August 15, 1936

To the Committee on Graduate Study:

I submit herewith a thesis written by Mr. Frank P. Smith and entitled "The Military History of East Tennessee, 1861-1865," and recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.

J. B. Sanders

At the request of the
Committee on Graduate Study,
we have read this thesis,
and recommend its acceptance.

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Accepted by the Committee

Jos. R. Hunt
Chairman

THE MILITARY HISTORY OF EAST TENNESSEE, 1861-1865

A THESIS

Submitted to the Graduate Committee
of
The University of Tennessee
in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

by

FRANK P. SMITH

August 1936

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PREFACE

Campaigns of the Civil War may be placed in three major divisions: the fighting in Virginia, with its attendant invasions of Maryland and Pennsylvania, between the Army of Northern Virginia and the Army of the Potomac; the campaigns in the West, covering Kentucky, Middle and West Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas; and the trans-Mississippi struggles.

With the exception of the Chattanooga campaign, East Tennessee was not included in these larger maneuvers and battles, probably because of its topographical features and geographical location. However, there are certain facts regarding the region during the Civil War that are of interest. E. Kirby Smith, the commander of the trans-Mississippi, had previously commanded the Department of East Tennessee. Sherman started the famous "march to the sea" from Chattanooga. Longstreet (Old Pete) had two independent commands in his military career, and one of these was directing the Knoxville campaign. Literature has immortalized "Sheridan's Ride," but his command at Missionary Ridge has been largely neglected. The famous partisan leader, John Morgan, lost his life at Greeneville, killed by a member of an East Tennessee Union regiment.

And some of the soldiers who had fought so fiercely for the possession of Little Round Top at Gettysburg, assaulted Fort Sanders five months later.[1]

In this thesis, frequent use will be made of such terms as company, battalion, regiment, division, corps, and army. The first of these consisted of approximately one hundred men and was commanded by a captain. A battalion consisted of four companies and was commanded by a major; a regiment was made up of three battalions and was commanded by a colonel. Four regiments constituted a brigade, commanded by a brigadier-general; and two to four brigades constituted a division, commanded by a major-general. Two or more divisions constituted a corps, and two or more corps, an army, each commanded by a major-general. A strict military organization was an exception, however, and many times during the Civil War a colonel or a lieutenant-colonel had a brigade under his orders. Moreover, the captain, who had the duty and authority of a company commander, often led a battalion or a regiment.[2]

Union armies which fought in the Civil War were named for rivers, while those of the Confederacy adopted the names of states or other sections of the South.

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1. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Century Co., Vol.III, 437, 752.
2. See ibid., 4 Vols., following each campaign.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the early decades of the 19th century, Tennessee had been too busy with internal affairs to take a leading part in the sectional dissension, but her great leader had said, "Our Federal Union, it must be preserved."[1] And Tennessee had consistently voted for the Whig candidates for President from 1836 to 1856.[2]

As early as 1797, Thomas Embree, addressing the people of Tennessee through the medium of the Knoxville Gazette, was urging them to form abolition societies. One of the societies was in existence in Jefferson county, and was followed by similar organizations in Greene, Washington, Blount, Sullivan, Grainger, and Knox counties. The first abolition paper in the United States was published in Jonesboro.[3]

But in spite of the tendency of Tennesseans to cling to the Union, there was a constantly increasing pressure on the state to follow the South, and this influence was greatly enhanced by the accession of Isham G. Harris to the governorship in 1857.

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1. James Truslow Adams, America's Tragedy, 114.
2. William R. Garrett and Aaron V. Goodpasture, History of Tennessee, 201.
3. Asa Earl Martin, in Tennessee Historical Magazine, I, 262 (1915).

The vote of Tennessee in the presidential election of 1860, which was an apparent anti-secession majority of 16,000,[4] did not deter Harris from making an effort in the interests of disunion. In December, 1860, he sent a message in regard to the South Carolina slave-holding convention:

> I herewith transmit resolutions adopted by the legislatures of South Carolina and Mississippi. . . .
>
> While I do not concur in this recommendation, not seeing the necessity or propriety of a convention of the slave-holding states at this time, I nevertheless deem it proper that I should communicate, and that you should respectfully consider, the suggestions of your sister States. . . .
>
> The resistance should be first by the use of all the constitutional means in our power to the end that the Union may be preserved as it was formed, and the blessings of a government of equality under a written constitution perpetuated.
>
> But if the hope of thus obtaining justice shall be disappointed and the Federal Government in the hands of reckless parties shall at any time become an engine of power to invade the rights of individuals and of states, to follow the examples of our fathers of 1776 will be the only alternative left to us.[5]

In December, 1860, he called an extra session of the legislature to convene on January 7, 1861. When the legislature assembled, they soon passed an act ordering an election for

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4. Goodspeed Publishing Company, History of Tennessee, Knox County, 777. Vote: Breckinridge, Southern Democrat, 64,809; Bell, Constitutional Unionist, 69,176; Douglas, Northern Democrat, 11,330.
5. Ibid., 794.

February 9, at which the people should express their choice in regard to a convention to consider the existing relations between the states and the national government. At the same time, they were to choose delegates to the convention, in case it should be held. The call for the convention was overwhelmingly defeated, and the Unionist delegation led by a majority of 64,054.[6]

The two elections would appear to indicate that secession would fail in Tennessee. However, Beauregard's gunner had not pulled the lanyard of his cannon in Charleston Harbor; and when that event occurred, the story changed. The position of East Tennessee, which was bounded on the north by Virginia and Kentucky, by Georgia on the south, by North Carolina on the east, and by Middle Tennessee on the west, was largely loyal to the Union.

This was particularly true of the counties on the Tennessee-North Carolina line. Carter county, in the extreme northeastern section of the state, was the scene of the "Carter County Rebellion." Its neighbor, Sullivan county, was very sympathetic toward the Confederacy, however. Furthermore, in lower East Tennessee, we find that two of the border counties, Polk and Monroe, voted for secession. But the Unionism of the counties on the eastern

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6. Garrett and Goodpasture, op. cit., 203.

side of the Cumberland Plateau closely approached that of the Appalachian Highlanders.[7] The Confederacy drew recruits from the 300-mile valley in this large area. One of the first regiments raised for the Southern army in the State of Tennessee - the Third Confederate - was composed of East Tennesseans.[8]

Knoxville, situated at the confluence of the Holston and French Broad rivers, was the metropolis of East Tennessee. Southwesterly from Knoxville, the towns of Lenoir Station, Loudon, Sweetwater, Athens, Charleston, Cleveland, and Ooltewah played a more or less important role in the Civil War history of the region. All of these towns were on the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad and on the south or east side of the Rennessee river. This railroad was sometimes called the Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia Line and later became the Southern Railroad. Of these towns, Loudon alone was situated on the Tennessee river, while Charleston was on the bank of the Hiwassee. Kingston, the county seat of Roane county, was on the same side of the Tennessee river as Knoxville, but a considerable distance down the stream. Next below it on the river was

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7. See: Samuel Scott and Samuel Angel, History of the 13th Tennessee, Volunteer Cavalry, U. S.A., 47-52; Goodspeed, op. cit.; Oliver P. Temple, Notable Men of Tennessee, 36-81; and East Tennessee in the Civil War, 120-224; Garrett and Goodpasture, op. cit.; for vote on secession by counties, see Goodspeed, op. cit., 532-533.
8. See: V. C. Allen, Rhea and Meigs Counties in the Confederate War, 79-71.

the village of Washington, the county seat of Rhea county. Cottonport, in Meigs county, on the opposite shore of the river and downstream from Washington, was important for its fording facilities. Decatur, also in this county, was of some slight importance during the war.[9] North and east of Knoxville, Mossy Creek (now Jefferson City) and Dandridge, in Jefferson county; Morristown, in Hamblen county; Greeneville, in Greene county; Bristol, Blountville, and Kingsport, all in Sullivan county, gained at least local renown in the great struggle.

East Tennessee was the direct connecting link between Richmond and the West. Chattanooga was the terminus of four railroads: the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia system, leading to Richmond; the Western and Atlantic, to Atlanta; the Nashville and Chattanooga, to Nashville; and the Memphis and Charleston, to Memphis and New Orleans.[10]

Cumberland Gap, in Claiborne county, was a gateway to Kentucky.

General Buell aptly stated the importance of this region as follows:

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9. For location of these towns, consult maps in the Appendix. The reader will remember that the Tennessee River is formed by the union of the Holston and French Broad Rivers, which join at Knoxville.
10. Riley Oakey Biggs, Development of Railroad Transportation in East Tennessee During Reconstruction Period, Master's Thesis, University of Tennessee, 1935, 11. (Unpublished).

> East Tennessee might therefore be regarded as a doorway to the rear of Richmond and a commanding rendezvous which looked down with a menacing adaptability upon the Gulf and Atlantic states.[11]

Its importance to the western armies was disclosed after the siege of Knoxville. East Tennessee being in the hands of the Union forces, it was impractical, if not impossible, for Longstreet to join Bragg and the Army of Tennessee.[12] Moreover, Longstreet had been compelled to reach Chickamauga by the route east of the Appalachians in 1863, because Burnside was in control of Knoxville.[13] It is not known what the result would have been if a strong Union army had followed the stragglers of Crittenden's army into East Tennessee after the battle of Fishing Springs, January 19, 1862. It must be remembered that the majority of eight infantry regiments, eight mounted infantry regiments, twelve cavalry regiments, and batteries of light artillery were raised in this section.[14]

The question facing the inquirer into the possibilities of this situation is whether such an army in a friendly territory could have seized the railroads, and put them out of commission south of Knoxville; and, with railroad resources at its command, flanked on the east by

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11. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, III, 34.
12. See below, Chapter IV.
13. Official Records, War of the Rebellion, XXX, Part II, 287. Hereafter these records will be referred to as O. R.
14. Adjutant General's Report, Tennessee, 1866.

the Appalachian mountains and on the west by the Cumberland mountains, could have invaded Virginia and struck the rear of the Confederate forces there. But, obviously, any answer to these questions must be conjectural.

CHAPTER II

FUSS, FEATHERS - AND SOME BLOOD, 1861-1862

On April 12, 1861,[1] a Southerner fired the first shot of the Civil War. This shot was the signal for General Beauregard's batteries to shell Fort Sumter. The bloodless artillery battle that ensued forced the capitulation of the Union stronghold.[2]

The rapidly moving developments of the next few weeks brought Harris' secession propensities into the open. He closed his curt reply to Lincoln's call for volunteers with the following:

> Tennessee will not furnish a single man for purpose of coercion, but 50,000 if necessary, for the defense of our rights and those of our Southern brethren.[3]

Harris called an ext a session of the legislature, and this body, through his influence, authorized an election on secession, and organized the military resources of the state.

The Military League created by this Assembly is of much interest. The State, although a political

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1. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. I, 3.
2. Ibid., 3.
3. O. R., Series III, Vol. I, 81.

subdivision of the United States, offered and placed its military power in the hands of the enemies of the nation. By its provisions, Gustavus A. Henry, A. W. O. Totten, and Washington Barrow, commissioners on the part of the State of Tennessee, and H. W. Hilliard, commissioner on the part of the Confederate States of America, placed the whole of the military forces in military operations of the State of Tennessee under the control of the President of the Southern Confederacy.[4] This placed the state on a very singular footing: the civil functions of a national government in Tennessee were under the authority of the President and Congress of the United States, but the state's military was to be commanded by the Confederate President.

The governor's zeal and initiative were not confined to the political field, for his communications to Walker, Confederate Secretary of War, before the election of secession, report fifteen companies of troops at Knoxville.[5] Ostensibly, these troops were part of the provisional army of Tennessee for the protection of the state. General Caswell[6] was the commander of the East Tennessee area. The camp was established about two miles west of Knoxville. The first regiment organized was the Third Confederate (sometimes called the Third Tennessee),

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4. Goodspeed Publishing Co., op. cit., 536.
5. O. R., Series I, Vol. LII, 109.
6. Goodspeed Pub. Co., op. cit., 536.

soon followed by the Fourth Tennessee and the Nineteenth Tennessee.[7] The Third left for Virginia and was mustered into Confederate service two days before Tennessee seceded.[8]

Major "Wash" Morgan, of the Third Tennessee, became involved in a tragedy in Knoxville a short time before the regiment left for the Virginia front. Mr. Trigg, a Unionist, was presiding over a mass meeting and flag-raising ceremony, during which Charles F. Douglas had a dispute with Major Morgan. Morgan fired at Douglas, but the bullet struck an innocent bystander. The excitement spread to the soldiers in camp. They started to town with the intention of wreaking vengeance upon Douglas, but were turned back by Colonel Cummings. The sequel to this was tragic. Douglas was assassinated while seated before a front window of his home. The shot came from an open window of a hotel a hundred yards distant. The perpetrator of this deed is yet unknown.[9]

In the meantime, the Unionists were not idle. Since February, 1861, T. A. R. Nelson, Horace Maynard, John Baxter, Andrew Johnson, and others had been traveling throughout East Tennessee speaking for the Union.[10] Nor

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7. William Rule, Standard History of Knoxville, Tennessee, 156.
8. V. C. Allen, op. cit., 71.
9. Thomas W. Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 101, 347.
10. See Temple, op. cit., Chapter X, ff.

did their activities stop at speaking: as early as the Greeneville Convention, a secret agreement was made by Robert K. Byrd, of Roane county, Joseph A. Cooper, of Campbell county, R. E. Edwards, of Bradley county, and S. C. Langeley, of Morgan county, to organize and drill soldiers, clandestinely, for the Union.[11] Cooper, by August 1, had organized and drilled more than 500 men. He met with them in old fields and at other out-of-the-way places.

This Union sentiment was not being ignored by either the Confederate or Federal authorities. As early as July 1, 1861, the Adjutant-General at Washington placed Lieutenant Nelson of the United States Army on special duty with orders to raise five regiments of infantry and one of cavalry in East Tennessee, and one regiment of infantry in West Tennessee. Included in these instructions were orders for 10,000 stands of arms to be carried through Kentucky into East Tennessee.[12] Landon C. Haynes quoted W. G. Brownlow as saying that 10,000 men in East Tennessee were under arms and drilled. Haynes also expressed fear of bridge burning.[13]

These fears must have originated from an overworked imagination, since the Unionists, according to

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11. O. P. Temple, Notable Men of Tennessee, 104.
12. O. R., Series I, Vol. IV, 251-252.
13. Haynes to Davis, ibid.,364-365.

Temple, began at this time an hegira to Kentucky to enlist in the Federal Army. According to his record, Fred Heiskell, of Knox county, was undoubtedly the first refugee. Heiskell left the day Fort Sumter was bombarded, and within a day or two enlisted in one of the Kentucky regiments.[14]

On July 26, 1861, General Felix K. Zollicoffer assumed command of the Confederate forces in East Tennessee.[15] The strength of his command was as follows: infantry, Colonel George Maney, 944 men; Colonel Hatton, 856 men; Colonel Forbes, 860 men; Colonel Cummings, 877 men; cavalry, eight companies, about 653 men; artillery, Captain Rutledge's company, 110 men; four six-pounders; two howitzers.[16] The War Department gave Zollicoffer authority over all regiments that were in his department, but the shifting about of the various regiments was not conducive to efficiency. Zollicoffer sent to Richmond the usual warning of a threatened uprising and invasion.[17] On September 15, 1861, through transfers from other departments and by recruiting, Zollicoffer was able to report a force of 11,457 men.[18]

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14. O. P. Temple, East Tennessee in the Civil War, 368.
15. O. R., Series I, Vol. IV, 375.
16. Ibid., Series I, Vol. LII, 123.
17. Ibid., Series I, Vol. IV, 377-78.
18. Ibid., 409.

Troops	Present for Duty	Aggregate Present	Aggregate Present and Absent
Sixteenth Alabama (Wood)	354	867	897
Fifteenth Mississippi (Statham)	630	912	1043
Fourteenth Mississippi (Baldwin)	851	929	1043
Eleventh Tennessee (Rains)	677	735	891
Seventeenth Tennessee (Newman)	685	726	900
Nineteenth Tennessee (Cummings)	719	821	941
Twentieth Tennessee (Battle)	732	795	876
_____ (Churchwell)	654	777	850
_____ (Lillard)	701	802	948
Unorganized	700	800	925
Cavalry Battalions			
First Tennessee (McNairy)	361	370	393
Second Tennessee (Branner)	490	530	550
Third Tennessee (Brazelton)	500	560	600
Fourth Tennessee (McClellan)	540	570	600
Total	8,594	10,194	11,457

The village of Sneedville, in Hancock county, was the scene of one of several bloodless battles. Although it was Union to the core, there were sufficient Confederates to raise a company for the Twenty-ninth Tennessee Infantry. While this company was assembling for drill one night, word was received that the town was surrounded by armed Unionists who were receiving reenforcements. The Confederates were unarmed. The leader of the besiegers demanded a surrender, but the captain of this company collected such weapons as were accessible and refused to accede. Thus matters stood until morning,

when aid came from Cumberland Gap to repel the attackers.[19]

In September, Zollicoffer left Knoxville for Cumberland Ford, Kentucky, leaving Colonel W. B. Wood in command.[20] Wood's policies were opposite to Zollicoffer's plan of leniency. Parson Brownlow, who gave very little credit to anybody or anything that was "rebel," stated later that General Zollicoffer protected him and all other Union citizens. But he wrote of Colonel Wood as being "a hypocrite, who preached in the Methodist church on Sunday, and the next day encouraged his men to do acts of violence. . . ."[21]

The Colonel made things so warm for the Parson that his paper, The Knoxville Whig, had the following announcement for October 20, 1861:

> I owe it to my numerous list of subscribers the filling out of their respective terms for which they have made advance payments, and if circumstances ever place it in my power to discharge these obligations, I will do it most certainly. But if I am denied the liberty of doing so, they must regard their small losses as so much contribution to the cause in which I have fought. I feel that I can with confidence rely upon the magnanimity and forbearance of my patrons.[22]

And immediately after this notice, Brownlow became "a refugee."

The bridge-burning, which was the last outstanding feat of 1861, accomplished nothing of military value

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19. J. B. Lindsley, Military Annals of Tennessee, 434.
20. Rule, op. cit., 156.
21. Brownlow's Book, 278.
22. The Knoxville Whig, Oct. 20, 1861.

to the participants or their backers, but it probably threw East Tennessee into the greatest turmoil it experienced from the days of Sumter to the Burnside invasion. In all probability, the excitement was greater than that caused by the invasion, for by the date of this last event the war had become a settled affair, and the people had become accustomed to the movement of troops about the country.

From the best available evidence it is presumable that the daring adventures were planned in July, 1861, when W. B. Carter of Carter County visited the North to see what could be done for the relief of East Tennessee. In an interview with General McClellan, Lincoln, and Seward, he got his plans endorsed, and at the same time obtained the promise of aid in the way of an army coming into East Tennessee. His proposal was to burn the bridges along the railroads in this region. Two army officers, Captain William Cross and Captain Daniel Fry, were assigned to aid the undertaking.[23]

Nine bridges were designated for destruction: one across the Holston at Union Depot (now Bluff City), one over the Watauga at Carter's Depot, one over Lick

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23. O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and the Civil War, 370-371.

Creek near Greeneville, one over the Holston at Strawberry Plains, the Tennessee River bridge at Loudon, the Hiwassee River bridge at Charleston, two bridges over Chickamauga Creek, and the Bridgeport bridge over the Tennessee. Memphis and Nashville were connected by the bridge at Bridgeport, Alabama. One of these structures at Chickamauga was part of the Western and Atlantic railroad system leading to Atlanta; the other belonged to the East Tennessee and Georgia Line. The remaining six were on the East Tennessee and Georgia or the East Tennessee and Virginia Road - lines of communication from the East to Tennessee and the middle South.[24]

For the carrying out of this undertaking, a leader was selected in each locality near a bridge, and this leader carefully chose as many men as were necessary or accessible.[25]

Their work was well done; for in spite of warnings and of the Confederate troops stationed along or near the railroads, five of the bridges were burned before the authorities had any intimation of the plot.

The bridge at Bridgeport was so closely guarded that it could not be damaged by J. D. Keener and R. B. Rogers, who were chosen to burn it. W. T.

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24. Ibid., pp. 371-379.
25. Ibid.

Cate and W. H. Crowder were successful in burning the two over Chickamauga Creek. The one at Charleston was burned by A. M. Cate and his followers, Jesse Cleveland and son, Eli, and Thomas L. Cate. No record could be found concerning the plans for destroying the Loudon bridge, or reasons for abandoning the plan. Lick Creek bridge was burned by Daniel Fry and several unknown partners. C. C. Pickens, of Sevier County, leader of the band consisting of D. M. Ray, James Montgomery, William Montgomery, Alloe Smith, White Underdown, B. F. Franklin, Elijah Gamble, and two others, ran into serious opposition at Strawberry Plains, and the encounter there lacked only a small chance of ending fatally for the future colonel.[26] The attempt to burn the bridge resulted in failure, because Pickens did not know that it was guarded. Pickens struck a match when he reached the bridge, and was immediately shot in the thigh by the guard. When he fell, the guard, James Kelton, seized him; then one of the Montgomerys ran up with a large "home made" knife to rescue his leader, but in the dark-

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26. Pickens was later commissioned Colonel in the Union Army.

ness and confusion Pickens was badly wounded by Montgomery. Thinking that Kelton was dead, the party threw him over the embankment. As their only box of matches was lost in the struggle, the Unionists were forced to abandon the project. The next day Pickens was placed on a sled covered with corn fodder and hauled back into the mountains, where he remained hidden until the following January.[27]

The Carter County Rebellion was an aftermath of the incendiarism in upper East Tennessee. Colonel Daniel Stoner, the leader for the Carter's Depot, and Zollicoffer (or Union)[28] exploit was persuaded by a Dr. Jobe, of Carter County, to desist from the burning of the Watauga Bridge at Carter's Depot. But on November 8, 1861, the date appointed throughout East Tennessee for this particular Union coup, Stoner and a small band of thirty men marched to the bridge at Zollicoffer. Most of this force was from Carter County. Of the two guards stationed at the bridge, one was captured, and the other escaped. The next day 1,000 men, armed with "all kinds

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27. Ibid.,381-383.
28. At this period both names were used.

of weapons," assembled at Elizabethton to open the "Carter County Rebellion."[29]

The moving factor behind this assembly at Elizabethton was a rumor that Sherman's army was advancing into East Tennessee. As this news spread, Union men from Carter, Johnson, Washington, and Greene Counties, and from western North Carolina flocked into Elizabethton to meet the army.[30] By noon there were 1,000 Union men in the county seat of Carter; later in the day the force increased. These people, trusting in the advent of the Union army, and aroused to a high tension over the arrests of the bridge burners, determined to attack the rebel soldiers under Captain McClellan stationed at Carter's Depot (now Watauga) and capture the "Rebs," if possible. About three o'clock in the afternoon, they started down the Watauga, crossed the river at Taylor's Ford, and came in sight of McClellan's pickets.[31] Then some of the leading Unionists induced them to halt, elect a leader, and retire to the south bank, where they went into camp, with N. G. Taylor's barn as headquarters.

