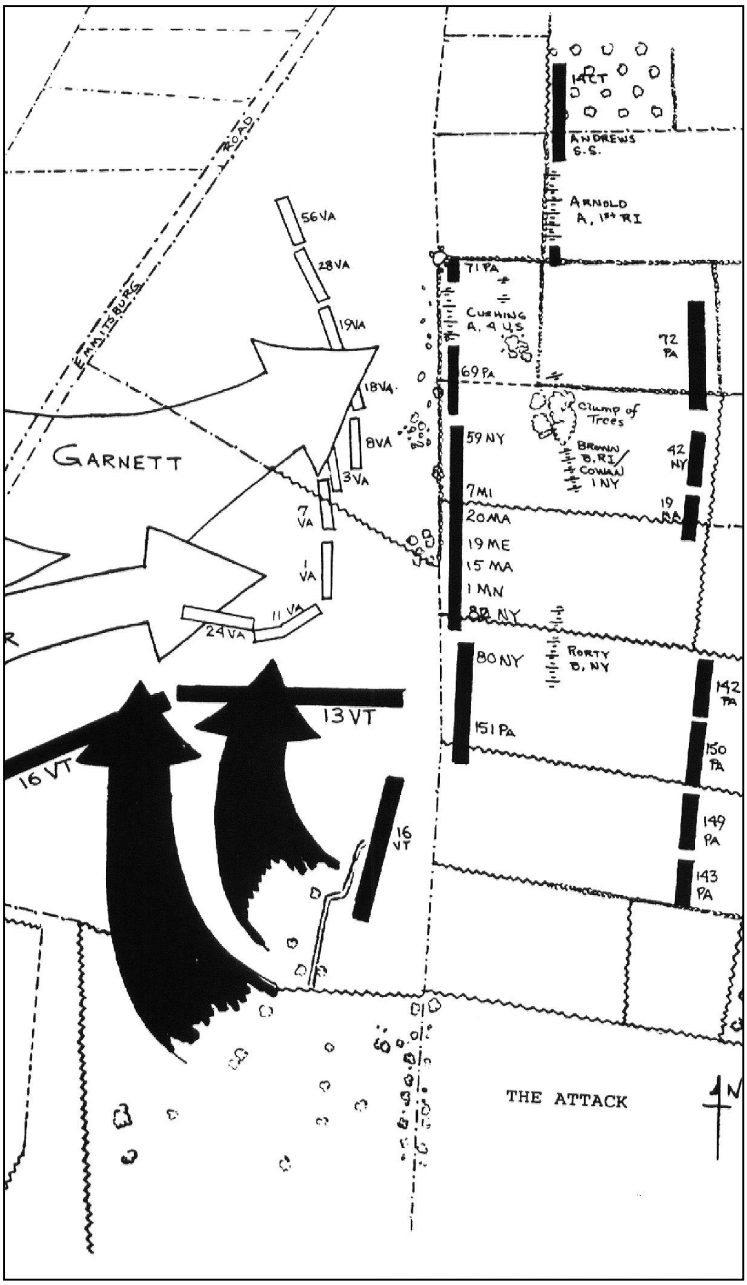
As the cannonade continued, heavy casualties in Battery A reduced its ability to keep all its guns in action. Cushing made his way over to Webb. Major Samuel Roberts, of the 72nd Pennsylvania, heard him say, "Webb, see pretty much of all my guns are disabled. If I had some men I could still work my guns." Webb went to Colonel Smith of the 71st and asked for volunteers to assist Cushing. Fifteen brave souls stepped forward to serve Battery A's guns.[82]

The damage both Brown's and Cushing's batteries were sustaining and the quantity of long-range ammunition they were expending concerned Webb. The concentration of enemy fire upon the area occupied by these batteries and his brigade convinced him "that an important assault was to be expected." At 2 P.M. he ordered his assistant adjutant-general, Captain Charles H. Banes, to find General Hunt and get authority to get two batteries to replace Brown's and Cushing's. Banes rode off calmly through the storm of shellfire. He found Hunt after some effort, and, as he later recalled, "a great deal of solicitation, I got the orders." Hunt's orders enabled Banes to take a battery from any point where it was not actually engaged. Leaving Hunt, Banes encountered Lieutenant William Wheeler, commanding the 13th New York Battery, from the 11th Corps, in reserve behind Cemetery Hill. Wheeler agreed to move his battery to the threatened sector at once. Banes rode back to report Wheeler's approach to Webb, and the general ordered him to ride down the line to the south and find another battery to replace Brown's, which had exhausted its long-range ammunition by that point and was crippled because of its heavy losses in men and horses.[83]

Banes galloped down the line and stopped at Captain Andrew Cowan's 1st New York Independent Battery of six three-inch rifles. Cowan's battery belonged to the 6th Corps Artillery Brigade, but it had been temporarily attached to support Doubleday's 3rd Division, 1st Corps. When Banes rode up, Cowan had just ceased fire under orders to conserve his ammunition for the infantry. He understood the need to husband ammunition, but could not fathom what they meant by infantry, for no enemy infantry were to be seen. Banes appeared out of the clearing smoke and ordered Cowan, "Report to General Webb on your right." Cowan hesitated. Webb was with the 2nd Corps, and "we were serving with the First Corps." He looked up in the direction of the clump of trees and could see a battery being withdrawn and an "officer standing near the clump of trees, waving his hat at me." The battery was Brown's, and Webb was the officer waving his hat. Cowan decided the situation must be urgent. "I at once determined to risk disobeying orders, as I must be needed there," wrote Cowan. "Limber to the right," he ordered. Minutes later his six guns were driving toward Webb's position at a gallop.[84]

By the time Cowan limbered to the right, the artillery firing had largely ceased. It was close to 3 P.M. Brown's Rhode Islanders were pulling out of the line and heading for the rear. Rorty's battery was down to one or two guns. Arnold's battery had exhausted its ammunition and was preparing to withdraw. The Confederate bombardment had two designs. One was to kill and disable men, animals, and cannon. It had done that to the 2nd Corps Artillery Brigade. The second objective of a bombardment is to demoralize the men about to be attacked. Cushing symbolized its failure in this regard. According to Webb, the lieutenant had only one gun still functioning when the shooting stopped, although some accounts state he had two guns, plus a third manned by men from the 71st. Twenty-six men were dead or wounded in his battery, as well as sixty-five horses. The scene that surrounded Cushing beggars description. It probably was not only appalling, but revolting as well. Colonel Smith, of the 71st, wrote after the battle, "the field was a grave. Such a sight you never saw." If ever a battery commander had reason to request

permission to go to the rear, Cushing did. But when Webb came over to him after the bombardment and said he thought the bombardment was the prelude to an infantry assault, and that he thought their position was going to be a hot place, Cushing did not hesitate. He responded that he would run his remaining guns by hand up to the stone wall in front and pile canister, his only remaining ammunition, beside the guns. He and his remaining men would fight it out with the infantry.[85]



The attack on Webb's and Hall's front.

