

Gettysburg

7

Retreat and Pursuit

***Nazi Pink Polka-Dots and Other Map Games**

Fred Christensen

Friday, November 5, 2021

1:30 p.m. – 3:00 p.m.

Location: OLLI – Osher Classroom (the large room near the elevators)

This talk will provide a case study in the manipulation of history. Totalitarian regimes try to control the past as well as the present, and when the Nazis seized power in Germany schoolbooks of all sorts were forced to reflect their ideology. The excellent Putzgers historical atlas was widely used before and after the Nazi years, but during those years some of its maps were altered and new ones added. Fred Christensen will use images of these maps to compare the 1935 Putzgers with earlier editions. The changes are revealing. Nazi views on race and politics were imposed on maps in three main sections: prehistory, the German migrations and the fall of Rome, and recent history since the Treaty of Versailles. A look at these will show how much the new ideas differed from earlier views—and in some revealing cases, how they did not differ that much from widely held attitudes in German and European culture.

Fred Christensen is a former history instructor at the University of Kentucky and assistant professor of military science at the University of Illinois. He teaches noncredit classes for OLLI and other venues, in five areas of history and archaeology: Britain, Germany, early America, Israel/the Holy Land, and military history in general. He has taught many OLLI courses and led numerous study groups since 2008.

GETTYSBURG

AN ALTERNATE HISTORY



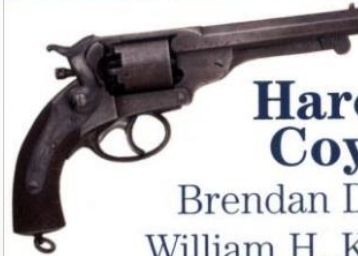
In the Civil War's pivotal battle, one moment could have changed everything.

Peter G. Tsouras

PUBLISHED BY TANTOR eBooks

Original visions of a Civil War
that might have been

ALTERNATE Gettysburgs



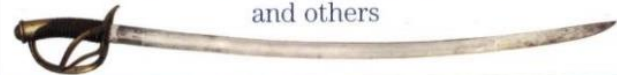
**Harold
Coyle**

Brendan DuBois

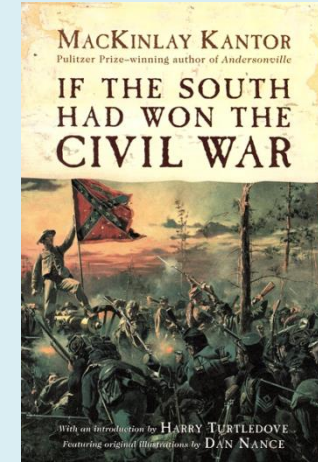
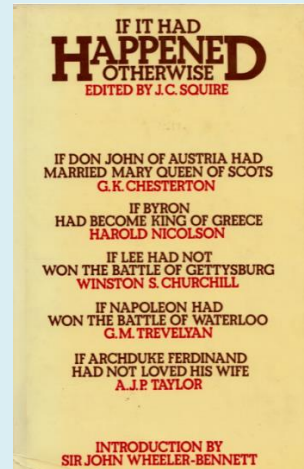
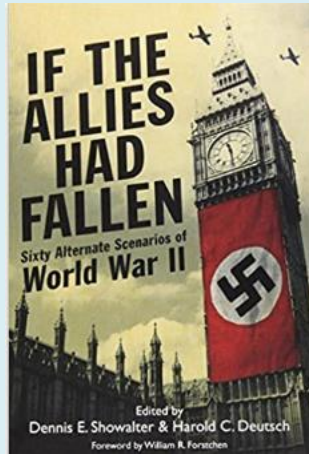
William H. Keith, Jr.

William R. Forstchen

and others



Edited by Brian Thomsen
and Martin H. Greenberg



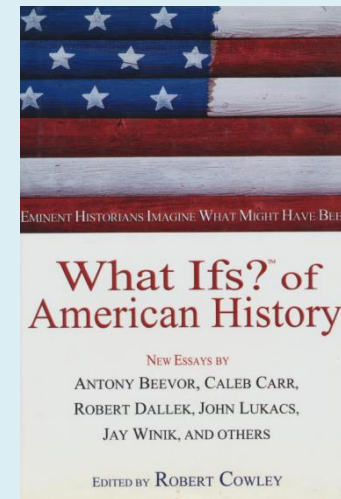
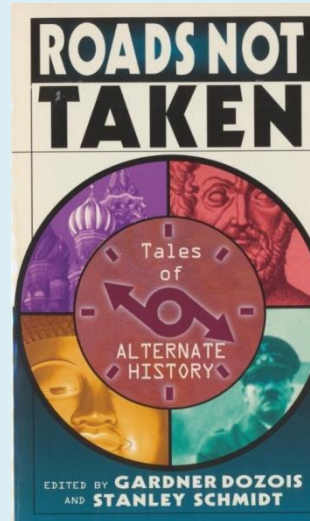
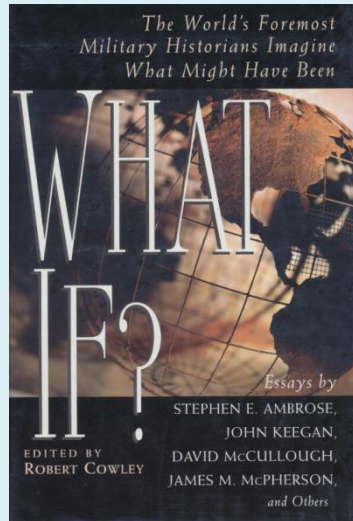
“What Might Have Been:” Alternate Histories

Speculation about alternative possibilities is unavoidable if historians want to go beyond just listing facts. Many thousands of examples have been written— by authors of fiction, and by historians. These range from silly, frivolous or satirical to serious attempts at counterfactual analysis.

Historians differ about the value of this.

Critics say that historians have a hard enough time determining what actually did happen, and should not waste time playing around with what did not.

Defenders say that this is a necessary mental exercise for understanding and interpreting the past. Any attempt to interpret or judge past events will inevitably include comparing them with alternatives, so systematic thinking about alternatives is needed. Even the critics (these historians say) do it themselves, so they might as well do it systematically.



Problems with Counterfactual Speculation

It's all too easy to indulge in one of these fallacies:

- “What If” becomes “If Only:” letting your own (conscious or unconscious) biases and preferences shape your thinking.
- “Would Have Certainly:” Any views of what might have been can only discuss probabilities, not certainties. Even a highly probable alternative could always be affected by chance, accident or happenstance.

. . . A fascinating “if” develops at this point. A few months earlier, in Twiggs’s absence, Lee had been acting commander of the Department of Texas. If the secession crisis had come to a head then, or if Twiggs’s return had been delayed past mid-winter, it would have been Lee and not Twiggs on whom the Texas commissioners would have made their demand for the surrender of government property. Without any question, Lee would have given them a flat refusal—in which case it might easily have been Lee, and not Major Robert Anderson, who first received and returned the fire of the secessionists, with San Antonio, rather than Fort Sumter, as the scene of the fight that began a great war. Subsequent history could have been substantially different.

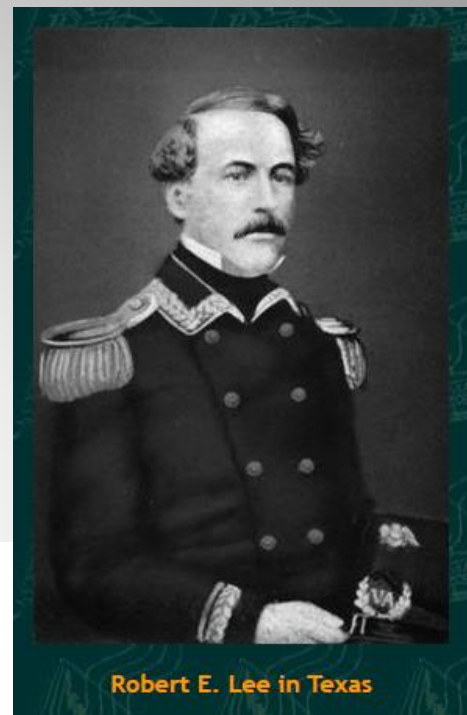
Lee at the Alamo

[Harry Turtledove](#)

Wed Sep 7, 2011

Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee strolled through the streets of San Antonio. It was a bright February morning, the air mild and moist: almost a promise of spring. But, as Lee knew from his service on the Texas frontier, such promises were more easily made than kept. Another norther might yet howl down to cover the ground with snow and wrap ice around hopeful young leaf buds.

You never could tell with Texas weather. And you never could tell with Texas politics. More promises there had been made than kept, too. For all his efforts, Governor Sam Houston hadn’t been able to keep his state in the Union. A secession convention had voted Texas out of the Union.





An Alternate 9 11



Bring the Jubilee wiki article



Delenda Est wiki article



Delenda Est, Hannibal destroys Rome



Departures-- Muhammad converts to Christianity



German Alternatives to Bismarck's Reich 1871, by H. Sch...



Hitler's Impact on History



If Booth Had Missed Lincoln



If Grant Had Been Drinking At Appomattox



If Hitler Had Won World War II



If Lincoln Had Lived



If Napoleon Had Escaped To America



If the Emperor Frederick Had Not Had Cancer



If the South Had Won the Civil War



Lee at the Alamo 1861



Must and Shall, a more vindictive Reconstruction



Pius XII Protests the Holocaust



Pontius Pilate Spares Jesus



Teddy Roosevelt Outlaws Football



The Chads Fall Off In Florida



The Last Article, Gandhi versus the Nazis



The Lucky Strike, no Hiroshima



The Man in the High Castle book and TV series comparison



The Man in the High Castle wiki article



The Quest for a Counterfactual Jesus



The Road Not Taken--37 examples from MHQ



The Undiscovered



The War That Came Early wiki



The Years of Rice and Salt wiki article



Timeline-191 wiki article



We Could Do Worse., McCarthyism triumphs



What If 9 11 Never Happened-- 16 Scenarios



What If 9 11 Never Happened



What If Al Gore Had Won the Election of 2000



What If Peter Had Been Pope During World War II



What If Slavery in America Never Existed



Why the US Never Fought the Indians

Uchronia

Introduction

What's New

By Author

Select one Go

Foreign Language

Select one Go

Series

Anthologies

Reference

Divergence

Oldest

Forthcoming

Search for...

Search

Cover Gallery

Sidewise Awards

Welcome to...

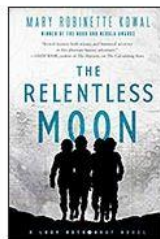
Uchronia

The Alternate History List



...there are no correct alternate histories; there are only plausible alternate histories.

— Will Shetterly



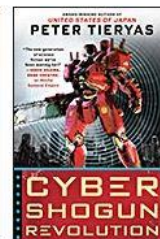
Kowal.
The Relentless Moon



Sittenfeld.
Rodham



Silver.
After Hastings



Tieryas.
*Cyber Shogun
Revolution*

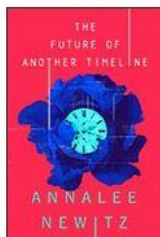
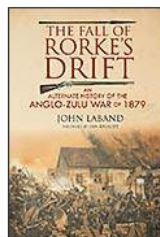


Stirling.
*Shadows of
Annihilation*

Uchronia: The Alternate History List is a bibliography of more than 3400 novels, stories, essays, collections, and other printed material involving the "what ifs" of history. The genre has a variety of names, but it is best known as alternate history.

In an alternate history, one or more past events are changed and the subsequent effects on history somehow described. This description may comprise the entire plotline of a novel, or it may just provide a brief background to a short story. Perhaps the most common themes in alternate history are "What if the Nazis won World War II?" and "What if the Confederacy won the American Civil War?"

For more information about alternate history and this bibliography, please read the [extended introduction](#).



1862 — Turtledove, Harry. *American Empire: The Victorious Opposition*

1863 — Foster, Jake. "The Angle"

1863 — Randle, Kevin, and Robert Cornett. *Remember Gettysburg!*

1863 — Dorvall, Philip Renne, and Madeleine Velguth. *Southern Cross: Annuet Coeptis*

1863 — Mullen, Harris. *God Bless General Early*

1863 — Cassutt, Michael. "Mules in Horses' Harness"

1863 — Allyn, Doug. "Custer's First Stand"

1863 — Baron, Nick. *Robert Silverberg's Time Tours #2: Glory's End*

1863 — Rusch, Kristine Kathryn. "Well-Chosen Words"

1863 — Gingrich, Newt, William R. Forstchen, and Albert S. Hanser. *Civil War Trilogy*

1863 — Gingrich, Newt, William R. Forstchen, and Albert S. Hanser. *Never Call Retreat: Lee and Grant: The Final Victory: A Novel of the Civil War*

1863 — Conroy, Robert, and J.R. Dunn. *The Day After Gettysburg*

1863 — Randisi, Robert J. "A Bad End"

1863 — Keith, William H., Jr. "A Place to Stand"

1863 — Tsouras, Peter G. *Gettysburg: An Alternate History*

1863 — Elgin, Suzette Haden. "Hush My Mouth"

1863 — Dabney, Virginius. "If the South had Won the War"

1863 — Kantor, MacKinlay. *If the South had Won the Civil War*

1863 — Moore, Ward. *Bring the Jubilee*

1863 — Longacre, Edward W. "Absolutely Essential to Victory: Stuart's Cavalry in the Gettysburg-Pipe Creek Campaign"

1863 — Brown, Eric. "Six Weeks in a Balloon"

1863 — McIntire, Dennis P. *Lee at Chattanooga: A Novel of What Might Have Been*

1863 — Gibboney, Douglas Lee. *Stonewall Jackson at Gettysburg*

1863 — Gat, Dmitri. "U-Genie SX-1 — Human Entrepreneur: Naturally Rapacious Yankee"

1863 — Tsouras, Peter G. *Britannia's Fist: From Civil War to World War: An Alternate History*

1863 — Mitchell, Gary. "The Wars that Never Were"

1863 — Moore, William O. "Let Us Cross Over the River: A Flight of Fancy for Wargamers"

1863 — Tsouras, Peter G. *Bayonets, Balloons, and Ironclads: Britain and France Take Sides with the South*

1863 — Gingrich, Newt, William R. Forstchen, and Albert S. Hanser. *Grant Comes East: A Novel of the Civil War*

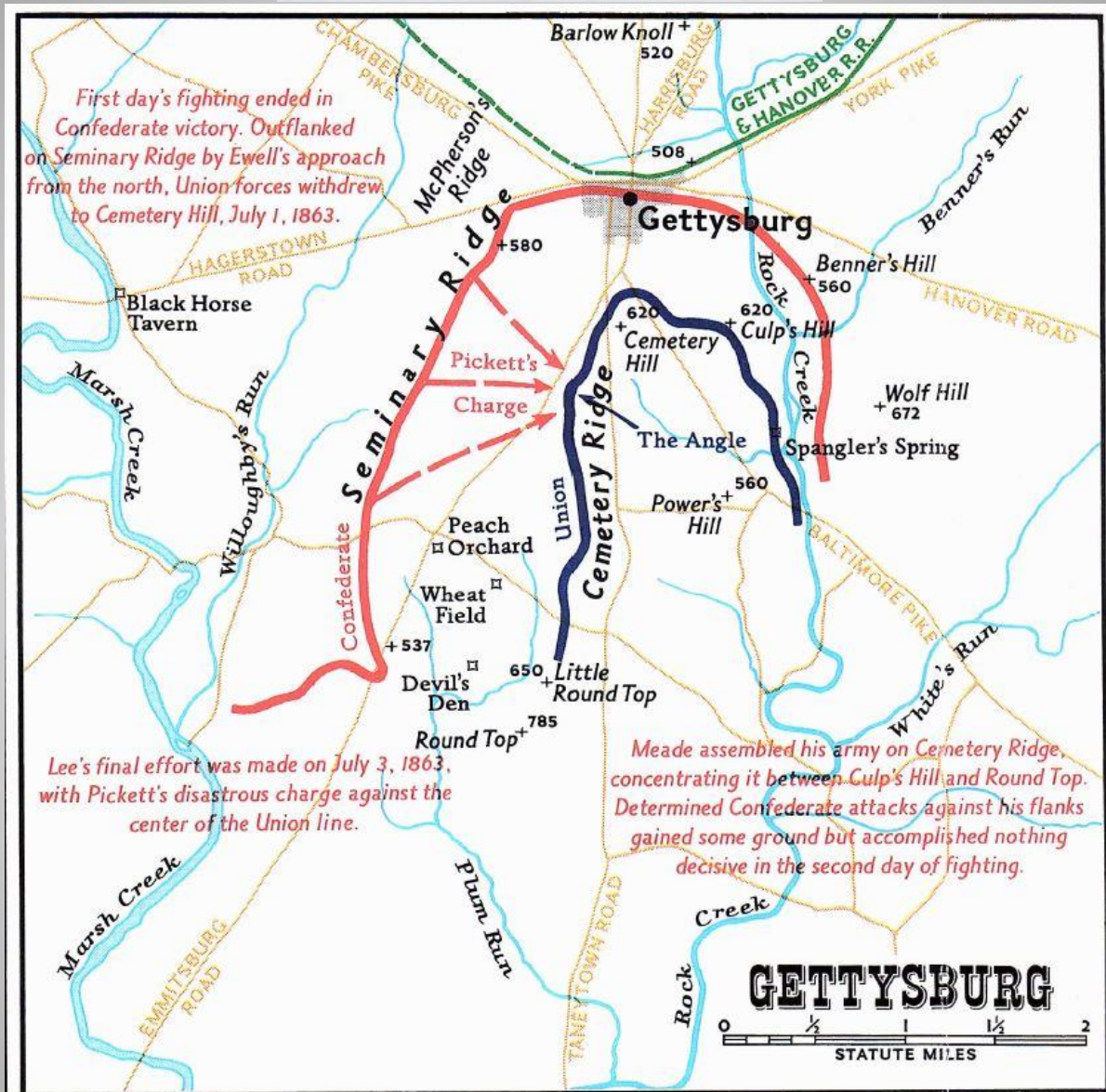
1863 — Allred, Lee. "East of Appomattox"

1863 — Williams, F.P. *Hallie Marshall: A True Daughter of the South*

1863 — Tsouras, Peter G. *Britannia's Fist Trilogy*

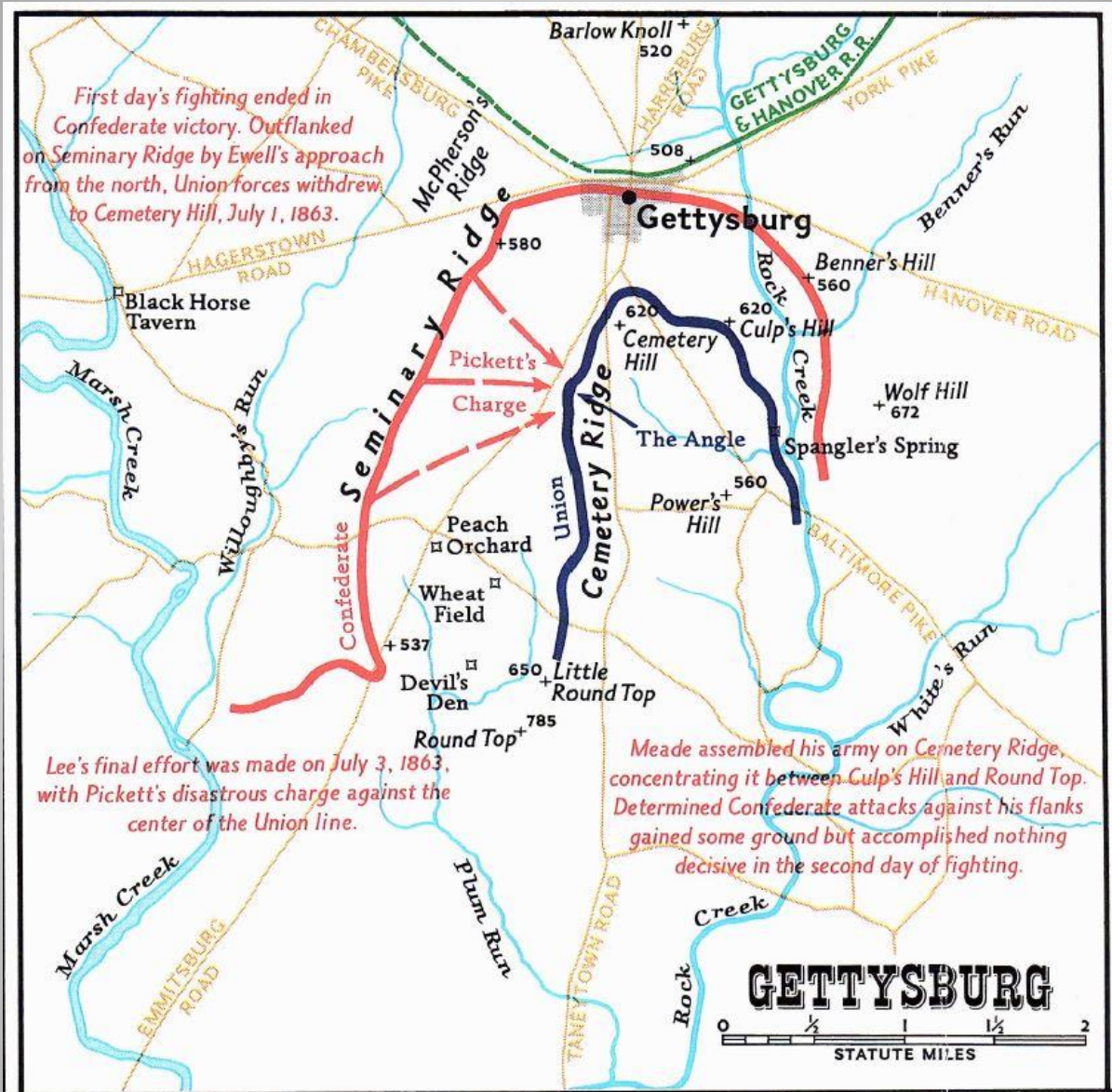
1863 — Prospero, Pierfrancesco. *Garibaldi a Gettysburg*

PRINCIPLES OF WAR



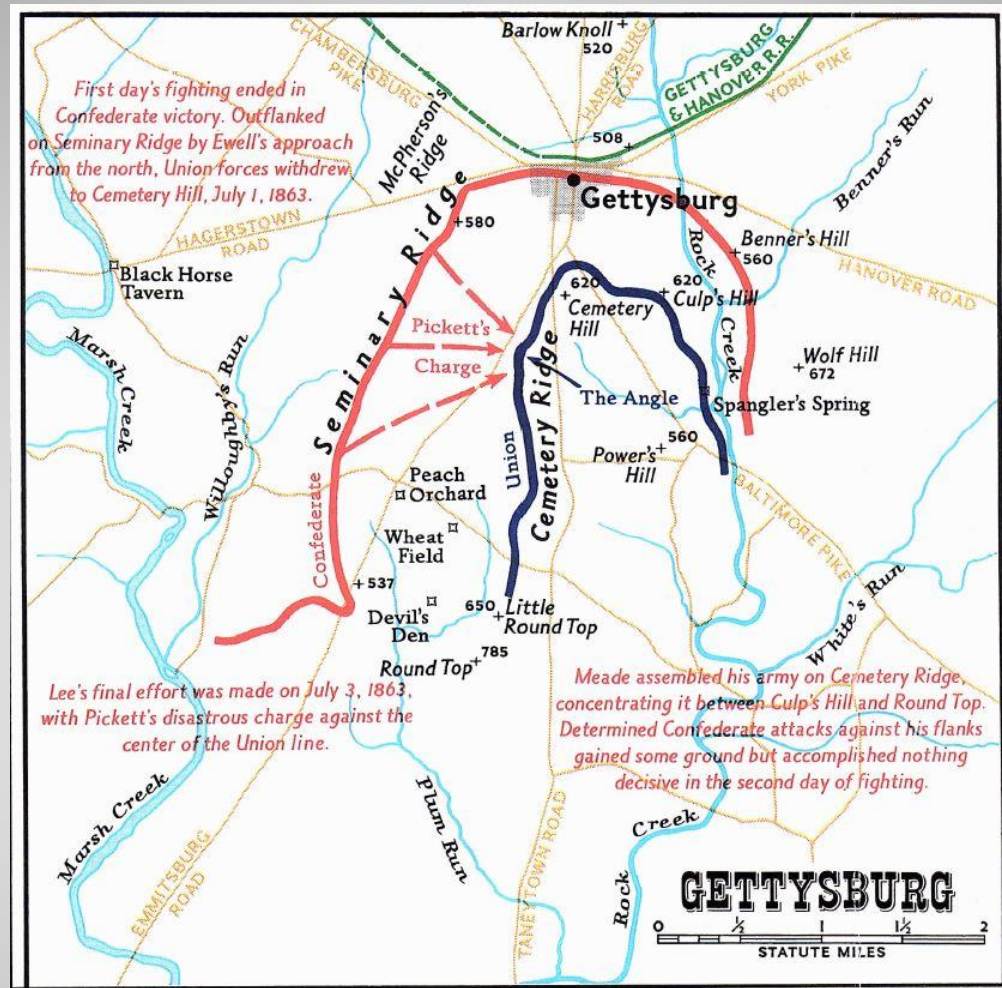
OBJECTIVE - "every military operation should be directed toward a clearly defined, decisive and attainable objective."

