

MANIGAULT'S BRIGADE, ARMY OF TENNESSEE:
A NARRATIVE HISTORY WITH SELECTED
COMPANY ROSTERS

THESIS

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By

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Aaron was born in October 1997, my first semester as a graduate student. Patricia and I were holding on by our fingernails in December, and only through the kindness of Dr. Swinney, Dr. Liddle, and Dr. Brennan did I survive my initial graduate experience. Once we righted ship the next semester my beautiful wife became my savior in the following graduate years. While I stayed at home as a Dad and student, Patty worked in the day and typed up pencil smudged legal sheets at night--usually under deadline pressure--to insure my nominal success as a graduate student. She never panicked, never blew up, and never encouraged my last minute approach to assignments. She's also a great cook. I love you, Patty. All of this has been for you.

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INTRODUCTION

The 1983 publication of *A Carolinian Goes to War* marked an important moment in the historiography of the Confederate Army of Tennessee. The memoir of General Arthur Middleton Manigault, it is the only published account of the Civil War written by a brigade commander serving in the main western army of the Confederate States of America. In fact, of the 299 Confederate generals who survived the war fewer than twenty published histories or recollections of their military experiences. It is believed General Manigault wrote his account prior to 1868, "with a view of keeping these events as fresh in my memory as possible." He died in 1886. Although the manuscript went unpublished for more than one hundred years, its existence was known to historians because the 1943 *Dictionary of American Biography* entry for A.M. Manigault referenced the memoirs.¹

Unfortunately, the manuscript is an incomplete record of the general's wartime career because it ends just prior to the Nashville campaign of late 1864. The last half year of the conflict (including major battles at Franklin, Nashville

¹Arthur Middleton Manigault, *A Carolinian Goes To War*, ed. R. Lockwood Tower, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983), v, 1; *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. XII, ed. Dumas Malone, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), 234.

and Bentonville) is not mentioned in the work. General Manigault, badly wounded at Franklin, was forced to retire from duty; but his brigade continued fighting until the surrender of the army to Union General William Sherman in April 1865.²

Research on the Army of Tennessee has increased markedly in the past thirty years, beginning with Professor Thomas Connelly's command-oriented volumes, *Army of the Heartland* (1967) and *Autumn of Glory* (1971). Before Connelly's rejuvenated study of the South's main western army, the only serious work solely devoted to it was Stanley F. Horn's *The Army of Tennessee* (1941). It was hailed by Pulitzer prize winning historian Douglas Southall Freeman as filling "The greatest gap in Confederate military history." Horn, a newspaperman turned historian, also wrote *The Decisive Battle of Nashville* (1956). These histories are solid and footnoted, but the scarcity of works concerning the Army of Tennessee prior to the 1970s, compared to the avalanche of attention given Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, was conspicuous. The battle of Chickamauga, the Army of Tennessee's sole major victory, by 1970 was the subject of merely two books, Archibald Gracie's *The Truth About Chickamauga* (1911) and Glenn Tucker's *Chickamauga* (1961). Neither author was professionally trained as a historian. Incredibly, the vital 1864 Atlanta campaign went more than a century between detailed book length treatments. Jacob Cox

²Manigault, *A Carolinian*, xi.

was a Union commander in the drive for the Georgia interior, and his *Atlanta* (1882) is still quite useful and factual; but until Professor Albert Castel published *Decision in the West* (1992), the Cox book stood as the definitive account of the summer long battles for Atlanta. The examples of Chickamauga and Atlanta punctuate the condition of western theater historiography in the late twentieth century. Little had changed from the days when the veterans of those conflicts were alive and writing recollections instead of professionally researched history.³

After Professor Connelly's benchmark history of the Army of Tennessee, there came an increasing array of campaign and land unit books devoted to renewed study of the Civil War in the western theater. Since publishing *Shiloh--In Hell Before Night* (1977), Professor James Lee McDonough produced five more titles all chronicling individual campaigns that took place within the heart of the South. They include *Stones River: Bloody Winter in Tennessee* (1980); *Five Tragic Hours: The Battle of Franklin* (1983) with Professor Connelly; *Chattanooga: A Death Grip on the Confederacy* (1984); *War So Terrible: Sherman and Atlanta* (1987) with James Pickett

³Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967); Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971); Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), dj; Stanley F. Horn, *The Decisive Battle of Nashville*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956); Archibald Gracie, *The Truth About Chickamauga*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911); Glenn Tucker, *Chickamauga*, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961); Jacob Cox, *Atlanta*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882); Albert Castel, *Decision in the West*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1992).

Jones; and *War in Kentucky, From Shiloh to Perryville* (1994). All are classic achievements of academic research.⁴

Professor Richard M. McMurry, an expert on the western theater, is most noted for his *Two Great Rebel Armies* (1989), wherein he states that the Army of Tennessee was simply an inferior force measured against the Army of Northern Virginia. McMurry also wrote *John Bell Hood and the War for Southern Independence* (1982) and *Atlanta 1864: Last Chance for the Confederacy*, published in 2000.⁵

As part of a Great Campaigns of the Civil War series, two recent works spotlight action involving the Army of Tennessee. Professor Steven E. Woodworth's *Six Armies in Tennessee* (1998) analyzes the 1863 Chickamauga-Chattanooga operations and Professor Earl J. Hess examines the late 1862 fighting in Kentucky and Tennessee in his *Banners to the Breeze: The Kentucky Campaign, Corinth and Stones River*

⁴James Lee McDonough, *Shiloh--In Hell Before Night*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977); James Lee McDonough, *Stones River: Bloody Winter in Tennessee*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980); James Lee McDonough, Thomas L. Connelly, *Five Tragic Hours: The Battle of Franklin*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); James Lee McDonough, *Chattanooga: A Death Grip on the Confederacy*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984); James Lee McDonough, James Pickett Jones, *War So Terrible: Sherman and Atlanta*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987); James Lee McDonough, *War in Kentucky, From Shiloh to Perryville*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994).

