"All Roads Lead to Gettysburg"

Pickett's Charge, History, and Memory

Carol Reardon

Thousands of Americans gathered at Gettysburg to hear the words of the President of the United States. "Look around you," he said to the assembled multitude. "Picture the array, the fierce heat and agony of battle, column hurled against column, battery bellowing to battery! Valor? yes! Greater no man shall see in war; and self-sacrifice, and loss to the uttermost; the high recklessness of exalted devotion which does not count the cost."[1]

The year was not 1863, the president was not Abraham Lincoln, and these words do not come from the Gettysburg Address. It was 1913, the president was Woodrow Wilson, and the praise he bestowed he extended to Northern and Southern soldiers alike. Wilson, like thousands of other Americans in 1913, traveled to Gettysburg to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Civil War's greatest battle, fought on July 1–3, 1863. This summer—the battle's 140th anniversary—many thousands more will share in an earlier generation's discovery: "all roads lead to Gettysburg."[2]

One of the roads that traverses the battlefield brings visitors to the center of the Union battle line on Cemetery Ridge, where a large bronze book set against a clump of oak trees denotes the "high water mark of the rebellion." Near these trees, Union forces repulsed "Pickett's Charge"—the last Confederate assault on July 3. Over the years, this single episode has gained such special distinction that, nearly a century later, it moved one chronicler to observe: "If we grant—as many would be ready to do—that the Civil War furnishes the great dramatic episode of the history of the United States, and that Gettysburg provides the climax of the war, then the climax of the climax, the central moment of American history, must be Pickett's Charge."[3]

How did one infantry charge on a single afternoon in the middle of a four-year war take on such grandiose trappings? It took fifty years to do it, but the Civil War generation itself created that image and handed it down to us. In doing so, the soldiers in Blue and Gray delivered a most important—if unintended—message: we all view the past through two distinctly different sets of lenses. One we call "history," an intellectual force that examines past events objectively, without passion or prejudice, to find some objective reality we accept as "the truth." The other we call "memory," a far more emotional force that can select and sanitize and connect us to the past in ways that each of us can find personally meaningful, even if it is not quite "the truth." History makes us think, while memory helps us feel. History helps us analyze, while memory helps us celebrate or mourn. The Civil War generation felt pulled between both forces, and today's visitors to the field of "Pickett's

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Battle of Gettysburg: Pickett's Charge, by Peter F. Rothermel, completed in 1871.

Charge" can still see evidence of that struggle.

Before the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia clashed at Gettysburg, the town impressed one observer as "undeniably obscure" and "somewhat dull."[4] After the battle ended, however, Gettysburg's first stream of visitors did not sense dullness. Worried families sought loved ones named on casualty lists. Northern journalists expounded on the great victory over Lee's army. Thousands of gawkers followed, their curiosity bested by newspaper headlines trumpeting the repulse of the last great Confederate attack: "Splendid Triumph of the Army of the Potomac," or "The Rebellion Receives Its Death Stroke," or even "Waterloo Eclipsed!!"[5] Professor Michael Jacobs of Pennsylvania (now Gettysburg) College at first condemned the hordes, but he also noted they "surveyed this scene of conflict with evident emotion" and that they showed remarkably little interest in the details about the ebb and flow of battle.[6] Mostly, they came to celebrate the victory and to mourn their dead.

In stark contrast, many Southerners demanded all the details. When the Richmond newspapers began to hint that the battle at Gettysburg had ended with the devastating repulse of General George E. Pickett's fifteen Virginia regiments, the soldiers' families clamored for news. With or without hard evidence to support it, Virginia editors quickly settled on an explanation for the unaccustomed reverse and the high losses: Pickett's Virginians bore the brunt of the fighting on July 3 with conspicuous gallantry, but when supporting troops failed them, they had to retreat or die. One correspondent wrote, "How sad to think that after brave men have done all that men could possibly do by their valor, won for themselves an immortal name, that some mismanagement should rob them and their country of the fruit of their heroic deeds."[7] Before July ended, the Richmond press fixed blame on General J. Johnston Pettigrew's North Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee division for leaving Pickett's left flank unsupported. Journalist Peter W. Alexander wrote: "there all over the plain, in utmost confusion, is scattered this strong division. Their line is broken; they are flying, apparently panic stricken, to the rear." As a result, "Pickett is left alone to contend with the hordes of the enemy now pouring in on him from every side."[8] Heartbroken Virginians accepted these unproven allegations as "the truth." Just as important, the Richmond press gave the July 3 attack an enduring name: "Pickett's Charge."

