

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 2, Vol. XXV, #2). 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 second day of action at Chickamauga. The Tour Map [magazine Pg. 54] 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—Breckinridge's Division

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—The battle on the 19th had been a meeting engagement. After a night of planning and reorganization, Rosecrans chose to conduct a co-

ordinated defense on the 20th, and Bragg proposed to launch a deliberate attack at daylight. Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge's division of Hill's Corps, on the Confederate right flank, was to initiate the attack for the entire army. Divisions south of Breckinridge were to join the attack successively until the entire line was engaged. Bragg had ordered the attack to commence at "day dawn," which was shortly before sunrise (5:47), but a series of difficulties and subsequent decisions prevented Breckinridge from moving before 9:30. His troops had little or no knowledge of the location of the Federal line. Breckinridge formed his division with his three brigades on line: Maj. Gen. Daniel W. Adams' on the right, Brig. Gen. Marcellus Stovall's in the center, and Brig. Gen. Benjamin H. Helm's on the left. The position of the Tennessee Artillery monument is on the axis of advance of Adams' Brigade, about 300 yards forward (west) of the division's line of departure.

Vignette: "At 7.25 a.m. an order was shown me (just received) from Lieutenant-General Polk and addressed to my division commanders, and directing them to advance at once upon the enemy. The reason given for the issue of the order directly to them was that he (General Polk) had not been able to find the corps commander. I immediately replied to the note, saying that Brigadier-General Jackson's brigade, of his corps, was at right angles to my line; that my men were getting their rations, and that they could finish eating while we were adjusting the line of battle. General Polk soon after came on the field and made no objection to this delay. At 8 o'clock General Bragg himself came on the field, and I then learned for the first time that an attack had been ordered at daylight. However, the essential preparations for battle had not been made up to this hour, and, in fact, could not be made without the presence of the commander-in-chief. The position of the Yankees had not been reconnoitered. Our own line of battle had not been adjusted, and part of it was at right angles to the rest. There was no cavalry on our flanks, and no orders had fixed the strength or position of the reserves. My own line had been arranged north and south to correspond to the position of the enemy and be parallel to it." (Lieutenant General Daniel H. Hill, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 141.)

Teaching Points: Orientation, reconnaissance.

Stand 2—Slocomb’s Louisiana Battery

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Capt. Charles H. Slocomb’s battery (four Napoleons and two 6-pounder James rifles) supported Adams’ Brigade in its advance to LaFayette Road. When Adams’ regiments turned southward, Slocomb had to decide whether to bring his guns across the ravine in the rear of this position. Disdaining the safety to be found in the rear, Slocomb crossed the ravine and took position here, while Adams’ Brigade continued its drive southward behind the Federal flank. After the brigade entered the woods, the Confederate attack stalled when Adams was wounded. As the infantrymen hastily withdrew, Slocomb’s Battery covered their retreat.

Vignette: “I was engaged in reforming my regiment when informed that, Brig. Gen. D. W. Adams having been disabled by a wound, the command of the brigade devolved upon me. I at once ascertained that there was no support on the left of the brigade, and ordered the command to form on the rear slope of the hill upon which Capt. C. H. Slocomb’s battery, Washington Artillery, was posted. This having been accomplished, I left the line in charge of Col. Daniel Gober, Sixteenth and Twenty-fifth Louisiana Volunteers, and hastened to the left, where I observed several regiments falling back. One of these I at once moved to the support of the line on the left, and directed Captain Labouisse, assistant inspector-general, to bring up another retreating through the woods to the same position. With Captain Slocomb’s assistance, he succeeded in placing two regiments in position. They were believed to belong to the brigade on our left. The Thirty-second Alabama Volunteers and Austin’s battalion, which had not participated in the charge, but had been ordered to oppose the advance of a column of the enemy’s infantry reported on our right and rear, were called in and directed to join the brigade on the right of the battery. It was deemed best to occupy ourselves with the enemy in sight, leaving the cavalry reports for after-consideration. These dispositions had just been made when Major-General Breckinridge reached us and approved them.” (Colonel Randall L. Gibson, 13th Louisiana Infantry Regiment, Adams’ Brigade, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 216-17.)

Teaching Points: Command and control, confusion, exploiting success, acceptance of risk.

Stand 3—Union Reserve Corps

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.-p.m.—Union Maj. Gen. Gordon Granger’s Reserve Corps began the day at McAfee’s Church, guarding the route to Rossville, several miles north of this point. Granger had been told to be prepared to support Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas (XIV Corps). At approximately 10:30 a.m., Granger heard the sounds of the fight in the vicinity of the present Florida monument. Within an hour, he placed Brig. Gen. James B. Steedman’s division in motion toward the sound of the guns. While en route, it was forced to deploy out of march column by N. B. Forrest’s cavalry guarding the Confederate right. Although Walter Whitaker’s brigade repulsed Forrest’s skirmishers, Forrest effectively used artillery to interdict continued Federal movement down LaFayette Road. Granger and Steedman were then forced to take an alternate route west of the road to join Thomas. This swing to the west ultimately brought Steedman and his two brigades to Snodgrass Hill (or Horseshoe Ridge).

No Vignette.

Teaching Points: Initiative, role of reserves.

Stand 4—John Beatty’s Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—At dawn on September 20, the northern (left) flank of the Federal army (Baird’s division) ended in the woods south of this field. Recognizing the need to control the road junction at the McDonald house (present Visitor Center), Thomas requested the return of Negley’s division, which was in line near the Brotherton cabin several division sectors to the south. Rosecrans ordered Negley to move at 6:30, but Negley was unable to leave his position until relieved. He immediately dispatched his reserve brigade, Brig. Gen. John Beatty’s unit. The remainder of Negley’s division waited until it was relieved by Wood’s division. Meanwhile, Beatty moved his brigade into position north of Baird’s left and spread his regiments to cover the division sector until the rest of the division arrived. To accomplish this, he deployed two regiments on either side of the ravine between this point and the road junction near the McDonald house. The 104th Illinois Infantry was the right-center regiment. At approximately 9:30, Beatty’s thinly held position was hit by Breckinridge’s attack, which routed and scattered the brigade.

Vignette: “Captain Gaw, of General Thomas’ staff, brought an order to advance my line to a ridge or low hill (McDonald’s house) fully one quarter of a mile distant. I represented to him that my line was long; that in advancing it I would necessarily leave a long interval between my right and General Baird’s left, and also that I was already in the position indicated to me by General Thomas. He replied that the order to advance was imperative; that I would be supported by General Negley. I could not urge objections further, and advanced my line as rapidly as possible toward the point indicated.

“The Eighty-eighth Indiana (Colonel Humphrey), on the left, moved into position without difficulty. The Forty-second Indiana (Lieutenant-Colonel McIntire), on its right, met with considerable opposition in advancing through the woods, but finally reached the ridge. The One hundred and fourth Illinois (Lieutenant-Colonel Hapeman) and the Fifteenth Kentucky (Colonel Taylor), on the right, became engaged almost immediately, and being obstinately opposed, advanced slowly. The enemy, in strong force, pressed them heavily in front and on the right flank, preventing them from connecting with the regiments on their left.

“At this time I sent an aide to request General Baird or General King to throw in a force to cover the interval between their left and my right, and dispatched Captain Wilson, my assistant adjutant-general, to the rear to hasten forward General Negley to my support. The two regiments forming the right of my brigade were confronted by so large a force that they were compelled to halt, and ultimately to fall back, which they did in good order, contesting the ground stoutly as they retired.” (Brigadier General John Beatty, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 368.)

Teaching Points: Key terrain (road junction), hasty defense, extended frontage.

Stand 5—Bridges’ Illinois Battery

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Capt. Lyman Bridges’ battery (two Napoleons and four 3-inch rifles) supported Beatty’s brigade from this position. At 9:30, it fired on Confederates attacking from the northeast. When Beatty’s troops were driven back in disorder, Bridges’ battery covered their withdrawal. The battery was then attacked by two brigades on its front and flank. Bridges lost two guns but saved the others and rejoined Negley on Snodgrass Hill.

Vignette: “The enemy were now pouring out of the woods into the field 400 yards in our front and right, being the ground over which our line had advanced but half an hour previously.

“As soon as the battle-flags of the enemy emerged from the woods and there was no doubt about its being the enemy, I opened fire with my full battery, the first rounds with case-shot, afterward with canister.

“His advance was checked for an instant, when, having formed his line again, he steadily advanced upon me.

“While my guns were being worked under the fire of the enemy in our front, some of my men and horses were disabled by a musketry fire from the woods upon my right. While under this fire General Beatty ordered me to retire. I gave the order and found all of the horses of two pieces were either killed or disabled; 5 cannon-eers of one of these detachments and 3 cannoneers of the other were disabled.

“The enemy was each moment closing his infantry in upon my front and right, firing as they advanced, and there being no possible chance of getting these pieces off through the woods and brush, I ordered the remnant of my men still at the guns to fall back.

“At this moment my senior first lieutenant, William Bishop, was killed while endeavoring to remove his section from the field, and my horse was killed under me.

“I deem it my duty to state that during this action I had no infantry support whatever. I wish further to state that it was not from any fault of Brigadier-General Beatty, however.” (Captain Lyman Bridges, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 374-75.)

Teaching Points: Initiative, fighting unsupported.

Stand 6—Colquitt’s (Gist’s) Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Gist’s Brigade of Walker’s division arrived at Catoosa Station from Rome, Georgia, during the night of September 19-20. It then spent the predawn hours escorting an ordnance train to Alexander’s Bridge. On arriving at the field, Brig. Gen. States Rights Gist found that Walker wanted him to assume command of the division so that Walker could concentrate on commanding the Reserve Corps. In turn, Col. Peyton Colquitt moved up to command Gist’s Brigade. As the morning attack developed, a gap appeared between Breckinridge’s and Cleburne’s divisions. To fill the gap, Harvey Hill requested Colquitt’s (Gist’s) Brigade. Ordered to support Breckinridge, Colquitt formed in battle line, but without skirmishers, and prepared to catch up with Breckinridge.

Passing almost through the exact area where part of Helm's Brigade had met destruction (Stand 7), Colquitt's troops stumbled into the same situation and were enfiladed by Federals behind breastworks just across Battleline Rd. Mortally wounded, Colquitt had only been in command approximately 30 minutes. The shattered command withdrew under covering fire from the remainder of the division and remained in reserve for the rest of the battle. The gap that had dominated Hill's thinking was never fully closed. Casualties in Colquitt's (Gist's) Brigade were 49 killed, 251 wounded, and 36 missing; the loss was more than a third of the brigade.