With Cushing's battery largely destroyed Webb had a gap in his front that had to be plugged. He ordered Colonel Smith to move his 71st Pennsylvania forward to fill it. Smith noted at once that he could not fit his entire regiment into the space between the 69th and the Angle. He found room for his left wing, consisting of five companies with about 100 men. Some of the men of Lieutenant Colonel C. Kochersberger's wing pushed one of Cushing's guns forward to where today the monument to the 71st Pennsylvania stands. Sergeant Major William S. Stockton recalled they loaded the gun "up to the muzzle with all sorts of things," including a bayonet. Colonel Smith and the rest of the regiment took position behind the stone wall to the rear, running along the crest of Cemetery Ridge. These men he immediately put to work loading a pile of some 300 rifles and muskets his men had collected the night before to augment their firepower.[86]

As these changes were being made, long lines of Confederate infantry appeared out of the battle smoke advancing toward Cemetery Ridge. Lieutenant Haskell described their advance: "To say that none grew pale and held their breath at what we saw and they then saw, would not be true. Every eye could see his legions, an overwhelming, resistless tide of an ocean of armed men, sweeping upon us." Hall watched the enemy's approach with a touch of admiration. They "advanced from the woods in beautiful order," he reported. The Confederates' parade-ground discipline and order "called forth praise

from our troops, but gave their line an appearance of being fearfully irresistible." Captain Henry Abbott, with the 20th Massachusetts, writing three days after the fight, wrote confidently that as he watched the enemy's approach, "the moment I saw them I knew we should give them Fredericksburg. So did everybody." It is unlikely at that very moment, 3 P.M. on July 3, that everyone, including Captain Abbott, was so confident. For as Abbott, Hall, Webb, and everyone else on the line understood, the Confederate bombardment had not only shot up their artillery supports, their fire had prevented any reserves from being massed behind the center. For as Abbott admitted in the same letter, "no infantry in the world could have massed under that fire for half an hour." But while many along the infantry line may have wondered whether they could stop the wave of Confederates approaching, nearly all waited with a grim determination to do all they could "to give them Fredericksburg."[87]

Webb watched the Confederates approach from near the left and center of the 69th Pennsylvania. Anthony McDermott, on the far right flank of the regiment, recalled Webb gave the men "all the encouragement in his power," to meet the coming storm. Joe McKeever, in Company E, just to the left of the color company C, remembered Webb told them, "If you do as well today as you did yesterday, I will be satisfied." He also cautioned them not to fire until the Rebels began to cross the fences along the Emmitsburg road, an order that Colonel O'Kane, the 69th's commander modified. He wished his men to hold their fire until they "could distinguish the white of their (enemy's) eyes." Webb left the 69th and went to the 72nd, whom he cautioned, "not to fire or get up until he gave orders." They were his only reserve, and Webb understood the timing of their commitment might be the most important decision he would make.[88]

Cowan's battery came thundering up around this time. They were moving so fast that the leading gun shot past the clump of trees and stopped near Cushing's guns. The other five guns halted and unlimbered south of the clump, where Brown's guns had stood, in rear of the 59th New York's right and 69th Pennsylvania's left. As he rode up Cowan could see the Confederate lines advancing. As he crews swiftly unlimbered their pieces and readied them for action, Cowan barked out direction and time for the fuses. It was then he noticed the gun that had overshot the clump of trees. He rode over to find it and discovered the corporal in charge of the piece had unlimbered it and prepared for action, but Cowan noted it was too close to Cushing's guns to be used safely. Cushing came limping over and listened to Cowan's "hurried explanation" about his gun. "He made some pleasant reply," recalled Cowan, then turned and shouted the order, "By hand to the front," to move his two guns that he could still crew up to the infantry line.[89]

The Union artillery that still had long-range ammunition opened fire moments after the Confederate infantry appeared. These were principally the guns on Cemetery Hill, a group of batteries assembled by Lt. Colonel Freeman McGilvery on the southern end of Cemetery Ridge, and the batteries on Little Round Top. Cowan's five guns opened with shell and shrapnel immediately after they cleared for action. Cowan watched his shells and those from other batteries tear bloody gaps in the Southern line, but "they came on in splendid order … and keeping their regular formation until they had to cross the fences at the Emmitsburg Road."[90]

Hall was watching them too from near the 7th Michigan. South of the Codori farm he would have seen Kemper's brigade, of Pickett's division, pour over and through the gaps in the fences on the Emmitsburg road. Garnett's brigade approached the Codori farm and to its right, the men breaking ranks to pass through gaps in the fencing and negotiate the obstacles presented by the farm buildings. "There was a disposition in the men to reserve their fire for close quarters," Hall reported. But then he saw Armistead's brigade coming up in rear of Garnett, and noted as the Confederates poured over the Emmitsburg road and through and around the Codori farm buildings, they seemed to be massing their force to strike Webb. Actually, the Confederates of Pickett's division were guiding left to maintain a connection with Pettigrew's division on their left, and Kemper's brigade, coming under a severe fire from Stannard's Vermont brigade and part of Harrow's brigade, was crowding to the north. But Hall was correct in perceiving that the weight of the enemy assault would fall upon Webb's line. At a range of 200 yards he ordered the

7th Michigan to open fire. The fire of this regiment mowed Garnett's and Kemper's men "down by scores" and created much disorder, but it did not stop them.[91]

Cowan's guns continued to pour shell and shrapnel into the advancing mass, and Cushing's two guns were firing single charges of canister. Cushing's two guns were moved up directly behind Company I of the 69th. Although the infantry moved to clear a field of fire, one of the first rounds fired killed two enlisted men. Cushing stood at the wall with the infantry watching the effect of each blast of canister. Anthony McDermott, who was in Company I, could hear Cushing shouting back to the gunners, many of whom McDermott said were from the 71st, "to elevate or depress their pieces so many degrees." The last thing he heard Cushing shout was, "that's excellent, keep that range."[92]

In the Angle, the left wing of the 71st Pennsylvania opened fire as the Confederates came over the Emmitsburg road fences. Lieutenant Colonel Kochersberger's instructions from Colonel Smith were to have his men load and fire as rapidly as possible and "when they had been pushed too hard to have time to reload, to fall back substantially on a line with the right of the regiment." Webb knew nothing of these instructions.[93]

The rest of Hall's line and the 69th Pennsylvania held their fire until the Confederates were within fifty yards or less. Captain Abbott wrote that the fire of the 20th Massachusetts "bowled them over like nine pins, picking out the colors first. In two minutes there were only groups of two or three men running round wildly, like chickens with their heads off." The 69th also delivered a devastating fire. "The slaughter was terrible," wrote a member of Company K. But Anthony McDermott, in Company I, added that the Confederates "quickly rallied and opened their fire upon us." One of their bullets struck Lieutenant Joseph Milne, with Cushing, mortally wounding him. Another found its mark in Cushing. The bullet passed through his mouth, killing him instantly. Sergeant Fuger stood nearby and caught the lieutenant in his arms as he pitched forward. There was no chance to take Cushing's body back, and Fuger laid him down near one of the guns. In Company I McDermott heard one of his comrades say, "that artillery officer has his legs knocked from under him." "Thus ended the life of as cool and brave an officer as the army was possessed of," thought the corporal.[94]