Thus, in the immediate aftermath of the battle, both Northern and Southern emotions overwhelmed fact checking or critical analysis of military affairs. Memory defeated history. And,

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Confederate veterans re-enact Pickett's Charge at the 50th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1913.

after Appomattox, even memory threatened to fade away. As happens after most major American wars, the nation tried to forget the pain and the cost of the conflict. Many visitors who traveled to Gettysburg in the late 1860s and 1870s came to enjoy the mineral springs west of town, not to visit the historic battleground. Indeed, the *New York Times* predicted that Gettysburg might soon "rival Saratoga as a watering place," since its springs were "fast becoming as famous as the battle itself."[9] True, local civic leaders established the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association shortly after the battle ended and bought tracts of land where some of the hardest fighting took place. But few veterans from either army showed much enthusiasm for preserving the site, visitation stagnated, and by the late 1870s, the Association's efforts to purchase additional acreage slowed significantly.

"...the boys had drunk all the beer in town,..."

A slow trickle of visiting Northerners in the late 1870s, however, became a rushing torrent in the 1880s. The Union veterans rediscovered Gettysburg. As the middle-aged men began to contemplate their mortality and their place in history, they now regenerated the martial ardor of their youth. They organized regimental associations that built monuments to honor their service, wrote their unit histories, and planned trips to the sites of their greatest victories. Gettysburg topped that list. The Pennsylvania Department of the Grand Army of the Republic made Gettysburg its meeting place for years, and by 1885, at least 22,000 Union veterans attended its annual convention.[10]

The Union veterans returned for two reasons. First, they came to renew the bonds forged on the field of battle that eternally bind brothers-in-arms. They enjoyed the camaraderie so much that Gettysburg nearly could not contain their boisterous enthusiasm. The veterans railed at the efforts of "a few, a very few, goody-goody busy bodies" who threatened to close saloons and stop sales of ice cream, cigars, and tobacco on Sundays. When rumors circulated at the 1882 reunion that "the boys had drunk all the beer in town," a riot nearly ensued.[11]

More importantly, however, they came to Gettysburg to remember their accomplishments and the cost their efforts had exacted. In 1879, the survivors of the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry dedicated a regimental monument on a boulder at the edge of a meadow near Spangler's Spring, where so many of their comrades fell to Confederate bullets early on July 3, 1863. That monument inspired other regimental associations and Northern states to do the same. A revitalized Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association directed the growing commemorative effort that encouraged a growing tide of veterans and their families to return to the place where they had made history.

Many of those veterans ran into Gettysburg's most stalwart protector of battle history, John Badger Bachelder. Almost before the battle smoke had cleared, he had started interrogating prisoners and wounded soldiers from both armies to reconstruct the fight. Later, he wrote guidebooks and travel accounts, worked with

journalists and artists desiring to prepare historically accurate renditions of the action, and, most of all, continued to compile a complete and accurate record of those historic three days. When the monumentation effort began, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association naturally chose Bachelder as Superintendent of Tablets and Legends.

Bachelder's new responsibilities often placed him squarely at the point where history and memory collide. The Association expressed a "desire and determination" to "secure the greatest possible historical accuracy" on all markers and memorials on the field. Thus, Bachelder possessed authority to approve all textual content and the proposed location of each monument. He soon discovered that many veterans' groups wanted their markers placed in prominent spots close to the most heated action, regardless of the units' true position. When he disallowed the first choice of location for several Pennsylvania monuments, veterans stormed to Gettysburg to dispute the decision, claiming he had been misled by those jealous of their accomplishments.[12] Bachelder won most of those arguments, but by 1887, the whole issue had become so contentious that the Association passed strict resolutions requiring units to put their primary marker on their main line of battle, retaining for itself the authority to remove all unauthorized monuments.[13]

Union veterans contested the Association's decisions so heatedly because, in many cases, Bachelder's hard historical evidence failed to mesh with their own memories. Although few made a premeditated effort to alter the historical record to benefit their own unit, when it came right down to it, many veterans seemed uninterested in Bachelder's mission to recapture "history as it was." Instead, they unconsciously validated Marc Bloch's observation that "by curious paradox, through the very fact of their respect for the past, people came to reconstruct it as they consider it ought to have been."[14]