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29. Scott and Angel, History of the Thirteenth Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry (U. S. A.), 65-73.
30. Ibid., 81.
31. Ibid., 82.

> About midnight they were fired upon from across the river. This fire was returned and a miniature battle was carried on for a while. Each side claimed to have no casualties and claimed to have inflicted a few light casualties, but from the best evidence it seems that neither side did any great damage. 32

The Union army, or "mob," moved their camp the next day to Hampton, a few miles east of Elizabethton, where they disbanded when they realized that there was no hope of a Federal army's advance into East Tennessee.[33]

The Confederate authorities became agitated over the bridge burning. John R. Branner, President of the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad, wired Secretary of War Benjamin the next day. He stated in his communication (which also called for help from the government) that four of the bridge burners had been arrested.[34] On November 10, two companies were placed on guard at the Loudon bridge. General Carroll was ordered to reinforce Zollicoffer. W. B. Wood reported that "500 Unionists left Hamilton County today, we suppose to attack Loudon bridge." He also reported the arrest of six men. Zollicoffer,

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32. Ibid., 82; O. R., Series I, Vol. IV, 236.
33. Scott and Angel, op. cit., 82-83.
34. O. R., Series 1, Vol. IV, 231.

on the 12th of November, stated that "the leniency shown them has been unavailing." And on November 13, Brannor stated: "They are cutting the telegraph wires as fast as we put them up."[35]

The developments in East Tennessee caused North Carolina to become uneasy and the government there called for troops to guard the Tennessee-North Carolina border.[36]

Colonel Ledbetter was assigned to command the troops stationed on the railroad between Bristol and Chattanooga,[37] with instructions to keep the communications open; and on November 17, 1861, General W. H. Carroll was assigned to East Tennessee. These two officers, as will be shown in this paper, together with Colonel Wood, inaugurated a vindictive reign over the Unionists.

The counterpart of the Carter County Rebellion was being waged in Hamilton County. History has designated it with the title, "The Clift War." But like the movement in upper East Tennessee, there was very little bloodshed. William Clift resided near Soddy in Hamilton County. He was a very active

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35. Ibid., 233-234, 242-243.
36. Ibid., 559.
37. Ibid., 538.

anti-secessionist. Near the close of the summer of 1861 he established a camp on his farm for the Unionist refugees who were escaping to Kentucky to join the Federal army at Camp Dick Robinson. The number of these refugees so increased that Clift threw off all pretense of secrecy and formed a military camp. Rebel forces collected in Rhea County for the purpose of attacking this camp. The citizens of the surrounding country finally prevailed upon Clift to disperse his forces. Immediately after the dispersal, Colonel James W. Gillespie,[38] the Confederate Inspector-General of Tennessee, met the leader and after a conference drew up a treaty which guaranteed the Union people of lower East Tennessee safety if they would cease their public demonstrations. To this all concerned agreed, and thus ended the first Clift War.[39] A quotation from this treaty shows that the import of strife in this section was well understood.

> . . . . that any further division and dissention (sic) among us, the citizens of East Tennessee, is only calculated to produce war and strife among our homes and families and desolation of the land without

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38. J. S. Hurlburt, History of Rebellion in Bradley County, 66-71.
39. O. P. Temple, Notable Men of Tennessee, 95.

any material influence upon the contest between the North and the South. 40

But this covenant was soon broken, and the camp was re-established. The first attention the Clift camp received from the Confederates was the promise from Zollicoffer to send Ashby's squadron to look after Clift. [41] Five days later, he reported, "Three different expeditions are moving from different points upon Clift's men." 42

Colonel S. A. M. Wood, commander of the Seventh Alabama Infantry, was in command of the expedition against Clift in the "second war." He arranged with Colonel W. B. Wood to march from Athens across the country by way of Decatur and Cottonport, cross the river, and form a junction with the Seventh Alabama near the objective. Mounted home guards were to cooperate. The Seventh, on November 12, proceeded up the river by steamboat from Chattanooga to a landing about nine miles from the Clift farm. The mounted guards had arrived about five minutes in advance of Colonel S. A. M. Wood's command. Wood's skirmishers ordered these

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40. Hurlburt, op. cit., 70-71.
41. O. R., Series I, Vol. IV, 242.
42. Ibid., 244.

horsemen to halt, and when they failed to do this, fired upon them, upon which the cavalry fled, leaving behind one wounded man and one wounded horse. The captain saw the banner and returned, and the mistake of cooperating troops firing upon each other did not result in much harm.[43] In his report to Secretary Benjamin, he recommended himself for a command or promotion:

> I find the citizens here have confidence in my movements, and I also find, with great respect for the present superior officers, that I have been much longer in the service and have been trained in a different school from any of these men. I am now really the commander of these forces and refer to the recommendation of General Bragg in sending me here and to what you will hear from him in a few days as to my qualifications. 44

Colonel Wood reported to Secretary of War Benjamin on November 20 that

> the rebellion in East Tennessee has been put down in some of the counties and will be effectively suppressed in less than two weeks in all the counties. 45

He had arrested quite a few of the leaders, including Judge Patterson, a son-in-law of Andrew Johnson, and Colonel Pickens. It was requested that prisoners be

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43. Ibid.,247-250.
44. Ibid.,247.
45. Ibid.,250.

held "if not as traitors, as prisoners of war. To release them is ruinous. . . ." This report struck a responsive note in Benjamin. His directions for disposing of the traitors were very severe:

> 1st. All such as can be identified as having been engaged in bridge burning are to be tried summarily by drum-head court-martial and if found guilty, executed on the spot by hanging. It would be well to leave their bodies hanging in the vicinity of the burned bridges.
>
> 2nd. All such as have not been so engaged are to be treated as prisoners of war and sent with an armed guard to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, there to be kept in prison at the depot selected by the government for prisoners of war. Wherever you can discover that arms are concealed by these traitors, you will send out detachments, search for, and seize the arms. In no case is one of them known to have been up in arms against the government to be released on any pledge or oath of allegiance. The time for such measures is past. . . . Such as voluntarily take the oath of allegiance, and surrender their arms, are alone to be treated with leniency.
>
> P. S. Judge Patterson, Colonel Pickens, and other ring-leaders of the same class must be sent at once to Tuscaloosa jail as prisoners of war. 46

During the following days the leaders carried on a policy of wholesale arrests and executions. At Ledbetter's Court-Martial at Greeneville on November

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46. O. R., Series I, Vol. VII, 701.

30th, General Carroll approved the findings of the Courts-Martial and ordered the executions of A. C. Haun, Harrison Self, Jacob Harmon and his son, Thomas Harmon. The president pardoned Harrison Self in response to a telegram sent by Self's daughter. Among the persons interceding for the condemned men at Knoxville was Colonel James W. Gillespie, the moving spirit behind the Clift Treaty. Besides these executions, the jails and prisons were filled with Union sympathizers.[47]

H. C. Young, of Carroll's staff, protested against these persecutions.[48]

In the capture of Brownlow, the Confederates seemed to have a "Tartar" and they were puzzled as to his disposal, but in March, 1862, he was sent beyond the Southern lines.[49]

The Carter County Rebellion and its predecessor, the bridge burning, were outstanding only because of the elated but futile hopes of the Unionists and the hysteria of needless fright on the part of the Southerners. The real action of these frays was a series of burlesques: as in the Clift war when one group of Confederates were firing at another, and as

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47. O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and The Civil War, 393-397.
48. O. R., Series I, Vol. VII, 777-779.
49. Ibid., 740, 742, 745, 754, 765, 764, 772, 774-776 785, 800, 819, 913.

at Strawberry Plains, when the leader was severely cut by one of his band, under the impression that the victim was a bridge guard. At the battle of Taylor's Ford there is material for a Gilbert and Sullivan scene.[50] The reactions of the Confederates were horribly tragic in their applications. The one most prominent result of these actions was the increase in recruits for the Federal Army.

The first regiment raised in Kentucky for the Federal Army from these refugees was the First Tennessee Infantry, commanded by Colonel Robert K. Byrd of Roane County.[51] Men of daring and resourcefulness were employed to pilot the loyalists across the mountains to the Union lines. Daniel Ellis of Carter County was the most noted pilot.[52] G. H. Monsenat was left in command of the post at Knoxville.[53]

Late in November, 1861, the Confederate General, George B. Crittenden, was placed in command in East and Middle Tennessee with the following boundaries as his limits: East and Middle Tennessee bounded on the west by the railroad from Chattanooga

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50. Two famous Light Opera Composers of Victorian days.
51. Goodspeed, op. cit., 497.
52. Scott & Angel, op. cit., Chapter XXIX.
53. Wm. Rule, op. cit., 162.

to Nashville, and thence up the Cumberland River to the Tennessee line, with such portion of Kentucky as he might hold. The command was to include the troops under Generals Carroll and Zollicoffer.[54] On December 10, Carroll was ordered to report with his armed men for duty to General Zollicoffer, leaving the unarmed men at Knoxville with a suitable officer.[55]

General Zollicoffer was killed at the battle of Fishing Creek on January 19, 1862, and the Army, under General Crittenden, was badly demoralized. Some of the fugitives fell back to Knoxville, but most of the command concentrated in Middle Tennessee. Vaughn's regiment was returned from Virginia to Tennessee. Colonel Rains was in command at Cumberland Gap. Besidds these troops, there were those under Colonel Ledbetter and a few unattached organizations.[56] Such were the forces General E. Kirby Smith was ordered to command on February 25, 1862.[57]

Kirby Smith was probably the first West Pointer to have any appreciable authority in East Tennessee. The ill-organized and poorly disciplined forces presented an intolerable condition to a pro-

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54. O. R., Series I, Vol. VII, 706.
55. Ibid., 754.
56. Ibid., 842, 862, 892.
57. Ibid., 908.

fessional soldier. The new commander tried to remedy these conditions by concentrating the companies into brigade organizations.[58] Reinforcements were sent to the Department, and Chattanooga and Cumberland Gap were made concentration centers. The same day that Smith assumed command, Gen. Floyd's command reached Chattanooga.[59]

General Smith apparently arrived in East Tennessee with preconceived prejudices. Within five days after his arrival, he suggested to the War Department the removal of the East Tennessee troops to other sections of the Confederacy, "wherein a purer political atmosphere and removed from their present associations, they can do little or no harm and may become loyal and good soldiers."[60] Later communications suggest martial law.

This prejudice was strengthened by the capture of two companies of the First East Tennessee Cavalry by troops of General G. W. Morgan on March 13. General Morgan was in command of the troops near Cumberland Gap.[61] In the evening of March 13 a portion of Morgan's command marched through gaps and

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58. Arthur Howard Noll, Gen. Kirby Smith, 204-205.
59. O. R., Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 4.
60. Ibid., Part 2, 321.
61. Ibid., 68.

surprised the forces under Lieutenant Colonel White of the First East Tennessee, and in a short skirmish, killed five of the Rebels, wounded fifteen, and captured fifteen. They also captured eighty-seven horses. Colonel White was among the captured.[62] General Smith believed that treachery was behind this capture, but the subsequent history of this command as the Fifth Tennessee Cavalry leads one to believe that the General's judgment was too hasty.[63]

A few skirmishes between Morgan's forces and the Confederates were all that occupied the troops during the months of April and May. But there was a strained alertness on the part of the Confederates. They had to face Morgan on the Tennessee-Kentucky border; and the Federal forces of General Mitchell, who had occupied Huntsville, Alabama, on April 12th, caused General Smith much anxiety over the safety of Chattanooga.[64]

By May 31, 1862, General Smith had on his rolls 20,371 men to face any possible move of Mitchell or Morgan. This force was organized as follows:

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62. Ibid., Part I, 18-20.
63. See O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 556; Vol. XLVII, Part II, 1043, 1161, 1168, 1333.
64. Ibid., Vol. X, Part I, 2.

First Brigade

Brig. Gen. D. Ledbetter
43d Ga. Col. S. Harris
Capt. R. J. Hines Company
Batallion Alabama Cavalry, Maj. Estes
First Florida Cavalry, Col. W. G. M. Davis
First Georgia Cavalry, detachment, Major A. R. Harper
Capt. B. W. Lenty's Company Cavalry
McBride's Company Cavalry
Jackson Artillery (Ga.) Capt. G. A. Duce
Lookout Artillery (Tenn.) Capt. R. L. Barry
Mabry Artillery (Tenn.) W. C. Kain
Lieut. G. R. Margrove

Second Brigade

Brig. - Gen. C. L. Stevenson
30th Alabama, Col. C. M. Shelby's
3rd Georgia Battalion, Lieut. Col. M. A. Stovall
42d Georgia, Col. R. J. Henderson
29th North Carolina, Col. R. B. Vance
4th Tennessee, Col. J. A. McMurry
11th Tennessee, Col. J. E. Rains
36th Tennessee, Col. R. J. Morgan
Cooke's Tennessee Infantry (Companies A & F) Capt. Gersler and Proph
Capt. R. J. Mileham's Company Virginia Infantry
3rd Battalion Tennessee Cavalry
Eufaula Light Artillery (Ala.) Capt. John W. Clark
Ehott Artillery (Tenn) Capt. W. H. Burroughs
Zeizer

Third Brigade

Col. A. W. Reynolds
39th Georgia. Col. J. T. McConnell
Col. Jesse A. Glenn's Georgia Infantry
3d Maryland Battery, Capt. H. B. Latable
First Cavalry Brigade
Col. Ben Allston Commanding
First Tennessee Cavalry, Col. H. M. Ashby
Second Tennessee Cavalry, Col. J. B. McLin

Fourth Brigade

Brig. - Gen. S. M. Barton, Commanding
20th Alabama, Col. I. W. Garnett
23d Alabama, Col. F. K. Beck
9th Georgia Battalion, Maj. Jos. T. Smith
40th Georgia, Col. Abba Johnson
52d Georgia, Col. Weir Boyd's
3d Tennessee, Col. John C. Vaughn
Anderson's Artillery (Va.) Capt. J. W. Anderson

Unattached:

31st Alabama, Col. D. R. Hundley
39th N. Carolina, Col. David Coleman
43d Tennessee, Col. J. W. Gillespie
Capt. A. A. Blairs Company (Tennessee)
Capt. B. F. Brittain's Company (Tennessee)
Capt. Wm. Lyon's Company (Tennessee)
1st Georgia Cavalry detachment, Col. J. J. Morrison
3d Battalion Tennessee Cavalry (one company) Capt. W. S. Greer [65]

The greater part of this force was on paper. About 7,000 were at Cumberland Gap and in Powell's Valley. General Ledbetter at Chattanooga had approximately 900 infantry and 400 cavalry with eight pieces of light artillery.[66] Four thousand of these men were unarmed.[67]

In the event of a cooperative movement of Morgan and Mitchell, Gen. Ledbetter was to retreat to Cleveland and Gen. Stevenson, commander of the troops near Cumberland Gap, was to retire to Abingdon, Virginia.

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65. Ibid., Part II, 573.
66. Ibid., 557.
67. Ibid., 590.

A steamer was ordered to go up the river and destroy all boats below Kingston.

By June 6th all of Smith's army was so arranged that it could be concentrated by rail at any point between Chattanooga and Morristown. Most of the stores had been removed by this time.

A division of General Mitchell's force, under the command of General James S. Negley, appeared on the north side of Tennessee River, opposite Chattanooga. On June 7th they shelled the town for three hours. This was returned by the Confederate batteries. The bombardment was resumed on the 8th of June,[68] but soon ceased.

Mitchell stated in a communication to Gen. Halleck, the Union commander in the West, that he learned that a heavy force was advancing and threatening and thought it expedient to retire.[69] Many years later Buell, Mitchell's immediate superior, advanced another theory, "that he was there without any ulterior purpose and without adequate means for advancing or remaining."[70]

The command of Gen. Morgan that had been operating near the Clinch River was the Seventh Division of the Army of the Ohio.[71]

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68. Ibid., Part I, 919-992.
69. Ibid., Part I, 919-922.
70. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. II, 704.
71. Ibid., Vol. III, 62

Gen. D. C. Buell, the commander of the Army of The Ohio, was requested by Morgan on the 12th of June to order a diversion against Chattanooga by Mitchell.[72] Buell had anticipated this desire and gave the order on the preceding day. However, the attack on June 8th had the desired effect, for all correspondence for the next few days contained orders that placed the troops under Kirby Smith,[73] ready for attack, evacuation or concentration.[74] Gen. Stevenson was ordered to evacuate Cumberland Gap on June 16th.[75] These orders were carried out and Gen. Morgan took possession on June 18th. Pursuit was abandoned at Tazewell. Gen. Stevenson held the line of the Clinch.

"Watchful Waiting" was the general attitude of both armies for the remaining days of June and the month of July.[76]

The capture of Murfreesboro by Forrest was the only brilliant episode of these two months. While Murfreesboro is not in the area connected with this paper, Forrest started from Chattanooga and this raid

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72. O. R., Series I, Vol. XVI, 20.
73. O. R., Vol. XVI., Part II, 677-694.
74. Ibid., 681-683.
75. Ibid., 683.
76. Ibid., 38.

probably changed the plans for a movement on Chattanooga.[77]

Just previous to the invasion of Kentucky by Smith and Bragg, a skirmish occurred at Tazewell between the Third Confederate (Tennessee), which had returned from Virginia in February, 1862,[78] and DeCoursey's Brigade from Cumberland Gap. Accounts as to the result of the fray are very contradictory. But the facts are as follows: on August 2, DeCoursey was ordered to Tazewell for the purpose of reconnoitering and foraging; he obtained 200 wagon loads of forage, which were sent in to the base on the fifth; and early on the morning of the sixth, he was ordered to return to his post, but was attacked.[79] From this point, we have conflicting statements as to precisely what happened. According to Morgan, two of the enemy's regiments attacked two companies that had been detached for the purpose of protecting DeCoursey's artillery. Three fourths of the companies' men, by a valiant effort, managed to extricate themselves from this predicament.[80] In a later dispatch, Morgan said:

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77. Ibid., Part I, 792-811. For other accounts, see: J. H. Wyeth, Life of Forrest, and Andrew N. Lytle, Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company.
78. V. C. Allen, Rhea and Meigs Counties in the Confederate War, 73.
79. O. R., Series I, Vol. XVI, Part I, 836.
80. Ibid.

"Knoxville Register admits that Vaughn's regiment lost 109 men at Tazewell."[81] Colonel Fry, Buell's Chief of Staff, reported, "Rebel accounts of affair at Tazewell, false."[82] Judge V. C. Allen, a participant in the battle, stated that the Third Confederate (Tennessee) defeated General DeCoursey's Brigade in an open field engagement.[83]

In Lindsley's Military Annals, B. G. Manard and Colonel N. J. Lillard corroborate the sketch given in Allen's history. The general tenor of their writings is that DeCoursey's Brigade was met on the old stage road on Walden's Ridge near Tazewell. In the engagement which followed, DeCoursey was driven back to the fortifications at Cumberland Gap.[84]

The latter part of Morgan's report stated that DeCoursey sent for aid, but that he, Morgan, met the brigade on its return.

The historian may draw his own conclusions. It is worthy of consideration, however, to note that Lieutenant-Colonel Lillard of the Third Tennessee, and

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81. Ibid., Part II, 323.
82. Ibid., 341.
83. V. C. Allen, op. cit., 74.
84. Lindsley, op. cit., 138, 139.

Judge Allen gave their versions of the battle at a time when no material gain or loss, such as superior officers' approbation, reprimands, or recommendations for promotion, was at stake, and before senility had set in on them.[85]

The invasion of Kentucky was the next plan of the Confederates. Smith was to work in conjunction with General Bragg, the Commander of the Army of the Mississippi.[86] This army had been moved to Chattanooga from Mississippi in July, 1862.[87] Smith conferred with General Bragg at Chattanooga on July 31.[88]

Smith was the first to advance. On the 16th of August he started for the mountain passes. He left General Stevenson with 9,000 men in front of General G. W. Morgan at Cumberland Gap. The commanding general crossed by Roger's Gap at the head of Claiborne's and Churchill's divisions, 6,000 strong. Ledbetter's and Davis's brigades, 3,000 strong, crossed by Big Creek Gap. Scott's cavalry brigade of 900 men

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85. The writer knew Judge Allen and Colonel Lillard personally and can vouch for them as intelligent, honorable gentlemen of unquestionable integrity.
86. Army with Department No. 2, formerly commanded by General A. S. Johnston. It operated in Tennessee, Alabama, Kentucky, and Mississippi. Lindsley, op. cit., 64.
87. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. III, 4.
88. Ibid., 4.

with a battery of artillery moved in advance.[89] Bragg moved by way of Middle Tennessee, leaving[90] Chattanooga on August 28th. On September 1st, the Confederates were withdrawn from Cumberland Ford, some fourteen miles west of Cumberland Gap. As soon as this was ascertained by Morgan, he sent DeCoursey's brigade to Manchester for supplies. He found hardly enough to supply the foraging body. On the night of September 17th, Morgan evacuated Cumberland Gap and by skillful maneuvering, managed to march his army through a practically barren wilderness[92] to the Ohio River. Stevenson's men passed into Kentucky to join Smith. Gen. S. P. McCowan was left in command of East Tennessee.[93]

The armies of Bragg and Smith returned from Kentucky the latter part of October.[94] Bragg's command was transported to Middle Tennessee by rail.[95] The total results of the Kentucky invasion appear to be: the capture of immense supplies by Bragg, and severe

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89. Arthur H. Noll, General Kirby Smith, 206-207.
90. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. III, 6.
91. O. R., Vol. XVI, Part I, 992.
92. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 67-68.
93. O. R. Series I, Vol. XVI, Part I, 2, 3.
94. O. R., Series I, Vol. XVI, Part II, 974.
95. Lindsley, op. cit., 77.

criticism of both Buell and Bragg. In the case of Buell, it led to an investigation and the accession of Rosecrans to his (Buell's) position.[96] However, the Confederates were in possession of Cumberland Gap, and the forced evacuation of Middle Tennessee and North Alabama would compensate, to a small degree at least, for the blunders of Bragg.

In December, 1862, General Samuel P. Carter left Lexington, Kentucky, with a brigade of 980 men composed of two battalions, Second Michigan Cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Ninth Pennsylvania Cavalry, Major Russell, and First Battalion, Seventh Ohio, for a raid into East Tennessee.[97] He moved his force through Virginia and struck the Tennessee defenders near Blountville, in Sullivan County, on December 30. Here they captured some thirty Confederate soldiers who were in a hospital and paroled them.

Learning that Bristol was heavily guarded, Carter retired, leaving that place to his left, and moved to Union (or Zollicoffer) and destroyed the railroad bridge. The rebel force here, Sixty-second North Carolina, Infantry, surrendered without resistance. The

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96. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 19; O. R., Vol. XVI, Part II, 6-723.
97. O. R., Series I, Vol. XX, Part I, 88-89.

prisoners were happy and swore they would never be exchanged.

