

This Web Supplement includes the Vignettes for the Stands in the Staff Ride Tour that for space limitations could not be included in the magazine (Battle of Chickamauga, Day 1, Vol. XXIV, #6). Included at the end is an Order of Battle with regimental commanders' names, as promised. The text from the Tour appears much as it does in the magazine, except for certain directions, explanatory notes, and page number and photo references, all deemed unnecessary for this web presentation, with Vignettes placed where they appeared in the Staff Ride handbook printed in 1992.

Also included are the "Teaching Points" notes from the Staff Ride handbook placed at the end of the "Situation" text, and which were not published in the magazine; the "Teaching Points" describe the lessons Dr. Robertson hopes are learned by today's Army officers from the actions, and sometimes the mistakes, of their predecessors in the Civil War armies. Dr. William Glenn Robertson wrote the feature article for this issue, his fourth installment of a five issue treatment on the Campaign and Battle of Chickamauga.

THE GENERAL'S TOUR

While the Park Tour route through Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park hits the high points of the battle, the best way to tour the battlefield, or to supplement the Park Tour, is to hike the back trails where you will discover seldom seen monumentation and secluded gun batteries. For years, Dr. Robertson, Deputy Director of the Combat Studies Institute, U. S. Army Combined Arms Center at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, has helped train young Army officers with his detailed and informative Staff Rides of the Chickamauga Battlefield. This General's Tour is a version of Dr. Robertson's Staff Ride, with some minor revisions and additions, for the first day of action at Chickamauga. The Tour Map [magazine Pg. 55] shows the Park Tour Stops as well as the four areas covered by the Staff Ride. The tour stops are called "Stands" in the Staff Ride handbook, a term we'll use here, too. Begin any tour at the Park Visitor Center.

STAFF RIDE AREA I

Stand 1—Initial Orientation

Situation 1: The physical setting in September 1863 was quite different from that of today. First, the area was mostly clothed in a primary or old-growth forest with

large numbers of mature trees. Second, the inhabitants required large quantities of wood for houses, fences, and fuel, and they had consumed large quantities of small trees and brush. Third, stock ran freely in the forest, further diminishing the understory. As a result, in 1863, visibility in the forest was frequently 150-200 yards, although patches of thick brush limited this range in certain areas. Today, succeeding growth has produced a forest far different from that of September 1863, with greatly reduced visibility.

Teaching Points: Tactical doctrine and formations of 1863, vegetative cover.

Situation 2: Minty's final delay position, Sept. 18, p.m.—Union Col. Robert Minty's cavalry brigade initially chose to screen forward (east) of Reed's Bridge along the ridgeline overlooking Pea Vine Creek. Fighting dismounted, Minty's men forced Brig. Gen. Bushrod Johnson's four brigades into line of battle. After a short time, the weight of the Confederate attack forced Minty to fall back, and his orderly delay became a footrace for the possession of Reed's Bridge. Minty formed his new line just east of this position while his cavalymen attempted to destroy the bridge. The arrival of Johnson's troops forced Minty to abandon the efforts to destroy the bridge, and the Confederates crossed it between 3:00 and 4:00 p.m. on the 18th, having been delayed since noon. Minty withdrew his forces slowly, first to Jay's Mill and then down Brotherton Rd. to LaFayette Rd. until he reached a position near Viniard Field. There, he joined Col. John T. Wilder's forces in forming a blocking position adjacent to LaFayette Rd.

Teaching Points: Covering force operations, delay, defense of a crossing site.

Situation 3: After crossing West Chickamauga Creek at a fording site upstream and at Reed's Bridge, which was still intact, Johnson's force reached this road junction, then turned south on Jay's Mill Rd. By nightfall on September 18, the eve of battle, most Confederates had passed the intersection here, except for some rear-echelon troops and stragglers. That evening, Col. Daniel McCook's brigade of Maj. Gen. Gordon Granger's Reserve Corps arrived to support Minty's defense of the bridge. McCook halted about 400 yards west of this intersection and sent scouts forward. During the night, the scouts captured a number of Confederate prisoners.

Interrogation of the prisoners revealed that they were from Brig. Gen. Evander McNair's brigade of Johnson's Division. In response, McCook formed a defensive line for the night, supported by Col. John G. Mitchell's brigade of the Reserve Corps. Meanwhile, Federal pickets advanced to this spot. Around 3:00 a.m., September 19, McCook sent the attached 69th Ohio Infantry forward to destroy Reed's Bridge. This regiment set fire to the bridge but failed to destroy it before returning to the Federal line. Back at the line, the regiment found McCook under attack and preparing to retreat. Leaving the area, McCook reported that he had isolated McNair's Brigade west of the Chickamauga, thereby setting events in motion that triggered the battle.

Vignette: "Eli Shields was in the lead when we ran into the rebel army and had the nerve to sing out in a clear voice, 'Halt!' To this some thoughtful Johnny replied, 'Keep your dam [sic] mouth shut!' We pulled Shields off and pushed him back into the brush out of the immediate sight and hearing of the enemy, then crept back to the road and picked up one after another, and placed them with Eli to guard, until we had taken twenty-two prisoners. Among the prisoners were several belonging to a band, and their instruments were taken with them. There was also a rebel major, whose horse, a very fine one, we gave to Colonel McCook." (Henry J. Aten, *History of the Eighty-Fifth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry*, Hiawatha, KS, 1901, 103.)

Teaching Points: Effect of false assumptions, random nature of significant events.

Stand 2—Jay's Mill

Situation: Sept. 18, p.m.—Late in the afternoon, Bushrod Johnson's division reached this road junction. Johnson favored a right turn onto Brotherton Rd., but Maj. Gen. John Bell Hood, at this point, took command of the column and directed it southward along Jay's Mill Rd. toward Alexander's Bridge. Around midnight, Confederate cavalry arrived from the south to screen Hood's right and rear and established a picket line not far south of Jay's Mill.

Situation: Sept. 19, a.m.—Before sunrise, a scout from the 1st Georgia Cavalry approached the mill and found several of McCook's soldiers warming themselves around a fire after filling their canteens at a spring. The Confederates opened fire and the Federals retreated to

their picket line. As the exchange of fire grew, Brig. Gen. Henry B. Davidson ordered the 1st Georgia forward, followed by the whole brigade. By this time (7:00 a.m.), McCook had been ordered to withdraw, and the Confederate cavalry pursued him for only a short distance and then returned to the vicinity of Jay's Mill. About this time, Brig. Gens. Nathan B. Forrest and John Pegram arrived and ordered elements of Davidson's Brigade to scout westward. These units encountered Col. John T. Croxton's Federal brigade and fled in panic back to the mill. Momentarily, the entire Confederate brigade was thrown into confusion, but finally, Forrest, Pegram, and Davidson rallied the brigade and formed it into line. Forrest rode off for reinforcements. For the next hour, Davidson's Brigade faced the lead brigade (Croxton's) of Brannan's 3rd Division, XIV Corps.

Vignette: "Before the bugle could sound the mount, half of the Brigade was in the saddle—we had dismounted in column—and there was no need to form . . . the notes of the bugle had not died away when came the order Face Right! Head of column to left! Forward! Trot! and away we went for the crest of the hill. The 6th [Georgia Cavalry] had just about got into the form of an inverted L when the demoralized and panic stricken troopers came down upon us over the crest with a rush that threatened to swamp us in the wildest confusion. . . . Wild eyed, hatless, horseless, without guns many of them wounded and bleeding, two on one horse, riderless horses by the score, some frenzied by wounds and pain, some on three legs leaping painfully, men yelling at the top of their voice, 'Git boys! The woods are full of yankees.'" (J. W. Minnich to H. V. Boynton, December 8, 1900, Unit Files, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Fort Oglethorpe, GA.)

Teaching Points: Meeting engagement, reconnaissance, security.

Stand 3—Croxton's Brigade

Situation: Sept. 19, a.m.—Union Brig. Gen. John M. Brannan's division had marched through the night and by early morning was stretched out along LaFayette Rd. in the vicinity of Kelly Field. In the meantime, Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas had received word from Colonel McCook about the Confederate brigade trapped on the west side of Chickamauga Creek. In response, Thomas ordered Brannan to deploy his brigades in line of battle, advance toward Reed's Bridge, and locate and

destroy this “lone” brigade. Brannan, in turn, ordered Col. Ferdinand Van Derveer’s brigade to advance eastward generally along Reed’s Bridge Rd. Next, he ordered Croxton’s brigade to advance eastward into the woods bordering the southern end of Kelly Field. Col. John M. Connell’s brigade followed behind to support the two leading brigades.

Croxton advanced with three regiments forward and two behind in support, covering his advance with skirmishers. After an advance of about one mile, the Federal skirmishers made contact with the advance elements of Davidson’s Brigade and the battle opened in the woods west of Jay’s Mill. Although neither commander had planned to fight in the woods bordering Chickamauga Creek, both began to feed additional units into the fight as they arrived.

Vignette: “At sunrise we halted by the road long enough to make a cup of coffee. On we went again and by 9 a.m. our skirmishers ran against the enemy— Soon the 2nd Brigade were [sic] in line of battle— We halted in the edge of a wood, very soon our skirmishers came back on the run and a troop of Rebel Cavalry came rushing over the hill close on to our skirmishers— Steady boys, wait for the word, was heard from our Col—on came the cavalry, the advance had raced 150 yds without seeing us. One tremendous volley rang along the whole line, at first all was smoke, then dust from struggling steeds, a few riderless horses, were running here and there, save which nothing was seen of that cavalry troop. Thus began the battle of Chickamauga—I have read of cavalry charges and seen them in print but this was the first reality of the kind I had witnessed and truly it was a grand sight.” (Peter B. Kellenberger, Corporal, Company I, 10th Indiana, Croxton’s brigade, to a friend, November 15, 1863, Unit Files, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Fort Oglethorpe, GA.)

Teaching Points: Meeting engagement, command and control.

Stand 4—King’s Brigade

Situation 1: Sept. 19, a.m.—When Forrest rode off to find help for Davidson’s troops, he met Gen. Braxton Bragg and Maj. Gen. William H. T. Walker, the Reserve Corps commander, northwest of Alexander’s Bridge. In response to Forrest’s request for support, Walker directed Col. Claudius C. Wilson to move his

brigade northward. Beginning his advance at about 9:00 a.m., Wilson came into action on Davidson’s left, flanking Croxton’s position. In response to this new threat, Croxton faced south with several of his regiments. This change of front caused considerable confusion and the Federals were forced to give up ground before the situation was stabilized. By 10:00 a.m., Croxton’s ammunition was almost exhausted, and he called for reinforcements.

After Thomas sent Brannan after the “lone” brigade, he ordered Brig. Gen. Absalom Baird to follow with his division. Baird advanced the 1st Division with Brig. Gen. John H. King’s brigade on the left, Col. Benjamin F. Scribner’s on the right, and Brig. Gen. John C. Starkweather’s brigade in support. Scribner came up on Croxton’s right, which permitted Croxton to withdraw and resupply. King’s brigade, composed of Regular units, entered the position vacated by Croxton and faced southeast, the direction in which Wilson had retired. Warned of Confederates on his right flank, King began to orient his brigade toward the new threat, but was hit by Brig. Gen. St. John R. Liddell’s Confederate division. Caught in a vulnerable position, King’s brigade broke and could not be rallied until it passed beyond Van Derveer’s position on Reed’s Bridge Rd.

Vignette: “I pushed everything to the front, my first line driving the enemy before them for a mile, and meeting General A. Baird, division commander, at about 10 a.m., was ordered to make a new front at right angles with the other. I only had time, however to get the Sixteenth Infantry and battery in position before being assailed by an overwhelming force. At this time the troops on my right were giving ground to the enemy in confusion. I immediately gave orders for the battery to limber up but it could not be done as the horses as they were brought up to the guns were shot down.

“The officers and men, finding it impossible to retire, remained with their pieces (firing) until they were forcibly taken from them by the enemy. It was at this time that I lost the First Battalion Sixteenth Infantry (made prisoners), with the exception of 5 commissioned officers and 62 men.” (Brigadier General John H. King, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* [Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899; reprint, Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing Co., 1985], vol. 30, pt. 1, 309. Hereafter referred to as *O.R.*)

Teaching Points: Nature of nonlinear battlefield, inflexible positions, unit cohesion, discipline, rallying a broken unit, resupply during battle.

Situation 2: Sept. 19, a.m.—Lt. Howard M. Burnham’s Battery H, 5th U. S. Artillery (four 12-pounder Napoleons and two 10-pounder Parrotts) supported King’s brigade. Because of the change of front and the dense woods, the battery was only able to fire four rounds of canister before it was overrun. Burnham, in command only a month, was mortally wounded. This battery was eventually recaptured during a Federal counterattack led by Col. Gustave Kammerling of the 9th Ohio Infantry, a German unit from Van Derveer’s brigade.

Teaching Points: Difficulties of artillery operating in wooded terrain, limited fields of fire, infantry support of the guns and security, importance of battle drills.

Situation 3: Sept. 19, a.m.—On Reed’s Bridge Rd., Van Derveer’s brigade had repulsed both Confederate cavalry probes and an attack by Brig. Gen. Matthew D. Ector’s brigade of Walker’s Reserve Corps by the time King’s routed troops came racing out of the woods. Chasing King’s Regulars were Liddell’s Confederates, who had already overrun another of Baird’s brigades, that of Scribner. The pursuing Confederates were stopped by the unexpected appearance of Van Derveer’s men in their front and shortly thereafter by the approach of Croxton’s brigade on their flank. Overmatched, Liddell’s Division withdrew eastward across Brotherton Rd.