Vignette: "About 11 or 12 we catch it. [Adjutant] Palmer & I were riding together in front of left center, [Colonel] Stevens up on right of Regt, [Major] Jones in front of left, when a tremendous fire opens, right on our left and down our line! [Colonel] Stevens gallops down on his blooded stallion, sword in hand, and sings out 'Change front forward on 10th Co., by companies left half wheel.' The command was given as if he was on parade. While [Adjutant] Palmer, [Major] Jones, and I were getting the left co. into the new line, Palmer was killed & Jones wounded. I got the two left companies in line & got them to lie down & take shelter as well as they could. They opened a splendid fire. Then men crowded around me in some confusion, and while [Colonel] Stevens and I were bringing up the other companies, every officer behaving splendidly, Stevens' horse was shot, and as he mounted [Adjutant] Palmer's mare, he was badly shot. My heart sank, but the men & officers were true as steel, & I got the 24th pretty well in the new line, all lying down, firing. I did not know Colquitt had been mortally wounded, and wondered why the other regiments did not come up. Riding to the right of the 24th [my horse] got a shot through his neck, and my sword was shot out of my hand. One of Co. 'I' handed it to me, and as I sheathed it a canister shot struck it mid-way up the scabbard, and in a moment more I got a bad wound in my left thigh. I turned the command over to [Captain] Hill, was soon unconscious from loss of blood. . . . Never was a regiment subjected to a severer trial of its discipline than was our gallant regiment when it changed its front under that never to be forgotten flank fire. Here we are, Col., Lieut. Col., & Major, unable to do anything for the comfort of our noble command. Stevens has just said, 'Well, Capers, the men have been taught obedience, & the captains that are left are equal to their duties and responsibilities, & I have no fears for the Regiment.'"

(Lieutenant Colonel Ellison Capers, 24th South Carolina Infantry Regiment [Colquitt's left regiment], Unit Files, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Fort Oglethorpe, GA.)

Teaching Points: Lack of security, fog and friction of war, face of battle.

Stand 7—Helm's Brigade (the "Orphan Brigade")

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Helm's Brigade was the left unit of Breckinridge's Division. As Helm's men advanced westward through the woods, his three left regiments passed just to the north of the Federal breastworks and were devastated by enfilading fire from Baird's division posted northeast of Kelly Field. Helm rode to the left to rally his shattered regiments and was mortally wounded. The right side of his brigade continued forward with Stovall's Brigade, but most of Helm's unit was destroyed.

Vignette: "General Breckinridge, whose presence was inspiration, rode frequently along the line. General Helm was moving about quietly and infusing courage into the eager command. It was a picture of 'Just Before the Battle,' that can not be put on canvas. Helm's Brigade was about to commence the greatest engagement of the war. About half past nine o'clock the Fourth regiment was deployed in front of the brigade, and commanded by the fearless Nuckols, set about feeling for the enemy. It was short work, for he gave the command forward, and soon our Enfields rang out lustily through the forest. The Fourth lost severely in the charge, but the enemy was developed and formed behind breastworks covering part of a brigade front. The command now moved forward and as soon as we felt the fire of the enemy we charged, and the second day's battle began in earnest. The Second and Ninth and a small portion of the Forty-First Alabama struck their fortifications and suffered terrible slaughter. General Helm was mortally wounded. Major Rice F. Graves, the great artillery chief, was also mortally wounded, besides very many of our brave officers and men were shot down during repeated attempts to storm the works." (Fred Joyce, "Orphan Brigade at Chickamauga," *The Southern Bivouac* 3 [September 1884]: 31.)

Teaching Points: Security, reconnaissance, effect of mass casualties.

Stand 8—Walker’s Reserve Corps HQ

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Initially, Maj. Gen. William H. T. Walker’s corps, consisting of Gist’s and Liddell’s divisions, was in reserve on Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk’s left flank, formed and centered behind Cheatham’s Division. During the delay in the Confederate attack, Polk moved Walker’s Corps behind Hill’s Corps. After Breckinridge’s withdrawal around 11:00, Walker’s troops were ordered forward separately. About noon, Gist’s Division attacked Thomas’ fortified position northeast of Kelly Field. Instead of exploiting the partial success achieved by Breckinridge, Hill deployed Walker’s units into the fight piecemeal. As a result, they were defeated in detail.

Vignette: “Before I got into my position, and while marching by the flank to gain the ground to the right, I was sent for by General Hill to [go to] his support. General Polk was with my command when I received the order. I marched rapidly forward in line of battle, part of the time in double-quick, and reported to General Hill. General Polk was with me. General Hill informed me on my arrival that he wanted a brigade. I told him there was one immediately behind him. He remarked he wanted Gist’s brigade. I informed him that it was to the left and had just come up. (General Gist had a few minutes before been put in command by me of General Ector’s and Colonel Wilson’s brigades, and Colonel Colquitt had command of Gist’s brigade.) He ordered General Gist’s brigade immediately into the fight in rear of Breckinridge, a part of whose division had fallen back and the whole of which was hard pressed. I refer you to General Gist’s report for the performance of his command.

“General Walthall was detached to the left to the support of Brigadier-General Polk by Hill or Polk. My command being thus disposed of, brigades being sent in to take the places of divisions, my only occupation was to help form the detached portions of my command as they came out from a position I felt certain they would have to leave when they were sent in. My division commanders received their orders direct from General Hill, and I refer you to their reports. Breckinridge’s division having fallen back, General Hill having reported Cleburne’s division on Breckinridge’s left routed, my Reserve Corps having fallen back in the detachments in which they were sent in, and a column having been observed marching down the Chattanooga road on our right, I was compelled to insist on having something to

do with my own command.” (Major General William H. T. Walker, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 241.)

Teaching Points: Unity of command, role of the reserve.

Stand 9—Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk’s HQ

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Polk’s battle headquarters was located behind the center of Hill’s Corps and near Hill’s headquarters. Because of a series of errors, Hill did not learn of the attack order until his subordinate commanders received their orders directly from Polk around 6:30. Although Breckinridge had begun his movement from Alexander’s Bridge at about 3:00 and was in his attack position around sunrise, the troops had not been fed, and other units to his left were not ready. Hill decided to bring up rations and modify his troops’ positions, a decision reluctantly approved by Polk. Delays incident to this decision prevented the “day dawn” attack from beginning until 9:30. Bragg was outraged.

Vignette 1: “About 11 o’clock on the night of the 19th, General Polk reached his headquarters near Alexander’s Bridge, and stated to me that he was to attack the enemy at daylight the next morning. He instructed me to issue orders at once to Lieutenant-General Hill and Major-General Cheatham to make the attack at that time, directing me to send General Hill’s orders to him at Thedford’s Ford, where, as he had heard, General Hill’s headquarters were established that night. These orders were accordingly issued at 11.30 p.m. General Walker’s corps was to be held in reserve. A copy of the orders was handed to him on the spot. During the night the courier who bore General Cheatham’s orders returned, bringing back the envelope and reporting that he had delivered the orders. The courier bearing orders to General Hill was directed to Thedford’s Ford, and ordered to inquire for and find the general. He failed to deliver his orders. . . . Shortly after daylight (perhaps before sunrise) General Polk instructed me to issue orders directly to Generals Breckinridge and Cleburne to make the attack, notifying them that General Hill could not be found. These orders were prepared and placed in the hands of a staff officer, who was ordered to proceed in haste and deliver them. . . . Immediately afterward another staff officer was dispatched with verbal orders to the same officers and to the same effect. The general then rode to the front accompanied by his staff.” (Lieutenant Colonel Thomas M. Jack, Polk’s assistant adjutant general, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 58.)

Vignette 2: “I could find no courier at Alexander’s Bridge, and therefore could not find you. My divisions are getting their rations and will not be ready to move for an hour or more. Breckinridge’s wagons seem to have got lost between Thedford’s Ford and this place. It will be well for you to examine the line from one end to the other before starting. Brigadier-General Jackson is running from east to west. My line is from north to south. General Cleburne reports that the Yankees were felling trees all night, and consequently now occupy a position too strong to be taken by assault. What shall be done when this point is reached?” (Lieutenant General Daniel H. Hill to Lieutenant General Leonidas Polk, 20 September 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 53.)

Teaching Points: Command post location, actions prior to an attack, role of personality, relationship among senior commanders.

Stand 10—Thomas’ Defensive Line

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.-p.m.—While fighting raged east of this location on the 19th, Thomas surveyed the terrain to his rear and selected a defensive position for the next day. The new line ran roughly in a semicircle around the northern, eastern, and southern perimeter of Kelly Field, a few yards into the woods. Most of the eastern face of the line was on rising ground. During the night of September 19-20, Thomas’ men hastily fortified their positions with rocks, logs, and felled trees. Four divisions, each with local reserves, held this line, making it virtually impregnable from the front. For most of the 20th, Baird’s, Johnson’s, Palmer’s, and Reynolds’ divisions experienced no difficulty in holding this position, but when the Federal army’s right flank collapsed, the Kelly Field line became untenable and had to be evacuated. The evacuation was orderly at first but soon became disorderly, especially at this end of the line.

Vignette: “As soon as it was light we were marched to the front in line with the rest of our brigade, the 15th U.S. Regulars on our left. By this time we were in good fighting condition, everybody was anxious to go ahead and do something. We were about out of provisions too, even water was scarce with us. All the forenoon we were moved around in the woods without seeing the enemy, though bullets came by our heads and several were hit. About noon we were ordered to lay up logs for a breastworks and get behind it quick. The

Rebels frequently advanced on our left, while we were rolling logs together, and were repulsed by the regulars. Later the attack became general along our line and we had to work on our breastworks at intervals when we were not being attacked. Gradually we put in logs crosswise to protect ourselves from a flanking fire and by three o’clock we had entrenched ourselves so well that we had no trouble to drive them back. We began to let them get quite near to us before firing and in that way did great execution. We could see the line come up through the underbrush in good order, then waver and a number would fall, the rest would turn and be out of sight in a minute. . . . Our colonel was killed during the afternoon. We were only a handful left of my company. I had sent one man in search of water and he never showed up again. Another had deliberately run away and there were about fifteen men left at dark, or about sun down. It became evident to us early in the afternoon that we were holding an important point which the enemy was determined to take. About this time shells were dropping just in front of us, evidently fired from behind us, then we could see troops marching rapidly behind us, going to our left. We still held the fort when suddenly we were charged from the left, where we supposed our own troops were, and not being sufficiently strong there our fire did not check them and we gave away and made as best we could for our rear, only to find that we were completely surrounded. It was everyone for himself by this time, and I ran to where our flag was held up and supposed that I had escaped when I found that all there were prisoners already, flag and all. Several more of my company were hit running across the field. One of our men was shot dead just as we both raised up to leave the works. He turned to fire once more as we ran but fell dead, struck in the breast. I saw him fall and when we returned after being taken I saw him again, bent over him and found he had never moved.” (August Bratnober, 10th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, Diary, Unit Files, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Fort Oglethorpe, GA.)

Teaching Points: Terrain analysis, strength of position, density of units, planning ahead.

Stand 11—John King’s Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.-p.m.—King’s brigade held the left of Baird’s division and, for a time, represented the Federal army’s left flank. King deployed his regiments

in four lines behind low breastworks of felled trees. Initially, the 1st Battalion, U. S. 18th Infantry, was sent forward to a slight rise just beyond the open space opposite this position. From there, the Regulars enfiladed Helm's Brigade when it advanced westward across their front and mortally wounded Helm. The regiment then rejoined King's brigade behind the breastworks and participated in the destruction of Colquitt's Brigade late in the morning. King's brigade, which held this position easily until late afternoon, consisted entirely of Regular regiments. Because of its stand here, the 19th Infantry took the name "Rock of Chickamauga," a name that remains part of its proud heritage today.

No Vignette.

Teaching Points: Unit history, strength of the defense, tactical agility, withdrawal under pressure.