PRINCIPLES OF WAR



OFFENSIVE - "seize, retain and exploit the initiative."

PRINCIPLES OF WAR

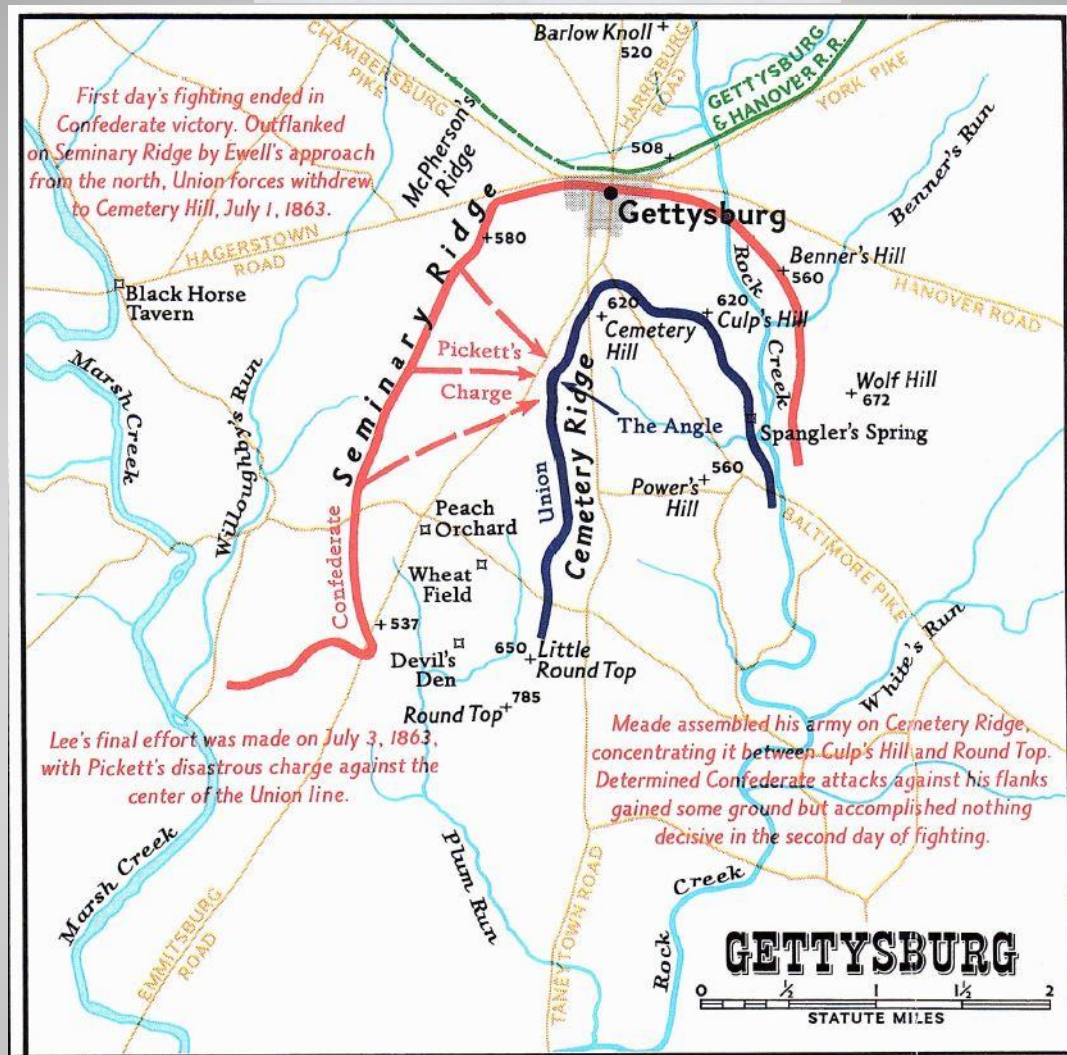


MASS - "concentrate combat power at the decisive place and time."

ECONOMY OF FORCE - "allocate minimum essential combat power to secondary efforts."

MANEUVER - "place the enemy in a position of disadvantage through the flexible application of combat power."

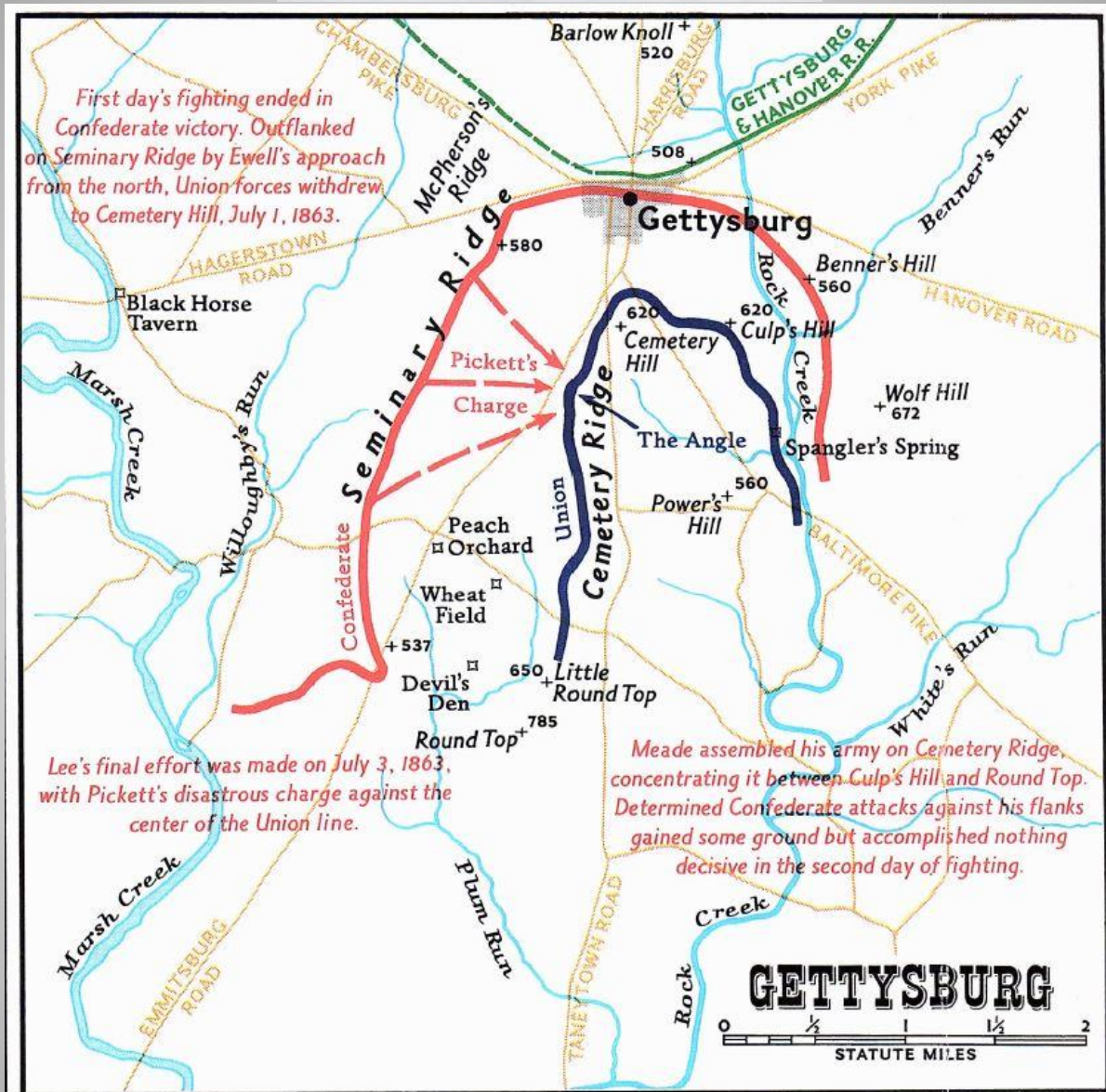
PRINCIPLES OF WAR



SECURITY - "never permit the enemy to acquire an unexpected advantage."

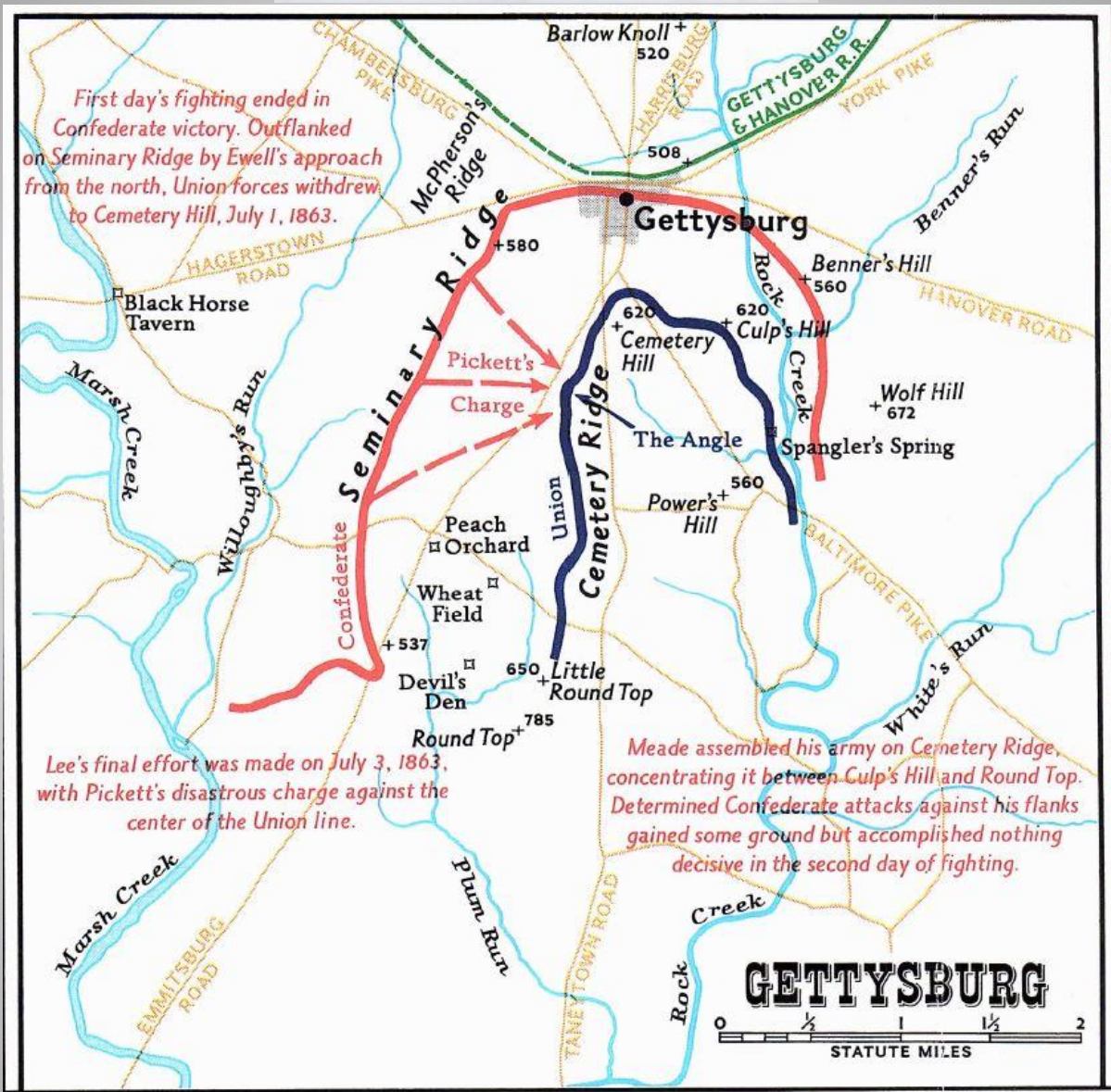
SURPRISE - "strike the enemy at a time or place and in a manner for which he is unprepared."

PRINCIPLES OF WAR

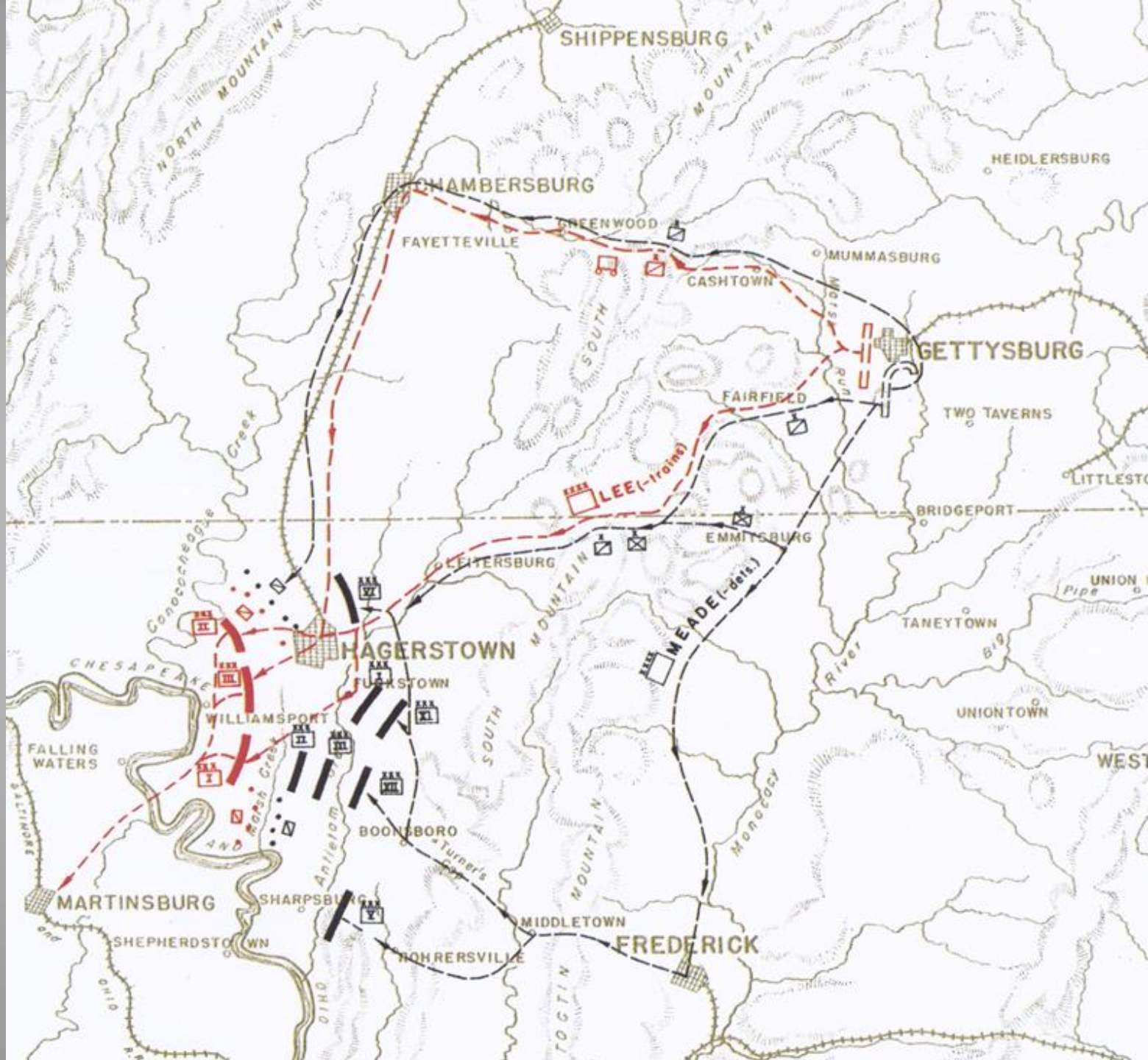


SIMPLICITY - "prepare clear, uncomplicated plans and clear concise orders to ensure thorough understanding."

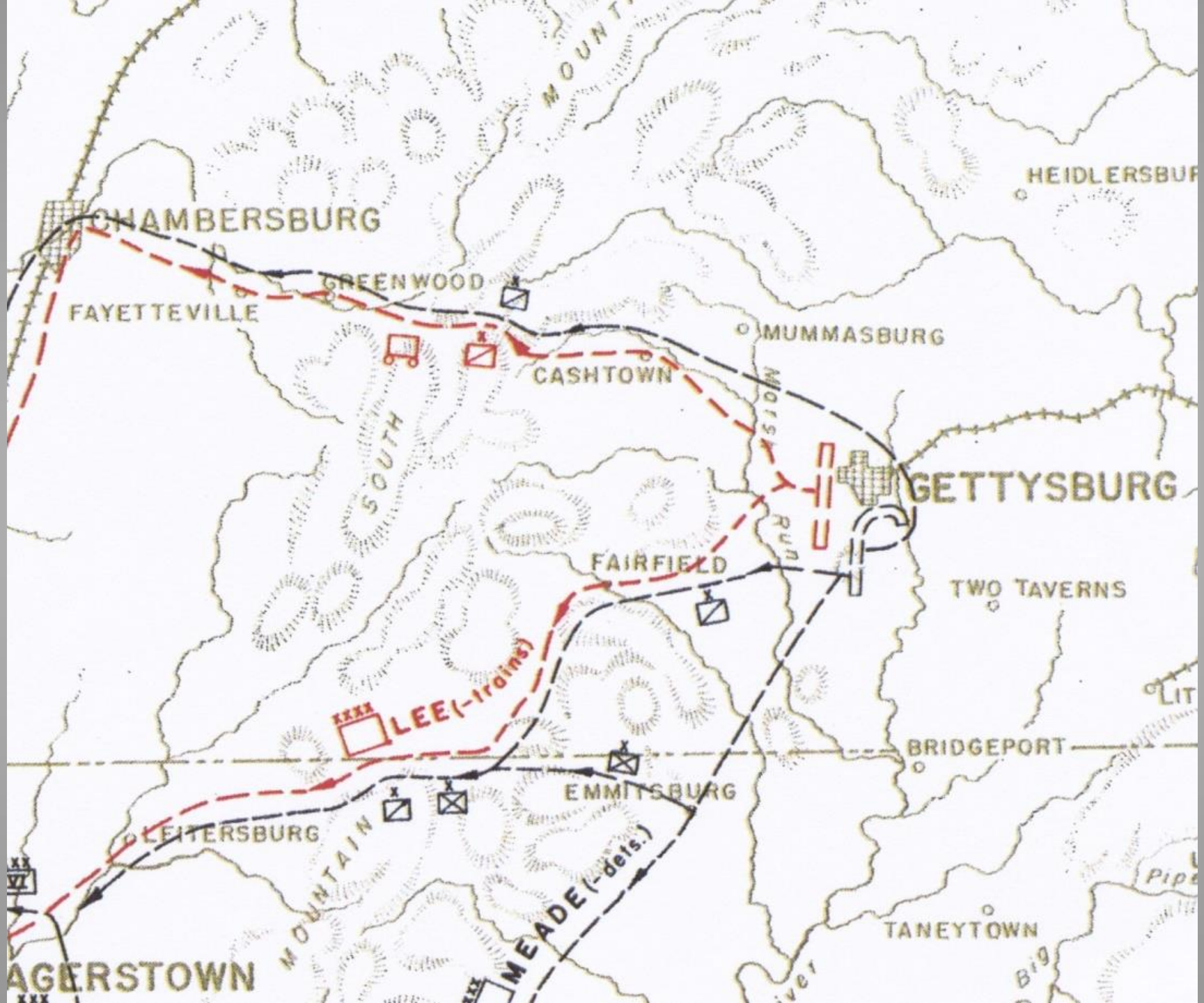
PRINCIPLES OF WAR



UNITY OF COMMAND - "for every objective, there should be unity of effort."







CHAMBERSBURG

HEIDLERSBURG

FAYETTEVILLE

GREENWOOD

MUMMASBURG

CASHTOWN

SOUTH MOUNTAIN

MUMM'S RUN

GETTYSBURG

FAIRFIELD

TWO TAVERNS

LEE (-troops)

BRIDGEPORT

EMMITSBURG

LEIFERSBURG

MOUNTAIN

MEADE (-dets.)