When the work of destruction was finished a detachment was sent toward Carter's Depot. On the way this detachment captured Col. Love, who was going to Zollicoffer on a locomotive.[98]

The portion of the 62d North Carolina at Carter's Depot were hardly as submissive as that at Union, for they fired a few shots at the invaders before fleeing to the woods. Carter's loss was one killed, one mortally and one severely wounded, and two slightly wounded. The loss of the rebels was twelve to sixteen killed. The raiders passed from Carter's Depot back to Kingsport and thence through Hawkins and Hancock Counties into Virginia.[99]

The Confederate troops in this area were from Southwestern Virginia, commanded by Gen. Humphrey Marshall. The reports from the Confederates are confusing and consist of charges, countercharges, denials, etc. With the exception of the 62d North Carolina, each regiment either by chance or design, managed in the maneuvering to reach a place toward which no

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98. Ibid., 90.
99. O. R., Series I, Vol. XX, Part I, 91.

Federals came, or to reach another objective after the Yankees had passed.[100]

The East Tennessee Unionists had faced the rapid political changes of 1861, as well as the disappointment at the failure of the United States Army to protect them; and the Confederates of the region had been disturbed over the bridge burnings. The days for burlesque battles and their pathetic sequences had passed.

After the invasion of Kentucky, the Union Army was no nearer East Tennessee than it had been in 1861. As for the Confederate Army, it was in the same position as before the invasion, although it was better organized and under better discipline. War had become a grim business, no longer a thing of parade, "fuss and feathers." Judging from the actions of the Confederates, one could safely say that they had reached the conclusion that the function of an army is to fight the army of the enemy, rather than to annoy inoffensive Union citizens. The Unionists were aiding the cause by going through the lines to the army, instead of creating local abortive uprisings.

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100. Ibid., 86-127.

CHAPTER III

FEDERAL INVASION OF EAST TENNESSEE AND THE CHATTANOOGA CAMPAIGN, 1863

In January, 1863, General Kirby Smith[1] was called to Richmond for assignment, and Brigadier-General Donelson was given command of East Tennessee.[2] In a short time two other changes were made, and General Simon Buckner was placed in command on April 27, 1863.[3]

Except for a raid into Kentucky by General Pegram, there was no activity in this department in the spring of 1863. Over in Middle Tennessee, both armies had been facing each other since the battle of Murfreesboro.

The monotony of the period and the lethargy of the forces were shaken in June by another of the adventurous and romantic, but seemingly "resultless" raids. Colonel W. P. Sanders of the Union army led from Kentucky 700 men of the First Tennessee, two hundred of the Forty-fourth Ohio, 200 of the 112th Illinois, 150 of the Seventh Ohio, 150 of the Second Ohio, and 100

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1. Noll, op. cit., 275.
2. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIII, 621.
3. Ibid., Vol. XV, Part II, 1055; Vol. XXXIII, Part II, 791.

of the First Kentucky into East Tennessee, and surprised and captured rebels with supplies.

The raiders directed the march toward Kingston but were slightly apprehensive of Scott's cavalry brigade. Then Loudon became an objective, and crossing the Tennessee eight miles north of Kingston, the brigade pressed on; but again word was received that there was a heavy guard confronting them.

The next place they met with more success, for at Lenoir Station a detachment of artillery and sixty men fell into their hands.

This capture must have inspired them to hunt "bigger game", and the next place of importance being Knoxville, the daring Sanders drove in the pickets and with the greater part of his force passed to the other side of the city. General Buckner at this time was at Big Creek Gap with the artillery and most of the garrison except the Fifty-fourth Virginia and Sixth Florida. The defense of the city was taken over by Lieut-Col. Haynes, who hastily placed the remaining pieces of artillery in position and with two hundred citizens and convalescent soldiers to man them prepared to repel the invaders. That night, June 19, Col. Haynes, disguised

as a farmer, passed through the lines of the Federals, learned their position, and gave them some false information as to the state of the defenses.

Four pieces of artillery were received from Buckner by 7:00 A. M. on the twentieth. While he was placing these, Haynes noticed a column of the enemy marching to a point where there was neither artillery nor men. To remedy this situation, a section of artillery was taken at a gallop to a point immediately in front of them. The fire from this section forced the enemy to take shelter. The artillery had orders to fire on the enemy's infantry rather than their heavy guns. Sanders soon retreated.

The exped tion passed to Strawberry Plains, where a bridge or so was burned, then across the valley and through Smith's Gap into Kentucky. The Confederates sustained a loss of two officers killed, Captain McClung and Lieutenant Fellows, while the losses of the raiders were two killed, two wounded, and thirteen missing.

Sanders put in a dash of the Ivanhoe conception of war in a note sent by a paroled prisoner to Haynes.[4]

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4. Captain J. W. Thomason in his Biography of Jeb Stuart refers quite often to the "Ivanhoe" conception of war in Virginia. For accounts of the Sanders raid, see O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIII, Part I, 386-393.

"I send you my compliments, and say that but for the admirable manner with which you managed your artillery, I would have taken Knoxville today."

The Sanders raid was fruitless so far as direct visible damage to the Confederates was concerned. The Confederate authorities did not take this foray as seriously as some of those in the early years of the war, but the effect of the raid cannot be known unless one knows the motive behind it. There is a possibility that it was a reconnaissance to investigate the possibilities of a later invasion.

The Army of Tennessee, under command of General Bragg, came to Chattanooga on July 7, 1863,[5] under circumstances quite different from those at the time it entered in 1862. As the Army of the Mississippi, it was then preparing for a northward invasion, but now it was retiring from Middle Tennessee before the Army of the Cumberland.[6]

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5. John Trotwood Moore, Tennessee the Volunteer State, Vol. I, 494.
6. The Army of the Cumberland, now under General Rosecrans, was formerly General Buell's army and was made up of troops from the Department of the Cumberland. This military department included practically all of Middle Tennessee and possibly East Tennessee. East Tennessee, however, was in Confederate hands. The Army of Tennessee had taken that name at the Battle of Murfreesboro. Review of Reviews, Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. X, 172-212.

By general orders No. 24, the Department of East Tennessee was placed under the authority of General Bragg, and the troops in the department were to be designated the Third Corps, or Buckner's Corps, and serve as an addition to the troops that Bragg had brought from Middle Tennessee.[7]

While these preparations for consolidation were transpiring, a very dramatic figure, General N. B. Forrest, crossed the stage in this department. General Forrest, who, on July 24, was ordered to East Tennessee to take command of the cavalry, had two brigades with him, General Armstrong's and Colonel Cox's. If Forrest had no enemy in his immediate front, he moved his front nearer to the enemy. As usual, he started his squadrons out on scouts or skirmishes.[8] Colonel Holman's Regiment was sent through Rhea County and across Walden's Ridge to observe the movements of the enemy in Sequatchie Valley; then they were sent on an expedition to Morgan County, near Wartburg, where on August 30, Bird's Cavalry Brigade was driven back in confusion by Colonel Holman, through DeOrmond's Gap.[9]

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7. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIII, Part II, 945-954.
8. Thomas Jordan and J. P. Pryor, The Campaigns of Lieutenant General Bedford Forrest and of Forrest's Cavalry, pp. 294-299.
9. Colonel J. W. Holman, in Lindsley, op. cit., 294.

Holman reported to Forrest, who, following one of his famous maxims, "always give 'em a dare,"[10] gave orders for his command to proceed to DeOrmond's gap; but this order was countermanded.

Scott's Brigade was on a Kentucky raid when Forrest reached East Tennessee. The capture of General John Morgan in Ohio released so many Union troops, who had been following him, that Scott was forced to return to Tennessee.[11] But before this, the troops under Buckner had concentrated at Loudon. The reason for this was that on August 21, Buckner had learned of Burnside's threatened invasion of Tennessee. General Frazier was now ordered to hold Cumberland Gap to the last,[12] and General Preston was left at Abingdon.[13] Bragg, on August 22, reported that Rosecrans' forces had crossed to the Chattanooga side of the mountains.[14]

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10. Andrew Nelson Lytle, in Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company quotes Forrest's "Give 'em a dare" quite often. For example, see p. 294.
11. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIII, 839.
12. Ibid., Vol. XXX, Part IV, 526.
13. Ibid., 528.
14. Ibid., 531.

Forrest began the evacuation of East Tennessee on August 31, with the exception of Scott's Brigade, which was left to burn the Loudon bridge in case the enemy appeared in any force.[15] This was done on September 2, 1863.[16]

On September 9, Rosecrans' forces under General Crittenden occupied Chattanooga.[17] Thus the desires of the Unionists for two years were consummated: Burnside with the Army of the Ohio was at Knoxville, and Rosecrans was with the Army of The Cumberland at Chattanooga.

The invasion of East Tennessee had been a favorite plan of both Lincoln and McClellan in the early part of the war. Whether they were under such pressure from Maynard and Johnson or whether their ideas were their own is yet unknown, but it is true that Senator Andrew Johnson and Horace Maynard became very irksome to General Sherman and General Thomas.[18]

Thomas was willing to advance into East Tennessee with a half dozen well drilled regiments that were furnished, but the regiments were without

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15. Jordan and Pryor, op. cit.
16. O. R., Vol. XXX, Pt. II, 577.
17. Ibid., Pt. I, 34.
18. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. I, 382.

means of transportation.[19] Sherman stated that he realized its importance, but knew that there was neither force nor transportation for such a movement.[20] McClellan insisted on the movement to Buell. Buell's replies were usually evasive. McClellan on November 25, 1861, wrote Buell "I am still convinced that political and stratigical consideration render a prompt movement in force on East Tennessee imperative."

Buell was an adherent of the plan of strategy that called for an invasion through Middle Tennessee. He was consistently evasive on the East Tennessee movement and his assurances and promises were mere generalities.[21]

Donelson had fallen, Shiloh was history, and the Federals had penetrated the west-central part of Tennessee to the Mississippi when Buell gave a direct statement as to the East Tennessee situation.[22]

> "If the enemy puts himself on the defensive in East Tennessee it will require an available force of eighty thousand men to take and hold it. We can procure all of our forage and breadstuff and some meat from Middle Tennessee, but Nashville and the

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19. Ibid.
20. O. R., Vol. IV., 343.
21. O. R., Vol. IV., 300-320-343-349-484-485-395-399, Ibid., Vol. VII, 447.
22. O. R., Vol. XVI., Pt. I, 636.

> vicinity must be rid of the enemy in any considerable force. We cannot otherwise collect supplies.

Years later, in explaining Lincoln's attitude, Buell said that the loyalty of these Unionists seemed to blind the Government to the difficulties involved. He thought that the long campaign and bitter battles of 1863 vindicated his attitude in 1861-1862.[23]

If Rosecrans thought the advance would be a leisurely march behind a retreating army, his hopes, as well as his army, were shattered after a two-day bloody battle at Chickamauga, which resulted in his demoralized forces fleeing into Chattanooga on September 21.

Bragg was as unprepared for victory as the Unionists for defeat, and, consequently, no pursuit was ordered. He reported to the War Department that:

> Any immediate pursuit by out infantry and artillery would have been fruitless, as it was not deemed practical with our weak and exhausted forces to assail the enemy, now more than double our number behind his intrenchments.[24]

This statement as to the number is not in accord with figures given by reports from the armies at

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23. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 34-35. This is a well-known historical fact and may be found in any history of this period; but for the history of Chickamauga, Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 638-675, is recommended.
24. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXX, Part II, 35.

this time.[25] If the troops that were on detached service are considered, it will be found that Rosecrans' army was not vastly superior to that of Bragg. There is a justifiable suspicion that the advantage in numbers was in favor of the Army of Tennessee.

A reading of the dispatch from Rosecrans to Lincoln on September 22 may be enlightening as to the situation: "General Burnside will be too late to help us. We are about 30,000 brave and determined men; but our fate is in the hands of God, in whom I hope."[26] This message does not have the earmarks of one from a general behind strong fortifications, facing an opponent of half his own strength. Moreover, the reports of C. A. Dana indicate that Rosecrans was considering a retreat.[27]

Bragg had dissension among his officers immediately after he invested the town. Generals Hindman and Polk were suspended from their commands on the 29th of September. Previous to this, Polk had requested General Lee to come to Chattanooga and take

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25. O. R., Vol. XXIX, Part II, Lee to Davis, 720; Vol. XXX, Part II, 25; Part I, 171. See also Vol. III, 673-676, of Battles and Leaders of Civil War.
26. O. R., Vol. XXX, Part I, 161.
27. Ibid., 197-218.

command. In this communication General Polk said:

> We have gained a signal victory under God's blessing over our enemy, but I fear we are about to lose the fruits of it for want of the necessary capacity to reap them . . . We must have a change before any permanent success can be had in this region. [29]

Lee declined on the ground of physical infirmities. His reply was one of "hope and best wishes" rather than any definite program or suggestions. [30]

During the same week, Longstreet requested Secretary of War Seddon to give them a change of commanders, [31] and this was followed by a petition for the same purpose, signed by a group of officers.

Meanwhile, Bragg had invested the town, the Federals now having the Tennessee River in their rear, while the Confederates occupied a line reaching from Lookout Mountain on the west and along Missionary Ridge on the east.

It was on the brow of Lookout Mountain that Longstreet was supposed to have made his pregnant remark about conditions when President Davis visited the army. Tradition has it that President Davis was so impressed with the scenery of the mountains and

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28. Ibid., Part II, 68.
29. Ibid., Part IV, 708.
30. Ibid., Part II, 69.
31. Ibid., Part IV, 705-706. Longstreet's Corps had been sent to Bragg. They arrived in time to participate in the Battle of Chickamauga.

river that he exclaimed, "What a beautiful view!" Longstreet, aside, muttered, "But a d--- poor prospect!"[32]

In a conference with the general officers, Davis asked of each his opinion of Bragg's fitness. This was eye to eye with the President, the commander-in-chief, and the generals." One and all expressed the opinion that Bragg was unfit for command.[33] However, the Chief Executive retained Bragg. Following the visit, General D. H. Hill was removed from command.[34]

But all the Confederate activities were not confined to quarreling. Forrest's cavalry was hurried to Cleveland and Charleston to meet forces coming from Burnside. The Federals were met at Charleston and were driven back up the railroad. The advance under Colonel Dibrell whipped the Union cavalry at Philadelphia. While on this expedition, General Forrest received orders to turn the cavalry over to General Wheeler.[35]

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32. For an account of the President's visit, see ibid., Part II, 742-745. Longstreet's alleged sarcasm is merely traditional and without any historical basis.
33. G. M. Sorrel, Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer, 201.
34. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXX, Part II, 742-745.
35. Ibid., Part IV, 710.

The "Wizard of the Saddle" was very resentful of this seeming indignity, but unlike Polk and Longstreet, Forrest wrote no letters to Lee or Davis. In battle he took the offensive directly to the enemy. Now he followed the same tactics. The account given below is typical of the Cavalryman's way of facing trouble. Bragg offered to shake hands when Forrest entered the tent, but "Old Bedford" ignored the gesture and opened a broadside.

> I am not here to pass civilties or compliments with you, but on other business. You commenced your cowardly and contemptible persecution of me soon after the Battle of Shiloh, and you have kept it up ever since. You did it because I reported facts to Richmond, while you reported D--- lies. You robbed me of my command in Kentucky and gave it to one of your favorites, men that I armed and equipped from the enemies of our country. In a spirit of revenge and spite because I would not pass favors upon you as others did, you drove me into West Tennessee in the winter of 1862, with a second brigade I had organized with improper arms and insufficient ammunition, although I had made repeated applications for the same. You did it to ruin my career. When in spite of all this I returned with my command well equipped by captures, you began again your work of spite and persecution and have kept it up; and now with this second brigade organized and equipped without thanks to you or the government, a brigade which has won a reputation for successful fighting second to none in the army, taking advantage of your position as the commanding general, in order to humiliate me, you have taken these brave men from me. I have stood your mean-

> ness as long as I intend to. You have played the part of a D--- scoundrel and a coward, and if you were any part of a man I would slap your jaws and force you to resent it. You may as well not issue any more orders to me for I will not obey them, and I will hold you personally responsible for further indignities you endeavor to inflict upon me. You have threatened to arrest me for not obeying your orders promptly. I dare you to do it and I say to you that if you ever again try to interfere with me or cross my path, it will be at the peril of your life. [36]

Soon after this interview, Forrest, at his own request, was transferred to West Tennessee.[37]

General Wheeler wasted no time after his elevation in authority. On September 29, a raid on the enemy's communications was ushered into action. The next day, the Tennessee River was forded at Cottonport (approximately fifty miles above Chattanooga) in the face of the foe, and Wheeler, driving them before him, crossed Walden's Ridge and on October 2, in Sequatchie Valley, destroyed 800 six-mule wagons loaded with supplies for Rosecrans' Army. The raid, which was continued into Middle Tennessee, had for its object the destruction of railroads, bridges, and other property that might prove useful to the enemy.

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36. John A. Wyeth, A Life of General Nathan Bedford Forrest, 265-266.
37. Ibid., 267.

He was successful to an appreciable degree and the loss of supplies was keenly felt by the "cooped in" blue-uniformed soldiers in Chattanooga.[38] When the impracticability of continuing the foray became obvious to Wheeler he returned to the south side of the river at Muscle Shoals, Alabama.

The desperate situation of the army in Chattanooga is patent to one familiar with Chattanooga, its environs, the physical features, and the railroad facilities of that period. The raid of Wheeler, which under other circumstances would not have been a serious movement, nearly blasted all hopes of relief for the Federals.

Chattanooga is located in a valley on the south (sometimes called east) bank of the Tennessee River. Lookout Mountain is on the west of this valley, east of it is Missionary Ridge, west of Lookout Mountain is Lookout Creek, which flows through the valley of the same name. Just west of Lookout Valley is Raccoon Mountain.[39]

The river at Chattanooga runs almost directly

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38. O. R., Vol. XXX, Pt. II, 663-729.
39. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. III, 685-687.

west, but at the foot of Lookout Mountain it runs north, forming a peninsula known as "Moccasin Point." This northward course continues for about five or six miles north to Brown's Ferry, then turns sharply to the south at the foot of Walden's Ridge. In the next southerly run, the river passes Kelly's Ferry, from which, by direct line, it is nine miles to town. Kelly's Ferry is fifteen to twenty miles from town by the river. William's Island lies between Brown's Ferry and Kelly's Ferry.[40]

Bragg's entrenched lines, which commenced on the north end of Missionary Ridge and extended along the crest, thence across Chattanooga Valley to Lookout Mountain, which was also fortified, commanded the Nashville railroad, as well as the wagon roads on both sides of the river. In addition to the regular lines, there were picket lines to the river and rifle pits at the base and on the slopes of the ridges. Some troops also were stationed in Lookout Valley.

The railroad from Nashville to Bridgeport was in possession of the Federals, but even using Bridgeport for a base and transporting supplies by wagons would not suffice for their needs. Although Bridgeport is only twenty-six miles from Chattanooga,

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40. Michael Hendrick Fitch, Chattanooga Campaign, 172-173.

the position of the armies forced the Federals to haul for a distance of sixty miles.

As for the army itself, it was in a dilemma; to retreat meant annihilation as an organization, and to remain in Chattanooga meant possible starvation. Ten thousand animals had died. The men were on half rations of hard bread with some beef, obtained from cattle so poor that the men said that the beef was dried "on the hoof." If they had wanted to fight, they would have been forced to quit at the end of a day for lack of ammunition. Moreover, all timber within the lines was exhausted.[41]

Two inert, discouraged armies were around Chattanooga: one, discouraged and weakened from lack of supplies; the other, standing guard and marking time, probably because of dissensions and a vacillating commander.

Lincoln removed the commander and one or more subordinate Generals, but Davis removed the Generals who did not agree with Bragg. There was another difference in the handling of the armies: the Federals received reinforcements, while the Confederates weakened the Army of Tennessee by removing Longstreet's

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41. U. S. Grant, Personal Memoirs, Vol. II, Chapter XL, gives a clear account of the investment, and of the condition of the army.

corps.[42]

The government had recognized Rosecrans' troubles and, on the twenty-third of September, Stanton summoned a midnight conference to make plans for reinforcing the Army of the Cumberland. At this conference the President and General Halleck were opposed to sending men from the Army of the Potomac. Finally, however, through the aid of Seward and Chase, Stanton received permission for the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, under command of Hooker, to go to Chattanooga.[43]

On October 16, General Grant was assigned to the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, including in his command the Departments of the Cumberland, the Ohio, and the Tennessee.[44] On the same day, he had Rosecrans removed and Thomas appointed commander of the Army of the Cumberland. In reply to his order to hold Chattanooga at all hazards, Thomas said: "We will hold the town until we starve."[45]

The shortage of supplies forced the concentration of Hooker's Corps at Bridgeport. The question

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42. These statements will be developed in this paper. See below, p. 85.
43. James Ford Rhodes, The History of the Civil War, 1861-1865, 295.
44. U. S. Grant, op. cit., 18. The Department of Tennessee included part of Tennessee west of the Tennessee River. Ibid., 26.
45. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 687.

might arise after a more glance, why were the troops of Hooker not ordered to Chattanooga? O. O. Howard, the commander of the 11th Corps, was a very able soldier and in addition to this he had Slocum's veteran 12th Corps.[46] But due reflection will show that such a move would only have meant more soldiers to starve in Chattanooga.

General W. J. Smith, under the direction of General Grant, banished the specter of starvation. Four thousand men were detailed for the execution of this important task. General Hazen, with 1800 men, floated in pontoon boats under the cover of darkness to Brown's Ferry. Here they were to land on the south side and capture or drive away the pickets at this point. General Smith was to move to the north side of the river with the remainder and take material for the bridge. At 5 A. M. on October 27, Hazen's troops landed and captured most of the guard. By 7 o'clock Smith's force was ferried over, and within three hours was in possession of a height commanding the ferry. The territory gained by this surprise attack connected the extreme right in Lookout Valley with the forces in town.[47]

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46. See Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, accounts of various Virginia Campaigns, Vol. II, 202-315;315-368.
47. Ibid., Vol. III, 687-688; 72-306.

Hooker, acting under orders, crossed the river at Bridgeport on October 26 and marched eastward. By the twenty-eighth he had reached Wauhatchie in Lookout Valley. Howard marched on to Brown's Ferry.[48] Geary, with one division of the Twelfth Corps, was stopping three miles south.[49]

To facilitate the transportation of supplies, the Federals built a boat called the Chattanooga, to transport supplies to Kelly's Ferry.[50] The rapids in the river between Kelly's and Brown's Ferries made navigation difficult, if not hazardous.[51] This opening of communications was not to go unchallenged by the Confederates.[52] Longstreet sent Hood's old division to Lookout Valley under command of General Jenkins. Two brigades under General Law were to take position between Geary's forces and the main force. Colonel Bratton was to attack the rear guard. Benning's brigade was held on the left of Law to be in readiness to reinforce Bratton.[53] Bratton attacked vigorously and all indications pointed to success. But as soon as

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48. Ibid.,
49. Ibid. If localities are not clear, see below, Appendix, Maps.
50. T. J. Campbell, The Upper Tennessee, p. 50.
51. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 88.
52. Hood was wounded at Chickamauga and was unable to participate in the Chattanooga and Knoxville campaigns.
53. Longstreet's report in O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part I, 218.

the battle commenced Hooker ordered Howard's forces to march from Brown's Ferry to Gray's aid. On the way, Howard was fired on from the left. He immediately formed his columns to the left and charged Law's men, who retired. This forced Bratton to retire. Longstreet claimed that the failure was due to jealousy among the brigade commanders.[54] This was the only attack upon the new line. There is no evidence to support the claim that a stampede of mules threw Confederates into disorder.[55]

On November 4th, General Longstreet was ordered to take his corps and a part of Wheeler's Cavalry to attack Burnside.[56] As this campaign will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, it will not be necessary to relate anything further concerning it here.