Vignette: “Then the firing broke out again . . . ; first the scattering fire of skirmishers—then the terrific file firing of regiments, then the artillery, then the ‘rebel yell,’ and the firing gradually approached us. We stood attentive and expectant for a few minutes, then a straggling line of men in blue appeared coming toward us in wild retreat, their speed accelerated by the firing and yelling of the exultant Confederates who were close behind them. I do not remember any more appalling spectacle than this was for a few minutes; but our men took it with grim composure, lying down until the stampered brigade had passed over our line, then rising and blazing a volley into the enemy’s faces, which abruptly ended the yelling and the charge. They had not expected such a reception, and all efforts of their officers to get or hold their men in line for a fight, were in vain. They promptly retreated in their turn until out of range and out of sight. This was Walthall’s Confederate Brigade of

Liddell’s Division.” (Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Bishop, 2nd Minnesota Infantry, “Van Derveer’s Brigade at Chickamauga,” *Glimpses of the Nation’s Struggle* [Minneapolis, MN: Aug. Davis, Publisher, 1909] 6:7-8.)

Teaching Points: Command and control, discipline, rallying broken units.

Stand 5—Starkweather’s Brigade

Situation: Sept. 19, a.m.—John Starkweather’s brigade advanced from Kelly Field as the reserve of Baird’s division. En route, Starkweather received orders to move to his left to relieve Croxton’s brigade. Before he could change direction, Starkweather encountered Croxton’s withdrawing troops. Next, Starkweather faced southeast toward the sounds of the fighting. As he attempted to refuse his flanks by tucking them back, his front and right were struck by Col. Daniel C. Govan’s brigade of Liddell’s Division. Disoriented, confused, and struck from an unexpected direction, Starkweather’s unit collapsed and raced to the rear. The brigade eventually rallied three-quarters of a mile north of this position. Late in the afternoon, Starkweather’s and Scribner’s brigades moved back into this area in support of Brig. Gen. Richard W. Johnson’s division.

Vignette: “We had marched thus but a short distance and were rising the slope of a hill when we were suddenly opened on by a body of the enemy’s infantry lying concealed below its crest. . . . There is a buzz and confusion on the right of the regiment—it wavers, it breaks. . . . Our left companies now break and follow the right in confusion. The Twenty-fourth Illinois and Twenty-first Wisconsin are in line, kneeling to the rear of us. We pass over them and try to form our companies in their rear. But the companies have melted into a panic stricken mob, and even brave men, seeing the whole throng double-quicking to the rear, have but poor encouragement to face, single-handed, the storm of lead that is hurtling after them. I halt a moment in rear of the Twenty-fourth Illinois, and do all I can to check the retreating fugitives—but it is only for a moment. The rebels fiercely attack the second line in overwhelming numbers, and the old Twenty-fourth and Twenty-first, after a very few volleys, waver, break, run. The fight is ended, so far as our brigade is concerned. We are whipped, and move rapidly to the rear, disorganized and demoralized. The enemy, however, cannot follow us. Heavy firing on both flanks gives evidence that they

still have their hands full. Our pace slackens. I keep near the colors, and try to gather the stragglers around them; but my heart's in my mouth. I feel more like crying than anything else. The 'Old Brigade' that we have all been boasting about is disgraced, and we, who never ran before, are completely broken up—not a regiment or a company left.” (Lieutenant John M. Johnston, 79th Pennsylvania Infantry, *The New Era*, Lancaster, PA, September 10, 1892.)

Teaching Points: Unit panic, rallying broken units.

Stand 6—Scribner's Brigade

Situation: Sept. 19, a.m.—When Baird's division entered the forest in support of Brannan, Scribner's brigade was on the division's right. Scribner found the flank of Wilson's Confederate brigade and forced it to withdraw, relieving pressure on Croxton. Scribner continued to advance until he reached Winfrey Field, where he halted his brigade. Scribner had assumed there were friendly forces on his right, but this proved to be false when reports from his skirmishers indicated that Confederates were on his right (Liddell's Division). In an effort to meet this threat, Scribner bent back his two right regiments, the 10th Wisconsin and 38th Indiana.

Vignette: “About this time I was informed by my skirmishers that the enemy was passing to our right. . . . I was immediately after informed that my right was being turned. Dr. Miller, my brigade surgeon, coming up, reported the enemy in my rear; that he had been in their hands. As information like this came in I dispatched the same to the general commanding division, and threw a company of skirmishers to my right and rear. Scarcely had their deployment been completed when the enemy opened upon them a destructive fire. To form a front to the right by causing the Thirty-eighth Indiana to change their front to the rear and to change the Tenth Wisconsin to the right of the Thirty-eighth Indiana and limber the battery to the rear, between the two regiments, employed but a few moments; this, too, under a heavy fire. The enemy charged down upon me along my whole line, pouring in canister and shell. I had now dispatched every staff officer and orderly with information of my position, asking for support, expressing my intention to hold my place with desperation until assistance arrived; for I felt that the safety of the forces on my left depended upon holding this position. I had observed a line of our forces in my rear

passing to the left. I sent to the officer for assistance, but he had other orders.” (Colonel Benjamin F. Scribner, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 286.)

Teaching Points: Reconnaissance, security.

Stand 7—Van Pelt's Battery

Situation: Sept. 19, a.m.—Well known in the army because of its reputation gained at the Battle of Stones River, this battery consisted of six 10-pounder Parrotts. Now commanded by Lt. George W. Van Pelt, the battery belonged to Scribner's brigade. Worried about his right flank, Scribner turned Van Pelt's guns to the right and supported them with the 38th Indiana and 10th Wisconsin infantry regiments. Placed in front of the guns instead of the normal position in the rear, the supporting infantry was driven back in disorder by Govan's Brigade of Liddell's Division. The battery was overrun, Van Pelt and six of his men were killed, and five of the six guns were lost.

Vignette 1: August Bratnober of the supporting 10th Wisconsin Infantry: “Early in the morning of the 19th we were moved to the front again and directly behind a line of battle that was then in action. The bullets were whistling and shells were flying over us and we expected to be pushed into the fight any minute. Not a man had been hit yet. Soon our battery passed in front of us on the run and we were ordered to follow. . . . They drew up in line and we were ordered directly in front of it and ordered to lie down; this was called supporting the battery. We then had our knapsacks on and were lying down at full length on our faces with heads down hill. Every body felt that this was wrong as we could not roll over to reload in that condition. Soon the battery began firing; the concussion of the guns was terrific and we were fairly bumped against the guns at every discharge. Directly our skirmishers were driven in and we saw the enemy coming out of the timber across the ravine from us. Then the cannon began in earnest but we could see plainly that they were firing too high. On they came three double lines deep, then they charged, after the front line fired the next line passed through them, the first line reloading as they came on, and so on. We had orders to wait for the command before firing and we did. Our fire fairly stunned them but we could not reload without raising up. . . . The artillery horses were mostly shot early in the attack. We had to retreat and lost our battery right there.

On they came firing in the same manner and we lost a lot of our men . . . and when we finally rallied what there was left, we found we had lost half of the regiment in killed and wounded.” (August Bratnober Account, Unit Files, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Fort Oglethorpe, GA.)

Vignette 2: Gallant defense of the guns: “Lieutenant Van Pelt, in command of the Battery, in dying at his guns, has given to the history of the war an incident that will form one of the brightest pages. Men grow to be attached to their guns, the natural result of that feature of discipline which inculcates that it is a great dishonor to lose a Battery. Van Pelt was proud of his guns. They had grown to be a terror to the enemy. . . . The men, too, loved the guns, and they sealed the devotion on that day with their blood. The principal among them was Van Pelt. With his horses killed, his men dead, and his supports overwhelmed and driven back, the enemy rushed upon the battery. Van Pelt, as the last act of his young life, drew his sword and sprang to the front of his pieces, with that inexplicable frenzy which supplies with strength as with courage, he cried (so his men say) with a voice of thunder, ‘Don’t dare touch these guns.’ On the inexorable wave of glistening bayonets surged, over and past him, burying him under his lost guns.” (Charles E. Belknap, *History of the Michigan Organizations at Chickamauga, Chattanooga and Missionary Ridge* [Lansing, MI: Robert Smith Printing Company, 1899], 170-71.)

Teaching Points: Face of battle, infantry support and defense of a battery, leadership.

Stand 8—Colonel Philemon P. Baldwin, USA

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—Richard Johnson’s 2nd Division, XX Corps, had left its bivouac site near Crawfish Spring around sunrise when it was ordered to report to Thomas. Around noon, Johnson’s division arrived in the Kelly Field area and was ordered to advance in support of Baird’s division. Johnson deployed Col. Philemon P. Baldwin’s brigade on the left, Brig. Gen. August Willich’s on the right, and Col. Joseph B. Dodge’s brigade in reserve. Johnson’s division soon made contact with Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Cheatham’s division and, after a fight of several hours, pushed the Confederates back to and beyond Winfrey Field. Baldwin’s regiments moved into position at the northwest end of Winfrey Field, where they repulsed an assault by Liddell’s

Division before dark. A lull then occurred until sunset, when Maj. Gen. Patrick R. Cleburne launched his division in a night attack against Johnson’s division. When the attack began, Baldwin was with the 6th Indiana Infantry in his second line. As his first line crumbled, Baldwin raced forward, then back to the 6th Indiana. Ordering a charge, he was killed in the ensuing confusion.

Vignette: “His confidence in the old Sixth in a case of emergency, as I suppose, brought him back near it, and just on its right where he had left the moment before. But by this time the rebels were upon us, and he, as I suppose, concluded that a counter charge was the best way to meet the enemy, and immediately rode through our ranks and called on the Sixth Indiana to follow him. This, of course, placed him between the two fires, which were only a few yards apart, and both him and his horse were killed instantly. The regiment, very sensibly, did not obey an order which never should have been given. . . .

“I think the members of the old Sixth will all bear witness that Colonel Baldwin was a brave officer, of fine military bearing and a splendid disciplinarian, but it certainly was very rash in him to ride between the two firing lines just at this time, as by so doing he lost his life, and if the regiment had obeyed his command, in my opinion, it would have proved the certain death of many of its members as well as its utter route [sic], which would have resulted in a stampede. In my criticisms of Colonel Baldwin, I do not wish to be understood as trying to reflect upon his character and reputation as a brave, daring officer, but merely in this particular case, that under the excitement, his judgment was at fault. But the mistake cost the brave Colonel his life, as he died where he fell and he and his personal effects fell into the hands of the enemy.” (C. C. Briant, *History of the Sixth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry* [Indianapolis, IN: Wm. B. Burford, 1891], 233-34.)

Teaching Points: Command and control, chain of command, succession of command.

Stand 9—Baldwin’s Brigade

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—Lt. Col. Bassett Langdon’s 1st Ohio Infantry was the right flank regiment of Baldwin’s brigade of Johnson’s division. Because the ground to his front permitted the enemy to approach his position in defilade, Langdon sent his skirmishers forward beyond the field. Around sunset the skirmishers were pushed back by another Confederate advance. Still concerned about his

front, Langdon sent out another company of skirmishers, but they were unable to stop the advance of the Confederate line and were recalled. Langdon's position was subsequently outflanked when the unit on his right was thrown back and the 1st Ohio had to withdraw hastily.

Vignette: "About sunset my skirmishers were pressed back with serious loss to within a few yards of the regiment, where they were exposed to so hot a fire from the enemy that I recalled them to tempt the enemy into the open field. . . . Finding the enemy not disposed to enter the open, and the firing having increased on my right, I sent Company A again into the field as skirmishers to prevent the enemy's getting too close to my front unobserved, the nature of the ground being such as to raise an apprehension of that character. This company was in the act of deploying when it found itself exposed to a very hot fire on its right flank, and immediately took position to meet it and opened fire warmly in return. At this instant General Willich's regiment [49th Ohio] on my immediate right, opened fire in line, and warned by all these indications where the real attack would come, I hastily recalled the skirmishers, intending to meet it by a volley at short range. Unfortunately the recall of the skirmishers, who fell back firing, and the heavy roll of musketry on our right, with the whistling of the enemy's bullets, set the guns of my right company going and an irregular file fire ran along my front from right to left, mainly directed to the enemy in my front. Meantime, I strove in vain to make myself heard to stop the firing and to call the regiment to attention. In thirty seconds the regiment on my right was broken and running to the rear in great confusion, and while I was striking my men (who were lying down) with the flat of my sword to get their attention, the rebel line was seen within 40 yards of my right flank moving rapidly up perpendicularly to it. I was barely able to get my men to their feet in time to see the rebel colors flaunted almost in their faces, and their guns being mostly unloaded I directed them to retire." (Lieutenant Colonel Bassett Langdon, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 572.)

Teaching Points: Command and control, cohesion, withdrawal under pressure.

Stand 10—Cleburne's Night Attack

Situation 1: *Wood's Brigade, Sept. 19, p.m.*—Late in the afternoon, Pat Cleburne's division of Lt. Gen. Daniel H. Hill's corps was brought from south of

the battlefield to support the Confederate right. By 6:00 p.m., Cleburne's three brigades were formed behind Cheatham's and Liddell's divisions. Cleburne's front extended almost a mile with Brig. Gen. Lucius E. Polk's brigade on the right, Brig. Gen. S. A. M. Wood's in the center, and Brig. Gen. James Deshler's brigade on the left. After conferring with Bragg, Hill ordered Cleburne to attack through Cheatham's and Liddell's positions. On the right, Polk met little opposition and passed beyond Baldwin's flank. When Wood's Brigade advanced out of the woods into Winfrey Field, its right faced Baldwin, while the left made contact with Willich's brigade. As Wood's regiments neared the Federal front, the attack stalled, and the brigade became fragmented. In the darkness the fight disintegrated into confusion.