TANEYTOWN

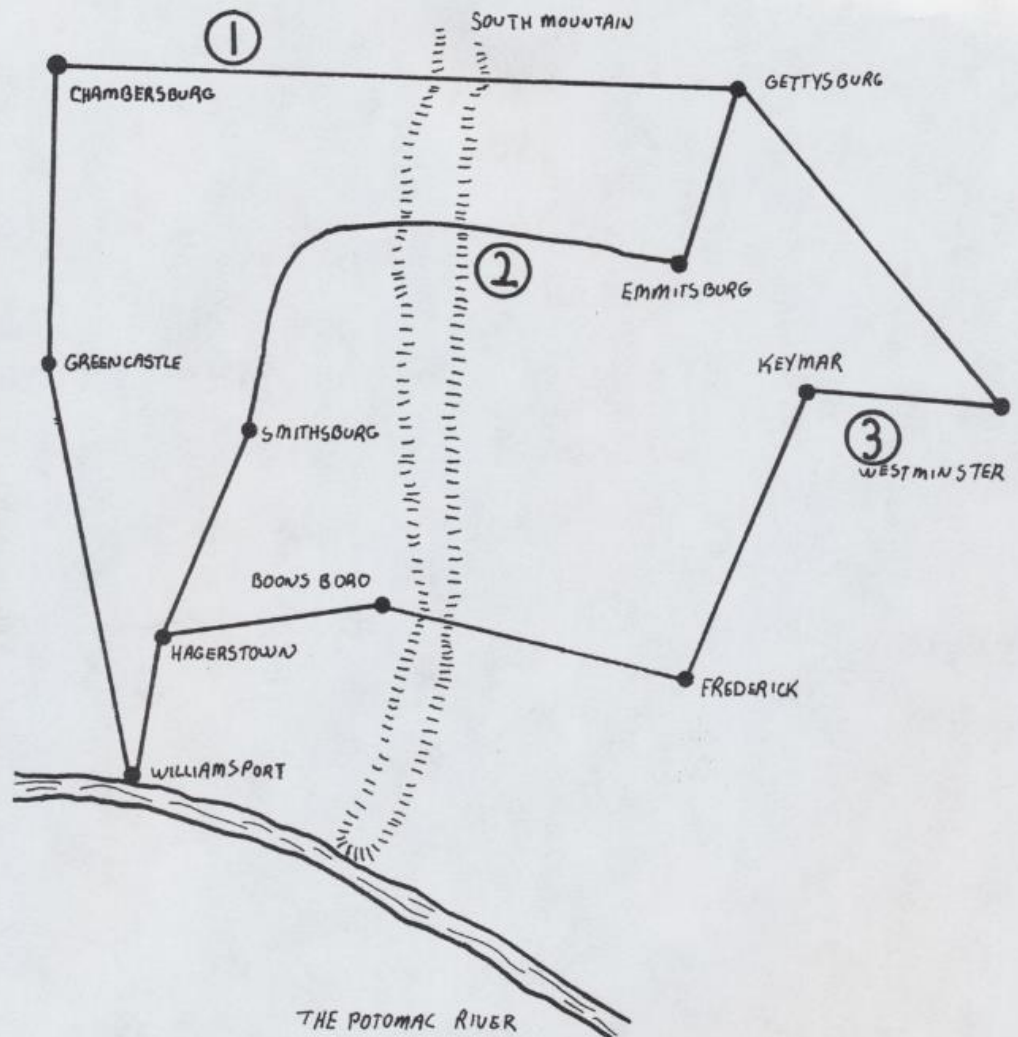
AGERSTOWN

LIT

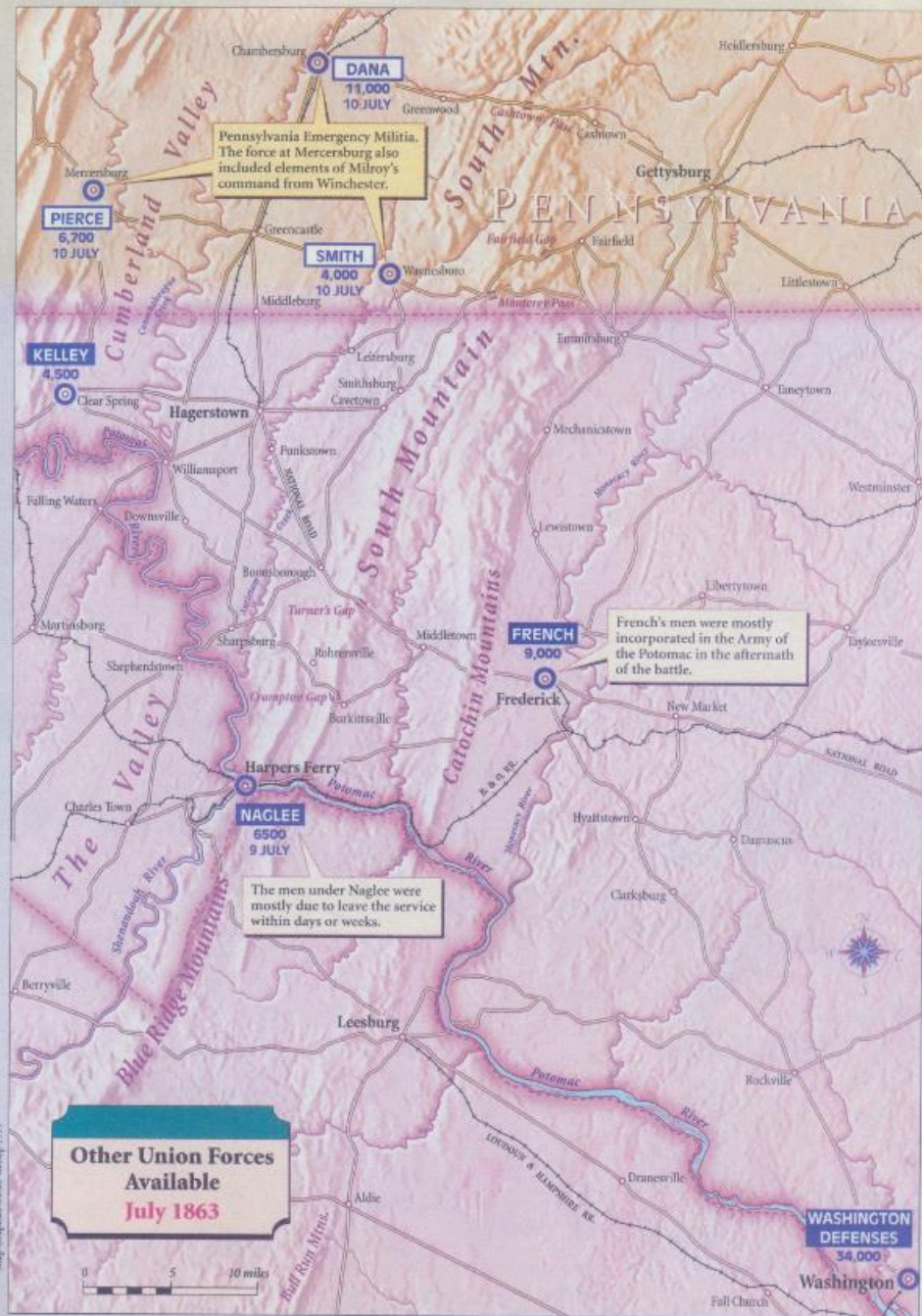
Pipe

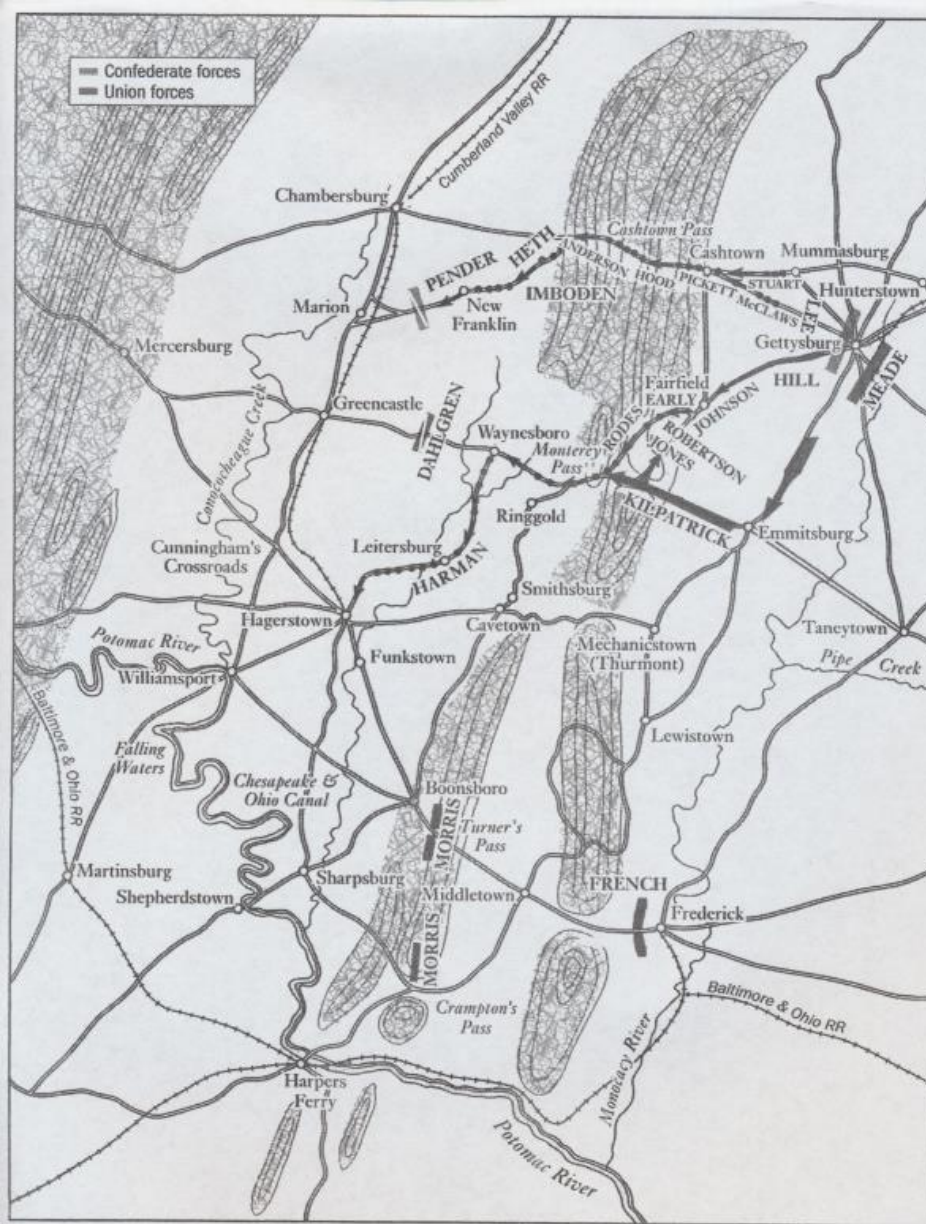
Big

river



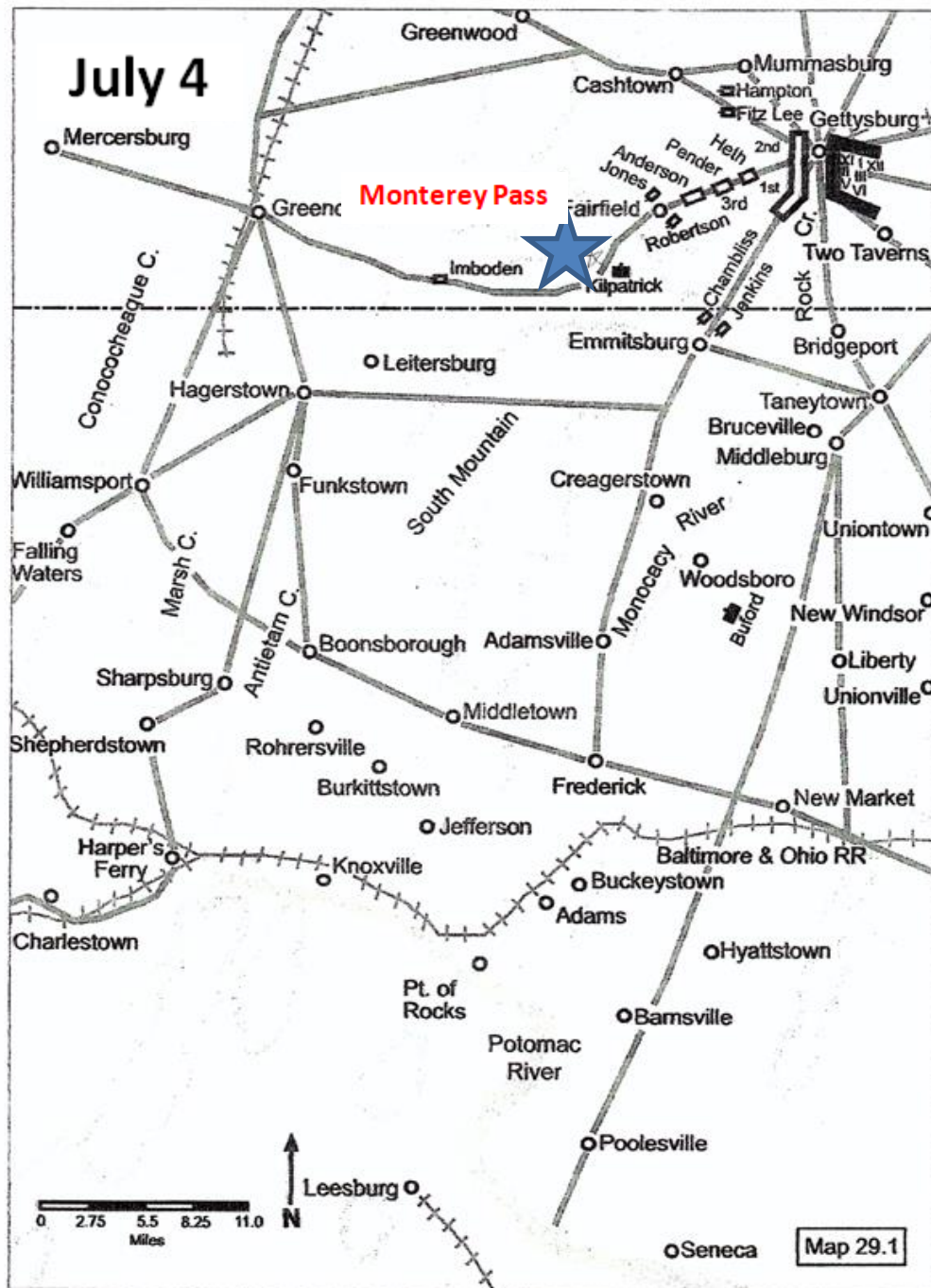
- ① GREGG'S COLUMN
- ② KILPATRICK'S COLUMN
- ③ BUFORD'S COLUMN



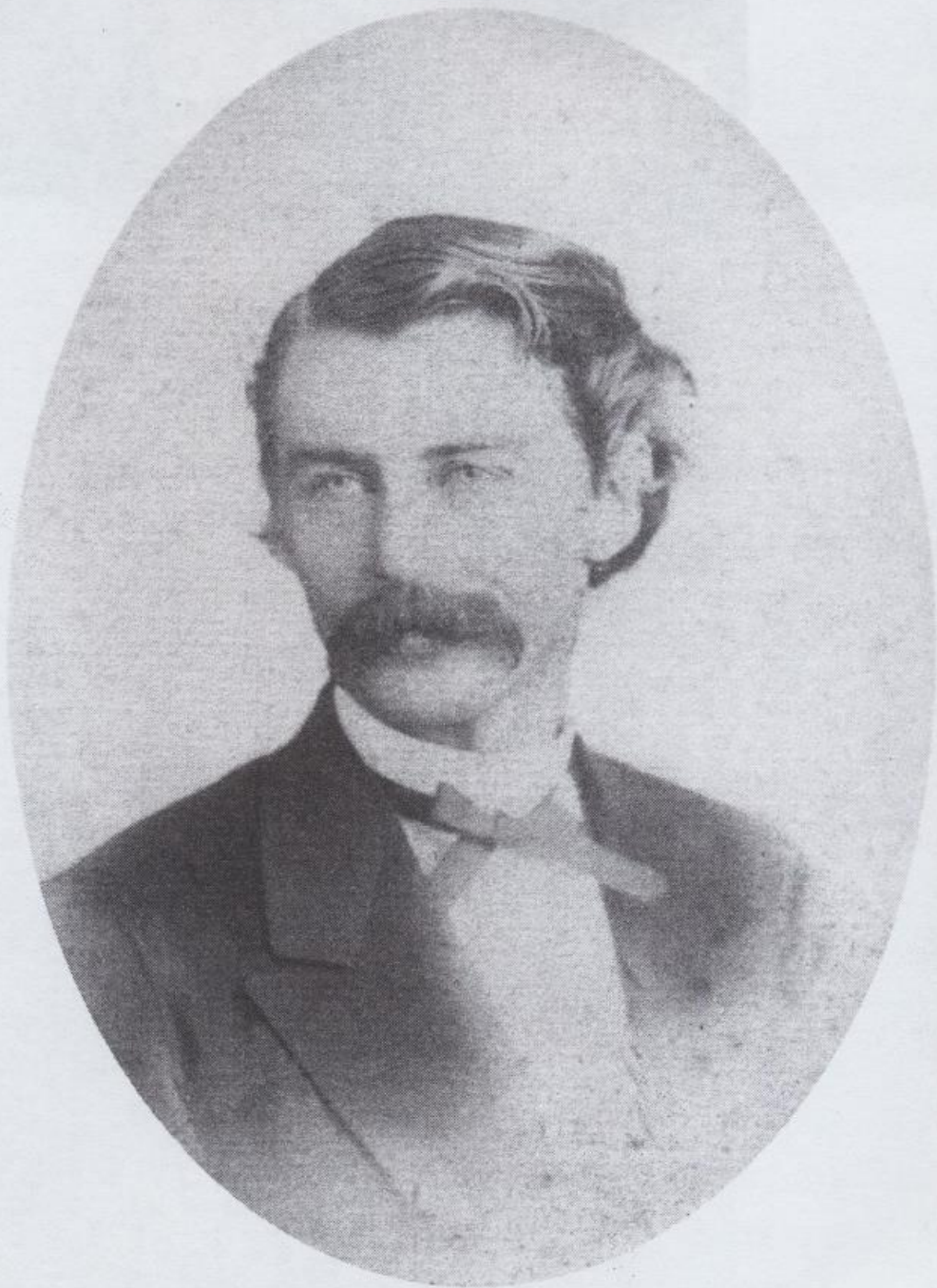


MAP 6.1 4 July 1863, 9:00 P.M., to 5 July 1863, 3:00 A.M.
 Harman's reserve train reaches Hagerstown, Rodes's trains are attacked by Kilpatrick's Division at Monterey Pass, and Imboden's trains arrive at New Franklin. Hill's leading corps arrives at Fairfield.

July 4



A never-before-published photograph of Captain George M. Emack, commander of Company B, First Maryland Cavalry. The photograph was taken just after the war, in Versailles, Kentucky, where he lived, died, and was buried. Courtesy of General William A. Tidwell.





**Ewell's
wagon
train**

MONTEREY
PEAK

Emack

Fight On the
Evening of
July 4, 1863
Phase 1

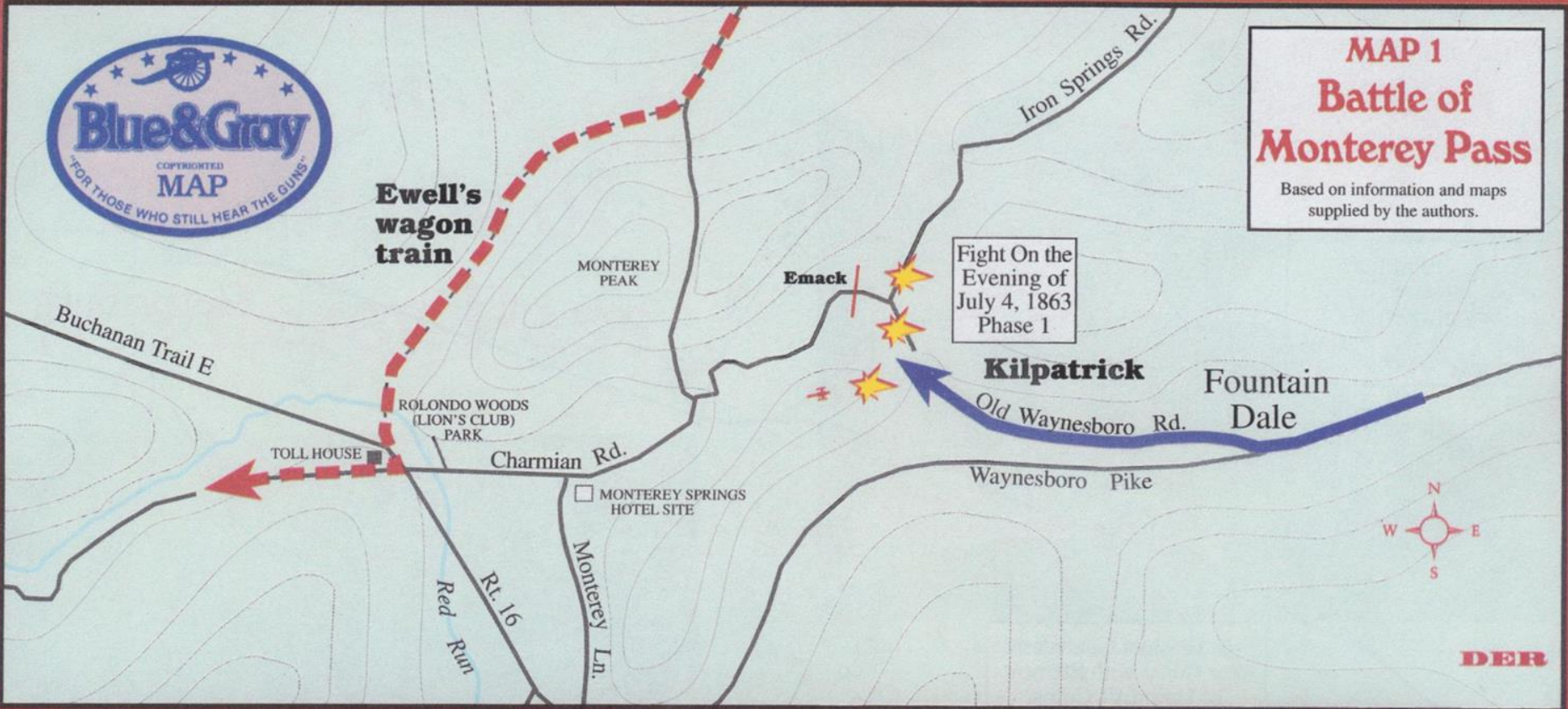
Kilpatrick

Fountain
Dale

MAP 1
Battle of
Monterey Pass
Based on information and maps
supplied by the authors.