Stand 12—Dodge's Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Union Col. Joseph B. Dodge's brigade of Richard Johnson's division had suffered heavily on the previous day and was initially positioned as Johnson's reserve brigade. Early on the morning of September 20, it was sent to extend the left of Baird's division toward LaFayette Road. Shortly after Dodge reached his position, Breckinridge's attack swept forward. Although one regiment was stopped in front of Dodge, most of Stovall's Brigade passed Dodge's left and headed for the Federal trains area at the Kelly Field. Dodge had three options: charge into Stovall's flank, fire into Stovall's flank, or tuck in his own left flank and hope that someone else would deal with Stovall. He chose the third option.

No Vignette.

Teaching Points: Commander's intent, mission, tactical dilemma.

Stand 13—Stovall's Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.-pm.—When Breckinridge's Division turned south through the McDonald Field, Adams' Brigade was west of LaFayette Road and Stovall's Brigade was east of it. Adams' Brigade was met and halted by Col. Timothy R. Stanley's brigade from Negley's division. Stovall's Brigade brushed past the Federal left flank and reached the northern edge of Kelly Field. Just as

Stovall entered the field, which was filled with resting units, trains, and artillery teams, he encountered Van Derveer's brigade of Brannan's division. Van Derveer had been ordered forward from a reserve position farther south and just happened to enter Kelly Field at the same time as Stovall. The movement brought Van Derveer out of the woods north of the Kelly cabin, facing westward. Finding Confederates on his left flank, Van Derveer wheeled his brigade to the left at the same time that Stovall attacked out of the woods.

Vignette: "Our brigade moved by the left flank northward until opposite Kelly's Field, and then facing eastward, marched through a strip of thick woods and underbrush to the main road, and crossing it, into the field. Here we stood for a moment, the brigade in two lines in rear of and facing east towards, our main line of battle, which, in the woods, was not to be seen from our position. . . . Along the north end of the field, and perhaps 50 yards from the left of our left regiments was a thick woods with underbrush, into which nothing could be seen from our position. We had hardly halted, when, with a crash of musketry and a cloud of gray smoke from the edge of the woods on our left, the air was filled with bullets, and our men began to fall. A change of front to face this attack was instantly commenced, and was executed on the run; but before it brought us face to face with our enemy a good many of our men, and nearly all of the horses in the brigade were killed or wounded. As our men came into line the 2d Minnesota and 87th Indiana rushed down to the edge of the woods, and for a few minutes the opposing lines fired into each others faces, at less than thirty yards distance. But we were at a disadvantage, standing in the open field, while the enemy were protected in the woods, and moreover, the two regiments behind us were fully exposed to the enemy's fire, and unable to return it—so the second line, with guns all loaded, was ordered to pass the first, and then both lines joined in the charge into the woods. The enemy promptly gave up their position at the end of the field and retired back among the trees and brush, where, for a time, they stubbornly resisted our further advance; but after a hot contest of perhaps fifteen or twenty minutes, they withdrew altogether." (Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Bishop, 2d Minnesota Infantry Regiment, "Van Derveer's Brigade at Chickamauga," *Glimpses of the Nation's Struggle* [Minneapolis, MN: Aug. Davis, Publisher, 1909] 6: 12-13.)

Teaching Points: Use of reserves, initiative, luck, missed opportunity.

Stand 14—Edward King’s Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.-p.m.—The strength of Thomas’ line around Kelly Field is clearly apparent, especially when the density of units and availability of local reserves is considered. Facing the four Federal divisions (eleven brigades) were five Confederate divisions (16 brigades), but the Confederates never attacked with more than two divisions at a time. Nevertheless, rather than thin his line by extending it to the critical McDonald crossroads, Thomas elected to remain strong in the center and call on Rosecrans for reinforcements. This calculated decision ultimately led to the crisis of the day. When the Federal army’s right collapsed, Thomas’ line became unhinged from the units beyond the right of Reynolds’ division. In response, Reynolds withdrew Col. Edward A. King’s brigade behind his other brigade and placed it in this vacated position. King, a Regular officer commanding a volunteer brigade, was noted for his bravery under fire. Late in the afternoon, while on horseback supervising his troops, King was struck by a bullet and killed instantly. Soon after this, the troops evacuated the Kelly Field line, taking King’s body with them. Reynolds’ division left first, with a wild charge to the northwest, followed by Palmer, Johnson, and Baird, in that order.

Vignette: “While we were lying behind our hastily built breastworks, lying as flat upon the earth as we could flatten ourselves, to avoid the fire from the enemy’s musketry which was turned upon us, I saw some fine looking man, clad in a large blue overcoat and cape, walk coolly and slowly down our line, as composed as if he was in a parlor. When he came to my company I said to him, ‘I would like to know who you are?’ He said, ‘Col. King of Reynolds’ Division.’ He stopped and looked toward the enemy, telling us how they were moving, which he could see as he was standing up, and leisurely passed on. It was a great wonder to me he was not killed instantly but I think it worried me more than it seemed to worry him.” (Captain Orville T. Chamberlain, 74th Indiana Infantry Regiment, Medal of Honor winner, in a letter to Henry Boynton, 26 November 1895, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Fort Oglethorpe, GA.)

Teaching Points: Terrain analysis, leadership, withdrawal under pressure.

Stand 15—James Deshler’s Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Patrick Cleburne’s division of Hill’s Corps advanced to the attack with Lucius Polk’s brigade on the right, Sterling Wood’s in the center, and Brig. Gen. James Deshler’s on the left. After being pinched out of line by Stewart’s Division, Deshler’s Brigade replaced Wood’s men on this ridge around midmorning. Taken under heavy fire from the Federal breastworks (Johnson’s and Palmer’s divisions), Deshler’s Brigade could advance no farther and quickly expended most of its ammunition. Coming forward to check his men’s ammunition supply, Deshler was hit in the chest by an artillery round and killed instantly. Col. Roger Q. Mills immediately assumed command of the brigade and held the position, although he was unable to advance.

Vignette: “About 12 m. our supply of ammunition began to give out, and I sent a courier to Brigadier General Deshler to inform him of the fact, and to ask where we could get more. A few minutes after, I saw him coming toward my right, some 40 paces from me, when he was struck by a shell in the chest and his heart literally torn from his bosom. I may pause here and pay a passing tribute to the memory of our fallen chief. He was brave, generous, and kind even to a fault. Ever watchful and careful for the safety of any member of his command, he was ever ready to peril his own. Refusing to permit a staff officer to endanger his life in going to examine the cartridge boxes to see what amount of ammunition his men had, he cheerfully started himself to brave the tempest of death that raged on the crest of the hill. He had gone but little way when he fell—fell as he would wish to fall—in the very center of his brigade, in the midst of the line, between the ranks, and surrounded by the bodies of his fallen comrades. He poured out his own blood upon the spot watered by the best blood of his brigade. . . .

“A messenger from Colonel Wilkes’ regiment informed me of the fact soon after General Deshler fell; also that Colonel Wilkes was wounded and not with the regiment. Just at this critical juncture our ammunition was exhausted, and no one knew where to get more. I assumed command, and supposing that the enemy would advance as soon as the firing ceased, I ordered bayonets fixed and the cartridge boxes of the wounded and dead to be gathered, and one round from them to be given to each man to load his gun with, and hold his fire in reserve to repel an assault. While this order was

being executed Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, who was on the left of my regiment, sent Lieutenant Graham to inform me that the four left companies had not been firing. Being at too great a distance from the enemy, he had the good sense to prevent them from wasting their ammunition unnecessarily. I immediately ordered those four companies to the front on the hill, where the fire was hottest, and ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson to take command of them, and hold the hill at every hazard till I could get ammunition and have it distributed. I soon procured the ammunition and refilled my cartridge boxes.

“At this time one of the major-general’s staff came to me and informed me that I was ordered to hold the hill on which the brigade was formed; that I was not permitted to advance, and must not retire if it were possible to hold my position. I therefore moved my command at once some 20 or 30 paces to the rear of the crest and on the side of the hill, for cover, leaving a body of sharpshooters behind trees on the top of the hill to keep up a fire with the enemy. . . .

“The troops of my command, both officers and men, behaved with the greatest bravery, coolness, and self-possession during the whole engagement. They advanced with a steady step, under heavy fire of shell, canister, and musketry, to their position, and held it with

firmness and unwavering fortitude throughout the fight. Texans vied with each other to prove themselves worthy of the fame won by their brothers on other fields, and the little handful of Arkansas troops showed themselves worthy to have their names enrolled among the noblest, bravest, and best of their State. It is scarcely possible for them to exhibit higher evidences of courage, patriotism, and pride on any other field. They were not permitted to advance and would not retire, but as brave men and good soldiers they obeyed the orders of their general and held the hill. . . .

“I feel it my duty . . . to record here the name of . . . Private William C. McCann, of Company A, Fifteenth Texas Regiment, as worthy of honorable mention for conduct more than ordinarily gallant on the field. . . . Private McCann was under my own eye. He stood upright, cheerful, and self-possessed in the very hail of deadly missiles; cheered up his comrades around him, and after he had expended all his ammunition, gathered up the cartridge boxes of the dead and wounded and distributed them to his comrades. He bore himself like a hero through the entire contest, and fell mortally wounded by the last volleys of the enemy. I promised him during the engagement that I would mention his

good conduct, and as he was borne dying from the field he turned his boyish face upon me and, with a light and pleasant smile, reminded me of my promise.” (Colonel Roger Q. Mills, 10th Texas Infantry, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 188-90.

Teaching Points: Face of battle, leadership, coolness under fire.

STAFF RIDE AREA 2

Stand 16—S. A. M. Wood’s Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—This monument, commemorating the participation of Alabama troops, is near the dividing line between the two wings of Bragg’s army. Cleburne’s Division of the Right Wing and Stewart’s Division of the Left Wing overlapped in this vicinity. Cheatham’s Division, the army’s largest, was pinched out of the line entirely. No coordination took place between the wings during the night, and little during the morning of the 20th. As a result, the Confederates wasted a great deal of combat power when six brigades were unable to join the fight at this point.

No Vignette.

Teaching Points: Coordination, boundaries.

Stand 17—Brannan’s Division

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—During the night of September 19-20, John Brannan was ordered to put two brigades into line between Reynolds’ and Negley’s divisions. About 11:00, Stewart’s attack hit Brannan’s right brigade (Connell’s) but was repulsed. Shortly thereafter, Brig. Gen. Henry L. Benning’s attack struck Connell’s brigade on the front and right flank. By 11:30, the head of the Confederate column had outflanked Brannan’s position and begun to attack it in the flank and rear. Brannan’s division attempted to reorient its line to face this new threat but was soon forced to withdraw. Benning’s Brigade then occupied this ground.

Vignette: “I came upon a young officer and found he was mortally wounded and suffering very much. I saw at once he would die & asked if I could do anything for him. He replied, ‘I am dying. Wash me clean and bury me decently.’ I promised him all I could under the circumstances. . . . I had him moved in the hut and in less

than an hour he died. As far as I could I complied with his request and marked his grave with a board on which I carved his name [Lieutenant Colonel D. J. Hall] with my knife. . . . As soon as I found Hall suffering so much, I took from my pocket a small vial of morphia and gave him about half a grain, and he was relieved very soon of pain and died easily and rationally. I had carried this little vial during all my service, fearing I might be wounded and left suffering on the field. It had never served me, but it was now to relieve an enemy.