General Sherman was given command of the Army of the Tennessee (U. S. A.) and ordered toward Chattanooga.[57] Sherman reached Chattanooga on November 14th for a conference with Grant as to the disposal of the troops from the Army of the Tennessee. Grant

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54. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 690. O. R., Vol. XXXI, Part I, 218-219, 224-226, 231-233.
55. Ibid.
56. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 679-681.
57. W. T. Sherman, Personal Memoirs, Vol. I, 382.

said that the Army of the Cumberland had been in the trenches so long that he was afraid they would be slow about taking the offensive. This problem was reserved for Sherman.[58]

All this time and up to the battle of Missionary Ridge, Washington was persistently calling on Grant not to forget Burnside.[59] Sherman appeared at Hooker's headquarters on November 20, where he received Grant's orders for a general attack the next day, but the long, forced marches over bad roads made such a movement impossible. Osterhaus' division of Sherman's army was left behind because of the broken pontoon. This division was ordered to report to General Hooker. All of this crossing was made in plain view of the Confederates on Lookout Mountain, but a low range of hills soon shut off the view of the marching men and left the watchers to speculate as to whether they were watching reinforcements for Knoxville or Chattanooga. While this was going on, Howard's corps of Hooker's command, which had been moved to the north bank of the river,[60] marched into Chattanooga. This may have confused the Confederates as to what was taking

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58. Ibid, 390.
59. Grant, op. cit., Chapters XLI and XLII.
60. Ibid, 53.

place behind the hills.[61]

The plan for Sherman's march was that he should go to the mouth of North Chickamauga Creek,[62] where part of his command would float down in boats nearly opposite the mouth of South Chickamauga, which empties into the Tennessee River on the south bank.[63] General Jefferson C. Davis' division of the Army of the Cumberland was to aid in this movement.[64] This was done so speedily and with so much secrecy that by the morning of November 24, after an entire night of ferrying and building pontoon bridges, two divisions of 8,000 men were landed on the east bank of the Tennessee River.[65]

Under the supervision of General W. F. Smith, a pontoon bridge was placed across the river. Some of the boats were retained for ferrying. The steamer Dunbar was pressed into service.[66] That Sherman's entire force was across the river by noon indicates a proficiency that approaches perfection.[67]

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61. Sherman, op. cit., 401.
62. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part II, 347.
63. W. T. Sherman, op. cit., 402.
64. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part II, 491.
65. Sherman, op. cit., 402.
66. Ibid.
67. For the composition of Sherman's forces, see Appendix B.

General Howard marched up from Chattanooga with a brigade and cavalry escort, and united with Sherman's army just as the bridge was being completed.[68]

The Army of The Cumberland on the 25rd had initiated and completed a movement that had a strong bearing on the subsequent events. Sheridan's and Wood's divisions of the Fourth Corps were deployed from Ft. Woods (a fortified elevation east of the town) as if for a dress parade.[69] The purpose of this was to get information about Bragg's purported evacuation. At half past twelve, Wood's division, supported by Sheridan, marched out in front of the fort with flags, drums and other paraphernalia, on display. Groups of officers from Missionary Ridge could be seen viewing the exhibition. Even the Confederate privates and pickets came out of the rifle pits and unconcernedly watched the preparation.[69] As they steadily advanced, with drummers beating the charge, Wood's division was in front, Sheridan's was next on the right, and Howard's corps was massed in the rear. General Baird's division fell in echelon at the right of Sheridan; General Johnson's division of the Fourteenth Corps stood with

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68. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. II, 349.
69. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. III, 720.

arms in the entrenchments, ready to move in any direction.[70] The Confederates realized that it was not a review. The columns met with very little resistance until the advanced rifle pits opened fire, but the pickets fell back to the reserves, and the advancing columns next drove the reserves back to the main line. At last Orchard Knob was in possession of the Federals.[71] Orchard Knob was an elevation about half way between the city and Missionary Ridge. The losses to the Federals were 125 men killed and wounded. The strategic value of this hill was the unobstructed view it afforded of the west side of Missionary Ridge up to the summit.

After the capture, Bragg moved Walker's division from Lookout Mountain to strengthen his right.[72] This had an important bearing on the battle of Lookout Mountain the next day.

The breaking of the bridge, which left Osterhaus' division with Hooker, and the capture of Orchard Knob changed Grant's plan for the

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70. Fitch, op. cit., 190.
71. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 721.
72. Fitch, op. cit., 192.

various attacks. Previous to this, he had planned for Hooker to come to Chattanooga by the route north of the Tennessee, then move out to the right of Rossville. Sherman was to attack the Confederates on the right, while Thomas was to move out facing the ridge, leaving Palmer's corps to guard against an attack down the valley.[73] Now the plan was for Hooker to carry Lookout Mountain, for Sherman to follow the original plan, and Thomas to strike the center.

The Confederates had Moore's brigade on the east side of Lookout Mountain, and the pickets of this force extended from the mouth of Chattanooga Creek to a junction with Walthall's brigade on the northern slope. Brigadier General John K. Jackson was temporarily in command of the division on the day of the assault. Moore claimed to have received no orders or instructions regarding the plan of battle.[74] Walthall's brigade was on the west side of the mountain, occupying a picket line extending one mile up Lookout Creek from the mouth, then up the north

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73. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 695-696, 699-702.
74. John C. Moore, in Confederate Veteran, Vol. VI (1898), 426-427.

side. The Federal batteries on Moccasin Point commanded the roads on the mountain, over which the troops would have to move. From the creek up the mountain, the ground was too rugged for orderly movements of troops. Walthall's orders were to fall back fighting if attacked.[75]

On the morning of the 24th, heavy fogs enveloped the sides of the mountain and obscured the view from those in the valley. This did not deter Geary's division from attacking Walthall. The attack, under cover of heavy artillery fire from west of the creek, forced Walthall to retire up the mountain. By one o'clock he had passed the Craven House and made a stand about 400 yards from it. General Moore marched his brigades to form to the right of Walthall, but reached the Craven House and made a stand. Here they were joined by General Walthall on the right. Osterhaus by this time had formed on Geary's left. Osterhaus had hardly reached his position when he was charged very fiercely by the Confederates, but he succeeded in repulsing the charge.

General Pettus came to the relief of Walthall about two o'clock; Walthall withdrew to replenish

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75. Ibid., 562. This is an address by General Walthall, placed in Confederate Veteran by Polk Smartt.

his ammunition, then nearly exhausted, from the ammunition train, and formed in support of Pettus. Moore held steadily until three or four o'clock, when, seeing a shortage of ammunition, he withdrew about 300 yards. This line was held until 2 A. M. on the 25th, when orders were received to retire. By the morning of the 25th all the forces defending the mountain had been ordered to retire.[76]

Thomas and Grant, on Orchard Knob, had to rely on the sound of musketry and cannon for any information as to the fight on Lookout Mountain, and such sound could enlighten them only as to the intensity of the battle; very little, if any, knowledge could be gained as to the progress of Hooker's troops.[77]

Hooker reported that he had to suspend operations in the afternoon because the fog, which had shut off the view from the valley, now enveloped the mountain side also, until it was too dark for movements.[78] General Carlen's brigade was sent to Hooker from Chattanooga and, after meeting a slight resistance

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76. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part II, 390-400, 598-6-6, 692-696, 704-706, 731-733.
77. U. S. Grant, op. cit., Vol. II, 72.
78. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part II, 317.

near Chattanooga Creek, reported to Hooker and by night was assigned to his left. This placed Hooker's line with the right near the palisades on the eastern slope and the left resting on Chattanooga Creek.[79] The next morning the Stars and Stripes were displayed from the palisade on the eastern slope of Lookout Mountain.

Sherman, as heretofore mentioned, had crossed Tennessee River and was ready for the assault on Missionary Ridge. While Hooker's men were sweeping over the crest of Lookout Mountain, Sherman's troops were forming in the following alignment: General Jeff C. Davis was to take the bridge; Morgan L. Smith, with the column of direction, was to follow Chickamauga Creek; General John E. Smith, in columns doubled on the center, was to take the center; General Ewing, in column at the same distance to the right rear, prepared to deploy to the right, on the supposition that an enemy would not be in that direction.[80] Skirmishers, with support, covered the head of each column. By 3:30 P. M. they had advanced to the foot hills where a brigade of each division was posted on

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79. U. S. Grant, op. cit., Vol. II, 73.
80. W. T. Sherman, op. cit., 402.

the top of the ridge, and fortifications were prepared to strengthen the position.[81]

General Sherman soon learned that his maps were inaccurate as to the contours and outlines of Missionary Ridge; instead of one continuous hill, he found that he was on two high points with a deep chasm between them and their chief objective point - the tunnel.[82]

Sherman received orders from Grant to attack at dawn, with the assurance that Thomas would attack early in the day.[83]

The Confederate line from left to right on the ridge was as follows: Hardee's Corps was on the right; Cleburne's division confronted Sherman; Stevenson and Cheatham came next, the latter joining on Breckenridge's corps, which occupied the slope of the ridge, with outposts in the trenches at the slope. Breckenridge's own division, under General Bate, was in the center in front of Bragg's headquarters. Stewart's division formed the left of the line.[84]

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81. Ibid, 403.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. III, 725.

By dawn on the 25th, Sherman had placed General Corse with orders to attack from the right center, aided by a regiment from Lightburn's brigade. General Morgan L. Smith was to move along the east base connecting with General Corse, and Colonel Loomis to move along the west base, supported by the two reserve brigades of General John E. Smith.[85] The key hill from which the assault was to originate was held by the brigades of Cockrell Alexander and Lightburn.

General Corse's command pushed forward and occupied the trenches abandoned by General Smith's working party that morning. Smith's brigade was a unit of Cleburne's division. The advance was about to capture Smith's battery, but his brigade charged so furiously that the guns were saved. Morgan L. Smith kept gaining ground on the spur of Missionary Ridge. General Corse was wounded during the morning and the command of his brigade devolved upon Colonel Walcutt of the Forty Sixth Ohio.[86]

The fighting continued -- a kind of see-sawing process, until about two P. M., when Colonel

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85. Sherman, op. cit., 404.
86. Ibid., 405. Also O.R., Vol. XXXI, Pt. IV, 748-745.

Raum's regiment and Mathias' brigade moved to join Walcutt.[87] About the time they reached the west face, General Cleburne sent General Cummings to charge the front and Colonel Mills to charge the flanks. This order was executed just in time to hit Walcutt's reinforcements in the right rear. But the charging column was caught in the flank by such a hot cross-fire that it hastily beat a retreat to the top of the ridge. Sherman very anxiously waited for the attack upon the enemy by Thomas.

Thomas had been delayed until Hooker could accomplish something on the right. Hooker's mission was to sweep across the valley and carry the pass at Rossville, an achievement which would enable him to operate against Bragg's left and rear. But Hooker was delayed in crossing Chattanooga Creek.

Late in the day, when it was evident that Sherman would not turn Bragg's right, Grant ordered Thomas to charge the center.[88] At two o'clock, the order came for Wood's division on the left and Sheridan's men

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87. Sherman, op. cit., 403. For a description of Union troops, see O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part II, 745-752.

88. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 705-706.

on the right to carry the line at the foot of the ridge. Sheridan pressed on, captured the rifle pits and went on to the slope of the ridge, where his men lay down for awhile to escape the shell and musketry.[89]

General Bate, in his report stated that the troops under him held the crest of the ridge until Federal flags were posted both to the right and left of his command.[90]

The Tenth and the Thirtieth Tennessee (C.S.A.) successfully resisted until they learned that the brigades of Davis and Manigault had broken on the right and left respectively.[91]

Wood met resistance at the top of the ridge, but at last the Confederate troops fled as if panic-stricken. Artillery was abandoned, guns tossed away and general officers of high rank who tried to rally the fugitives were ignored. The Confederates' right still held and withdrew under orders the night of the 25th.[92]

Hooker, after a three-hour delay, got his

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89. P. H. Sheridan, Personal Memoirs, Vol I, 310.
90. O. R. Vol. XXXI, Pt. II, 743.
91. Lindley, op. cit. 453.
92. H. M. Cist, The Army of the Cumberland, 256, and O. R., Vol. XXXI, Pt. II, 753.

command on the march to Rossville Gap.[93] While Sheridan's and Wood's divisions were going over the rifle pits in the center, Clayton's Alabama brigade was being rushed to the left to meet Hooker's advance under Osterhaus and Geary.[94] The brigade was placed in line with the 36th Alabama on the left forming an L with the rest of the brigade.[95]

The Federal battle line was now continuous: Hooker on the extreme right; Sheridan's and Wood's divisions of the Fourth Corps going without orders to the top of the hill; and Sherman's forces repulsing the charge of Cumming's brigade.[96] Hooker, though delayed, justified the title, "Fighting Joe Hooker", when the objective was finally reached. When the skirmishers from the Alabama brigade reached the point they discovered that Hooker had captured the battery in the gap and had passed into the rear of the main line. This forced the brigade to retreat between two columns of the enemy,[97] but Hooker was too far from the Confederate line of retreat to inflict any damage upon its rear or left flanks.

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93. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. Vol.III, 724.
94. O. R. Vol. XXXI, Pt. II, 518-519.
95. J.W.A. Wright, in Southern Bivouac, Vol. II, (June-May 1887), 546.
96. Sheridan, op. cit. 310-313, Sherman op. cit. 404-407.
97. J.W.A. Wright, op. cit. 547.

Sheridan followed the retreating army down the east slope of Missionary Ridge to Chickamauga Creek. By this time night had fallen; but the energetic "Phil" wanted to carry on to Chickamauga Station to get into the rear of the troops facing Sherman. He immediately got in touch with Granger, the corps commander, and tried to persuade him to follow with the remainder of the Army of the Cumberland. Granger declined, but told him to press on to the crossing of the Chickamauga, and, if the enemy were encountered with any force sufficient for resistance, aid would be sent. Sheridan took his division to the crossing but was afraid to advance farther without support. He tried a subterfuge by having two regiments open fire as if in an engagement, but Granger told him later that he (Granger) suspected the ruse, because the volleys were too regular in the intervals to be an engagement.[98]

The Confederates retreated to Ringgold, Georgia. Grant sent Sherman and Granger to the relief of Burnside at Knoxville. The Confederates went into winter quarters at Dalton, where General Joseph E. Johnston succeeded Bragg on December 27, 1863.[99]

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98. P. H. Sheridan, Personal Memoirs, 314-316.
99. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. IV, 216.

The close of 1863 found the Army of Tennessee again driven out of the state. Chattanooga was in the hands of the Federals, this time permanently.

Will the historian be safe in attributing the loss of Chattanooga to serious blunders? Any judgment on this will be a mere matter of opinion, but the evidence can be outlined and then the verdict rendered according to the individual's analysis of it. In the latter days of September, Chattanooga received the shattered Army of the Cumberland; Bragg refused to follow up his victory in spite of the suggestions and protests of his most able subordinates; Wheeler's Cavalry destroyed the wagon train; and then there was an inferior opposing army on starvation rations. During this time President Davis came down to disentangle the snarl caused by dissension among Bragg's Generals. He upheld Bragg; Longstreet was ordered to Knoxville. Reinforcements from Virginia and Mississippi came to Grant, and Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain were taken with disastrous effects for the Confederates.

Why did the Confederate center break at Missionary Ridge when the divisions of Granger, under

Woods and Sheridan exceeded orders to carry the first lines and rushed up the steep ridge under a terrific fire of shot and shell, to the crest? These were not raw recruits thrown into position on that ridge. Previous to this campaign, they had charged like demons at Murfreesboro and Chickamauga. Later, they were to stand firm under Joe Johnston at New Hope Church, and Hood was to send them in the hopeless charge at Franklin; and again with Joe Johnston at the last, when all was over except the formalities of surrender, they were to give a good account of themselves at Bentonville. Bragg offers no explanation in his report. Was it because of lack of confidence in the commanding general?[100]

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100. For an account of the Battle of Chickamauga, see Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. III, 638-678; J. K. Hosmer, Outcome of the Civil War, 1863-1865, Chapter II; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXX; of Murfreesboro, ibid., Vol. XX; of Resaca and New Hope Church, Ibid., XXXVIII; of Franklin, Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. IV, 424-471; O. R., Series I, Vol. XLV; of Bentonville, ibid., XLVII.

CHAPTER IV

KNOXVILLE CAMPAIGN, 1863

On August 15, 1863, Halleck ordered Burnside, then in Virginia, to move 12,000 men by the most practical roads to East Tennessee, making Knoxville and vicinity his objective.[1] As soon as practicable, he was to consolidate his forces with those of Rosecrans. Burnside's Twenty-third Army Corps entered East Tennessee by different routes. Hascall's division was to go to Kingston by way of Somerset, Chitwoods, Huntsville, and Montgomery; White's, from Columbia to Montgomery by way of Creelsborough, Albany, and Jamestown; Graham's cavalry was to join White's division by way of Burkesville, Albany, and Jamestown; Wolford's cavalry was to guard the supply and ammunition trains that were with Hascall's division; General Carter's cavalry brigade was to move by way of Mount Vernon, Loudon, and Williamsburg, over the Jellico Mountains to Chitwoods, Huntsville, Montgomery, and Kingston. Colonels Foster and Byrd were detached; Foster was to pass through Winter's Gap and occupy Knoxville.[2]

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1. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXIII, Part II, 593.
2. Ibid., Vol. XXX, Part II, 548.

The main body reached Kingston on the 1st day of September. Foster entered Knoxville on September 2nd, and the advance of the main body entered Knoxville on the 3rd day of September.[3]

According to accounts in Temple's East Tennessee and the Civil War, Knoxville was the scene of much jubilation and thanksgiving, when the soldiers occupied the town. The first regiment to enter was the Eighth Cavalry (Tennessee) under Col. Patton. In a very breezy and literary description, Temple relates:

> "Suddenly as the followers of Roderick Dhu, at a blast upon his bugle horn, there sprang from the recent silence and loneliness of the hills and the forests, thousands of men who at last felt free to come forth from their long hiding places." [4]

Buckner had joined Bragg near Chattanooga, General Fraser was at Cumberland Gap, General A. E. Jackson occupied upper East Tennessee, Col. Giltner of the Fourth Kentucky Cavalry was in Southwest Virginia. These constituted the Confederate forces in East Tennessee to face Burnside.[5] General Samuel E. Jones, Commander of the Department of

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3. Ibid.
4. O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and the Civil War, 475.
5. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. IV, 475.

Western Virginia (C.S.A.) also took a paternal interest in the military affairs of East Tennessee.

General Burnside sent troops under Col. Foster to upper East Tennessee. The 100th Ohio had an engagement near Telford with the forces under command of General Jackson and Col. Giltner. The Ohioans were forced to retreat to Limestone. The Ohioans' resistance was stubborn, but the enemy had destroyed the railroad track for six miles to the rear and had the blue soliders so completely surrounded that 350 of them surrendered.[6]

The Confederates were not so fortunate at Cumberland Gap. As heretofore mentioned, General Fraser was in command. He reported a force of 1700 and judging from his reports, no one would designate them "valiant." However, without further comment, the record may give an idea of the morale:

> "Sixty-second North Carolina Regiment was very badly drilled; The Colonel was absent; soon after resigned and became an open advocate of disunion in his own county.
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> "Sixty fourth North Carolina was small, having been reduced by desertion; at one time, 300 in a body.

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6. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. IV, 476; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI Pt. II, 591.

> "The Fifty-fifth Georgia was regarded as the best regiment for discipline and efficiency, though the men did ride the colonel on a rail which he never resented but on a promise to them of better behaviour was allowed to resume his command." 7

General Shackleford of the Federal Army approached from the south side on September 7 and demanded a surrender, which was refused. On the eighth, Colonel DeCoursey advanced from the north side with a similar demand, which was also refused. This day the Sixty-second North Carolina acted according to their usual form. When the enemy approached the rifle pits, where the Sixty-second was stationed, the "Tar heels," after firing a volley in the air, threw their equipment to the ground and ran to the fort. This is the same regiment that capitulated to Carter in 1862. On September 9, Fraser accepted Burnside's terms of surrender. From information gleaned that day, he could see no chance of succor from Virginia, and Buckner was near Chattanooga. 9

Burnside was now being implored to go the

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7. O. R. XXX Pt. II, 611.
8. Ibid, 613.
9. Ibid, 613-615.

rescue of Rosecrans. However, he felt that upper East Tennessee should first be cleared of the enemy, and he deemed this so important that he started up the valley on September 17.[10]

The opposing forces had some slight skirmishes for two or three days and General Burnside returned to Knoxville on the 24th. He succeeded in burning the bridge at Carter's Depot, and his shell fire destroyed part of Blountville on the 22nd.[11]

The Ninth Army Corps arrived on September 30, and Burnside sent it up the valley under command of General R. B. Potter with all the cavalry except Byrd's and Woolford's brigades.[12]

This advance met the command of General Ransom, who had been placed in command of the Confederates on October 1st, near Blue Springs (Mosheim) in Greene County on October 10. During the day, the Federals received reinforcements which were sent to gain the Confederate rear. The Federals broke through the center but were repulsed by the artillery. That night the Confederates withdrew and the next morning at

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10. Ibid, 550.
11. Ibid, 550-603.
12. Ibid, 551.

daybreak, attacked the force that had been sent to gain the rear. The Federals were completely routed.[13]

The East Tennessee Confederates were now to obtain the services of a very eccentric cavalryman, General W. E. Jones, known as "Grumble" Jones, who, in spite of his vagaries, was a brilliant military leader. He was transferred from the Army of Northern Virginia. He and his superior, General J. E. B. Stuart, were at odds, and Lee sent Jones away to avoid trouble.[14]

General Jones, on October 13, was compelled to retire, but he held his ground until the infantry and trains could get into position for an attack which never materialized.[15] On November 1, he led his forces against the Federal troops at Rogersville. His own brigade and that of Colonel Giltner were under his immediate command. The plan of attack was for Jones to reach the rear of the outpost while Giltner attacked in front. The outpost consisted of the Seventh Ohio Cavalry, the Second Tennessee Mounted Infantry, and a battery of

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13. Ibid., 639-642.
14. Douglas Southall Freeman, R. E. Lee A Biography, Vol. III, 225.
15. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXX, Part II, 642.

