

# *The Delta General*

**This Month's Issue observes the Battle of Chickamauga**



Camp Website: [www.humphreys1625.com](http://www.humphreys1625.com)

August 2023, Volume 26, Issue 8

Dedicated to the Memory of Brigadier General Benjamin G. Humphreys

## Commander's Comments — Larry McCluney

Compatriots,

Thank you for allowing my wife and I to be away from our August meeting as we celebrated our 30 Wedding Anniversary. How time flies. As you know, our new fiscal year has begun as of August 1 and the grace period was over August 31. If you have not paid your dues, late fees are now being assessed. As of September 1, Dan reported we just need one more member to renew, and we will have 100 percent. Send all dues to Dan McCaskill not Mike Moore. Also, Please look at your renewal form, it does not include Camp dues, yes you still have to include the \$10.00 Camp dues to Dan McCaskill. Please make your check payable to B/G Benjamin G. Humphreys # 1625. The bank will not accept the check otherwise. You must pay your dues to remain a member in good standing in the Sons of Confederate Veterans. The statement also includes optional giving, which includes Division Operations, SCV Confederate Museum, and so forth. The optional giving portion furthers the Cause & the Charge. Every little bit helps in areas to promote our Heritage & History! In this War of the Second Reconstruction, as we hold the line, a war chest is vital for the battles we face daily.

The beginning of September brings us to cooler temperatures and of course football season which can distract our members from meetings. I said this in last month's issue, but I feel it warrants to be said again: "I know life tends to get in the way of things at times but we have a duty as descendants of Confederate Veterans to attend and participate. That duty is stated in our Charge and the oaths you took when you joined this organization. One Saturday evening out of a month is not much to ask of you to participate in your Camp's activities and meetings. Remember, our ancestors gave 365 days of four years. Can you not give one evening a month to participate? There are other ways you can participate such as attend your Camp's Lee/Jackson Banquet once a year, attend your Camp's Memorial Day Service once a year, support our activities such as the new headstone our Camp erected that our Camp paid for or give money toward projects such as the \$1,200 we collected to help with the National project to rebuild the pedestal for the Forrest Equestrian Statue at Elm Springs."

Robert E. Lee once said, "**You should do your duty in all things. You can never do more, you should never wish to do less.**" Remember the Charge? "**To you, Sons of Confederate Veterans, we will commit the vindication of the cause for which we fought. To your strength will be given the defense of the Confederate soldier's good name, the guardianship of his history, the emulation of his virtues, the perpetuation of those principles which he loved and which you love also, and those ideals which made him glorious and which you also cherish.**" Let us all rededicate ourselves to carry out our DUTY and set our priorities to set aside this time to attend meetings and support our Camp activities as we wind this fiscal year down. Remember, "If not US, Who? If not Now, When?"

In closing, remember, it is your duty to protect the Confederate Soldier's good name so that his legacy will continue for future generations.

As always, remember compatriots, you are "The Thin Gray Line!"

**"Scorched by the cannon's molten breath,  
They'd climbed the trembling walls of death  
And set their standards tattered --  
Had charged at the bugle's stirring blare  
Through bolted gloom and godless glare  
From the dead's reddened gulches, where  
The searching shrapnel shattered."**

- Excerpt from *The Last Charge at Appomattox* by Henry Jerome Stockard



## Adjutant's Report — Dan McCaskill

Our Camp Meeting was called to order at 6:05 PM by 1<sup>st</sup> Lt. Commander Michael Anthony because Larry and Annette McCluney were in Hot Springs, AR celebrating their wedding anniversary. Michael asked Camp Chaplain Earl McCown to open the meeting with a prayer and to bless our evening meal. Following the prayer, Color Sergeant Earl Allen led the members in the Pledge and Salutes to the Flags followed by a reading of The Charge.

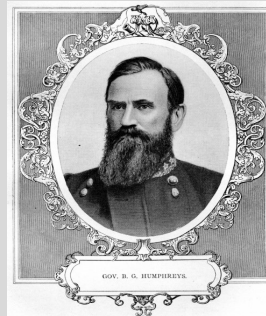
Compatriot Kenneth Ray took a few moments to thank the Camp for its donation to the Pancreatic Cancer Research in memory of his wife Jerrita Ray. Kenneth stated it meant a lot to him and the family.

We also welcomed the return of Ronnie and Barb Stewart to the Camp.

While waiting for the food to arrive, Adjutant Dan McCaskill gave his report. With the Membership Renewal Grace Period winding down, thirty-eight members have renewed with four still owing dues. We also had one past member re-join the Camp. Dues must be in hand no later than August 31<sup>st</sup> to beat the deadline. The checking account balance currently stands at \$2,422.13 with \$475 to be deposited. All dues and Optional Giving have been forwarded to their respective agencies. To date, 56% of the Fiscal Budget has been spent. The next big expenditure will be our Lee-Jackson Banquet.

Dan also gave a brief overview of the recent 2023 National Reunion in Hot Springs, AR. Those representing the Camp and Chapter at the Reunion were Larry and Annette McCluney, Gator and Missy Stillman, Dan and Ann McCaskill, Missy Stillman, Tommy McCaskill, and Jackson McCaskill. The Reunion was held in the historic Arlington Hotel. Over-all, the Reunion was very peaceable and enjoyable. The only heated moment was debate on an amendment allowing CIC succession. All amendments were defeated. The brightest moment of the Reunion was approximately \$100,000 raised for the Confederate Museum at Elm Springs. Dan encouraged members to continue giving to the museum because it is one of the few places in the nation that tells the true history about the Confederacy and the South.

At this point, Michael called a recess and asked everyone to partake in the evening meal provided by the ladies of the Elle Palmer Chapter #9, OCR.



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Larry McCluney  
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**Camp Business:** The first order of business was to adopt the Minutes of the July Meeting as printed in The Delta General. Kenneth Ray made a motion to adopt the minutes as printed. The motion was seconded by Earl McCown and the motion passed. The second order of business was to discuss the Lee-Jackson Banquet. Michael reported he had secured Shelly Heidelbaugh as our speaker for the banquet to be held the evening of January 13, 2024. Her topic will be about women who dressed as men and fought in the War. She will be coming up from the coast and the Camp will provide lodging. Michael asked for members to donate items for the ladies' auction and for members to help with decorating for the banquet. There was a discussion about having fried chicken again. There were some complaints about last years chicken being over cooked and cold. Kenneth Ray made a motion to have the Camp provide fried chicken and members provide covered dishes. The motion was seconded by Gator Stillman and the motion passed. The question was asked about charging \$5 per person to help offset the cost of the chicken. Kenneth Ray made a motion to charged \$5 per person for those 12 and older. The motion was seconded by Gator Stillman and the motion passed.

**Upcoming events:** Camp Meeting September 9<sup>th</sup>; MS DEC Meeting September 16<sup>th</sup>, time and place TBA; Fall Muster at Beauvoir October 20-22

With no other business coming before the Camp, Gator Stillman made a motion to adjourn, seconded by Kenneth Ray and the motion passed without objection. Attendance for the meeting was 11.

Camp Chaplain closed the meeting with a word of prayer followed by the singing of Dixie.

## Chaplain's Corner — Earl McCown

### THE LORD AND THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

We are all familiar with the story of David and Goliath in the Old Testament, 1 Samuel, chapter 17. As David faced the giant, Goliath, he didn't do so alone, as we see in the Scripture:

*(45) "Then said David to the Philistine, Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield; but I come to thee in the name of the LORD of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defiled. (46a) This day will the LORD deliver thee into mine hand; and I will smite thee,... (47) And all this assembly shall know that the LORD saveth not with sword and spear: for the battle is the LORD'S, and he will give you into our hands."*

Many Southerners thought as did David, when it came to war. For many Confederate generals, the War was not an event determined solely by men who fought each other, but was a contest between the powers of darkness and the powers of light. They felt that God would intervene and repel the brutal aggressors away from their homeland, and to this end they frequently and devoutly implored for divine assistance in their darkest hours.

William Nelson Pendleton, as befitted an Episcopalian clergyman, fervently advocated prayer. Both as a minister of God and a brigadier general he encouraged his fellow officers and men to pray frequently. He informed his son, Sandie Pendleton, who served on Stonewall Jackson's staff to:

*'Watch and pray.' If you do not make opportunities for prayer you will spiritually die.*

*Let nothing prevent this. By dwelling on the several petitions of the Lord's Prayer until*

*each word impresses on the mind its full force and stirs up feeling, I get more of the spirit of prayer than I have been able to secure in any other way.*

Both father and son were well aware of the consequences of allowing one's relationship with the Lord to suffer as a result of temporal activities, and so they worked together in encouraging one another to maintain their prayer life. Only by taking time for prayer could they hope that God would answer their prayers for themselves and for their country.

Fervent, sincere pray still works. Our country could sure use more of the concept of keeping God in our lives and in our nation.

Don't you think?



## News from B/G Charles Clarke Chapter 253 Military Order of the Stars and Bars



For those of you that are not familiar with General Clark (for whom our Chapter is named), I thought a brief biography of him would be beneficial.

Charles Clark was born in Lebanon, Ohio, near Cincinnati, on May 24, 1811. After graduating from Augusta College in Kentucky in 1831, Clark moved to Mississippi, where he taught school and studied law. After being admitted to the bar, Clark practiced law and became active in politics as a member of the Whig Party.

During the 1840s, Clark accepted a large tract of land between Beulah, Mississippi, and the Mississippi River as his legal fee for a case that appeared before the Mississippi Supreme Court. He developed a plantation there named "Doe-Roe," which the locals call "Doro." Clark became a slave owner and one of the wealthiest planters in Mississippi.

When the Mexican-American War began, Clark organized the Thomas Hinds Guards, an infantry company that became part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of Mississippi Volunteers. Clark initially served as a captain and later as a colonel.

During the controversy over the extension of slavery in the American Southwest after the Mexican-American War, Clark remained a Unionist and supported the Compromise of 1850. In 1856, voters elected him to the Mississippi State Legislature, where he served until 1861. In 1860, Clark joined the Democratic Party and became an advocate for secession. He was a delegate to both Democratic conventions in Charleston and Baltimore that year, and he supported the presidential candidacy of John C. Breckinridge.

When the Civil War began, Clark received commissions as a brigadier general and later as a major general of Mississippi state troops. When the Confederate Army absorbed the Mississippi militia, Clarke became a brigadier general, effective May 22, 1861. Clark served as a brigade commander under Albert Sidney Johnston in Kentucky. Clark suffered a shoulder injury while commanding the 1<sup>st</sup> Division of the Army of the Mississippi at the Battle of Shiloh (April 6-7, 1862). Upon returning to active duty, federal troops wounded Clark and captured him while he commanded a division during the Battle of Baton Rouge (August 5, 1862). Union authorities imprisoned Clark at New Orleans until February 1863. Clark's injuries cost him the use of his legs for the rest of his life and forced him to leave active service.

On October 5, 1863, voters elected Clark as Governor of Mississippi. He served in that capacity for the rest of the Civil War. As the Confederacy disintegrated, federal authorities arrested Clark in the spring of 1865 and imprisoned him at Fort Pulaski, Georgia. On September 2, 1865, Clark signed an oath of allegiance to the United States. Union officials pardoned and released Clark from prison in late September or early October of that year. After his release from prison, Clark returned to practicing law and managing his plantation. When reconstruction ended, Clark received an appointment as the chancellor of the fourth judicial district in 1876. He served on the bench the rest of his life. Clarke dies on December 18, 1877, in Bolivar County, Mississippi. He was buried on his plantation in Mississippi (now Clark Cemetery).

### Mississippi Division News:

#### Guardians needed

Everyone knows the atmosphere in this country where it comes to anything Confederate. Last summer we saw how vulnerable our Memorials were to the rioters. Sadly, it has spread to the cemeteries the place where the left wants all the Memorials moved. In the past few weeks, the Sleeping Lion Memorial to the Confederate dead in Oakwood Cemetery in Atlanta, GA has been removed. Our Confederate Dead and our Memorials are at risk to removal and vandalism. This why we need Guardians to watch over our Memorials and burial sites of our Confederate Dead. Most of our members live in Counties with Confederate Memorial Monuments and all live near a cemetery where Confederate Dead are buried. The Mississippi Division has the MS Division Guardian Program for burial sites where a person adopts a burial site or several sites and watches over the site ensuring it is properly cared for. The Division now has the MS Division Monument Guardian Program. With this program, a person signs up to keep watch on a Memorial. There is a contact person to report any vandalism and/or threats of removal. If anyone is interested in this program please see the attached application and information to find out more on the following page



# Mississippi Guardian Program Application

Turn Application into Division Guardian Committee Chairman

Name of Applicant: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_ City: \_\_\_\_\_

Zip Code: \_\_\_\_\_ Phone #: ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

E-Mail Address: \_\_\_\_\_

SCV Camp Name & Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Location: \_\_\_\_\_

## GRAVESITE DETAILS

Confederate Veterans Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Rank: \_\_\_\_\_ Unit: \_\_\_\_\_ Co.: \_\_\_\_\_

Born: \_\_\_/\_\_\_/\_\_\_ Died: \_\_\_/\_\_\_/\_\_\_ Condition of site: Poor, Fair, Good, Excellent

(circle one)

Location of Grave: (Include name of cemetery, city and county): \_\_\_\_\_

Marker on Grave denoting Confederate Service: \_\_\_\_\_ Cross of Honor? \_\_\_\_\_

Documentation of Confederate Service: List book, service record, etc. \_\_\_\_\_

I affirm that all the information here is true and accurate. I agree to faithfully care for and protect this Confederate Veteran's grave in accordance with the GUARDIAN PROGRAM rules for as long as I am able. In the event I cannot carry out my duties, I shall notify the Review Committee immediately. I also understand that the Review Committee can revoke my status as a GUARDIAN for good cause.

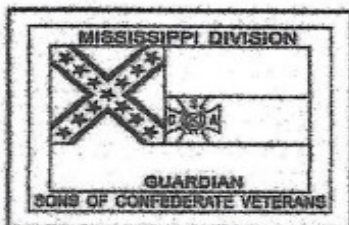
Applicant Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_/\_\_\_/\_\_\_

Committee Chairman: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_/\_\_\_/\_\_\_

Mail Application, Map and Photos to:

Mississippi Division Guardian Program  
123 Douglas Street  
Bruce, MS. 38915

# Mississippi Division Guardian Program



- .. **Purpose:** The program is designed to honor the memory of our Confederate ancestors and through its implementation will provide the preservation of their final resting places and will document for future generations their sacrifices.
- ! **Eligibility:** Any Mississippi Division camp member in good standing, who is at least 12 years of age and who has demonstrated his desire and ability to serve as a GUARDIAN. All compatriots are encouraged to participate in the program to honor our ancestors and to protect their final resting place.
- ! **DUTIES & RESPONSIBILITIES:**
  - (A) He shall care for and protect the grave(s) of a Confederate Veteran, ensuring that the gravesite is kept clean and well maintained year round. He shall perform these duties personally unless he is physically unable because of health reasons. At no time shall these responsibilities be passed on to another without the approval of the GUARDIAN committee for the Alabama Division.
  - (B) He will be responsible to appropriately mark the grave so it is designated as a final resting place of a Confederate Veteran. This can be by stone, plaque, Cross of Honor, etc. He will also be responsible for replacing or repairing any marker that is worn, damaged or destroyed.
  - (C) He shall personally visit the grave a minimum of two times a year to include Confederate Memorial Day or at least one week prior. He shall place a wreath or a small Confederate flag or both on the grave.
- ! **APPLICATIONS, REVIEWS & APPROVAL:**
  - (A) Individuals who wish to participate in the GUARDIAN program must complete and submit the Guardian Application form to the Mississippi Division Guardian Committee Chairman. The Committee Chairman will then forward the application on to the Guardian Committee for approval. The application must be accompanied with a map showing the location of the gravesite along with written driving instructions to the cemetery. A before photograph of the gravesite must also be submitted before approval. An after photograph can be submitted for the file as work is completed.
  - (B) The applicant must also remit a one-time \$10.00 fee with the application to cover the cost of the GUARDIAN pin and certificate, which will be awarded upon the candidate's approval for membership in the GUARDIAN program. The fee is non-refundable.
  - (C) Individuals who are not accepted into the GUARDIAN program will be given an explanation in writing by the Review Committee. The applicant can request an appeal of the decision. The Review Committee will review the applicants appeal and render a decision. The decision of the Review Committee is final.

### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

**Multiple Gravesites:** GUARDIANS may care for more than one gravesite and will be

recognized by the Guardian Review Committee. Special certificates or indications on the Guardian pin may be authorized to signify the care of multiple veterans' graves. Normally no more than 25 gravesites will be authorized for a Guardian to care for. The Review Committee may authorize more than 25 on a case by case basis under the advice of the applicants' Camp Commander.

- (A) **Forfeiture of Guardian position:** A Guardian who cannot meet the requirements of his position due to relocation, health or other reasons must notify the Review Committee. All fees are non-refundable.
- (B) **Bequeathing of GUARDIAN position:** A Guardian may transfer his responsibilities as a Guardian to another SCV member in good standing with prior approval by the Review Committee. There is a \$10 fee for transferring the Guardianship. This fee will cover the new Guardian's membership pin and certificate. If he is already in the Guardian program there will be no fee to cover the certificate designating the new guardianship he is undertaking.
- (C) **Revocation of GUARDIAN status:** The Review Committee may revoke the status of a participant in the Guardian program if he fails to carry out his duties and responsibilities as outlined. The Committee reserves the right to inspect, with or without notice, any GUARDIAN'S Confederate Veteran's gravesite to confirm compliance with all of the rules and regulations specified in the program.
- (E) **Wilderness Gravesite:** This is a gravesite that is completely neglected or abandoned in a remote area. Application for this special designation must be accompanied with before and after pictures of the gravesite and the Guardian must meet all other requirements of the program.

### National SCV News

**SAVE THE DATE Stephen D. Lee Institute**  
February 16-17, 2024 Columbia, TN

Compatriots,

The theme this year is "Who we are- as a people and an organization". The Friday night reception will be held at the National Confederate Museum.

Some of the presenters include:

Dan Dorrill  
Ben Sewell  
Forrest Daws  
Chris Sullivan  
Frank Powell  
Ron Kennedy  
MC- Chuck McMichael



Registration and Hotel information will be posted by the end of Summer. Make your plans now!



SCV Chat — Every Monday Night on Facebook at 7:00 PM Central time and on Thursday Nights at 7:00 PM



## THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATE MUSEUM AT ELM SPRINGS

The truth about the South's struggle to form a new nation is under attack as never before. The National Battlefield Parks have been taken over by the "it's all about slavery" provocateurs. Museums have changed their collections and interpretations to present what they call the cultural history of the War for Southern Independence. In reality this new perspective is nothing more than South bashing. The forces of political correctness have gone into high gear. They attempt to ban any and all things Confederate through their ideological fascism.

There needs to be at least one place where the people of the South and others can go to learn an accurate account of why so many struggled so long in their attempt to reassert government by the consent of the governed in America!

The General Executive Council of the Sons of Confederate Veterans made the commitment in October of 2008 to start the process to erect a new building that will have two purposes. One of the uses of this new building will be to give us office space and return Elm Springs to its original grandeur. However the main function is to house The Confederate Museum. We are planning a museum that will tell the truth about what motivated the Southern people to struggle for many years to form a new nation. At the SCV Reunion in July of 2009 the GEC set up a building fund for this purpose. One of the goals is to provide an accurate portrayal of the common Confederate soldier, something that is currently absent in most museums and in the media.

These plans have now become a reality. The ground breaking has taken place and the museum is now open.

Take this journey with us and support the museum as a donor or join the Friends of the Museum today!

Send Donations to:  
Sons of Confederate Veterans  
Attn: National Confederate Museum  
P.O. Box 59  
Columbia, TN 38402

Or you can call 1-800-MY-DIXIE to pay by credit card.

[www.theconfederatemuseum.com](http://www.theconfederatemuseum.com)

# BEAUVOIR

## BEAUVIOR

Beauvoir, the historic post-war home of President Jefferson Davis, is owned and operated by the Mississippi Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. There are several ways that you can participate in the continued preservation of this beloved landmark located in Biloxi, Mississippi.



*Beauvoir - Post-war home of Jefferson Davis.  
Biloxi, Mississippi*

### **Friends of Beauvoir**

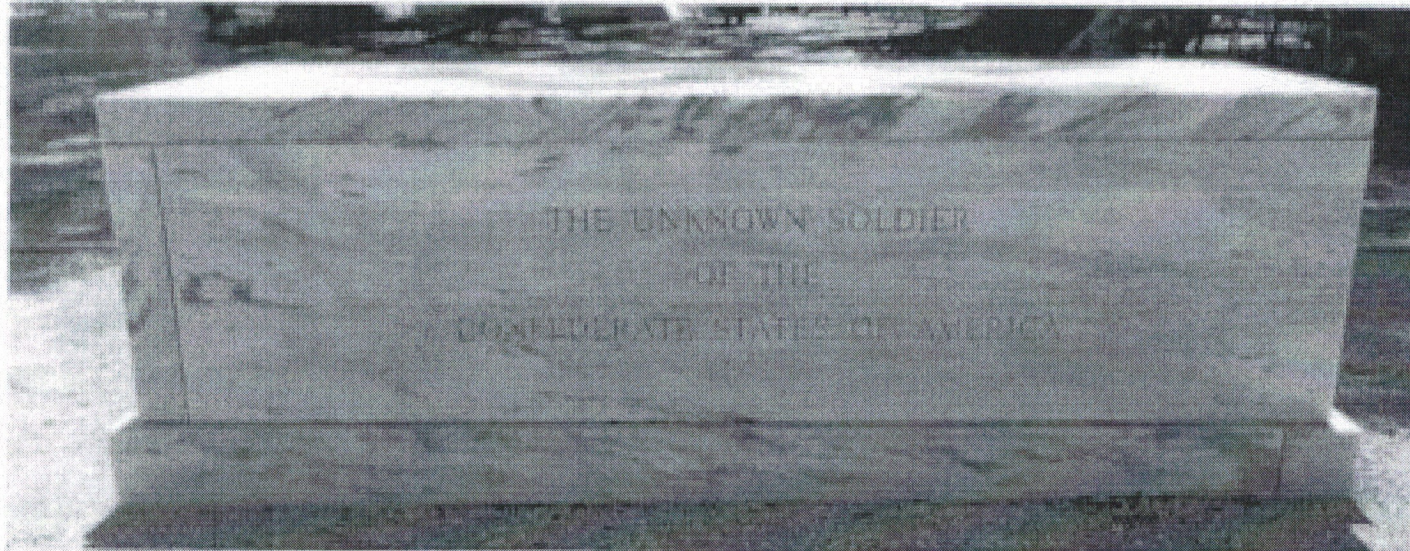
For as little as \$25 annually, you can become a member of the Friends of Beauvoir. Membership includes tour admission and a 10% discount at the Beauvoir gift shop.



*The Jefferson Davis Presidential Library located on the grounds of Beauvoir in Biloxi, Mississippi.*

# Bricks for Beauvoir and the Tomb of the Unknown Solider

Honor your confederate Ancestors by purchasing an Ancestral Memorial Brick for \$50.00 each in the Memorial sidewalk of the Confederate Cemetery at Beauvoir. The plans for the sidewalk are nearing completion, so if you want a brick put down for your ancestor you need to get your order in soon, so as not to miss out.



Each brick that you purchase will be engraved with your ancestors rank, name, unit and company. Memorial bricks will be laid, memorializing your ancestor, in a sidewalk from the UDC Arch to the Tomb of the Unknown Confederate Solider at Beauvoir.

**Detach and send in the form below to the address listed to order your bricks.**

## Ancestral Brick Order Form

Instructions: Use the lines as laid out no more than 15 spaces per line..You may use abbreviations when necessary. Please include your name and address, for confirmation letter. (See Sample Below)

Line 1: \_\_\_\_\_

(First and Last Name)

Line 2: \_\_\_\_\_

(Rank)

Line 3: \_\_\_\_\_

(Unit)

### ORDER YOUR ANCESTOR'S BRICK TODAY!

Make Checks out for \$50.00 per brick to:

Bricks for Beauvoir

Mail to: Bricks for Beauvoir

2344 Beach Blvd

Blount, MS. 39531

OR

Visit our gift shop where you can pay by cash or credit!

Example:

Pvt. JAMES W.  
McCluney  
6th MS CAV, CO. F



## ANNOUNCEMENT OF CANDIDACY FOR ARMY OF TENNESSEE COMMANDER IN 2024

Fellow Compatriots,

For those who may not know me, my name is Tom Wood, and I currently serve as the Tennessee Division Adjutant and have served in that position for the past eight years. After much thought, prayerful consideration, and discussion with my wife, I have decided to present myself as a candidate for the office of Army of Tennessee Commander in 2024. I am a 7th generation Tennessean proud of my ancestors and my honored heritage and I will always continue to fight to restore the South to its once very valued place in society.

I am a retired Air Force Reserve Officer with 20 years of service. I am also a retired construction executive with a 40-year career, retiring from Lipscomb University in Nashville as the Director of Construction and Physical Plant Operations in 2014. My wife, Nancy, is a retired school teacher of 25 years, and an active member of the Order of Confederate Rose. She serves on the Tennessee OCR state staff, as well as an OCR chapter president.

My wife and I both enjoy traveling and would welcome the opportunity and privilege to travel around and visit divisions and camps in the Army of Tennessee as your AOT Commander to provide you strong representation and direct communication to the National level.

It has been my honor to be a member of The Sons of Confederate Veterans for 25 great years. During my tenure as Tennessee Division Adjutant we have experienced a time of growth and many tremendous successes for the division with many added responsibilities to manage. I also currently serve as the commander for the General Robert H. Hatton Camp # 723 in Lebanon, Tennessee. I have served my camp in a variety of staff positions including multiple terms as commander over those 25 years of service. I was honored to be selected as the "Man of the Year" in the Tennessee Division in 2022.

During my tenure as commander our camp has grown and been extremely active in preservation of our Southern Heritage. Last April our camp received the "Outstanding Camp of the Year Award" for 2022-2023 in the Tennessee Division. The camp also received the "Outstanding Media Coverage Award" for the year. Our camp presented the "Robert E. Lee Award" for people outside the SCV for outstanding service to one state senator and a state representative who represents our district and who are strong supporters of the SCV and our heritage. They were very grateful of such an honor and are always supportive of all of our heritage efforts in the legislature.

I am a life member of both SCV National, as well as a life member of the Tennessee Division. I have been a member of Morgan's Men Association and the Military Order of the Stars and Bars for over 20 years. I am part of the Tennessee SCV Speakers Bureau and have spoken many times to camps across Tennessee on a variety of subjects. I have authored several articles for The Sentinel Newsletter and the Tennessee Division Forrest Escort on a variety of topics.

I would now like to use my leadership skills as your representative on the General Executive Council and to be your voice as we go forward. Communications has always been a spirited conversation in our organization, and I would like to be in a position where I can work towards improving communications for our members.

Recruitment and retention are two critical and vital keys to our continued success. I have recruited several over the years and I will continue my efforts in that regard and encourage all members to reach out. Future members are out there, but we must be bold in getting our word out and inviting people to join us. My camp this past year had a 99% retention, but we had one member we could not convince to continue even though we tried hard. We must follow up with members who fall by the wayside, because for them to know they are needed and appreciated is a huge part of retention. Our camps must be active and have worthwhile meetings so our members understand they are part of something important and not just a social club that meets periodically.

This decision to be a candidate for AOT Commander has not been lightly decided but has been well considered for some time. I realize the obligation and dedication that this position needs and requires and I am willing to meet those demands. I now have the time and the opportunity to fulfill the requirements of this position. I am grateful for your consideration in voting for me as your AOT Commander at our next election.

Yours In Service to the South,  
Tom Wood  
Tennessee Division Adjutant  
General Robert H. Hatton Camp # 723 Commander

## ANNOUNCEMENT OF CANDIDACY FOR ARMY OF TENNESSEE COMMANDER IN 2024



Compatriots of the Army of Tennessee,

It has been my distinct honor to serve as your Army Councilman for the past three years. In that time, I've fielded many phone calls and emails and visited many Camps and functions as well as taken part in the carrying out of training workshops put on around our Army. Likewise, I've attended every National Reunion and every GEC meeting in addition to a number of those which were held by teleconference and/or online. I've done my best in this capacity to represent the best interests of our Divisions, our members and our esteemed organization.

The Sons of Confederate Veterans is an organization with a mission that is not only near and dear to my heart, but it is a big part of who I am. I believe absolutely in the Cause that our ancestors contended for and I make every effort to spread the truth of that Cause at every opportunity that I am afforded. Over the years I've done more interviews with media talking heads than I can count and have stood face to face in head-on debate with a well-known group that is highly and militantly adversarial towards our organization and our Heritage. I have long held the belief that it is my mission in life to know the truth of the history of our Southland and to relay that truth.

Having joined the Sons of Confederate Veterans in 2004 I have served in just about every office at the Camp level in addition to many Division Offices to include Chief of Staff, Brigade Commander, 2nd Lt Commander from 2012 to 2016, 1st Lt Commander from 2016 to 2018 and Alabama Division Commander from 2018 to 2020. I've served as Chief of Heritage Operations for the Army of Tennessee from 2010 to 2012, National Chief of Heritage Operations from 2016 to 2018, National Deputy Chief of Heritage Defense from 2018 to 2020 and AoT Councilman from 2020 until the present.

As Commander of the Alabama Division I undertook the mission of "building the SCV by building the Camps" and worked across Division lines with the Tennessee Division to erect a monument on our property at the Forrest Boyhood Home. I've been instrumental in putting on education conferences that were designed to bring nationally known speakers to our members at an affordable price in an effort to educate us on our history. I believe fervently that the Camps are the backbone of this organization and that by training Camps in areas that will help them to grow and run more efficiently we will likewise benefit the overall health of our entire organization. I stand by that assertion and belief.

The health of our organization is crucial, not only to the perpetuation of "The Charge" given to us by General Stephen D. Lee, but to our entire Southland. The enemies aligned against us are not merely trying to destroy monuments and change the names of schools and streets- They are trying to erase US as a people. The Southern tradition is a threat to the ultra-left and their radical agenda and we must fight back against this with everything we can intellectually muster. The SCV is the premier entity in this fight and at times it seems we are the only entity! We must be as determined as our adversaries and we must work in a manner that is smart and effective to curtail their efforts. We must train and equip our Camps to be our voice and a formidable influence in the local community, and we must attract the general public to take up our Cause. The polls are clear that the public is on our side, but we must harness that support and put it to active use for our purpose and our mission.

While the Camp is the backbone of this organization, to formulate a coherent and cohesive message that will resonate throughout our Army, Divisions, Brigades and Camps we must have strong representation at every level of the SCV, including on the General Executive Council. We must have people with experience and who can bring new ideas to the table, as well as who can work with the others in elected positions. Gentlemen, I believe I have the ideas and that experience and, after much thought and prayer, it is with great reverence for you and all that you are doing for our Cause that I announce my candidacy for the position of Commander of the Army of Tennessee and humbly ask for your support. I am,

Yours in the Cause,  
Carl Jones  
Councilman, Army of Tennessee  
Sons of Confederate Veterans



# Friends of The Confederate Museum at Elm Springs Annual Membership Application

All memberships are tax-deductible and include the E-Newsletter.