“These little incidents . . . serve to show . . . that we cannot yet be barbarians. In my own heart before the battle I felt very bitter against these men who had invaded our soil . . . and yet in the hour of victory we soldiers were touched with pity for these wounded and dying enemies. It was not the place to discuss right and wrong; it was simply a question of humanity.” (Benjamin Abbott to Green Haygood, 26 September 1863, quoted in Mills Lane, ed., *Dear Mother Don't Grieve About Me. If I Get Killed, I'll Only Be Dead.* Letters From Georgia Soldiers in the Civil War [Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1977], 275-76.

Teaching Points: Flank attacks, face of battle, inhumanity of war.

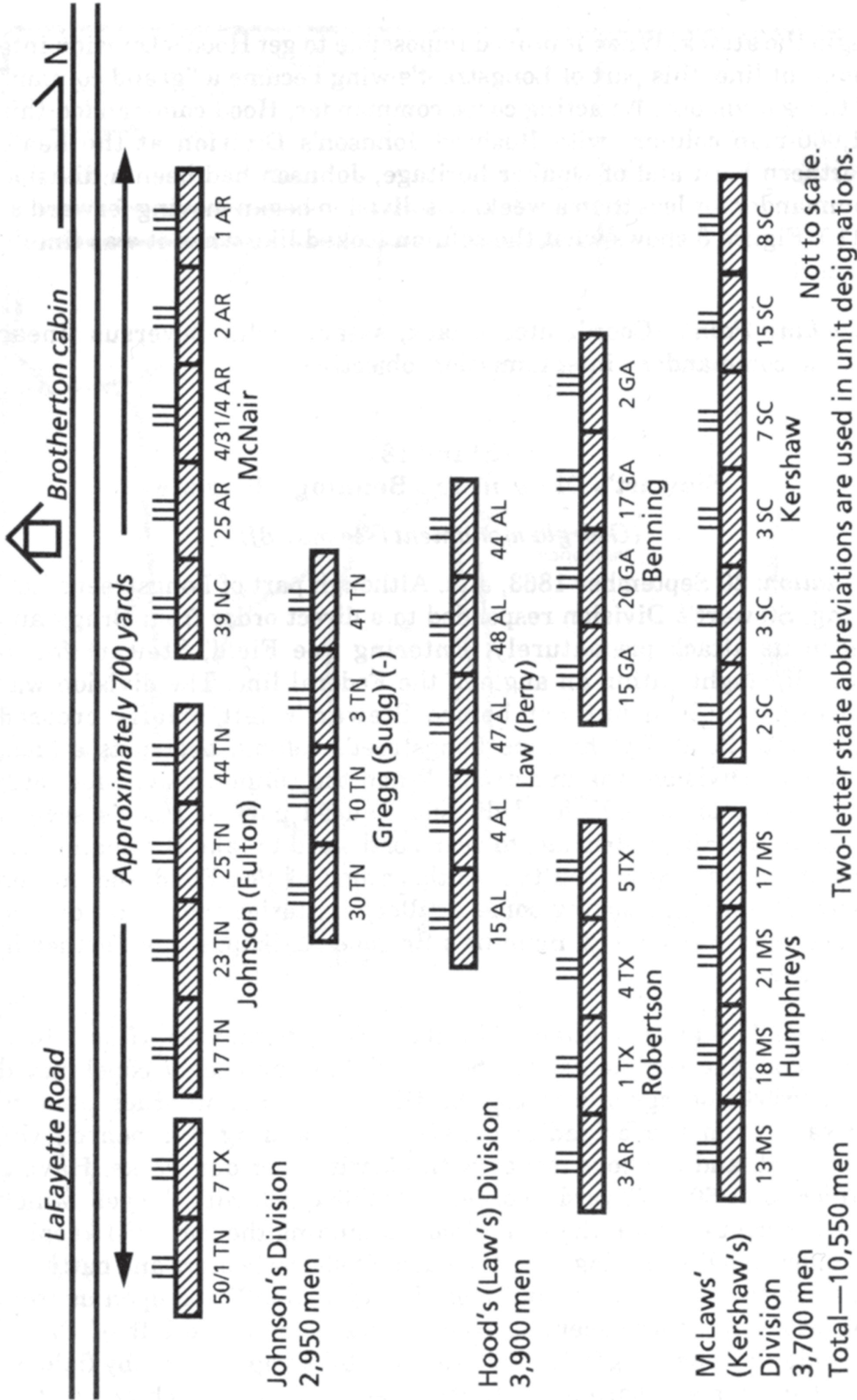
Stand 18—Stewart's Division and Benning's Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Although a part of Longstreet's Left Wing, Stewart's Division responded to a direct order from Bragg and began its attack prematurely. Entering Poe Field, Stewart found himself caught within an angle of the Federal line. The division was bloodily repulsed but not before Stewart's left briefly crossed LaFayette Rd. By the time Longstreet's column began its attack, Stewart's Division was in retreat. When the column moved forward, fire from Brannan's Federal division caused part of Hood's second echelon, Benning's Brigade, to veer northward to take Brannan's line in flank. Benning gained the southern end of Poe Field and stalled there. Beyond supporting some artillery batteries that fired on the Federals in Kelly Field, Benning's Brigade participated no further in the battle.

Vignette 1: Stewart's attack. “In about fifteen minutes after I took command, the regiments still being shielded by rudely constructed breastworks of logs and bushes hastily thrown up, an order came to forward from the

brigadier-general commanding. I repeated the command, and my boys moved with alacrity over our works. Having gained some 60 or 70 yards, I ordered double-quick with the yell, which was obeyed to a man, the men almost assuming the run, still keeping an unbroken line. Firing from the enemy's sharpshooters and batteries was constant in our front, but more injury was inflicted upon us from the left flank, there seeming to be no support on the left of Bate's brigade. On emerging [from the] woods in[to] an open, shrubby field we could see our stubborn foe definitely resisting our march across this field. Grape, canister, and musket-shot here greatly decimated my command, but swerving not it bore steadily onward. Near the center of this field I was disabled and fell from a wound received just below the knee, which for many minutes paralyzed my left leg. I observed as I fell that both colors were steadily moving forward through this dreadful ordeal of shell, shot and fire. I lay here many minutes entirely conscious, but unable to rise. Many of my companions lay wounded and dead around me. Upon seeing some of my command returning through this same field and reporting orders having been issued to fall back, I, with their assistance, reached the position the regiment formerly held before this murderous charge. . . . After some little time I sent forward a party to bring or to assist in bringing the wounded from the field. I feared they would burn, as the grass and bushes were on fire.” (Lieutenant Colonel R. Dudley Frayser, 15/37th Tennessee Infantry Regiment, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 397.)

Vignette 2: Benning's attack. “Shouts began to go up from the right, and we knew it was our boys. It soon spread along the whole line. The enemy was firing away all along the line. On the left, musketry was heavy but retiring, the cannon seeming to play a small part in it. The yell of victory became louder and fiercer as the sun declined. There seemed to be no enemy in our front. General Benning ordered me to go forward a short distance to see what was in front. We had become afraid of firing into our own men and being fired into by them. I went as ordered and came to the Chattanooga road. I was sure I saw the enemy sending men across attempting to reinforce their left. I rode back and told what I had seen. General Benning suggested artillery and sent a courier to the division commander for it. In a few minutes a number of pieces were sending shell down that road like lightning. I watched . . . the shot as it would rise, curve over and explode at the very spot aimed among the demoralized Federals. Why were we



James Longstreet's "Grand Column" (see Stand 19, next page)

not pressed forward then? Evidently they were broken and would leave the field, perhaps were leaving then. Incompetent fools were allowing the fruits of a great victory to fly from us. I can see now how we idled and waited.” (Benjamin Abbott, Benning’s adjutant and inspector general, to Green Haygood, 26 September 1863, quoted in Mills Lane, ed., *Dear Mother Don’t Grieve About Me. If I Get Killed, I’ll Only Be Dead.* *Letters From Georgia Soldiers in the Civil War* [Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1977], 275.)

Teaching Points: Coordination, timing of attacks, leadership, face of battle.

Stand 19—Longstreet’s “Grand Column”

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—During the morning, James Longstreet rearranged his lines slightly while waiting for Polk’s Right Wing to begin the attack. When it proved impossible to get Hood’s Division into the front line, this part of Longstreet’s wing became a “grand column” of three divisions. As acting corps commander, Maj. Gen. John Bell Hood commanded this 11,000-man column, with Brig. Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson’s division at the head. Northern born and of Quaker heritage, Johnson had been a division commander for less than a week. His division began moving forward at 11:10, toward the gap recently created in the Union line. (See diagram, previous page.)

No Vignette.

Teaching Points: Coordinated attack, assault column versus linear attack, commander’s intent, mission, objective.

Stand 20—Wood’s Division

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Early in the morning, Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Wood was directed to replace Negley’s division in the Federal line. Wood’s division consisted of two of his own brigades (Col. George P. Buell’s and Col. Charles G. Harker’s), plus Col. Sidney M. Barnes’ brigade from Van Cleve’s division. Barnes was on the left next to Brannan’s division, Harker in the center, and Buell on the right. At 10:45, Wood received a message from Rosecrans ordering him to close up on Reynolds as fast as possible and support him. The message assumed that Brannan’s division was not in line and that a gap existed between Wood and Reynolds. Brannan, however, remained in place, forcing Wood to

move to the rear first, then pass behind Brannan before joining Reynolds. Although Rosecrans was only 600 yards behind him, Wood did not request clarification of the order. Assured by XX Corps commander Maj. Gen. Alexander M. McCook that the gap thus created would be filled, Wood obeyed the order at once. Barnes and Harker cleared the position safely, but Buell’s brigade was caught in motion and shattered by Longstreet’s advance. Hood’s column then poured through the gap and split the Federal army.

No Vignette.

Teaching Points: Clarity of orders, obedience to orders, responsibility of subordinates, coordination procedures, role of personality.

STAFF RIDE AREA 3

Stand 21—Manigault’s Brigade & Rosecrans’ HQ

Situation (Manigault’s Brigade): Sept. 20, p.m.—Confederate Brig. Gen. Arthur M. Manigault’s brigade represented the left of Hindman’s Division. Manigault’s Brigade crossed LaFayette Road about 11:20, advancing to the west. The three left regiments of the brigade were crossing this field when they were engaged by Wilder’s brigade, assisted by the 39th Indiana Mounted Infantry. Manigault expected support on his left from Col. Robert C. Trigg’s brigade of William Preston’s division, but he did not receive it. Wilder’s firepower (7-shot Spencer repeating rifles) quickly decimated Manigault’s regiments and forced them all the way back across LaFayette Road. After re-forming the brigade, Manigault again advanced, this time to the northwest.

Vignette: “The fire we got under when first we became engaged in the morning exceeded anything I ever before or after experienced. The air seemed alive with bullets, and an officer afterwards remarked to me, ‘General, all you had to do was to hold out your hand, and catch them.’ Out of about 800 men that came into the full fury of this storm, nearly 300 were shot down in a space of time certainly not exceeding three minutes.” (Arthur L. Manigault, in R. L. Tower, ed., *A Carolinian Goes to War* [Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983], 103.)