There was no time to mourn Cushing's death. Fuger apparently had the two guns near the 69th blast the advancing Confederates with one or more rounds of canister. But, he wrote afterwards, "still the Confederates came on." On Fuger's right it was evident to Lieutenant Colonel Kochersberger that his companies could not hold their position at the Angle. A mass of Confederates from Garnett's and Armistead's brigades were surging up on his front, and Colonel Birkitt Fry's brigade of Pettigrew's division threatened his exposed right flank. Judging that this was the moment when his companies "had been pushed too hard" to reload, he ordered a retreat. When Kochersberger's companies started to fall back, Fuger and the survivors of Battery A cleared out as well. Fuger's claims that he and his men remained and fought hand to hand with handspikes and rammers are pure hyperbole. Only the infantry of the 69th remained on Webb's extreme front.[95]

On Webb's left Hall's first line was pouring fire into Garnett's and Kemper's men. The 20th Massachusetts stopped the Virginians on their front cold, but a rock outcropping in front of the 7th Michigan provided the Confederates cover from that regiment's terrible fire and enabled them to advance to within yards of the Michigan line. Lieutenant Colonel Steele ordered his regiment to fix bayonets. But just as it seemed the combat would become hand-to-hand the enemy seemed to disappear in the powder smoke. The performance of the 59th New York is something of an enigma. No one specifically condemned its performance that day, but there is circumstantial evidence suggesting that there was considerable confusion in its ranks. Part of the problem may have been friendly fire from Cowan's battery in its rear, but it also may have been a lack of confidence in the regiment's leadership, though the latter is purely speculation.[96]

When Pickett's division crossed the Emmitsburg road and started its final rush toward Cemetery Ridge, Cowan saw "a few hundred" of Pickett's men drop behind the rocky knoll

where Brown's battery had been on July 2. He ordered his five guns to fire canister at them, which certainly helped stem the onslaught on Hall's front, but at least one of Cowan's guns set its elevation screw too high and sent part of its canister load into the ranks of its own infantry at the stone wall. This fire killed at least four men on the left of the 69th, and possibly some in the 59th were hit as well. About the time the left wing of the 71st fell back from the wall at the Angle, Cowan wrote, "in a flash, our infantry behind the wall in front of my guns arose and rushed to the right through the trees, for some cause I could not see. Quite a number of them ran away through my guns." Some of these men may have been from the 69th, but many had to be from the 59th. Nearly all of their eighteen casualties reported that day were from artillery fire, raising suspicion that Captain McFadden's statement in his after-action report that "the behavior of both men and officers during the two battles [July 2 and July 3] was excellent," is not entirely true. The infantry's abandonment of the wall left Cowan's front uncovered. He ordered double canister as a group of Confederates rose from the rocky knoll and rushed toward his guns. Cowan heard a young officer leading the group shout, "Take the gun!" as they reached the wall in front of him. Cowan shouted fire and his five guns mowed the attackers down like a giant scythe. Without waiting to see if the enemy intended to try him again Cowan ordered his guns drawn back by hand behind Cemetery Ridge. Apparently unknown to Norman Hall and Alexander Webb, Cowan's three-inch rifles had held the seam between their brigades at a crucial moment in the fight.[97]

Webb was positively mortified when he saw Kochersberger's companies break from the Angle and begin to retreat. "When my men fell back from the wall I almost wished to get killed," he confided to his wife after the battle. Then, he added, "I was almost disgraced." These statements reveal part of Webb's success as a leader, as well as Cushing's and Hall's, for they all shared this attitude. All believed the failure of their men to do their duty in a crisis signaled their own personal failure and disgrace as a leader. Death was preferable to such dishonor. This did not mean that they would behave irrationally, charging into the enemy guns in the hope a bullet would end it all. They kept their heads in an emergency, but self-preservation in such a situation was not an option.[98]

When the 71st's companies left the Angle, a mass of Confederates surged forward to the vacant part of the wall and took cover. Webb saw that the enemy was in considerable confusion but that this might not last long. Before they recovered he intended to drive them out with his reserve. He ordered the 72nd up, intending to fire a volley into the Confederates then make a bayonet charge. The men rose to their feet and moved forward at somewhat of a right oblique. As they did so, Major Samuel Robert, near the left of the regiment, saw Webb grab a man running to the rear by the collar. He was a member of Cushing's battery. Webb shouted at him, "Where are you going." The soldier replied, "My God, General, I can do nothing here alone!" Webb pointed his sword at the man's chest and told him, "You stay here and I will get you help." In the ensuing confusion the man slipped away to the rear.[99]

While Webb accosted the artilleryman, the 72nd reached the crest of the ridge in sight of the Confederates at the Angle. The Southerners poured a volley into the Pennsylvanians' line. "I judged that not less than eighty of our men fell," Major Roberts testified. This brought the 72nd's advance to a halt and they stood and returned fire. Webb, who was still near the left of the 72nd, left the demoralized artilleryman and rushed through or around the regiment's left companies. Above the din of firing he gave the order "charge bayonets." At this moment, Major Roberts recalled there "was such a tremendous racket that you couldn't tell who was shooting." Lieutenant Henry Russell, in Company A, who stood within several feet of Webb, testified that his order "couldn't be heard, I don't suppose ten feet away." Initially, only Russell's company fixed bayonets. The 72nd continued to stand its ground firing at the Confederates behind the wall. Webb, furious that the regiment did not charge the enemy, ran to the color bearer, Sergeant William Finnecy, and ordered him "as forcibly as a man could" to advance the colors. In the heat of battle Finnecy may not have immediately recognized his brigade commander. He might also

have thought that a charge against the mass of enemy assembling in front of him was a forlorn hope. Whatever, he did not move. Webb grabbed the colors and tried to drag the sergeant forward. Finnecy pulled back, refusing to budge or relinquish his colors. Disgusted with what he thought was shameful behavior by the 72nd, Webb abandoned it and started at a run for the 69th, which was still fighting at the wall.[100]

An instant after Webb left Finnecy, thirteen bullets hit the sergeant and he toppled to the ground dead. As Webb made his way to the 69th, a group of some 100 or more Confederates rose and, led by a general officer, began to pour over the wall at the Angle. It was Lewis Armistead. He and his men were thirty-nine paces from Webb. Some of the officers with Armistead pointed Webb out to their men and ordered them to shoot him. They fired but, Webb wrote, "God preserved me," although one bullet inflicted a slight wound to his thigh, which he ignored.[101]