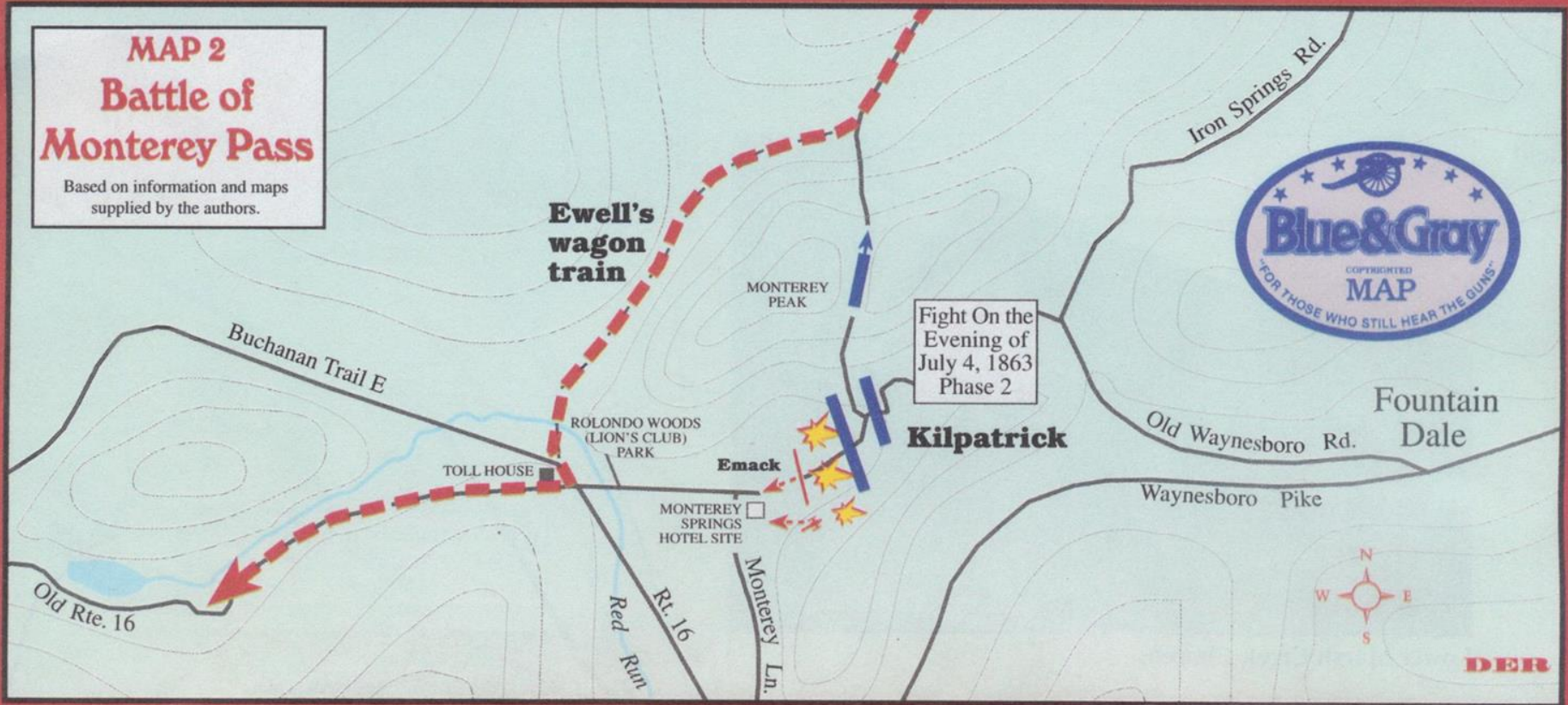


DER



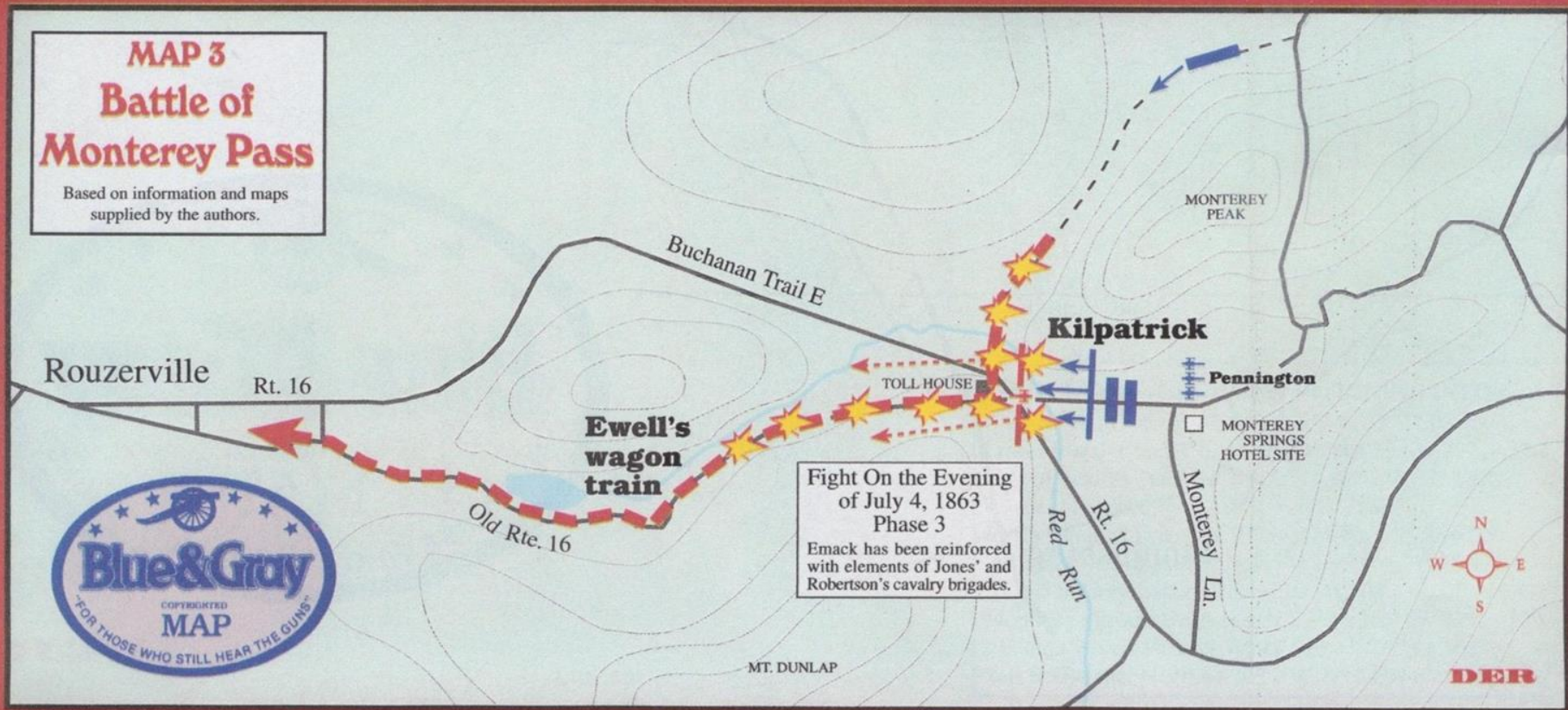
MAP 2 Battle of Monterey Pass

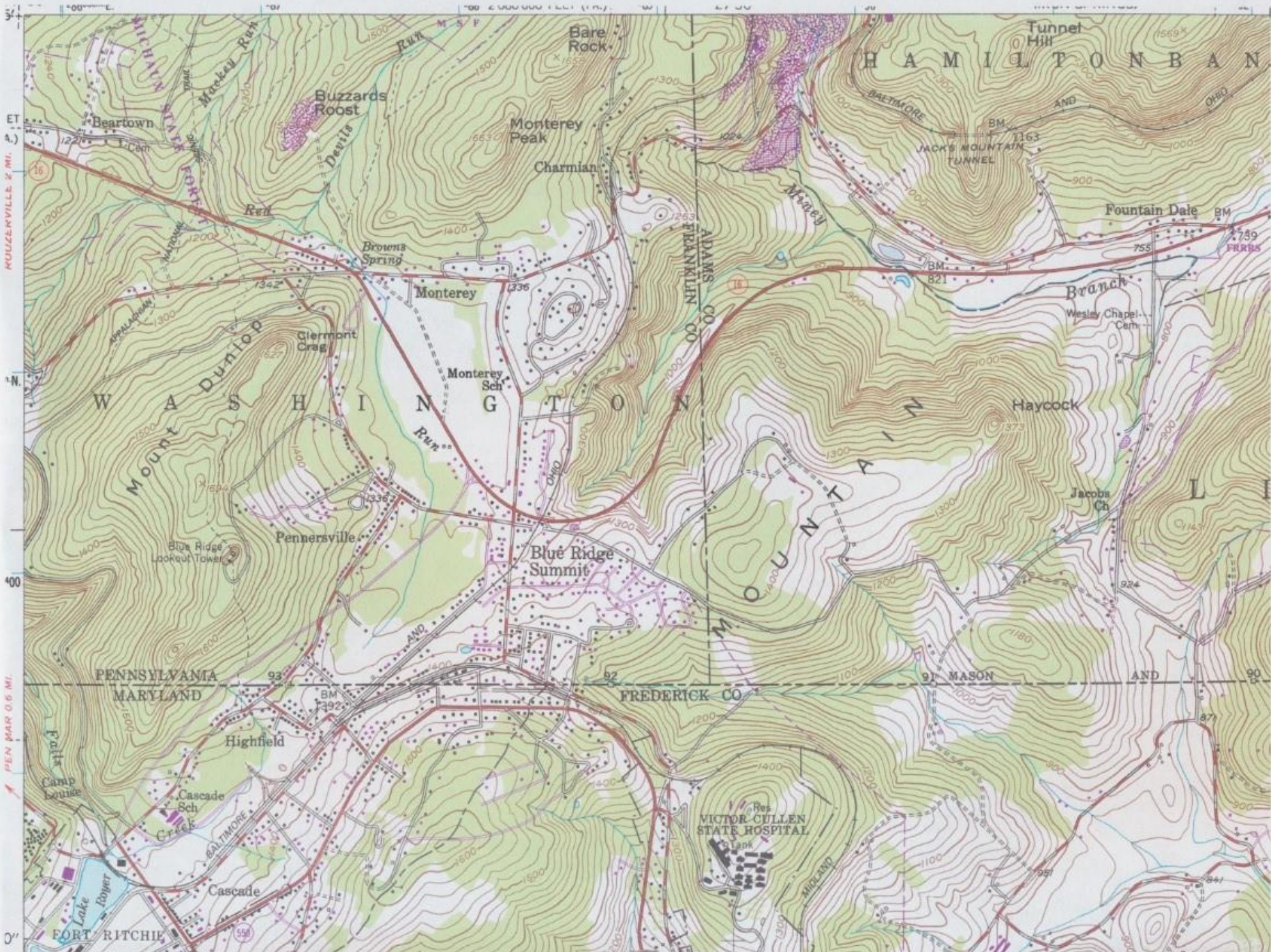
Based on information and maps
supplied by the authors.



MAP 3 Battle of Monterey Pass

Based on information and maps
supplied by the authors.





30° 00' N
ET A.)
ROUZERVILLE 2 MI.

30° 15' N

30° 30' N

0.6 MI.
PEN BAR 0.6 MI.

30° 45' N

122° 00' W
122° 15' W

FORT RITCHIE
MIL RES

PENNSYLVANIA
MARYLAND

FREDERICK CO

MASON

AND

90

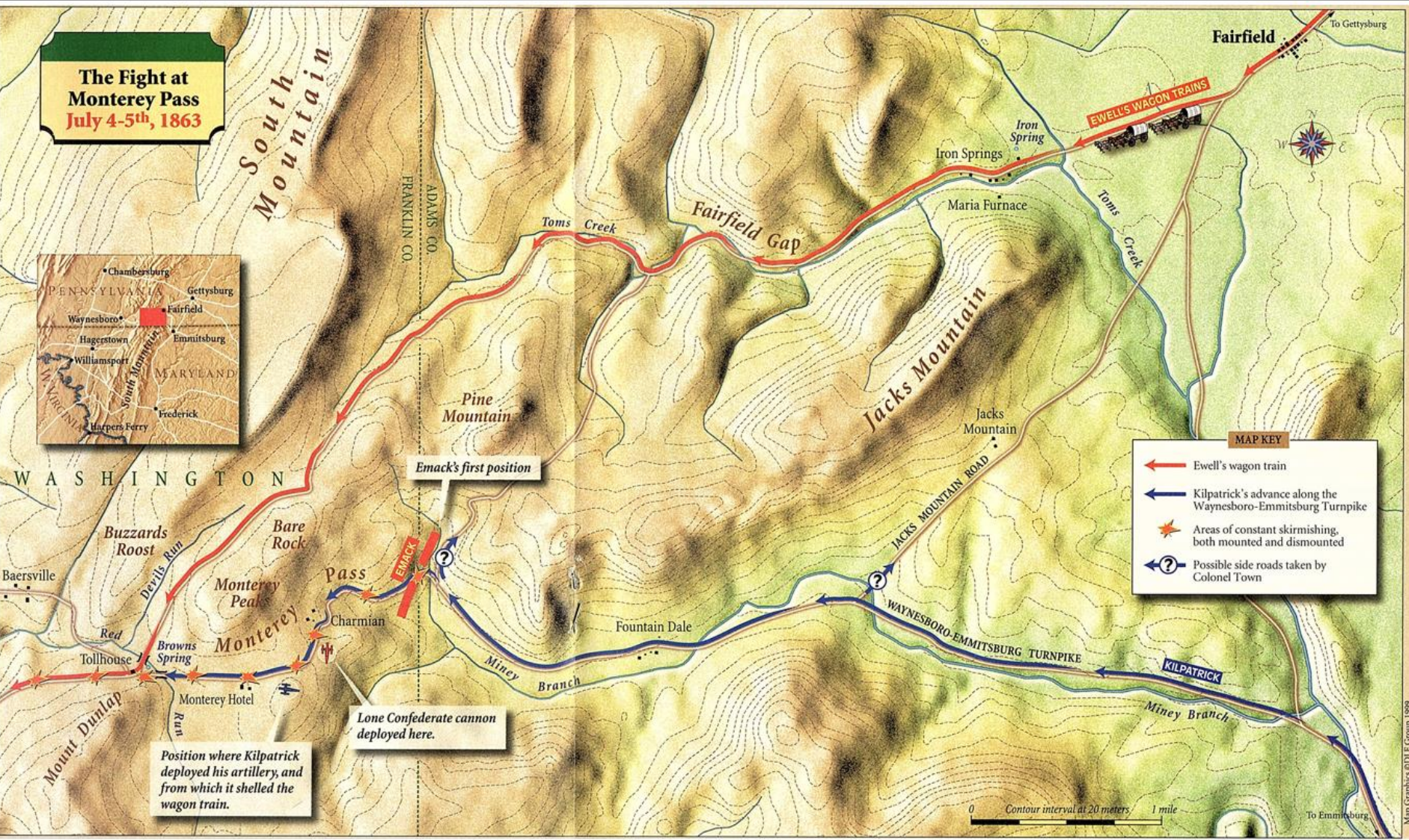
HAMILTON BAN

W H I T T I N G T O N
M O U N T A I N

M O U N T A I N
L I

Beartown
Bare Rock
Buzzards Roost
Devils
Monterey Peak
Charmian
Tunnel Hill
Baltimore
AND
OHIO
JACK'S MOUNTAIN TUNNEL
Fountain Dale
Branch
Wesley Chapel Cem
Haycock
Jacob's Ch
Blue Ridge Summit
Blue Ridge Lookout Tower
Pennessville
Monterey Sch
Glermont Crags
Brown's Spring
Monterey
Highfield
Cascade Sch
Camp Louise
Lake Boyert
Cascade
Victor Cullen State Hospital
MILAND

**The Fight at
Monterey Pass
July 4-5th, 1863**



Emack's first position

Lone Confederate cannon
deployed here.





Position where Kilpatrick
deployed his artillery, and
from which it shelled the
wagon train.

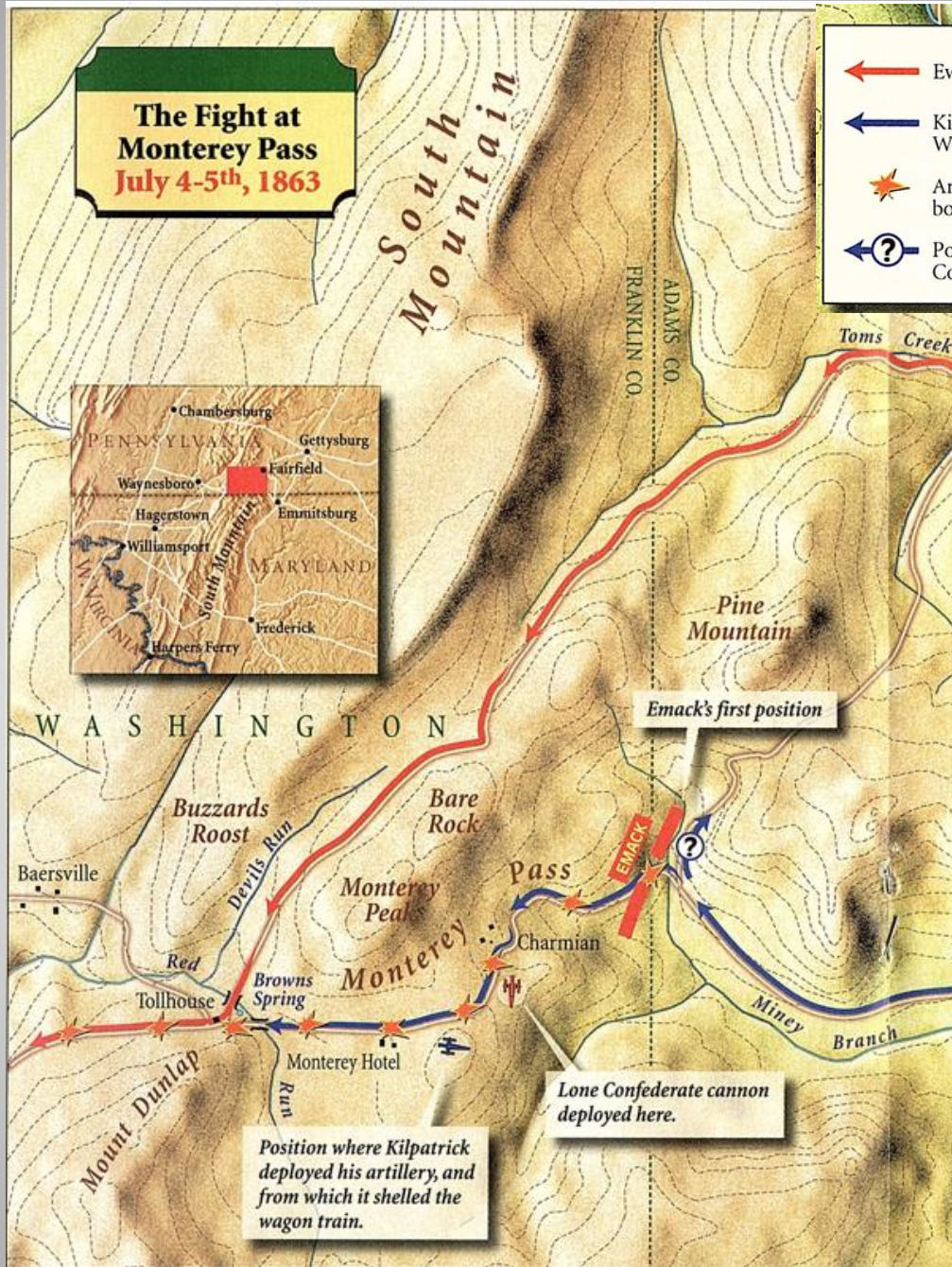
MAP KEY

- Ewell's wagon train
- Kilpatrick's advance along the Waynesboro-Emmitsburg Turnpike
- Areas of constant skirmishing, both mounted and dismounted
- Possible side roads taken by Colonel Town

**The Fight at
Monterey Pass
July 4-5th, 1863**

MAP KEY

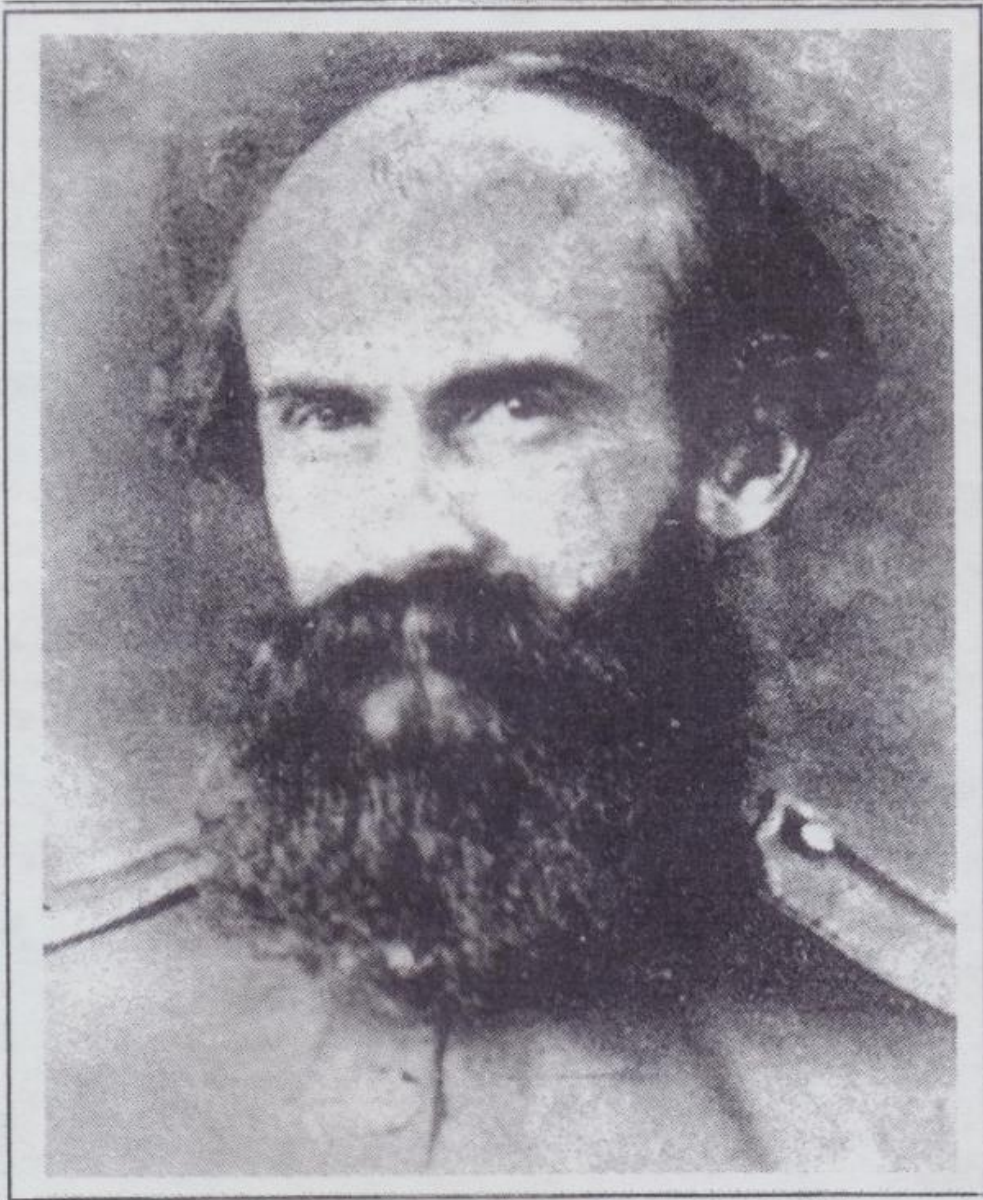
-  Ewell's wagon train
-  Kilpatrick's advance along the
Waynesboro-Emmitsburg Turnpike
-  Areas of constant skirmishing,
both mounted and dismounted
-  Possible side roads taken by
Colonel Town



Emack's first position

Lone Confederate cannon
deployed here.

Position where Kilpatrick
deployed his artillery, and
from which it shelled the
wagon train.



W.E. "Grumble" Jones (USAMHI).



The Struggles of the Wagon Train



MAP 8.1 5 July 1863, afternoon.