Teaching Points: Psychological and physical effects of massive firepower.

Situation 1 (Rosecrans' HQ): Sept. 19-20.—At about 11:30 a.m. on September 19, Army of the Cumberland commander William S. Rosecrans and his staff moved here from Crawfish Spring, accompanied by his headquarters guard, the 15th Pennsylvania Cavalry, the 10th Ohio Infantry, and the 1st Battalion Ohio Sharpshooters. Charles A. Dana, the assistant secretary of war, also accompanied Rosecrans. A signal corps detachment laid a telegraph wire to Rossville, with a branch to Thomas' position. From this position on the right of the army, Rosecrans attempted to control the battle by using the sound of the guns as a guide. That night, Rosecrans assembled his commanders at the cabin of Eliza Glenn, a widow, to determine the following day's actions. Unable to mount an attack and unwilling to retreat, Rosecrans believed he still controlled the key terrain. He therefore elected to defend the same position for one more day with Thomas' XIV Corps on the left, McCook's XX Corps on the right, and Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden's XXI Corps in reserve. Gordon Granger, commanding the Reserve Corps at Rossville, was unable to attend the meeting. Although those present were completely exhausted, the conference lasted into the early hours of the morning and was followed by impromptu entertainment. Early on the morning of the 20th, Rosecrans rode north to inspect his line, having left orders for his headquarters to move northward behind the right center of the army.

Vignette: "Widow Glenn's log house was, like all the houses of that kind, provided with a large fire-place, in which a bright fire was burning—perhaps the only fire within 15 square miles, on account of the order given not to light fires on that night for any purpose. The remains of a candle were stuck into a reversed bayonet, lighting up dimly the battle map, which was spread out upon a cartridge box. The fire in the large chimney place flared up from time to time, illuminating the faces of those who took part in the council of war. There was Major-General Rosecrans, sitting, in full uniform and sword, on the edge of a rustic bed frame, bending toward the center of the scantily furnished room, listening and sometimes talking to General Thomas, who sat near the fire, occupying the only chair which had been left by the widow Glenn. There were other generals, commanding corps, divisions and brigades, some sitting on the rough-hewn barren floor, with their backs against the walls, while others stood up. It was a picture well worth painting—this the last council of war on the field of battle—the dim, flaring light, the faces of the men who directed

the battles, the bright metallic shine of the swords and uniforms, when the fire flared up in the chimney." (Captain W. C. Margedant, topographical engineer, in L. W. Mulhane, *Memorial of Major-General William Stark Rosecrans*, Mount Vernon, OH, 1898, 68-69.)

Teaching Points: Headquarters location, command style, commander's intent, sleep plan.

Situation 2 (Rosecrans HQ): Sept. 20, a.m.—After Rosecrans' departure, Sheridan's division occupied this position with Wilder's brigade in reserve on its right rear. Sheridan's troops remained here fortifying the position until about 11:30, when they were ordered to move to the northeast to assist Davis' division. As Manigault's Brigade advanced across Glenn Field, Wilder's brigade struck them in flank and easily repulsed the attack. Wilder then prepared to attack northward into the flank of Longstreet's Left Wing. He was prevented from doing so by the arrival of Assistant Secretary of War Dana, who demanded to be taken to Chattanooga. By the time Dana was disposed of, the opportunity to attack the Confederate flank was past, and Wilder's brigade withdrew from the field.

Vignette: "Lieutenant-Colonel Thruston, chief of General McCook's staff, soon appeared and notified me that the line to my left was driven back and dispersed, and advised that I had better fall back to Lookout Mountain. I determined, however, to attempt to cut my way to join General Thomas at Rossville, and was arranging my line for that purpose when General Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, came up and said that 'our troops had fled in utter panic; that it was a worse rout than Bull Run; that General Rosecrans was probably killed or captured;' and strongly advised me to fall back and occupy the passes over Lookout Mountain to prevent the rebel occupancy of it. One of my staff officers now came up and reported that he had found General Sheridan a mile and a half to the rear and left, who sent advice to me that he 'was trying to collect his men and join General Thomas at Rossville, and that I had better fall back to the Chattanooga Valley.' I now, at 4 p.m., did so with great reluctance, bringing off with me a number of wagons loaded with ammunition, a great many ambulances, a number of caissons, a great many stragglers, and quite a number of straying beef-cattle." (Colonel John T. Wilder, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 449.)

Teaching Points: Flexibility, audacity, leadership.

Stand 22—Laiboldt's Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Col. Bernard Laiboldt's brigade of Sheridan's division was the first unit to support Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis' division. As Laiboldt moved behind Davis, his regiments found themselves in the path of Davis' troops as they were driven back in disorder by Longstreet's attack. Davis' panic spread to Laiboldt's brigade and threatened the remainder of Sheridan's division as well. Only Lytle's brigade stood firmly; then, when its commander was killed and its flanks turned, it too withdrew to the west.

Vignette 1: "Our position was in an open field, about thirty rods wide; then came a pine thicket, furnishing a fine protection for the rebs to advance through. At twelve o'clock M. [noon] we were ordered to fix bayonets and charge across the field and meet the advancing foe, coming eight lines deep toward us. On reaching the edge of pine-grove, orders came for us to halt and fire. This was amid a shower of balls flying from our front, right, and left. Sergeant Lewis, regimental color-bearer, fell just before we halted, wounded in the leg. I sent Sergeants Newlin and Brown to carry him from the field. Neither of the three was heard of after the battle. Art. Terrell fell dead within a yard of me, pierced through the temples by a ball. Enoch Smith thought to be killed, and John Bostwick wounded; I ordered Sam Boen to carry him off, but he did not get him, for before reaching him Boen had to leave to save his own life. The flag was taken up by one of the color guard, immediately after Lewis fell; he soon fell; taken up by another; he fell. Then a retreat was ordered. I grasped the colors and carried them off the field. I was not struck, only by a buckshot, and that lodged in my haversack, checked by striking my tin cup. The regiment retreated 'pell mell;' could not be rallied to be effective again during the charge." (Captain Tilmon D. Kyger, Company C, 73d Illinois Infantry, Laiboldt's brigade, in W. H. Newlin, *A History of the Seventy-Third Regiment of Illinois Infantry Volunteers*, Springfield, IL, 1890, 225.)

Vignette 2: "Our brigade now wheeled into line. As we advanced up the hill, we met the 2d brig. [Laiboldt's] coming back in confusion. Gen. Sheridan spoke cheerfully telling us to keep cool and we would surely check them but I am almost ashamed to own that I thought far different. We gained the crest of the hill and layed down. On come the Rebs yelling like demons. We received them

coolly and our fire soon checked them in front, but soon a more serious difficulty arose. They were flanking us and we had nothing to oppose to them. Slowly we fell back to the foot of the hill, we then rallied and charged up the hill but were again flanked and forced by the mere power of numbers to fall back. This time they planted their colors on a line in rear of our regt. Six times in succession did our regt rally and charge up the hill and was as often compelled to fall back by their flanking us. Oh if we had but a single Div to protect our flanks we could hold them. We find no trouble in forcing them back in our front. When we were rallying the sixth time Old Rossie, McCook & Sheridan rode up in our rear and Rosecrans said charge them once for Old Rossie boys, but it was of no use, we had done all that could be done without support." (John Ely, Private, 36th Illinois Infantry Regiment, Lytle's brigade, Diary, Unit Files, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Fort Oglethorpe, GA.)

Teaching Points: Confusion, panic.

Stand 23—Lytle's Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Brig. Gen. William H. Lytle's brigade of Sheridan's division moved from the Widow Glenn cabin and occupied this position about 11:30. The unit was following Laiboldt's brigade, also of Sheridan's division, which advanced into the southern end of Dyer Field to support Davis' division. When the Confederate attack crushed Davis and Laiboldt, Lytle tried to rally his brigade on this ridge. For a brief time he was successful, until he was hit three times (in the spine, foot, and mouth) and killed. When the brigade was driven from the field, Lytle's body was left behind. The Confederates who occupied the ground recognized him, a well-known poet from Cincinnati, and placed a guard over the body. Eventually, Lytle's remains were returned to the Federals for burial.

Vignette: "While riding through the woods yesterday I came upon the dead body of General Lytle, of Cincinnati, Ohio. I recognized him at once. We had been friends in the old days, as our fathers were before us. A Confederate soldier was standing guard over the body. From what I learned from the guard it appeared that a brigade of Alabama troops, under command of General Zach. Deas, while advancing in the charge Longstreet made, had struck Lytle's brigade. The latter was behind rude entrenchments of logs and rails. These

had been swept by Deas's men, driving Lytle's back. About this time Lytle was struck, and his men, retreating, left his body where he fell. He was recognized by his uniform as a general officer, and Captain West, of General Deas's staff, took charge of his watch and papers, and placed the sentinel on guard over the body. Dismounting, I asked the man his instructions, and he replied, 'I am here to take care of this body and to allow no one to touch it.' 'All right,' I said. 'I hope you will do it.' I then looked to see where Lytle had been struck, and found that one ball had entered his right instep, and another his mouth, knocking out some teeth, and making its exit in the back of the neck. When he was killed he was smoking a cigar. He was dressed in fatigue uniform. His shoulder-straps—one star—indicated the rank of brigadier-general. He wore high riding-boots, a regulation overcoat, dark kid gloves. While standing beside the body, General Preston rode up, and asked, 'Who have you there?' I replied, 'General Lytle, of Cincinnati.'—'Ah!' said General Preston, 'General Lytle, the son of my old friend, Bob Lytle! I am very sorry indeed it is so;' and he dismounted and was much affected. After asking the sentinel his instructions, and receiving the same answer I had obtained, he said to him, 'See that you do it, my man.' We then mounted and rejoined the division, which had halted on the road.

"Lytle's body was returned in an ambulance to his friends, under flag of truce, and, as he was known to the gentlemen of the Southern army to be a gallant and chivalrous soldier, as well as the author of the beautiful poem entitled, 'Anthony and Cleopatra,' all were sincerely grieved at his taking off. As the ambulance containing the remains passed on its way to the enemy's lines the road was lined with officers and men, who testified their respect for the dead General by removing their hats and looking on silently." (William Miller Owen, *In Camp and Battle With the Washington Artillery* [Boston, MA: Tichnor and Co., 1885], 286-87.)

Teaching Point: Humanity in war.

Stand 24—Field HQ, Army of the Cumberland

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—On returning from riding the lines, General Rosecrans established his field command post on this ridge by midmorning. The position was hardly vacant: the 15th Pennsylvania Cavalry waited behind the ridge, a large ordnance train was parked in the rear, and Van Cleve's division and Crittenden were

on the ridge to the north. As the battle grew in intensity, Rosecrans ordered Van Cleve to move and support Thomas. Crittenden asked and received permission to accompany his last division, and he followed it eastward. At this point, Wood's division began to pull out of line in response to the infamous order, while Davis and Sheridan also put their commands in motion. When Hood's Confederate corps raced through the gap, Rosecrans quickly rode to rally Sheridan's division, but when that attempt failed, he lost heart and left the field, eventually following Dry Valley Road to McFarland's Gap.