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes, I want to join the Friends of The Confederate Museum at Elm Springs

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## Membership Levels & Benefits

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <p>Longstreet Level: \$25</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Membership for one</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> </ul>  | <p>Judah P. Benjamin Level: \$50</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family Membership</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> </ul>   | <p>Patrick Cleburne Level: \$100</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family Membership</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> <li>• 10% Gift Shop Discount</li> </ul>  |
| <p>N. B. Forrest Level: \$250</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family Membership</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum</li> <li>• 10% Gift Shop Discount</li> <li>• Free Elm Springs Hat or T-Shirt</li> </ul> | <p>Robert E. Lee Level: \$500</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family Membership</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum</li> <li>• 15% Gift Shop Discount</li> <li>• Free Elm Springs Hat and T-Shirt</li> </ul> | <p>Jefferson Davis Level: \$1000</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family Membership</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum</li> <li>• 20% Gift Shop Discount</li> <li>• Free Elm Springs Hat, T-Shirt and Polo</li> </ul> |

Please check the following membership level:

\_\_\_\_\_ Longstreet Level                      \_\_\_\_\_ Judah P. Benjamin Level                      \_\_\_\_\_ Patrick Cleburne Level

\_\_\_\_\_ N. B. Forrest Level                      \_\_\_\_\_ Robert E. Lee Level                      \_\_\_\_\_ Jefferson Davis Level

Please make checks payable to Sons of Confederate Veterans and mail to:

Sons of Confederate Veterans, P. O. Box 59, Columbia, TN 38402

If paying by credit card, please call (931) 380-1844 or email at [exedir@scv.org](mailto:exedir@scv.org)



# Friends of Elm Springs

## Annual Membership Application

All Proceeds go to the restoration and maintenance of the Home  
Elm Springs built in 1837

All Memberships are tax-deductible and include the E-Newsletter

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Email address: \_\_\_\_\_

### Membership Levels & Benefits

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Elm Tree Level: \$25</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Membership for one</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> </ul>   | <p>Cool Spring Level: \$50</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family Membership</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> </ul>  | <p>Todd Family Level: \$100</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family Membership</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> <li>• 10% Gift Shop Discount</li> </ul>   |
| <p>Susan Looney Level: \$250</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family Membership</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum</li> <li>• 10% Gift Shop Discount</li> <li>• Free Elm Springs Hat or T-Shirt</li> </ul> | <p>Abram Looney Level: \$500</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family Membership</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum</li> <li>• 15% Gift Shop Discount</li> <li>• Free Elm Springs Hat and T-Shirt</li> </ul> | <p>Frank Armstrong Level: \$1000</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family Membership</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs</li> <li>• Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum</li> <li>• 20% Gift Shop Discount</li> <li>• Free Elm Springs Hat, T-Shirt and Polo</li> </ul> |

Please check the following membership level:

\_\_\_\_\_ Elm Tree Level

\_\_\_\_\_ Cool Spring Level

\_\_\_\_\_ Todd Family Level

\_\_\_\_\_ Susan Looney Level

\_\_\_\_\_ Abram Looney Level

\_\_\_\_\_ Frank Armstrong Level

Please make checks payable to Sons of Confederate Veterans and mail to:

Sons of Confederate Veterans, P. O. Box 59, Columbia, TN 38402

If paying by credit card, please call (931) 380-1844 or email at [exedir@scv.org](mailto:exedir@scv.org)

## *Forrest's Last Ride*



*Forrest's Last Ride* is the name of the project to reconstruct the gravesite of Lieutenant General Nathan Bedford Forrest and his wife Mary Ann Montgomery Forrest on the grounds of Historic Elm Springs and the National Confederate Museum. This will be a very large project as the plaza is 50 feet deep and 75 feet wide. Everything that was with the graves is now on the grounds and waiting to be reconstructed. The Equestrian Statue, which is the headstone of the graves will be repaired and returned to its rightful place. This project is for the repair, reconstruction, and placement of the Forrest Gravesite in its entirety and as intended by the artist Charles Henry Neihaus.

On September 18, 2021, we gathered to lay to rest, Lt. Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest and his wife Mary Ann Montgomery Forrest were on the grounds of Historic Elm Springs. On October 1, 2022, the General Executive Council voted to rebuild the entire plaza as it was originally Constructed. The estimated cost to reconstruct the entire plaza is \$150,000. Currently, \$76,000 has already been raised. This project is being done by the great-great-grandsons of General Forrest and the General Executive Council.

*This cannot happen without your help and donations. This cannot be built until the money has been raised. If you wish to contribute, please send your donations to SCV National.*

To pay by check:

Please make your check payable to SCV National with Forrest Plaza in the memo line and mail to:

SCV  
P. O. Box 59  
Columbia, TN 38402

To pay by phone: call 931-380-1844, ext. 209

To pay online: <https://scv.org/paypal-donations/>

***You take them down, and we will put them back up!***





2024



# SONS OF CONFEDERATE VETERANS

## NATIONAL REUNION



**July 16 - July 21 2023**

**The Embassy Suites** in North Charleston, S.C.

Please make Checks Payable to **Low Country SCV**

Mail to: **2024 SCV National Reunion**

P.O. Box 1049, Ladson, S.C., 29456

To Register & Pay Online: [SCV4.org/2024](https://SCV4.org/2024)

For more information: Contact Rick Little:

(843) 305-3085 / [Support@SCV4.org](mailto:Support@SCV4.org)



# Sons of Confederate Veterans 129th Annual National Reunion

Charleston, South Carolina July 16-21, 2024

## REGISTRATION FORM

Please Print Clearly or Type



Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Street or PO Box

City

State

Zip Code

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone #: ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

SCV Camp Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Camp #: \_\_\_\_\_

State: \_\_\_\_\_

Your Rank, Title, or Position: \_\_\_\_\_

Spouse Name (for Name Badge): \_\_\_\_\_

(Note: Do not pay registration fee for spouse - not required)

One Free Ancestor Ad Info:

| Date   | Time     | Event  | Price | Qty | Total |
|--|----------|--|-------|-----|-------|
| SCV Only Reunion Registration - Includes Medal (EARLY Jan.1, 2023 thru Jan. 1, 2024)   |          |  | \$90  |     |       |
| SCV Only Reunion Registration - Includes Medal (REGULAR - Until July 1, 2024)  |          |  | \$100 |     |       |
| Tue. July 16, 2024   | 6:00 PM  | Dinner - The Battle of Secessionville by Gene Kizer Jr.  | \$80  |     |       |
| Wed. July 17, 2024   | 10:30 AM | Fort Sumter Tour 1 (includes transportation)   | \$100 |     |       |
| Wed. July 17, 2024   | 12:30 PM | Fort Sumter Luncheon (Note: luncheon overlaps with both tour times, so do not purchase luncheon & Ft. Sumter tour)   | \$60  |     |       |
| Wed. July 17, 2024   | 1:00 PM  | Fort Sumter Tour 2 (includes transportation)   | \$100 |     |       |
| Wed. July 17, 2024   | 6:00 PM  | Fort Sumter Dinner   | \$80  |     |       |
| Thu. July 18, 2024   | 12:30 PM | H.L. Hunley Luncheon (NOTE: luncheon will overlap with the 12:30, 1:00, & 1:30 tour times)   | \$60  |     |       |
| Thu. July 18, 2024   | 12:30 PM | Tour - H.L. Hunley Submarine & Museum (includes bus)<br>Circle Desired Tour Time<br>12:30, 1:00, 1:30, 2:00, 2:30, 3:00, 3:30, 4:00<br>Only 50 people per time slot<br>Tour times assigned on 1st come basis so times not guaranteed | \$55  |     |       |
| Thu. July 18, 2024   | 2:00 PM  | UDC Ladies Tea & Antebellum Fashion Show   | \$35  |     |       |
| Thu. July 18, 2024   | 5:30 PM  | Hunley Dinner & Afterhours Tour w/ Randy Burbage includes a dinner at hotel, then self-drive to Hunley tour  | \$95  |     |       |
| Thu. July 18, 2024   | 6:00 PM  | Dinner - Confederate Spy Rose Greenhow   | \$80  |     |       |
| Fri. July 19, 2024   | 7:00 AM  | Breakfast - Chaplain's Breakfast   | \$35  |     |       |
| Fri. July 19, 2024   | 9:30 AM  | UDC Museum & Market Street (All Day 9:30 to 3:30)  | \$45  |     |       |
| Fri. July 19, 2024   | 12:30 PM | SCV Awards Luncheon  | \$60  |     |       |
| Fri. July 19, 2024   | 2:30 PM  | Tour - Battery / White Point Garden (includes bus)   | \$45  |     |       |
| Fri. July 19, 2024   | 5:30 PM  | Dinner - The Battle of Secessionville by Gene Kizer Jr.  | \$80  |     |       |
| Fri. July 19, 2024   | 5:30 PM  | Fort Sumter Dinner Cruise & Afterhours Tour w/ Rick Hatcher<br>NOTE: self-drive to tour boat downtown & dinner served onboard.   | \$100 |     |       |
| Sat. July 20, 2024   | 7:00 AM  | Mech Calv Breakfast  | \$60  |     |       |
| Sat. July 20, 2024   | 12:30 PM | SCV Luncheon   | \$60  |     |       |
| Sat. July 20, 2024   | 12:30 PM | Tour of St. Michaels Church / Provost Dungeon (LIMITED TOUR - only 50 tickets available)   | \$50  |     |       |
| Sat. July 20, 2024   | 7:00 PM  | SCV Banquet, Debutante Presentation & Grand Ball<br>Note: Dress Attire is Coat & Tie or Period Uniform / Civilian  | \$100 |     |       |
| EXTRA Ancestor Memorial Ad (Note: 1 free Memorial ad included with registration cost)<br>NOTE: To submit additional Ancestors Memorial info, USE back of this form or separate form. |          |  | \$10  |     |       |
| EXTRA Reunion Medal (Note: 1 medal is included with registration, so order extras here)  |          |  | \$25  |     |       |
| 2024 Numbered (1-100) Reunion Medal (This medal NOT included with registration)  |          |  | \$100 |     |       |
| <b>FINAL TOTAL - Registration, Tours, and Meals</b>  |          |  |       |     |       |

Please make checks payable to: "Low Country SCV"

Mail form & check to: Low Country SCV, PO Box 1049, Ladson, SC 29456-1049

For more information, please email: [support@SCV4.org](mailto:support@SCV4.org)

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## Battle of Chickamauga

In his successful Tullahoma Campaign in the summer of 1863, Rosecrans moved southeast from Murfreesboro, Tennessee, outmaneuvering Bragg and forcing him to abandon Middle Tennessee and withdraw to the city of Chattanooga, suffering only 569 Union casualties along the way.<sup>[11]</sup> General-in-chief Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck and President Abraham Lincoln were insistent that Rosecrans move quickly to take Chattanooga. Seizing the city would open the door for the Union to advance toward Atlanta and the heartland of the South. Chattanooga was a vital rail hub (with lines going north toward Nashville and Knoxville and south toward Atlanta), and an important manufacturing center for the production of iron and coke, located on the navigable Tennessee River. Situated between Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Raccoon Mountain, and Stringer's Ridge, Chattanooga occupied an important, defensible position.<sup>[12]</sup>

Although Braxton Bragg's Army of Tennessee had about 52,000 men at the end of July, the Confederate government merged the Department of East Tennessee, under Maj. Gen. Simon B. Buckner, into Bragg's Department of Tennessee, which added 17,800 men to Bragg's army, a total of 69,800 men, but also extended his command responsibilities northward to the Knoxville area. This brought a third subordinate into Bragg's command who had little or no respect for him.<sup>[13]</sup> Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk and Maj. Gen. William J. Hardee had already made their animosity well known. Buckner's attitude was colored by Bragg's unsuccessful invasion of Buckner's native Kentucky in 1862, as well as by the loss of his command through the merger.<sup>[14]</sup> A positive aspect for Bragg was Hardee's request to be transferred to Mississippi in July, but he was replaced by Lt. Gen. D.H. Hill, a general who did not get along with Robert E. Lee in Virginia.<sup>[15]</sup>

The Confederate War Department asked Bragg in early August whether he could assume the offensive against Rosecrans if he were given reinforcements from Mississippi. He demurred, concerned about the daunting geographical obstacles and logistical challenges, preferring to wait for Rosecrans to solve those same problems and attack him.<sup>[16]</sup> He was also concerned about a sizable Union force under Maj. Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside that was threatening Knoxville. Bragg withdrew his forces from advanced positions around Bridgeport, which left Rosecrans free to maneuver on the northern side of the Tennessee River. He concentrated his two infantry corps around Chattanooga and relied upon cavalry to cover his flanks, extending from northern Alabama to near Knoxville.<sup>[17]</sup>

The Confederate government decided to attempt a strategic reversal in the West by sending Bragg reinforcements from Virginia—Lt. Gen. James Longstreet with two divisions from his First Corps, Army of Northern Virginia—in addition to the reinforcements from Mississippi. Chickamauga was the first large scale Confederate movement of troops from one theater to another with the aim of achieving a period of numerical superiority and gaining decisive results. Bragg was now more satisfied with the resources provided, and looked to strike the Union Army as soon as he achieved the strength he needed.<sup>[18]</sup>

The campaign and major battle take their name from West Chickamauga Creek. In popular histories, it is often said that Chickamauga is a Cherokee word meaning "river of death".<sup>[19]</sup> Peter Cozzens, author of *This Terrible Sound*, wrote that this is a "loose translation".<sup>[20]</sup> Glenn Tucker presents the translations of "stagnant water" (from the "lower Cherokee tongue"), "good country" (from the Chickasaw) and "river of death" (dialect of the "upcountry Cherokee"). Tucker claims that the "river of death" came by its name not from early warfare, but from the location that the Cherokee contracted smallpox.<sup>[21]</sup> James Mooney, in *Myths of the Cherokee*, wrote that Chickamauga is the more common spelling for *Tsikāma'gī*, a name that "has no meaning in their language" and is possibly "derived from an Algonquian word referring to a fishing or fish-spearing place... if not Shawano it is probably from the Creek or Chickasaw."<sup>[22]</sup>

The most plausible etymology for Chickamauga is that it is from the Chickasaw word *chokma* "be good" plus the verb ending *-ka*.<sup>[23][24]</sup> The Chickasaw town of Chickamauga was located at the foot of Lookout Mountain.

Rosecrans faced significant logistical challenges if he chose to move forward. The Cumberland Plateau that separated the armies was a rugged, barren country over 30 miles long with poor roads and little opportunity for foraging. If Bragg attacked him during the advance, Rosecrans would be forced to fight with his back against the mountains and tenuous supply lines. He did not have the luxury of staying put, however, because he was under

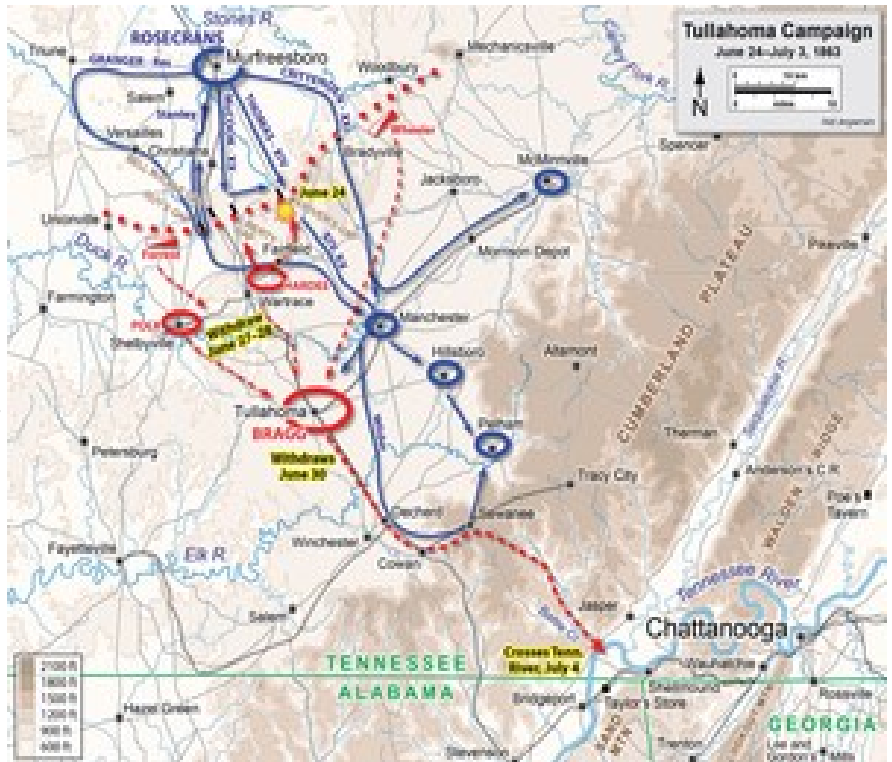
intense pressure from Washington to move forward in conjunction with Burnside's advance into East Tennessee.