Artillery. These forces were posted on a very excellent position on a sharp ridge, the battery commanding the Confederate line for quite a distance. The Fourth and Tenth Kentucky at once charged their front. When Major Parker, of the Fourth Kentucky reached the foot of the hill, his men were dismounted. The next move on the board was a charge to the top of the hill, and into the lines of the Federals, who fled, leaving the battery, nearly a thousand horses and various stores to the victorious rebels.[16] General Jones' brigade did not get into the fight, yet "Old Grumble" was very useful in holding the ford of the Holston and is responsible for at least half of the 900 prisoners, who would have otherwise escaped across the river.

General Longstreet was ordered from Chattanooga to operate against Burnside at Knoxville. This expedition was formed from McLaw's and Hood's division (Hood's now commanded by General Jenkins); Armstrong's and Martin's divisions of Cavalry, commanded by General Joseph Wheeler; and Alexander's

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16. G. D. Ewing in Confederate Veteran Vol. XXX (1922) 386. See Burnside's Report, O. R. Series I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. I, 272.

and Leydon's artillery. The entire expedition left Chattanooga on November 5. Longstreet found transportation in a very tangled state of affairs, for all of which he censured General Bragg. Another obstacle was the failure to provide wagons for the pontoons.[17] This forced him to cross at Loudon on the railroad. This crossing was made on the fourteenth.

Leaving General Parke in command at Knoxville, General Burnside left General White at Loudon, and posted General Potter with the Ninth Corps at Lenoir Station; Colonel Motts' brigade of the Twenty-third Corps was sent to reinforce Kingston; and all the cavalry was posted on the south side of the Holston. Colonel Babcock began the construction of a pontoon bridge over the Holston (Tennessee) just above the mouth of the Little Tennessee.[18]

The night before the crossing, Wheeler was detached to surprise the force of the enemy at Maryville.[19]

Before daylight on the sixteenth, General Hartranft's division of the Ninth Corps was sent in advance to seize the forks of the roads at Campbell's

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17. James Longstreet, From Manassas to Appomattox, 483-490.
18. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part I, 273.
19. Ibid., 456.

Station. They succeeded in reaching this point before the enemy.[20]

McLaw's division was on the road to Campbell's Station, marching rapidly to intercept the enemy at this junction. McLaw was to deploy three brigades in front of the enemy and to put the other brigade on the left. While McLaw was making a feint on the front, Jenkins was to attack the enemy on the left flank. This flank movement and the artillery caused the enemy to give back. McLaw's division brought the enemy to bay, but Jenkins failed to make the attack; that night the Federals retired toward Knoxville.[21] Jenkins placed responsibility for the failure on Law,[22] one of the brigade commanders.

Colonel Sorrel,[23] Chief of Staff, Longstreet's Corps, said the blunder was caused by jealousy between Law and Jenkins.[24]

Wheeler returned to the main army on the seventeenth. If the results on the west side had been in

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20. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part I, 274.
21. Ibid., 458.
22. Ibid., 526-527.
23. Sorrel, op. cit., 212.
24. Losses in this battle were: Confederate, 300 (approximately), killed and wounded; Union, 318. Ibid., 291, 527.

proportion to those wrought by Wheeler on the east there is a probability that this paper would have different narratives for the subsequent movements. Wheeler crossed the Little Tennessee at Motley's Ford. He learned that the Eleventh Kentucky cavalry was the only Federal organization in the town. Dibrell's brigade followed after the fugitives who had left when Wheeler approached the town. The brigade succeeded in capturing 151 prisoners. Colonel Wolford appeared on the scene but Wheeler repulsed him with the Eighth and Eleventh Texas and Third Tennessee.

The next morning, "Little Joe" crossed Little River and drove the enemy for three miles to Stock Creek. Here Sanders, the Commander of the opposing cavalry made a stand. Under ordinary circumstances, this would have been an impregnable position, for between the forces was a deep creek and Sanders in crossing destroyed the bridge; the left flank rested near the high ridge; the right was protected by the river.

But Wheeler displayed an orginality that was comparable to the genius of Forrest. Under the cover of an artillery fire, his dismounted men rushed

over the framework of the bridge and drove back the left of the blue coats. This enabled a detail to repair the bridge. In an hour, the mounted section made a charge. This completely routed the enemy, driving them into the City of Knoxville. A strong force of the enemy's infantry posted on the hills deterred him from invading the town.[25]

The head of Burnside's column appeared at Knoxville at daybreak November 17th and immediately set to digging entrenchments and throwing up breastworks.[26] Sanders cavalry for the next two days slowly retreating and fighting, held the invaders until the main army was safe within the fortifications.[27] On the 18th, Sanders was killed.

Knoxville is situated on the north side of the river. On this side is a narrow ridge extending down to Lenoirs. The East Tennessee Georgia and Virginia railroad was in a valley northwest of this ridge; the valley was parallel with the river. The ridge is cut through by creeks, the one next to Temperance Hill, upon which East Knoxville is situated, is

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25. Ibid, 540-542.
26. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. III, 737.
27. Ibid.,737-739.

First Creek; parallel to this is Second Creek; Third Creek was about one mile west of Second Creek. The main part of town lay between the first two creeks. Mabry Hill, east of Temperance Hill, is the highest elevation north of the river.[28]

The Union troops extended their lines from a point below the north of Second Creek to Mabry's Hill.[29]

The strongest works within these lines was Fort Sanders, named in honor of the late General W. P. Sanders. It was erected upon an irregular quadrilateral of which the western side was 95 yards, the northern 125 yards, the eastern 85 yards and the southern 125 yards; The northwestern bastion[30] was a right angle between the two sides. The ditch surrounding the breastworks was twelve feet wide and from six to eight feet in depth.[31] There was berme on the exterior slope. Fort Sanders was in West Knoxville.[32]

Knoxville was soon invested. McLaw occupied space between railroads and river, Hood was be-

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28. Ibid., 734.
29. Ibid., 735.
30. A bastion is a work projecting from the main inclosure.
31. The berme is a narrow ledge just below the parapet.
32. Ibid., 742.

between the railroad and Clinton Pike; and Hart's brigade extended from Tazewell Pike to the river on the east.[33]

The country south of the Holston and French Broad remained in possession of Burnside. Union sympathizers floated little boats filled with provisions down the French Broad to the Union troops. These vessels were stopped by a boom near Knoxville.[34]

The curiosity as to why Longstreet did not contract his left and place it near the French Broad in order to cut off this source of supplies is naturally aroused in anyone who knows the geography of this immediate section. Judge Temple gives us an explanation as to the reason Longstreet made no move. His version has a ring of improbability in it, but it must be remembered that blunderings and refusals to face facts were only too common with the Confederates at this time; and Judge Temple was a leader of unquestioned integrity and judgment. According to stories told to Temple in later years by Confederate sympathizers, Longstreet had an inaccurate map, which showed the mouth of the French Broad to be below Knoxville, and, as the

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33. Rule, op. cit., 166-167.
34. O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and The Civil War, 505-506.

story goes, he refused to heed the advice and directions of the natives - even refusing to believe the historian, Ramsey, as to the location of the French Broad. Temple does not state this as an absolute fact, but gives some worthy references. This problem is probably to continue as one of the unsolved mysteries of the Civil War.[35]

On or after the nineteenth of November, all direct communication between Burnside and his superiors was stopped. Grant kept in touch with developments around Knoxville through General Wilcox at Cumberland Gap.[36] Grant believed that the most feasible action would be to drive the Confederates from Chattanooga before relieving Burnside.[37]

This assistance was not delayed after the victory at Missionary Ridge. Granger and Sherman were ordered to hasten to Knoxville.

Sherman's attitude was that of a man who had some bitter medicine to swallow and wanted to dispose of it at once. This distaste was exhibited in the first communication to Grant:

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35. Ibid., Chapter XXIII.
36. U. S. Grant, op. cit., Vol. II, 58-59.
37. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part III, 279.

> Recollect that East Tennessee is my horror. That any military man should send a force into East Tennessee puzzles me. Burnside is there and must be relieved, but when relieved, I want to get out and he should come too.

But on the day Sherman reached Charleston, Tennessee, Longstreet attempted to take Knoxville by assault. The date for the assault was first set for the twenty-second, and the place selected was in front of General McLaw. But that night, McLaw stated that his officers would prefer to make the attack by daylight.[38]

General Wheeler made a demonstration against Kingston on the twenty-third, but, being of the opinion that the place was too strong, he withdrew after driving in the infantry pickets and skirmishers and repulsing a counter-charge. Bragg ordered Wheeler to report to him. He left on the twenty-fourth, giving General Martin the command of the two cavalry divisions.[39]

The news of the Missionary Ridge disaster, with the attendant rumors, began to filter into Knoxville about the twenty-seventh. During the next two days, Longstreet was reinforced by B. R. Johnson, who

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38. Ibid., Part I, 459.
39. Ibid., 544, 460.

had reported with his and Gracie's brigades of Buckner's division, and General Ransom with Giltner's and General W. E. Jones' brigade of cavalry.[40]

The news reports and reinforcements forced Longstreet to the conclusion that an immediate assault was the only feasible alternative. After he and General Ledbetter, who had joined him the twenty-fifth, had made several reconnaisances, Fort Sanders was selected as the point of assault. The first plans called for a heavy artillery fire to precede the charge, but after guns were placed, Longstreet decided to use infantry alone.[41] The following orders for the attack were given to McLaw's division.

1. A regiment from Humphreys (Mississippi) brigade and one from Wofford's Georgia brigade should be selected to lead in the assault. Wofford's regiment was to lead the column composed of Wofford's brigade, assaulting from the left, and Humphrey's regiment the column assaulting from the right composed of two regiments of Humphrey's brigade, and three of Bryan's following close on Humphreys as a reserve.

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40. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. III, 748-749.
41. Ibid.

2. The brigades were to be formed for the assault in column of regiments. 3. The assault was to be made with fixed bayonets and without firing a gun. 4. It was to be made against the Northwest angle of Ft. Loudon (Ft. Sanders). 5. Omitted. 6. The sharp shooters should keep up a continuous fire into the embrasures of the enemy's works and along the fort so as to prevent the use of their cannons, and distract, if not prevent, the fire from all arms. 7. General Korshaw was to advance to the assault on the right of the fort as soon as the fort was taken.[42]

Jenkins' division was to follow up the attack by which McLaw was to gain the fort, and if McLaws was successful to sweep down the lines and gain as much ground as could be held. Anderson's brigade was to take the lead. If the attack of McLaw was unsuccessful, then Anderson was to move in reverse of the instruction and wheel to the right to take the fort in the rear. Jenkins' brigade of this division was to post on the left to meet any demonstration against the left the enemy might make. Any advantage

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42. O.R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. I, 486-487.

gained was to be pressed by Jenning's brigade.[43]

The Division of B. R. Johnson was to support the attacks made by Humphreys.[44] The facilities for resisting this assault were wire entanglements, a slight abatis,[45] and arrangements of the guns for both a direct and a cross fire in front of the salient.[46] And in addition to these physical defenses, the defenders were put on the alert by an attack on the pickets the night of the twenty-eighth. Quite a few prisoners were captured in this fray, and the rebel sharpshooters were established in the rifle pits; but the forces in the fort rightfully surmised the purpose of this skirmish and were prepared.[47] Moreover, the night preceding the attack was misty and the temperature was down to freezing. As a consequence, the sides of the fort were slippery.[47] And fortunately for the defenders, Longstreet had the wrong impression as to the ditch near the fort. Although he had viewed the situation through field glasses, he had failed to see that the ditch was

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43. Ibid.,527-528.
44. Ibid., 532.
45. Abatis is a defense of felled trees with the branches sharpened and turned toward the enemy.
46. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. III, 741.
47. Ibid., 748.

a big obstacle.[48] The garrison waiting to repel the attackers was made up of Benjamin's battery, part of Buckley's, part of the Seventy-Ninth New York Infantry, and a part of the Second Michigan Infantry,[50] making an aggregate of about 200 men.

The attacking column moved with alacrity when the signal gun was fired, but was retarded by a tangled abatis for about one hundred and fifty yards.[51] However, they pushed forward with as much zeal, if not with as much alacrity, until the wire entanglements broke their lines.

A hot reception was in store for the rebels. Captain Benjamin's guns triple-shotted with cannister were turned loose when the invaders reached the ditch. Time fuses used as hand grenades,[52] axes and other tools were hurled when the fight was carried to a point where guns could not reach the assailants.[53] One rebel with a flag attempted to go through an embrasure, but Sergeant Frank Judge, Company D, 79th New York, rushed out, seized the daring fellow by the

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48. Ibid., 748-749.
49. O.R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. I, 502.
50. Ibid., 299.
51. Ibid., 521.
52. Ibid., 343.
53. Ibid., 521.

collar and dragged man and flag into the works.[54]

The lack of ladders and the absence of a berme on the breastworks, together with the frozen sides, enabled the defenders to hold the position and blast the hopes of the assaulting forces.

The pickets silenced the northern artillery and sharpshooters on the south side of the fort, but a hot fire continued from the west side fronting the railroad.[55]

Anderson's brigade, through a misunderstanding of instructions, moved too far to the right for an attack on the rear of the fort when McLaw failed. Before an order could reach them they were involved in a direct attack.[56] Longstreet endeavored to have them stopped but was too late.[57]

The attackers finally withdrew leaving behind losses of 129 killed, 458 wounded, and 266 captured.[58] The Federals lost 13 men, 8 killed and 5 wounded.[59]

Captain Benjamin, commander of the artillery,

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54. Ibid., 353.
55. Ibid., 521.
56. Ibid., 528.
57. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. III, 750.
58. Ibid.
59. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. I, 344.

gave a report that was very illuminating as to the valor of General Ferrero, the division commander of that section: "General Ferrero was in the little bomb-proof, and I did not see him outside, nor know of his giving an order during the fight."[60]

Jenkins had permission to try for another assault, but before this could be accomplished, Longstreet received official notice of Bragg's defeat.[61] Later he also learned of Sherman's advance, which would close all practical avenues to reach Bragg.[62] He raised the siege on December 5, and withdrew to near Rogersville.[63]

General Sherman halted his forces in Maryville, and on December 6, went on to Knoxville with General Granger and staff officers. General Granger with the Fourth corps was detached for service around Knoxville but Sherman's other divisions were returned to Chattanooga.[64]

Burnside was relieved by Foster on December 11.

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60. Ibid.
61. Battles and Leaders, Vol. III, 750.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Sherman, op. cit., 395-396.

General Foster's only aggressive movement at this time was the pursuit of Longstreet by General Potter and General Manson.[65]

With the exception of cavalry skirmishes, there were no clashes between the two armies until December 14, when Longstreet turned on his enemies at Bean Station. General B. R. Johnson's division was the first to strike the enemy. As they pushed the enemy [illegible] front, General Martin with his cavalry was to cross to the south bank of the Holston opposite the Station below. General Jones, with two brigades, was to pass down the north side of Clinch Mountain and hit their rear.

The Federals fell back skirmishing until they reached the protection of artillery. This fire fell very heavily on Johnson's brigade east of the station. General Gracie's brigade was somewhat advanced. It was suffering from volley fire from an old hotel building near the station. This fire was so heavy that the 60th Georgia was forced to take cover but when Johnson's brigade forced the retirement of a Federal battery, the 60th was able to

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65. O.R. Series I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. I, 278.

advance to the right of the Knoxville road, and take shelter behind a large stable. Soon two battalions of artillery opened upon the hotel and relieved the Georgians.

About dusk Johnson's brigade advanced without meeting any resistance. At the same time, McLaw's division struck the enemy's right flanks. The enemy retired to their main line. It was later learned that the Federal forces were 4000 cavalry under command of General Shackleford.

General Martin failed to connect with the other forces at Bean Station, but General W. E. Jones captured wagons and prisoners.[66]

General Jenkins was ordered to pursue at day light, which he did, and found the enemy in position three miles below. Jenkins reported that the enemy had been reinforced with infantry before General Law joined him. Gen. Law complained of hardships. General McLawS was not yet fed, and, "There seems so strong a desire for rest, rather than to destroy the enemy, that I was obliged to abandon the pursuit, although the enemy was greatly demoral-

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66. Ibid., 463, 532-536, 546.

ized and in some confusion."[67]

Total losses were: Confederates, 198 killed, 850 wounded, 248 missing; Federals, 92 killed, 393 wounded, 207 missing.[68]

The battle of Bean Station practically closed the Knoxville campaign. This was especially true of the infantry. The cavalry had several battles, which, as far as all appearances went, were over the question as to which band would plunder the farmers' fields, barns, cribs, and other property.

This type of warfare prevailed in East Tennessee from this time to the final cessation of hostilities. But these raids and forays of the troopers belong to a separate phase, rather than to the continuity of the siege of Knoxville.

Knoxville had been occupied by the Northern forces with little or no bloodshed. They were able to hold the town against threat of starvation and the assaults of the Confederates.

The Knoxville campaign was somewhat analogous to that of Chattanooga. In each case there was a defeated Northern army hastening to the city. In both

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67. Longstreet, op. cit., 464.
68. Battles and Leaders, Vol. III, 750.

places there were failures to follow up the victory. A river was at the back of each besieged army. Short rations was the order of the day in both Chattanooga and Knoxville. Longstreet, however, made an aggressive move. Like Bragg, he was forced to retire before the coming of reinforcements. Again, in Knoxville, we find dissension and courtmartial - Robertson, Law, and McLaw.[69]

It is very refreshing, however, to read of Longstreet's assuming responsibility for the defeat:

> . . . I regret to say that combination of circumstances has so operated during the campaign in East Tennessee as to prevent the complete destruction of the enemy's forces in this part of the state. It is fair to infer that the fault is entirely with me, and I desire therefore that some other commander be tried. 70

The failure can hardly be placed at the door of the rank and file of the Confederate soldiers in this campaign. Their conduct at Second Manassas revealed a fighting machine which moved as a unit across the plains, driving everything before it.[71] What part did jealousy among the generals play in this campaign?

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69. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part I, 466-475, 487-506.
70. Ibid., 468.
71. Battles and Leaders of Civil War, Vol. II, 521.

CHAPTER V

CAVALRY, GUERILLAS, AND SCOUTS

1864-1865

> This campaign (of 1864-65, in East Tennessee) was one of the most romantic in the history of the war. Two large bodies of hostile cavalry, unable, on account of the difficulty of transportation, to procure adequate supplies of forage, were compelled to live upon the country. They fought for possession of the fertile sections, but the scarcity of supplies forced them to separate into small detachments. Roving bands, in pursuit of subsistence encountered each other, and the hostile commands became inextricably entangled. Then followed a period of innumerable skirmishes and individual adventures, which accord more with the chronicles of knight-errantry than with the annals of modern warfare. [1]

This warfare really began in the latter part of 1863. In December of that year, McCook's division reported at Knoxville.[2] On December 24, Colonel Campbell's brigade of this division was ordered to move to Dandridge to attack the rebels stationed there.

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1. Garrett and Goodpasture, op. cit., 224.
2. W. R. Carter, History of the First Tennessee Cavalry (U. S. A.), 120.

Colonel Campbell attacked Crew's brigade and threw them into confusion until artillery fire forced the First Tennessee, then in advance, to retire. Four regiments of Colonel Crews got into Campbell's rear and captured two guns of Lilly's battery. A spirited charge of the second Michigan and Ninth Pennsylvania resulted in the Federals repossessing the artillery. Campbell's men retired to New Market fighting stubbornly all the way. This rear guard action saved his brigade from annihilation. At the last of the skirmish a spirited saber charge by the First Tennessee checked the Confederates sufficiently to allow the brigade to reach New Market.[3] There is no available record of the losses of the Confederates. The losses in Campbell's brigade were: killed, seven; wounded, twenty-seven; missing, twenty-seven.[4]

The brigade on the twenty-ninth of December was placed in a very precarious position near Mossy Creek. General Sturgis, the cavalry commander, ordered all the mounted forces with the exception of Campbell's

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3. W. R. Carter, op. cit. 121 and O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. I, 547.
4. Ibid, 638.

brigade on various reconnoitering expeditions.[5] The remaining brigade was posted under orders to retire to Mossy Creek if attacked.

General Martin of the Confederate army launched an attack against Campbell about nine o'clock in the morning near Talbot's Station; Morgan's division was on the left, Armstrong's on the right. The moment they were attacked a slow retreat began, and this retreat saved the brigade from being flanked by Morgan's division. When within a mile of Mossy Creek, Campbell made a stand near a large two-story brick house. The whole rebel line moved forward, but was met by one of the First Tennessee's famous saber charges, which forced Armstrong to give ground. The One Hundredth Ohio Infantry then varied the fighting by a bayonet charge that was fairly effective, but a counter charge by Crew's Georgians drove the Ohioans back to the main line. Colonel LeGrange appeared on the scene to assist Campbell. Just before this occurred, Colonel Palmer, with a detached command, had taken the right flank for the Unionists.

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5. Ibid., 648.

Late in the afternoon, General Martin decided, after a reconnaissance, that the position of the enemy, now being reinforced, was too strong for an attack; and a check on the ammunition revealed the fact that a retreat or a stand would be dangerous. However, by retreating to points of vantage, where a stand could be made until the enemy's advance was checked, Martin's skillful maneuvering extricated his two divisions.[6] The Union losses were: killed, 17; wounded, 87; missing, 5.[7]

The next move was a raid from North Carolina, led by General Vance, a Confederate brigadier. But the Federals surrounded and captured him and fifty-two of his men on Cosby Creek, twenty-three miles from Sevierville, on January 12.[8] The Confederates, however, were not so unfortunate in skirmishes about Dandridge about a week later.[9] The Federals were driven from Dandridge to New Market.

With the exception of skirmishes between scouting parties, both armies were quiet until the latter part of January. The Confederate, General Morgan, was defeated and driven to the south side of the French Broad near Fairgarden on January 27.

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6. Carter, op. cit., 127-131; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part I, 547-549, 648, 663.
7. Ibid., 651.
8. Ibid., 73-76.
9. Ibid., 93.

General Sturgis renewed the attack the next morning.[10] Dibrell's brigade, with the Eighth Texas,[11] received the brunt of the battle. Dibrell's men fought behind temporary breastworks, repulsing the enemy within two hours. The Federals withdrew to Blount County.

Throughout the month of February, the detachments of Sturgis and Martin continued to skirmish along the Holston and French Broad Rivers.

The Tennessee River was not ignored, for, on February 27, the noted Confederate guerilla leader, Champ Ferguson, raided Washington, Tennessee, killed the provost-marshal, and captured all of the couriers from there to Sulphur Springs.[12]

This was a period of changes and transfers for both armies. General John M. Schofield superseded General Foster in command of the Army of the Ohio on February 9.[13] John H. Morgan, the famous rebel raider, was ordered to East Tennessee with the remnants of his former command.[14] On February 27, General Martin was ordered back to the Army of Tennessee with

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10. Lindsley, op. cit., 664.
11. Ibid., 700.
12. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXI, Part I, 486.
13. Ibid., 314.
14. Ibid., Part II, 812.