Vignette: "From an elevation overlooking that part of the field, the Cincinnati Gazette reporter watched the remnants of the Union right and center—five brigades all told—heading for McFarland's Gap, completely disorganized. Said a reporter for a Louisville newspaper: The scenes I witnessed here were such as can be but poorly comprehended from description. . . . Men came madly dashing on, careless of curses and entreaties, consternation pictured in their every feature. . . . Guns, knapsacks, blankets, cartridge-boxes, everything that could impede the flight were cast away." (J. Cutler Andrews, *The North Reports the Civil War* [Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955], 455-56.)

Teaching Points: Command post location, leadership, psychological impact of unexpected events.

Stand 25—Deas' Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Maj. Gen. Thomas C. Hindman, who was on the left of Bushrod Johnson's division, advanced into South Dyer Field. Hindman's assault caught Davis' division moving to fill the gap left by Wood. Both of Davis' brigades broke and were driven to the rear. Meanwhile, Sheridan's division, which had been ordered north to support Thomas, was moving into the southern end of Dyer Field. Although Sheridan's leading brigade was also broken, Lytle's brigade made its stand on a hill west of the field. There it halted the advance of Brig. Gen. Zachariah C. Deas' brigade of Hindman's Division. Deas received some assistance from an unexpected source when the 15th Alabama Infantry from Brig. Gen. Evander Law's brigade arrived in his rear.

Vignette: "At the first fire of the enemy, so unexpected and near, my regiment exhibited a momentary hesitancy

and wavering, but upon my ordering ‘charge,’ it moved at double-quick, and, with a shout, scaled the enemy’s works, and pursued their panic-stricken and shattered ranks through the woods and undergrowth until, reaching the borders of another open field, the enemy were discovered behind some houses, potash-works, and rail breastworks. At this point there was not even a momentary hesitancy, but with an increased shout and rapidity of step, we drove the enemy from these works with great slaughter, and pursued them through the open field some 250 yards to an elevated skirt of heavy open woods, where we again came upon him and drove him in utter confusion from two pieces of artillery and other breastworks. There being no horses near, we were compelled to leave the pieces of artillery on the ground. Just here, the Fifteenth Alabama Volunteers, who were to the right of my rear, began a heavy enfilading fire upon me. I immediately discovered they were friends, and ordered my colors back to the edge of the open field, and waving them, discovered to the Fifteenth Alabama their error, upon which they came up by a left-oblique march in fine order, and, joining in with my regiment, we continued to pursue the enemy for some distance across fields, woods, roads, and hills, until we passed over the telegraph road of the enemy into the hills, where we passed also other pieces of artillery, and found we had utterly cut the enemy’s lines asunder.” (Colonel Samuel K. McSpadden, 19th Alabama Infantry Regiment, Deas’ Brigade, in *O.R.*, vol.30, pt.2,334.)

Teaching Points: Confusion of battle, improvisation, leadership, amicide.

Stand 26—Bushrod Johnson’s Division

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.—Beginning its advance around 11:10, Bushrod Johnson’s division led Hood’s Corps across LaFayette Road, past the Brotherton cabin, and into the gap left by Wood’s division. Although Johnson’s right brigade was slowed somewhat by fire from Brannan, the remainder of Johnson’s Division smashed through George P. Buell’s brigade and broke out into the broad Dyer Field. Caught while in motion, numerous Federal units scattered to the rear in panic. Bringing up his reserve brigade, Johnson pressed forward in pursuit.

Vignette: “Our lines now emerged from the forest into open ground on the border of long, open fields, over

which the enemy were retreating, under cover of several batteries, which were arranged along the crest of a ridge on our right and front, running up to the corner of a stubble field, and of one battery on our left and front posted on an elevation in the edge of the woods, just at the corner of a field near a peach orchard and southwest of Dyer’s house. The scene now presented was unspeakably grand. The resolute and impetuous charge, the rush of our heavy columns sweeping out from the shadow and gloom of the forest into the open fields flooded with sunlight, the glitter of arms, and onward dash of artillery and mounted men, the retreat of the foe, the shouts of the hosts of our army, the dust, the smoke, the noise of fire-arms—of whistling balls and grape-shot and of bursting shell—made up a battle scene of unsurpassed grandeur. Here General Hood gave me the last order I received from him on the field, ‘Go ahead, and keep ahead of everything.’ How this order was obeyed will be best determined by those who investigate all the details of this battle.” (Brigadier General Bushrod R. Johnson, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 457-58.)

Teaching Points: Agility, initiative, mission-type orders.

Stand 27—Longstreet’s Left Wing

Situation: Sept. 20, p.m.—By early afternoon, Longstreet’s Left Wing, especially Hood’s massive column, had achieved far greater success than could have been expected. Moving forward in the track of Bushrod Johnson’s brigades, Longstreet and his small staff established a headquarters at this spot. While Longstreet watched, Confederate units pursued fleeing Federals in all directions. Gradually, a center of Federal resistance began to grow on Snodgrass Hill (or Horseshoe Ridge). About 2:00 p.m., while his units paused to reorganize, Longstreet, Maj. Gen. Simon B. Buckner, and their staffs ate lunch. During the meal (the location of which is in dispute), a messenger from Bragg called Longstreet to army headquarters to report on his situation. Longstreet rode to Bragg’s headquarters in the woods a mile away, reported his success, and asked for reinforcements, even though the wing reserve, Preston’s Division, was uncommitted. Bragg refused the request for reinforcements, so Longstreet returned to his headquarters around 3:00 p.m. and ordered Preston forward. Confederate units had already begun to assault Snodgrass Hill, and Longstreet did not change their focus. The result was a series of uncoordinated and unsuccessful frontal assaults. No effort was

made to outflank either end of the Snodgrass Hill line, although both flanks were open.

Vignette: “3 p.m. While our division was resting at a halt, under an occasional fire of a battery posted on Horseshoe Ridge, I rode to the right and rear of our line, and there saw Gens. Longstreet and Buckner, seated on a log, eating their lunch, which their boy had brought to them. General Longstreet hailed me, and asked for a pipeful of tobacco. I produced my little bag, and he filled his meerschau pipe. I then asked him what he thought of the battle; was the enemy beaten or not?”

“‘Yes,’ he said, ‘all along his line; a few are holding out upon the ridge yonder, not many though. If we had had our Virginia army here, we could have whipped them in half the time. By the by,’ he added, ‘don’t you want some guns for your command? I think my men must have captured fifty to-day.’”

“I told him I did, and would like to make a change for better ones, those we have being very indifferent.”

“‘Well,’ he said, ‘you can have as many as you want.’”

“‘General, hadn’t you better put that in writing?’”

“He laughed, and instructed Latrobe to write an order for the guns.” (William Miller Owen, Preston’s staff, *In Camp and Battle With the Washington Artillery* [Boston, MA: Tichnor and Co., 1885], 281.)

Teaching Points: Branches and sequels, seeing the battlefield.

STAFF RIDE AREA 4

Stand 28—Harker’s Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, a.m.-p.m.—Union Col. Charles G. Harker’s brigade was the second of Wood’s units to move out of line after Wood received the order to move north and support Reynolds. The brigade marched behind Brannan’s division northward through Dyer Field. Just as Harker left the field, he was halted by Wood and reoriented, first east and then south. Quickly changing front, the brigade formed in line of battle across the northern end of Dyer Field. From this position, Harker directed a local counterattack that routed parts of Law’s and Johnson’s divisions. While the Confederates were rallying in the woods east of the field, Hood rode to assist them and was seriously wounded. The counterattack advanced to about this position. Brig. Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw’s brigade then charged Harker,

forcing him back over the crest of the hill northwest of Dyer Field and, finally, to Snodgrass Hill.

Vignette 1: “The enemy fled in confusion, and disappeared for a time. We pursued 400 yards and lay down behind a prostrate fence, which was upon another less tenable, but parallel ridge to the first one. This ridge also rose into a wooded hill 150 yards to our right. The other regiments of the brigade soon prolonged my line to the right and left. Another line of the enemy, more formidable than the first, appeared in the distance, moving upon us. The terrible splendor of this advance is beyond the reach of my pen. The whole line seemed perfect and as if moved by a single mind. The musketry soon became severe and my losses heavy; the color-sergeant severely wounded, the standard shot in two the second time, and the colors riddled with balls. The regiment to my left gave way, and then that upon my right. My Company A, thinking this meant for all to retire, arose and faced to the rear, but almost instantly resumed their position. The enemy came on and themselves prolonged my line to the right, occupied the wooded hill there, and enfiladed my line with a destructive fire. Lieutenant King, commanding Company C, fell dead, when Sergt. Alson C. Dillely assumed command of his company. Lieutenant Barnes, commanding Company E, went down with a broken thigh, and Lieut. E. P. Evans was placed in command. Captain Yeomans carried off a ball in his upper leg, but he remained with his company during the battle under severe pain. Numbers fell dead and more were seriously wounded, but the line was firmly maintained. Lieutenant Clark coolly remarked, ‘They can kill us, but whip us never.’ Seeing no relief, I retired the regiment to the ridge in rear. In doing so, some troops passed obliquely through my right wing, which caused a little confusion there, but the ranks were closed immediately, and the crest occupied where ordered by General Wood.” (Colonel Emerson Opdycke, 125th Ohio Infantry Regiment, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 708.)

Vignette 2: “We wrestled with the resolute foe till about 2:30 p.m., when, from a skirt of timber to our left, a body of Federals rushed down upon the immediate flank and rear of the Texas brigade, which was forced to suddenly change front. Some confusion necessarily arose. I was at the time on my horse, upon a slight ridge about three hundred yards distant, and galloped down the slope, in the midst of the men, who speedily corrected their alignment. At this moment Kershaw’s splendid

division, led by its gallant commander, came forward. . . . Kershaw's line formed . . . an angle with that of the Federal line, then in full view in an open space near the wood. I rode rapidly to his command, ordered a change of front forward on his right, which was promptly executed under a galling fire. With a shout along my entire front, the Confederates rushed forward. . . . About this time I was pierced with a Minie ball in the upper third of the right leg; I turned from my horse upon the side of the crushed limb and fell—strange to say . . . —into the arms of some of the troops of my old brigade, which I had directed so long a period, and upon so many fields of battle.” (John Bell Hood, *Advance and Retreat* [Philadelphia, PA: Press of Burke & M'Fetridge, 1880], 63-64.)

Teaching Points: Use of terrain, confusion, initiative, importance and timing, loss of commander.

Stand 29—Kershaw's Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, p.m.—General Kershaw, commanding McLaws' Division (Kershaw's and Brig. Gen. Benjamin G. Humphreys' brigades) forced Harker's brigade back from Dyer Field and advanced over this hill into the ravine to the north. From there, Kershaw's Brigade unsuccessfully assaulted the Federal troops on Snodgrass Hill and was driven back to cover in the ravine. Kershaw, who was on foot, and his men were pinned in the ravine. Humphreys' Brigade briefly moved into position on the Federal flank, but did not recognize its opportunity and was permitted by Longstreet to withdraw a short distance. Kershaw's men kept up the fire against Snodgrass Hill, but Humphreys' troops remained inactive for the rest of the day.