Why did the Union veterans treat the past this way? First, they believed that their victory at Gettysburg secured the future of a free and perpetually united republic. When they dedicated their monuments—and huge numbers came to Gettysburg from 1885 through 1895 to do this—stirring orators reminded the crowds of the important accomplishments of their youth: the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery. As one Pennsylvania colonel intoned: "When we think of Humanity as being crushed with sin, and look for a remedy, we begin at the Garden, and find the conclusion at Calvary. When we think and speak of the government of England as threatened with dismemberment and ruin, and look for the remedy, we find it at Waterloo. So, when we think and speak of oppression, class and caste in America, and look for the remedy, we begin at Harper's Ferry, with old John Brown, and find the answer in Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg."[15] Second and just as important, in sealing the bright future they now enjoyed, they had lost many friends and comrades whose sacrifices deserved to be honored. Soldiers from the Keystone State especially remembered the high stakes of those July days: "It is death or victory, and the soil is Pennsylvania." The Irishmen of the 69th Pennsylvania claimed that they each had found "more courage to meet the enemy at Gettysburg, than upon any field of battle on which we had as yet been engaged" and they left the lifeless bodies of many of their comrades near the copse of trees in testament to their fidelity.[16]

Because "Pickett's Charge" had provided the decisive last scene of this great national drama, it loomed increasingly larger in these commemorative ceremonies. Veterans of the Second Corps that absorbed the brunt of the charge turned to the historical record if it helped them make more dramatic claims for battle honors. But if the judgment of history worked against their own sense of worth, they did not shy away from rewriting it to suit them. Some units reduced their own numbers to suggest greater odds against them, or, to enhance their steadfastness, increased the number of Confederate attackers. Perhaps 13,500 Southerners assaulted the Union center, but the chaplain of the 125th New York reported a "double line—upwards of fifteen thousand strong...as on dress parade." A Vermont survivor insisted that he and his comrades repulsed "an overwhelming force of seventeen thousand rebels." By the 1880s, many Northern regimental histories described an attacking force of 18,000 Confederates, while an officer in the 1st Minnesota estimated the attackers at 20,000 strong and a survivor of the 19th Maine recalled a force "from 18,000 to 25,000 men."[17] They also debated the number of Confederate cannons that bombarded the Union line, the shape of the attack formation, the Southern losses, and more, hastening history's slide toward hyperbole.

Increasingly, by the mid-1880s it did not matter to many veterans whether or not their regiment played only a supporting role—or even no role at all—in the repulse of the great charge. They simply accepted their mere presence as