By early August, Halleck was frustrated enough with Rosecrans's delay that he ordered him to move forward immediately and to report daily the movement of each corps until he crossed the Tennessee River. Rosecrans was outraged at the tone of "recklessness, conceit and malice" of Halleck's order and insisted that he would be courting disaster if he were not permitted to delay his advance until at least August 17.<sup>[25]</sup>

Rosecrans knew that he would have difficulty receiving supplies from his base on any advance across the Tennessee River and therefore thought it necessary to accumulate enough supplies and transport wagons that he could cross long distances without a reliable line of communications. His subordinate generals were supportive of this line of reasoning and counseled delay, all except for Brig. Gen. James A. Garfield, Rosecrans's chief of staff, a politician who understood the value of being on the record endorsing the Lincoln administration's priorities.<sup>[26]</sup>

The plan for the Union advance was to cross the Cumberland Plateau into the valley of the Tennessee River, pause briefly to accumulate some supplies, and then cross the river itself. An opposed crossing of the wide river was not feasible, so Rosecrans devised a deception to distract Bragg above Chattanooga while the army crossed downstream. Then the Army would advance on a wide front through the mountains. The XXI Corps under Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden would advance against the city from the west, the XIV Corps under Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas would cross over Lookout Mountain 20 miles south of the city, while the XX Corps under Maj. Gen. Alexander M. McCook and the Cavalry Corps under Maj. Gen. David S. Stanley would advance even farther to the southeast toward Bragg's railroad supply line leading from Atlanta. If executed correctly, this plan would cause Bragg to evacuate Chattanooga or be trapped in the city without supplies.<sup>[27]</sup>

Rosecrans ordered his army to move on August 16. The difficult road



conditions meant a full week passed before they reached the Tennessee River Valley. They encamped while engineers made preparations for crossing the river. Meanwhile, Rosecrans's deception plan was underway. Col. John T. Wilder of the XIV Corps moved his mounted infantry brigade (the Lightning Brigade, which first saw prominence at Hoover's Gap) to the north of Chattanooga. His men pounded on tubs and sawed boards, sending pieces of wood downstream, to make the Confederates think that rafts were being constructed for a crossing north of the city. His artillery, commanded by Capt. Eli Lilly, bombarded the city from Stringer's Ridge for two weeks, an operation sometimes known as the *Second Battle of Chattanooga*. The deception worked and Bragg was convinced that the Union crossing would be above the city, in conjunction with Burnside's advancing *Army of the Ohio* from Knoxville.<sup>[28]</sup>



The first crossing of the Tennessee River was accomplished by the XX Corps at Caperton's Ferry, 4 miles from Stevenson on August 29, where construction began on a 1,250-foot pontoon bridge. The second crossing, of the XIV Corps, was at Shellmound, Tennessee, on August 30. They were quickly followed by most of the XXI Corps. The fourth crossing site was at the mouth of Battle Creek, Tennessee, where the rest of the XIV Corps crossed on August 31. Without permanent bridges, the Army of the Cumberland could not be supplied reliably, so another bridge was constructed at Bridgeport by Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan's division, spanning 2,700 feet (820 m) in three days. Virtually all of the Union army, other than elements of the Reserve Corps kept behind to guard the railroad, had safely crossed the river by September 4. They faced more mountainous terrain and road networks that were just as treacherous as the ones they had already traversed.<sup>[29]</sup>

The Confederate high command was concerned about this development and took steps to reinforce the Army of Tennessee. General Joseph E. Johnston's army dispatched on loan two weak divisions (about 9,000 men) from Mississippi under Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge and Maj. Gen. William H. T. Walker by September 4, and General Robert E. Lee dispatched a corps under Lt. Gen. James Longstreet from the Army of Northern Virginia. Only five brigades (about 5,000 effectives) from two of Longstreet's divisions arrived in time for the second day of the Battle of Chickamauga on September 20.<sup>[30]</sup>

The three infantry corps of Rosecrans's army advanced by separate routes, on the only three roads that were suitable for such movements. On the right flank, McCook's XX Corps moved southwest to Valley Head, Alabama; in the center, Thomas's XIV Corps moved just across the border to Trenton, Georgia; and on the left, Crittenden's XXI Corps moved directly toward Chattanooga around Lookout Mountain. On September 8, after learning that Rosecrans had crossed into his rear, Bragg evacuated Chattanooga and moved his army south along the LaFayette Road toward LaFayette, Georgia. The Union army occupied Chattanooga on September 9. Rosecrans telegraphed Halleck, "Chattanooga is ours without a struggle and East Tennessee is free."<sup>[31]</sup> Bragg was aware of Rosecrans's dispositions and planned to defeat him by attacking his isolated corps individually. The corps were spread out over 40 miles (65 km), too far apart to support each other.<sup>[32]</sup>

Rosecrans was convinced that Bragg was demoralized and fleeing to either Dalton, Rome, or Atlanta, Georgia. Instead, Bragg's Army of Tennessee was encamped at LaFayette, some 20 miles (32 km) south of Chattanooga. Confederate soldiers who posed as deserters deliberately added to this impression. Thomas firmly cautioned Rosecrans that a pursuit of Bragg was unwise because the Army of the Cumberland was too widely dispersed and its supply lines were tenuous. Rosecrans, exultant at his success in capturing Chattanooga, discounted Thomas's advice. He ordered McCook to swing across Lookout Mountain at Winston's Gap and use his cavalry to break Bragg's railroad supply line at Resaca, Georgia. Crittenden was to take Chattanooga and then turn south in pursuit of Bragg. Thomas was to continue his advance toward LaFayette.<sup>[33]</sup>

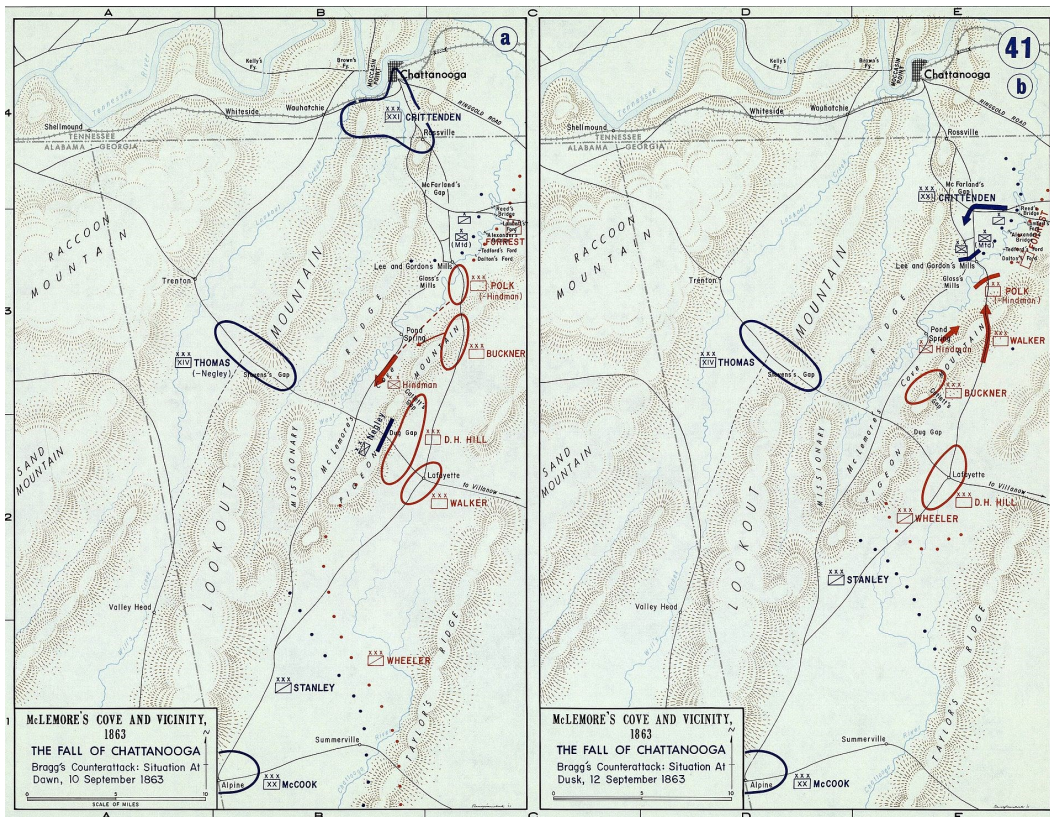
Thomas's lead division, under Maj. Gen. James Negley, intended to cross McLemore's Cove and use Dug Gap in Pigeon Mountain to reach LaFayette. Negley was 12 hours ahead of Brig. Gen. Absalom Baird's division, the nearest reinforcements. Braxton Bragg hoped to trap Negley by attacking through the cove from the northeast, forcing the Union division to its destruction at the cul-de-sac at the southwest end of the valley. Early on the morning of September 10, Bragg ordered Polk's division under Maj. Gen. Thomas C. Hindman to march 13 miles southwest into the cove and strike Negley's flank. He also ordered D.H. Hill to send Cleburne's division from LaFayette through Dug Gap to strike Negley's front, making sure the movement was coordinated with Hindman's.<sup>[34]</sup>

Entering the cove with 4,600 men, Negley's division encountered Confederate skirmishers, but pressed forward to Davis's Cross Roads. Informed that there was a large Confederate force approaching on his left, Negley took up a position in the mouth of the cove and remained there until 3 a.m. on September 11. Hill claimed that Bragg's orders reached him very late and began offering excuses for why he could not advance—Cleburne was sick in bed and the road through Dug Gap was obstructed by felled timber. He advised calling off the operation. Hindman, who had executed Bragg's orders promptly and had advanced to within 4 miles (6.4 km) of Negley's division, became overly cautious when he realized that Hill would not be attacking on schedule and ordered his men to stop. Bragg reinforced Hindman with two divisions of Buckner's corps, which were encamped near Lee and Gordon's Mill. When Buckner reached Hindman at 5 p.m. on September 10, the Confederates outnumbered Negley's division 3 to 1, but failed to attack.<sup>[35]</sup>

Influriated that his orders were being defied and a golden opportunity was being lost, Bragg issued new orders for Hindman to attack early September 11. Cleburne, who was not sick as Hill had claimed, cleared the felled timber from Dug Gap and prepared to advance when he heard the sound of Hindman's guns. By this time, however, Baird's division had reached Negley's, and Negley had withdrawn his division to a defensive position just east of the crossroads. The two Union divisions then withdrew to Stevens Gap. Hindman's men skirmished with Baird's rear guard, but could not prevent the withdrawal of the Union force.<sup>[36]</sup>

Realizing that part of his force had narrowly escaped a Confederate trap, Rosecrans abandoned his plans for a pursuit and began to concentrate his scattered forces.<sup>[37]</sup> As he wrote in his official report, it was "a matter of life and death."<sup>[37]</sup> On September 12 he ordered McCook and the cavalry to move northeast to Stevens Gap to join with Thomas, intending for this combined force to continue northeast to link up with Crittenden. The message to McCook took a full day to reach him at Alpine and the route he selected to move northeast required three days of marching 57 miles, retracing his steps over Lookout Mountain.<sup>[38]</sup>

Crittenden's corps began moving from Ringgold toward Lee and Gordon's Mill. Forrest's cavalry reported the movement across the Confederate front and Bragg saw another offensive opportunity. He ordered Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk to attack Crittenden's lead division, under Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Wood, at dawn on September 13, with Polk's corps and Walker's corps. Bragg rode to the scene after hearing no sound of battle and found that there were no preparations being made to attack. Once again, Bragg was angry that one of his subordinates did not attack as ordered, but by that morning it was too late—all of Crittenden's corps had passed by and concentrated at Lee and Gordon's Mill.<sup>[39]</sup>



For the next four days, both armies attempted to improve their dispositions. Rosecrans continued to concentrate his forces, intending to withdraw as a single body to Chattanooga. Bragg, learning of McCook's movement at Alpine, feared the Federals might be planning a double envelopment. At a council of war on September 15, Bragg's corps commanders agreed that an offensive in the direction of Chattanooga offered their best option.<sup>[40]</sup>

By September 17, McCook's corps had reached Stevens Gap and the three Union corps were now much less vulnerable to individual defeat. Yet Bragg decided that he still had an opportunity. Reinforced with two divisions arriving from Virginia under Lt. Gen. James Longstreet, and a division from Mississippi under Brig. Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson, he decided to move his army northward on the morning of September 18 and advance toward Chattanooga, forcing Rosecrans's army out to fight or to withdraw. If Rosecrans fought, he risked being driven back into McLemore's Cove. The Confederate army was to move beyond the Federal left flank at Lee and Gordon's Mill and then cross West Chickamauga Creek. He specified four crossing points, from north to south: Johnson's division at Reed's Bridge, Walker's Reserve Corps at Alexander's Bridge, Buckner's corps at Theford's Ford, and Polk's corps at Dalton's Ford. Hill's corps would anchor the army's left flank and the cavalry under Forrest and Wheeler would cover Bragg's right and left flanks, respectively.<sup>[41]</sup>

Bushrod Johnson's division took the wrong road from Ringgold, but eventually headed west on the Reed's Bridge Road. At 7 a.m. his men encountered cavalry pickets from Col. Robert Minty's brigade, guarding the approach to Reed's Bridge. Being outnumbered five to one, Minty's men eventually withdrew across the bridge after being pressured by elements of Forrest's cavalry, but could not destroy the bridge and prevent Johnson's men from crossing. At 4:30 p.m., when Johnson had reached Jay's Mill, Maj. Gen. John Bell Hood of Longstreet's Corps arrived from the railroad station at Catoosa and took command of the column. He ordered Johnson to use the Jay's Mill Road instead of the Brotherton Road, as Johnson had planned.<sup>[46]</sup>

At Alexander's Bridge to the south, Col. John T. Wilder's mounted infantry brigade defended the crossing against the approach of Walker's Corps. Armed with Spencer repeating rifles and Capt. Lilly's four guns of the 18th Indiana Battery, Wilder was able to hold off a brigade of Brig. Gen. St. John Liddell's division, which suffered 105 casualties against Wilder's superior firepower. Walker moved his men downstream a mile to Lambert's Ford, an unguarded crossing, and was able to cross around 4:30 p.m., considerably behind schedule. Wilder, concerned about his left flank after Minty's loss of Reed's Bridge, withdrew and established a new blocking position east of the Lafayette Road, near the Viniard farm.<sup>[47]</sup>

By dark, Johnson's division had halted in front of Wilder's position. Walker had crossed the creek, but his troops were well scattered along the road behind Johnson. Buckner had been able to push only one brigade across the creek at Theford's Ford. Polk's troops were facing Crittenden's at Lee and Gordon's Mill and D.H. Hill's corps guarded crossing sites to the south.<sup>[48]</sup>

Although Bragg had achieved some degree of surprise, he failed to exploit it strongly. Rosecrans, observing the dust raised by the marching Confederates in the morning, anticipated Bragg's plan. He ordered Thomas and McCook to Crittenden's support, and while the Confederates were crossing the creek, Thomas began to arrive in Crittenden's rear area.<sup>[49]</sup>

Rosecrans's movement of Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas's XIV Corps the previous day put the left flank of the Army of the Cumberland farther north than Bragg expected when he formulated his plans for an attack on September 20. Maj. Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden's XXI Corps was concentrated around Lee and Gordon's Mill, which Bragg assumed was the left flank, but Thomas was arrayed behind him, covering a wide front from Crawfish Springs (division of Maj. Gen. James S. Negley), the Widow Glenn's house (Maj. Gen. Joseph J. Reynolds), Kelly field (Brig. Gen. Absalom Baird), to around the McDonald farm (Brig. Gen. John M. Brannan). Maj. Gen. Gordon Granger's Reserve Corps was spread along the northern end of the battlefield from Rossville to McAfee's Church.<sup>[51]</sup>

Bragg's plan called for an attack on the supposed Union left flank by the corps of Maj. Gens. Simon B. Buckner, John Bell Hood, and W.H.T. Walker, screened by Brig. Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry to the north, with Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Cheatham's division held in reserve in the center and Maj. Gen. Patrick R. Cleburne's division in reserve at Theford's Ford. Maj. Gen. Thomas C. Hindman's division faced Crittenden at Lee and Gordon's Mill and Breckinridge's faced Negley.<sup>[52]</sup>