Vignette: "About this time Major McGaughy gave the command to 'march in retreat,' which was obeyed in bad order, the regiment retreating in confusion. . . . I then asked Major McGaughy why he gave the order to retreat. He replied that the Forty-fifth Alabama Regiment, the battalion of direction, was falling back and that he had been ordered to be guided by the movements of that regiment. As soon as the men had been rallied and formed, Major McGaughy again gave the command to advance, when we moved forward. . . . I will here state that Companies E and G acted badly. . . . Captain Archer, Company G, while in my presence made no effort to rally his men when ordered to halt, but led them in the retreat. I attribute the confusion in our retreat to a want of the proper command over their men on the part of the officers of Companies E and G; to the darkness of the night; to the failure of the left wing to hear the command 'retreat,' they believing that the right wing was being driven back, and to the fact that just previous to receiving the order to retreat our line was fired into several times from the rear." (Captain Frederick A. Ashford, 16th Alabama Infantry Regiment, Wood's Brigade, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 163.)

Teaching Points: Command and control in a night attack, amicide [death by friendly fire].

Situation 2: Shortly after Wood's assault was stalled, Cleburne's chief of artillery, Maj. T. R. Hotchkiss, brought forward Calvert's Arkansas and Semple's Alabama batteries. In daylight, this maneuver would have been suicidal, but in the darkness, the eight guns were

relatively safe and put on a spectacular but relatively ineffective show. Nevertheless, the artillerymen claimed that their support was decisive.

Vignette: “General Wood’s brigade had fallen back under the heavy fire from the enemy’s guns, when I moved up at a trot and let fly the dogs of war into the Yankee ranks, and in a brief period the enemy fled in confusion. Night closed the bloody scene, and we slumbered on the victorious field.” (First Lieutenant Thomas J. Key, commanding Calvert’s Arkansas Battery, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 186.)

Teaching Points: Face of battle, combined arms.

Stand 11—Willich’s Brigade

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—By mid-afternoon, Willich’s brigade, in the center of Johnson’s division, had reached this point. That night, when Cleburne’s Division attacked, Willich’s brigade was still in place, although it was under orders to withdraw. Before those orders were implemented, the left of Wood’s Brigade hit Willich’s brigade and drove it back toward the Kelly Field line.

Vignette: “I received a written order from General Johnson to fall back at 6:30 p.m. to our general line of battle. With dusk the attack looked for took place. The enemy had succeeded in bringing his batteries and masses of infantry into position. A shower of canister and columns of infantry streamed at once into our front and both flanks. My two front regiments were swept back to the second line. This line for a moment came into disorder. Then they received the command, ‘Dress on your colors’; repeated by many men and officers; and in no time the four regiments formed one solid line, sending death into the enemy’s masses, who immediately fell back from the front, and there did not answer with a single round.

“On my left, the Third Brigade had also been successful; on my right, the Second Brigade appears to have lost ground, because, at once, a line of rebels poured from the right and rear a volley in my right flank. One regiment only, the Thirty-second Indiana, faced them, and the enemy soon disappeared. Then I fell slowly back in two lines, and coming to the general line of battle, I found General Johnson, who designated the place for the brigade to bivouac.” (Brigadier General August Willich, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 539.)

Teaching Points: Command and control at night, rallying units at night.

Stand 12—Battle Casualties

Situation 1: Sept. 19.—Cheatham’s Division met the Federal divisions of Johnson and Maj. Gen. John M. Palmer on this ground and held its position for more than two hours before withdrawing. In Brig. Gen. John K. Jackson’s brigade, on Cheatham’s right, were many local men. One of these men, John Ingraham, was killed, and his friends later buried him where he fell. Ingraham’s grave is the only one marked on the battlefield. As such, his sacrifice represents all of the 34,624 casualties of the Battle of Chickamauga. Of that number, 24,430 were wounded, far more than the medical facilities of either side could handle. Because the Confederates held the field at the end of the battle, they were responsible for most of the wounded of both armies. The quality of medical training and treatment was marginal, but for the most part, the medical personnel did their best under the circumstances. After the battle, civilian nurses joined the medical teams.

Vignette: “It rained so hard that I found it impossible to visit the patients. I was gratified to see how much solicitude the surgeons exhibited for them. They were out in the rain nearly all the morning, trying to make the patients as comfortable as possible. They said that the rain was pouring down on some of them, but it could not be avoided. They informed me that from what they had heard of many of the other brigade hospitals, the men were in a much worse plight than theirs. . . . As we rode out of the yard I tried to look neither to the right or left, for I knew there were many pairs of eyes looking sadly at us from the sheds and tents. I could do nothing for them, and when that is the case I try to steel my heart against their sorrows. I saw men cooking in the rain; it seemed like hard work keeping the fire up. . . . As we rode out the tents of the different field hospitals came in view; when we thought of the inmates and their sufferings, it only served to add to the gloom.” (Kate Cumming, civilian nurse, September 30, 1863, in *Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse* [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959], 152-53.)

Situation 2: A total of 3,969 men were killed at Chickamauga. Lacking a graves registration organization, the Confederates could spare few combat troops

to care for the dead. Nevertheless, some individuals received special treatment.

Vignette: “It was about 10 o’clock when in line of battle, we were ordered to charge. Brother Rufus repeated his request to me not to go with them in the charge. He was in command of our company. I stopped but the regiment moved forward at double quick. . . . [After the battle, Private Douglas Cater eventually found his brother Rufus—dead, robbed, and shot in the head. He cradled the body in his arms throughout the night. The next day,] when the regiment was ready to move forward a detail of men was left to go to the wagons for spades and picks to bury our dead. Dr. Gus Hendrick, a private in our company, obtained a spade and pick and he and I dug two graves, one for his brother and one for mine. It took a long time and much hard work to get these graves ready. We wrapped blankets around the bodies of our brothers and placed them in these crude graves. There were no caskets, no flowers, but there were loving hands that filled in the earth on these blanket enshrouded forms and cut their names on the rough boards which marked the place where they were laid.” (Douglas John Cater, Company I, 19th Louisiana Infantry Regiment, Adams’ Brigade, in William D. Cater, “*As It Was*,” *the Story of Douglas John Cater’s Life*, 1981, 173-76.)

Teaching Points: Mass casualties, graves registration, evacuation procedures, face of battle.

Stand 13—Obsolete Weapons

Situation: This is a Model 1841, 12-pounder howitzer, an obsolete weapon in 1863. As such, it is representative of the mix of old and new weapons used by both armies at Chickamauga. At the far end of their respective logistics pipelines, Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans and Gen. Braxton Bragg faced the challenge of integrating obsolete and modern weapons into a winning combined arms team, a problem not unknown to other centuries.

Teaching Points: Force modernization.

Stand 14—Maney’s Brigade

Situation: *Sept. 19, p.m.*—Around 2:00 p.m., Confederate Brig. Gen. George Maney’s brigade advanced to this position and relieved Jackson’s Brigade. Maney’s Brigade, in turn, was attacked in front and on its flanks

and held its position for only 45 minutes. No matter how serious the situation, however, the men in the ranks found something humorous to distract them from the serious business of war.

Vignette: “[Our] brave chaplain rode along with our brigade, on an old string-haltered horse, as we advanced to the attack at Chickamauga, exhorting the boys to be brave, to aim low, and to kill the Yankees as if they were wild beasts. He was eloquent and patriotic. He stated that if he only had a gun *he too would go* along as a private soldier. You could hear his voice echo and re-echo over the hills. He had worked up his patriotism to a pitch of genuine bravery and daring that I had never seen exhibited, when *fliff, fluff, fluff, fluff, FLUFF, FLUFF—a whiz, a BOOM and a shell screams through the air.* The reverend . . . stops to listen, like an old sow when she hears the wind, and says, ‘Remember boys, that he who is killed will sup tonight in Paradise.’ Some soldier hollered at the top of his voice, ‘Well, parson, you come along and take supper with us.’ *BOOM! whiz, a bomb burst,* and the parson at that moment put spurs to his horse and was seen to limber to the rear, and almost every soldier yelled out, ‘The parson isn’t hungry, and never eats supper.’” (Sam R. Watkins, “*Co. Aytch*”: *A Side Show of the Big Show* [Chattanooga, TN: Times Printing Company, 1900; reprint, New York: Collier Books, 1962], 103.)

Teaching Point: Role of the chaplain.

Stand 15—General Preston Smith, CSA

Situation: *Sept. 19, p.m.*—Joseph Dodge’s Union brigade occupied this position on the right of Johnson’s division when night fell. Dodge’s brigade was the target of Deshler’s Brigade, the left unit of Cleburne’s Division. In the darkness, Deshler’s Brigade veered to the left and uncovered Brig. Gen. Preston Smith’s brigade of Cheatham’s Division, which was advancing in Deshler’s support. Believing himself to be in a second line, Smith had not covered his front with skirmishers. The resulting encounter was a shock to both sides. In the confusion General Smith was killed.

Vignette 1 (Confederate perspective): “The enemy, finding it impossible to drive us from our position, sullenly retired out of range, and comparative quiet prevailed along our lines until 6 p.m., when General Smith, being informed a night attack was determined upon, was

ordered that so soon as General Deshler's brigade . . . should advance to his front, to move his brigade forward as General Deshler's support. After having advanced in this order some 200 yards, the engagement was commenced on the right, and extended to Deshler's brigade, in our front. Advancing a short distance farther, it being quite dark, a portion of this brigade became somewhat confused and fell back on our line. General Smith ordered them to move forward, which order was obeyed, and we continued to advance but a short distance when they a second time fell back on our line and were again urged forward by General Smith. Instead of moving direct to the front, they obliqued to the left and uncovered the two right regiments of General Smith's brigade. In the darkness General Smith did not know this, and a third time coming upon troops at a halt in his immediate front, presuming them to belong to General Deshler's command, he and Captain Thomas H. King, volunteer aide, rode to the front to ascertain the delay. On riding up to the line (which proved to be the enemy) and asking who was in command of these troops, he was discovered to be a Confederate officer, and he and Captain King were both killed. I at the same time was in front of my regiment, accompanied by Captain Donelson, acting assistant adjutant-general to General Smith, to know the cause of the delay of what I supposed to be a portion of General Deshler's command. Riding up to a soldier, I asked him to what command he belonged. Discovering that I was a Confederate officer, he fired at me, missing me, but killing Captain Donelson who was by my side. I immediately ordered some files from the 12th Tennessee Regiment to shoot him, which they did, killing him instantly. The line in front, seeing their situation, cried out, 'Do not shoot; we surrender.' I then rode forward and found them in grounding their arms. Discovering a stand of colors in my front, I asked, 'Who has those colors?' The reply was, 'The color bearer.' I then said, 'Sir, to what command do you belong?' He replied, 'To the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania Regiment.' I then took from him the stand of colors and handed them to Captain Carthel, Forty-seventh Tennessee Regiment, and ordered him to turn them, with the prisoners captured (about 300 in number), over to General Cheatham." (Colonel Alfred J. Vaughn Jr., 13th Tennessee Infantry Regiment, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 107-8.)

Vignette 2 (Federal perspective): "The Seventy-seventh [Pennsylvania] was on the extreme right of the division, and had attained a position considerably in

advance of the troops on its right. But as the enemy seemed thoroughly beaten, no immediate evil resulted. General Willick [sic], however, immediately ordered Colonel Rose to send out a detachment to the right to ascertain how wide was the gap between his troops and next of the line. Two companies, under Lieutenant Colonel Pyfer, were dispatched, who soon returned reporting the distance a mile and a quarter. General Willick ordered the position to be held, and said that troops would be sent to fill the gap. Just at dark a heavy rebel column of fresh troops attacked with great violence. That fatal gap was not filled, and the Seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, and Seventy-ninth Illinois, with flanks exposed, were left to battle alone with an overpowering hostile force. With a coolness and courage rarely paralleled, the men held their ground, and when at length outflanked, and the line enfiladed, there were signs of wavering, the officers seized the colors, and with unwonted heroism, and daring, inspired the men, by their example, with fresh enthusiasm to maintain the fight, and to hold the ground. The action became desperate, and hand to hand, and to distinguish friend from foe was difficult. In the midst of the fight the rebel general Preston Smith was shot down by Sergeant Bryson, the General having taken the Sergeant for one of his own men, and being in the act of striking him with his sword for some conceived offence. But the odds were too great, and that little band of heroes was forced to yield, all the field officers, seven line officers, and seventy men of the Seventy-seventh falling into the hands of the enemy. Those who escaped retired during the night. . . ." (Captain J. J. Lawson in George W. Skinner, ed., *Pennsylvania at Chickamauga and Chattanooga* [Harrisburg, PA: W. S. Ray, State Printer, 1897], 206-7.)

Teaching Points: Lack of security, failure to perform reconnaissance, confusion of night combat.

Stand 16—Hazen's and Turchin's Brigades

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—Entering the battle in early afternoon on the right of Johnson's division was Palmer's 2nd Division, XXI Corps. Palmer's division advanced in echelon of brigades, with Brig. Gen. William B. Hazen's brigade leading. They fought on the edge of the woods west of the field, first against Preston Smith's brigade, then against Brig. Gen. Otho F. Strahl's. Exhausting its ammunition, Hazen's brigade was relieved around 3:30 p.m. by Brig. Gen. John B.

Turchin's brigade of Maj. Gen. Joseph J. Reynolds' division, XIV Corps. Hazen withdrew to Poe Field where the ammunition trains were located. Turchin deployed to the left of Brig. Gen. Charles Cruft's brigade of Palmer's division. Around 4:00 p.m., in response to a Confederate attack on Palmer's right, Turchin and Cruft attacked south and west into the Confederate flank, blunting the attack. Around 5:00 p.m., Turchin and Cruft withdrew to a position near Kelly Field.