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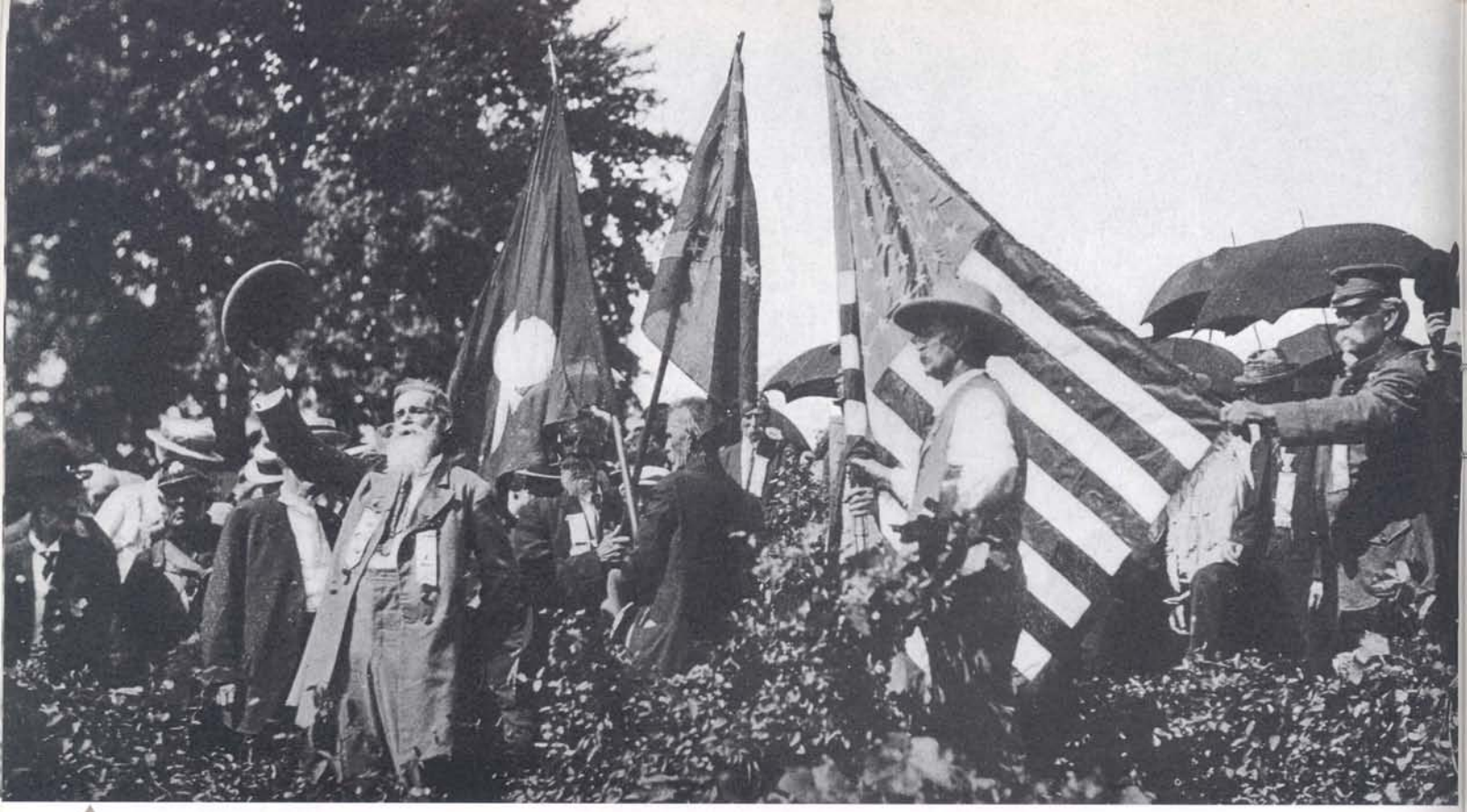


Gettysburg veterans exchange flags at the 50th Anniversary.

> "...the curious fact that in popular estimation the whole thought of the Battle of Gettysburg seems to center about Pickett's charge on the third day."

enough of a link to the events of July 3. The 1st Pennsylvania Cavalry, posted behind Cemetery Ridge, had waited for a call to counterattack when Pickett's men broke through the Union line. The order never came. Still, at their monument dedication, the orator assured them that they nonetheless deserved to share in the glory of that great day. After all, he told them, it "was not your fault" they received no order to charge. At least they were there to answer that call if it came.[18] The crowd murmured its approval.

The growing importance given to Pickett's Charge inspired a few dissenting voices, too. At a monument dedication on the first day's field, a Michigan orator expressed concern about "the curious fact that in popular estimation the whole thought of the Battle of Gettysburg seems to center about Pickett's charge on the third day." Similarly, when the 40th New York dedicated its monument near Devil's Den on the second day's field, the speaker noted that "Pickett's Charge was a thirty minute incident in a three days' contest, and not all of the battle."[19] A Pennsylvanian, upset at the Southern spin in many accounts of the July 3 attack, expressed his dismay about the appearance of a "halo of glory around a charge which does not appear around the men who firmly stand to resist it."[20] The survivors of Pettigrew's Confederate division demanded fair treatment, too. Any serious consideration of these reasonable objections might have helped to right misperceptions in the battle's history, but these appeals for factual accuracy won over few minds and fewer hearts.

John Bachelder heard them, though, and to counter this growing threat to remember "history as it should have been," he invited former officers from both armies to help him recapture the facts. Beginning in 1882, he frequently hosted small groups of veterans from both armies who fought at Gettysburg. After one successful gathering, a participant noted, "it is really wonderful to see these men, all of prominence in life, stand here nodding, arguing, and gesticulating, as freely as though they were school boys, over a lot of green fields and something that occurred" years earlier.[21]