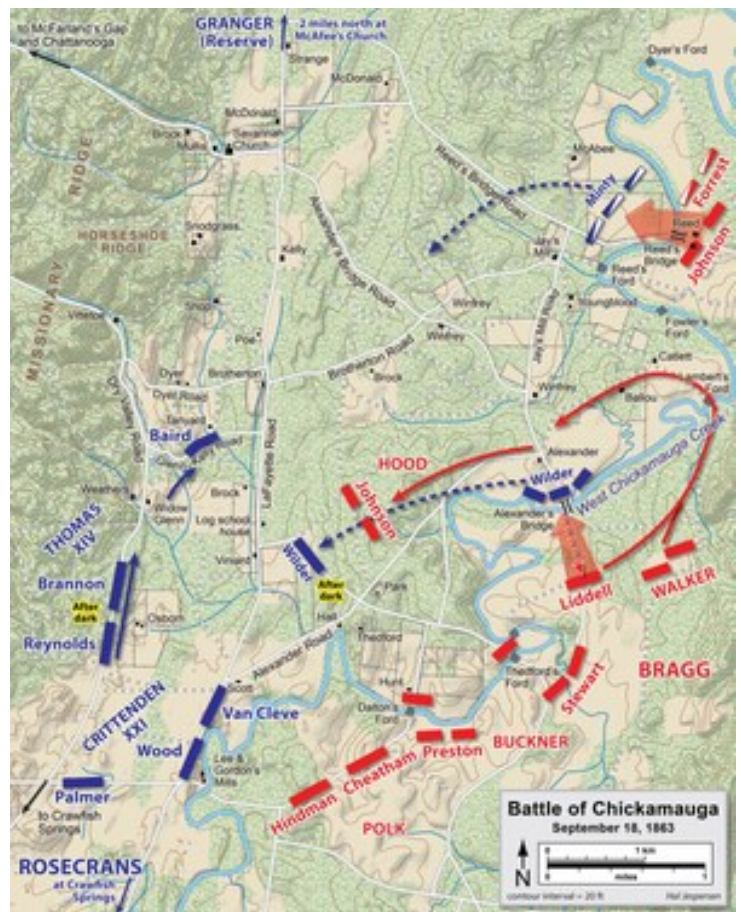
The Battle of Chickamauga opened almost by accident, when pickets from Col. Daniel McCook's brigade of Granger's Reserve Corps moved toward Jay's Mill in search of water. McCook had moved from Rossville on September 18 to aid Col. Robert Minty's brigade. His men established a defensive position several hundred yards northwest of Jay's Mill, about equally distant from where the 1st Georgia Cavalry waited through the night south of the mill. At about the time that McCook sent a regiment to destroy Reed's Bridge (which would survive the second attempt in two days to de-

stroy it), Brig. Gen. Henry Davidson of Forrest's Cavalry Corps sent the 1st Georgia forward and they encountered some of McCook's men near the mill. McCook was ordered by Granger to withdraw back to Rossville, and his men were pursued by Davidson's troopers. McCook encountered Thomas at the LaFayette Road, having finished an all-night march from Crawfish Springs. McCook reported to Thomas that a single Confederate infantry brigade was trapped on the west side of Chickamauga Creek. Thomas told Brannan's division to attack and destroy it.<sup>[53]</sup>

Brannan sent three brigades in response to Thomas's order: Col. Ferdinand Van Derveer's brigade moved southeast on the Reed's Bridge Road, with Col. John Croxton's brigade on his right. Col. John Connell's brigade came up behind in reserve. Croxton's men drove back Davidson's advanced cavalymen and Forrest formed a defensive line of dismounted troopers to stem the tide. Croxton halted his advance because he was unsure of Forrest's strength. Forrest requested reinforcements from Bragg and Walker near Alexander's Bridge and Walker ordered Col. Claudius Wilson's brigade forward about 9 a.m., hitting Croxton's right flank. Forrest protected his own right flank by deploying the brigade of Col. George Dibrell, which ran into Van Derveer's brigade and came to a halt under fire. Forrest sent in Brig. Gen. Matthew Ector's brigade, part of Walker's Reserve Corps, but without Walker's knowledge. Ector's men replaced Dibrell's in line, but they were also unable to drive Van Derveer from his position.<sup>[54]</sup>

Brannan's division was holding its ground against Forrest and his infantry reinforcements, but their ammunition was running low. Thomas sent Baird's division to assist, which advanced with two brigades forward and one in reserve. Brig. Gen. John King's brigade of U.S. Army regulars relieved Croxton. The brigade of Col. Benjamin Scribner took up a position on King's right and Col. John Starkweather's brigade remained in reserve. With superior numbers and firepower, Scribner and King were able to start pushing back Wilson and Ector.<sup>[55]</sup>

Bragg committed the division of Brig. Gen. St. John R. Liddell to the fight, countering Thomas's reinforcements. The brigades of Col. Daniel Go- van and Brig. Gen. Edward Walthall advanced along the Alexander's Bridge Road, smashing Baird's right flank. Both Scribner's and Starkweather's brigades retreated in panic, followed by King's regulars, who dashed for the rear through Van Derveer's brigade. Van Derveer's men halted the Confederate advance with a concentrated volley at close range. Liddell's exhausted men began to withdraw and Croxton's brigade, returning to the action, pushed them back beyond the Winfrey field.<sup>[56]</sup>



to the action, pushed them back beyond the Winfrey field.<sup>[56]</sup>

Believing that Rosecrans was attempting to move the center of the battle farther north than Bragg planned, Bragg began rushing heavy reinforcements from all parts of his line to his right, starting with Cheatham's division of Polk's Corps, the largest in the Army of Tennessee with five brigades. At 11 a.m., Cheatham's men approached Liddell's halted division and formed on its left. Three brigades under Brig. Gens. Marcus Wright, Preston Smith, and John Jackson formed the front line and Brig. Gens. Otho Strahl and George Maney commanded the brigades in the second line. Their advance greatly overlapped Croxton's brigade and had no difficulty pushing it back. As Croxton withdrew, his brigade was replaced by Brig. Gen. Richard Johnson's division of McCook's XX Corps near the LaFayette Road. Johnson's lead brigades, under Col. Philemon Baldwin and Brig. Gen. August Willich engaged Jackson's brigade, protecting Croxton's withdrawal. Although outnumbered, Jackson held under the pressure until his ammunition ran low and he called for reinforcements. Cheatham sent in Maney's small brigade to replace Jackson, but they were no match for the two larger Federal brigades and Maney was forced to withdraw as both of his flanks were crushed.<sup>[57]</sup>

Additional Union reinforcements arrived shortly after Johnson. Maj. Gen. John Palmer's division of Crittenden's corps marched from Lee and Gordon's Mill and advanced into the fight with three brigades in line—the brigades of Brig. Gen. William Hazen, Brig. Gen. Charles Cruft, and Col. William Grose—against the Confederate brigades of Wright and Smith. Smith's brigade bore the brunt of the attack in the Brock field and was replaced by Strahl's brigade, which also had to withdraw under the pressure. Two more Union brigades followed Palmer's division, from Brig. Gen. Horatio Van Cleve's division of the XXI corps, who formed on the left flank of Wright's brigade. The attack of Brig. Gen. Samuel Beatty's brigade was the tipping point that caused Wright's brigade to join the retreat with Cheatham's other units.<sup>[58]</sup>

For a third time, Bragg ordered a fresh division to move in, this time Maj. Gen. Alexander P. Stewart's (Buckner's corps) from its position at Thedford Ford around noon. Stewart encountered Wright's retreating brigade at the Brock farm and decided to attack Van Cleve's position on his left, a decision he made under his own authority. With his brigades deployed in column, Brig. Gen. Henry Clayton's was the first to hit three Federal brigades around the Brotherton Farm. Firing until their ammunition was gone, Clayton's men were replaced with Brig. Gen. John Brown's brigade. Brown drove Beatty's and Dick's men from the woods east of the LaFayette Road and paused to regroup. Stewart committed his last brigade, under Brig. Gen. William Bate, around 3:30 p.m. and routed Van Cleve's division. Hazen's brigade was caught up in the retreat as they were replenishing their ammunition. Col. James Sheffield's brigade from Hood's division drove back Grose's and Cruft's brigades. Brig. Gen. John Turchin's brigade (Reynolds's division) counterattacked and briefly held off Sheffield, but the Confederates had caused a major penetration in the Federal line in the area of the Brotherton and Dyer fields. Stewart did not have sufficient forces to maintain that position, and was forced to order Bate to withdraw east of the Lafayette Road.<sup>[59]</sup>

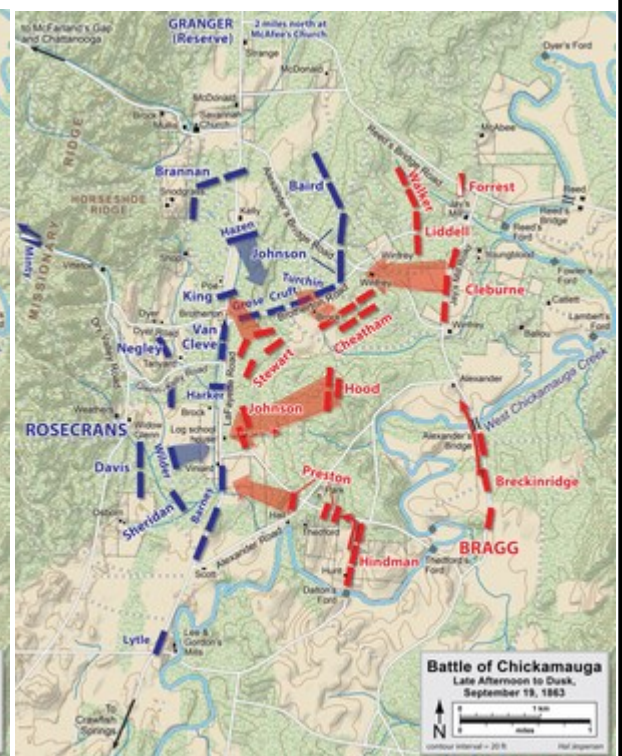
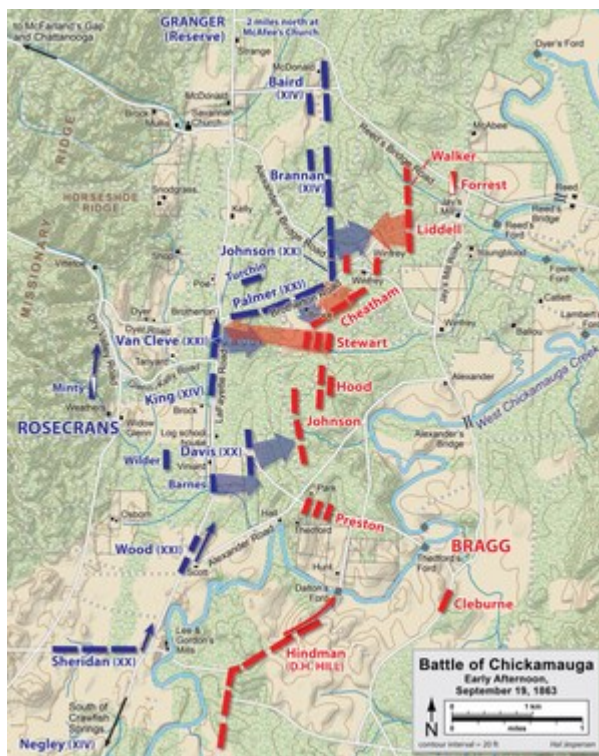
At around 2 p.m., the division of Brig. Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson (Hood's corps) encountered the advance of Union Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis's two brigade division of the XX corps, marching north from Crawfish Springs. Johnson's men attacked Col. Hans Heg's brigade on Davis's left and forced it across the LaFayette Road. Hood ordered Johnson to continue the attack by crossing the LaFayette Road with two brigades in line and one in reserve. The two brigades drifted apart during the attack. On the right, Col. John Fulton's brigade routed King's brigade and

linked up with Bate at Brotherton field. On the left, Brig. Gen. John Gregg's brigade attacked Wilder's Union brigade in its reserve position at the Viniard Farm. Gregg was seriously wounded and his brigade advance halted. Brig. Gen. Evander McNair's brigade, called up from the rear, also lost their cohesion during the advance.<sup>[60]</sup>

Union Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Wood's division was ordered to march north from Lee and Gordon's Mill around 3 p.m. His brigade under Col. George P. Buell was posted north of the Viniard house while Col. Charles Harker's brigade continued up the LaFayette Road. Harker's brigade arrived in the rear of Fulton's and McNair's Confederate regiments, firing into their backs. Although the Confederates retreated to the woods east of the road, Harker realized he was isolated and quickly withdrew. At the Viniard house, Buell's men were attacked by part of Brig. Gen. Evander M. Law's division of Hood's corps. The brigades of Brig. Gens. Jerome B. Robertson and Henry L. Benning pushed southwest toward the Viniard field, pushing back Brig. Gen. William Carlin's brigade (Davis's division) and fiercely struck Buell's brigade, pushing them back behind Wilder's line. Hood's and Johnson's men, pushing strongly forward, approached so close to Rosecrans's new headquarters at the tiny cabin of Widow Eliza Glenn that the staff officers inside had to shout to make themselves heard over the sounds of battle. There was a significant risk of a Federal rout in this part of the line. Wilder's men eventually held back the Confederate advance, fighting from behind a drainage ditch.<sup>[61]</sup>

The Federals launched several unsuccessful counterattacks late in the afternoon to regain the ground around the Viniard house. Col. Heg was mortally wounded during one of these advances. Late in the day, Rosecrans deployed almost his last reserve, Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan's division of McCook's corps. Marching north from Lee and Gordon's Mill, Sheridan took the brigades of Cols. Luther Bradley and Bernard Laiboldt. Bradley's brigade was in the lead and it was able to push the heavily outnumbered brigades of Robertson and Benning out of Viniard field. Bradley was wounded during the attack.<sup>[62]</sup>

By 6 p.m., darkness was falling, and Braxton Bragg had not abandoned his idea of pushing the Federal army to the south. He ordered Maj. Gen. Patrick Cleburne's division (Hill's corps) to join Polk on the army's right flank. This area of the battlefield had been quiet for several hours as the fighting moved progressively southward. George Thomas had been consolidating his lines, withdrawing slightly to the west to what he considered a superior defensive position. Richard Johnson's division and Absalom Baird's brigade were in the rear of Thomas's westward migration, covering the withdrawal. At sunset Cleburne launched an attack with three brigades in line—from left to right, Brig. Gens. James Deshler, Sterling Wood, and Lucius Polk. The attack degenerated into chaos in the limited visibility of twilight and smoke from burning underbrush. Some of Absalom Baird's men advanced to support Baldwin's Union brigade, but mistakenly fired at them and were subjected to return friendly fire. Baldwin was shot dead from his horse attempting to



lead a counterattack. Deshler's brigade missed their objective entirely and Deshler was shot in the chest while examining ammunition boxes. Brig. Gen. Preston Smith led his brigade forward to support Deshler and mistakenly rode into the lines of Col. Joseph B. Dodge's brigade (Johnson's division), where he was shot down. By 9 p.m. Cleburne's men retained possession of the Winfrey field and Johnson and Baird had been driven back inside Thomas's new defensive line.<sup>[63]</sup>

Casualties for the first day of battle are difficult to calculate because losses are usually reported for the entire battle. Historian Peter Cozzens wrote that "an estimate of between 6,000 and 9,000 Confederates and perhaps 7,000 Federals seems reasonable."<sup>[64]</sup>

At Braxton Bragg's headquarters at Thedford Ford, the commanding general was officially pleased with the day's events. He reported that "Night found us masters of the ground, after a series of very obstinate contests with largely superior numbers."<sup>[65]</sup> However, his attacks had been launched in a disjointed fashion, failing to achieve a concentration of mass to defeat Rosecrans or cut him off from Chattanooga. Army of Tennessee historian Thomas Connelly criticized Bragg's conduct of the battle on September 19, citing his lack of specific orders to his subordinates, and his series of "sporadic attacks which only sapped Bragg's strength and enabled Rosecrans to locate the Rebel position." He wrote that Bragg bypassed two opportunities to win the battle on September 19:<sup>[66]</sup>