Morgan's (John T.) division. Just a few weeks later Armstrong's division followed him.[15] These changes continued throughout the early spring. The most important was the assignment of General Grant to the command of all the armies of the United States, and the succession of General Sherman to the command of the military division of the Mississippi.[16] On March 17, the Ninth Army Corps was transferred from East Tennessee.[17] On April 12, Longstreet left East Tennessee for Virginia, taking the troops of his original corps. He was succeeded by General S. B. Buckner.[18]

Buckner had under him his own division of Gracie's and Johnson's brigades, parts of Wharton's infantry brigade, and Jones', Giltner's, Vaughn's, and Morgan's cavalry brigades.[19] Vaughn's brigade was made up of exchanged prisoners from Vicksburg. Most of his regiments were first organized as infantry but were mounted during the winter of 1863-64.[20]

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15. Lindsley, op. cit. 667.
16. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXII, Part I, 4.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., Part III, 774.
19. Ibid., 803.
20. Allen, Op. cit., 79.

On May 2, 1864, Gracie's and Johnson's brigades were transferred to Virginia.[21] Buckner on the same day relinquished the command to W. E. Jones.[22] Later in the month, Jones turned the command over to Colonel G. B. Crittenden.[23] On May 4, the Military Division of the Mississippi started on the famous "March through Georgia." This, of course, took most of the Union troops from East Tennessee.[24] The "Rebel Raider," John H. Morgan, made his last Kentucky raid in June.[25]

Most of the other cavalry were taken to aid the Confederates in the Shenandoah Valley. The portion of Vaughn's brigade that remained near Bristol was under the command of Colonel Bradford (Thirty-first Tennessee); the troopers who rode to the valley campaign were led by Vaughn.[26]

While no order of assignment could be found, it is presumed from the official correspondence that General Ammen was either the commander of the

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21. Lindsley, op. cit., 356.
22. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXIX, Part II, 567.
23. Ibid., 630.
24. Ibid., Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, 509.
25. Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, Part I, 68.
26. Lindsley, op. cit., 465.

Federal forces in East Tennessee, or the ranking general in that department, after May 4.

General John H. Morgan, who had assumed command of the Confederate forces in East Tennessee on June 22, 1864, reported on July 23 that he had 3,300 men in his department, of which 2,800 were cavalry. Most of these were of Morgan's old division, while the others were portions of Vaughn's brigade.[27]

Activities, however, were not confined merely to reporting, issuing orders, and transferring. Champ Ferguson again visited East Tennessee. This time he was very successful - that is, from the standpoint of impressment; but one who has made a study of Champ's career doubtless will feel that he was disappointed because no Yankee blood was spilled. Champ, nevertheless, had to be contented with picking up 113 horses, property of the United States, at Post Oak in Roane County, and an additional 400 bearing the Federal brand on the mountainside.[28] The commander at Kingston, Major Reeves, Fourth Tennessee Infantry (U.S.A.), followed the trail to Sparta the next day. But all

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27. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXIX, Part II, 657, 722.
28. Ibid., Part I, 351.

he accomplished was the recovery of 25 government horses, and the plundering of many homes.[29]

Athens was visited by a small band of rebels on August 1. While there they succeeded in killing two and wounding three members of the First Ohio Heavy Artillery. This, as in the case of Ferguson, led to a chase. And the pursuers managed the campaign so successfully that they stirred up a battle at Murphy, North Carolina, in which they completely demoralized the rebels.[30]

Governor Andrew Johnson ordered General Alvin C. Gillem to take his brigade, composed of the Ninth and Thirteenth Tennessee cavalry and two batteries of light artillery, to East Tennessee. The brigade reached Knoxville on August 16,[31] and moved on up the valley to Rogersville. Near this town they captured thirty-five prisoners on August 19, among whom was Confederate Congressman Joseph B. Heiskell.[32]

Governor Johnson reported this to Lincoln quoting from General Gillem's report: "Joe Heiskell

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29. Ibid., 353, 354.
30. Ibid., 367-9.
31. Scott and Angel, op. cit.,151-159.
32. Ibid., 158.

walked to meet us."[33] To this, Lincoln replied in his usual humorous vein:

> Thanks to General Gillem for making the news, and also to you for sending it. Does Joe Heiskell's walking to meet us mean more than that Joe was scared and wanted to save his hide?[34]

During the month of August, General Wheeler made his last Tennessee raid. He followed, in the main, the railroad to Knoxville, crossed the French Broad and Holston Rivers above the town, and then marched across the valley and over the Cumberlands to Middle Tennessee.

Very little fighting more important than skirmishes occurred on this raid into East Tennessee. The most outstanding, if not the most important, engagement took place at Stewart's Landing on the Tennessee River in Meigs County. Colonel McKenzie with two companies, C and I, of the Fifth Tennessee Cavalry, left the command to visit their homes near Decatur, Tennessee. That night a squad of Federals from Stewart's Landing captured several of these visiting men. The Colonel returned to the main command immediately to get a rescue force. He obtained about eighty

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33. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXIX, Part II, 299.
34. Ibid., 303.

men from his regiment and an equal number from the First Tennessee Cavalry and started on a forced march for the river. They struck the Federals just as they were getting ready for breakfast. The fierceness and complete surprise of the attack so demoralized the Union troops, most of whom were negroes, that they became panic-stricken. Approximately 200 white and negro soldiers were captured. All of Colonel McKenzie's men were recaptured. The Confederates had one man killed and one wounded. No one knows now or knew then the number of negroes killed.[35]

General Gillem's brigade failed to make contact with Wheeler. By the first of September, Gillem was bivouacked at Bull's Gap.[36]

On September 3, 1863, General Morgan marched into Greeneville, Tennessee, with his cavalry. The different commands were posted with Giltner's and Smith's brigadiers on the Rogersville road. Smith's force was nearer the town than Giltner's; Bradford was with Vaughn's remnants on the Bull's Gap road; Clark's artillery was placed on a hill north of the town, too steep for a line of fire in front of it. Morgan, with only

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35. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 951-961; Lindsley, op. cit., 891.
36. Scott and Angel, op. cit., 161.

a few of his personal escort, stayed in the home of a Mrs. Williams, in Greeneville.[37]

General Gillem, after a conference with his officers, decided that night to attempt the capture of this force at Greeneville. The Thirteenth was to move by an unfrequented road to a point a short distance west of Greeneville and take a position in readiness to attack Vaughn when the remainder of the brigade, moving up the state road, had succeeded in dislodging and driving his troops back to the battle position.[38] The Sixty-first Tennessee of Vaughn's brigade was on out-post duty, under orders to wait for further orders in the morning. Acting in accordance with these commands, the regiment, which seemed to be the largest unit of Vaughn's brigade present, was in the saddle by daylight. But when orders, if any, were received, they were orders to surrender, yelled by Gillem's men in a wild charge, which forced the men under Bradford back toward Greeneville and apparently into the trap prepared by the Thirteenth Tennessee. This was discovered, however,

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37. Howard Smiggert, The Rebel Raider, 258-262. For a diagram of troop placements, see below, Appendix.
38. Scott and Angel, op. cit., 166.

and by a rapid movement of the right flank, the organization was saved.[39]

However, an incident that occurred just before the contact between the Thirteenth and the retreating Confederates probably was more responsible for the escape than the flank movement. A citizen reported to Colonel Ingerton, the field commander of the Thirteenth, that Morgan was in town. Upon receipt of this news, Ingerton dispatched two companies, under Captains Wilcox and Worthington, with orders to surround the Williams house and "bring Morgan out, dead or alive."[40]

As Captain Wilcox charged into town, twenty of his company were sent to surround the Williams residence. The others dashed on to the hill where Morgan's artillery was posted and captured it. Captain Worthington rushed to the stables and captured the horses belonging to the Morgan party in town.[41]

The women of the house awakened General Morgan and informed him that the Yankees were in town. After dressing and arming himself, Morgan hurried from

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39. Lindsley, op. cit., 577.
40. Scott and Angel, op. cit., 169.
41. Ibid., 173-174.

house to a nearby church. Very soon, however, the blue-coats arrived there, and the General sped to a vineyard on the south side of the Williams' garden. But this time he was discovered, and a bullet from the carbine of Private Andrew Campbell wrote "finis" to the history of this dashing raider.[42]

Gillem's main force had reached the town, and at this point Lieutenant Hawkins, who had been supporting the battery on the hill, charged the town with a small force. While this movement disconcerted Gillem for a time, it proved ineffective. Morgan's other brigadiers became confused, but finally passed around the town to the north and concentrated at Rheatown. The body of General Morgan was sent to General Duke under a flag of truce.[43]

The next day General Vaughn was placed in command of East Tennessee, and Colonel Duke was promoted to command of Morgan's men.[44]

On the same day, a note was sent by a captain on Morgan's staff to a lieutenant on Gillem's staff which makes the rumor and legend that Morgan was shot

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42. Swiggert, op. cit., 263-264; Scott and Angel, op. cit., 175. For a diagram of the town, see below, Appendix.
43. Swiggert, op. cit., 264-266.
44. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXIX, Part II, 816.

after he had surrendered unbelievable.[45] This story is denied very emphatically in the history of the Thirteenth Cavalry (U. S. A.), by very reliable men.[46] Another tradition to the effect that Morgan was betrayed by a lady in the Williams' family seems to have no evidential stability.

From the twenty-second of September until the twenty-seventh of October, there was fighting and skirmishing between Gillem's forces and those of Vaughn and Duke all through the valley, from Morristown to Jonesboro. Success in these skirmishes would rest first upon one banner and then upon another. The Union forces were compelled to fall back as far down as New Market. Probably this would be called a Confederate victory.[47]

On October 21, Vaughn's brigade, or rather a portion of it, returned from Virginia.[48]

On the night of October 27, which was dark and stormy, Gillem's brigade advanced toward Morristown. Near Panther Springs, about five miles south of Morristown, they ran into the Sixty-first Tennessee

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45. Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, Part I, 492.
46. Scott and Angel, op. cit., 180-189.
47. Ibid., 190-198.
48. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXIX, Part I, 850.

of Vaughn's brigade.[49] After a short skirmish, the Sixty-first fell back in the direction of Morristown. The Federals advanced in the early dawn, and the Sixty-first received orders to fall back to the main line.[50]

When Gillem reached Morristown, he advanced Patterson's battery to the front. After a few minutes of shelling, the Thirteenth Tennessee charged the right and center, which gave way; but now the enemy attempted to turn Gillem's right flank. To meet this, Gillem ordered Colonel Parsons of the Eighth Tennessee Cavalry to attack the Confederate left and center.[51] This charge, as well as that of the Thirteenth, routed the enemy. The Confederates had 85 killed, 224 captured and wounded, and 5 pieces of artillery were lost. Gillem continued the pursuit to Russellville.[52]

The next battle was under the immediate direction of General John C. Breckinridge, who, on September 27, had been placed in command of Southwest Virginia and East Tennessee.[53] Around the first of November, General Breckinridge decided that Gillem was too close to Bristol and that he should take measures to send him

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49. Scott and Angel, op. cit., 198; Lindsley, op. cit., 579.
50. Lindsley, op. cit., 579.
51. Ibid.
52. Scott and Angel, op. cit., 200.
53. Ibid., Part II, 877.

back down the valley. To carry out his designs, he collected a miscellaneous force and began his advance. Gillem came to a stand at Bull's Gap on November 11.[54] Breckinridge made an assault on the left. This was repulsed, but at that time he had moved six miles to the rear of the Gap and captured a train of sixty prisoners.

Early on the thirteenth,[55] Gillem decided to evacuate, and after nightfall he started moving. The Confederates, however, out-guessed him and had the Sixty-first Tennessee and the Thirty-first Tennessee to strike the Union troops in the rear, while the other forces of Breckinridge struck them in front and on the flanks, thus precipitating a disastrous stampede.[56] Gillem lost 6 pieces of artillery, 61 wagons, 71 ambulances, 300 horses, and 200 men.[57] Breckinridge followed to Strawberry Plains, while Vaughn got between the Federals at Strawberry Plains and those at Knoxville.[58]

Following the Morristown battle, General Breckinridge had his troops distributed at various points in Virginia and East Tennessee. In Tennessee

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54. Ibid., Part I, 892.
55. Ibid., 889.
56. Lindsley, op. cit., 580.
57. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXIX, Part I, 891.
58. Lindsley, op. cit., 581.

Duke was near Rogersville and Vaughn at Greeneville.[59]

The Federals took measures for a concentrated drive on the rebel forces. Burbridge was to come in from Kentucky. Stoneman collected all available forces, exclusive of Gillem's brigades. On December 11, Burbridge, Stoneman, and Gillem completed the concentration at Bean's Station.[60] This command, under General Stoneman, left Bean's Station on December 12. They first struck the pickets of Duke's command near Rogersville and drove them to the North Fork of the Holston River, near Kingsport. The enemy were strongly posted, but it was thought that a flanking movement would dislodge them. The Eighth Tennessee Cavalry was sent up the river about two miles to cross and hit the right flank. The Ninth Tennessee, with two battalions of the Thirteenth, were to cross for a frontal attack. A third battalion of the Thirteenth, aided by one of Burbridge's regiments, took a position to support the frontal attack. As soon as the Eighth struck the flanks, Gillem led the attack on the front. This movement was a surprise to the enemy, who immediately fled in confusion, after a slight resistance.

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59. O. R., Series I, Vol. XLV, 825.
60. Ibid., Part I, 808, 810.

Besides the loss in men, Duke lost his ammunition train and four ambulances. Gillem, after the battle, marched to Bristol to join Burbridge, who had been ordered to march directly to that point. Here the command united and marched into Virginia.[61] Burbridge made an attempt to meet Vaughn in battle, but the Confederate leader evaded him until he reached Virginia.[62]

This raid of the Federals cleared East Tennessee of Confederate forces, except for small bands of independents, scouts, and refugees from a main army. The way was now clear for Federals from the West to attempt a campaign against Lee's rear in Virginia. However, all was not peace and harmony in East Tennessee; men were yet to be killed, although no longer under the orders of a general, as a part of a planned campaign. There is a lingering suspicion that many of these later fights were between natives and that personal spite, rather than a desire to lay down life to sustain the Union or to preserve state's rights,[63] motivated them. It is impossible to get accounts from

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61. Ibid., 819-820.
62. Ibid., 817.
63. This conclusion was formed from listening to the reminiscences of survivors of this period.

both sides regarding these skirmishes. The reason for this is that most of the Confederate bands of this period were independent free-booters who made no report of engagements.

The most important of the final skirmishes occurred at Athens, Tennessee. Lieutenant George W. Ross reported that on January 28, 1865, the town of Athens, which was the headquarters of the Seventh Tennessee Mounted Infantry (U. S. A.), was attacked by the Confederates. The Unionists drove them away, killing twelve or fifteen of the invaders, but the rebels captured fifteen or twenty prisoners, including Major John McGaughey.[64] Captain Stevenson of the Second Ohio Artillery, who came with reinforcements to Athens, reported that the Confederates lingered around the courthouse square at their leisure. He also reported that pickets from this regiment ran into camp claiming that a large band of rebels was coming, but a scout failed to find a single foe.[65]

A summary of the last few months of the Civil War in East Tennessee is better expressed in

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64. O. R., Series I, Vol. XLIX, Part I, 13-14.
65. Ibid., 14-15.

the last lines of Southey's Battle of Blenheim than any conclusion that might be reached by the writer of this paper:

> And everybody praised the Duke
> Who this great fight did win,
> "But what good came of it at last?"
> Quoth little Peterkin.
> "Why, that I cannot tell," said he,
> "But 't was a famous victory."

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APPENDIX A

The Opposing Forces at Cumberland Gap, June 17th-18th, 1862.

Union Forces-- Seventh Division Army of the Ohio. Brigadier-General, George W. Morgan.

Twenty-fourth Brigade, Brigadier-General Samuel P. Carter: 49th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel James Keigwan; 3rd Kentucky, Colonel T. T. Garrard; 1st Tennessee, Colonel Robert K. Byrd; 2nd Tennessee, Colonel James P. T. Carter.

Twenty-fifth Brigade, Brigadier-General James G. Spears: 3rd Tennessee, Colonel Leonidas C. Houk; 4th Tennessee, Colonel Robert Johnson; 5th Tennessee, Colonel James T. Shelley; 6th Tennessee, Colonel Joseph A. Cooper.

Twenty-sixth Brigade, Colonel John F. DeCoursey; 22nd Kentucky, Colonel Daniel W. Lindsey; 16th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Bailey; 42nd Ohio, Colonel Lionel A. Sheldon.

Twenty-seventh Brigade, Brigadier-General Absalom C. Baird;
19th Kentucky, Colonel William J. Landram.

Artillery, Captain Jacob T. Foster: 7th Michigan, Captain Charles H. Lanphere; 9th Ohio, Lieutenant Leonard P. Barrows; 1st Wisconsin, Lieutenant John A. Anderson;

Siege Battery, Lieutenant Daniel Webster.

Cavalry; Kentucky Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel Reuben Munday.

Kentucky Engineers, Captain William F. Patterson

Confederate Forces-- Their composition is not stated in the "Official Records." During the month of July, Brigadier-General Carter L. Stevenson, First Division, Department of East Tennessee was in position confronting Morgan at Cumberland Gap. The strength of this division was stated by General Kirby Smith on the 24th of the month to be 9000 effectives, "well organized and mobilized, and in good condition for active service." The organization on the 3rd of July was as follows:

Second Brigade, Colonel James E. Rains: 4th Tennessee, Colonel J. A. McMurry, 11th Tennessee, Colonel J. E. Rains; 42nd Georgia, Colonel R. J. Henderson; 3rd Georgia Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel M. A. Stovall; 29th North Carolina, Colonel R. B. Vance; Georgia Battery, Captain J. G. Yeiser.

Third Brigade, Brigadier-General S. M. Barton; 30th Alabama, Colonel C. M. Shelley; 31st Alabama, Colonel D. R. Hundley; 40th Georgia, Colonel

A Johnson; 52nd Georgia, Colonel W. Boyd; 9th Georgia Battalion, Major J. T. Smith; Virginia Battery, Captain Joseph W. Anderson.

Fourth Brigade, Colonel A. W. Reynolds; 20th Alabama, Colonel I. W. Garrott; 36th Georgia, Colonel J. A. Glenn; 38th Georgia, Colonel J. T. McConnell; 43rd Georgia, Colonel S. Harris; 39th North Carolina, Colonel D. Coleman, 3rd Maryland Battery, Captain H. B. Latrobe.

Fifth Brigade, Colonel T. H. Taylor: 23rd Alabama, Colonel R. K. Beck; 46th Alabama, Colonel M. L. Woods, 3rd Tennessee, Colonel J. C. Vaughn, 31st Tennessee, Colonel W. M. Bradford, 59th Tennessee, Colonel J. B. Cooke; Tennessee Battery, Captain W. H. Burroughs.

APPENDIX B.

Opposing Forces in the Chattanooga Campaign, November 23rd-27th, 1863

The Union Army: Major-General Ulysses S. Grant

Army of the Cumberland--Major-General George H. Thomas

General Headquarters; 1st Ohio Sharp-shooters, Captain G. M. Barber, 10th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Ward.

Fourth Army Corps, Major-General Gordon Granger. First Division, Brigadier-General Charles Cruft.

Escort--E. 92 Illinois, Captain Matthew Van Buskirk

Second Brigade, Brigadier-General Walter C. Whitaker; 96th Illinois; Colonel Thomas E. Champion, Major George Hicks; 35th Indiana, Colonel Bernard F. Mullen; 8th Kentucky, Colonel Sidney M. Barnes; 40th Ohio, Colonel Jacob E. Taylor; 51st Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles H. Wood; 99th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel John E. Cummins.

Third Brigade, Colonel William Grose; 59th Illinois, Major Clayton Hale; 75th Illinois, Colonel John E. Bennett; 84th Illinois, Colonel Louis H. Waters; 9th Indiana, Colonel Isaac C. B. Suman; 36th Indiana, Major Gilbert Trusler; 24th Ohio, Captain George M. Bacon.

Second Division -- Major-General Philip H. Sheridan.

First Brigade, Colonel Francis T. Sherman; 36th Illinois, Colonel Silas Miller, Lieutenant-Colonel Porter C. Olson; 44th Illinois, Colonel Wallace W. Barrett; 73rd Illinois, Colonel James F. Jacques; 74th Illinois, Jason Marsh; 88th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Chandler; 22nd Indiana, Colonel Michael Gooding; 2nd Missouri, Colonel Bernard Laiboldt, Lieutenant-Colonel Arnold Beck; 15th Missouri, Colonel Joseph Conrad, Captain Samuel Resinger; 24th Wisconsin, Major Carl von Baumbach.

Second Brigade, Brigadier-General George D. Wagner; 100th Illinois, Major Charles M. Hammond; 15th Missouri, Colonel Gustavus A. Wood, Major Frank White, Captain Benjamin F. Hegler; 40th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Elias Neff; 57th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Lennard; 58th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Moore; 26th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel William H. Young; 97th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Milton Barnes.

Third Brigade, Colonel Charles G. Harker; 22nd Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Swanwick; 27th Illinois, Colonel Jonathan R. Miles; 42nd Illinois, Colonel Nathan H. Walworth; Captain Edgar D. Swain; 51st Illinois, Major Charles W. Davis, Captain Albert M.

Tilton; 79th Illinois, Colonel Allen Buckner; 3rd Kentucky, Colonel Henry C. Dunlap; 64th Ohio, Colonel Alexander McIlvain; 65th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel William A. Bullitt; 125th Ohio, Colonel Emerson Opdycke, Captain Edward P. Bates.

Artillery, Captain Warren P. Edgarton; M, 1st Illinois, Captain George W. Spencer; 10th Indiana, Captain William A. Naylor; G, 1st Missouri, Lieutenant G. Schueler; I, 1st Ohio, Captain H. Dilger; G, 4th U. S. Lieutenant C. F. Merkle; H, 5th U. S., Captain F. L. Guenther.

Third Division, Brigadier-General Thomas J. Wood.

First Brigade, Brigadier-General August Willich; 25th Illinois, Colonel Richard M. Nodine; 35th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel William P. Chandler; Lieutenant-Colonel William D. Williams; 32nd Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Erdelmeyer; 68th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey J. Espy; 8th Kansas, Colonel John A. Martin; 15th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Askew; 49th Ohio, Major Samuel F. Gray; 15th Wisconsin, Captain John A. Gordon.

Second Brigade, Brigadier-General William W. Berry, Lieutenant-Colonel John L. Treanor; 6th Kentucky, Major Richard T. Whitaker; 22nd Kentucky, Lieutenant-

Colonel James C. Foy; 1st Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Bassett Langdon, Major Joab A. Stafford; 6th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Alex C. Christopher; 41st Ohio, Colonel Aquilla Wiley, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert L. Kimberley; 93rd Ohio, Major William Birak, Captain Daniel Bowman, Captain Samuel B. Smith; 124th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel James Pickands.