Vignette: "The enemy being repulsed on my front, the brigade of General Willich advanced to the front and left, and the brigade of General Hazen being withdrawn, my brigade was isolated from other troops. I decided to take to the right, and formed in two lines on the left of General Cruft's brigade, of Palmer's division.

"Shortly afterward, at about 4:30 p.m., the enemy came in heavy columns on our front; there was wavering and indecision, and I ordered a charge. The brigade yelled, rushed forward, and drove the enemy back in confusion, taking some prisoners. The brigade of General Cruft charged with us. After consulting General Cruft, we decided to fall back, to reform our line, on the original position. This being done, I received orders from the general commanding to join the Second Brigade, which I subsequently did, and that closed the day." (Brigadier General John B. Turchin, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 474.)

Teaching Points: Ammunition resupply, local counter-attack.

STAFF RIDE AREA 2

Stand 17—A. P. Stewart's Division

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—When Cheatham's Division proved to be overmatched, Bragg sent Maj. Gen. Alexander P. Stewart's division to assist the Confederates around Brock Field. Given vague instructions on where to enter the fight, Stewart elected to support Cheatham's left and formed his division in column of brigades. Around 2:00 p.m., Brig. Gen. Henry D. Clayton's brigade, Stewart's leading unit, engaged elements of Brig. Gen. Horatio P. Van Cleve's and Palmer's divisions, which had forced Brig. Gen. Marcus J. Wright's brigade of Cheatham's Division to withdraw. When Clayton's green troops exhausted their ammunition, Stewart replaced them with Brig. Gen. John C. Brown's brigade. Clayton's Brigade then withdrew

to resupply. In turn, Brown's Brigade was replaced by Brig. Gen. William B. Bate's brigade. By 4:30 p.m., after rotating his brigades into the fight, Stewart drove Van Cleve's units from their position on the high ground south of the Brotherton Cabin. Clayton's Brigade then reentered the fight and penetrated to Dyer Field. Unfortunately, Stewart's attack was unsupported, and his units west of LaFayette Road were eventually forced back by the approach of Brannan's and Maj. Gen. James S. Negley's divisions. Stewart had achieved a limited penetration, but without support, his tactical success could not be exploited.

Vignette: "About 11 o'clock we moved by the right flank 400 or 500 yards in rear of Johnson's division, and soon afterward 800 yards farther, halting immediately in rear of the left of Cheatham's division, which was then hotly engaged. His left brigade, being numerically overpowered and repulsed, was relieved by Brigadier-General Clayton, immediately in my front. I followed this movement closely, being so near to Clayton's line that many of my command were wounded and a few killed before I could return the fire. The front line advanced but little under the combined fire of the enemy's artillery and small-arms until General Clayton reported his ammunition exhausted.

"At about 2 p.m., in obedience to orders received in person from the major-general commanding, I relieved him, and encountered the enemy in an unbroken forest, rendered the more difficult of passage by the dense undergrowth which for more than 200 yards extended along my entire line; and the difficulties were still further enhanced by the smoke of battle and the burning of the woods, rendering it impossible to distinguish objects 20 paces in advance. My skirmishers encountering the enemy at 100 yards or less, I pushed rapidly upon his lines under a most terrific fire from all arms. There was no position from which my artillery could be served with advantage against the enemy, while two of his batteries immediately in my front and one almost on my right flank filled the air with grape, canister, shells, and solid shot, while volley after volley of musketry in quick succession swept my men by scores at every discharge. For 400 yards, however, my line steadily advanced without faltering at any point until the enemy had been driven beyond the tangled undergrowth and his first line completely routed. A stubborn resistance from the second line, supported by artillery posted upon a slight acclivity in our front and pouring showers of canister

upon us for a few minutes, checked our progress; but again we advanced, driving back his second line up to and beyond the summit of the ridge, until my right rested upon and my center and left had passed the crest. Unfortunately, however, at the moment when the rout of the second line was about being made as complete as the disaster to the first a few minutes previous, a force of the enemy appeared on my right flank, and had well nigh turned it, compelling the Eighteenth and Forty-fifth Tennessee Regiments to retire rapidly and in some confusion under a heavy enfilading fire. This necessitated the withdrawal of the center and left, there being no support upon my right for a mile, and none in my rear nearer than 600 yards, and which was then not in motion.” (Brigadier General John C. Brown, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 370-71.)

Teaching Points: Leadership, initiative, training, cohesion, tactical formations, synchronization, depth.

Stand 18—Carnes’ Tennessee Battery

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—Capt. William W. Carnes’ battery, consisting of two 6-pounder smoothbores and two 12-pounder howitzers, supported Wright’s Brigade of Cheatham’s Division. Around 1:30 p.m., the battery went into action on the left of the division firing canister because of the nearness of the enemy. The battery had no infantry support on its left, the direction from which Federal reinforcements approached the battlefield. Soon after it went into action, the battery was attacked on its left and rear by Van Cleve’s division. After many of the men and most of the horses were killed, the remaining gunners withdrew hastily on foot. The Federals dragged the guns back to the road, where they were recaptured by Stewart’s advancing infantry. From Carnes’ complement of 78 officers and men, one officer and 18 men were killed, 18 men wounded, and one was captured. Only ten of the battery’s 59 horses survived.

Vignette: “The woods . . . were so dense with undergrowth that it was almost impossible to keep the battery up with the infantry line. The infantry struck the enemy first, and as soon as Carnes could clear the ground of undergrowth, which he had to do with a detail of men armed with axes, he put his battery in position, and opened on the advancing Federals with canister. In the heavy fighting which immediately followed, many of the men and horses were soon killed

or disabled; and Carnes, seeing the impossibility of saving his guns if our line should be pressed back, sent his orderly to report the situation to the division commander and ask for help. Receiving reply to hold his ground as long as possible, Capt. Carnes dismounted his officers and sergeants and put them and the drivers of the disabled horses at the guns to replace the cannoneers as they were shot down, and, giving the enemy double charges of canister at close range, drove back the line in his front; but as he had no support on his left, the Federals swung around the battery until it was almost surrounded. Finding it impossible to hold out longer, Carnes sent his few surviving men to the rear and, with his sergeant, fired his left gun a few times as rapidly as possible to keep back the fast closing lines, and then he and his sergeant jumped to their horses, which were tied near by. The sergeant, mounting first, was riddled with bullets from a volley that passed over the Captain as he was in the act of mounting, wounding his horse. Making a dash for the now narrow opening to the rear, Capt. Carnes escaped capture by being well mounted and a good rider. His horse was struck a number of times, and could barely carry his rider till he reached the support coming from the rear, and fell just after he passed through the advancing Confederate line.” (T. L. Massenburg, “Capt. W. W. Carnes’ Battery at Chickamauga,” *Confederate Veteran* 6 [November 1898]: 518.)

Teaching Points: Small-unit leadership, combined arms, face of battle.

Stand 19—E. A. King’s Brigade Plaque

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—While advancing to support Palmer’s division, Union Col. Edward A. King’s brigade of Reynolds’ division was diverted to support Van Cleve’s division. The 75th Indiana was left in this position to support the 19th and 7th Indiana Batteries along this ridge overlooking LaFayette Road. King’s remaining regiments went into position on the right of Van Cleve’s line in the woods east of LaFayette Rd. Both Van Cleve’s and King’s regiments were driven back to this ridge (3:30-4:00 p.m.) by the left of Stewart’s Division and the right of Bushrod Johnson’s division. By 4:30 p.m., the Federals also evacuated this line despite the strength of the position. Several attached units, notably the 92nd Illinois and four mountain howitzers of the 18th Indiana Battery (from Wilder’s brigade), were also caught in the rout.

Vignette: “My four mountain howitzers were with the Ninety-second Illinois Volunteers detached from the brigade on Saturday, and under Sergeant Anderson, Seventy-second Indiana Volunteers, did good fighting. Sergeant Anderson was wounded severely, and Sergeant Edwards, Seventeenth Indiana Volunteers took command and did good work till all support left them and the enemy were within a few yards of his pieces, when he succeeded in escaping with three of his pieces and the limber of the other. Either of these men would do honor to the commissions of the miserable shoulder-strapped poltroons who allowed the support to run away from the pieces in the hour of danger.” (Captain Eli Lilly, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 467.)

Teaching Points: Strength of the defensive, rapid task organizing.

Stand 20—Johnson’s (Fulton’s) Brigade

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—Around 4:00 p.m., Confederate Col. John S. Fulton’s brigade, the right of Johnson’s Division, crossed LaFayette Road south of Stewart’s attack, then swung north and struck the right flank of Van Cleve’s position on the Brotherton ridge. Stewart’s and Johnson’s attacks were not coordinated but, luckily, complemented each other. Part of Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Wood’s Federal division, moving north in turn, now struck Johnson’s exposed left (southern) flank. In this movement, two regiments of Col. Charles G. Harker’s brigade of Wood’s division came up LaFayette Rd. from the vicinity of Viniard Field, fired into Fulton’s rear, and drove him back across LaFayette Rd. in disarray.

Vignette: “When we had gone about half way we discovered a line of troops moving by the flank in the direction of the left wing of my regiment. Before we could determine who they were the commands ‘halt,’ ‘front,’ were given by the commander of the leading regiment, and they immediately discharged a volley at our men. A general stampede of our men ensued. So sudden and unexpected was the attack from our rear that every man seemed to act for himself, regardless of orders. I was too far from my regiment to give any directions or render any assistance at the time. Major Davis was lying down behind the left of the regiment, but gave no commands of any kind. Doubtless he thought it was folly to attempt to do anything when the enemy was within 30 yards of him and in his rear. Some of the company

officers ordered their men to face about and fire. A number of the men fired on the enemy. Some of them fired two or three rounds before they got out of reach.

“Immediately after the discharge of the first volley from the enemy I turned to look at the fate of my regiment. I saw that a number of the men were making their way out in the only direction by which they could possibly escape, and I saw at once that if I could get back to the line at all, the men who were left there would be prisoners before I could reach them. All of my regiment that escaped moved by the right flank about 200 yards, and then filed to the rear and came out at the right of the brigade.” (Lieutenant Colonel Watt W. Floyd, 17th Tennessee Infantry Regiment [Fulton’s left unit], in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 481.)

Teaching Points: Coordination between units, command and control, nonlinear battlefield.

STAFF RIDE AREA 3

Stand 21—McNair’s Brigade

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—When Bushrod Johnson’s division advanced around 3:00 p.m., Brig. Gen. John Gregg’s brigade was on the left of the first line, with McNair’s Brigade in support. In the process of defeating part of Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis’ division, Gregg’s troops became scattered. The 39th North Carolina and 25th Arkansas of McNair’s Brigade passed over the left of Gregg’s Brigade and continued their advance 200 yards to this point. Here the advance was halted and forced back by enfilading fire from Wilder’s mounted infantry brigade and a section of the 18th Indiana Battery on the south side of the field and the arrival of Union Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Wood’s division from Lee and Gordon’s Mills.

Vignette: “Moved rapidly forward, and getting near Gregg’s brigade (then under a terrific fire) [we] charged impetuously with loud cheers, passing over the left of Gregg’s brigade, and drove the enemy in rapid flight through the thick woods, across the Chattanooga road, past the small house 100 yards on, and into the cornfields beyond, making a distance altogether of about three-quarters of a mile. In the last advance Lieutenant-Colonel Hufstedler fell wounded with five balls. Here, though the enemy to whom we had been opposed in front were in flight, broken, and in confusion, having sustained a heavy loss in killed, the two regiments,

finding their tired and weakened line exposed to a fatal flanking fire, especially on the left, unsupported on account of the rapidity of their advance, with an enemy's battery near on the left, and a strong enemy re-enforcement approaching, and our ammunition nearly exhausted, the impracticability of longer holding this advanced and exposed position was immediately manifest and the force was ordered back to the woods." (Colonel David Coleman, 39th North Carolina Infantry Regiment, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 499-500.)

Teaching Points: Width of a division front, initiative, unsupported attack.

Stand 22—Heg's Brigade

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—Union Col. Hans C. Heg's brigade went into action in the woods east of LaFayette Rd. as the left of Davis' division. Around 2:00 p.m., Heg became heavily engaged with Gregg's Brigade of Bushrod Johnson's division. Heg's men were forced back across the road, rallied, attacked again, and were repulsed once more. Confederate Brig. Gens. Henry L. Benning's and Jerome B. Robertson's brigades eventually penetrated to this point, but when darkness fell, Federal units controlled this area. Late in the day, as he rallied his unit in a final counterattack, Heg was mortally wounded at this spot.

Vignette: Colonel Heg's last letter to his wife, Gunild, September 18, 1863: "Do not feel uneasy for me. I am well and in good spirits—and trusting to my usual good luck. I shall use all the caution and courage I am capable of and leave the rest to take care of itself. . . . I can of course say nothing about the prospects of getting home—but as soon as this present campaign is ended—I am certain of being able to come." (Theodore C. Blegen, ed., *The Civil War Letters of Colonel Hans Christian Heg* [Northfield, MN: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1936], 245-46.)

Teaching Points: Leadership, confusion, importance of the road.

Stand 23—Wilder's Brigade

Situation: Sept. 19, a.m./p.m.—Early on the morning of the 19th, Wilder's mounted infantry brigade withdrew to a defensive position here at the far western edge of Viniard Field. As you face east, Wilder's position

stretched from a gully on your left, where the 18th Indiana Battery's guns and monuments are located, then along the western and southern edges of this field. The present tree line in your front did not exist in 1863, permitting a field of fire beyond LaFayette Rd. and extending into Viniard Field. Leaving their horses some distance in the rear, Wilder's men fired from the protection of a rail barricade. Each man had ample ammunition for his Spencer repeating rifle (60 rounds on his person and 200 rounds in a nose bag on his saddle). Armed with this weapon of advanced technology that permitted a high rate of fire in the prone position, Wilder's brigade was able to clear its front throughout the day. In addition, the brigade served as a rallying point for broken formations of Davis', Wood's, and Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's divisions.