Bragg's inability to readjust his plans had cost him heavily. He had never admitted that he was wrong about the location of Rosecrans' left wing and that as a result he bypassed two splendid opportunities. During the day Bragg might have sent heavy reinforcements to Walker and attempted to roll up the Union left; or he could have attacked the Union center where he knew troops were passing from to the left. Unable to decide on either, Bragg tried to do both, wasting his men in sporadic assaults. Now his Army was crippled and in no better position than that morning. Walker had, in the day's fighting, lost over 20 per cent of his strength, while Stuart and Cleburne had lost 30 per cent. Gone, too, was any hope for the advantage of a surprise blow against Rosecrans.<sup>[67]</sup>

Bragg met individually with his subordinates and informed them that he was reorganizing the Army of Tennessee into two wings. Leonidas Polk, the senior lieutenant general on the field (but junior to Longstreet), was given the right wing and command of Hill's Corps, Walker's Corps, and Cheatham's Division. Polk was ordered to initiate the assault on the Federal left at daybreak, beginning with the division of Breckinridge, followed progressively by Cleburne, Stewart, Hood, McLaws, Bushrod, Johnson, Hindman, and Preston. Informed that Lt. Gen. James Longstreet had just arrived by train from Virginia, Bragg designated him as the left wing commander, commanding Hood's Corps, Buckner's Corps, and Hindman's Division of Polk's Corps. (Longstreet arrived late on the night of September 19, and had to find his way in the dark to Bragg's headquarters, since Bragg did not send a guide to meet him. Longstreet found Bragg asleep and woke him around 11 p.m. Bragg told Longstreet he would take charge of the left wing, explained his battle plan for September 20, and provided Longstreet a map of the area.) The third lieutenant general of the army, D.H. Hill, was not informed directly by Bragg of his effective demotion to Polk's subordinate, but he learned his status from a staff officer.<sup>[68]</sup>

What Hill did not learn was his role in the upcoming battle. The courier sent with written orders was not able to find Hill and returned to his unit without informing anyone. Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge, one of Hill's division commanders, was at Polk's headquarters, but was not informed that his division was to initiate the dawn attack. At 5 a.m. on September 20, Polk was awakened on the cold and foggy battlefield to find that Hill was not preparing to attack. He prepared new written orders, which reached Hill about 6 a.m. Hill responded with a number of reasons for delaying the attack, including readjustments of the alignment of his units, reconnaissance of the enemy line, and issuing breakfast rations to his men. Reluctantly, Bragg agreed.<sup>[69]</sup>

On the Union side, Rosecrans held a council of war with most of his corps and division commanders to determine a course of action for September 20. The Army of the Cumberland had been significantly hurt in the first day's battle and had only five fresh brigades available, whereas the Confederate army had been receiving reinforcements and now outnumbered the Federals. Both of these facts ruled out a Union offensive. The presence of Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana at the meeting made any discussion of retreating difficult. Rosecrans decided that his army had to remain in place, on the defensive. He recalled that Bragg had retreated after Perryville and Stones River and could conceivably repeat that behavior.<sup>[70]</sup>

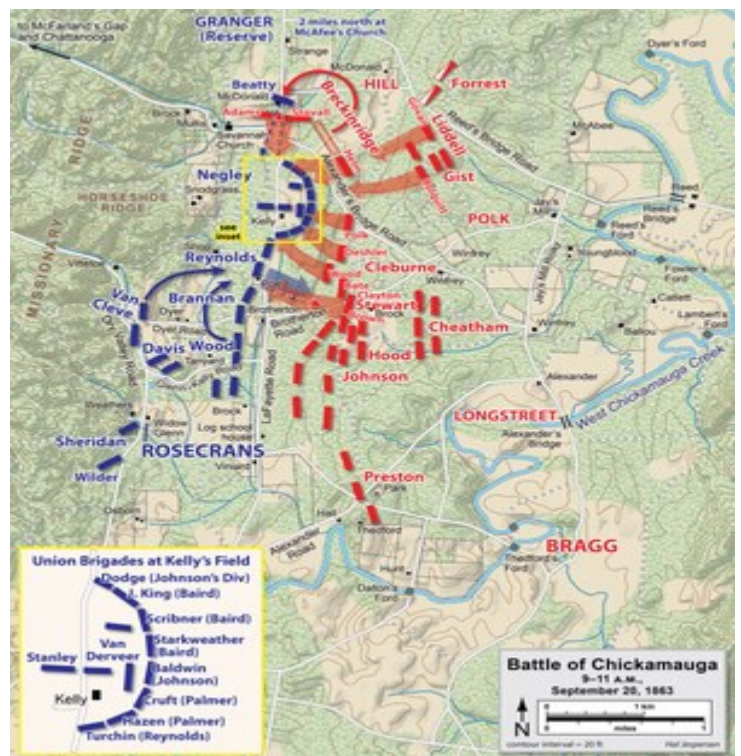
Rosecrans's defensive line consisted of Thomas in his present position, a salient that encompassed the Kelly Farm east of the LaFayette Road, which Thomas's engineers had fortified overnight with log breastworks. To the

right, McCook withdrew his men from the Viniard field and anchored his right near the Widow Glenn's. Crittenden was put in reserve, and Granger, still concentrated at Rossville, was notified to be prepared to support either Thomas or McCook, although practically he could only support Thomas.<sup>[71]</sup>

Still before dawn, Baird reported to Thomas that his line stopped short of the intersection of the LaFayette and McFarland's Gap Roads, and that he could not cover it without weakening his line critically. Thomas requested that his division under James Negley be moved from McCook's sector to correct this problem. Rosecrans directed that McCook was to replace Negley in line, but he found soon afterward that Negley had not been relieved. He ordered Negley to send his reserve brigade to Thomas immediately and continued to ride on an inspection of the lines. On a return visit, he found Negley was still in position and Thomas Wood's division was just arriving to relieve him. Rosecrans ordered Wood to expedite his relief of Negley's remaining brigades. Some staff officers later recalled that Rosecrans had been extremely angry and berated Wood in front of his staff, although Wood denied that this incident occurred. As Negley's remaining brigades moved north, the first attack of the second day of the Battle of Chickamauga started.<sup>[72]</sup>

The battle on the second day began at about 9:30 a.m. on the left flank of the Union line, about four hours after Bragg had ordered the attack to start, with coordinated attacks planned by Breckinridge and Cleburne of D.H. Hill's Corps, Polk's Right Wing. Bragg's intention was that this would be the start of successive attacks progressing leftward, *en echelon*, along the Confederate line, designed to drive the Union army south, away from its escape routes through the Rossville Gap and McFarland's Gap. The late start was significant. At "day-dawn" there were no significant defensive breastworks constructed by Thomas's men yet; these formidable obstacles were built in the few hours after dawn. Bragg wrote after the war that if it were not for the loss of these hours, "our independence might have been won."<sup>[73]</sup>

Breckinridge's brigades under Brig. Gens. Benjamin Helm, Marcellus A. Stovall, and Daniel W. Adams moved forward, left to right, in a single line. Helm's Orphan Brigade of Kentuckians was the first to make contact with Thomas's breastworks and Helm (the favorite brother-in-law of Abraham Lincoln) was mortally wounded while attempting to motivate his Kentuckians forward to assault the strong position. Breckinridge's other two brigades made better progress against the brigade of Brig. Gen. John Beatty (Negley's division), which was attempting to defend a line of a width more suitable for a division. As he found the left flank of the Union line, Breckinridge realigned his two brigades to straddle the LaFayette Road to move south, threatening the rear of Thomas's Kelly field salient. Thomas called up reinforcements from Brannan's reserve division and Col. Ferdinand Van Derveer's brigade charged Stovall's men, driving them back. Adams's Brigade was stopped by Col. Timothy Robbins Stanley's brigade of Negley's division. Adams was wounded and left behind as his men retreated to their starting position.<sup>[74]</sup>



The other part of Hill's attack also foundered. Cleburne's division met heavy resistance at the breastworks defended by the divisions of Baird, Johnson, Palmer, and Reynolds. Confusing lines of battle, including an overlap with Stewart's division on Cleburne's left, diminished the effectiveness of the Confederate attack. Cheatham's division, waiting in reserve, also could not advance because of Left Wing troops to their front. Hill brought up Gist's Brigade, commanded by Col. Peyton Colquitt, of Walker's Corps to fill the gap between Breckinridge and Cleburne. Colquitt was killed and his brigade suffered severe casualties in their aborted advance. Walker brought the remainder of his division forward to rescue the survivors of Gist's Brigade. On his right flank, Hill sent Col. Daniel Govan's brigade of Liddell's Division to support Breckinridge, but the brigade was forced to retreat along with Stovall's and Adams's men in the face of a Federal counterattack.<sup>[76]</sup>

The attack on the Confederate right flank had petered out by noon, but it caused great commotion throughout Rosecrans's army as Thomas sent staff officers to seek aid from fellow generals along the line. West of the Poe field, Brannan's division was manning the line between Reynolds's division on his left and Wood's on his right. His reserve brigade was marching north to aid Thomas, but at about 10 a.m. he received one of Thomas's staff officers asking for additional assistance. He knew that if his entire division were withdrawn from the line, it would expose the flanks of the neighboring divisions, so he sought Reynolds's advice. Reynolds agreed to the proposed movement, but sent word to Rosecrans warning him of the possibly dangerous situation that would result. However, Brannan remained in his position on the line, apparently wishing for Thomas's request to be approved by Rosecrans. The staff officer continued to think that Brannan was already in motion. Receiving the message on the west end of the Dyer field, Rosecrans, who assumed that Brannan had already left the line, desired Wood to fill the hole that would be created. His chief of staff, James A. Garfield, who would have known that Brannan was staying in line, was busy writing orders for parts of Sheridan's and Van Cleve's divisions to support Thomas. Rosecrans's order was instead written by Frank Bond, his senior aide-de-camp, generally competent but inexperienced at order-writing. As Rosecrans dictated, Bond wrote the following order: "The general commanding directs that you close up on Reynolds as fast as possible, and support him." This contradictory order was not reviewed by Rosecrans, who by this point was increasingly worn out, and was sent to Wood directly, bypassing his corps commander Crittenden.<sup>[77]</sup>

Wood was perplexed by Rosecrans's order, which he received around 10:50 a.m. Since Brannan was still on his left flank, Wood would not be able to "close up on" (a military term that meant to "move adjacent to") Reynolds with Brannan's division in the way. Therefore, the only possibility was to withdraw from the line, march around behind Brannan and form up behind Reynolds (the military meaning of the word "support"). This was obviously a risky move, leaving an opening in the line. Wood spoke with corps commander McCook, and claimed later, along with members of both his and McCook's staff, that McCook agreed to fill the resulting gap with XX Corps units. McCook maintained that he had not enough units to spare to cover a division-wide hole, although he did send Heg's brigade to partially fill the gap.<sup>[78]</sup>

At about this time, Bragg also made a peremptory order based on incomplete information. Impatient that his attack was not progressing to the left, he sent orders for all of his commands to advance at once. Maj. Gen. Alexander P. Stewart of Longstreet's wing received the command and immediately ordered his division forward without consulting with Longstreet. His brigades under Brig. Gens. Henry D. Clayton, John C. Brown, and William B. Bate attacked across the Poe field in the direction of the Union divisions of Brannan and Reynolds. Along with Brig. Gen. S. A. M. Wood's brigade of Cleburne's Division, Stewart's men disabled Brannan's right flank and pushed back Van Cleve's division in Brannan's rear, momentarily crossing the LaFayette Road. A Federal counterattack drove Stewart's Division back to its starting point.<sup>[79]</sup>

Longstreet also received Bragg's order but did not act immediately. Surprised by Stewart's advance, he held up the order for the remainder of his wing. Longstreet had spent the morning attempting to arrange his lines so that his divisions from the Army of Northern Virginia would be in the front line, but these movements had resulted in the battle line confusion that had plagued Cleburne earlier. When Longstreet was finally ready, he had amassed a concentrated striking force, commanded by Maj. Gen. John Bell Hood, of three divisions, with eight brigades arranged in five lines. In the lead, Brig. Gen. Bushrod Johnson's division straddled the Brotherton Road in two echelons. They were followed by Hood's Division, now commanded by Brig. Gen. Evander M. Law, and two brigades of Maj. Gen. Lafayette McLaws's division, commanded by Brig. Gen. Joseph B. Kershaw. To the left of this column was Maj. Gen. Thomas C. Hindman's division. Brig. Gen. William Preston's division of Buckner's corps was in reserve behind Hindman. Longstreet's force of 10,000 men, primarily infantry, was similar in number to those he sent forward in Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg, and

some historians judge that he learned the lessons of that failed assault by providing a massive, narrow column to break the enemy line. Historian Harold Knudsen has described this deployment on a narrow front as similar to the style of the German *Schwerpunkt* in World War II, achieving an attacker/defender ratio of 8:1. Biographer Jeffrey D. Wert also cites the innovative approach that Longstreet adopted, "demonstrating his skill as a battlefield commander." William Glenn Robertson, however, contends that Longstreet's deployment was "happenstance", and that the general's after-action report and memoirs do not demonstrate that he had a grand, three-division column in mind.<sup>[80]</sup>

Longstreet gave the order to move at 11:10 a.m. and Johnson's division proceeded across the Brotherton field, by coincidence to precisely the point where Wood's Union division was pulling out of the line. Johnson's brigade on the left, commanded by Col. John S. Fulton, drove directly through the gap. The brigade on the right, under Brig. Gen. Evander McNair, encountered opposition from Brannan's division (parts of Col. John M. Connell's brigade), but was also able to push through. The result was what was very soon to be a devastating rout of the Union Army. The few Union soldiers in that sector ran in panic from the onslaught.

At the far side of the Dyer field, several Union batteries of the XXI Corps reserve artillery were set up, but without infantry support. Although the Confederate infantrymen hesitated briefly, Gregg's brigade, commanded by Col. Cyrus Sugg, which flanked the guns on their right, Sheffield's brigade, commanded by Col. William Perry, and the brigade of Brig. Gen. Jerome B. Robertson, captured 15 of the 26 cannons on the ridge.<sup>[82]</sup>

As the Union troops were withdrawing, Wood stopped his brigade commanded by Col. Charles G. Harker and sent it back with orders to counterattack the Confederates. They appeared on the scene at the flank of the Confederates who had captured the artillery pieces, causing them to retreat. The brigades of McNair, Perry, and Robinson became intermingled as they ran for shelter in the woods east of the field. Hood ordered Kershaw's Brigade to attack Harker and then raced toward Robertson's Brigade of Texans, Hood's old brigade. As he reached his former unit, a bullet struck him in his right thigh, knocking him from his horse. He was taken to a hospital near Alexander's Bridge, where his leg was amputated a few inches from the hip.<sup>[83]</sup>

Harker conducted a fighting withdrawal under pressure from Kershaw, retreating to Horseshoe Ridge near the tiny house of George Washington Snodgrass. Finding a good defensible position there, Harker's men were able to resist the multiple assaults, beginning at 1 p.m., from the brigades of Kershaw and Brig. Gen. Benjamin G. Humphreys. These two brigades had no assistance from their nearby fellow brigade commanders. Perry and Robertson were attempting to reorganize their brigades after they were routed into the woods. Brig. Gen. Henry L. Benning's brigade turned north after crossing the Lafayette Road in pursuit of two brigades of Brannan's division, then halted for the afternoon near the Poe house.<sup>[84]</sup>

Hindman's Division attacked the Union line to the south of Hood's column and encountered considerably more resistance. The brigade on the right, commanded by Brig. Gen. Zachariah Deas, drove back two brigades of Davis's division and defeated Col. Bernard Laiboldt's brigade of Sheridan's division. Sheridan's two remaining brigades, under Brig. Gen. William H. Lytle and Col. Nathan Walworth, checked the Confederate advance on a slight ridge west of the Dyer field near the Widow Glenn House. While leading his men in the defense, Lytle was killed and his men, now outflanked and leaderless, fled west. Hindman's brigade on the left, under Brig. Gen. Arthur Manigault, crossed the field east of the Widow Glenn's house when Col. John T. Wilder's mounted infantry brigade, advancing from its reserve position, launched a strong counterattack with its Spencer repeating rifles, driving the enemy around and through what became known as "Bloody Pond". Having nullified Manigault's advance, Wilder decided to attack the flank of Hood's column. However, just then Assistant Secretary of War Dana found Wilder and excitedly proclaimed that the battle was lost and demanded to be escorted to Chattanooga. In the time that Wilder took to calm down the secretary and arrange a small detachment to escort him back to safety, the opportunity for a successful attack was lost and he ordered his men to withdraw to the west.<sup>[85]</sup>