Third Brigade, Brigadier-General Samuel Beatty: 79th Indiana, Colonel Frederick Knefler; 86th Indiana, Colonel George F. Dick, 9th Kentucky, Colonel George H. Cram; 17th Kentucky, Colonel Alexander M. Stout; 13th Ohio, Colonel Dwight Jarvis Jr; 19th Ohio, Colonel Charles F. Manderson; 59th Ohio, Major Robert L. Vanosodol. Artillery, Captain Cullen Bradley: Illinois, Battery, Captain Lyman Bridges; 6th Ohio, Lieutenant Oliver H. P. Ayres; 20th Ohio, Captain Edward Grosskopff, B, Pa. Lieutenant Samuel M. McDowell.

Eleventh Corps, Major-General O. O. Howard.

General Headquarters, Independent Co., 8th New York Infantry, Captain Anton Bruhn.

First Brigade, Colonel Adolphus Dumscheck; 33rd New Jersey, Colonel George W. Mindil; 134th New York, Colonel Allen H. Jackson; 154th New York, Colonel Patrick H. Jones; 27th Pennsylvania, Major Peter A. McAloon,

Captain August Reidt; 73rd Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph B. Taft, Captain Daniel F. Kelly, Lieutenant Samuel D. Miller.

Second Brigade, Colonel Orland Smith; 33rd Massachusetts, Lieutenant-Colonel Godfrey Rider, Jr; 136th New York, Colonel James Wood, Jr; 55th Ohio, Colonel G. B. Gambee; 73rd Ohio, Major S. H. Hurst.

Third Division, Major-General Carl Schurz

First Brigade, Brigadier-General Hector Tyndale; 101st Illinois, Colonel Charles H. Fox; 45th New York, Major Charles Kock; 143rd New York, Colonel Horace Boughton; 51st Ohio, Colonel Stephen J. McGroatry; 82nd Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel David Thompson.

Second Brigade, Colonel Wladimir Krzyzanowski; 58th New York, Captain Michael Esembauz, 119th New York, Colonel John T. Lockman; 141st New York, Colonel William K. Logie; 26th Wisconsin, Captain Frederick C. Winkler.

Third Brigade, Colonel Frederick Hecker; 80th Illinois, Captain James Neville, 82nd Illinois, Lieutenant Colonel Edward S. Salomon; 68th New York, Major Thomas W. Osborn; I, 1st New York, Captain Michael Wiedrich; 13th New York, Captain W. Wheeler; K, 1st Ohio, Lieutenant Nicholas Sahm.

Twelfth Army Corps,

Second Division, Brigadier-General John W. Geary.

First Brigade, Colonel Charles Candy, Colonel William R. Creighton, Colonel Thomas J. Ahl; 5th Ohio, Colonel John H. Patrick; 7th Ohio, Colonel William R. Creighton, Lieutenant-Colonel Orrin J. Crane, Captain Ernest J. Kreiger; 29th Ohio, Colonel William F. Fitch; 66th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Eugene Powell, Captain Thomas McConnell; 28th Pennsylvania, Colonel Thomas J. Ahl, Captain John Flynn: 147th Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Ario Pardee, Jr.

Second Brigade, Colonel George A. Cobham, Jr; 29th Pennsylvania, Colonel William Rickards Jr; 109th Pennsylvania, Captain Frederick L. Gimber; 111th Pennsylvania, Colonel Thomas M. Walker.

Third Brigade, Colonel David Ireland; 60th New York, Colonel Abel Goddard; 78th New York Colonel Herbert von Hammerstein; 102nd New York, Colonel James C. Lane; 137th New York, Captain Milo B. Eldridge; 148th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles B. Randall. Artillery, Major J. A. Reynolds; E, Pa, Lieutenant J. D. McGill; K, 5th, U. S., Captain E. C. Bainbridge.

Fourteenth Corps, Major-General J. M. Palmer.

Escort, L, 1st Ohio Cavalry, Captain John D. Barker.

First Division, Brigadier-General Richard W. Johnson.

First Brigade, Brigadier-General William P. Carlin; 104th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas Hapeman; 38th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel F. Griffin; 42nd Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel William T. B. McIntire; 88th Indiana, Colonel Cyrus E. Briant; 2nd Ohio, Colonel Anson G. McCook; 33rd Ohio, Captain James H. M. Montgomery; 94th Ohio, Major Rue P. Hutchins; 10th Wisconsin, Captain Jacob W. Roby.

Second Brigade, Colonel Marshall F. Moore, Colonel William L. Stoughton; 19th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander W. Raffen; 11th Michigan, Captain Patrick H. Keegan, 69th Ohio, Major James J. Hanna; 1st Battalion, 15th U. S., Captain Henry Keteltas, 2nd Battalion, 18th U. S. Captain Henry Haymond; 1st Battalion, 16th U. S. Major Robert E. A. Crofton; 1st Battalion, 18th U. S., Captain George W. Smith; 2nd Battalion, 18th U. S., Captain Henry S. Welton.

Third Brigade, Colonel John C. Starkweather; 24th Illinois, Colonel Geza Mihalotzy; 37th Indiana, Colonel James S. Hull, 21st Ohio, Captain Charles H. Vantine, 74th Ohio, Major Joseph Fisher; 79th Pennsylvania, Major Augustus B. Bonnaffon; 79th Pennsylvania, Major Michael H. Locher; 1st Wisconsin, Lieutenant-Colonel George B. Bingham, 21st Wisconsin, Captain

Charles H. Walker. Artillery, C, 1st Illinois, Captain Mark H. Prescott; A, 1st Michigan, Francis E. Hale.

Second Division, Brigadier-General J. C. Davis

First Brigade, Brigadier-General James D. Morgan; 10th Illinois, Colonel John Tilson; 16th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel James B. Cahill; 60th Illinois, Colonel William B. Anderson; 21st Kentucky, Colonel Samuel W. Price; 10th Michigan, Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher J. Dickerson.

Second Brigade, Brigadier-General John Beatty; 34th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Oscar Van Tasell; 78th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Carter Van Vleck; 98th Ohio, Major James M. Shane; 108th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Carol Piepho; 113th Ohio, Major L. Starling Sullivant; 121st Ohio, Major John Yager.

Third Brigade, Colonel Daniel McCook; 85th Illinois, Colonel Caleb J. Dilworth; 86th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel David W. Magee, 110th Illinois. Lieutenant-Colonel E. Hibbard Topping; 125th Illinois, Colonel Oscar P. Harmon; 52nd Ohio, Major James T. Holmes. Artillery, Captain William A. Hotchkiss; I, 2d Illinois, Lieutenant Richard L. Dawley; 5th Wisconsin, Captain George Q. Gardner.

Third Division, Brigadier-General Absalom Baird.

First Brigade, Brigadier-General John B. Turchin; 82nd Indiana, Colonel Morton C. Hunter; 11th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Ogden Street; 17th Ohio, Major Daniel Butterfield (w), Captain Benjamin H. Showers; 31st Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick W. Lister; 36th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Hiram F. Duval; 89th Ohio, Captain John H. Jolly; 92d Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas Putman, Jr. (w), Captain Edward Grosvenor.

Second Brigade, Colonel Ferinaand Van Derveer; 75th Indiana, Colonel Milton S. Robinson; 87th Indiana, Colonel Newell Gleason; 101st Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Doan; 2nd Minnesota, Lieutenant-Colonel Judson W. Bishop; 9th Ohio, Colonel Gustave Kammerling; 35th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry V. N. Boynton, Major Joseph Budd; 105th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel William R. Tolles.

Third Brigade, Colonel Edward H. Phelps, Colonel William H. Hays; 10th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh B. Taylor; 75th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Myron Baker; 4th Kentucky, Major Robert M. Kelly; 10th Kentucky, Colonel William H. Hays, Lieutenant-Colonel Gabriel C. Wharton; 14th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry D. Kingsbury; 38th Ohio, Major Charles Greenwood. Artillery, Captain George R. Swallow, 7th

Indiana, Lieutenant Otho H. Morgan, 19th Indiana, Lieutenant Robert G. Lackey; 14th U. S. Lieutenant, Frank G. Smith.

Engineer Troops, Brigadier-General, William F. Smith,

Engineers; 1st Michigan Engineers, Captain Perrin V. Fox, 13th Michigan, Major Willard G. Eaton, 21st Michigan, Captain Loomis K. Bishop, 22nd Michigan, Infantry Harry S. Dean; 18th Ohio, Colonel Timothy R. Stanley.

Pioneer Brigade, Colonel George P. Buell, 1st Battalion, Captain Charles J. Stewart; 2nd Battalion, Captain Cornelius Smith, 3rd Battalion, Captain William Clark.

Artillery Reserve, Brigadier-General J. M. Brannan.

First Division, Colonel James Barrett

First Brigade, Major Charles S. Cotter; B, 1st Ohio, Lieutenant Norman A. Baldwin, C, 1st Ohio, Captain Marco B. Gary; E, 1st Ohio, Lieutenant Albert G. Ransom; F. 1st Ohio, Lieutenant Giles J. Cockerill.

Second Brigade, G, 1st Ohio, Captain Alexander Marshall; M, 1st Ohio, Captain Frederick Schultz; 18th Ohio, Lieutenant Joseph McCafferty.

Second Division

First Brigade, Captain Josiah W. Church; D, 1st Michigan, Captain Josiah W. Church; A, 1st

Tennessee, Lieutenant Albert F. Beach; 3rd Wisconsin, Lieutenant Hiram F. Hubbard; 8th Wisconsin, Lieutenant Obadiah German; 10th Wisconsin, Captain Yates V. Beebe.

Second Brigade, Captain Arnold Sutermeister; 4th Indiana, Lieutenant Henry J. Willits; 8th Indiana, Lieutenant George Estep; 11th Indiana, Captain Arnold Sutermeister; 21st Indiana, Lieutenant W. E. Chess, C, 1st Wisconsin, Captain John R. Davies.

Cavalry, Colonel Eli Long, 98th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Kitchell; 17th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Jordan, 2nd Kentucky, Colonel Thomas P. Nicholas; 4th Michigan, Major Horace Gra; 1st Ohio, Major Thomas J. Patten; 3rd Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel C. B. Seidel; 4th Ohio, Major G. W. Dobb; 10th Ohio, Colonel C. C. Smith.

Post of Chattanooga, Colonel John G. Parkhurst; 44th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Simeon C. Adrich; 15th Kentucky, Major William G. Halpin, 9th Michigan, Lieutenant-Colonel William Wilkinson.

Army of the Tennessee, Major-General William T. Sherman.

Fifteenth Corps, Major-General William T. Blair.

First Division Brigadier-General Peter J. Osterhaus.

First Brigade, Brigadier-General Charles R. Woods; 13th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick W. Partridge, Captain George P. Brown; 3rd Missouri, Lieutenant-Colonel John F. Cramer; 27th Missouri, Colonel Thomas Curly; 29th Missouri, Colonel James Peckham, Major Philip H. Murphy; 31st Missouri, Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Kaercher; 32nd Missouri, Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel P. Simpson, 76th Ohio, Major Willard Warner.

Second Brigade, Colonel James Williamson, 4th Iowa, Lieutenant-Colonel James A. Williamson, 9th Iowa, Colonel David Carskaddon; 25th Iowa, Colonel George A. Stone; 26th Iowa, Lieutenant Millo Smith, 30th Iowa, Lieutenant-Colonel Aurelius Roberts; 31st Iowa, Lieutenant-Colonel Jeremiah W. Jenkins; 1st Iowa.

Artillery, F, 2nd Missouri, Captain Clemens Landgraeber; 4th Ohio, Captain George Froehlich.

Second Division, Brigadier-General Morgan L. Smith.

First Brigade, Brigadier-General Giles A. Smith, Colonel Nathan W. Tupper; 55th Illinois, Colonel Oscar Malmborg; 115th Illinois, Frank S. Curtiss; 6th Missouri, Lieutenant-Colonel Ira Boutell; 8th Missouri, Lieutenant-Colonel David C. Coleman; 57th Ohio, Lieutenant-

Colonel Samuel R. Mott; 1st Battalion, 13th, U. S. Captain Charles C. Smith.

Second Brigade, Brigadier-General Spooner; 30th Ohio, Theodore Jones; 37th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Louis von; 47th Ohio Colonel Augustus C. Parry; 54th Ohio, Major Robert Williams Jr; 4th West Virginia, Colonel James H. Dayton.

Artillery, A, 1st Illinois, Captain Peter P. Wood; B, 1st Illinois, Captain Israel P. Rumsey; H, 1st Illinois, Lieutenant Francis Degrees.

Fourth Division, Brigadier-General Hugh Ewing

First Brigade, Colonel John Mason Loomis; 26th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert A. Gillmore; 90th Illinois, Colonel Timothy O'Meara, Lieutenant-Colonel Owen Stuart; 12th Indiana, Colonel Reuben Williams; 100th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Heath, Brigadier-General John M. Corse, Colonel Charles C. Walcutt; 4th Illinois, Major Hiram W. Hall; 103rd Illinois, Colonel William A. Dickerman; 6th Iowa, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander J. Miller; 46th Ohio Captain Issac Alexander.

Third Brigade, Colonel Joseph R. Cockerill; 48th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Lucien Greathouse; 97th Indiana, Colonel Robert F. Catterson; 99th Indiana, Colonel Alexander Fowler; 53rd Ohio, Colonel

Wells S. Jones; 70th Ohio, Major William B. Brown.

Artillery, Captain Henry Richardson; F, 1st Illinois, Captain John T. Cheney, I, 1st Illinois, Lieutenant Josiah H. Burton; D, 1st Missouri, Lieutenant Byron M. Callender.

Seventeenth Army Corps

Second Division Brigadier-General John E. Smith.

First Brigade, Colonel Jesse I. Alexander; 63rd Illinois, Colonel Joseph B. McCowan; 48th Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward J. Wood; 59th Indiana, Captain Wilford H. Welman; 4th Minnesota, Lieutenant-Colonel John E. Tourtellotte; 18th Wisconsin, Colonel Gabriel Bouck.

Second Brigade, Colonel Green B. Raum, Colonel Francis C. Deimling, Colonel Clark R. Wever, 56th Illinois, Major Pinckney J. Welsh; 17th Iowa, Colonel Clark R. Wever, Major John F. Walden; 10th Missouri, Colonel Francis C. Deimling; E, 24th Missouri, Captain William W. McCammon; 80th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Pren Metham, Brigadier-General Charles L. Matthies.

Third Brigade, Brigadier-General Charles L. Dean, Colonel Jabez Banbury; 93rd Illinois, Colonel

Holden Putnam, Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholas C. Buswell, 5th Iowa, Colonel Banbury, Lieutenant- Colonel Ezekiel S. Sampson; 10th Iowa, Lieutenant-Colonel Paris P. Henderson.

Artillery, Captain Henry Dillon, Illinois Battery, Captain William Cogswell, 6th Wisconsin, Lieutenant Samuel F. Clark, 12th Wisconsin, William Zickerick.

Total Union Loss: killed 752, wounded 4713, captured or missing 350, totaling 5815.

The Confederate Army; General Braxton Bragg.

Hardee's Corps, Lieutenant-General William J. Hardee.

Cheatam's Division, Brigadier-General John K. Jackson.

Jackson's Brigade, Colonel C. J. Wilkinson, 1st Georgia, Major J. C. Gordon; 2nd Battalion, Georgia Sharpshooters, Lieutenant-Colonel R. M. Whiteley; 5th Georgia, Colonel C. P. Daniel; 47th Georgia, Liettenant-Colonel A. C. Edwards 65th Georgia, Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Pearcy; 5th Mississippi, Major J. B. Herring; 8th Mississippi, Major J. F. Smith.

Walthall's Brigade, Brigadier-General E. C. Walthall; 24th Mississippi, Colonel William F. Downd;

27th Mississippi, Colonel J. A. Campbell, 29th Mississippi, Colonel W. F. Brantly, 30th Mississippi, Major J. M. Johnson; 34th Mississippi, Captain H. J. Bowen.

Moore's Brigade, Brigadier-General John C. Moore, 37th Alabama, Lieutenant-Colonel A. A. Green; 40th Alabama, Colonel J. H. Higley; 42nd Alabama, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas C. Lanier.

Wright's Brigade, Brigadier-General Marcus J. Wright, Colonel John H. Anderson; 8th Tennessee, Colonel John H. Anderson, Lieutenant Chris C. McKinney; 16th Tennessee, Colonel D. M. Donnell; 28th Tennessee, Colonel S. S. Stanton; 38th Tennessee, Colonel John C. Carter; 51st and 52nd Tennessee, Lieutenant-Colonel John G. Hall.

Artillery Battalion, Major M. Smith, Alabama Battery, Captain W. H. Fowler, Florida Battery, Captain Robert P. McCants; Georgia Battery John Scogin; Mississippi Battery, Captain W. B. Turner.

Stevenson's Division Major-General Carter L. Stevenson.

Brown's Brigade, Brigadier-General John C. Brown, 3rd Tennessee, Colonel C. H. Walker; 18th and 26th Tennessee, Lieutenant-Colonel W. R. Butler, 32nd Tennessee, Major J. P. McGuire, 45th Tennessee and

23rd Tennessee, Battalion, Colonel A. Searcy.

Pettus' Brigade, Brigadier-General E. W. Pettus; 20th Alabama, Captain John W. Davis; 23rd Alabama, Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Bibb; 30th Alabama, Colonel C. M. Shelly, 31st Alabama, Colonel D. R. Hundley; 46th Alabama, Captain George E. Brewer.

Cumming's Brigade, Brigadier-General Alfred Cumming; 54th Georgia, Colonel J. A. W. Johnson, Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Bradley; 36th Georgia, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander M. Wallace, Captain J. A. Gric; 38th Georgia, Colonel J. T. McConnell; 56th Georgia, Lieutenant-Colonel J. T. Slaughter; Captain J. L. Morgan.

Reynold's Brigade, Brigadier-General Alexander W. Reynolds; 58th North Carolina, Colonel J. B. Palmer; 69th North Carolina, Major James T. Weaver; 54th Virginia, Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Wade; 63rd Virginia, Major J. M. French.

Artillery: Georgia Battery, Captain Max Van Den Corput; Maryland Battery, Captain John B. Rowan; Tennessee Battery Captain W. W. Carnes; Tennessee Battery, Captain Edward Baxter.

Cleburne's Division, Major-General P. R. Cleburne.

Lowrey's Brigade, Brigadier-General Mark P. Lowrey; 16th Alabama, Major F. A. Ashford; 33rd Alabama, Colonel Samuel Adams; 45th Alabama, Lieutenant-Colonel H. D. Lampley; 32 and 34 the Mississippi, Cobnel A. B. Hardcastle; 15th Battalion Sharp-Shooters, Captain T. M. Steger.

Polk's Brigade, Brigadier-General Lucius E. Polk; 2nd Tennessee, Colonel W. D. Robinson 35th and 48th Tennessee, Colonel B. J. Hill; 1st Arkansas; Colonel J. W. Colquitt, 3rd and 5th Confederate, Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Cole.

Liddell's Brigade, Colonel D. C. Govan; 2nd, 15th, and 24th Arkansas, Lieutenant-Colonel E. Warfield; 5th and 13th Arkansas, Colonel John E. Murray; 6th and 7th Arkansas, Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Snyder, 8th and 19th Arkansas, Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. Hutchinson.

Smith's Brigade, Colonel Hiram A. Granburry; 7th Texas, Captain E. C. Talley, 6th, 10th, and 15th Texas, Captain John R. Kennard; 17th, 18th, 24th, and 25th Texas, Major W. A. Taylor.

Artillery Battalion, Captain J. P. Douglas; Alabama Battery, Lieutenant T. W. Key, Mississippi Battery, Lieutenant H. Shannon.

Walker's Division, Brigadier-General States R. Gist.

Gists Brigade, 8th Georgia Battalion, Lieutenant-

Colonel Z. I. Walters; 46th Georgia, Lieutenant-Colonel W. A. Daniel; 16th South Carolina, Colonel James McCullough; 24th South Carolina, Colonel C. H. Stevens.

Wilson's Brigade, Brigadier-General Claudius C. Wilson; 1st Georgia Battalion Sharp-shooters and 25th Georgia, Major A. Shaaff; 26th Georgia Battalion, Major J. W. Nisbet; 29th and 30th Georgia, Major Thomas W. Mangham; 66th Georgia, Colonel J. C. Nisbet.

Maney's Brigade, Brigadier-General George E. Maney; 4th Confederate, Captain Joseph Bostick; 1st and 27th Tennessee, Colonel H. R. Feild, 6th and 9th Tennessee, Colonel George C. Porter; 41st Tennessee, Colonel R. Farquharson; 50th Tennessee, Colonel C. A. Sugg; 24th Tennessee Battalion Sharp-shooters.

Artillery Battalion, Major Robert Martin; Georgia Battery, Captain E. P. Howell; Missouri Battery, Captain H. M. Bledsoe; Ferguson's Battery.

Breckinridge's Corps, Major-General John C. Breckinridge.

Hindman's Division, Brigadier-General J. Patton Anderson.

Anderson's Brigade, Colonel W. F. Tucker; 7th and 9th Mississippi, Colonel W. H. Bishop; 10th and 44th

Mississippi, Colonel James Barr; 41st Mississippi, Major W. C. Richards.

Manigault's Brigade, Brigadier-General Arthur M. Manigault; 24th Alabama, Colonel N. N. Davis; 28th Alabama, Lieutenant-Colonel W. L. Butler; 34th Alabama, Captain R. G. Welch; 10th and 19th South Carolina, Colonel James F. Pressley.

Deas's Brigade, Brigadier-General Z. C. Deas, 19th Alabama, Colonel S. K. McSpadden, 22nd Alabama, Lieutenant-Colonel B. R. Hart; 25th Alabama, Colonel G. D. Johnson, 39th Alabama, Lieutenant-Colonel W. C. Clifton; 50th Alabama, Colonel J. G. Coltart, Alabama Battalion Sharp-shooters, Captain J. F. Nabers.

Vaughan's Brigade, Brigadier-General A. J. Vaughan; 11th Tennessee, Lieutenant-Colonel W. M. Watkins; 13th and 154th Tennessee, Lieutenant-Colonel R. W. Pitman; 29th Tennessee, Colonel Horace Rice.

Artillery Batallion, Major A. R. Courtney, Alabama Battery, Captain James Carrity; Dent's Battery, Captain S. H. Dent; Texas Battery, Captain J. P. Douglas.

Breckinridge's Division, Brigadier-General William B. Bate.

Bate's Brigade, Colonel R. C. Tyler; Colonel A. F. Rudler, Lieutenant-Colonel James J. Turner; 37th

Georgia, Colonel A. F. Rudler, Lieutenant-Colonel J. T. Smith; 10th Tennessee, Major John O'Neill; 15th and 37th Tennessee, Lieutenant-Colonel R. D. Frayser.

Lewis' Brigade, Brigadier-General Joseph H. Lewis; 2nd Kentucky, Colonel James W. Moss; 4th Kentucky, Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Wickliffe; 5th Kentucky, Colonel H. Hawkins.