The growth of these joint gatherings suggested that, by the 1880s, many Northerners and Southerners alike finally had set aside the sectional ill will of the war years to look ahead toward a prosperous future as a reunited nation. Bachelder hoped his small groups of soldiers from both armies might grow into bigger reunions. The first such meeting took place in July 1887, when the Pickett's Division Association and the survivors of the Philadelphia Brigade, units that clashed on July 3 near the copse of trees, decided to meet at Gettysburg. Plans seemed to be progressing well, until Pickett's Virginians announced their intention to dedicate a divisional monument on Cemetery Ridge, near the spot of their deepest penetration into the Union line. When the Battlefield Association informed them of the prohibition against placing markers at advanced positions, the Virginians threatened to cancel their visit. The Philadelphians saved the day with an acceptable

compromise. They offered to pay for a marker of New Hampshire granite, to be placed where General Lewis Armistead—one of Pickett's brigade commanders—fell mortally wounded.[22]

By all accounts, the 1887 event succeeded in showcasing the spirit of national reunion. To meet several hundred Philadelphians clad in blue were several hundred of Pickett's men and LaSalle Corbell Pickett, the general's widow. As they met near the stonewall they had struggled over twenty-four years earlier, Charles Banes of the Philadelphia Brigade made it clear that they had not come to refight old battles. "We have dwelt for a few moments on the incidents of battle for the reasons that the place and the association compel the references, but to-day, soldiers of the contending armies, we meet as citizens of a united country." William R. Aylett, one of Pickett's regimental commanders—and a kinsman of Revolutionary War patriot Patrick Henry—responded, "the man who would rekindle again that feeling which filled our land with death and tears and grief and mourning with graves and suffering is not only unworthy of the high title of American citizen, but even of that of human being and should find no home or friends on earth or in heaven." Later, Bachelder took some Virginians and Pennsylvanians out to the battlefield to fix their lines with greater accuracy, but newspapermen with the group ignored his intentions to focus on the flowers Mrs. Pickett picked.[23]

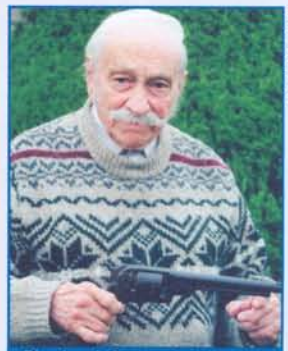
Many hoped that the success of 1887 would set the stage for an even larger gathering of Civil War veterans for Gettysburg's silver anniversary of 1888. Unfortunately, it did not. One Northerner who read about the meeting between Pickett's men and the Philadelphians proclaimed loudly that "no God-knows-who-was-right bosh must be tolerated at Gettysburg. The men who won the victory there were eternally right, and the men who were defeated were eternally wrong."[24] Northern emotions became so heated that relatively few Confederate veterans went to Gettysburg in 1888.

But the setback was only temporary. The veterans of both armies continued to come to Gettysburg in droves. The emotional pull of memory that had proven to be one of history's enemies now found reinforcement in the unstoppable flow of time that began to thin the veterans' ranks. Even Bachelder could not resist it. Shortly after the war, he interviewed Confederate General James Longstreet—the real commander of "Pickett's Charge"—and explained, "I have called your assault the 'tidal wave' and the

Give Us A Rebel Yell!

The Last Gettysburg Reunion

The last reunion of the Gettysburg veterans occurred in July of 1938. A Gettysburg native, Paul Roy, lobbied for five years to convince the leadership of the United Confederate Veterans and the Grand Army of the Republic to agree to one last great reunion. Even though the average age of the veterans attending was 94, over 1,800 former soldiers converged on the small Pennsylvania town for the 75th reunion of the great battle. Thousands of people visited the battlefield during the four-day anniversary proceedings, including Charles J. Stoner of Chambersburg. Mr. Stoner recently recounted his visit with the Civil War veterans in an interview with *Catoctin History*.



PAULA S. REED

Charles J. Stoner, holding his grandfather's Civil War revolver.

"I was always interested in the Civil War," explained Mr. Stoner. "One of my earliest memories is of a revolver used by my grandfather during the war." This grandfather, in fact, took Stoner's father to the 25th reunion at Gettysburg in 1888. Growing up near Gettysburg, Stoner often visited the battlefield, and talked with the guides. "I knew every darn inch" of the battlefield, he remembered, and even gave tours for visitors to his father's company in Chambersburg.