Armistead's surge over the wall threatened the exposed right flank of the 69th Pennsylvania. Webb saw the danger at once and ordered the three right companies to change front to the right. Companies I and A on the far right completed the perilous maneuver, but the commander of Company F was killed and his men remained at the wall. This created a gap between A and F companies which another group of Confederates quickly exploited, pouring into it and enveloping Company F. The company was wiped out, every man killed, wounded, or captured. Patrick Tinen, the captain of the next company in line, Company D, quickly pulled his men back from the wall and met the Confederates who had overrun Company F in a hand-to-hand struggle. Tinen's men suffered dreadful casualties but they deflected the enemy blow.[102]

The combat in the Angle had degenerated into a confused close-quarters action. Webb stood with companies A and I of the 69th. His only reserves committed, he could do nothing more to influence the outcome but try to animate and inspire the men around him. Before his eyes Armistead and most of the men who crossed the wall with him went down in a veritable hail of gunfire. Colonel Smith chose this as the moment to put to work the some 300 extra rifles and muskets his right wing had lying by their sides. "My extra guns kept one incipient volley pouring into them," he wrote. With the fire of the 72nd, Armistead's valiant rush was contained. But there were still plenty of Confederates behind the wall at the Angle firing, and some of those who had overrun Company F, of the 69th, and clashed with Company D, made their way into the clump of trees behind the 69th. The battle hung in a balance.[103]

Norman Hall knew Webb was in trouble. He saw the companies of the 71st fall back and moments later, Armistead and his men start pouring over the wall. Webb needed help to repair the break, but Hall's regiments on his front line had their hands full and could not safely be pulled out of line. His reserve line was already moving toward the break. Colonels' Arthur F. Devereux and James E. Mallon, standing together near the left of the reserve line, saw the breakthrough when Hall did. Devereux remarked to Mallon that he thought they should move toward the break at once. "There were occasions when you could not afford to wait for orders," he said later. At this instant Hancock came galloping up and Devereux pointed with his sword toward the break in the line and "asked permission to put my men in there." Hancock looked. "Go in there pretty God damned quick," he answered, then galloped off toward his left. Devereux gave the necessary orders and both regiments started moving rapidly at a right oblique toward the clump of trees. Hall met them and Mallon recalled with "words of encouragement, cheered us on.[104]"

Hall did not accompany the 19th Massachusetts and 42nd New York. They were under solid commanders and could be counted upon to do the right thing. Hall started for the left, looking for any troops he might find to send to Webb's aid. He found two regiments "that could be spared from some command there, and endeavored to move them by the right flank to the break." They were probably the 20th New York State Militia and 151st Pennsylvania, 1st Corps regiments which had suffered heavy losses on July 1 and were quite small. Hall got them to follow him, but some of Pickett's men opened a "warm fire" upon them causing both regiments to take cover in the works of Harrow's brigade, where they mingled with the regiments of the 1st Brigade.

Extricating them and reforming them under the circumstances proved impossible, and Hall gave it up. He had no choice but to "order my own brigade back from the line, and move it by the flank under a heavy fire."[105]

Getting his brigade to move to the threatened sector proved no easy matter. "The noise was such," wrote Captain Abbott, "that it was impossible to make any order heard." There was also the danger that the men would instinctively think they were to fall back to a new line that was not outflanked. Somehow, Hall made it known to Colonel Steele and Lieutenant Colonel Macy what he wanted: face their men to the right and file right, "in other words, changing front to the right." Essentially, Hall wanted them to change front to the right and attack the flank of the Rebels in the Angle. Both officers shouted or signaled instructions to their regiments resulting in immediate confusion. In the 7th Michigan, no one understood the orders except for those close to Steele. When the men began to leave their works, the officers, thinking they were retreating "made all efforts to rally them," and pushed them back to the works. Those officers and men who heard Steele, rushed with him toward the clump of trees. A Confederate put a bullet through Steele's brain and he fell dead, but the rest of his small band pressed on.[106]

In the 20th Massachusetts, the men left the works "in perfect order," thinking they were simply forming a new line to avoid being flanked. Macy and Abbott understood that "an example could be seen, though words could not be heard," and they and all the regiment's officers rushed toward the clump of trees. The men followed. Someone managed to get several of Harrow's regiments moving toward the breakthrough, as well as the 20th New York State Militia and 151st Pennsylvania. Webb never forgot what Hall did that day. In his after-action report he graciously wrote "the enemy would probably have succeeded in piercing our lines had not Colonel Hall advanced with several of his regiments to my support." The fight was not over, but Hall's efforts to react aggressively to the break in the line were a significant contribution in turning the tide against the Confederates.[107]

The initial counterattack by the 19th Massachusetts and 42nd New York drove Pickett's men out of the clump of trees. But the Southerners joined their comrades who held the stone wall south of the Angle, and fought on with a grim determination. The scene in the area of the Angle and clump of trees defied description at this point. "Many things cannot be described by pen or pencil, such a fight is one," wrote Lieutenant Haskall; "some hints and incidents may be given but a description, a picture, never." From Captain Abbott's perspective, "the contest round this important spot was very confused, every man fighting on his own hook, different regiments mixed together." The 71st and 72nd Pennsylvania, along with the two companies of the 106th, stood along the crest of Cemetery Ridge blazing away. The 19th Massachusetts and 42nd New York were jumbled up in the clump of trees, their right near the 106th. Out in front, near another smaller clump of trees that no longer exists, stood Webb and I and A companies of the 69th. The rest of the 69th had gathered in a mob near the western edge of the clump, having pulled back from the wall to prevent being flanked. To the 69th's left another mob of men was collecting, including Hall and men from his brigade as well as Harrow's. Beyond the wall, the 20th New York State Militia and 151st Pennsylvania, as well as the big 13th Vermont were moving against the flank of the Confederates behind the wall.[108]

The distance between the combatants varied, but at some points was quite close. Henry Abbott measured it afterwards and found it to be fifteen to twenty paces where he was engaged; "as near hand to hand fighting as I ever care to see." Hall thought this close quarter's firefight lasted ten minutes. The Confederate artillery added to the general mayhem by sending shells into the combat zone in a desperate effort to break up the Union counterattack, killing and wounding friend and foe alike. Hall and others sensed that a general rush upon the enemy might end it. The colonel moved about the swaying, jostling crowd of soldiers, finding officers and instructing them that he wanted a general advance. How instrumental Hall might have been in the rush that soon occurred is impossible to assess. There seems to have been an intuitive sense among the Union fighting men that enemy resistance was waning, and this coupled with various acts of

gallantry by individuals as well as efforts by Hall, Webb, Haskall, and other officers, generated the momentum that caused a general advance by nearly all the troops that had assembled to seal off the break in Webb's line. No one described those final moments better than Lieutenant Haskall. "The line springs, - the crest of the solid ground, with a great roar, heaves forward its maddened load, men, arms, smoke, fire, a fighting mass; it rolls to the wall; flash meets flash; blows, shots, and undistinguishable conflict, followed by a shout, universal, that makes the welkin ring again; and – the last and bloodiest fight of the great battle of Gettysburg is ended and won."[109]