Vignette: “In our first general advance . . . as the regiment reached the brow of the hill, just before striking the enemy's breastworks, my company and the other color company, being crowded together by the pressure of the flanks on either side, became for the moment a tangled, disorganized mass. A sudden discharge of grape from the enemy's batteries, as well as from their sharpshooters posted behind trees, threw us in greater confusion, and many men were shot down unexpectedly. A Sergeant in my company, T. C. Nunamaker, received a fearful wound in the abdomen. Catching my hand while falling, he begged to be carried off. ‘Oh! for God's sake, don't leave me here to bleed to death or have my life trampled out! Do have

me carried off.’ But the laws of war are inexorable, and none could leave the ranks to care for the wounded, and those whose duty it was to attend to such matters were unfortunately too often far in the rear, seeking places of safety for themselves, to give much thought or concern to the bleeding soldiers. Before our lines were properly adjusted, the gallant Sergeant was beyond the aid of anyone. He had died from internal hemorrhage.” (D. Augustus Dickert, 3d South Carolina Infantry Regiment, Kershaw's Brigade, in *History of Kershaw's Brigade* [Newberry, SC: Elbert H. Aull Co., 1899; reprint, Dayton, OH: Press of Morningside Bookshop, 1976], 279.)

Teaching Points: Terrain appreciation, location of commander, face of battle.

Stand 30—Gracie's Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, p.m.—When Kershaw's attack stalled in the ravine south of Vittetoe Rd., Preston's Division was ordered forward from the vicinity of the Brotherton cabin at about 4:00 p.m. With Brig. Gen. Archibald Gracie's brigade on the right and Col. John H. Kelly's on the left, the division assaulted Snodgrass Hill at about 4:30. The attacks continued for more than an hour and a half. By sundown, Gracie's Brigade had gained a toehold on the crest of the hill but could advance no farther. Of the 2,003 officers and men Gracie carried into action, 725 became casualties (90 killed, 608 wounded, and 27 missing)—36 percent casualties in 90 minutes.

Vignette: “In order to reach the breastworks where the Federals were posted we had to pass over the top of a ridge several hundred yards from their position, then go down a slope into a ravine, and up the steep side of Snodgrass Hill. The moment we appeared on this ridge we were greeted by a ferocious volley of musketry. We had advanced only a few steps when Lieutenant Colonel Holt was mortally wounded. I ordered him carried to the rear. A few minutes later I was struck by a glancing ball on the inside of my left ankle. . . . We had not advanced to the bottom of the ravine before many of our men had fallen, some killed outright, more wounded. . . . When I saw how we were being butchered and discovered no ranking officer of the battalion taking charge, I endeavored to get the men to move forward without waiting to fire and reload. I saw General Gracie coming along in the rear of the line on foot.

I ran to him and asked what orders he wished me to carry. He said: 'Tell the men for God's sake to go forward.' I then ran along the line repeating the General's order. The roar of the guns was so deafening that the men could scarcely hear me. While we were moving up the hill toward the breastworks and the battalion was not moving rapidly enough, I went in front of the line and motioned the men to come on faster. It occurred to me that I did not want to be shot in the back. Just after I had turned to face the enemy a Minie ball struck my left breast a little below the collar bone. . . . Lieutenant Joe Barker and one or two others ran to me and asked what they could do for me. I answered: 'Never mind me. Go on faster!'" (John Massey, Adjutant, 1st Battalion, Alabama Legion, *Reminiscences* [Nashville, TN: Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1916], 186-87.) (John Massey was nineteen years old at Chickamauga. When his unit was consolidated with another after the battle, he lost his position and returned to college.)

Teaching Points: Courage, leadership, effect of mass casualties.

Stand 31—Thomas' HQ & Negley's Mission

Situation: Sept. 20, p.m.—Thomas' field headquarters was at the foot of the reverse slope of this hill. During the second day of the battle, Thomas rode back and forth between this point and his Kelly Field positions issuing orders and inspiring confidence by his presence. During one of Thomas' absences, he diverted Negley and his remaining brigade to this vicinity. In a verbal message delivered by Captain Gaw, one of Thomas' aides, the corps commander ordered Negley to gather all available artillery and orient it toward the house near McDonald crossroads to cover the corps' left flank. Negley eventually gathered at this point up to 50 guns, 50 limbers, 50 caissons, 600 horses, plus two infantry regiments and four companies (700-800 men). In addition, he gathered many of the ammunition wagons that had been withdrawn to the rear as the battle progressed. Negley quickly discovered that, from this point, the guns could fire into the fields near the McDonald house (present Visitor Center site) but could not control the crossroads. Fearing the loss of the artillery and ammunition because of the collapse of the Federal right, Negley made a fateful decision to save the guns. Around 1:30 p.m., he and his remaining infantry left the field with the guns just before James B.

Steedman arrived with two fresh brigades of troops and 95,000 rounds of ammunition. Although he saved the artillery, Negley ultimately lost his command because of his actions.

Vignette: "On the evening of the 12th I prescribed for Maj. Gen. James S. Negley; also on the two days following, which days he was on duty; the 15th and 16th he was confined to his bed, having a severe attack of diarrhea. On the 17th the command moved, he riding his horse, with the precaution to have an ambulance near to use if necessary. He arrived at camp very much exhausted. The evening of the 18th the command moved; he was up and on duty most of the night. The 19th he was busy with the command all the day, it being engaged in battle at morning and evening. This night he was much worn down from exposure, want of sleep, rest, and sickness, and was obliged to get what rest he could that night to enable him to be on duty the day following; he slept in bivouac this night with the command. I think he had labored during the day and evening all that he was physically able to endure. He arose on the morning of the 20th feeling very unwell, but was on duty all the day until late at night. On the 21st and 22d he was on duty with the command, but not really able to be so. During the whole time he was really unable to be on duty, being a fitter case for a bed patient than one being under treatment and yet laboring." (Surgeon R. G. Bogue, Negley's surgeon, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 343.)

Teaching Points: Command post location, improvisation, command decisions.

Stand 32—Defense of Snodgrass Hill

Situation: Sept. 20, p.m.—Harker's brigade reorganized here on the eastern end of Snodgrass Hill after being driven from Dyer Field. Harker took advantage of the strongest position available and deployed his four regiments in two lines. On Harker's right, remnants from Brannan's, Negley's, Van Cleve's, and Wood's divisions gradually extended the Federal line to the west. Harker's men and the associated fragments fended off the initial assaults by Kershaw and later attacks by Hindman's and Preston's divisions. Eventually, other troops extended the Federal line even farther westward.

Dr. Robertson's Note: A wide variety of evidence indicates that Federal plaques and monuments in the vicinity of Snodgrass Hill (*Horseshoe Ridge*) are incorrectly

located. While correct placement is difficult to determine, it appears that most Federal markers should be shifted approximately one brigade front to the west.

Vignette: “General Brannan, having rallied a part of his command, it, together with fragments of other commands, formed on the hill at my right, while my brigade formed in two lines to the left of Brannan, fronting to the south and nearly perpendicular to Reynolds’ division, then on my left.

“It will be seen that the right and a part of the center and Van Cleve’s division being completely swept away, our line now reduced and in the form of a crochet [hook], must resist nearly the whole rebel force in our front, or itself be swept away, and the great Army of the Cumberland—the pride of the nation—be utterly routed. Our brave troops, appreciating the importance of their position, promised to hold to the last. Nobly did they redeem their promise. From about 1 p.m. until nightfall this line was repeatedly attacked, but remained unbroken. . . . It affords me great pleasure to refer to the grand volley firing of the regiments of my brigade on the afternoon of the 20th. I have remarked before that while occupying a part of the ‘key of the position’ they were formed in two lines.

“They were lying a little below the northern or eastern crest of the hill; the front line firing by volley would retire, when the rear would move forward and execute the same movement. Thus a continuous volley fire was kept up for some length of time. This system was resumed whenever the rebels made their appearance in force, and repulsed them on every occasion. It had never before been my fortune to witness so grand an example of effective musket firing.” (Colonel Charles G. Harker, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 695.)

Teaching Points: Terrain appreciation, rallying of broken units.

Stand 33—Van Derveer’s Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, p.m.—On this knob, fragments from several brigades made their stand. Anchoring their right in the saddle to the west was another relatively intact brigade, Van Derveer’s of Brannan’s division. Although Confederate forces made repeated assaults, this position was also held until after sunset. Monuments to Confederate units on the forward slope of the hill just below the crest indicate how near the Confederates came to breaching the Federal line.

Vignette: “The slope in our front was now well cleared of underbrush, and we could see the gray legs of the front line, as, in regular step, they crossed the road at the foot and commenced the ascent, a second line following, each containing more men than were in the thin, single line of defenders. ‘Don’t waste any cartridges now, boys,’ was the only instruction given, (and this was quite unnecessary) as our line commenced firing—and the men in gray commenced falling; but they seemed to bow their heads to the storm of bullets, and picking their way among and over their fallen comrades who already encumbered the slope by hundreds, they came bravely and steadily on; as however they approached nearer, and the firing in their faces grew hotter and more deadly, they seemed to lose the assuring touch of elbows, and as the vacancies rapidly increased, they began to hesitate— ‘Now we’ve got ’em, see ’em wobble’ were the first words that passed in our lines since the firing had begun—then they halted and commenced firing wildly into the tree tops, then turned and rushed madly down the slope, carrying the second line with them.” (Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Bishop, 2d Minnesota Infantry Regiment, “Van Derveer’s Brigade at Chickamauga,” *Glimpses of the Nation’s Struggle* [Minneapolis, MN: Aug. Davis, Publisher, 1909] 6:17.)

Teaching Points: Defense, individual bravery.

Stand 34—The “Lost Regiments”

Situation: Sept. 20, p.m.—Late in the day, when Thomas left this area to supervise the Federal withdrawal from Kelly Field, he left Gordon Granger in charge of the troops on Snodgrass Hill. Granger, who had spent most of the afternoon serving as a cannoneer in the yard of the Snodgrass cabin, departed the field not long after Thomas, leaving subordinate commanders to their own devices. By nightfall, Wood, Brannan, and Steedman all had withdrawn their commands from the ridge safely. Left behind, probably inadvertently, were three regiments: the 22nd Michigan, 21st Ohio, and 89th Ohio. All three had been detached from their parent commands earlier and had been serving temporarily with unfamiliar units. As their ammunition ran out, the regiments received orders to hold their position with bayonets. The withdrawal of Federal forces on the flanks of these regiments permitted Kelly’s and Trigg’s brigades of Preston’s Division to surround the three regiments and eventually capture them in the darkness.

Stand 35—Steedman’s Division

Vignette: “I was unable to communicate with General Negley, and no general officer was designated to whom I might report. But we continued to hold our position. The cartridge-boxes of our killed and wounded were carefully searched, also the hospitals for any ammunition that might be carried there in the cartridge-boxes of our wounded, and by this means obtained sufficient ammunition to meet the enemy in their assault upon our position about 5 o’clock.

“In this assault the enemy crossed the ravine in our front and carried his banners up the hill to with[in] 20 yards of our line. He was repulsed, and did not retire in good order. During the afternoon a battery had range upon our position, inflicting some damage upon us, also setting fire to the leaves and brush in our front, and the enemy advanced under cover of the smoke. The wounded, under cover of our fire, were removed.

“A heavy line of skirmishers continued to annoy us, and a sharp fire upon this line exhausted our ammunition a short time before sundown, at which time the Second Regiment Minnesota Volunteers relieved us. A further search for ammunition resulted in finding one round each for the men composing my command, which had now become very much reduced in numbers.