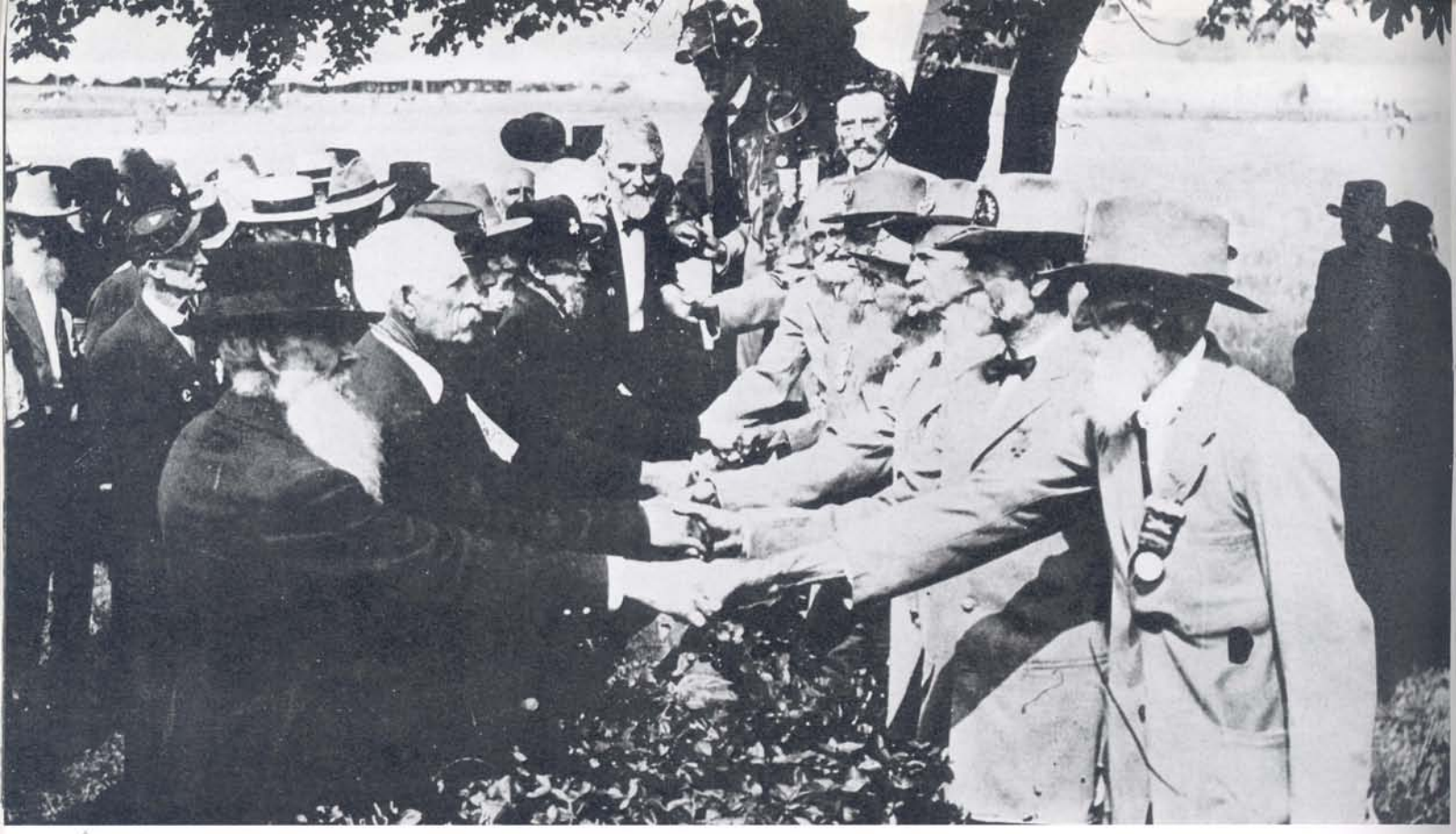
Stoner and his brother-in-law, Phillip Nordell, decided to visit the battlefield on July 4 of 1938, to see and talk with the old veterans. The day was extremely hot, according to Stoner, just as it had been in 1863. He and Nordell chose to wander among the Confederate tents, since most of the other visitors were milling around the Union side. Most of the veterans were sitting by their tents, explaining to eager listeners their versions of what had transpired there years ago. Many appeared very fragile, being so old, and Stoner said he wondered then how the veterans could stand the heat and sleeping in those tents. He remembers being very impressed by a former Union commander, however, who stood tall and straight as an arrow, a picture of health.