Finley's Brigade, Brigadier-General Jesse J. Finely, 1st and 3rd Florida, Lieutenant-Colonel E. Mashburn; 4th Florida, Lieutenant-Colonel E. Badger; 6th Florida, Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. McLean, 7th Florida Lieutenant-Colonel T. Ingram; 1st Florida, G. T. Maxwell.

Stovall's Brigade, Brigadier-General Marcelius A. Stovall; 40th Georgia, Lieutenant-Colonel R. M. Young; 41st Georgia, Colonel W. E. Cutris; Major W. H. Husley; 43rd Georgia, Lieutenant-Colonel H. C. Kellogg; 52nd Georgia, Major John J. Moore.

Strahl's Brigade, Brigade-General Oscar F. Strahl; 4th Tennessee, Lieutenant-Colonel L. W. Finley; 5th Tennessee, Colonel J. J. Lamb, 19th Tennessee, Colonel F. M. Walker, 24th Tennessee, Colonel John A. Wilson, 31st Tennessee, Lieutenant-Colonel H. C. McNeill.

Clayton's Brigade, Colonel J. T. Holtzclaw;

18th Alabama, Major Shep Ruffin; 32nd and 59th Alabama, Colonel Bush Jones; 38th and 36th Alabama, Colonel L. T. Woodruff.

Adam's Brigade, Colonel R. L. Givson; 13th and 20th Louisiana, Major F. L. Campbell; 19th Louisiana, Major H. A. Kennedy; 16th and 25th Louisiana, Colonel D. Austin; 4th Louisiana, Major S. L. Bishop.

Reserve Artillery

Robertson's Battalion, Captain Felix H. Robertson, Alabama Battery, Lieutenant H. H. Cribbs; Georgia Battery, Lieutenant J. R. Duncan, Georgia Battery, Captain R. W.Anderson; Missouri Battery, Captain Oberton W. Barret.

Williams' Battalion, Major S. C. Williams; Alabama Battery, Captain R. Kolb; Jefross' Battery, Captain W. C. Jeffress, Mississippi Battery, Lieutenant H. W. Bullen.

Cavalry; Parts of the 3rd, 8th and 10th Confederate, and 1st, 2nd, 4th, and 5th Tennessee.

Total Confederate Loss; killed, 361, wounded, 2180; captured or missing, 4146, totaling 6687.

APPENDIX C

THE OPPOSING FORCES AT KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

November 17th-December 4th, 1863.

THE UNION ARMY

Army of the Ohio--Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside, Ninth Army Corps, Brigadier-General Robert B. Potter.

Escort: 6th Indiana Cav. (4 co's) Colonel James Biddle. First Division, Brigadier-General Edward Ferrero.

First Brigade, Colonel David Morrison; 56th Massachusetts, Major William F. Draper; 8th Michigan, Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Ely; 79th, New York, Captain William S. Montgomery; 45th. Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis M. Hills.

Second Brigade, Colonel Benjamin C. Christ; 29th Massachusetts, Colonel Ebenezer W. Pierce; 27th, Michigan, Major William B. Wright; 46th, New York, Captain Alphons Serieri; 50th, Pennsylvania, Major Edward Overton, Jr.

Third Brigade, Colonel William Humphrey; 2d Michigan, Major Cornelius Byington (m w), Captain John C. Ruehl; 17th Michigan, Lieutenant- Colonel Lorin L. Comstock (k), Captain Frederick W. Swift; 20th

Michigan, Major Byron M. Cutcheon; 100th Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Matthew M. Dawson, Second Division, Colonel John F. Hartranft.

First Brigade, Colonel Joshua K. Sigfried; 2d Maryland, Colonel Thomas B. Allard; 21st, Massachusetts, Lieutenant-Colonel George P. Hawkes; 48th Pennsylvania, Major Joseph A. Gilmour.

Second Brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel Edwin Schall; 35th Massachusetts, Major Nathaniel Wales; 11th New Hampshire, Captain Leander W. Cogswell;

Second Brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel Emery S. Bond: 112th Illinois (mounted infantry), Major Tristam T. Dow; 8th Michigan, _____45th Ohio (mounted infantry),_____: 15th Indiana Battery, _____.

Third Brigade, Colonel Charles D. Pennebaker: 11th Kentucky, Colonel S. Palace Love; 27th Kentucky, Lieutenant-Colonel John H. Ward.

SECOND DIVISION

First Brigade, Colonel Israel Garrard: 2d Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Purington; 7th Ohio, _____2d Tennessee (infantry), _____.

THE CONFEDERATE ARMY

Lieutenant-General James Longstreet

MCLAWS' DIVISION, Major-General Lafayette McLaws.

Kershaw's Brigade, Brigadier-General Joseph B. Kershaw; 2nd South Carolina, Colonel John D. Kennedy (w), Lieutenant-Colonel P. Caillard; 3rd South Carolina, Colonel James D. Nance; 7th South Carolina, Captain E. J. Coggans; 8th South Carolina, Colonel J. W. Henegan, Captain D. McIntyre; 15th South Carolina, Major William M. Gist (k), Captain J. B. Davis; 3rd South Carolina Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Rice.

Wofford's Brigade, Colonel S. Z. Ruff (k), Lieutenant-Colonel N. L. Hutchins, Jr.; 16th Georgia, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry P. Thomas (k); 18th Georgia, Captain John A. Crawford; 24th Georgia, Captain N. J. Dortch; Cobb's (Georgia) Legion, Major William D. Convers; Phillips' (Georgia) Legion, Major Joseph Hamilton (w); 3rd Georgia Battalion Sharp-shooters, Lieutenant-Colonel H. L. Hutchins, Jr.

Humphreys' Brigade, Brigadier-General Benjamin G. Humphreys: 15th Mississippi, Colonel Kennon McElroy (k), Major C. L. Donald; 17th Mississippi, Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Fisor (w); 18th Mississippi, Colonel Thomas W. Griffin; 21st Mississippi, Colonel W. L. Brandon. 51st Pennsylvania, Major William J. Bolton.

Unattached: E, 2nd U. S. Artillery, Lieutenant Samuel N. Benjamin.

TWENTY-THIRD ARMY CORPS, Brigadier-General Mahlon D. Manson.

General Headquarters: McLaughlin's Ohio Squadron Cav., Major Richard Rice; Eng. Battalion, Captain O. S. McClure.

Second Division, Brigadier-General Julius White.

Second Brigade, Colonel Marshall W. Chapin; 107th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis H. Lowery; 13th Kentucky, Colonel William E. Hobson; 23rd Michigan, Major William W. Wheeler;111th Ohio, Major Isaac R. Sherwood; Illinois Battery, Captain Edward C. Henshaw.

Third Division, Brigadier-General Milo S. Hascall.

First Brigade, Colonel James W. Reilly; 44th Ohio, Major Alpheus S. Moore; 100th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Oscar W. Steri; D, 1st Ohio Artillery, Lieutenant William H. Pease.

Second Brigade, Colonel Daniel Cameron; 65th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel William S. Stewart; 24th Kentucky, Colonel John S. Hunt; 103rd Ohio, Captain John T. Philpot; Indiana Battery, Captain Hubbard T. Thomas.

Reserve Artillery, Captain Joseph A. Sims; 19th Ohio, Captain Joseph C. Shields.

Provisional Brigade, Colonel William A. Hoskins; 12th Kentucky, Major Joseph M. Owens; 8th Tennessee, Colonel Felix A. Reeve; Tennessee Brigade, Colonel John S. Casement.

CAVALRY CORPS, Brigadier-General James M. Shackelford.

First Division, Brigadier-General William P. Sanders (m w), Colonel Frank Wolford.

First Brigade, Colonel Frank Wolford, Lieutenant-

Colonel Silas Adams; 1st Kentucky, Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Adams; 11th Kentucky, _____; 12th Kentucky _____; Law's Howitzer Battery, _____.

Bryan's Brigade, Brigadier-General Goode Bryan; 10th Georgia, Lieutenant-Colonel Willis C. Holt; 50th Georgia, Colonel P. McGlashan; 51st Georgia, Colonel E. Ball; 53rd Georgia, Colonel James P. Simms (w).

HOOD'S DIVISION, Brigadier-General Micah Jenkins.

Jenkins' Brigade, Colonel John Bratton; 1st South Carolina, Colonel F. W. Kilpatrick; 2nd South Carolina Rifles, Colonel Thomas Thomson; 5th South Carolina, Colonel A. Coward; 6th South Carolina, _____; Hampton (South Carolina) Legion, Colonel M. W. Gary; Palmetto (South Carolina) Sharpshooters, Colonel Joseph Walker.

Robertson's Brigade, Brigadier-General Jerome B. Robertson; 3rd Arkansas, Colonel Van H. Manning; 1st Texas, Colonel A. T. Rainey; 4th Texas, Colonel J. C. G. Key; 5th Texas, Colonel R. M. Powell.

Law's Brigade, Brigadier-General E. McIver Law; 4th Alabama, Colonel P. D. Bowles; 15th Alabama, Colonel W. C. Oates; 44th Alabama, Colonel W. F. Perry; 47th Alabama, Colonel M. J. Bulger; 48th Alabama, Colonel James L. Sheffeld.

Anderson's Brigade, Brigadier-General G. T. Anderson; 7th Georgia, Colonel W. W. White; 8th Georgia, Colonel John R. Towers; 9th Georgia, Colonel Benjamin Beck; 11th Georgia, Colonel F. H. Little; 59th Georgia, Colonel Jack Brown.

Benning's Brigade, Brigadier-General Henry L. Benning; 2nd Georgia, Colonel E. M. Butt; 15th Georgia, Colonel D. M. Du Bose; 17th Georgia, Colonel Wesley C. Hodges; 20th Georgia, Colonel J. D. Waddell.

ARTILLERY, Colonel E. P. Alexander.

Leyden's Battalion, Major A. Leydon; Georgia Battery, Captain Tyler M. Peeples; Georgia Battery, Captain A. M. Wolihin; Georgia Battery, Captain B. W. York.

Alexander's Battalion, Major Frank Huger; Louisiana Battery, Captain G. V. Moody; Virginia Battery, Captain W. W. Pickling; Virginia Battery, Captain Tyler C. Jordan; Virginia Battery, Captain William W. Parker; Virginia Battery, Captain Osmond B. Taylor; Virginia Battery, Captain Pichigru Woolfolk, Jr.

BUCHNER'S DIVISION, Brigadier-General Bushrod R. Johnson.

Gracie's Brigade, Brigadier-General Archibald Gracie, Jr.; 41st Alabama, Lieutenant-Colonel T. G. Trimmier; 43rd Alabama, Colonel Y. M. Moody; 59th Alabama, Lieutenant-Colonel J. L. McEwen, Jr.; 63rd Tennessee, Major J. A. Aiken.

CAVALRY CORPS, Major-General Joseph Wheeler, Major-General William T. Martin.

Division commanders: Major-General William T. Martin, Brigadier-Generals F. C. Armstrong and John T. Morgan.

Brigade commanders: Colonels Thomas Harrison, A. A. Russel, C. C. Crews, and George G. Dibrell. Troops: Parts of 4th, 8th, 9th, and 11th Tennessee; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 6th Georgia; 1st, 3rd, 4th, 7th, and 51st Alabama; 3rd Arkansas, 8th and 11th Texas, and 1st and 8th Confederate regiments, and Wiggins' Battery.

RANSOM'S CAVALRY

Jones' Brigade, Brigadier-General William E. Jones; 8th Virginia, Colonel James M. Corns; 21st Virginia, _____; 27th Virginia Battalion, _____; 34th Battalion, Colonel V. A. Witcher; 36th Virginia Battalion, _____; 27th Battalion, _____.

Giltner's Brigade, Colonel H. L. Giltner; 16th Georgia Battalion, Major E. Y. Clark; 4th Kentucky, Major N. Parker; 10th Kentucky, Lieutenant-Colonel Edwin Trimble; 1st Tennessee, Colonel James E. Carter; 64th Virginia, Colonel Campbell Slemp; Virginia Battery, Captain William N. Lowry.

The total Confederate loss (minus the cavalry, not reported) was 182 killed, 768 wounded, and 192 captured or missing: 1142. The loss in cavalry is estimated at 250.

The effective strength of the forces under Longstreet's command probably numbered 20,000.

Note: This work was taken from Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Volume III. Appendix A, page 69; Appendix B, pages 72-730; Appendix C, pages 751-752.



OUT-LINE MAP
-OF-
EAST TENNESSEE.
BASED ON-

MAP OF TENNESSEE.
HISTORY OF TENNESSEE.
GARRETT, W.R. & GOODPASTURE, A.V.
316 - 317.

DRAWN BY-
Bill THOMPSON.
UNDER DIRECTION OF-
FRANK SMITH.

MAP OF CAMPAIGNS ~ 1863.



BASED ON MAP
~ OF ~
TULLAHOMA CAMPAIGN.

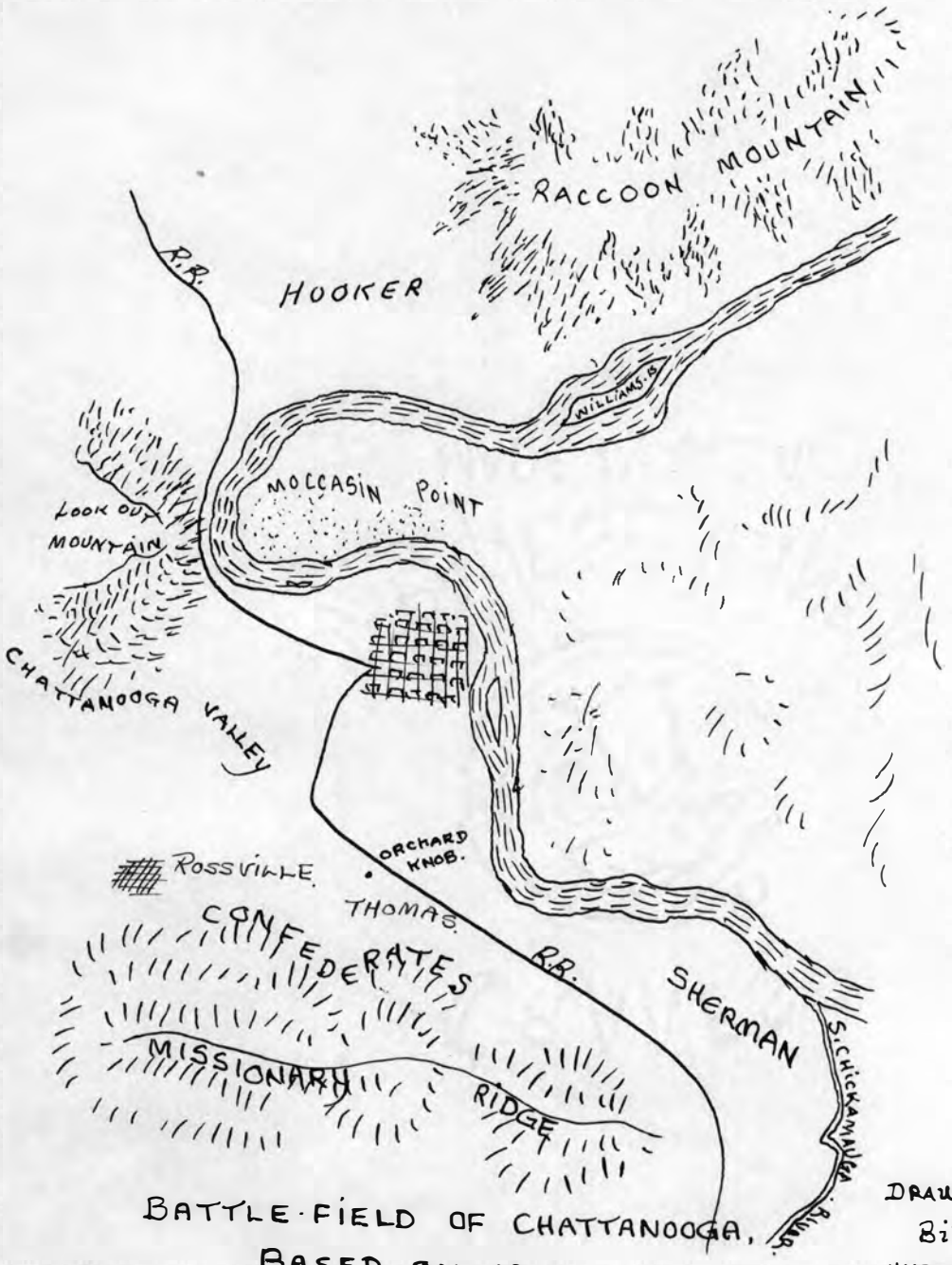
BATTLES AND LEADERS
OF THE CIVIL WAR.
V. 3. 636.

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UNDOR DIRECTION OF FRANK ~
SMITH.



VICINITY OF CHATTANOOGA,
BASED ON MAP.
~OF~
CHICKAMAUGA CAMPAIGN.
BATTLES & LEADERS. 640,

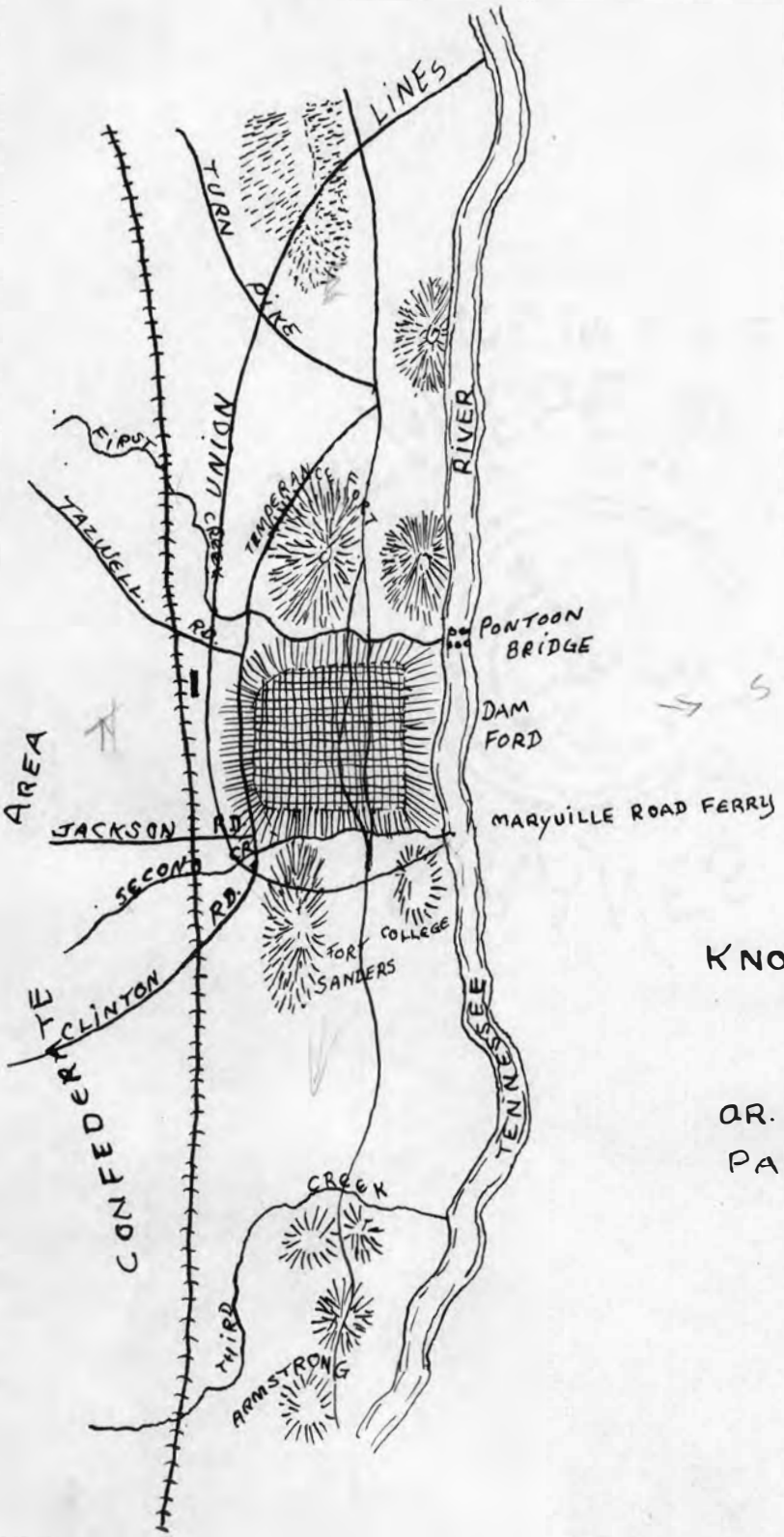
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FRANK SMITH.



BATTLE-FIELD OF CHATTANOOGA,
BASED ON MAP.
-OF-
BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA.

BATTLES & LEADERS
OF THE CIVIL WAR, 686.

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KNOXVILLE CAMPAIGN.
BASED ON MAP.
-FROM-
OR. SERIES I . VOL. XXXI
PART. 1. 493.

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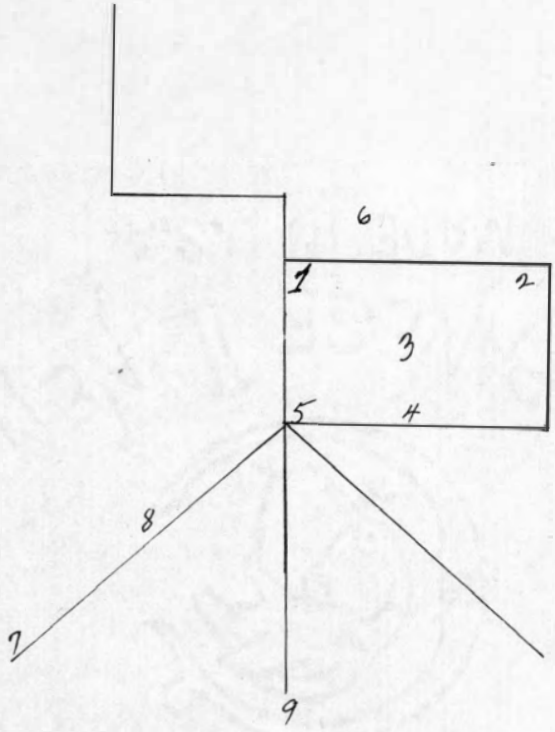


CAMPAIGNS
-OF-
UPPER TENNESSEE,
BASED ON MAP
-FROM-
BATTLES & LEADERS
-OF-
THE CIVIL WAR, 478.

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DIAGRAM OF GREENEVILLE, SEPT. 4. 1863.

70.



SWIGGETT HOWARD.
THE "REBEL RAIDER" 260.

1. WILLIAMS HOUSE.
2. FRAME EPISCOPAL. CHURCH.
3. WILLIAMS GARDENS. AND VINEYARDS OPEN.
4. ARBOR.
5. STABLES.
6. ARTILLERY.
7. GILTNERS BRIGADE.
8. D. HOWARD SMITH.
9. BRADFORD.
10. HALT OF THE COLUMN BEFORE BIVOUAC.