In the aftermath of the fight Webb, Hall, Mallon, Devereux, and perhaps some others gathered in rear of the clump of trees to discuss what they had just experienced. "It had been a little rough," recalled Devereux. Webb, the heat of battle still upon him, was still angry about what he thought was the poor performance of the 72nd. He told the group that his report would produce a "severe scolding" of the regiment. Hall, the self-professed fast talker, probably said little. The battle had called upon the last energy reserves his diseased body could give. He was utterly spent. "He suffered very much during the campaign," wrote Captain Abbott, "but bore up through every thing, battle & all, with as much self control as I have ever witnessed." Now, with the enemy's grand assault repulsed, Abbott observed, "he was so much exhausted that he couldn't stand up." How Hall mustered the energy and strength to do what he did at Gettysburg is a story of courage and fortitude, and the ultimate statement on his dedication as a leader.[110]

Cushing lay dead beside his gun not far from where these officers stood. Some men from his battery retrieved his body and carried it to the rear with the other dead of the battery. The next morning Corporal Thomas Moon and Cushing' black servant, Henry, removed the lieutenant's fatigue blouse and put on his dress coat. Moon cut the shoulder straps off his fatigue blouse and gave them to Cushing's brother Howard that winter. Henry took the fatigue blouse.[111]

In the after-action reports of the battle Cushing, Hall, and Webb all received full credit for their performance. Praise for Cushing's, in particular, appeared in many officers' reports. Hall, who was particularly fastidious in giving proper credit to those deserving in his reports, wrote that Cushing "challenged the admiration of all who saw him." Lt. Colonel Charles H. Morgan, 2nd Corps chief of staff, called Cushing "one of the most promising officers of the army." Gibbon singled out Webb and Hall in his report. He wrote: "I desire to call attention to the great gallantry and conspicuous qualities displayed by Brigadier General Webb and Colonel Hall. Their services were invaluable, and it is safe to say that, without their presence, the enemy would have succeeded in gaining a foothold at that point." No officer could ask for higher praise.[112]

Cushing had told his brothers earlier in the war that if he were killed he wished to be buried at West Point. His brother Milton, in Washington at the time of the battle, was the first to hear the news and he hurried immediately to Gettysburg where he retrieved his brother's body. He procured a wooden casket for Alonzo's body and accompanied it on a train to the military academy where he fulfilled his brother's request.[113]

Gettysburg was also Norman Hall's last battle. By July 16 he could no longer stand service in the field and submitted a request for medical leave. "I have been totally unfit for service for several weeks and have only endured the intense suffering caused by my duties in the field, in view of the exigencies of the service, and I believe it is impossible to recover my health while in the field," he wrote. His request was approved and Hall departed his brigade, never to return. The men were sorry to see him go. Captain Abbott wrote his father that Hall "has been to us, the kindest superior, as well as the greatest and ablest we have ever had." Despite medical treatment and rest, Hall did not recover. The army gave him desk duty in Boston and New York. He at least enjoyed some time with his wife Louisa, whom he loved very much. They had two children, both boys. But he lost the battle with typhoid, and on May 26, 1867 he died in Brooklyn, New York.[114]

Webb continued to serve with the 2nd Corps after Gettysburg. He never court-martialed Colonel Smith. The colonel's actions on July 3 erased the memory of his disobedience of orders on July 2. Webb also softened his opinion of the 72nd, and instead of a "severe scolding" his after-action report stated the men fought "steadily and persistently," which was true. He led a brigade in Gibbon's division, consisting of regiments from Hall's old 3rd Brigade and Harrow's 1st Brigade, consolidated during the army's reorganization in the spring of 1864. At Spotsylvania Court House he went down with a severe wound that kept him out of action until January 1865, when he returned as chief of staff of the Army of the Potomac, which position he held to the end of the war. He held mainly staff positions in the post-war army, including a stint teaching history, ethics, and international law at West Point. In 1869 he was elected president of the College of the City of New York, a position he held until 1902. He died in 1911.[115]

In the years after the war, as the memory of Gettysburg took shape, Cushing and Webb both took a prominent place; Cushing, because his gallant death was never forgotten by those who witnessed it, and Webb, probably because he was still alive when the veterans returned to commemorate the battle. The veterans of the 71st Pennsylvania placed a small granite marker in memory of Cushing on July 3, 1887, near where his battery stood on July 2 and 3. Webb received the most conspicuous honors. In 1891 he was awarded the Medal of Honor for gallantry at Gettysburg. On October 12, 1915 a beautiful bronze standing statue of Webb was dedicated along Hancock Avenue, near the very point he led the 72nd Pennsylvania against the Confederate breakthrough. Hall faded into the shadows of history, however, remembered largely only by those who were there those two terrible days in July. But history is not always fair or generous to those deserving. Hall's monument is the battlefield itself. So long as it is preserved, so too will the memory of what he did there.

Cushing, Hall, and Webb were not the only exceptional leaders among the 2nd Corps on Cemetery Ridge. There were others in that corps and other corps of the army, and in the Army of Northern Virginia. But the qualities that made these three men successful can be found in nearly every other outstanding leader in that war. Indeed, they are the qualities that command respect in all walks of life, whether military or civilian, in the nineteenth century or twenty-first. All three men treated their soldiers fairly and honestly. Each knew his business well and each earned his men's trust as a result. Soldiers under their command knew that their lives would not be risked unnecessarily. They set high standards, both for themselves and their men. Finally, they asked no man to do or go where they would not go themselves.

Notes

[1] William K. Winkler, ed., *Letters of Frederick C. Winkler 1862-1865* (Privately printed, 1963), 52.
[2] David Detzer, *Allegiance: Fort Sumter, Charleston, and the Beginning of the Civil War* (Harcourt, 2001), 43; Morris Schaaf, *The Spirit of Old West Point* (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1912), 69-70.
[3] Detzer, *Allegiance*, 43. In an inspection report on the state of the U.S. troops in Charleston Harbor written on November 11, 1860, Fitz-John Porter listed Hall as acting assistant quartermaster, acting assistant commissary of subsistence, and post adjutant. The "acting assistant" title often causes confusion with modern readers. In the U.S. Army of that era, for instance, there would be one regimental quartermaster for the 1st Artillery, and all other quartermasters on duty with the 1st Regiment were considered "acting assistants" in the regimental quartermaster's name.
[4] Ibid., 32-33, 38-43.
[5] Abner Doubleday, *Reminiscences of Forts Sumter and Moultrie in 1860-1861* (Nautical & Aviation Publishing Co., 1998), 23; Norman J. Hall to his wife, Dec. 24, 1862, typescript copy at Fredericksburg –