Some of the veterans were more loquacious than others, and more than a few had a penchant for wandering off the topic. One veteran from Louisiana told Stoner and his brother-in-law about the awful spectacle of Union dead lying in the fields after fighting around Atlanta. The soldier kept repeating that the bodies looked like "pumpkins in the field."

Stoner chuckled when he recalled that Nordell, his brother-in-law, had a particular interest in trying to get the Confederate veterans to give him a "rebel yell," the famous chilling battle cry of the Southerners. Stoner said he told Nordell, "Phil, cut that out, you'll start a riot here!" The former Rebs responded with mischievous smiles, Stoner said, but no yells.

The highlight of the 75th anniversary of the Gettysburg battle was the dedication on July 3rd of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Reflecting on the feelings of reconciliation at the 1938 reunion, Charles Stoner recalled that among the veterans he encountered, all rivalry and animosity had disappeared. The long-distant hatred, remembered Stoner, had been replaced by a feeling of "'we're no longer enemies.'"

—Dean Herrin



FROM FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG (HARRISBURG, 1915)

Pennsylvania and Virginia veterans shake hands at the stone wall, July 1913.

copse of trees…the 'high water mark' of the Confederacy." Longstreet replied, "You said rightly. We were successful until then. From that point we retreated and continued to recede, and never again made successful headway."[25] In 1892, with the approval of the Gettysburg Battlefield Association and funding from Northern and Southern states, Bachelder himself oversaw the erection and dedication of a tribute to "memory"—the symbolic "high water mark" monument with its large bronze book near today's clump of trees.

> "…all the pristine beauty is gone forever, the victim of corporate greed."

In the 1890s, despite all they had done to commemorate their efforts, the wartime generation still worried how well the battlefield told their story. Some units now went to unusual lengths to be portrayed as they wished to be remembered. Survivors of the 72nd Pennsylvania, originally deployed in the Philadelphia Brigade's second line, went to court to overturn a Battlefield Association ban against placing its monument in its advanced position in the brigade's first line where it plugged the hole Pickett's men made; today, very near the stonewall—but not quite on the front line—visitors still can spot the bronze zouave swinging his rifle like a club that celebrates a century-old legal victory.

Worse still, commercial encroachments deemed unacceptable and even profane by veterans had begun to scar their battlefield. The subtitle to an article about "Gettysburg Vandalism" read "How the Sacred Soil is Being Used by a Corporation" and attacked the builders of an electric railway that crossed parts of the second and third days' battlefields, "shattering with vandalistic completeness all the sentiment over the blood-stained battleground, the 'American Mecca.'" Around the Wheatfield and Devil's Den and across the ground over which Pickett's men charged, John Bachelder wrote, "all the pristine beauty is gone forever, the victim of corporate greed."[26] Bachelder died in 1894, still concerned about the battlefield's sanctity.

In part to counter such concerns, general-turned-congressman Dan Sickles introduced legislation in 1895 that created Gettysburg National Military Park. The War Department took over administration of the battlefield. It built steel observation towers, its park commission included veterans of both armies who wrote non-partisan texts for interpretive plaques, and it improved roads designed to carry buggies to accommodate cars. The last organized reunion of Pickett's Division at Gettysburg occurred in 1906, and Mrs. Pickett sat in the first car of a caravan that made its last stop near the clump of trees that had guided her husband's Virginia troops.

As the golden anniversary of the battle in 1913 approached, the reunion committee—made up of veterans of both armies—chose the completion of national reunion as the commemoration's sole theme. In Jim Crow America, a celebration of emancipation had no real place, but few beyond editors in the African-American press protested. When the grand event began,

journalists interviewed hundreds of the 55,000 veterans of both armies who came to Gettysburg, nearly one-third the number there in 1863. A Union soldier complained about the distance and expense of the trip, but as he told his wife, "'This is most likely the last chance I'll have to do anything for the Union, and I'd like to do it fifty years from the time the Union was saved.'" But he also hoped that the gathering would send an important message to future generations: "It will take away the last excuse for the young people to cherish any sectional hatred."[27] Old soldiers missing an arm or a leg revisited the sites where they suffered their wounds, invariably finding nearby a veteran from the opposing army who suspected that he might have inflicted the injury. At a Southern encampment at the Lutheran Seminary, the children and grandchildren of Confederate generals Longstreet, Pickett, and A.P. Hill shared the company of the descendents of the Union General Meade. When a band struck up the first notes of the "Star Spangled Banner," wrote a correspondent, "All of those gathered upon the dusky lawn—the Picketts, the Longstreets, the daughter of General Hill, the Meades...became silent, rose to their feet, and uncovered."[28]