All Union resistance at the southern end of the battlefield evaporated. Sheridan's and Davis's divisions fell back to the escape route at McFarland's Gap, taking with them elements of Van Cleve's and Negley's divisions. The majority of units on the right fell back in disorder and Rosecrans, Garfield, McCook, and Crittenden, although attempting to rally retreating units, soon joined them in the mad rush to safety. Rosecrans decided to proceed in haste to Chattanooga in order to organize his returning men and the city defenses. He sent Garfield to Thomas with orders to take command of the forces remaining at Chickamauga and withdraw to Rossville. At McFarland's Gap units had reformed and General Negley met both Sheridan and Davis. Sheridan decided he would go to Thomas's aid not directly from McFarland's gap but via a circuitous route northwest to the Rossville gap then south on Lafayette road. The provost marshal of the XIV Corps met Crittenden around the gap and offered him the services of 1,000 men he had been able to round up during the retreat. Crittenden refused the command and continued his personal flight. At about 3 p.m., Sheridan's 1,500 men, Davis's 2,500, Negley's 2,200, and 1,700 men of other detached units were at or near McFarland's Gap just 3 miles away from Horseshoe Ridge.<sup>[87]</sup>



Defense of Horseshoe Ridge and Union retreat, afternoon and evening of September 20



Defense of Horseshoe Ridge and Union retreat, brigade details

However, not all of the Army of the Cumberland had fled. Thomas's four divisions still held their lines around Kelly Field and a strong defen-

sive position was attracting men from the right flank to Horseshoe Ridge. James Negley had been deploying artillery there on orders from Thomas to protect his position at Kelly Field (although Negley inexplicably was facing his guns to the south instead of the northeast). Retreating men rallied in groups of squads and companies and began erecting hasty breastworks from felled trees. The first regimental size unit to arrive in an organized state was the 82nd Indiana, commanded by Col. Morton Hunter, part of Brannan's division. Brannan himself arrived at Snodgrass Hill at about noon and began to implore his men to rally around Hunter's unit.<sup>[88]</sup>

Units continued to arrive on Horseshoe Ridge and extended the line, most importantly a regiment that Brannan had requested from Negley's division, the 21st Ohio. This unit was armed with five-shot Colt revolving rifles, without which the right flank of the position might have been turned by Kershaw's 2nd South Carolina at 1 p.m. Historian Steven E. Woodworth called the actions of the 21st Ohio "one of the epic defensive stands of the entire war."<sup>[89]</sup> The 535 men of the regiment expended 43,550 rounds in the engagement. Stanley's brigade, which had been driven to the area by Govan's attack, took up a position on the portion of the ridge immediately south of the Snodgrass house, where they were joined by Harker's brigade on their left. This group of randomly selected units were the ones who beat back the initial assaults from Kershaw and Humphrey. Soon thereafter, the Confederate division of Bushrod Johnson advanced against the western end of the ridge, seriously threatening the Union flank. But as they reached the top of the ridge, they found that fresh Union reinforcements had arrived.<sup>[90]</sup>

Throughout the day, the sounds of battle had reached 3 miles north to McAfee's Church, where the Reserve Corps of Maj. Gen. Gordon Granger was stationed. Granger eventually lost patience and sent reinforcements south without receiving explicit orders<sup>[91]</sup> to do so—the two brigades of Maj. Gen. James B. Steedman's division and the brigade of Col. Daniel McCook. As the men marched, they were harassed by Forrest's dismounted cavalymen and artillery, causing them to veer toward the west. McCook's brigade was left behind at the McDonald house to guard the rear and Steedman's two brigades reached the Union lines in the rear of the Horseshoe Ridge position, just as Johnson was starting his attack. Granger sent Steedman's men into Johnson's path on the run.<sup>[92]</sup>

Several attacks and counterattacks shifted the lines back and forth as Johnson received more and more reinforcements—McNair's Brigade (commanded by Col. David Coleman), and Deas's and Manigault's brigades from Hindman's division—but many of these men were exhausted. Van Derveer's brigade arrived from the Kelly Field line to beef up the Union defense. Brig. Gen. Patton Anderson's brigade (Hindman's Division) attempted to assault the hill in the gap between Johnson and Kershaw. Despite all the furious activity on Snodgrass Hill, Longstreet was exerting little direction on the battlefield, enjoying a leisurely lunch of bacon and sweet potatoes with his staff in the rear. Summoned to a meeting with Bragg, Longstreet asked the army commander for reinforcements from Polk's stalled wing, even though he had not committed his own reserve, Preston's division. Bragg was becoming distraught and told Longstreet that the battle was being lost, something Longstreet found inexplicable, considering the success of his assault column. Bragg knew, however, that his success on the southern end of the battlefield was merely driving his opponents to their escape route to Chattanooga and that the opportunity to destroy the Army of the Cumberland had evaporated. After the repeated delays in the morning's attacks, Bragg had lost confidence in his generals on the right wing, and while denying Longstreet reinforcements told him "There is not a man in the right wing who has any fight in him."<sup>[93]</sup>

Longstreet finally deployed Preston's division, which made several attempts to assault Horseshoe Ridge, starting around 4:30 p.m. Longstreet later wrote that there were 25 assaults in all on Snodgrass Hill, but historian Glenn Tucker has written that it was "really one of sustained duration."<sup>[94]</sup> At that same time Thomas received an order from Rosecrans to take command of the army and began a general retreat. Thomas's divisions at Kelly field, starting with Reynolds's division, were the first to withdraw, followed by Palmer's. As the Confederates saw the Union soldiers withdrawing, they renewed their attacks, threatening to surround Johnson's and Baird's divisions. Although Johnson's division managed to escape relatively unscathed, Baird lost a significant number of men as prisoners. Thomas left Horseshoe Ridge, placing Granger in charge, but Granger departed soon thereafter, leaving no one to coordinate the withdrawal. Steedman, Brannan, and Wood managed to stealthily withdraw their divisions to the north. Three regiments that had been

attached from other units—the 22nd Michigan, the 89th Ohio, and the 21st Ohio—were left behind without sufficient ammunition, and ordered to use their bayonets. They held their position until surrounded by Preston's division, when they were forced to surrender.<sup>[95]</sup>

Thomas withdrew the remainder of his units to positions around Rossville Gap after darkness fell. His personal determination to maintain the Union position until ordered to withdraw while his commander and peers fled earned him the nickname *Rock of Chickamauga*, derived from a portion of a message that Garfield sent to Rosecrans, "Thomas is standing like a rock."<sup>[97]</sup> Garfield met Thomas in Rossville that night and wired to Rosecrans that "our men not only held their ground, but in many points drove the enemy splendidly. Longstreet's Virginians have got their bellies full." Although the troops were tired and hungry, and nearly out of ammunition, he continued, "I believe we can whip them tomorrow. I believe we can now crown the whole battle with victory." He urged Rosecrans to rejoin the army and lead it, but Rosecrans, physically exhausted and psychologically a beaten man, remained in Chattanooga. President Lincoln attempted to prop up the morale of his general by telegraphing, "Be of good cheer.... We have unabated confidence in you and your soldiers and officers. In the main, you must be the judge as to what is to be done. If I was to suggest, I would say save your army by taking strong positions until Burnside joins you." Privately, Lincoln told [John Hay](#) that Rosecrans seemed "confused and stunned like a duck hit on the head."<sup>[98]</sup>

The Army of Tennessee camped for the night, unaware that the Union army had slipped from their grasp. Bragg was not able to mount the kind of pursuit that would have been necessary to cause Rosecrans significant further damage. Many of his troops had arrived hurriedly at Chickamauga by rail, without wagons to transport them, and many of the artillery horses had been injured or killed during the battle. The Tennessee River was now an obstacle to the Confederates and Bragg had no pontoon bridges to effect a crossing. Bragg's army paused at Chickamauga to reorganize and gather equipment lost by the Union army. Although Rosecrans had been able to save most of his trains, large quantities of ammunition and arms had been left behind. Army of Tennessee historian Thomas L. Connelly has criticized Bragg's performance, claiming that for over four hours on the afternoon of September 20, he missed several good opportunities to prevent the Union escape, such as by a pursuit up the Dry Valley Road to McFarland's Gap, or by moving a division (such as Cheatham's) around Polk to the north to seize the Rossville Gap or McFarland's Gap via the Reed's Bridge Road.<sup>[99]</sup>

The battle was damaging to both sides in proportions roughly equal to the size of the armies: Union losses were 16,170 (1,657 killed, 9,756 wounded, and 4,757 captured or missing), Confederate 18,454 (2,312 killed, 14,674 wounded, and 1,468 captured or missing).<sup>[10]</sup> They were the highest losses of any battle in the Western Theater during the war and, after Gettysburg, the second-highest of the war overall.<sup>[100]</sup> Among the dead were Confederate generals Benjamin Hardin Helm (husband of Abraham Lincoln's sister-in-law), James Deshler, and Preston Smith, and Union general William H. Lytle.<sup>[101]</sup> Confederate general John Bell Hood, who had already lost the use of his left arm from a wound at Gettysburg, was severely wounded with a bullet in his leg,

requiring it to be amputated. Although the Confederates were technically the victors, driving Rosecrans from the field, Bragg had not achieved his objectives of destroying Rosecrans or of restoring Confederate control of East Tennessee, and the Confederate Army suffered casualties that they could ill afford.<sup>[102]</sup>

On September 21, Rosecrans's army withdrew to the city of Chattanooga and took advantage of previous Confederate works to erect strong defensive positions. However, the supply lines into Chattanooga were at risk, and the Confederates soon occupied the surrounding heights and laid siege upon the Union forces. Unable to break the siege, Rosecrans was relieved of his command of the Army of the Cumberland on October 19, replaced by Thomas. McCook and Crittenden lost their commands on September 28 as the XX Corps and the XXI Corps were consolidated into a new IV Corps commanded by Granger; neither officer would ever command in the field again. On the Confederate side, Bragg began to wage a battle against the subordinates he resented for failing him in the campaign: Hindman for his lack of action in McLemore's Cove and Polk for his late attack on September 20. On September 29, Bragg suspended both officers from their commands. In early October, an attempted mutiny of Bragg's subordinates resulted in D.H. Hill being relieved from his command. Longstreet was dispatched with his corps to the Knoxville Campaign against Ambrose Burnside, seriously weakening Bragg's army at Chattanooga.<sup>[104]</sup>

Harold Knudsen contends that Chickamauga was the first major Confederate effort to use the "interior lines of the nation" to transport troops between theaters with the aim of achieving a period of numerical superiority and taking the initiative in the hope of gaining decisive results in the West. He states, "The concentration the Confederates achieved at Chickamauga was an opportunity to work within the strategic parameters of Longstreet's Defensive-Offensive theory." In Knudsen's estimation, it was the Confederates' last realistic chance to take the tactical offense within the context of a strategic defense, and destroy the Union Army of the Cumberland. If a major victory erasing the Union gains of the Tullahoma Campaign and a winning of the strategic initiative could be achieved in late 1863, any threat to Atlanta would be eliminated for the near future. Even more significantly, a major military reversal going into the election year of 1864 could have severely harmed President Lincoln's re-election chances, caused the possible election of Democrat nominee George B. McClellan as president, and the cessation of the Union war effort to subdue the South.<sup>[105]</sup>

**Senior officer casualties**

|   |   |   |  |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|--|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Brig. Gen.<br><b>John C. Starkweather</b> ,<br>wounded                              | Brig. Gen.<br><b>John T. Croxton</b> ,<br>wounded                                   | Brig. Gen.<br><b>William H. Lytle</b> ,<br>killed                                   | Col.<br><b>Hans C. Heg</b> ,<br>mortally wounded                                     | Col.<br><b>Luther P. Bradley</b> ,<br>wounded   | Maj. Gen.<br><b>John B. Hood</b> ,<br>wounded   | Brig. Gen.<br><b>John C. Brown</b> ,<br>wounded                                       |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |   |
| Brig. Gen.<br><b>John Gregg</b> , wounded   | Brig. Gen.<br><b>Preston Smith</b> , killed   | Brig. Gen.<br><b>Benjamin H. Helm</b> ,<br>mortally wounded                         | Brig. Gen.<br><b>Evander McNair</b> ,<br>wounded                                     | Brig. Gen.<br><b>James Deshler</b> , killed   | Brig. Gen.<br><b>Daniel W. Adams</b> ,<br>wounded and captured                        |   |