Vignette: "Suddenly I saw many of our soldiers come running out of the woods on the east side of the field, followed by more and more of them, till I could not doubt but that our men were being forced to fall back. Along the road to our right, across the open field and from all points they came running. Before they were across the field the Rebels broke out of the woods on the east side in hot pursuit of our men. We had to wait till our men were through our line as we lay behind our improvised fortifications, and then we began to shoot at the oncoming Rebels as fast as our Spencer repeating rifles would permit, while Lilly's battery was sweeping the field with canister. It was too fierce for human beings to face long, but the Rebels came on till they reached a deep ditch or gully about 15 or 20 yards in front of where we lay. Here they hesitated and our firing became so devastating they turned and fled for the protection of the woods on the far side of the field. Occasionally one would break away and make a run for the woods on the far side. One fellow carrying a flag started on a run for this place. As he came into view from behind the stable I took careful aim and fired at him, sure that I would see him fall. But what was my astonishment to see him keep right on. I had missed him. Before I could fire again he had reached the woods and was lost to sight.

"Again and again, all day each side charged back and forth across the field. Often we could not see a dozen yards in front of us for the smoke, but never did the enemy once reach us. We held our line intact. Many times during the day we had to renew our supplies of ammunition. We shot so much that before night each man had a little pile of empty shells, and I remember one time that several of the

soldiers near me in a lull of the fighting compared piles to see which one had done the most shooting.” (Theodore Petzoldt, 17th Indiana Mounted Infantry, in *My War Story*, Portland, OR, 1917, 103-5.)

Teaching Points: Effects of new technology, face of battle, tactics, leadership, use of terrain, fire discipline, training.

Stand 24—18th Indiana Battery

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—When Davis’ division and part of Wood’s division were routed from Viniard Field and the woods, they passed through Wilder’s line. Armed with seven-shot Spencer repeating rifles, Wilder’s men halted the charge of Robertson’s and Benning’s brigades of Brig. Gen. Evander Law’s (Hood’s) Division. The Confederates then took refuge in the gully, or ditch, which curved around in front of Wilder’s position. Today portions of the gully are clogged with vegetation, but in 1863, it was open. Capt. Eli Lilly positioned two of his six 3-inch rifles to cover the ditch by firing down its long axis. The effect of the canister fire was devastating on the trapped Confederates.

Vignette: “At 4:00 p.m., Major General John B. Hood’s Confederate division attacked Davis’ division in an assault that drove it back to the west of the road and to Wilder’s line. Lieutenant Scott’s guns fired canister at the advancing line, and the four guns on the left fired obliquely into the Rebels. The Johnnies reached the ravine in front of the position, in which they took shelter from the firing of Wilder’s seven shooters.

“Captain Lilly understated the effect of his guns in this situation, with his report saying that his guns fired ‘until they reached the ravine when they fell back in disorder except a few who laid down in the ravine and were captured.’ Henry Campbell wrote, ‘Capt. Lilly moved forward two guns on the left to a position where he could rake the ditch from end to end, opened out with thrible [sic] charges of canister down the ditch which compelled the rebels to retreat in confusion. The ditch was literally full of dead and wounded and proved to be a self made grave for hundreds of them.’

“Colonel Wilder agreed, reporting that Lilly fired 200 rounds of double-shotted canister at ranges of from 70 to 350 yards. Later he commented, ‘At this point it actually seemed a pity to kill men so. They fell in heaps, and I had it in my heart to order the firing to cease, to end the awful sight.’” (John Rowell, *Yankee Artillerymen: Through the Civil War With Eli Lilly’s*

Indiana Battery [Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975], 117.)

Teaching Points: Analysis of terrain, initiative, combined arms, integration of fires.

Stand 25—Viniard Field

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—This slight rise in Viniard Field was the tactical objective for both sides on this part of the field. At least seven Federal brigades and four Confederate brigades swept back and forth over this ground from 2:00-6:00 p.m. without gaining any significant advantage. After dark, both sides withdrew from the field, leaving hundreds of wounded and dead behind. In the darkness, the cries of the wounded greatly affected those who heard them, but they could do little to help.

Vignette: “When night settled down at last firing ceased on both sides. . . . From the field in front of me and I began to hear the cries of the wounded. Some in the delirium of the fever from their wounds were calling ‘Father, Oh Father, come quick,’ while others cried for ‘Mother, Mother,’ but no mother could hear. Others were calling for a brother or a sister, while some called for a wife. . . . But the cry that was incessant and which ranged from a low moan to a loud wail was ‘Water-water-water!’ We had orders not to move from our places, not to strike a match, not to go to sleep or to make any unnecessary noise. But after listening to that cry for ‘water, water’ for a little while, I could stand it no longer. As quickly as possible, I slipped out of the woods and into the field in front of us. I had no water in my canteen to give out, but I thought probably I could find some. It was now so dark that I could but dimly see the outlines of those lying on the ground. Seeing one who was making no sound I went to him and shaking him by the shoulder I whispered: ‘partner.’ There was no reply. He was dead. I raised his shoulders from the ground and slipped the canteen strap over his head. Good, the canteen was nearly full of water. I went to the nearest man who was calling for water and gave it to him. With eager hands he grabbed it and began to drink. No sooner did the other wounded men in the vicinity observe that some one was near with water than they all began to beg for some. I made it go as far as I could, but it was not far. When the canteen was empty I looked about for more water, but could find none. Returning to the first man to whom I [had] given water

and who by his voice I had judged to be German, I spoke to him in that language. I had guessed right. He told me that he belonged to the 32d Illinois. He had been wounded in the bowels and he had no expectation that he could live. I tried to cheer him as best I could but it is little one can say at a time like this. He said that he did not mind dying, but it troubled him to think what would become of the wife and two small children that he would leave back there in Illinois. Who would look out for them after he was gone? I could only stay a few minutes with him for I wanted to get back to our lines before my absence was discovered. How horrible it all was. Some of the water I gave to a poor fellow shot through the lungs and whose blood was slowly oozing from his mouth. He had crawled into the gully to be protected from the flying bullets during the day. I would have liked to have taken both men back to our lines, but it would have done them no good for we could not have taken care of them there if I had. So I left them in their terrible pain and misery and went back to our lines. Luckily my absence had not been discovered.” (Theodore Petzoldt, 17th Indiana Infantry Regiment, in *My War Story*, Portland, OR, 1917, 106-8.)

Teaching Points: Analysis of terrain, face of battle, humanity in war.

STAFF RIDE AREA 4

Stand 26—Dalton (Hunt) Ford

[Added by B&G. No Vignette]

Stand 27—Leonidas Polk’s Headquarters

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—Polk’s headquarters was located in the vicinity of Alexander’s Bridge, probably about 500 yards south of Chickamauga Creek. During the evening, Bragg formed his army into two wings, Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk commanding the Right Wing, and Lt. Gen. James Longstreet the Left Wing. Polk was briefed by Bragg on his battle plan, but left it to Polk to inform the third lieutenant general, Daniel H. Hill, of the reorganization.

Vignette: “On the night of September 19, I was on duty at headquarters as courier. About 12 o’clock a dispatch was handed me to be carried to Lieutenant-General Hill. I left immediately in search of General Hill, having

been informed that General Hill was near Thedford’s Ford. I was unable to find General Hill after searching for him for about four hours. In my search I came up with General Cheatham and made inquiry of him for General Hill. He informed me that he knew nothing of his whereabouts. I also met with General Breckinridge and made of him the same inquiry and received of him the same answer. After going in every direction and inquiring of all the soldiers I met of his and other commands I returned to headquarters, after a search of about four hours, unable to find General Hill. Upon my return I did not report to Colonel Jack, as I understood from his clerk (Mr. McReady) that I was not to disturb him upon my return.” (Private John H. Fisher, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 57-58.)

Teaching Points: Command responsibility, command post operations.

Stand 28—General Braxton Bragg’s Headquarters

Situation: Sept. 19, p.m.—The headquarters and trains area of Bragg’s Army of Tennessee was located at Thedford’s Ford. Here General Polk was given his orders for the 20th. Bragg’s plan differed little from his earlier efforts. Once again he proposed to turn the Federal left. The attack was to be executed in echelon by divisions from right to left. Leaving Thedford’s Ford, Polk returned to his headquarters, where he issued written orders to Hill, Walker, and Cheatham, then went to bed. The only person left on duty at Polk’s command post was a clerk. Walker and Cheatham received their orders, but the messenger failed to find Hill. After arriving at Catoosa Station around 2:00 p.m., General Longstreet made his way to Bragg’s headquarters by 11:00 p.m., was briefed on the plan for the next day, and retired for the night. Meanwhile, General Hill tried to find Bragg’s headquarters but was unsuccessful. When Polk’s messenger returned to Alexander’s Bridge and reported his inability to find Hill, he was told not to disturb Polk or the senior staff. Because Hill also proved unable to locate Polk’s headquarters, he did not learn that his corps had been ordered to initiate the attack at dawn. Because Hill was unable to locate either Bragg or Polk, and for other reasons, the scheduled 5:30 a.m. attack on September 20 was in jeopardy.

Vignette: “In the evening, according to my custom in Virginia under General Lee, I rode back to Army headquarters to report to the Commander-in-Chief

the result of the day upon my part of the line. I there met for the first time several of the principal officers of the Army of Tennessee, and, to my surprise, not one spoke in a sanguine tone regarding the result of the battle in which we were then engaged. I found the gallant Breckinridge, whom I had known from early youth, seated by the root of a tree, with a heavy slouch hat upon his head. When, in the course of brief conversation, I stated that we would rout the enemy the following day, he sprang to his feet, exclaiming, 'My dear Hood, I am delighted to hear you say so. You give me renewed hope; God grant it may be so.'

"After receiving orders from General Bragg to advance the next morning as soon as the troops on my right moved to the attack, I returned to the position occupied by my forces, and camped the remainder of the night with General Buckner, as I had nothing with me save that which I had brought from the train upon my horse. Nor did my men have a single wagon, or even ambulance in which to convey the wounded. They were destitute of almost everything, I might say, except pride, spirit, and forty rounds of ammunition to the man." (John Bell Hood, *Advance and Retreat* [Philadelphia, PA: Burke and M'Fetridge, 1880], 62.)

Teaching Points: Command post locations, commander's intent, reorganization during battle.

Lost Archives Found from the Classic Civil War Memoir!

A young soldier's eyewitness account.

An old man's seasoned perspective.

A brittle, yellowed sheaf of notes.

A great-granddaughter's dedicated perseverance.

One outstanding Civil War memoir.

Generations of readers, students, and military history buffs have enjoyed *Co. Aytch*, Samuel Watkins' lively and vivid memoir of serving under the Stars and Bars. In an engaging style likened to Mark Twain, Watkins offered a private's-eye view of the Civil War that Ken Burns called "the best memoir of a fighting soldier south of the Mason Dixon line."

Now the best is even better.

In his twilight years, Sam Watkins began revising *Co. Aytch* with an eye toward a new edition, filled with additional insights and the perspective of time. When he died before finishing the project, his notes and comments lay virtually untouched for nearly a century.

Recently Watkins' great-granddaughter painstakingly assembled the handwritten notes to produce this fresh, new edition of *Co. Aytch*, just as Sam had intended. Thanks to her efforts, a new generation can rediscover the astute firsthand observations of this young Confederate soldier, with the added bonus of Watkins' previously unpublished personal notes, comments, and supplemental material.

"The only thing better than Sam Watkins is more Sam Watkins!"
- Ken Burns, Filmmaker, The Civil War

LIMITED
QUANTITIES
AVAILABLE!

SAM'S OWN REVISED & EXPANDED EDITION
— NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED —

Co. "AYTCH"

FIRST TENNESSEE REGIMENT



OR A SIDE SHOW OF THE BIG SHOW

SAM R. WATKINS

EDITED BY RUTH HILL FULTON MCALLISTER

Price: \$34.95
(includes shipping)

TO ORDER:
www.samrwatkins.com
931-223-7597

ORDER OF BATTLE

Abbreviations: (w) wounded; (mw) mortally wounded; (k) killed; (c) captured.

ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND

Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans

HQ—1st Battalion Ohio Sharpshooters, Capt. Gershom M. Barber; **10th Ohio Infantry**, Lt. Col. William M. Ward; **15th Pennsylvania (Anderson) Cavalry**, Col. William J. Palmer.

XIV CORPS

Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas

HQ—Provost Guard, 9th Michigan Infantry, Col. John G. Parkhurst (guarding trains and provost duty). **Escort—1st Ohio Cavalry, Co. L**, Capt. John D. Barker.