Such sentimental reunionism snuffed out most contention about battle honors. The centerpiece of the 1913 reunion was a reenactment of "Pickett's Charge," held on July 3. Under a hot sun, about three hundred old men in gray lined up to take the stone wall at the Angle, defended once more by an equal number of old men in blue. At about 3 p.m., approximately the same time they had stepped off fifty years earlier, the men of Virginia advanced to the charge. "But this time," an observer noted, "Hancock's men met Pickett's with outstretched arms instead of weapons, and there where Armistead broke through with his hat on his sword, shouting 'Give them the cold steel boys,' and died as he said it, his men and Webb's shook hands."[29] That single image—an old man in blue reaching across that stone wall to grasp the hand of an old soldier in gray—still endures in American memory even today. In 1913, those gripped hands possessed a single meaning: "ONE NATION; ONE FLAG."[30]

When we follow the roads to Gettysburg today, we sense its history but we see stronger evidence of an even more powerful force. Indeed, one old veteran who toured the battlefield decided that Gettysburg needed one more memorial: "a monument surmounted with a statue entitled 'Memory.'"[31]

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1 "Gettysburg Fifty Years After," *Review of Reviews* 48 (1913): 182.

2 *New York Times*, July 1, 1888.

3 George R. Stewart, *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Confederate Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1959; Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1963), xv.

4 Lizzie J. Beller, "Gettysburg. As the Historic Town Appeared before and after the Battle." *National Tribune*, March 17, 1892.

5 *New York Times*, July 6, 1863; *Harrisburg Daily Telegraph*, July 6, 1863; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 6, 1863.

6 Michael Jacobs, "Later Rambles over the Field of Gettysburg," *United States Service Magazine* 1 (January 1864): 66, 72.

7 Richmond *Sentinel*, July 20, 1863.

8 *Richmond Enquirer*, July 23, 1863.

9 *New York Times*, June 26, 1869.

10 "At Gettysburg," *National Tribune*, August 13, 1885.

11 "Grand Army Matters," *National Tribune*, July 29, 1882.

12 Carol Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 181.

13 John M. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg Then and Now* (1897; reprint edition, Dayton, OH: Morningside Press, 1983), 376, 380–87. Vanderslice succeeded Bachelder as Superintendent of Tablets and Legends in 1887.

14 Quoted in Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage Press, 1993), 30–31.

15 John Page Nicholson, comp., *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg. Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Monuments Erected by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to Mark the Positions of the Pennsylvania Commands Engaged in the Battle....* (Harrisburg: E.K. Meyers, 1893), 1:359.

16 Nicholson, *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, 1:51; and Andrew W. McDermott to Bachelder, June 2, 1886, quoted in Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory*, 120.

17 All quoted in Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory*, 116.

18 Nicholson, *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, 2:789.

19 All quoted in Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory*, 126–127.

20 Nicholson, comp., *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, 2:742–43.

21 "Face to Face at Gettysburg," *National Tribune*, June 17, 1882.

22 See Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory*, 92–98.

23 "At Gettysburg," *National Tribune*, July 7, 1887.

24 Unsigned editorial comment, *National Tribune*, June 14, 1888; "The Gettysburg Celebration," ibid.

25 John B. Bachelder, *Descriptive Key to the Painting of the Repulse of Longstreet's Assault at the Battle of Gettysburg* (New York: John B. Bachelder, 1870), 9n.

26 "Gettysburg Vandalism," *National Tribune*, July 13, 1893.

27 Herbert Francis Sherwood, "Gettysburg Fifty Years Afterward," *Outlook* 104 (July 19, 1913): 610; "At Gettysburg," *Outlook* 104 (July 12, 1913): 514.

28 Sherwood, "Gettysburg Fifty Years Afterward," 610–12.

29 *New York Times*, July 4, 1913.

30 Walter H. Blake, *Hand Grips: The story of the Great Gettysburg Reunion, July, 1913* (Vineland, NJ: G.E. Smith, 1913), 88.

31 Nicholson, comp., *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, 1: 201.

"Hancock's men met Pickett's with outstretched arms instead of weapons, and there where Armistead broke through with his hat on his sword, shouting 'Give them the cold steel boys,' and died as he said it, his men and Webb's shook hands."