Spotsylvania National Military Park (FSNMP); John C. Gray to John C. Ropes, Jan. 7, 1865, in *War Letters, 1862-1865* (Houghton-Mifflin, 1927), 439.
[6] There is an excellent description of Anderson and his service record in Detzer, *Allegiance*, 16-22; Samuel W. Crawford, *The Genesis of the Civil War* (Charles L. Webster Co., 1887), 457.
[7] W. A. Swanberg, *First Blood: The Story of Fort Sumter* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957), 315-318; U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901) [hereafter cited as *OR*], 1:23.
[8] Detzer, *Allegiance*, 308-309.
[9] Hall's service record is taken from George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy* (New York, 1879), 2:488-489, although at least one part of Hall's record appears to be in error. There is no evidence that he was the chief of artillery of Hooker's division from December 1860 to April 1861. For most of that time Colonel Charles Wainwright, a volunteer officer, was the chief. See also Allan Nevins, ed., *A Diary of Battle: The Personal Journals of Col. Charles S. Wainwright* (Stan Clark Military Books, 1962), 6, 11-13.
[10] Norman J. Hall, "Notes on Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville," typescript, FSNMP.
[11] *OR,* Series 1, 19(1):320, 321-322, 193; Hall, "Notes."
[12] *OR* 21(1):170, 183, 282; Hall, "Notes." It should also be noted that the 89th New York made a similar effort at the pontoon bridge below the one where Hall's brigade was located.
[13] *OR* 21(1):282; Hall, "Notes."
[14] *OR* 21(1):170, 282; Hall, "Notes." Hall did not cross in the first wave. He wrote, "I crossed over at head of remainder of my command," so he may have crossed with the balance of the 7th Michigan or with the 19th Massachusetts, which followed the 7th. See also Ed Malles, *Bridge Building in Wartime: Colonel Wesley Brainerd's Memoir of the 50th New York Volunteer Engineers* (University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 116-117. Brainerd relates a story told him by Lieutenant Robbins that during the crossing of the Rappahannock, the "officer in command of the infantry" raised up his head (all the infantry were lying on the floor of the boat for cover) and asked Robbins to return to the north bank, for bullets were striking the boat and passing through the boat. Robbins refused, but the officer ordered the lieutenant to return, threatening "to use violence if he did not." Robbins drew his revolver and pointed it at the officer and "told him to lay there quietly or he would use it." Since Brainerd stated that this was the officer commanding the infantry, it would be presumed Robbins was referring to Colonel Baxter. But it is more likely that Robbins had his altercation with Major Thomas Hunt, the second in command of the 7th Michigan, and an officer who did not particularly distinguish himself that day.
[15] *OR* 21(1):284; Hall, "Notes."
[16] Hall, "Notes;" *OR* 21(1):283; Richard F. Miller and Robert F. Mooney, "The 20th Massachusetts Infantry and the Street Fight for Fredericksburg," *Civil War Regiments*, 4 (4):114.
[17] *OR* 21(1):283-284; Hall, "Notes."
[18] Ibid.
[19] Hall, "Notes;" Hall to Louisa, December 18 and December 20, 1862, Norman J. Hall Letters, copies at FSNMP; Norman J. Hall Military Service Record, RG 94, National Archives.
[20] Sumner Paine to his father, May 20, 1863, Sumner Paine Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Robert G. Scott, ed., *Fallen Leaves: The Civil War Letters of Major Henry Livermore Abbott* (Kent State Univ. Press, 1991), 169. On December 10, General Howard wrote a recommendation for Hall's promotion to brigadier general. Although he commented on his desire to be a general in letters to his wife, and had his father-in-law pressing his case for promotion, on December 25 he wrote her that he did not see any prospects of it happening. See Hall Letters, Howard to R. W. Latham, Dec. 10, 1862; Hall to Louisa, Dec. 7, Dec. 19, and Dec. 25, 1862
[21] Scott, *Fallen Leaves*, 174; *OR* 25(1):358-359.
[22] Hall, "Notes;" *OR* 25(1):359; Scott, *Fallen Leaves*, 176.
[23] There are several documents dating from the spring of 1863 in the 3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 2nd Corps Register of Letters Received Book, Record Group 93, pt. 2, National Archives, that contain reference to unsoldierly appearance of the 7th Michigan. For Hunt's failure to exert leadership at Fredericksburg, see Miller and Mooney, "The 20th Massachusetts at Fredericksburg," *Civil War Regiments*, 4(4):118.
[24] Colonel William Northridge court-martial file, MM#363, National Archives. The author wishes to thank Don Ernsberger for sharing this information about Northridge's court-martial. Also see, Hall to Major

Purdy, June 23, 1863, in Register of Letters Received, 3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 2nd Corps, RG 393 pt. 2, E3923.
[25] Hall, "Notes."
[26] Lewis R. Stegman, *Webb and His Brigade at the Angle* (J. B. Lyon Co., 1916), 94; Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 2:26-27. James Webb was a remarkable man in his own right. In 1861 he was appointed U.S. Minister to Brazil, a post he filled for eight years.
[27] Nevins, *A Diary of Battle*, 167.
[28] Stegman, *Webb and His Brigade at the Angle*, 95.
[29] For details on Webb's military career see Cullum, *Biographical Register*, 2:401-402; Nevins, *A Diary of Battle*, 333, 333n; *OR* 25(1):509.
[30] Nevins, *A Diary of Battle*, 219. An example of such a depiction of Webb is Gary G. Lash, *The History of Edward Baker's California Regiment: The 71st Pennsylvania Infantry* (Butternut and Blue, 2001), 327.
[31] For the brigade's reputation for straggling, see Webb to his wife, August 1, 1863, Alexander S. Webb Papers, Yale University. The commander of this brigade had been Brig. Gen. Paddy Owen, who was popular with the men, possibly because he was not a particularly strict disciplinarian. Owen was ordered under arrest by his division commander, General Gibbon, apparently for permitting civilians to pass through his lines after receiving direct orders from Gibbon not to do so.
[32] Jos. R. C. Ward, *History of the One Hundred and Sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers* (Grant, Faires & Rodgers, 1883), 149-150.
[33] Ibid., 151.
[34] Stegman, *Webb and His Brigade at the Angle*, 88-89.
[35] Ibid., 89; Charles H. Banes, *History of the Philadelphia Brigade* (Butternut Press, 1984), 179. Webb did have a deserter shot on August 21. He wrote to his wife "until the balls passed into this man's body many believed he would not be shot." He also related that he had eight or ten more men he intended to have shot, "and then wherever I am desertion will be at an end." Webb did not have all these men shot, but he did reduce desertion and straggling in his brigade. His attitude toward desertion and the harsh measures he advocated to stop it were typical of regular officers. See Webb to his wife, August 22, 1863, Webb Papers, Yale University Library.
[36] Ward, *History of the 106th Pennsylvania*, 157.
[37] Quoted in Kent Masterson Brown, *Cushing of Gettysburg: The Story of a Union Artillery Commander* (University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 21.
[38] Ibid., 29.
[39] Ibid., 21.
[40] Alonzo Cushing to his mother, May 28, 1861, quoted in Brown, *Cushing of Gettysburg*, 51.
[41] Alonzo Cushing to his mother, April 17, 1861, May 28, 1861, quoted in Brown, *Cushing of Gettysburg,* 49, 51.
[42] Alonzo Cushing to his mother, July 23, 1861, quoted in Brown, *Cushing of Gettysburg*, 65.
[43] Dumas Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), 214-215; George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story* (Charles L. Webster Co., 1887), 138; Joe Johnston to George B. McClellan, April 13, October 25, 1856, quoted in Stephen W. Sears, *George B. McClellan The Young Napoleon* (Ticknor and Fields, 1988), 50.
[44] Cushing to his mother, June 5, 1862, quoted in Brown, *Cushing of Gettysburg*, 87.
[45] Brown, *Cushing of Gettysburg*, 132.
[46] Ibid., 133.
[47] Frederick Fuger, "Cushing's Battery at Gettysburg," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, 41: 409; Also see Christopher Smith, "Bloody Angle," *Buffalo Evening News*, May 29, 1894, and Reminiscences of Thomas Moon, Vertical File V6-US4-Art-A, Gettysburg National Military Park Library (GNMPL).
[48] John Busey and David Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg* (Longstreet House, 1986), 40, 41, 45. For instance, Webb's engaged strength, as determined by Busey, was 1,224. Hall's was 922. Joseph R. C. Ward, *History of the One Hundred and Sixth Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), 157.
[49] *OR,* 27(1):478.
[50] Fuger, "Cushing's Battery at Gettysburg," 406. Fuger delighted in exaggeration and highlighting his role in the battle, and his account must be used with caution. For instance, in describing this opening action of Cushing's at Gettysburg, he states that they set the barn on fire, which did not happen.