FIRST DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Absalom Baird

1ST BRIGADE, Col. Benjamin F. Scribner: **38th Indiana**, Lt. Col. Daniel F. Griffin; **2nd Ohio**, Lt. Col. Obadiah C. Maxwell (w); Maj. William T. Beatty (w/c), Capt. James Warnock; **33rd Ohio**, Col. Oscar F. Moore; **94th Ohio**, Maj. Rue P. Hutchins; **10th Wisconsin**, Lt. Col. John H. Ely (mw/c), Capt. Jacob W. Roby. **2ND BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. John C. Starkweather: **24th Illinois**, Col. Geza Mihalotzy (w), Capt. August Mauff; **79th Pennsylvania**, Col. Henry Hambricht; **1st Wisconsin**, Lt. Col. George B. Bingham; **21st Wisconsin**, Lt. Col. Harrison C. Hobart (w), Capt. Charles H. Walker. **3RD BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. John H. King: **15th U.S., 1st Battalion**, Capt. Albert B. Dod; **16th U.S., 1st Battalion**, Maj. Sidney Coolidge (k), Capt. R. E. A. Crofton; **18th U.S., 1st Battalion**, Capt. George W. Smith; **18th U.S., 2nd Battalion**, Capt. Henry Haymond; **19th U.S., 1st Battalion**, Maj. Samuel K. Dawson (w), Capt. Edmund L. Smith. **ARTILLERY: Indiana Light, 4th Battery (2nd Brigade)**, Lt. David Flansburg (w/c), Lt. Henry J. Willits; **1st Michigan Light, Battery A (1st Brigade)**, Lt. George W. Van Pelt (k), Lt. Almerick W. Wilbur; **5th U.S., Battery H (3rd Brigade)**, Lt. Howard M. Burnham, Lt. Joshua A. Fessenden (w).

SECOND DIVISION

Maj. Gen. James S. Negley

1ST BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. John Beatty: **104th Illinois**, Lt. Col. Douglas Hapeman; **42nd Indiana**, Lt. Col. William T. B. McIntire; **88th Indiana**, Col. George Humphrey; **15th Kentucky**, Col. Marion C. Taylor. **2ND BRIGADE**, Col. Timothy R. Stanley (w); Col. William L. Stoughton: **19th Illinois**, Lt. Col. Alexander W. Raffan; **11th Michigan**, Col. William L. Stoughton, Lt. Col. Melvin Mudge (w); **18th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Charles H. Grosvenor. **3RD BRIGADE**, Col. William Sirwell: **37th Indiana**, Lt. Col. William D. Ward; **21st Ohio**, Lt. Col. Dwella M. Stoughton (mw), Maj. Arnold McMahan (w), Capt. Charles H. Vantine; **74th Ohio**, Capt. Joseph Fisher; **78th Pennsylvania**, Lt. Col. Archibald Blakeley. **ARTILLERY: Illinois Light, Bridges' Battery (1st Brigade)**, Capt. Lyman Bridges; **1st Ohio Light, Battery G (3rd Brigade)**, Capt. Alexander Marshall; **1st Ohio Light, Battery M (2nd Brigade)**, Capt. Frederick Schultz.

THIRD DIVISION

Brig. Gen. John M. Brannan

1ST BRIGADE, Col. John M. Connell: **82nd Indiana**, Col. Morton C. Hunter; **17th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Durbin Ward (w); **31st Ohio**, Lt. Col. Frederick W.

Lister; **38th Ohio**, Col. Edward H. Phelps (train guard). **2ND BRIGADE**, Col. John T. Croxton (w); Col. William Hays: **10th Indiana**, Col. William B. Carroll (mw), Lt. Col. Marsh B. Taylor; **74th Indiana**, Col. Charles W. Chapman, Lt. Col. Myron Baker; **4th Kentucky**, Lt. Col. P. Burgess Hunt (w), Maj. Robert M. Kelly; **10th Kentucky**, Col. William H. Hays, Lt. Col. Gabriel Wharton; **14th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Henry D. Kingsbury. **3RD BRIGADE**, Col. Ferdinand Van Derveer: **87th Indiana**, Col. Newell Gleason; **2nd Minnesota**, Col. James George; **9th Ohio**, Col. Gustave Kammerling; **35th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Henry Boynton. **Artillery: 1st Michigan Light, Battery D (1st Brigade)**, Capt. Josiah W. Church; **1st Ohio Light, Battery C (2nd Brigade)**, Lt. Marco Gary; **4th U.S., Battery I (3rd Brigade)**, Lt. Frank G. Smith.

FOURTH DIVISION

Maj. Gen. Joseph J. Reynolds

1ST BRIGADE, Col. John T. Wilder (Detached, serving as mounted infantry.): **92nd Illinois**, Col. Smith D. Atkins; **98th Illinois**, Col. John J. Funkhouser (w), Lt. Col. Edward Kitchell; **123rd Illinois**, Col. James Monroe; **17th Indiana**, Maj. William Jones; **72nd Indiana**, Col. Abram Miller. **2ND BRIGADE**, Col. Edward A. King (k), Col. Milton S. Robinson: **68th Indiana**, Capt. Harvey J. Espy (w); **75th Indiana**, Col. Milton S. Robinson, Lt. Col. William O'Brien; **101st Indiana**, Lt. Col. Thomas Doan; **105th Ohio**, Maj. George T. Perkins (w). **3RD BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. John B. Turchin: **18th Kentucky**, Lt. Col. Hubbard K. Milward (w), Capt. John B. Heltemes; **11th Ohio**, Col. Philander P. Lane; **36th Ohio**, Col. William G. Jones (k), Lt. Col. Hiram F. Devol; **92nd Ohio**, Col. Benjamin D. Fearing (w), Lt. Col. Douglas Putnam, Jr. (w). **ARTILLERY: Indiana Light, 18th Battery (1st Brigade)**, Capt. Eli Lilly; **Indiana Light, 19th Battery (2nd Brigade)**, Capt. Samuel J. Harris (w), Lt. Robert S. Lackey; **Indiana Light, 21st Battery (3rd Brigade)**, Capt. William W. Andrew.

XX CORPS

Maj. Gen. Alexander McD. McCook

HQ—Provost Guard, 81st Indiana Infantry, Co. H, Capt. William J. Richards. **Escort—2nd Kentucky Cavalry, Co. I**, Lt. George Batman.

FIRST DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis

1ST BRIGADE, Col. P. Sidney Post (Guarding supply train.): **59th Illinois**, Lt. Col. Joshua C. Winters; **74th Illinois**, Col. Jason Marsh; **75th Illinois**, Col. John E. Bennett; **22nd Indiana**, Col. Michael Gooding; **Wisconsin Light Artillery, 5th Battery**, Capt. George Q. Gardner. **2ND BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. William P. Carlin: **21st Illinois**, Col. John W. S. Alexander (k), Capt. Chester K. Knight; **38th Illinois**, Lt. Col. Daniel H. Gilmer (k), Capt. Willis G. Whitehurst; **81st Indiana**, Capt. Nevil B. Boone, Maj. James E. Calloway; **101st Ohio**, Lt. Col. John Messer (w), Maj. Bedan B. McDonald (w), Capt. Leonard D. Smith; **Minnesota Light Artillery, 2nd Battery** (Capt. William A. Hotchkiss, chief of division artillery), Lt. Albert Woodbury (mw), Lt. Richard L. Dawley. **3RD BRIGADE**, Col. Hans C. Heg (k); Col. John A. Martin: **25th Illinois**, Maj. Samuel D. Wall (w), Capt. Wesford Taggart; **35th Illinois**, Lt. Col. William P. Chandler; **8th Kansas**, Col. John A. Martin, Lt. Col. James L. Abernathy; **15th Wisconsin**, Lt. Col. Ole C. Johnson (c); **Wisconsin Light Artillery, 8th Battery**, Lt. John D. McLean.

SECOND DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Richard W. Johnson

1ST BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. August Willich: **89th Illinois**, Lt. Col. Duncan J. Hall (k), Maj. William D. Williams; **32nd Indiana**, Lt. Col. Frank Erdelmeyer; **39th Indiana** (detached, serving as mounted infantry), Col. Thomas J. Harrison; **15th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Frank Askew; **49th Ohio**, Maj. Samuel F. Gray (w), Capt. Luther M. Strong; **1st Ohio Light Artillery, Battery A**, Capt. Wilbur F. Goodspeed. **2ND BRIGADE**, Col. Joseph B. Dodge: **79th Illinois**, Col. Allen Buckner; **29th Indiana**, Lt. Col. David M. Dunn; **30th Indiana**, Lt. Col. Orrin D. Hurd; **77th Pennsylvania**, Col. Thomas E. Rose (c), Capt. Joseph J. Lawson; **Ohio Light Artillery, 20th Battery**, Capt. Edward Grosskopf. **3RD BRIGADE**, Col. Philemon P. Baldwin (k); Col. William W. Berry: **6th Indiana**, Lt. Col. Hagerman Tripp (w), Maj. Calvin Campbell; **5th Kentucky**, Col. William Berry, Capt. John Huston; **1st Ohio**, Lt. Col. Bassett Langdon; **93rd Ohio**, Col. Hiram Strong (mw), Lt. Col. William Martin; **Indiana Light Artillery, 5th Battery**, Capt. Peter Simonson.

THIRD DIVISION

Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan

1ST BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. William H. Lytle (k), Col. Silas Miller: **36th Illinois**, Col. Silas Miller, Lt. Col. Porter C. Olson; **88th Illinois**, Lt. Col. Alexander S. Chadbourne; **21st Michigan**, Col. William B. McCreery (w/c), Maj. Seymour Chase; **24th Wisconsin**, Lt. Col. Theodore S. West (w/c), Maj. Carl von Baumbach; **Indiana Light Artillery, 11th Battery**, Capt. Arnold Sutermeister. **2ND BRIGADE**, Col. Bernard Laiboldt: **44th Illinois**, Col. Wallace W. Barrett (w); **73rd Illinois**, Col. James Jaquess; **2nd Missouri**, Maj. Arnold Beck; **15th Missouri**, Col. Joseph Conrad; **1st Missouri Light Artillery, Battery G** (Capt. Henry Hescocock, chief of division artillery), Lt. Gustavus Schueler. **3rd Brigade**, Col. Luther P. Bradley (w); Col. Nathan H. Walworth: **22nd Illinois**, Lt. Col. Francis Swanwick; **27th Illinois**, Col. Jonathan R. Miles; **42d Illinois**, Col. Nathan H. Walworth, Lt. Col. John A. Hottenstein; **51st Illinois**, Lt. Col. Samuel B. Raymond; **1st Illinois Light Artillery, Battery C**, Capt. Mark Prescott.

XXI CORPS

Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden

Escort—15th Illinois Cavalry, Co. K, Capt. Samuel B. Sherer.

FIRST DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Wood

1ST BRIGADE, Col. George P. Buell: **100th Illinois**, Col. Frederick A. Bartleson (w/c), Maj. Charles M. Hammond; **58th Indiana**, Lt. Col. James T. Embree; **13th Michigan**, Col. Joshua B. Culver (w), Maj. Willard G. Eaton; **26th Ohio**, Lt. Col. William H. Young. **2ND BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. George D. Wagner (At Chattanooga.): **15th Indiana**, Col. Gustavus A. Wood; **40th Indiana**, Col. John W. Blake; **57th Indiana**, Lt. Col. George W. Lennard; **97th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Milton Barnes. **3RD BRIGADE**, Col. Charles G. Harker: **3rd Kentucky**, Col. Henry C. Dunlap; **64th Ohio**, Col. Alexander McIlvain; **65th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Horatio N. Whitbeck (w), Maj. Samuel C. Brown (mw), Capt. Thomas Powell; **125th Ohio**, Col. Emerson Opdycke. **ARTILLERY: Indiana Light, 8th Battery (1st Brigade)**, Capt. George Estep (w); **Indiana Light, 10th Battery (2nd Brigade)**, at Chattanooga, Lt. William A.

Naylor; **Ohio Light, 6th Battery (3rd Brigade)**, Capt. Cullen Bradley.

SECOND DIVISION

Maj. Gen. John M. Palmer

1ST BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. Charles Cruft. **31st Indiana**, Col. John T. Smith; **1st Kentucky** (five companies detached as wagon guard), Lt. Col. Alva R. Hadlock; **2nd Kentucky**, Col. Thomas D. Sedgewick; **90th Ohio**, Col. Charles H. Rippey. **2ND BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. William B. Hazen. **9th Indiana**, Col. Isaac C. B. Suman; **6th Kentucky**, Col. George T. Shackelford (w), Lt. Col. Richard Rockingham (k), Maj. Richard T. Whitaker; **41st Ohio**, Col. Aquila Wiley; **124th Ohio**, Col. Oliver H. Payne (w), Maj. James B. Hampson. **3RD BRIGADE**, Col. William Grose **84th Illinois**, Col. Louis H. Waters; **36th Indiana**, Lt. Col. Oliver H. P. Carey (w), Maj. Gilbert Trusler; **23rd Kentucky**, Lt. Col. James C. Foy; **6th Ohio**, Col. Nicholas L. Anderson (w), Maj. Samuel C. Erwin; **24th Ohio**, Col. David J. Higgins. **ARTILLERY**: Capt. William Standart: **1st Ohio Light, Battery B (1st Brigade)**, Lt. Norman Baldwin; **1st Ohio Light, Battery F (2nd Brigade)**, Lt. Giles Cockerill; **4th U.S., Battery H (3rd Brigade)**, Lt. Harry Cushing; **4th U.S., Battery M (3rd Brigade)**, Lt. Francis L. D. Russell. **Unattached: 11th Illinois** (battalion, not engaged), Capt. E. Hibbard Topping.

THIRD DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Horatio P. Van Cleve

1ST BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. Samuel Beatty: **79th Indiana**, Col. Frederick Knefler; **9th Kentucky**, Col. George H. Cram; **17th Kentucky**, Col. Alexander M. Stout; **19th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Henry Stratton. **2ND BRIGADE**, Col. George F. Dick: **44th Indiana**, Lt. Col. Simeon Aldrich; **86th Indiana**, Maj. Jacob Dick; **13th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Elhannon M. Mast (k), Capt. Horatio Cosgrove; **59th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Granville Frambes. **3RD BRIGADE**, Col. Sidney M. Barnes: **35th Indiana**, Maj. John Duffy; **8th Kentucky**, Lt. Col. James Mayhew (c), Maj. John Clark; **21st Kentucky** (at Whiteside), Col. S. Woodson Price; **51st Ohio**, Col. Richard McClain (c), Lt. Col. Charles Wood; **99th Ohio**, Col. Peter Swaine. **ARTILLERY: Indiana Light, 7th Battery**, Capt. George Swallow; **Pennsylvania Light, 26th Battery**, Capt. Alanson Stevens (k), Lt. Samuel McDowell; **Wisconsin Light, 3rd Battery**, Lt. Cortland Livingston.