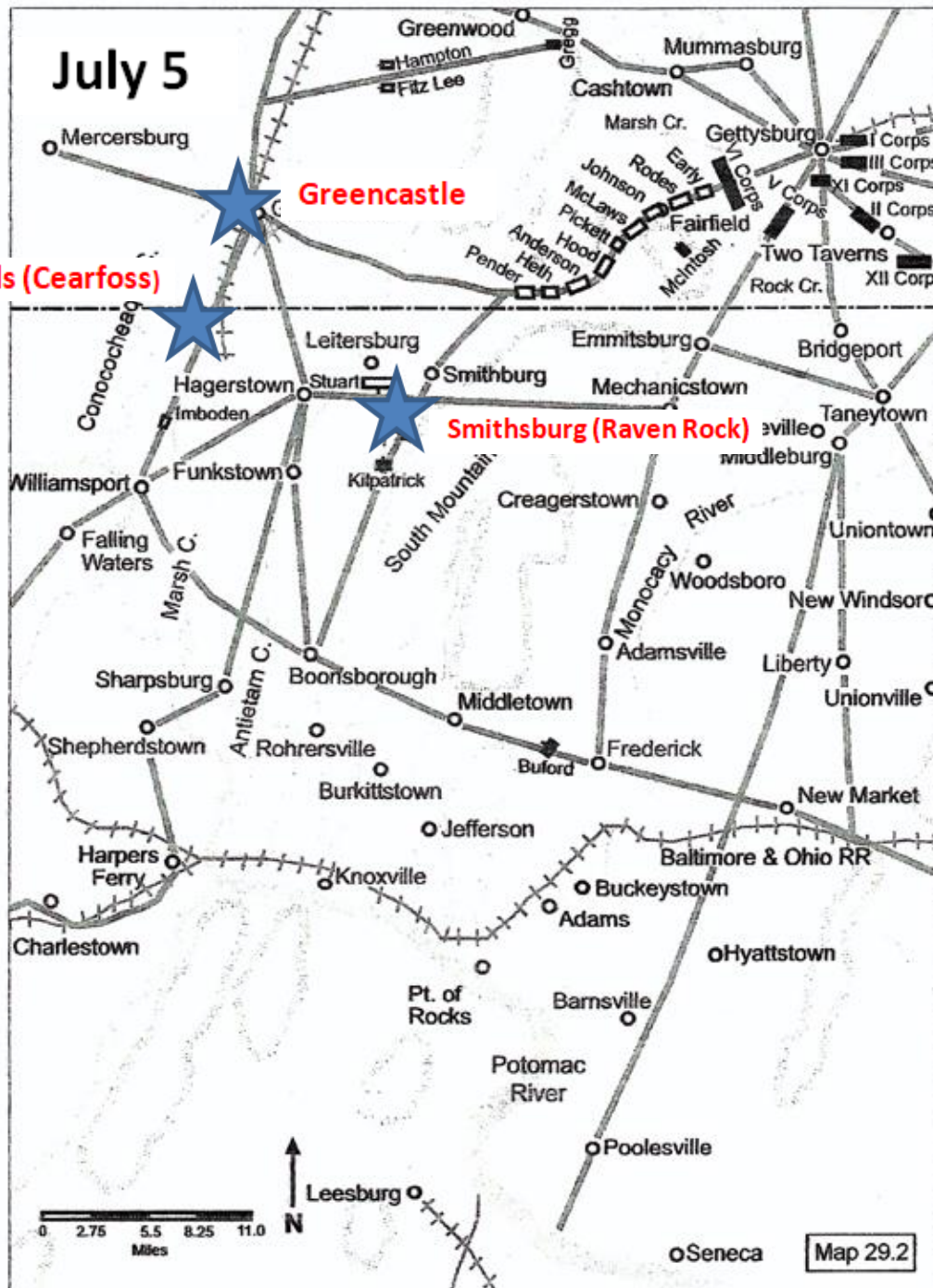
Imboden's trains are attacked at Cunningham's Crossroads; Stuart with Ferguson and Chambliss attack Kilpatrick at Smithsburg, while Hill's Corps reaches Monterey Pass, Longstreet's Corps enters Fairfield, and Ewell's Corps withdraws from Gettysburg. Kilpatrick hurries to Boonsboro.

July 5

Greencastle

Cunningham's Crossroads (Cearfoss)

Smithsburg (Raven Rock)



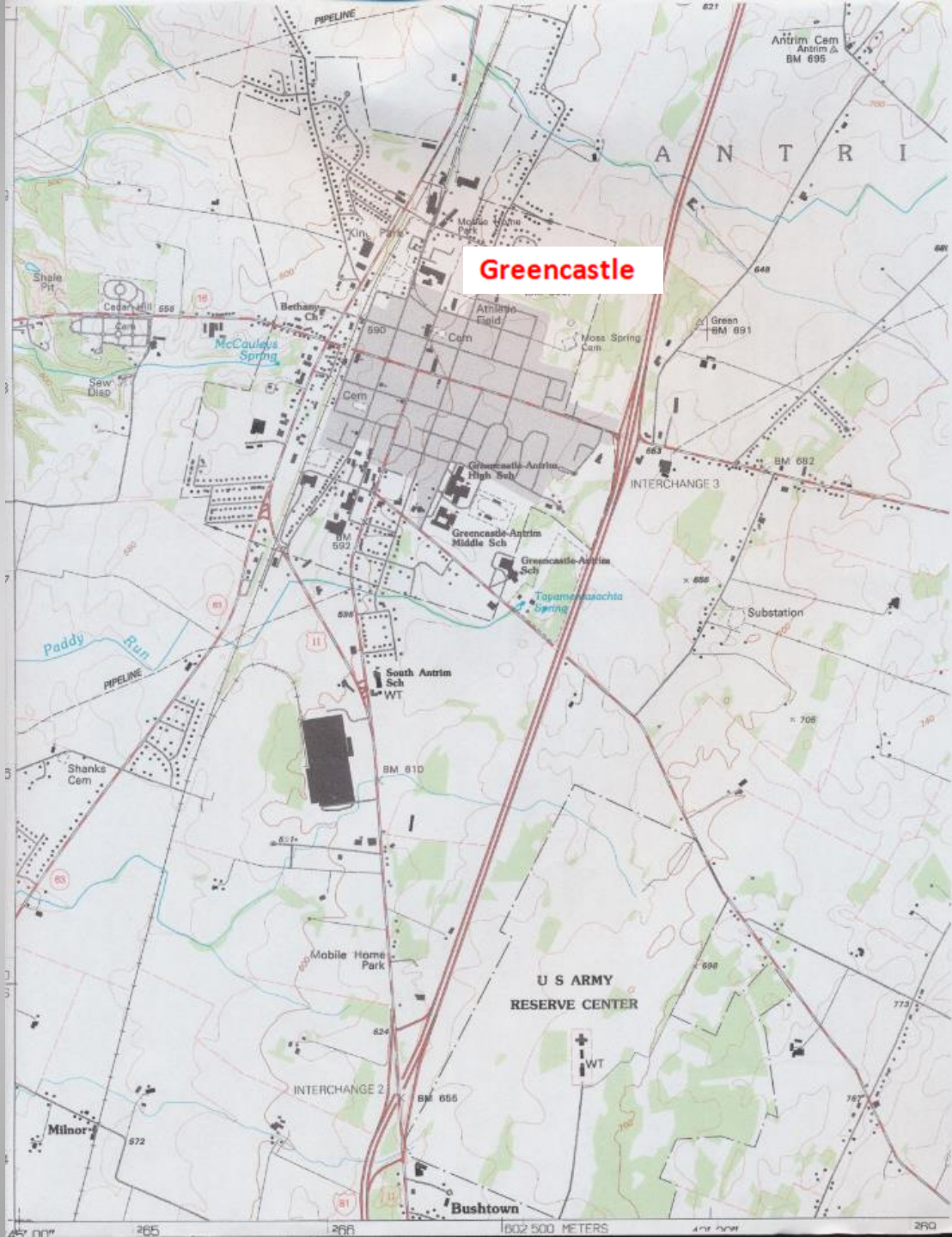


Moric Dahlgren



Ulric Dahlgren
Memoir of Ulrich Dahlgren, 1872

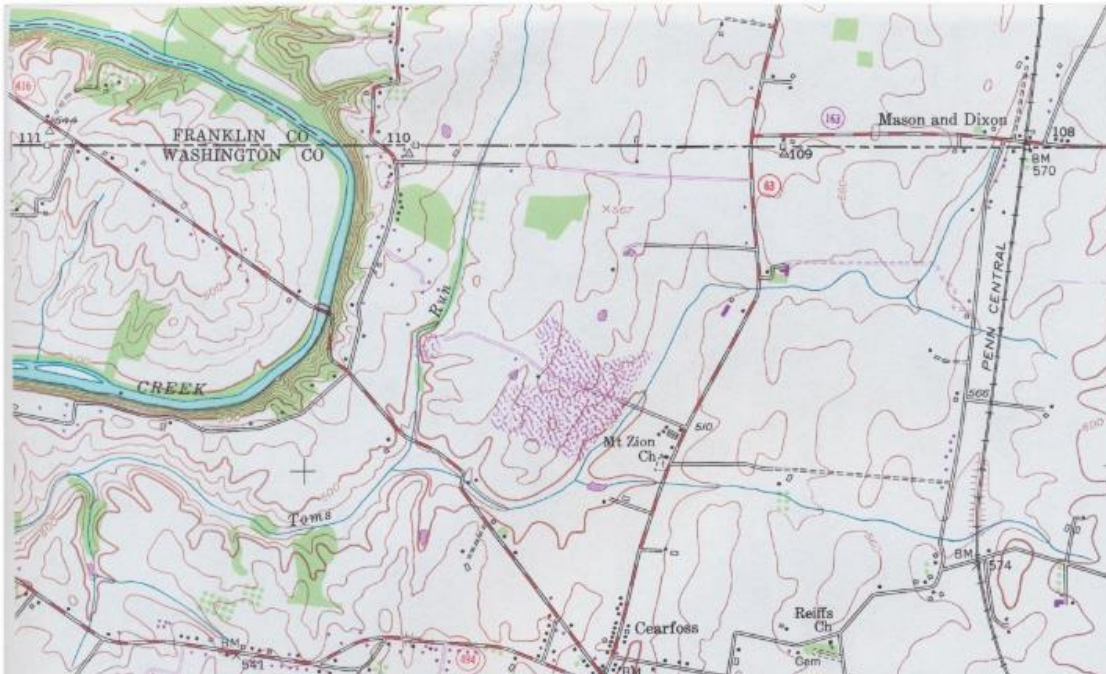
Greencastle



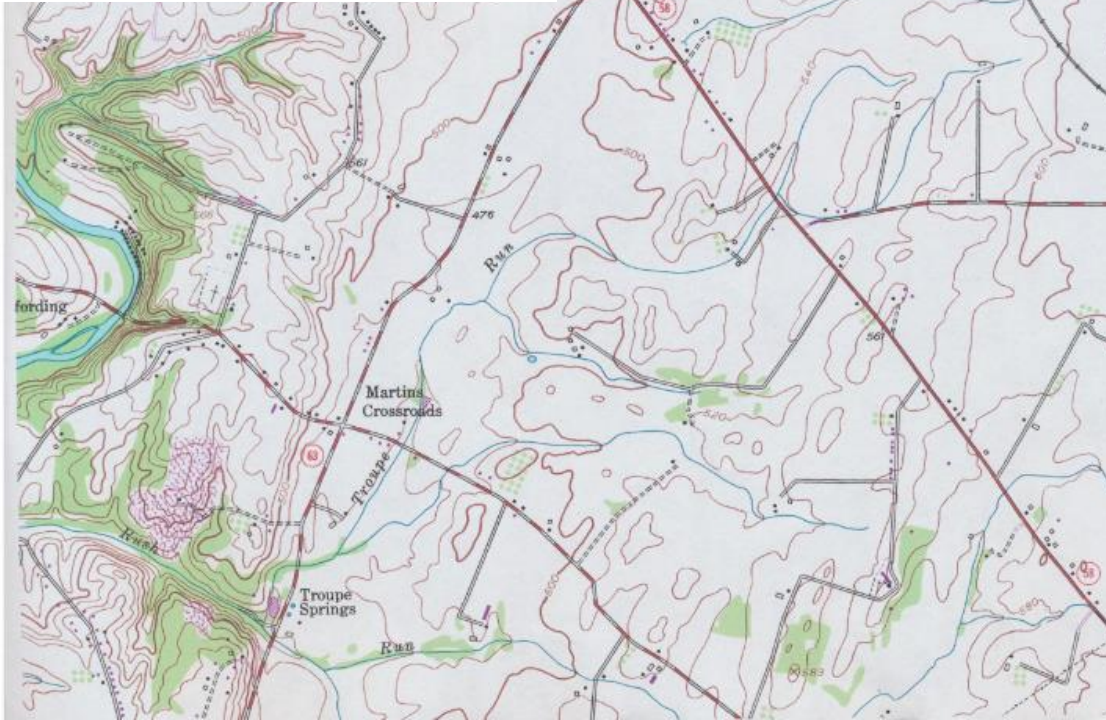
Captain Abram
Jones of the First
New York Cavalry.
William H. Beach,
*The First New York
(Lincoln) Cavalry*
(New York:
Lincoln Cavalry
Assoc., 1902),
56-57.



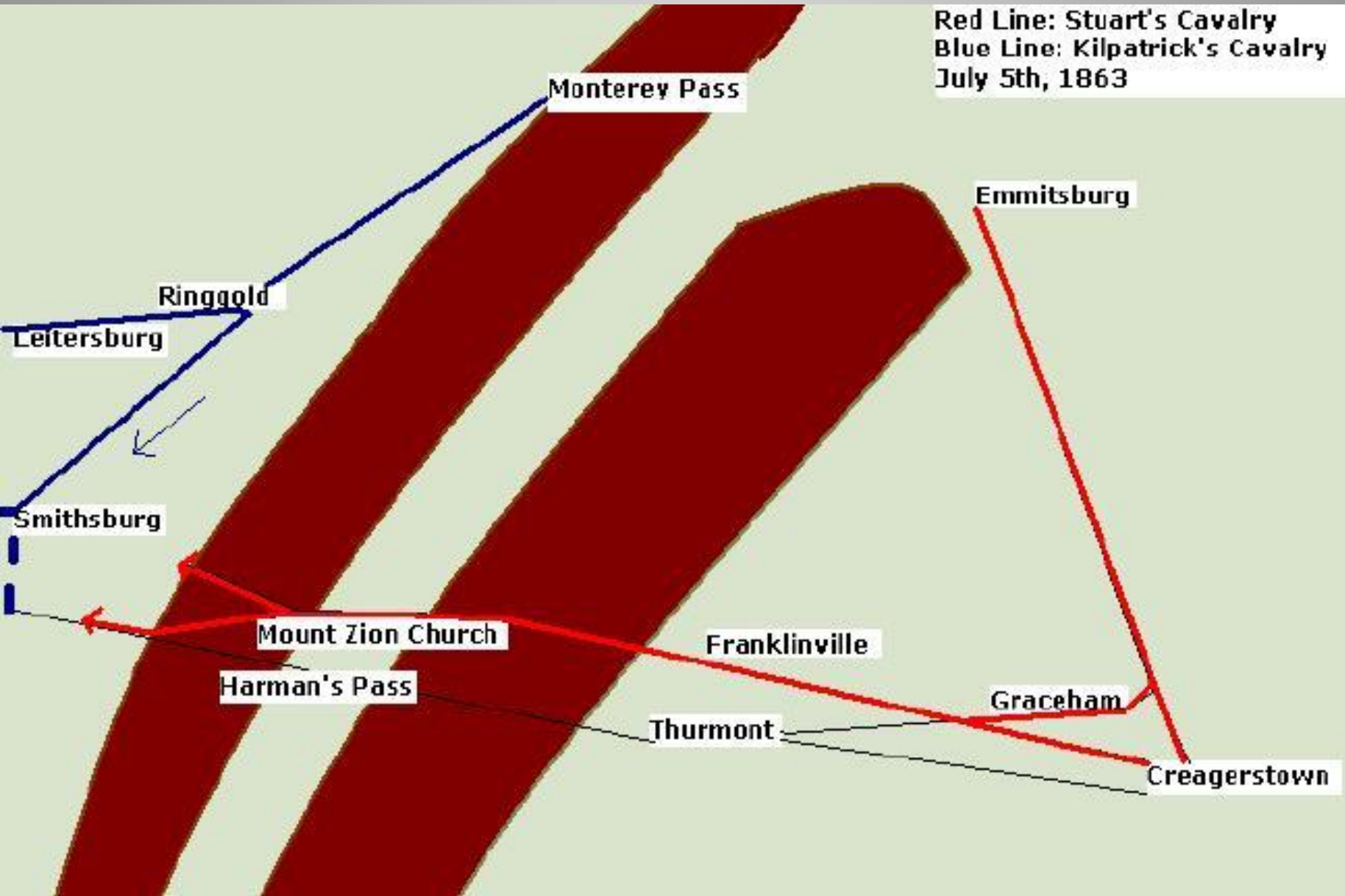


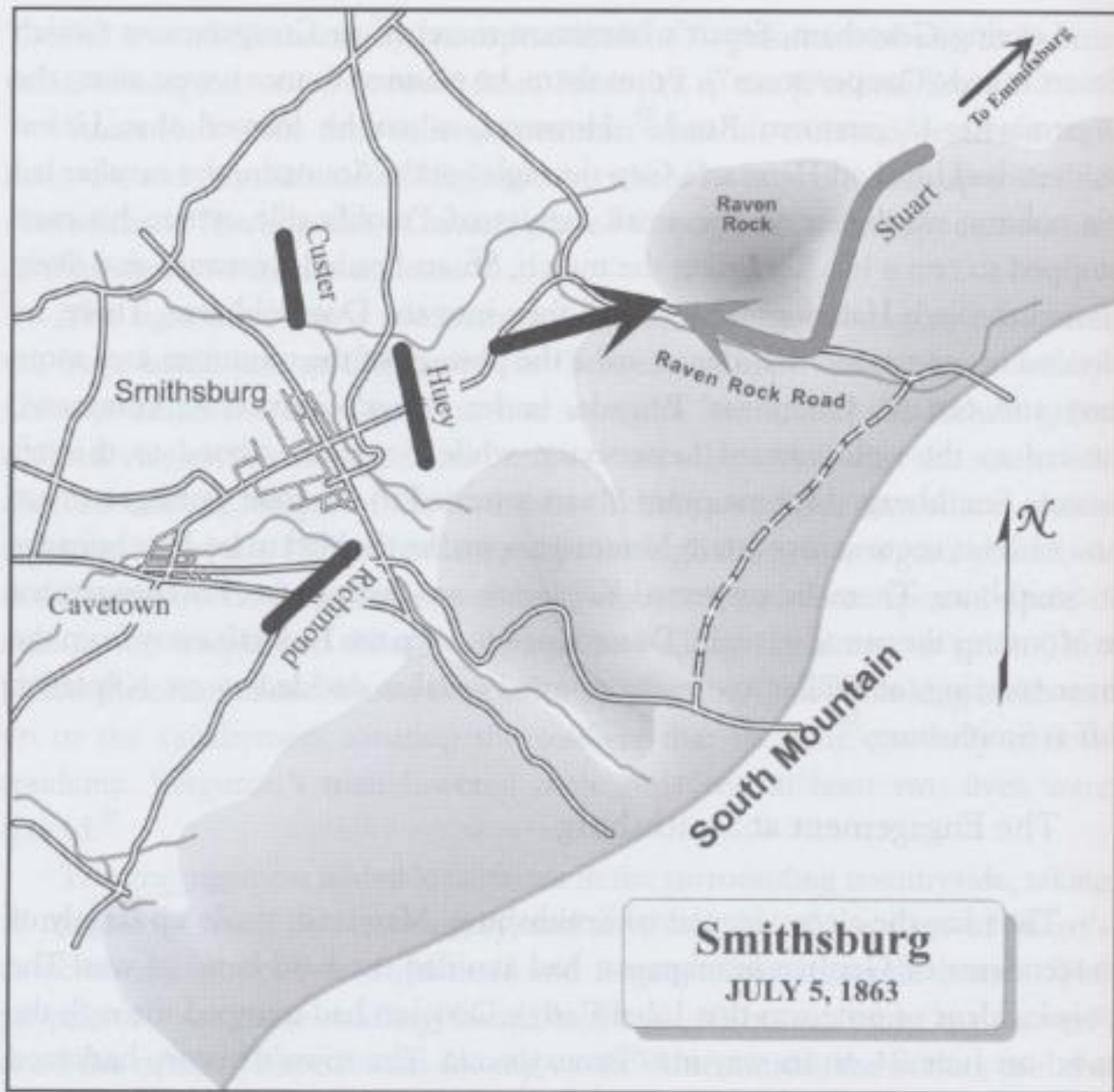


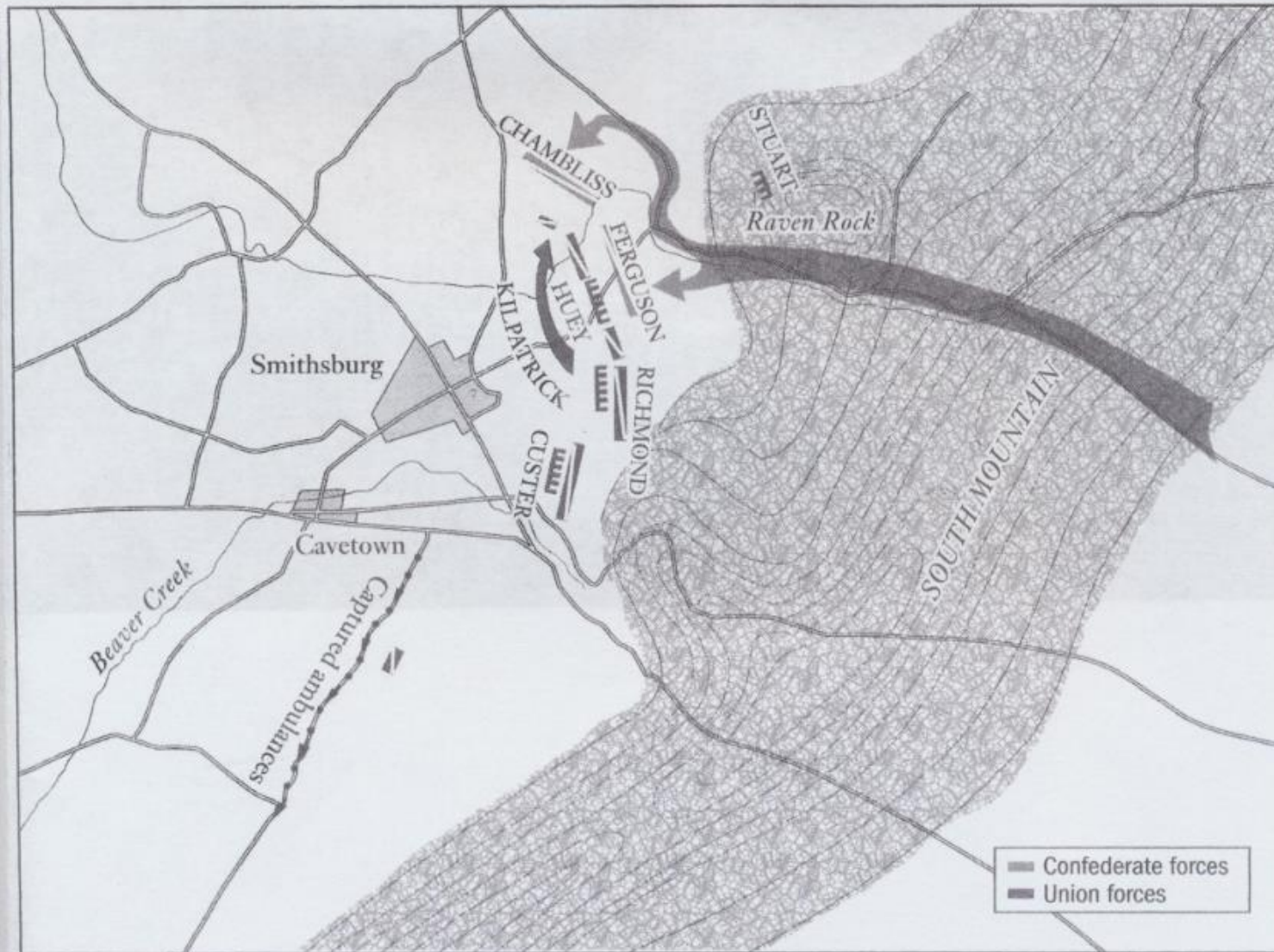
Cunningham's Crossroads (Cearfoss)