[51] *OR,* 27(1):427, 435. The reports cause some confusion over where Brown's battery was located. It seems that before Webb and Hall deployed regiments to the forward slope of Cemetery Ridge that Brown was on Hall's left and front. When they deployed, Hall's regiments took position to Brown's left and front, which placed the Rhode Islanders guns on Webb's left.
[52] *OR,* 19(1): 427, 436, 447, 449. Major Curtis stated that the barricade his men constructed was "partially screened from observation by bushes." I have interpreted this to mean his men cut the bushes and used them to conceal his position, but he also may have meant that the existing bushes concealed his position.
[53] Lewis R. Stegman, *In Memorium Alexander Stewart Webb* (Albany, 1916), 82. It is likely that this incident took place before Gibbon's division deployed to the forward slope of Cemetery Ridge.
[54] *OR,* 27(1):416.
[55] Ibid., 417, 436.
[56] Ibid., 434, 445; John H. Rhodes, *The History of Battery B, First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery* (Providence, 1894), 202-203.
[57] *OR,* 27(1):351-352, 417, 427, 436, 447, 452.
[58] Ibid., 427; Ward, *History of the 106th Pennsylvania*, 160-161; Brown, *Cushing of Gettysburg,* 219; Fuger, "Cushing's Battery at Gettysburg," 406-407. Reconstructing this action is frustrating, as references to positions by the units and commanders involved are vague and often conflicting.
[59] *OR,* 27(1): 427; Stegman, *Alexander Stewart Webb*, 82. According to Joseph Ward, of the 106th, his regiment advanced past the left of his brigade in its counterattack, which means it either advanced beyond the main line through the gateway in the fence line, or attacked past Hall's left flank. The latter seems more likely, as the 106th advanced to the Codori farm, while the 71st, on its right, reported recovering Brown's abandoned gun and limber on the rocky knoll.
[60] "Remarks by Captain John D. Rogers," in Stegman, *Alexander Stewart Webb*, 89.
[61] *OR,* 27(1),:428, 437. In his after-action report, Webb wrote that the cover in the 69th's front was not well built. This reflects upon himself as well as the 69th's field officers, for Webb's command post was only a short distance from the 69th, and as brigade commander it was his responsibility to inspect his men's works, or to have someone from his staff do so.
[62] Fuger, "Cushing's Battery at Gettysburg," 407; *OR,* 27(1):445, 449, 451, 452.
[63] *OR,* 27(1):427, 433, 443, 445; Stegman, *Alexander Stewart Webb*, 83.
[64] *OR,* 27(1):427, 432; R. Penn Smith to Isaac Wistar, July 29, 1863, Wistar Papers, Library of the Wistar Institute; Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. May Term, 1891. Numbers 20, 30. Middle District. *Appeal of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association from the Decree of the Court of Common Pleas of Adams Co., Paper Book of Appellants*, 243, 277. *[Hereafter cited as Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*]
[65] The strength figures are arrived at by deducting the July 2 casualties, where known, from their July 2 strengths as given in Busey and Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg*.
[66] Frank L. Byrne, ed., *Haskell of Gettysburg: His Life and Papers* (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1970), 136, 139.
[67] Ibid., 139, 142-143.
[68] Brown, *Cushing of Gettysburg,* 224-225.
[69] Ibid., 225-226; *OR,* 27(1):478. Since Captain Hazard specifically mentioned that Woodruff had eight separate engagements during the morning, the implication is that this was more than any other battery in the 2nd Corps brigade engaged in.
[70] Scott, *Fallen Leaves*, 184.
[71] Byrne, *Haskell of Gettysburg*, 144; Anthony McDermott to John Bachelder, June 2, 1886, in, David L. and Audrey J. Ladd, eds., *The Bachelder Papers* (Morningside Press, 1995), v. 3.
[72] *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 152; Major Roberts offered a gentler version of Webb's orders in, "The 72nd PA," *National Tribune*, September 1, 1887, where he wrote that Webb only ordered Whitecar not to let anyone pass unless they were wounded. He revealed Webb's complete orders in his testimony during the 72nd Pennsylvania monument case.
[73] Christopher Smith, "Bloody Angle," *Buffalo Evening* News, May 29, 1894, in *Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings*, 4:41-44, GNMPL.
[74] John Reynolds, "The Nineteenth Massachusetts at Gettysburg, July 2-3-4, 1863," Vertical File (VF)6-MA19, GNMPL; Byrne, *Haskell of Gettysburg*, 148.
[75] Reynolds, "The Nineteenth Massachusetts at Gettysburg;" Robert L. Bee, ed., "Ben Hirst's Narrative," *The Third Day at Gettysburg and Beyond* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1994), 140-141; Fuger,