RESERVE CORPS

Maj. Gen. Gordon Granger

FIRST DIVISION

Brig. Gen. James B. Steedman

1ST BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. Walter C. Whitaker: **96th Illinois**, Col. Thomas E. Champion; **115th Illinois**, Col. Jesse H. Moore; **84th Indiana**, Col. Nelson Trusler; **22nd Michigan** (temporarily attached), Col. Heber Le Favour (c), Lt. Col. William Sanborn (w), Capt. Alonzo M. Keeler (c); **40th Ohio**, Lt. Col. William Jones; **89th Ohio** (temporarily attached), Col. Caleb H. Carlton (c), Capt. Isaac C. Nelson; **Ohio Light Artillery, 18th Battery**, Capt. Charles C. Aleshire. **2ND BRIGADE**, Col. John G. Mitchell: **78th Illinois**, Lt. Col. Carter Van Vleck (w), Lt. George Green; **98th Ohio**, Capt. Moses J. Urquhart (w), Capt. Armstrong J. Thomas; **113th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Darius B. Warner; **121st Ohio**, Lt. Col. Henry B. Banning; **1st Illinois Light Artillery, Battery M**, Lt. Thomas Burton.

SECOND DIVISION

Brig. Gen. James D. Morgan

2ND BRIGADE, Col. Daniel McCook: **85th Illinois**, Col. Caleb J. Dilworth; **86th Illinois**, Lt. Col. David W. Magee; **125th Illinois**, Col. Oscar F. Harmon; **52nd Ohio**, Maj. James T. Holmes; **69th Ohio** (temporarily attached), Lt. Col. Joseph H. Brigham; **2nd Illinois Light Artillery, Battery I**, Capt. Charles M. Barnett.

CAVALRY CORPS

Brig. Gen. Robert B. Mitchell

FIRST DIVISION

Col. Edward M. McCook

1ST BRIGADE, Col. Archibald P. Campbell: **2nd Michigan**, Maj. Leonidas S. Scranton; **9th Pennsylvania**, Lt. Col. Roswell M. Russell; **1st Tennessee**, Lt. Col. James P. Brownlow. **2ND BRIGADE**, Col. Daniel M. Ray: **2nd Indiana**, Maj. Joseph B. Presdee; **4th Indiana**, Lt. Col. John T. Deweese; **2nd Tennessee**, Lt. Col. William R. Cook; **1st Wisconsin**, Col. Oscar H. La Grange; **1st Ohio Light Artillery, Battery D** (section), Lt. Nathaniel M. Newell. **3RD BRIGADE**, Col. Louis Watkins: **4th Kentucky**, Col. Wickliffe Cooper; **5th Kentucky**, Lt. Col. William Hoblitzell; **6th Kentucky**, Maj. Louis Gratz.

SECOND DIVISION

Brig. Gen. George Crook

1ST BRIGADE, Col. Robert H. G. Minty: **3rd Indiana** (battalion), Lt. Col. Robert Klein; **4th Michigan**, Maj. Horace Gray; **7th Pennsylvania**, Lt. Col. James J. Seibert; **4th U.S.**, Capt. James B. McIntyre. **2ND BRIGADE**, Col. Eli Long: **2nd Kentucky**, Col. Thomas P. Nicholas; **1st Ohio**, Lt. Col. Valentine Cupp (mw), Maj. Thomas J. Patten; **3rd Ohio**, Lt. Col. Charles B. Seidel; **4th Ohio**, Lt. Col. Oliver P. Robie. **ARTILLERY: Chicago (Illinois) Board of Trade Battery**, Capt. James H. Stokes.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

ARMY OF TENNESSEE

Gen. Braxton Bragg

Escort—Capt. Guy DreuX: **DreuX's Co. Louisiana Cavalry**, Lt. O. De Buis; **Holloway's Co. Alabama Cavalry**, Capt. E. M. Holloway.

POLK'S CORPS

Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk

Escort—**Greenleaf's Co. Louisiana Cavalry**, Capt. Leeds Greenleaf.

CHEATHAM'S DIVISION

Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Cheatham

Escort—**Co. G, 2nd Georgia Cavalry**, Capt. Thomas M. Merritt.

JACKSON'S BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. John K. Jackson: **1st Georgia (Confederate), 2nd Battalion**, Maj. James Clark Gordon; **5th Georgia**, Col. Charles P. Daniel; **2nd Georgia Battalion Sharpshooters**, Maj. Richard H. Whiteley; **5th Mississippi**, Lt. Col. W. L. Sykes (k), Maj. John B. Herring; **8th Mississippi**, Col. John C. Wilkinson. **SMITH'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Preston Smith (k), Col. Alfred J. Vaughn Jr.: **11th Tennessee**, Col. George W. Gordon; **12th/47th Tennessee**, Col. William M. Watkins; **13th/154th Tennessee**, Col. A. J. Vaughn Jr., Lt. Col. R. W. Pitman; **29th Tennessee**, Col. Horace Rice; **Dawson's Sharpshooters** (battalion composed of two companies from the

11th Tennessee, two from the consolidated 12th and 47th Tennessee, and one from the 154th Senior Tennessee), Maj. J. W. Dawson (w), Maj. William Green, Maj. James Purl. **MANEY'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. George Maney: **1st/27th Tennessee**, Col. Hume R. Feild; **4th Tennessee** (Provisional Army), Col. James A. McMurry (k), Lt. Col. Robert N. Lewis (w), Maj. Oliver A. Bradshaw (w), Capt. Joseph Bostick; **6th/9th Tennessee**, Col. George C. Porter; **24th Tennessee Sharpshooters** (battalion), Maj. Frank Maney. **WRIGHT'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Marcus J. Wright: **8th Tennessee**, Col. John H. Anderson; **16th Tennessee**, Col. D. M. Donnell; **28th Tennessee**, Col. Sidney S. Stanton; **38th Tennessee** and Maj. Thomas B. Murray's **Tennessee Battalion**, Col. John C. Carter; **51st/52nd Tennessee**, Lt. Col. John G. Hall. **STRAHL'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Otho F. Strahl: **4th/5th Tennessee**, Col. Jonathan J. Lamb; **19th Tennessee**, Col. Francis M. Walker; **24th Tennessee**, Col. John A. Wilson; **31st Tennessee**, Col. Egbert E. Tansil; **33rd Tennessee**, Col. Warner P. Jones. **ARTILLERY**: Maj. Melancthon Smith: **Carnes' (Tennessee) Battery**, Capt. William W. Carnes; **Scogin's (Georgia) Battery**, Capt. John Scogin; **Scott's (Tennessee) Battery**, Lt. John H. Marsh (w), Lt. A. T. Watson, Capt. William L. Scott; **Smith's (Mississippi) Battery**, Lt. William Turner; **Stanford's (Mississippi) Battery**, Capt. Thomas J. Stanford.

ANDERSON'S (HINDMAN'S) DIVISION

Maj. Gen. Thomas C. Hindman (w)

Brig. Gen. Patton Anderson
Escort—**Lenoir's Co. Alabama Cavalry**, Capt. T. M. Lenoir.

ANDERSON'S BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. Patton Anderson, Col. J. H. Sharp: **7th Mississippi**, Col. W. H. Bishop; **9th Mississippi**, Maj. T. H. Lynam; **10th Mississippi**, Lt. Col. James Barr; **41st Mississippi**, Col. W. F. Tucker; **44th Mississippi**, Col. J. H. Sharp, Lt. Col. R. G. Kelsey; **9th Mississippi Battalion Sharpshooters**, Maj. W. C. Richards; **Garrity's (Alabama) Battery**, Capt. James Garrity. **DEAS' BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Zachariah C. Deas: **19th Alabama**, Col. Samuel K. McSpadden; **22nd Alabama**, Lt. Col. John Weedon (k), Capt. Harry T. Toulmin; **25th Alabama**, Col. George D. Johnston; **39th Alabama**, Col. Whitfield Clark; **50th Alabama**, Col. J. G. Coltart; **17th Alabama Battalion Sharpshooters**, Capt. James F. Nabers; **Dent's (Alabama) Battery** (formerly Robertson's), Capt. S. H. Dent. **MANIGAULT'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Arthur M. Manigault: **24th Alabama**, Col. N. N. Davis; **28th Alabama**, Col. John C. Reid; **34th Alabama**, Maj. John N. Slaughter; **10th/19th South Carolina**, Col. James F. Pressley; **Waters' (Alabama) Battery**, Lt. Charles Watkins.

HILL'S CORPS

Lt. Gen. Daniel H. Hill

CLEBURNE'S DIVISION
Maj. Gen. Patrick R. Cleburne
Escort—**Sanders' Co. Tennessee Cavalry**, Capt. C. F. Sanders.

WOOD'S BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. S. A. M. Wood: **16th Alabama**, Maj. John H. McGaughy (k), Capt. Frederick A. Ashford; **33rd Alabama**, Col. Samuel Adams; **45th Alabama**, Col. E. B. Breedlove; **18th Alabama Battalion**, Maj. John H. Gibson (k), Col. Samuel Adams (33rd Alabama); **32nd/45th Mississippi**, Col. M. P. Lowrey; **15th Mississippi Battalion Sharpshooters**, Maj. A. T. Hawkins (k), Capt. Daniel Coleman. **POLK'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Lucius E. Polk: **1st Arkansas**, Col. John W. Colquitt;

3rd/5th Confederate, Col. J. A. Smith; **2nd Tennessee**, Col. William D. Robison; **35th Tennessee**, Col. Benjamin J. Hill; **48th Tennessee**, Col. George H. Nixon. **DESHLER'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. James Deshler (k), Col. Roger Q. Mills: **19th/24th Arkansas**, Lt. Col. A. S. Hutchison; **6th/10th Texas Infantry/15th Texas Cavalry** (dismounted), Col. Roger Q. Mills, Lt. Col. T. Scott Anderson; **17th/18th/24th/25th Texas Cavalry** (dismounted), Col. F. C. Wilkes (w), Lt. Col. John T. Coit, Maj. William A. Taylor. **ARTILLERY**: Maj. T. R. Hotchkiss (w), Capt. Henry C. Semple: **Calvert's (Arkansas) Battery**, Lt. Thomas J. Key; **Douglas' (Texas) Battery**, Capt. James P. Douglas; **Semple's (Alabama) Battery**, Capt. Henry C. Semple, Lt. R. W. Goldthwaite.

BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION

Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge

Escort—Foules' Co. Mississippi Cavalry, Capt. H. L. Foules.

HELM'S BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. Benjamin H. Helm (k), Col. Joseph H. Lewis: **41st Alabama**, Col. Martin L. Stansel; **2nd Kentucky**, Lt. Col. James W. Hewitt (k), Lt. Col. James W. Moss; **4th Kentucky**, Col. Joseph P. Nuckols (w), Maj. Thomas W. Thompson; **6th Kentucky**, Col. Joseph H. Lewis, Lt. Col. Martin H. Cofer; **9th Kentucky**, Col. John W. Caldwell (w), Lt. Col. John C. Wickliffe. **ADAMS' BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Daniel W. Adams (w/c), Col. Randall L. Gibson: **32nd Alabama**, Maj. John C. Kimbell; **13th/20th Louisiana**, Col. Randall L. Gibson, Col. Leon von Zinken, Capt. E. M. Dubroca; **16th/25th Louisiana**, Col. Daniel Gober; **19th Louisiana**, Lt. Col. Richard W. Turner (w), Maj. Loudon Butler (k), Capt. H. A. Kennedy; **14th Louisiana Battalion**, Maj. J. E. Austin. **STOVAL'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Marcellus A. Stovall: **1st/3d Florida**, Col. William S. Dilworth; **4th Florida**, Col. W. L. L. Bowen; **47th Georgia**, Capt. William S. Phillips (w), Capt. Joseph S. Cone; **60th North Carolina**, Lt. Col. James M. Ray (w), Capt. James Thomas Weaver. **ARTILLERY**, Maj. Rice E. Graves (k): **Cobb's (Kentucky) Battery**, Capt. Robert Cobb; **Graves' (Kentucky) Battery**, Lt. S. M. Spencer; **Mebane's (Tennessee) Battery**, Capt. John W. Mebane; **Slocomb's (Louisiana) Battery**, Capt. C. H. Slocomb.

BUCKNER'S CORPS

Maj. Gen. Simon B. Buckner

Escort—Clark's Co. Tennessee Cavalry, Capt. J. W. Clark.

STEWART'S DIVISION

Maj. Gen. Alexander P. Stewart

BATE'S BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. William B. Bate: **58th Alabama**, Col. Bushrod Jones; **37th Georgia**, Col. A. F. Rudler (w), Lt. Col. Joseph T. Smith; **4th Georgia Battalion Sharpshooters**, Maj. T. D. Caswell (w), Capt. B. M. Turner (w), Lt. Joel Towers; **15th/37th Tennessee**, Col. R. C. Tyler (w), Lt. Col. R. Dudley Frayser (w), Capt. R. M. Tankesley; **20th Tennessee**, Col. Thomas B. Smith (w), Maj. William M. Shy. **BROWN'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. John C. Brown (w), Col. Edmund C. Cook: **18th Tennessee**, Col. Joseph B. Palmer (w), Lt. Col. William R. Butler (w), Capt. Gideon H. Lowe; **26th Tennessee**, Col. John M. Lillard (k), Maj. Richard M. Saffell; **32nd Tennessee**, Col. Edmund C. Cook, Capt. Calaway G. Tucker; **45th Tennessee**, Col. Anderson Searcy; **23rd Tennessee Battalion**, Maj. Tazewell W. Newman (w), Capt. W. P. Simpson. **CLAYTON'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Henry D. Clayton (w): **18th Alabama**, Col. J. T. Holtzclaw (w), Lt. Col. R. F. Inge (mw), Maj. P. F.