## Notes

1. The [NPS battle description Archived](#) January 11, 2006, at the [Wayback Machine](#) by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission and Kennedy, p. 227, cite September 18–20. However, fighting on September 18 was relatively minor in comparison to the following two days and only small portions of the armies were engaged. The Official Records of the war list September 18 activities as "Skirmishes at Pea Vine Ridge, Alexander's and Reed's Bridges, Dyer's Ford, Spring Creek, and near Stevens' Gap, Georgia." Chickamauga is almost universally referred to as a two-day battle, fought on September 19–20.
2. <sup>a</sup> [Jump up to:](#) <sup>b</sup> Martin, pp. 291-94
3. <sup>a</sup> [NPS battle description](#)
4. <sup>a</sup> Official Records, Series I, Volume XXX, Part 1, [pages 40-47](#)
5. <sup>a</sup> Official Records, Series I, Volume XXX, Part 2, [pages 11-20](#)
6. <sup>a</sup> Official Records, Series I, Volume XXX, Part 1, [page 169](#)
7. <sup>a</sup> [Jump up to:](#) <sup>b</sup> Strength figures vary widely in different accounts. Cozzens, p. 534: 57,840; Hallock, p. 77: 58,222; Eicher, p. 590: 58,000; Esposito, map 112: 64,000; Korn, p. 32: 59,000; Tucker, p. 125: 64,500 with 170 pieces of artillery.
8. <sup>a</sup> [Jump up to:](#) <sup>b</sup> Strength figures vary in different accounts. Cozzens, p. 534: about 68,000; Hallock, p. 77: 66,326; Eicher, p. 590: 66,000; Esposito, map 112: 62,000; Lamers, p. 152: "barely 40,000, of which 28,500 were infantry"; Tucker, p. 125: 71,500 with 200 pieces of artillery.
9. <sup>a</sup> Official Records, Series I, Volume XXX, Part 1, [page 179](#)
10. <sup>a</sup> [Jump up to:](#) <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup> Eicher, p. 590; Welsh, p. 86.
11. <sup>a</sup> Lamers, p. 289.
12. <sup>a</sup> Korn, p. 32; Cozzens, pp. 21-23, 139; Eicher, p. 577; Woodworth, pp. 12-13; Lamers, p. 293; Kennedy, p. 226.
13. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, pp. 87-89; Tucker, pp. 81-82.
14. <sup>a</sup> Hallock, p. 44; Cozzens, pp. 156-58.
15. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, p. 155.
16. <sup>a</sup> Woodworth, p. 50.
17. <sup>a</sup> Woodworth, p. 53; Hallock, pp. 44-45; Lamers, p. 138; Cozzens, pp. 163-65.
18. <sup>a</sup> Knudsen, pp. 63-69.
19. <sup>a</sup> See, for instance, Eicher, p. 580.
20. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, p. 90.
21. <sup>a</sup> Tucker, p. 122.
22. <sup>a</sup> Mooney, James, *Myths of the Cherokee, 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of the American Ethnology*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900, page 413.
23. <sup>a</sup> *Bright, William (2004). Native American Placenames of the United States. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. p. 97. ISBN 978-0806135984.*
24. <sup>a</sup> Munro, Pamela & Willmond, Catherine (1994) "Chickasaw: an Analytical Dictionary." Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
25. <sup>a</sup> Esposito, text for map 109; Lamers, pp. 293, 296, 298; Robertson (Fall 2006), p. 9; Woodworth, pp. 48, 52.
26. <sup>a</sup> Woodworth, p. 48; Lamers, p. 294; Tucker, pp. 50-51.
27. <sup>a</sup> Eicher, p. 577; Lamers, pp. 301-2; Robertson (Fall 2006), p. 13.
28. <sup>a</sup> Esposito, map 109; Lamers, pp. 301-3; Kennedy, p. 226; Robertson (Fall 2006), p. 19; Woodworth, pp. 53-54; Hallock, p. 47; Tucker, pp. 16-17; Korn, pp. 33-34.
29. <sup>a</sup> Eicher, pp. 577-78; Woodworth, pp. 58-59; Robertson (Fall 2006), pp. 19-22; Esposito, map 110.
30. <sup>a</sup> Robertson (Fall 2006), p. 14; Hallock, p. 49; Cozzens, pp. 149-52; Woodworth, p. 65; Eicher, p. 578.
31. <sup>a</sup> Korn, p. 35.
32. <sup>a</sup> Woodworth, pp. 60, 66; Cozzens, p. 173; Hallock, p. 54; Robertson (Fall 2006), pp. 44-50; Eicher, p. 578; Esposito, map 110.
33. <sup>a</sup> Korn, pp. 35-37; Woodworth, pp. 62-63; Tucker, pp. 29-30, 62; Esposito, map 110; Eicher, p. 578; Robertson (Spring 2007), pp. 8, 14.
34. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, p. 175; Hallock, p. 54; Tucker, pp. 62-64; Robertson (Spring 2007), pp. 14-16; Eicher, p. 578; Woodworth, pp. 67-68; Korn, pp. 37-38.
35. <sup>a</sup> Robertson (Spring 2007), pp. 20-22; Cozzens, pp. 177-78; Tucker, pp. 66-67; Kennedy, p. 227; Hallock, pp. 57-58; Esposito, map 111; Korn, p. 39; Woodworth, pp. 68-69; Eicher, p. 579.
36. <sup>a</sup> Tucker, pp. 69-71; Robertson (Spring 2007), pp. 42-45; Cozzens, pp. 179-85; Hallock, pp. 58-60; Woodworth, pp. 70-73; Eicher, p. 579; Esposito, map 111.
37. <sup>a</sup> [Jump up to:](#) <sup>b</sup> Lamers, p. 313.
38. <sup>a</sup> Lamers, p. 315; Robertson (Fall 2007), pp. 7-8; Korn, p. 42; Woodworth, pp. 73-74; Esposito, map 112.
39. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, pp. 186-90; Korn, p. 39; Eicher, pp. 579-80; Esposito, map 111; Woodworth, pp. 74-75; Hallock, pp. 61-63; Robertson (Fall 2007), pp. 8, 19-22.
40. <sup>a</sup> Hallock, p. 63; Robertson (Fall 2007), pp. 22-24; Cozzens, pp. 190-94.
41. <sup>a</sup> Robertson (Fall 2007), p. 40; Tucker, p. 112; Cozzens, pp. 195-97; Lamers, pp. 321-22; Woodworth, pp. 79-82; Esposito, map 112; Eicher, pp. 580-81.
42. <sup>a</sup> Commanders and corps "present for duty" figures on September 10, 1863, from the Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXX/1, pp. 169-70.
43. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, p. 543; Maj. Gen. [David S. Stanley](#), the Cavalry Corps commander at the beginning of the campaign, fell ill before the battle and did not participate.
44. <sup>a</sup> Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXX/2, pp. 11-20.
45. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, pp. 299-300.
46. <sup>a</sup> Robertson (Fall 2007), pp. 43-46, 48-49; Korn, p. 44; Woodworth, p. 82; Cozzens, pp. 197, 199; Tucker, p. 113.
47. <sup>a</sup> Woodworth, p. 83; Cozzens, p. 198; Tucker, pp. 112-17; Robertson (Fall 2007), pp. 46-47.
48. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, pp. 199-200; Kennedy, p. 230; Robertson (Fall 2007), pp. 49-50; Eicher, p. 581; Esposito, map 112.
49. <sup>a</sup> Woodworth, p. 85; Lamers, p. 322; Tucker, p. 118; Eicher, p. 581; Esposito, map 112; Robertson (Fall 2007), p. 43.
50. <sup>a</sup> Woodworth, pp. 86-87.
51. <sup>a</sup> Eicher, p. 581; Woodworth, p. 85; Hallock, p. 67; Lamers, pp. 322-23; Esposito, map 113.
52. <sup>a</sup> Connelly, pp. 201-02; Woodworth, 84; Robertson (Spring 2008), 6; Lamers, p. 327; Eicher, pp. 580-81.
53. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, pp. 121-23; Robertson (Spring 2008), pp. 7-8; Tucker, pp. 126-27; Korn, p. 45; Lamers, pp. 327-28; Eicher, p. 581.
54. <sup>a</sup> Tucker, pp. 130-33; Woodworth, p. 87; Robertson (Spring 2008), 8, 19; Cozzens, pp. 124-35.
55. <sup>a</sup> Robertson (Spring 2008), pp. 19-20; Tucker, pp. 133-36; Cozzens, pp. 135-48.
56. <sup>a</sup> Robertson (Spring 2008), pp. 21-23; Woodworth, pp. 87-88; Eicher, p. 582; Cozzens, pp. 141-51; Tucker, pp. 133-36.
57. <sup>a</sup> Tucker, pp. 137, 142-46; Lamers, p. 329; Cozzens, pp. 156, 158, 186-88; Robertson (Spring 2008), pp. 24-26; Woodworth, pp. 89-90; Eicher, p. 583; Korn, p. 46.
58. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, pp. 151-52, 183, 186-88; Robertson (Spring 2008), pp. 40-41; Tucker, pp. 144-42; Woodworth, p. 89; Eicher, p. 582.
59. <sup>a</sup> Robertson (Spring 2008), pp. 41-44; Tucker, pp. 152-61; Cozzens, pp. 183-86, 230-34, 251-59; Woodworth, pp. 90, 98-99; Eicher, pp. 583-84; Korn, p. 47.
60. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, pp. 196, 199-200, 214; Robertson (Spring 2008), pp. 44-45; Woodworth, p. 92; Tucker, pp. 166, 172-73; Korn, p. 48; Eicher, pp. 582-83.
61. <sup>a</sup> Robertson (Spring 2008), pp. 45-46; Cozzens, pp. 218-24, 259-62; Tucker, pp. 170-72, 174; Woodworth, p. 93; Korn, p. 48; Lamers, p. 331.
62. <sup>a</sup> Tucker, p. 169; Cozzens, pp. 226-29, 289; Robertson (Spring 2008), pp. 47-48; Woodworth, p. 93; Lamers, p. 331; Korn, p. 49.
63. <sup>a</sup> Woodworth, p. 100; Cozzens, pp. 263, 274-76; Tucker, pp. 176-85; Robertson (Spring 2008), pp. 48-49; Eicher, p. 585; Korn, pp. 50-52.
64. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, p. 294.
65. <sup>a</sup> Hallock, p. 70.
66. <sup>a</sup> Connelly, pp. 201, 207-08.
67. <sup>a</sup> Connelly, pp. 207-08.
68. <sup>a</sup> Woodworth, p. 103; Cozzens, pp. 299-303; Robertson (Spring 2008), p. 50; Tucker, pp. 213-17; Eicher, p. 585; Knudsen, p. 55; Korn, pp. 53-54.
69. <sup>a</sup> Tucker, pp. 221-30; Cozzens, pp. 301-03, 307-10; Woodworth, pp. 103-04; Korn, p. 54; Eicher, p. 586; Robertson (Spring 2008), pp. 50-52.
70. <sup>a</sup> Cozzens, pp. 294-97; Tucker, pp. 195-98; Robertson (Spring 2008), p. 49; Lamers, p. 334; Korn, p. 52.
71. <sup>a</sup> Woodworth, pp. 105-06; Cozzens, p. 298; Robertson (Spring 2008), p. 50; Eicher, p. 585; Lamers, pp. 334-35; Esposito, map 113.
72. <sup>a</sup> Tucker, pp. 205-07; Cozzens, pp. 310-14; Woodworth, p. 106; Eicher, p. 586; Korn, p. 56; Lamers, pp. 336-39.
73. <sup>a</sup> Hallock, pp. 73-74; Korn, p. 54; Woodworth, pp. 103, 106; Tucker, pp. 221-22; Cozzens, pp. 338, 320; Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 19, 23; Eicher, p. 586.
74. <sup>a</sup> Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 19-21; Korn p. 55; Cozzens, pp. 320-37; Connelly, pp. 221-22; Tucker, pp. 233-43; Woodworth, pp. 107-10.
75. <sup>a</sup> Woodworth, p. 111.
76. <sup>a</sup> Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 20-24; Woodworth, pp. 109-11; Connelly, p. 222; Tucker, pp. 243-50; Cozzens, pp. 338-56.
77. <sup>a</sup> Lamers, p. 341; Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 26-27; Tucker, pp. 251-54; Cozzens, pp. 357-61; Woodworth, pp. 113-14.



78. [^](#); Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 27-28; Esposito, map 114; Korn, pp. 57-58; Tucker, pp. 255-59; Cozzens, pp. 363-67; Cleaves, p. 167; Woodworth, p. 115.

79. [^](#) Woodworth, pp. 111-12; Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 24-26; Tucker, pp. 261-62, 284-87; Cozzens, pp. 343-47, 368.

80. [^](#) Woodworth, p. 116; Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 9, 26, 28; Hallock, p. 75; Cozzens, p. 368; Tucker, pp. 260-61, 282; Cleaves, p. 223; Knudsen, pp. 56-61; Wert, pp. 311-12; Robertson, *Bull of the Woods*, pp. 116-35.

81. [^](#) Woodworth, p. 117.

82. [^](#) Woodworth, pp. 117-19 (states that 29 cannons were on the ridge); Cleaves, pp. 223-24 (states that at least 30 guns were captured); Robertson (Summer 2008), p. 40 (26 cannons on the ridge); Tucker, pp. 264-72; Cozzens, pp. 374-76, 397-405; Eicher, p. 588.

83. [^](#) Cozzens, pp. 407-12; Tucker, pp. 279-80, 284, 287; Woodworth, pp. 120-21; Robertson (Summer 2008), p. 40.

84. [^](#) Robertson (Summer 2008), p. 41; Woodworth, pp. 121-23; Tucker, p. 287; Cozzens, pp. 410-11, 424-31.

85. [^](#) Lamers, p. 352; Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 41-42; Eicher, 589; Tucker, pp. 288-99, 315-17; Cozzens, pp. 376-90, 392-96; Woodworth, pp. 118-19.

86. [^](#) [Jump up to:](#) [^](#) Lamers, p. 355.

87. [^](#) Cleaves, p. 169; Eicher, p. 590; Tucker, pp. 309, 313-14; Woodworth, p. 134; Cozzens, pp. 402-05; Turchin, p. 129; Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 42-43. Robertson stated that Rosecrans, witnessing the destruction of Lytle's brigade, turned toward the rear "in apparent despair," the army commander's "spirit broken."

88. [^](#) Cozzens, pp. 418-19; Robertson (Summer 2008), p. 44; Alf G. Hunter, [Chapter V: Chickamauga campaign Archived](#) March 16, 2012, at the [Wayback Machine](#), reports, however, that Col. Hunter stated in an 1887 speech to veterans of his regiment that he did not see Brannan once that afternoon.

89. [^](#) Woodworth, p. 123.

90. [^](#) Tucker, pp. 351-52; Cozzens, pp. 424-25; Woodworth, pp. 123-24; Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 44-45.

91. [^](#) Tucker, 340. At 8 p.m. on September 19, Rosecrans sent an order to Granger saying, "You must help us in the fight tomorrow by supporting Thomas."

92. [^](#) Tucker, pp. 340-46; Robertson (Summer 2008), p. 45; Cozzens, pp. 438-44; Cleaves, p. 172; Woodworth, pp. 123-25; Eicher, p. 590.

93. [^](#) Cleaves, p. 225; Esposito, map 114; Cozzens, pp. 435-36, 452-56; Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 41, 43, 46; Tucker, pp. 303-04; Woodworth, pp. 122, 126-27; Lamers, p. 356.

94. [^](#) Tucker, p. 357.

95. [^](#) Connelly, p. 225; Tucker, pp. 353-57, 368-69; Woodworth, pp. 127-28; Cozzens, pp. 471-77, 492-509; Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 47-49; Cleaves, pp. 174-75.

96. [^](#) Lamers, p. 336.

97. [^](#) Tucker, p. 359.

98. [^](#) Cozzens, pp. 520-21; Esposito, map 114; Eicher, p. 592; Woodworth, pp. 129-31; Lamers, p. 361.

99. [^](#) Robertson (Summer 2008), p. 49; Hallock, pp. 82-83; Tucker, p. 393; Woodworth, pp. 132-33; Connelly, pp. 225-26, 230-33; Cozzens, pp. 517-18.

100. [^](#) [The Ten Costliest Battles of the Civil War](#), civilwarhome.com.

101. [^](#) Smith, p. 190.

102. [^](#) Eicher, p. 592, describes the battle as a "stunning tactical and strategic victory," but most authors temper the description of victory with the caveats of unachieved objectives, with the additional hindsight of the steady stream of Confederate defeats that followed.

103. [^](#) Lamers, p. 361.

104. [^](#) Esposito, map 115; Robertson (Summer 2008), pp. 49-50; Hallock, pp. 87, 90; Tucker, 391; Cozzens, pp. 525, 529-35; Eicher, pp. 593, 613-17; Woodworth, p. 146; Connelly, pp. 234-35.

105. [^](#) Knudsen, pp. 54-56, 63-69.

## Missouri in the Civil War: Her "Beauty, Talents and Education Made Many a Man a Bushwhacker" James W. Erwin, July 28, 2023, [blueandgrayeducation.org](#)



Mildred Elizabeth ("Lizzie") Powell was born in 1840 near Paris, Missouri. Little is known of her prewar life, but she was well-educated and known for her quick wit and sharp tongue that she frequently used against supporters of the Union. Fascinated Union men described her as "young, beautiful & accomplished."

Lizzie Powell was suspected of smuggling percussion caps out of Hannibal in her petticoat for guerrillas. She openly discouraged young men from joining the Union army, telling them that doing so would be an "everlasting disgrace." An

officer noted her "beauty, talents and superior education have made many a man a bushwhacker who except for [her] influence would have been an honest man."

On September 29, 1862, Captain William Poillon, with fifty soldiers and a half dozen officers who were eager to meet this notorious and attractive rebel, arrested her at her home. When Poillon introduced his companions, Powell "requested him to dispense with this, as it was not my desire to be introduced to those whose acquaintance I had not sought and did not expect to cultivate."

Powell was brought before Gen. Lewis Merrill, the district commander. After some verbal sparring about the rebellion, Merrill remarked that "he had never met an intelligent southern lady in Missouri." Powell replied that "he had been very unfortunate in his associations."

Powell was allowed to remain more or less free in Hannibal. The local provost marshal, Maj, T.D. Price, came to see her. She wrote in her diary that he "solicits an introduction and passes several compliments; [I] refuse for [the] reason that I do not wish to devote the evening to entertaining a Federal officer."

On January 8, 1863, a Union citizen, William Newland, complained Powell was allowed free run of the town. He noted she was completely defiant of the Union soldiers, "but about one half of them are in love with her." Four days later, General Merrill ordered her confined again.

Major Price was befuddled. He finally wrote St. Louis urging she be banished to Dixie. He pointed out that when Powell was served with the original banishment order, she simply refused to go—and the authorities did not know what to do about it. In a postscript, Price (like the other Federal officers) described her as a "young and withal quite fascinating 'King-Bee' among the 'Secesh.'"

Federal authorities released her unconditionally on February 25, 1863. In directing her release, the commanding officer remarked: "A lofty spirit (such as her correspondence shows her to possess) I would rather trust to generous impulses and a sense of propriety, than hope to reclaim to allegiance by imposing any condition."

Seeking a more favorable climate for her health and politics, Lizzie and her brother James boarded the Hannibal and St. Joseph train in April 1863 for a trip West to Virginia City, Nevada Territory. Lizzie Powell died in 1877 in a carriage accident in Denver.



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