Red Line: Stuart's Cavalry
Blue Line: Kilpatrick's Cavalry
July 5th, 1863



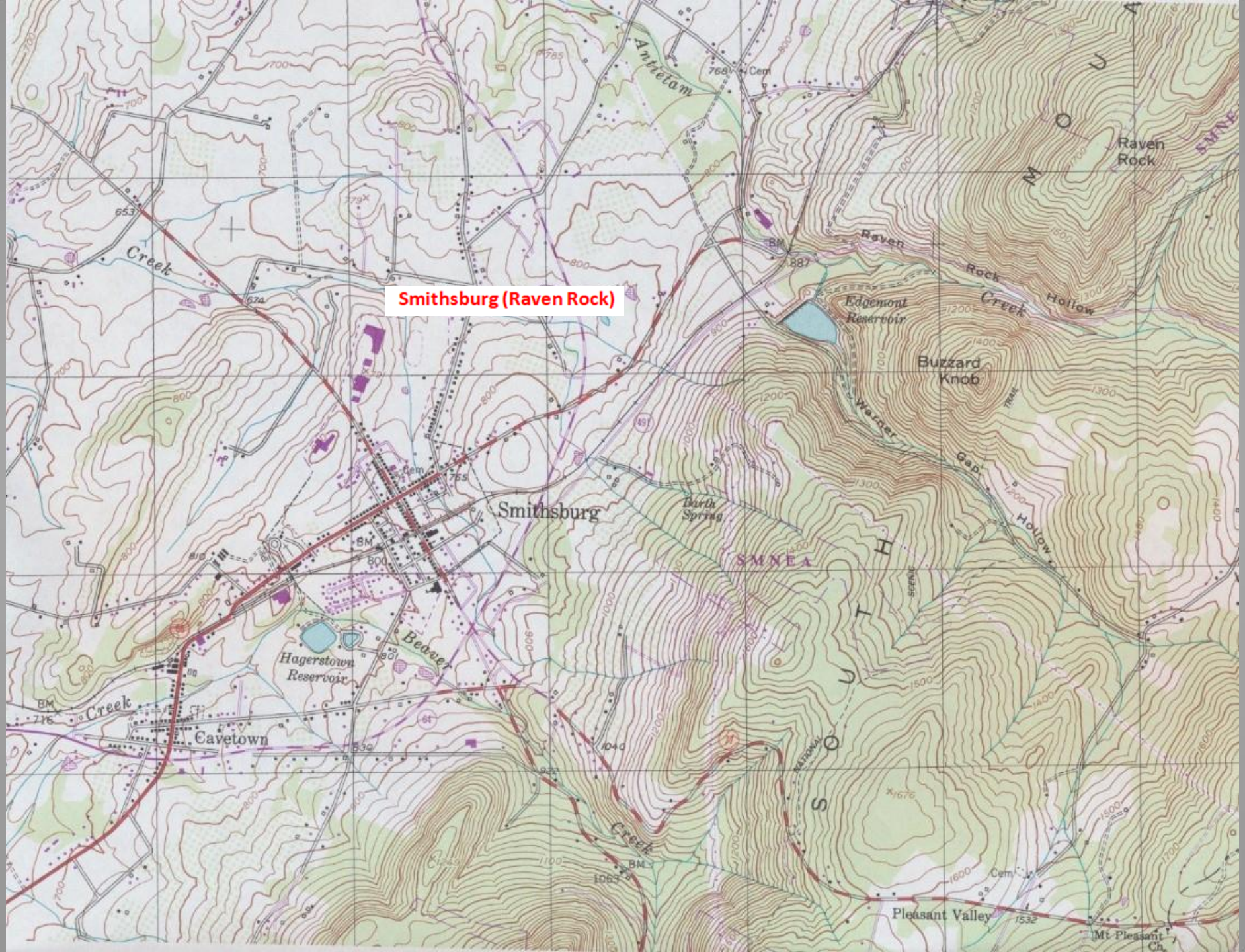


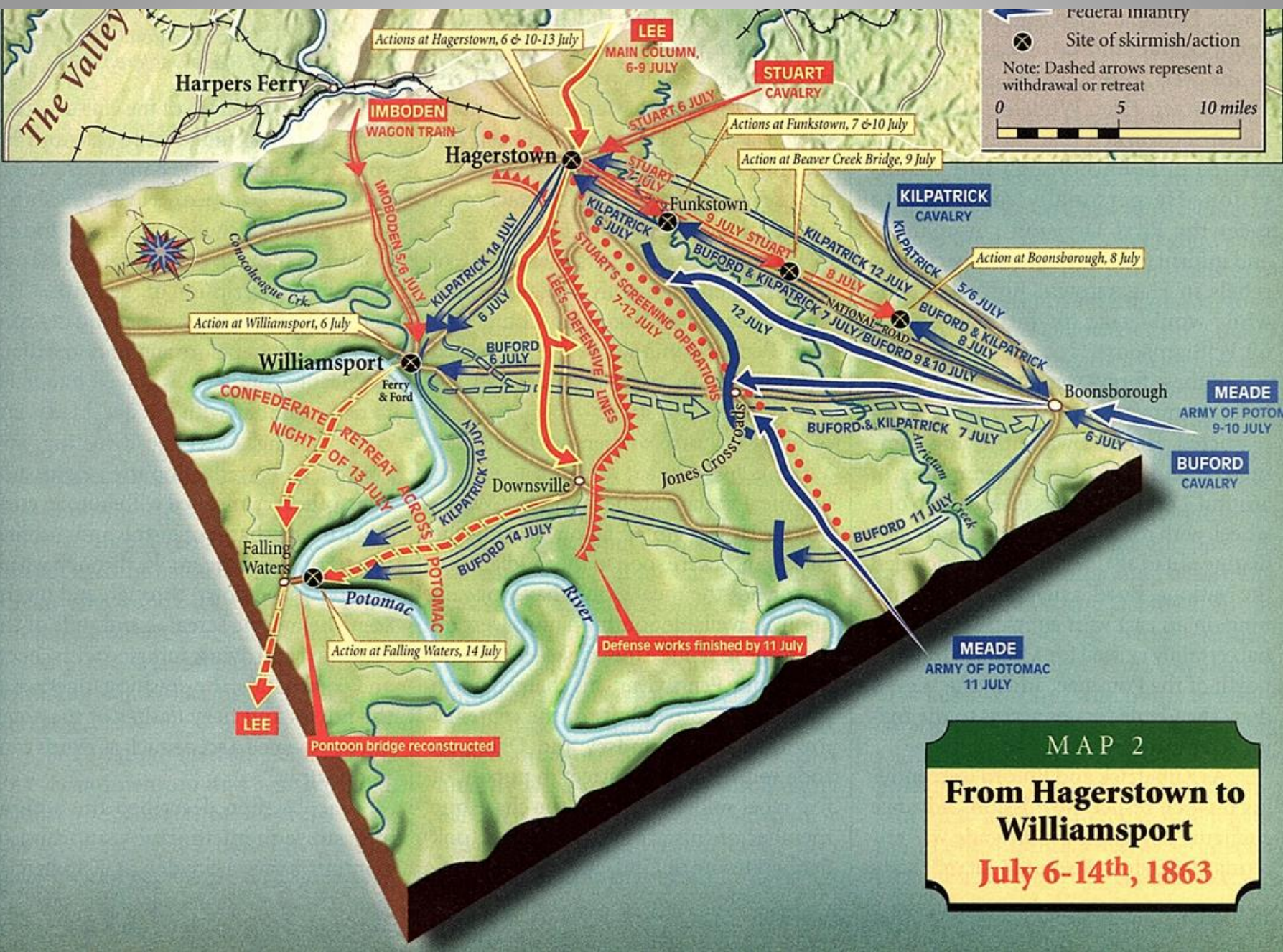


MAP 7.1 Late afternoon, 5 July 1863.

Stuart attacks Kilpatrick's Division at Smithsburg; Chambliss's Brigade overruns the left flank of Huey's Brigade, causing Kilpatrick to abandon the field. The ambulances and wounded of Rodes's Division captured at Monterey Pass are hurried to Boonsboro.

Smithsburg (Raven Rock)



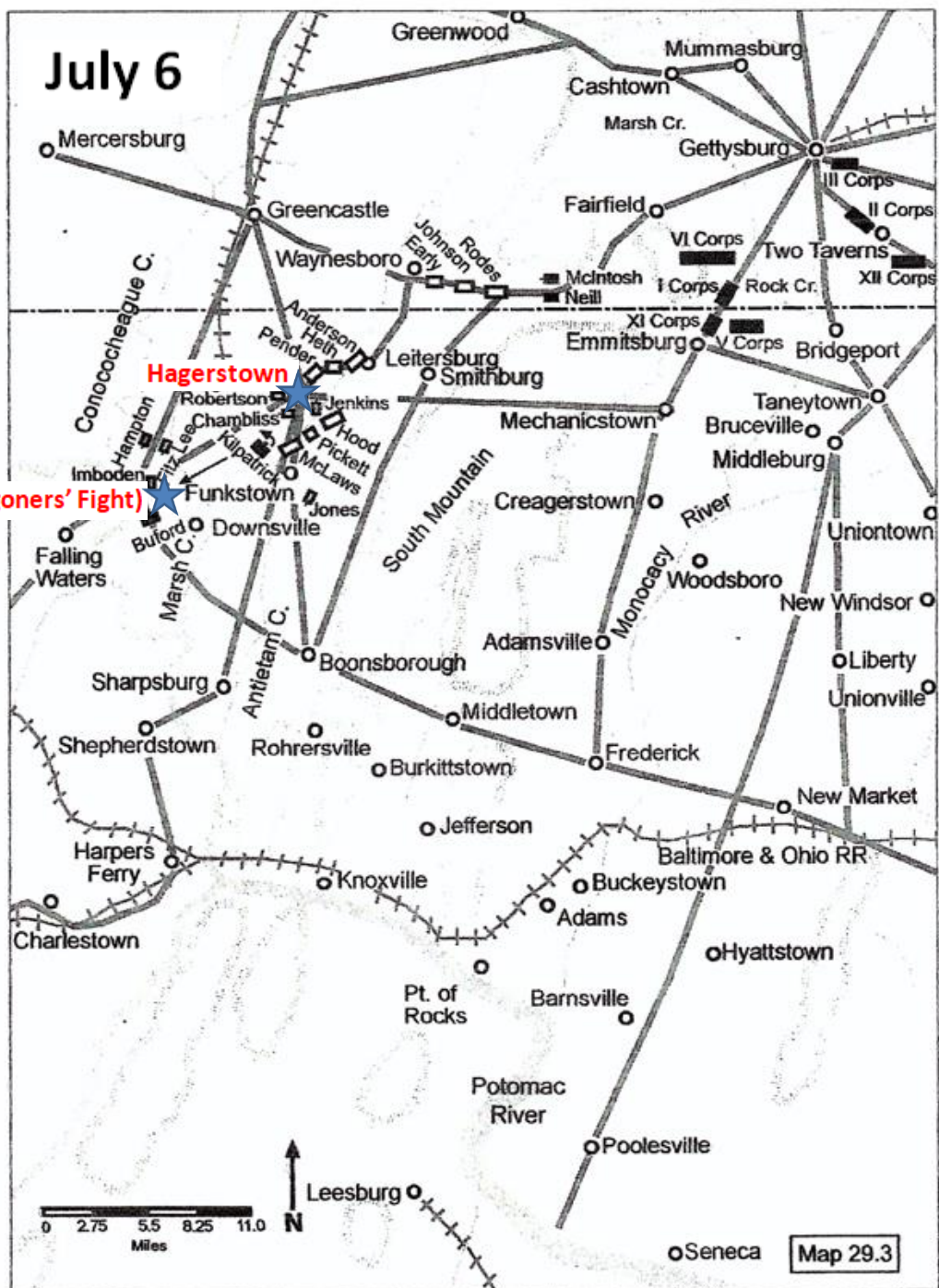


MAP 2

From Hagerstown to Williamsport

July 6-14th, 1863

July 6



Williamsport (the Wagoners' Fight)

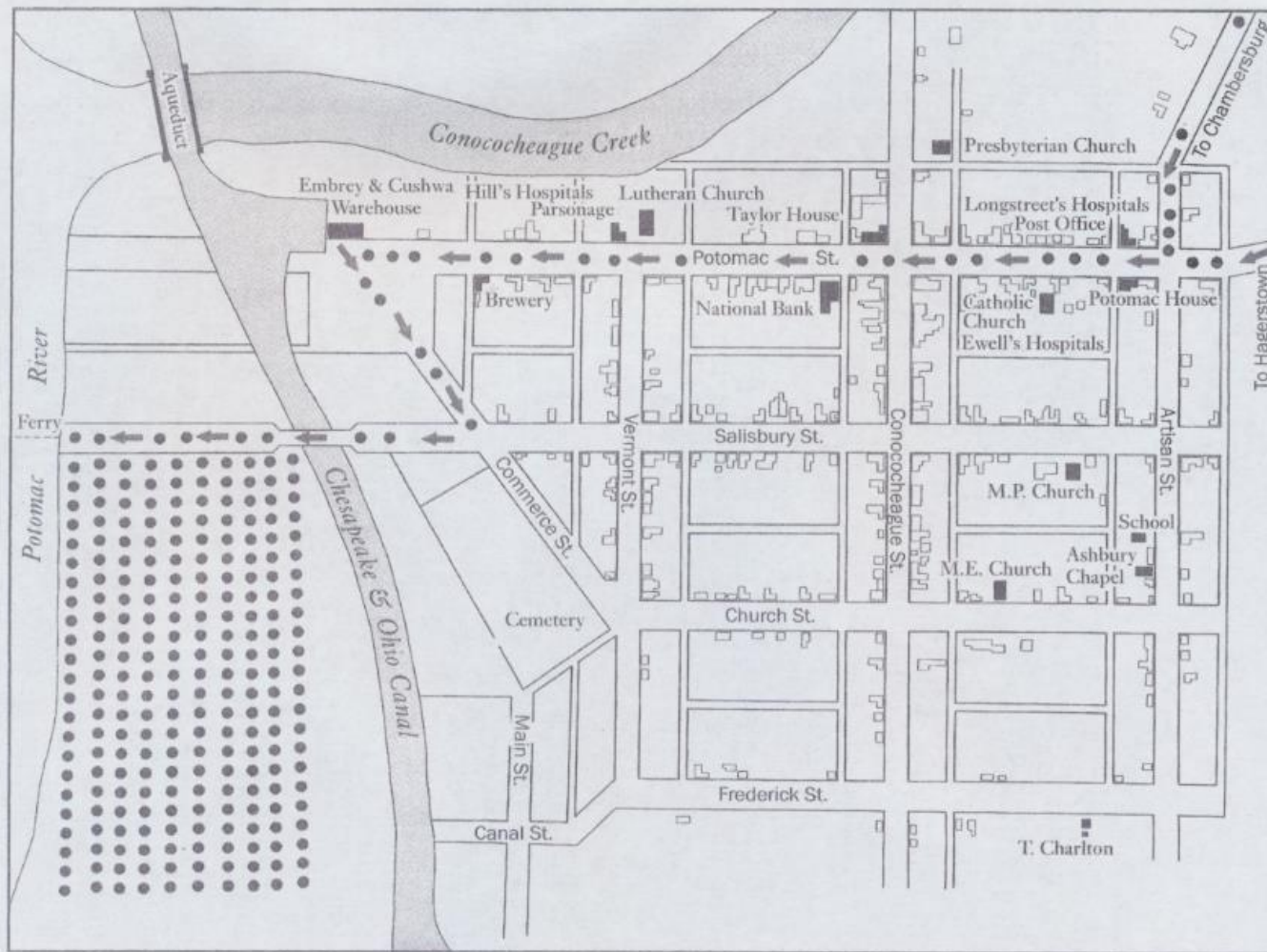
EAST POTOMAC ST. WILLIAMSPORT, MD.



Downtown Williamsport, 1900, looking towards Hagerstown. *Library of Congress*

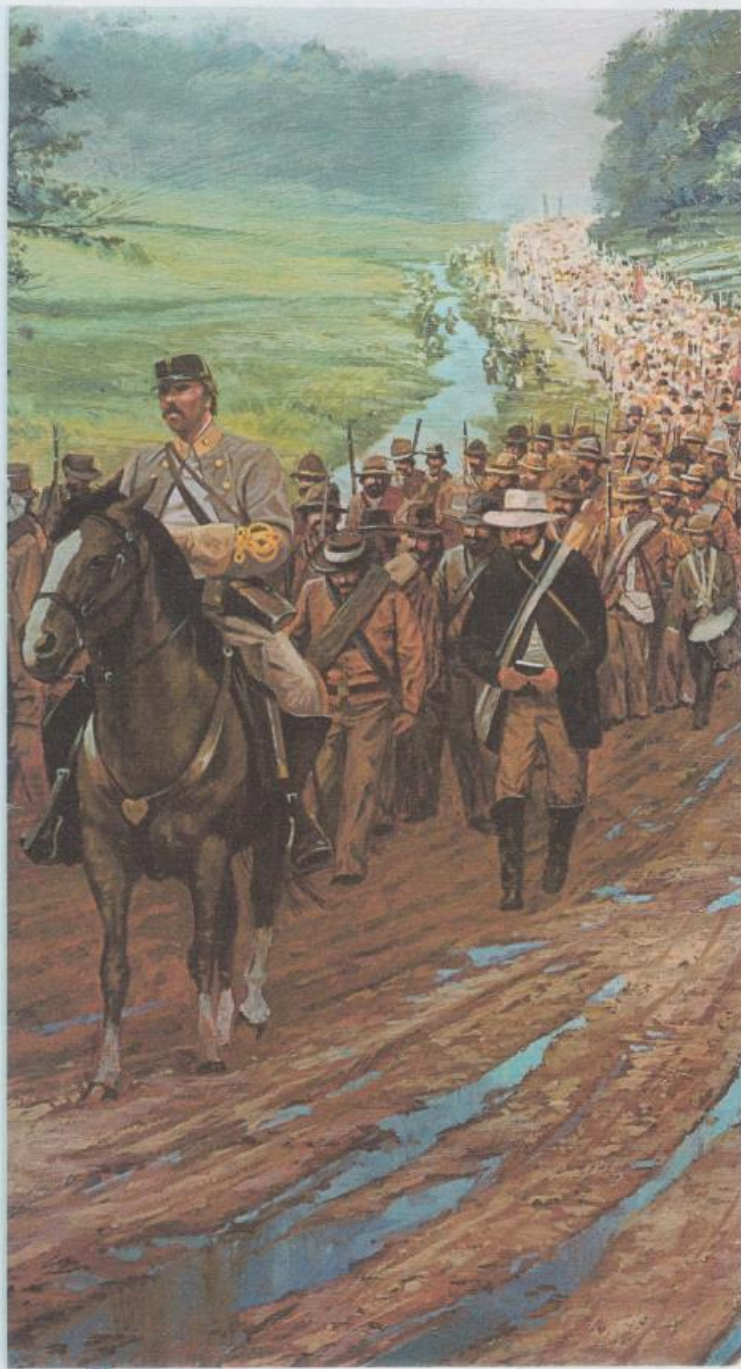


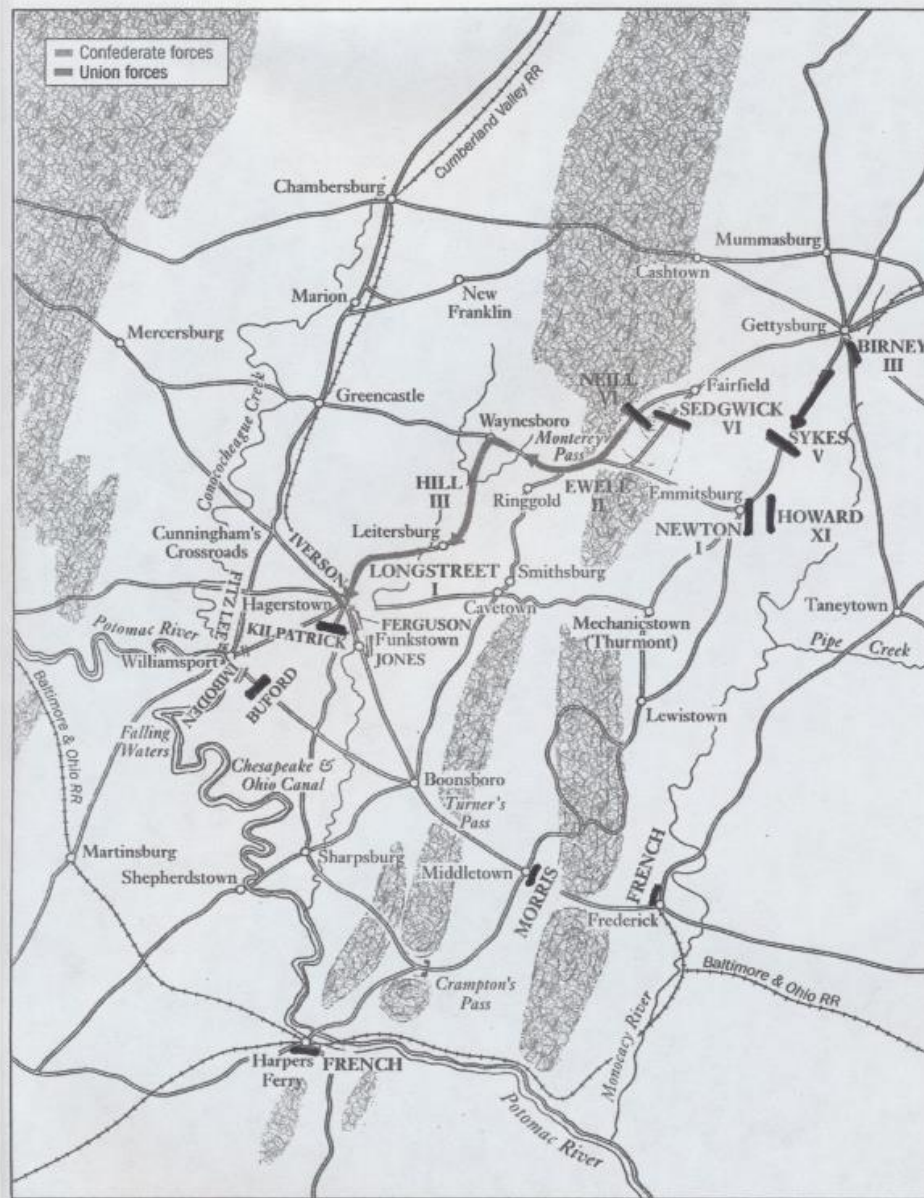
A never-before-published photograph of Williamsport, Maryland, showing the bottomland between the C&O Canal and the Potomac River, where most of the nearly four to five thousand wagons and ambulances of Lee's army were parked waiting to cross the swollen river. The photograph was taken shortly after the war, when the railroad tracks were constructed. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



MAP II.4 6 July 1863, Williamsport, Maryland.