Hunley; **36th Alabama**, Col. Lewis T. Woodruff; **38th Alabama**, Lt. Col. A. R. Lankford. **ARTILLERY**, Maj. J. Wesley Eldridge: **1st Arkansas Battery**, Capt. John T. Humphreys; **T. H. Dawson's (Georgia) Battery**, Lt. R. W. Anderson; **Eufaula Artillery (Alabama Battery)**, Capt. McDonald Oliver; **Co. E, 9th Georgia Artillery Battalion** (Billington W. York's Battery), Lt. William S. Everett.

PRESTON'S DIVISION

Brig. Gen. William Preston

GRACIE'S BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. Archibald Gracie Jr.: **43rd Alabama**, Col. Young M. Moody; **1st Alabama Battalion** (Hilliard's Legion), Lt. Col. John H. Holt (w), Capt. George W. Huguley; **2nd Alabama Battalion** (Hilliard's Legion), Lt. Col. Bolling Hall Jr. (w), Capt. W. D. Walden (w); **3rd Alabama Battalion** (Hilliard's Legion), Lt. Col. John W. A. Sanford; **4th Alabama Battalion** (artillery battalion, Hilliard's Legion, serving as infantry), Maj. John D. McLennan; **63rd Tennessee**, Lt. Col. Abraham Fulkerson (w), Maj. John A. Aiken. **TRIGG'S BRIGADE**, Col. Robert C. Trigg: **1st Florida Cavalry** (dismounted), Col. G. Troup Maxwell; **6th Florida**, Col. J. J. Finley; **7th Florida**, Col. Robert Bullock; **54th Virginia**, Lt. Col. John J. Wade; **65th Georgia**, Col. R. H. Moore. **3RD BRIGADE**, Col. John H. Kelly: **5th Kentucky**, Col. Hiram Hawkins; **58th North Carolina**, Col. John B. Palmer (w); **63d Virginia**, Maj. James French. **ARTILLERY BATTALION**, Maj. A. Leyden: **Jeffress' (Virginia) Battery**, Captain William Jeffress; **Peeples (Georgia) Battery**, Capt. Tyler Peeples; **Wolihin's (Georgia) Battery**, Capt. Andrew M. Wolihin.

JOHNSON'S PROVISIONAL DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson.

JOHNSON'S (FULTON'S) BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson, Col. John S. Fulton: **17th Tennessee**, Lt. Col. Watt W. Floyd; **23rd Tennessee**, Col. R. H. Keeble; **25th Tennessee**, Lt. Col. R. B. Snowden; **44th Tennessee**, Lt. Col. John L. McEwen Jr. (w), Maj. G. M. Crawford. **GREGG'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. John Gregg (w), Col. Cyrus A. Sugg: **3rd Tennessee**, Col. Calvin H. Walker; **10th Tennessee**, Col. William Grace; **30th Tennessee**, Lt. Col. James J. Turner, Capt. Charles S. Douglass; **41st Tennessee**, Lt. Col. James D. Tillman (w); **50th Tennessee**, Col. Cyrus A. Sugg, Lt. Col. Thomas W. Beaumont (k), Maj. Christopher W. Robertson (w), Col. Calvin H. Walker (3rd Tennessee); **1st Tennessee Battalion**, Maj. Stephen H. Colms (w), Maj. Christopher W. Robertson (50th Tennessee); **7th Texas**, Col. Hiram B. Granbury (w), Maj. K. M. Vanzandt; **Bledsoe's (Missouri) Battery**, Lt. R. L. Wood. **MCNAIR'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Evander McNair (w), Col. David Coleman: **1st Arkansas Mounted Rifles** (dismounted), Col. Robert W. Harper (mw); **2nd Arkansas Mounted Rifles** (dismounted), Col. James A. Williamson; **25th Arkansas**, Lt. Col. Eli Hufstедler (w); **4th/31st Arkansas/4th Arkansas Battalion** (consolidated), Maj. J. A. Ross; **39th North Carolina**, Col. David Coleman; **Culpeper's (South Carolina) Battery**, Capt. James F. Culpeper.

RESERVE CORPS ARTILLERY

Maj. Samuel C. Williams

Baxter's (Tennessee) Battery, Capt. Edmund D. Baxter; **Darden's (Mississippi) Battery**, Capt. Putnam Darden; **Kolb's (Alabama) Battery**, Capt. R. F. Kolb; **McCants' (Florida) Battery**, Capt. Robert P. McCants.

RESERVE CORPS

Maj. Gen. William H. T. Walker

WALKER'S DIVISION

Brig. Gen. States Rights Gist

GIST'S BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. States Rights Gist, Col. Peyton H. Colquitt (k), Lt. Col. Leroy Napier: **46th Georgia**, Col. Peyton H. Colquitt, Maj. A. M. Speer; **8th Georgia Battalion**, Lt. Col. Leroy Napier, Maj. Z. L. Watters; **16th South Carolina**, Col. James McCullough (at Rome, Ga.); **24th South Carolina**, Col. Clement H. Stevens (w), Lt. Col. Ellison Capers (w). **ECTOR'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Matthew D. Ector: **Stone's (Alabama) Battalion Sharpshooters**, Maj. T. O. Stone; **Pound's (Mississippi) Battalion Sharpshooters**, Capt. M. Pound; **29th North Carolina**, Col. William B. Creasman; **9th Texas**, Col. William Young; **10th Texas Cavalry** (serving as infantry), Lt. Col. C. R. Earp; **14th Texas Cavalry** (serving as infantry), Col. J. L. Camp; **32nd Texas Cavalry** (serving as infantry), Col. Julius A. Andrews. **WILSON'S BRIGADE**, Col. Claudius Wilson: **25th Georgia**, Lt. Col. A. J. Williams (k); **29th Georgia**, Lt. George McRae; **30th Georgia**, Lt. Col. James Boynton; **1st Georgia Battalion Sharpshooters**, Maj. Arthur Shaaff; **4th Louisiana Battalion**, Lt. Col. John McEnery. **ARTILLERY**: **Ferguson's (South Carolina) Battery**, Lt. R. T. Beauregard (at Rome, Ga.); **Howell's (Georgia) Battery** (formerly Martin's), Capt. Evan Howell.

LIDDELL'S DIVISION

Brig. Gen. St. John R. Liddell.

LIDDELL'S BRIGADE, Col. Daniel C. Govan: **2nd/15th Arkansas**, Lt. Col. Reuben F. Harvey, Capt. A. T. Meek; **5th/13th Arkansas**, Col. L. Featherston (k), Lt. Col. John Murray; **6th/7th Arkansas**, Col. D. A. Gillespie (w), Lt. Col. Peter Snyder; **8th Arkansas**, Lt. Col. George Baucum (w), Maj. A. Watkins; **1st Louisiana (Regulars)**, Lt. Col. George Baucum (8th Arkansas), Maj. A. Watkins (8th Arkansas). **WALTHALL'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Edward C. Walthall: **24th Mississippi**, Lt. Col. R. P. McKelvaine (w), Maj. W. C. Staples (w), Capt. B. F. Toomer, Capt. J. D. Smith (w); **27th Mississippi**, Col. James Campbell; **29th Mississippi**, Col. William Brantly; **30th Mississippi**, Col. Junius I. Scales (c), Lt. Col. Hugh A. Reynolds (k), Maj. James M. Johnson (w); **34th Mississippi**, Maj. William G. Pegram (w), Capt. H. J. Bowen, Lt. Col. Hugh A. Reynolds (k) (30th Mississippi). **ARTILLERY**, Capt. Charles Swett: **Fowler's (Alabama) Battery**, Capt. William H. Fowler (w); **Warren Light Artillery (Mississippi Battery)**, Lt. H. Shannon.

LONGSTREET'S CORPS

(Army of Northern Virginia)

Maj. Gen. John B. Hood (w)

HOOD'S DIVISION

Maj. Gen. John B. Hood

Brig. Gen. Evander McI. Law

LAW'S BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. Evander McI. Law, Col. James L. Sheffield, Col. William F. Pery: **4th Alabama**, Col. Pinckney D. Bowles; **15th Alabama**, Col. W. C. Oates; **44th Alabama**, Col. William F. Pery; **47th Alabama**, Maj. James M. Campbell; **48th Alabama**, Lt. Col. William M. Hardwick. **ROBERTSON'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Jerome B. Robertson, Col. Van H. Manning: **3rd Arkansas**, Col. Van H. Manning; **1st Texas**, Capt. R. J. Harding; **4th Texas**, Lt. Col. John P. Bane (w), Capt. R. H. Bassett

(w); **5th Texas**, Maj. J. C. Rogers (w), Capt. J. S. Cleveland (w), Capt. T. T. Clay. **BENNING'S BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Henry L. Benning: **2nd Georgia**, Lt. Col. William S. Shepherd (w), Maj. W. W. Charlton; **15th Georgia**, Col. Dudley M. Du Bose (w), Maj. P. J. Shannon; **17th Georgia**, Lt. Col. Charles W. Matthews (mw); **20th Georgia**, Col. J. D. Waddell.

RESERVE ARTILLERY

Maj. Felix H. Robertson

Barret's (Missouri) Battery, Capt. Overton W. Barret; **Le Gardeur's (Louisiana) Battery**, Capt. G. Le Gardeur Jr.; **Havis' (Georgia) Battery**, Capt. M. W. Havis; **Lumsden's (Alabama) Battery**, Capt. Charles Lumsden; **Massenburg's (Georgia) Battery**, Capt. T. L. Massenburg.

CAVALRY

Maj. Gen. Joseph Wheeler

WHARTON'S DIVISION

Brig. Gen. John A. Wharton

1ST BRIGADE, Col. C. C. Crews: **Malone's (Alabama) Regiment**, Col. J. C. Malone Jr.; **2nd Georgia**, Lt. Col. F. M. Ison; **3rd Georgia**, Col. R. Thompson; **4th Georgia**, Col. Isaac W. Avery. **2ND BRIGADE**, Col. Thomas Harrison: **3rd Confederate**, Col. W. N. Estes; **3rd Kentucky**, Lt. Col. J. W.

Griffith; **4th Tennessee**, Lt. Col. Paul F. Anderson; **8th Texas**, Lt. Col. Gustave Cook; **11th Texas**, Col. G. R. Reeves; **White's (Tennessee) Battery**, Capt. B. F. White Jr.

MARTIN'S DIVISION

Brig. Gen. William T. Martin

1ST BRIGADE, Col. John T. Morgan: **1st Alabama**, Lt. Col. D. T. Blakey; **3rd Alabama**, Lt. Col. T. H. Mauldin; **51st Alabama**, Lt. Col. M. L. Kirkpatrick; **8th Confederate**, Lt. Col. John S. Prather. **2ND BRIGADE**, Col. A. A. Russell: **4th Alabama** (Russell's Regiment), Lt. Col. J. M. Hambrick; **1st Confederate**, Capt. C. H. Conner; **J. H. Wiggins' (Arkansas) Battery**, Lt. J. P. Bryant.

FORREST'S CORPS

Brig. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest

Escort—Jackson's Co. Tennessee Cavalry, Capt. J. C. Jackson.

ARMSTRONG'S DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Frank C. Armstrong

ARMSTRONG'S BRIGADE, Col. James T. Wheeler: **3rd Arkansas**, Col. A. W. Hobson; **2nd Kentucky**, Lt. Col. Thomas G. Woodward; **6th Tennessee Battalion**, Lt. Col. James H. Lewis; **18th Tennessee Battalion**, Maj. Charles McDonald.

FORREST'S BRIGADE, Col. George G. Dibrell: **4th Tennessee**, Col. William S. McLemore; **8th Tennessee**, Capt. Hamilton McGinnis; **9th Tennessee**, Col. Jacob B. Biffle; **10th Tennessee**, Col. Nicholas Nickleby Cox; **11th Tennessee**, Col. Daniel W. Holman; **Shaw's Battalion/O. P. Hamilton's Battalion/R. D. Allison's Squadron** (consolidated), Maj. Joseph Shaw; **Huggins' (Tennessee) Battery** (formerly Freeman's), Capt. A. L. Huggins; **Morton's (Tennessee) Battery**, Capt. John W. Morton Jr.

PEGRAM'S DIVISION

Brig. Gen. John Pegram

DAVIDSON'S BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. H. B. Davidson: **1st Georgia**, Col. J. J. Morrison; **6th Georgia**, Col. John R. Hart; **6th North Carolina**, Col. George N. Folk; **Rucker's (1st Tennessee) Legion**, Col. E. W. Rucker (12th Tennessee Battalion, Maj. G. W. Day, and 16th Tennessee Battalion, Capt. John Arnold (w), Co. B, 12th Battalion); **Huwald's (Tennessee) Battery**, Capt. Gustave Huwald. **SCOTT'S BRIGADE**, Col. John S. Scott: **10th Confederate**, Col. C. T. Goode; **John Hunt Morgan's command** (detachment), Lt. Col. R. M. Martin; **1st Louisiana**, Lt. Col. James Nixon; **2nd Tennessee**, Col. H. M. Ashby; **5th Tennessee**, Col. George McKenzie; **N.T.N. Robinson's (Louisiana) Battery** (one section), Lt. Winslow Robinson.