"Cushing's Battery at Gettysburg," 407; Albert Straight to his brother, in John H. Rhodes, *The History of Battery B, 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery* (Providence, 1894), 210.
[76] Smith, "Bloody Angle;" Fuger, "Cushing's Battery at Gettysburg;" Also see Thomas Aldrich, *History of Battery A, 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery*, (Providence, 1904), 219, for the terrible wounds artillery inflicted.
[77] *OR,* 27(1):480; Gibbon, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War*, 148; Smith, "Bloody Angle." Smith's memory clearly failed him several times when he wrote this article. He remembered Sergeant Whitston as Sergeant Watson, and Arsenal Griffin as William Griffin. He also described Griffin as a teamster. It is possible he served on the commissary wagon, but he was more likely a limber driver. The correct names for these men are found in the June 30 muster report for Battery A, 4th U. S. Artillery, in the National Archives. A typescript copy of this muster roll is available at the GNMPL.
[78] *OR,* 27(1):429, 437, 480.
[79] Smith, "Bloody Angle;" Byrne, *Haskell of Gettysburg*, 152; Fuger, "Cushing's Battery at Gettysburg," 408. Fuger badly mangled the sequence of events in his account. It is obvious from statements made by Webb and Captain Andrew Cowan, who commanded a battery that came up to replace Cushing's and Brown's batteries, that Cushing suffered his wounds before he moved several of his guns forward to the stone wall. Cowan described Cushing's wound in Stegman, *Webb and His Brigade at the Angle*, 66. He also described Cushing's wounds in a letter to John Bachelder, Dec. 2, 1885, Ladd and Ladd, *The Bachelder Papers*, 2:1157.
[80] Gibbon, 148; John Rogers' remarks in Stegman, *Webb and His Brigade at the Angle*, 89.
[81] Jacob L. Bechtal to Miss Connie, July 6, 1863, VF-NY59, GNMPL; *OR,* 27(1):445, 449; Webb to his wife, July 6, 1863, copy in Ladd and Ladd, *The Bachelder Papers*; R. Penn Smith to Isaac Wistar, July 29, 1863, *Wistar Papers*. Smith stated Cushing's limbers exploded "over" these two companies, but did not indicate their losses.
[82] Interview with Col. R. Penn Smith, *Gettysburg Compiler*, June 7, 1887. In his official report Smith said fifty men from his regiment volunteered to serve Cushing's guns, but a mistake may have been made in the transcription, for his statement to the *Compiler* contained the name of every volunteer, and there are only fifteen.
[83] *OR,* 27(1):428; *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 273; Banes, *History of the Philadelphia Brigade*, 189. When he wrote his official report Webb confused Wheeler's and Cowan's 1st New York Independent Battery. Banes' testimony at the trial over the 72nd's monument clearly establishes that he directed two different batteries, Wheeler's and Cowan's, to Webb's line.
[84] Andrew Cowan to Col. Bachelder, Aug. 26, 1866, in Ladd and Ladd, *The Bachelder Papers*, 1:280-282; Andrew Cowan, "When Cowan's Battery Withstood Pickett's Splendid Charge," *New York Herald*, July 2, 1911.
[85] R. Penn Smith to Isaac Wistar, July 29, 1863, *Wistar Papers*; *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 128.
[86] Smith interview, *Gettysburg Compiler*, June 7, 1887; Smith to Wistar, July 29, 1863, *Wistar Papers*; *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 243.
[87] *OR,* 27(1):437, 439; Scott, *Fallen Leaves*, 188.
[88] Anthony McDermott to Bachelder, June 2, 1886, in Ladd and Ladd, *The Bachelder Papers*, 3:1410; *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 66, 259.
[89] Stegman, *Webb and His Brigade at the Angle*, 66; Also see, Cowan, "When Cowan's Battery Withstood Pickett's Splendid Charge." Cowan's statements about Cushing's wound raise questions about Fuger's account and how seriously wounded the lieutenant really was. Someone who had to be held up by his sergeant to give orders would not be making pleasant remarks to Cowan, and Cowan specifically mentioned that Cushing limped over to him.
[90] Cowan, "When Cowan's Battery Withstood Pickett's Splendid Charge."
[91] *OR,* 27(1):439, 445, 450. Although Hall thought he ordered both the 20th Massachusetts and the 7th Michigan to fire at 200 yards, Captain Abbott's report makes it clear that his regiment did not fire until the Confederates were about 30 yards away.
[92] Anthony McDermott to Bachelder, June 2, 1886, in Ladd and Ladd, *The Bachelder Papers*, 3:1410. Also see *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 228.
[93] Smith Interview, *Gettysburg Compiler*, June 7, 1887.
[94] Scott, *Fallen Leaves*, 188; John Buckley to Bachelder in Ladd and Ladd, *The Bachelder Papers*, 3:1403; Fuger, "Cushing's Battery at Gettysburg," 408; McDermott to Bachelder, June 2, 1886, in Ladd and Ladd,

The Bachelder Papers, 3:1410. Fuger's account that he ordered Cushing's body taken to the rear might have been true after the battle was over, but immediately after the fight, Captain Cowan saw Cushing's body lying beside one of his guns. See also Stegman, *Webb and His Brigade at the Angle*, 66.
[95] Fuger, "Cushing's Battery at Gettysburg," 408. For one example refuting Fuger's account, see *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 218-241.
[96] *OR,* 27(1):445, 450.
[97] Stegman, *Webb and His Brigade at the Angle*, 67; D. Scott Hartwig, "It Struck Horror to us All," *Gettysburg Magazine* (January, 1991), 4:97; Cowan, "When Cowan's Battery Withstood Pickett's Splendid Charge;" *OR,* 27(1):452-453.
[98] Webb to his wife, July 6, 1863, in *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 317. In his testimony during the monument trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania, Webb explained that he used the word "disgraced" in the letter to his wife "because I had felt that where I put Cushing [at the wall with the 69th] I should have gone myself" See also, 163.
[99] *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 62-63, 149-150.
[100] Ibid., 99, 150, 171-172;
[101] Webb to his wife, July 6, 1863, in *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 317.
[102] For evidence that Webb ordered the change of front by the right companies, see Webb's address, August 27, 1883 in Stegman, *Webb and His Brigade at the Angle*, 122; Hartwig, "It Struck Horror to us All."
[103] Smith to Wistar, July 29, 1863, *Wistar Papers*.
[104] *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 183-184; *OR,* 27(1):451.
[105] *OR,* 27(1):439.
[106] Ibid., 445, 450.
[107] Ibid., 428, 446.
[108] Ibid., 440-446; Byrne, *Haskell of Gettysburg*, 170.
[109] Scott, *Fallen Leaves*, 188; *OR,* 27(1):440; Byrne, *Haskell of Gettysburg*, 170.
[110] *Trial of the 72nd Pennsylvania*, 187; Scott, *Fallen Leaves*, 193.
[111] Thomas Moon Reminiscence, Typescript, V6-US-ART-A, GNMPL.
[112] *OR,* 27(1):418, 437; "Report of Lt. Colonel Charles H. Morgan," in Ladd and Ladd, *The Bachelder Papers*, 3:1362. Gibbon also singled out his 1st Brigade commander, William Harrow, but in a negative sense. His report is silent on Harrow's performance.
[113] Brown, *Cushing of Gettysburg*, 260. Cushing's brother Milton, who was serving in the Navy, took leave of absence when he heard his brother had been killed and went to Gettysburg as well, but he arrived after Milton had left.
[114] Scott, *Fallen Leaves*, 192; Norman J. Hall volunteer military service record and pension record, National Archives.
[115] *OR,* 27(1):428; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 572. There are some errors concerning Webb's military record in this sketch. A more accurate record is in Cullum, *Biographical Register,* 2:401-402.