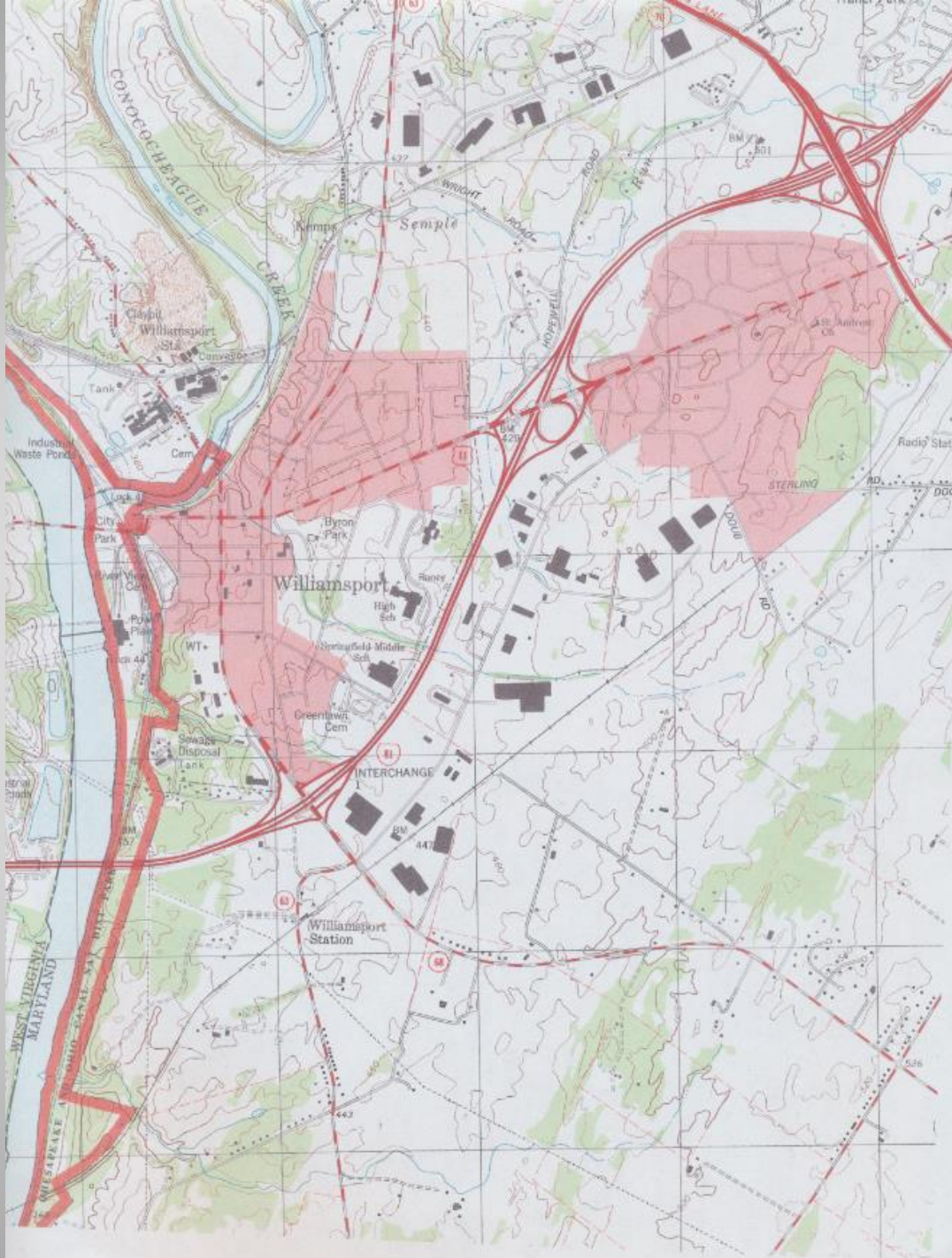
Major Harman's trains reach Williamsport by way of the Hagerstown-Williamsport Turnpike, and General Imboden's trains are arriving by way of the Cumberland Valley Turnpike. Both converge on Potomac Street. Most are parked along the river bottom between the C&O Canal and the Potomac River. Division and brigade hospitals of Longstreet's, Ewell's, and Hill's Corps are established along Potomac Street.

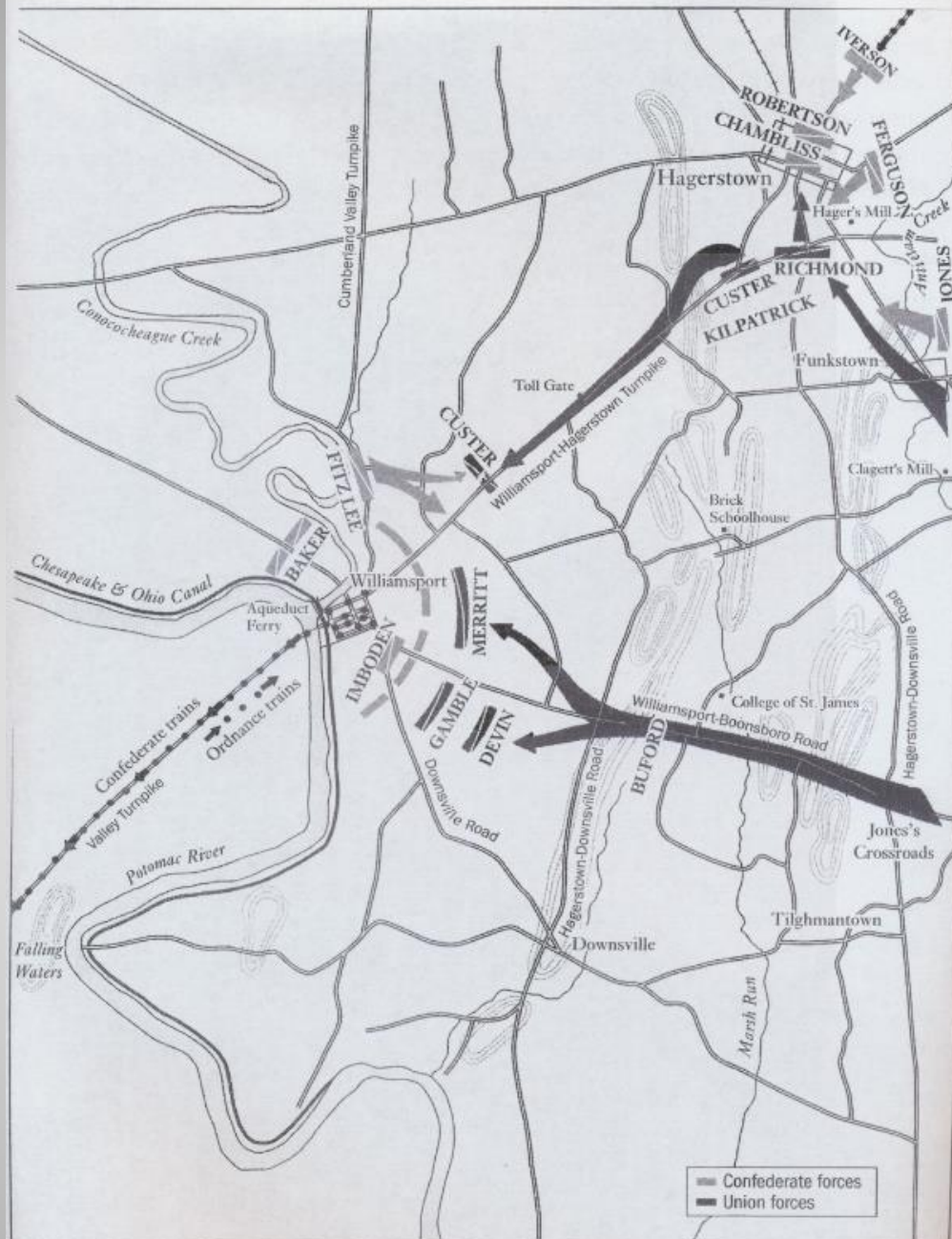




MAP 11.2 6 July 1863, evening.

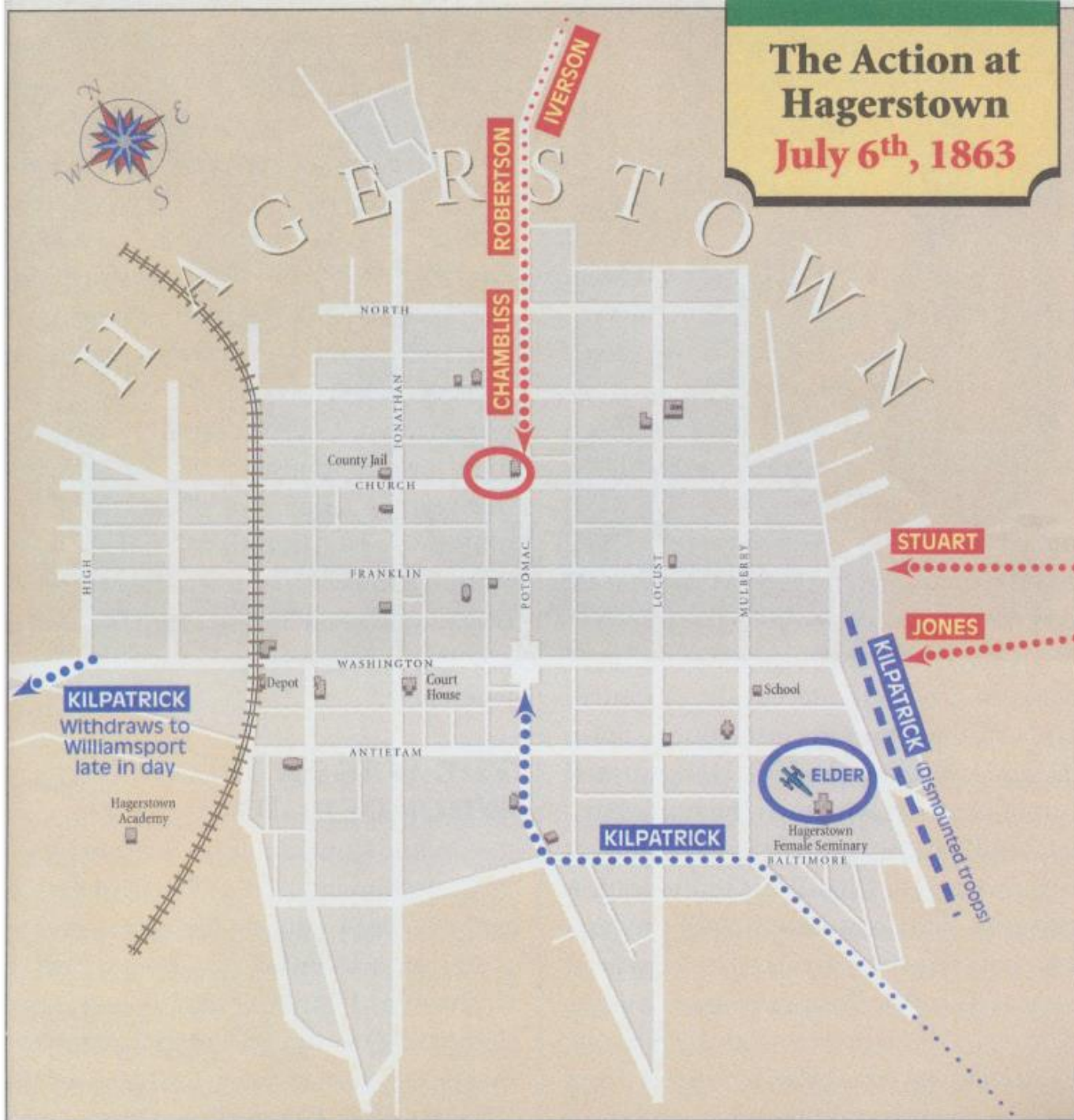
Longstreet's Corps leads Lee's army, followed by Hill's Corps. Ewell brings up the rear. Kilpatrick's Division strikes Lee's trains at Hagerstown, while Buford's Division attacks at Williamsport. Meade gets his army under way in the late afternoon.

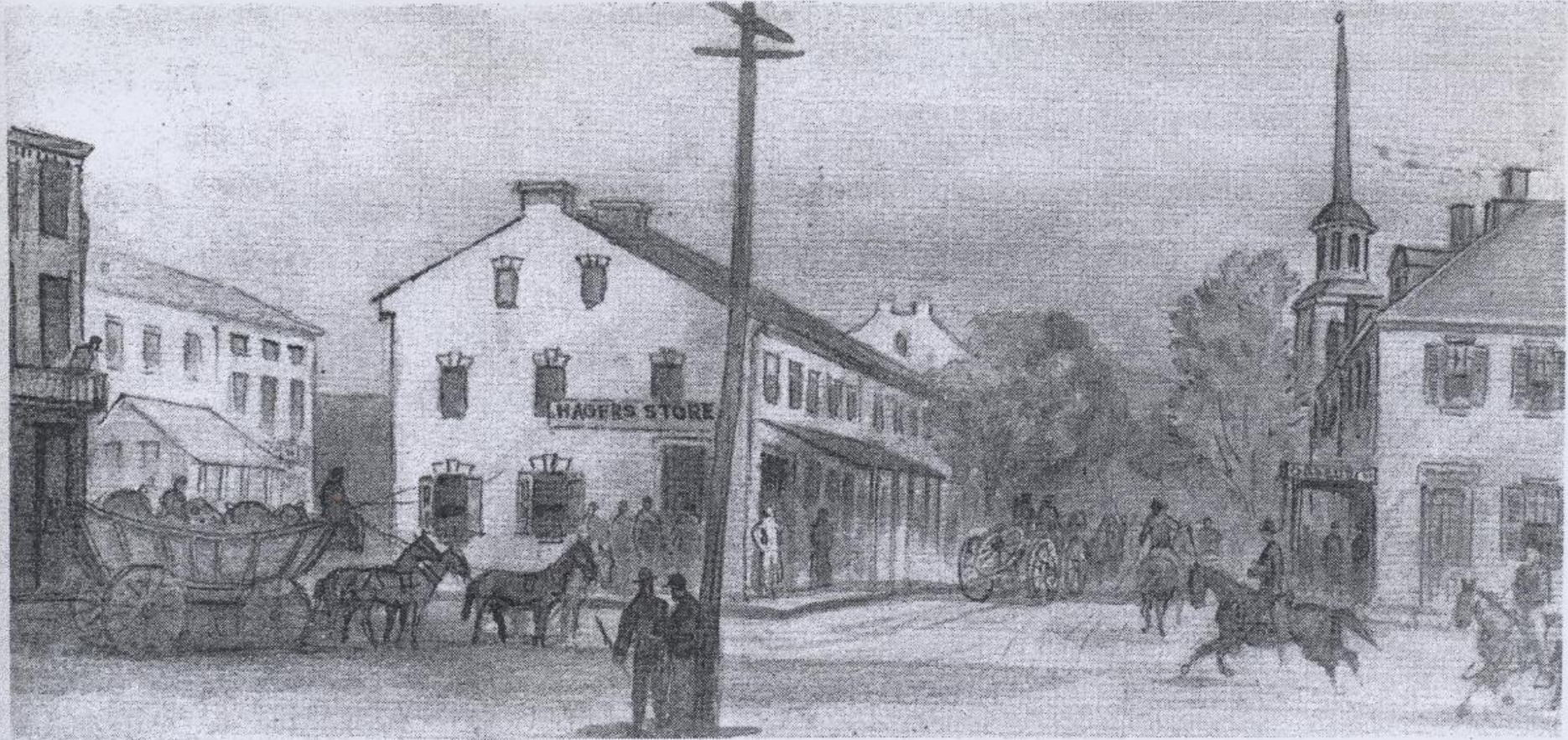




MAP 10.1 6 July 1863, late afternoon and evening.
 Kilpatrick attacks Hagerstown and Buford storms Williamsport.

The Action at Hagerstown July 6th, 1863

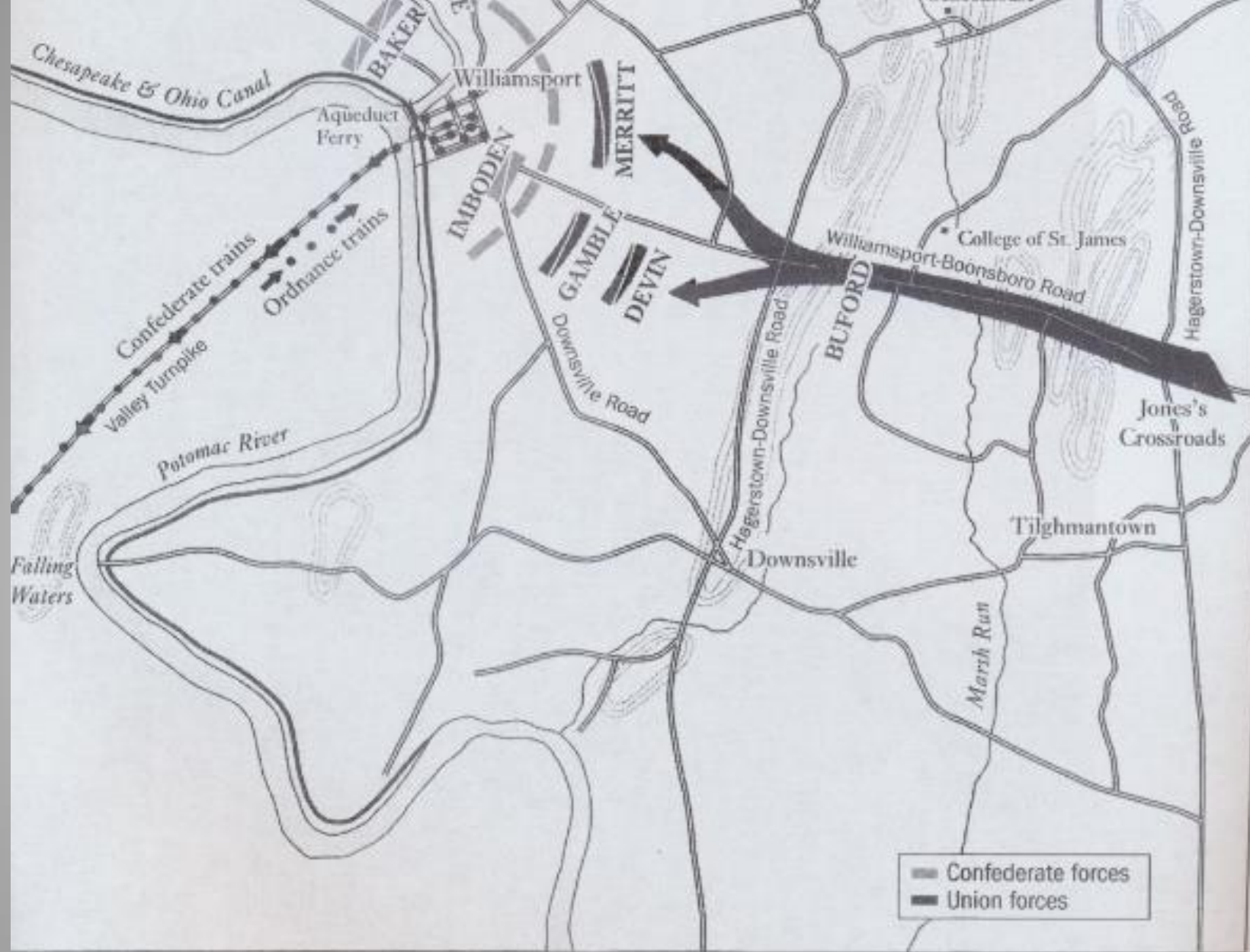




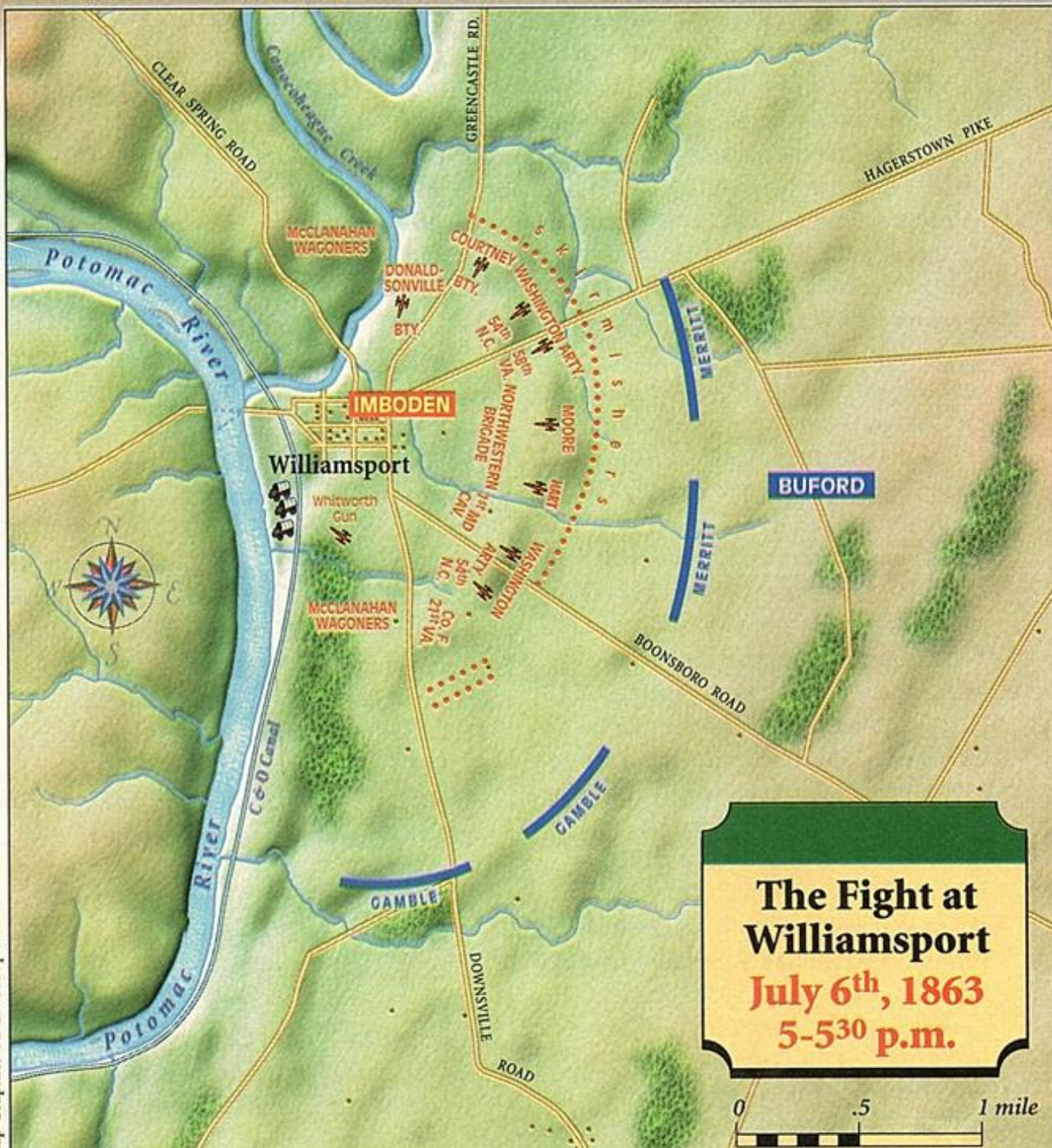
James E. Taylor's sketch of the center square at Hagerstown, Maryland, looking south on Potomac Street. Washington Street is at right. The steeple of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church is visible at right. The Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.