“At this time Colonel Van Derveer (who assumed command) ordered me to occupy a position on the extreme right, from which a part of our line had just been driven by the enemy. In obedience to the order we occupied the position and captured 9 prisoners. A sharp fire from the enemy forced us back, but we regained our position and held it until dark, at which time a brigade of four regiments, under Colonel Trigg, moved upon us and overwhelmed us.

“Simultaneous with this movement of the enemy, which was upon our right flank and rear, we received a fire from the enemy, who had also opened upon our left, which took effect both upon the enemy on our right and ourselves. During the misunderstanding thus occasioned, a part of my men escaped under cover of the night. Colonel Van Derveer having withdrawn the troops under his command, my command was unsupported, and both flanks were exposed. Thus we lost our stand of colors, which were made sacred to us by the blood of many comrades who fell in their defense and for their honor on other fields as well as on the unfortunate field of Chickamauga.” (Major Arnold McMahan, 21st Ohio Infantry Regiment, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 1, 389.)

Teaching Points: Fate of attached units, leadership.

Situation: Sept. 20, p.m.—Late in the morning, General Granger, commanding the Reserve Corps near Rossville, had decided to move with three brigades toward the sounds of battle. Granger and two brigades under Steedman reached the vicinity of the Snodgrass cabin around 2:00 p.m. Their timely arrival was one of the most dramatic moments of the battle. Thomas first considered placing Steedman on the Federal left but quickly changed his mind and sent the two brigades to the right of Van Derveer’s brigade. Steedman’s brigades, led by Brig. Gen. Walter C. Whitaker and Col. John G. Mitchell, raced up the reverse slope of the ridge and ran headlong into Bushrod Johnson’s Confederate troops advancing up the other side. After a severe struggle, Steedman’s troops held the crest of the ridge for the remainder of the afternoon. Around sunset, the two Federal brigades quietly withdrew northward and joined the retreating Army of the Cumberland.

Vignette: “My men fought them by firing until out of ammunition and when I sent to Colonel Mitchell for orders and was directed to hold the hill at the point of the bayonet, I bid farewell to home and friends and the 113th. I gave the order and the men obeyed with spirit, and over the hill we went, but the Rebels seemed not very anxious, and willing to stay back, and I let the men fall back over the crest and lie down and with the few men from the cover of trees who had supplied themselves with cartridges from the boxes of their dead and wounded comrades, we kept the hill until night when we received orders to fall back. I went into the fight with 345 men and officers, counting myself, and lost in the fight 127 killed, wounded and missing as follows—killed 22, wounded 95, missing 10. No comment is necessary on these figures and no one can begin to realize what it required for men to withstand it.” (Colonel Darius B. Warner, 113th Ohio Infantry Regiment, Mitchell’s brigade, in a letter home, 27 September 1863, Unit Files, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Fort Oglethorpe, GA.)

Teaching Points: Timing, luck, leadership.

Stand 36—Johnson’s (Fulton’s) Brigade

Situation: Sept. 20, p.m.—At about 2:00, Bushrod Johnson’s division advanced toward the western end of Snodgrass Hill. Sugg’s Brigade was on the right and

Johnson's Brigade (under Col. John S. Fulton) on the left, with Dent's and York's batteries in support. Fulton gained the ridge and was turning Brannan's flank when he was struck and repulsed by the advance of Steedman's fresh division. After falling back to reorganize, Fulton and Sugg assaulted again, this time supported by McNair's Brigade and part of Manigault's Brigade of Hindman's Division. The fighting continued until Steedman withdrew around sunset.

Vignette: "My line was again ordered forward, the enemy being within 50 yards of the batteries and but one piece firing. Here commenced a most desperate struggle for the possession of this ground—[Horseshoe] Ridge. The battle raged furiously and the tide of success wavered in the balance. Charge after charge was repulsed, only to rally and charge again. Again our line fell back, and the untiring, indomitable, and determined officers rallied again their fast thinning ranks and again moved forward. Here officers and men behaved most gallantly. Appeals to love of home and wounded comrades and the peril of the moment were made, and never did men rush forward more eager, daring, desperate, and defiant. The enemy's treble lines now began to show that our fire was terribly effective upon them. Our cartridge boxes had been replenished as required, and still we were nearly out. Again more ammunition was supplied and the conflict continued hot and heavy. The enemy was now slowly giving back, hard pressed by our now shattered remnants. Another charge, with the yells of the men and cheers of the officers, and forward we pressed, only to discover the victory was ours and the enemy in full retreat. This series of engagements lasted four long hours, during which Johnson's brigade won many laurels and an imperishable name." (Colonel John S. Fulton, commanding Johnson's Brigade, in *O.R.*, vol. 30, pt. 2, 476.)

Teaching Points: Difficulty of terrain, offensive spirit, initiative, leadership.

Stand 37—Preston's Division

Situation: Sept. 20, p.m.—After Longstreet failed to receive reinforcements from Bragg, he committed his own reserve, Preston's Division, to the assault on Snodgrass Hill. Gracie's Brigade attacked the eastern end of the ridge, while Kelly's Brigade assaulted the sector west of this position. On being repulsed, Kelly's and Gracie's men rallied under the slight protection provided by the road at the foot of the ridge. Initially,

Trigg's Brigade was held in reserve, but it eventually joined the battle west of Kelly around sunset. Preston's Division carried into action 4,078 officers and men, most of them untested in battle. The division suffered a total of 1,338 casualties, a loss of 33 percent in an hour and a half.

Vignette: "The position held by the enemy is a very Gibraltar, its sides precipitous, and difficult to climb, but the day is wearing away, and no time should be lost. Longstreet determines to put in his Tenth legion, Preston's 5,000, and sends for the General, and orders an immediate advance. 'It shall be done,' replies Preston, and the command Attention! is given down the lines of the three brigades. The young troops spring to their arms; it is their first baptism of fire, and if they are whipped they won't know it.

"The lines are dressed, and at the commands, Forward! forward! the 5,000 move on in beautiful order. The enemy opens a terrific fire; but up the hill our men advance; now the enemy's bullets begin to tell upon the lines, and men fall to the right and left, dead and wounded but the rest move on undismayed, firing rapidly as they advance; but the artillery and infantry fire is too hot for them, although they have fought most gallantly, and, halting under the crest where some protection is had, the lines are dressed, and General Preston reassuring them by his presence, rides down the lines and coolly examines each man's cartridge-box, and says, 'Men, we must use the bayonet,—the bayonet,—we will give them the bayonet!' The men, one and all cry out, 'Go ahead, General! we are not whipped yet! Confidence restored by the General's cool demeanor, and with the enthusiasm of the troops raised to the highest pitch, Preston rides to the front and centre of his line, and leads the way with splendid dash and bravery, waving his cap above his head, his gray hair floating in the breeze.

"With fierce yells and shouts the troops advance." (William Miller Owen, *In Camp and Battle With the Washington Artillery* [Boston, MA: Tichnor and Co., 1885], 282-83.)

Teaching Points: Attack over difficult terrain, effect of heavy losses, leadership.

Stand 38—End of the Battle

Situation: Sept. 20, p.m.—As darkness fell on Snodgrass Hill, Federal units withdrew quietly northward, leaving

the battlefield to the Confederates. Too exhausted to mount a meaningful pursuit, the Army of Tennessee halted where it had fought. The battle was over. Most soldiers tried to sleep, but many attempted to aid the wounded or sought lost comrades. Losses on both sides were appalling.

Vignette: “Night finally put an end to the outrageous havoc. So thorough was the exhaustion of the troops from long continued battle, that at the close of this day there was indeed a cessation of the storm. Gracie’s brigade having been so terribly shattered, was relieved at dark. The troops constituting the relief occupied the position, laid down upon their arms, and slept amid the dead. It was scarcely possible to distinguish the living from the dead, so profound was the slumber of the former. Silence reigned upon the battle-field!—comparative silence. An attentive ear would have caught, here and there, a low plaintive wail, sob or sigh, from the countless wounded. Being one of the few survivors of the 1st Battalion who escaped unharmed, the writer was called upon to go with a squad to search out and convey to the field-hospital the wounded of the command. This task occupied until past midnight. The appearance of that battle-ground by moonlight is never to be forgotten.

“At about midnight the last of the wounded of the 1st Battalion was being carried from the battleground, and the writer accompanied the litter to the field-hospital. Here was presented a scene which surpassed in horror, if possible, the battlefield itself. At this point was congregated the wounded who had covered a large area of the field. A lurid glare was cast by scores of flaming rail fires upon the pale, agonized features of the many victims of the battle. There was no canopy for the sufferers save the heavens—no couch save the uneven earth—and no pillows save billets of wood—. . . I stood in one spot and witnessed many death scenes occurring simultaneously. From the field hospital we hurried, sick at heart, to the rendezvous of the command. After much difficulty, we found the remnant of the 1st Battalion [62 left of 230]—now a mere squad—huddled around a single fire. Each face was powder stained and haggard to the last degree. There was but little talking; our thoughts were of our fallen comrades. As a specimen of what was spoken around that fire that night, I give the following: ‘Jim, poor fellow, was shot down at the first volley; he fell forward on his face and never spoke.’ ‘Bird, they say, is mortally wounded; he was a good boy.’ ‘During the fight I passed

brother Archy lying on his side, wounded. I could not stop to help him. The poor fellow smiled faintly on me, and summoning all his strength, waived his hand towards the enemy.’” (Lewellyn A. Shaver, 1st Battalion, Alabama Legion, Gracie’s Brigade, *A History of the Sixtieth Alabama Regiment, Gracie’s Alabama Brigade* [Montgomery, AL: Barrett & Brown, Publishers, 1867], 17-19.)

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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 Grosskopff. **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 Dufficy; **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.

RIGHT WING

Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk

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

CHEATHAM'S DIVISION

(OF POLK'S CORPS)

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.

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. **STOVALL'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.

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.

LEFT WING

Lt. Gen. James Longstreet

HINDMAN'S DIVISION (OF POLK'S CORPS)

Maj. Gen. Thomas C. Hindman (w)

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.

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.

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.

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.

LONGSTREET'S CORPS

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. Perry: **4th Alabama**, Col. Pinckney D. Bowles; **15th Alabama**, Col. W. C. Oates; **44th Alabama**, Col. William F. Perry; **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.

McLAWS' DIVISION

Brig. Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw

KERSHAW'S BRIGADE, Brig. Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw; **2nd South Carolina**, Lt. Col. Franklin Gaillard; **3rd South Carolina**, Col. James D. Nance; **7th South Carolina**, Lt. Col. Elbert Bland, Maj. John S. Hard, Capt. E. J. Goggans; **8th South Carolina**, Col. John W. Henagan; **15th South Carolina**, Col. Joseph F. Gist; **3rd South Carolina Battalion**, Capt. Joshua M. Townsend. **HUMPHREYS' BRIGADE**, Brig. Gen. Benjamin G. Humphreys; **13th Mississippi**, Lt. Col. Kennon McElroy; **17th Mississippi**, Lt. Col. John C. Fiser; **18th Mississippi**, Capt. W. F. Hubbard; **21st Mississippi**, Lt. Col. D. N. Moody.

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.