MAP 9.1 6 July 1863, 1:00 to 3:00 P.M.
Kilpatrick attacks Hagerstown.

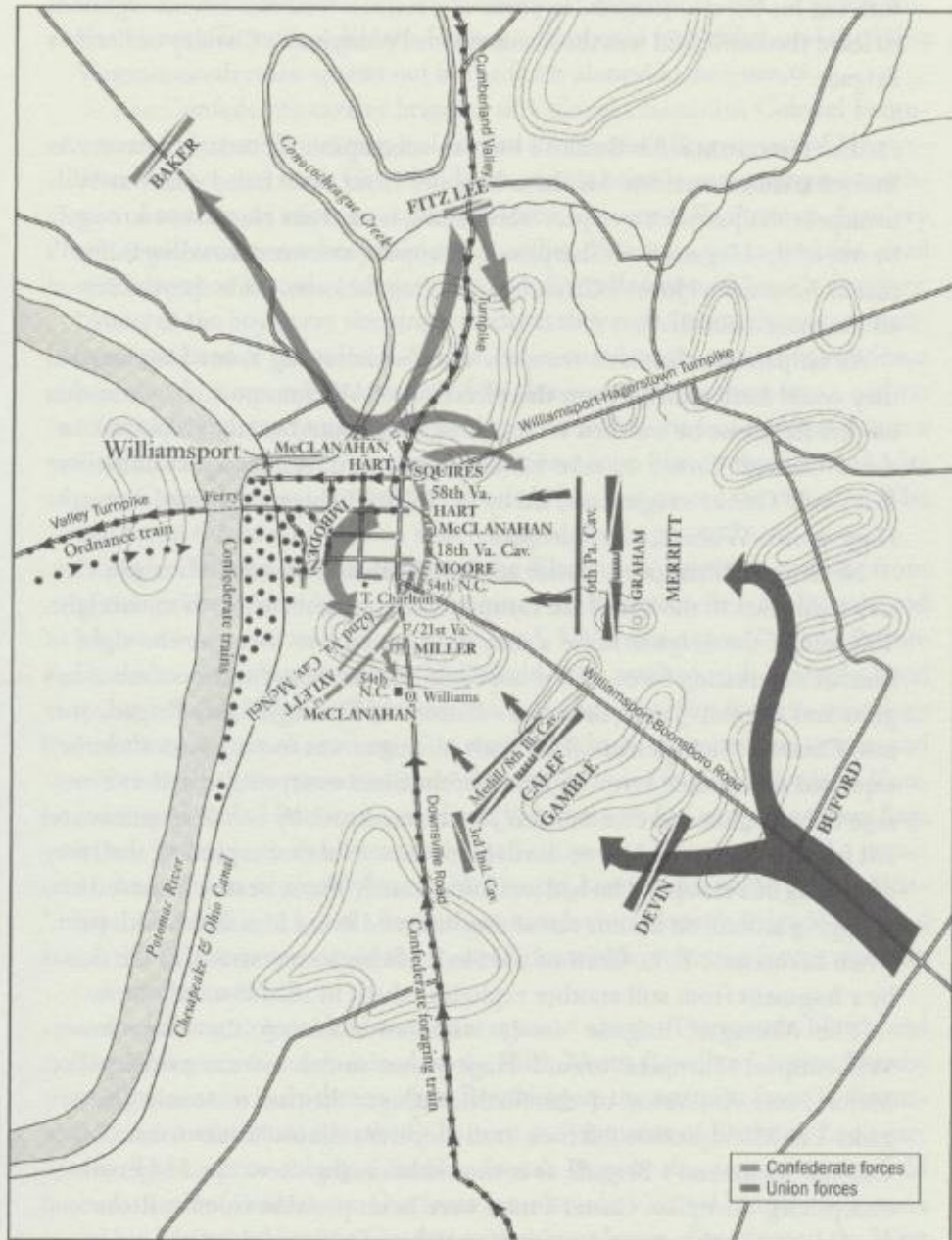


MAP 10.1 6 July 1863, late afternoon and evening.
 Kilpatrick attacks Hagerstown and Buford storms Williamsport.

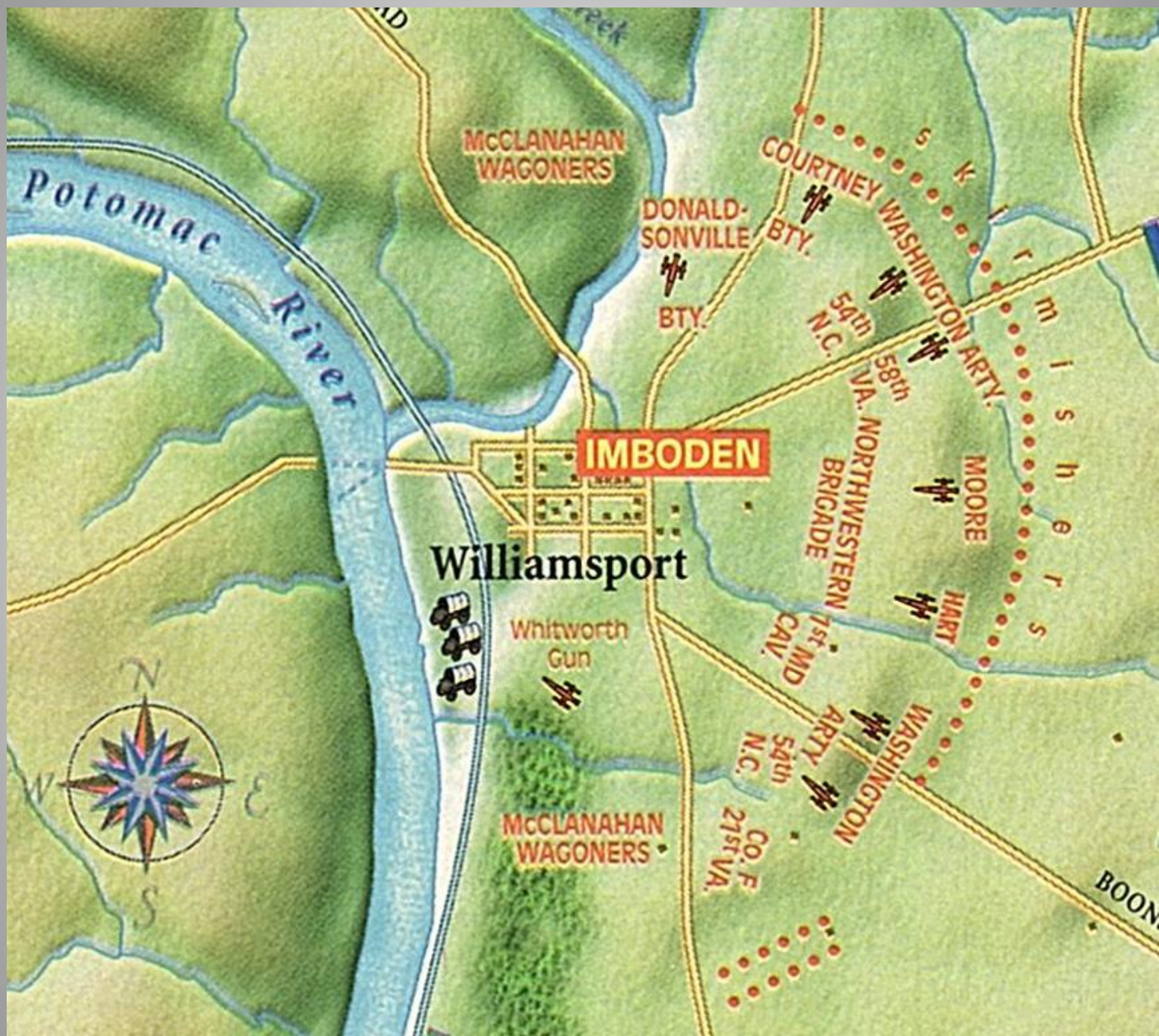


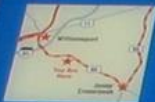
**The Fight at
Williamsport
July 6th, 1863
5-5³⁰ p.m.**

Map: Outpost.com, www.outpost.com



MAP 10.2 6 July 1863, afternoon and evening.
Buford attacks Williamsport.





THE WAGONERS' FIGHT



Teamsters Help Save the Army

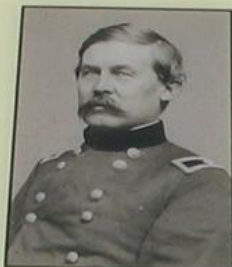


GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN

More bad news arrived for the Confederates retreating from Gettysburg on July 6, 1863 – Union cavalry was in hot pursuit. With the flooded Potomac River preventing Gen. John D. Imboden's escape at Williamsport, and lacking Gen. Robert E. Lee's main infantry column (still miles away) and significant Confederate cavalry support, Imboden had to make a stand alone.

Improvising reinforcements, Imboden organized about 700 of his wagoners into infantry companies under wounded officers, and commissaries and quartermasters. He positioned these makeshift soldiers on his right and left flanks and then bolstered the center of his line with 2,100 dismounted cavalymen and 24 cannons, establishing a three-mile perimeter on a crescent-shaped ridge a half-mile west of Williamsport.

Meanwhile, two Union cavalry divisions, almost 7,000 strong, galloped toward Williamsport to destroy the wagon train and cut off the Confederate escape route. Gen. John Buford's divi-



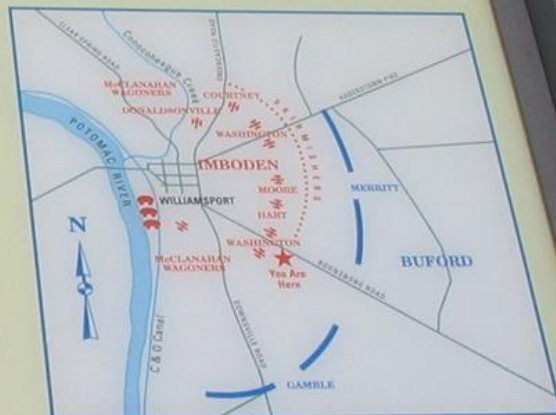
Gen. John Buford



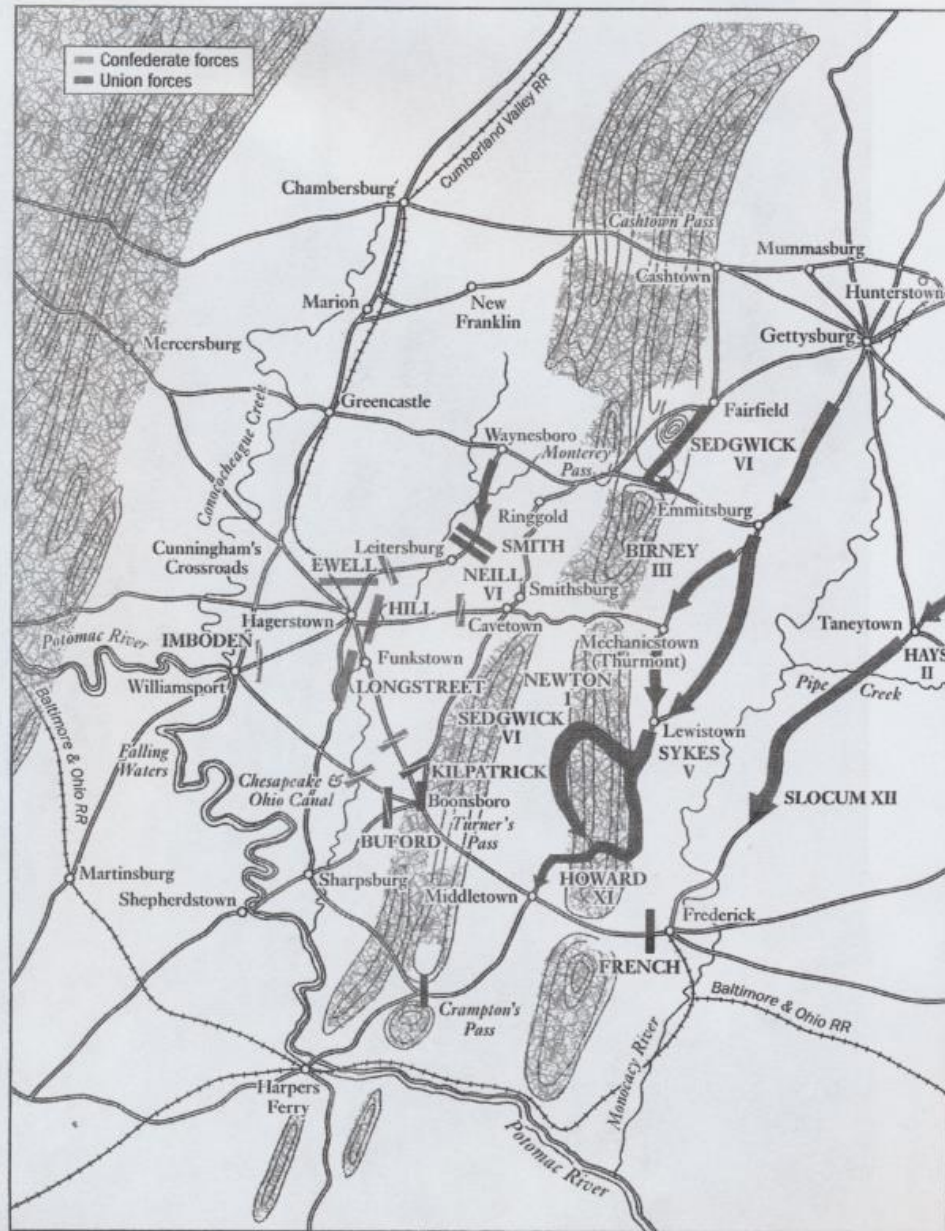
Gen. John D. Imboden

sion arrived first and attacked along this road at 4 p.m. For the next five hours, Buford probed Imboden's line with carbine and artillery fire but failed to dislodge it. As darkness neared, word passed that Confederate cavalry reinforcements were arriving, and the Federals then retreated. The "Wagoners' Fight" had prevented the capture of 4,000 Confederate wagons and 10,000 animals and had kept open the Army of Northern Virginia's path of retreat.

"As we could not retreat further, it was at once made known to the troops, that unless we should repel the threatened attack we should all become prisoners, and that the loss of his whole transportation would probably ruin General Lee." – Gen. John D. Imboden

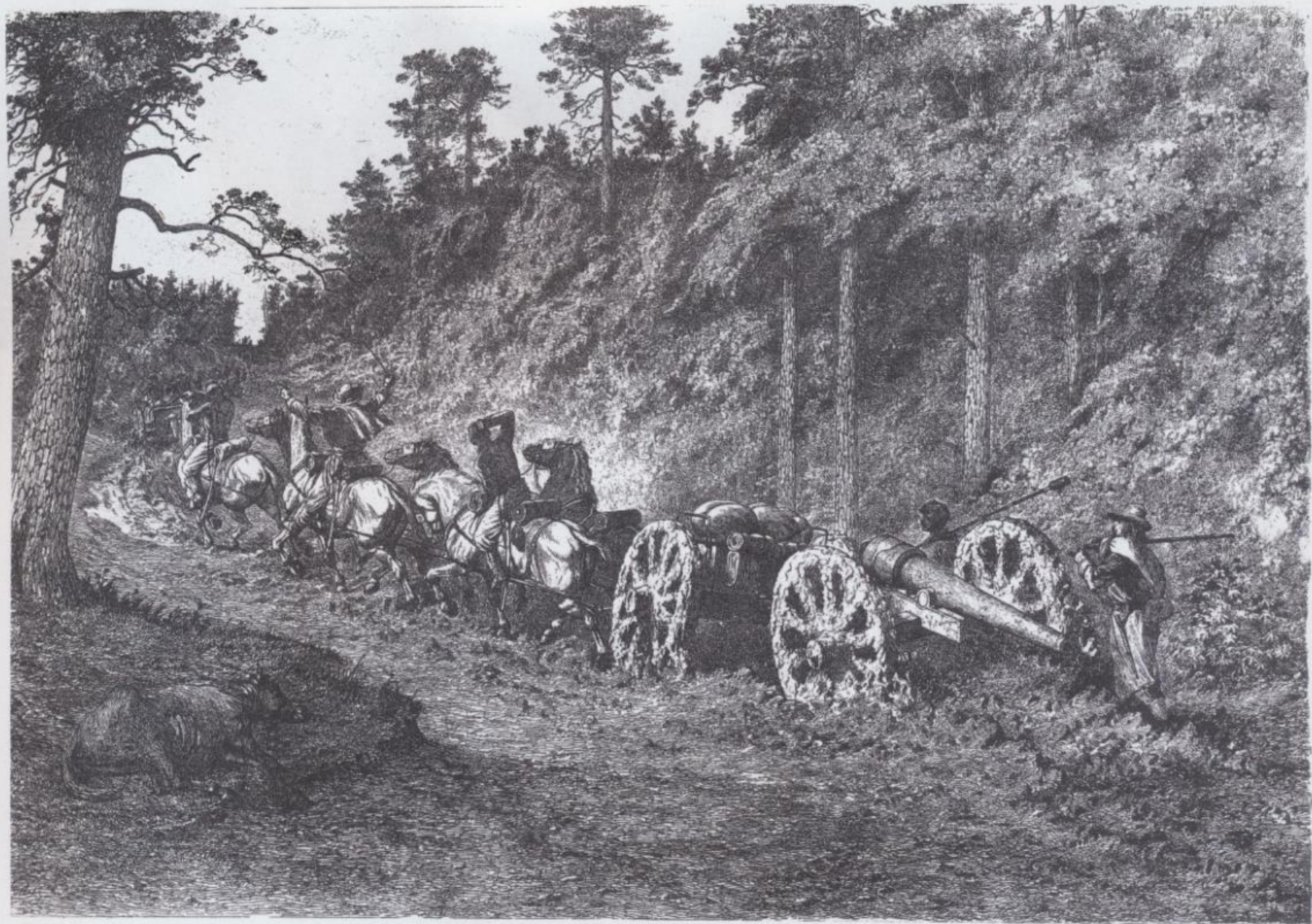


The Wagoners' fight, 5-5:30 p.m., July 6, 1863.



MAP 11.3 7 July 1863.

Lee rests in Hagerstown while Meade rapidly moves toward Middletown to be in position to push the Army of the Potomac through Turner's, Fox's, and Crampton's Passes.

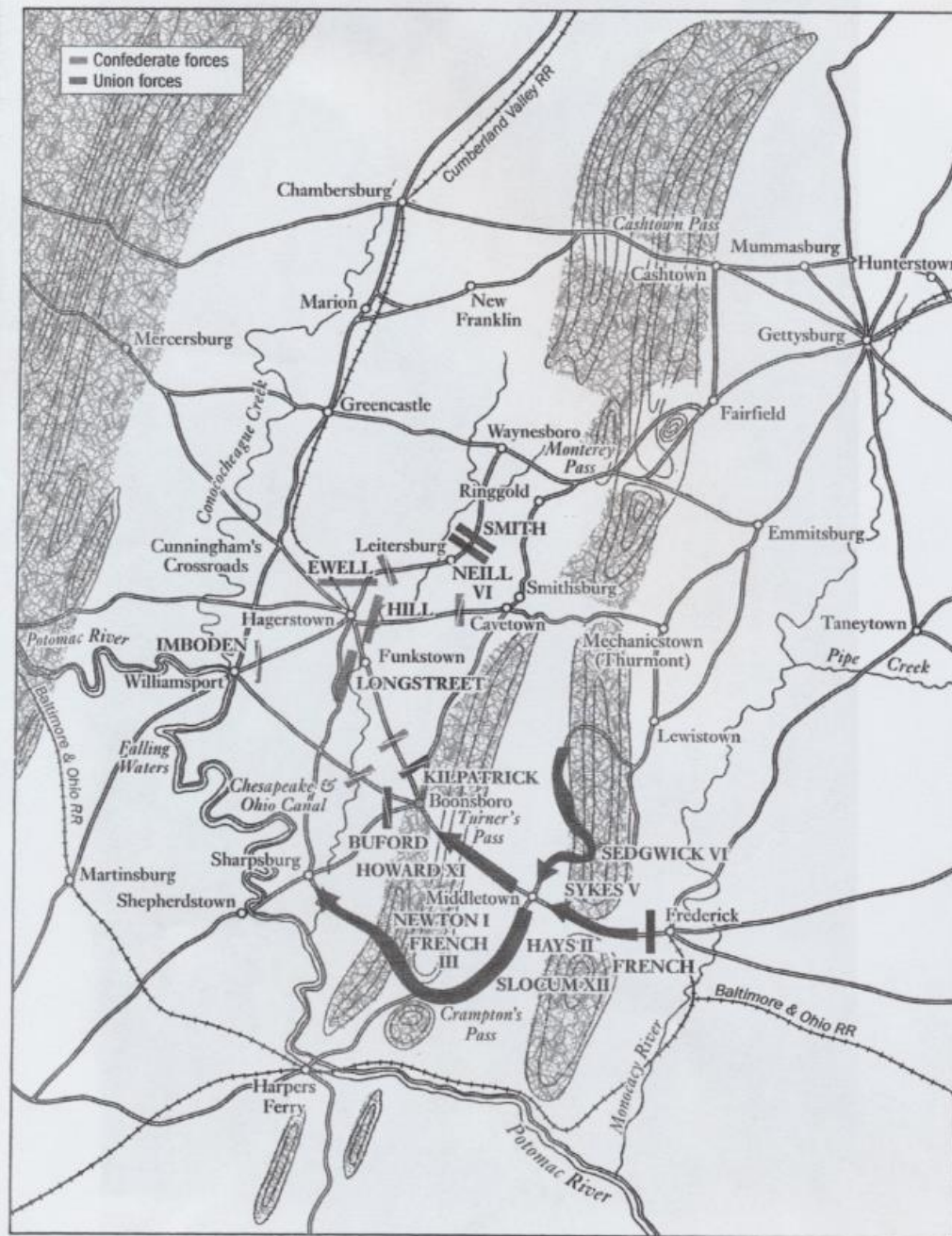






Push to the top





MAP 12.1 8 July 1863.

Meade approaches Lee through Turner's, Fox's, and Crampton's Passes.