⁵Richard M. McMurry, *Two Great Rebel Armies*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Richard M. McMurry, *John Bell Hood and the War for Southern Independence*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Richard M. McMurry, *Atlanta 1864: Last Chance for the Confederacy*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

(2000). Professor Hess also co-wrote, with Professor William L. Shea, *Pea Ridge: Civil War Campaign in the West* (1992).⁶

Equally proficient at producing modern histories of western theater events is a group of amateurs thoroughly devoted to their cause and dedicated to research. Wiley Sword wrote *Shiloh--Bloody April* (1974); *Embrace an Angry Wind: The Confederacy's Last Hurrah: Spring Hill, Franklin, and Nashville* (1992); and *Mountains Touched with Fire: Chattanooga Besieged, 1863* (1995). Sword won the Fletcher Pratt award for *Embrace an Angry Wind* because ample primary research complemented his storyteller's touch. Peter Cozzens, while a United States Department of State Official, authored four books: *No Better Place to Die: The Battle of Stones River* (1990); *This Terrible Sound: the Battle of Chickamauga* (1992); *The Shipwreck of their Hopes: The Battles for Chattanooga* (1994); and *The Darkest Days of the War: The Battles of Iuka and Corinth* (1997). Cozzens uses frequent unit-specific maps and ample primary documentation in works that portray Army of Tennessee commander Braxton Bragg more charitably than previous historians. Both Sword and Cozzens often refer to individual regiments in their footnoted, quote packed narratives thereby being of particular interest to the genealogical audience.⁷

⁶Steven Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998); Earl J. Hess, *Banners to the Breeze: The Kentucky Campaign, Corinth and Stones River*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992).

⁷Wiley Sword, *Shiloh--Bloody April*, (New York: Morrow, 1974); Wiley Sword, *Embrace an Angry Wind: The Confederacy's Last Hurrah: Spring Hill, Franklin, and Nashville*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1992);

Larry J. Daniel holds a Master of Arts degree from Emory University and, although he is a theologian and not a professor of history, his books dealing with western warfare and drawn from primary sources. *Shiloh: The Battle That Changed the Civil War* (1997), *Island No.10: Struggle for the Mississippi Valley* (1996), and *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee* (1991) are all rich with previously unpublished material. *Soldiering* owes much to the Bell Irvin Wiley classic *Life of Johnny Reb* (1943), yet Daniel keeps his focus on men who won just one single victory in four years of brutal combat. *Soldiering* explores all aspects of campaign life and is an essential addition to any western armies library. *Cannoneers in Gray* (1984) is Daniel's look at artillery units in the Army of Tennessee, a much neglected aspect of Civil War research.⁸

Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., also non-academic, produced a compelling Army of Tennessee unit history with another artillery investigation, *The Pride of the Confederate*

Wiley Sword, *Mountains Touched With Fire: Chattanooga Besieged, 1863*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995); Peter Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die: The Battle of Stones River*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Peter Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound: The Battle of Chickamauga*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Peter Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes: The Battles for Chattanooga*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); *The Darkest Days of the War: The Battles of Iuka and Corinth*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

⁸Larry J. Daniel, *Shiloh: The Battle That Changed the Civil War*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997); Larry J. Daniel, *Island No. 10: Struggle for the Mississippi Valley*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996); Larry J. Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1943); Larry J. Daniel, *Cannoneers in Gray*, (University: University of Alabama Press, 1984).

Artillery (1997). The book includes the service records of all known members of Fifth Company of the Washington Artillery of New Orleans, whose other companies fought with Lee in Virginia. Hughes also wrote *Bentonville: The Final Battle of Sherman and Johnston* (1996). This work and Mark L. Bradley's *Last Stand in the Carolinas: The Battle of Bentonville* (1996) are the only book length studies ever written about the last major fight between western armies. Both authors make use of unpublished primary sources, but Bradley's maps are outstanding. With an eye for detail, *Last Stand* is the better volume. Bradley authored a second book on the Carolinas campaign, *This Astounding Close* (2000), which describes the events after Bentonville and the surrender process negotiated between William Sherman and Joseph E. Johnston.⁹

Another lay historian whose specialty is map making is William R. Scaife. In a series of books long on maps and short on prose, Scaife shows his audience the position of brigade and regimental units on battlefields from Savannah to Nashville. *The Campaign for Atlanta* (1985), *Hood's Campaign for Tennessee* (1986), and *The March to the Sea* (1989) all greatly aid the reader in visualizing the action. Scaife

⁹Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997); Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., *Bentonville: The Final Battle of Sherman and Johnston*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Mark L. Bradley, *Last Stand in the Carolinas: The Battle of Bentonville*, (Campbell, California: Savas Woodbury Publishing, 1996); Mark L. Bradley, *This Astounding Close*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

also reports on the condition and accessibility of battlefield landmarks off the beaten path. Complete with footnotes and bibliography his books make excellent companions when walking hallowed ground.¹⁰

If the personal is political then the personal experiences of American families are fundamentally historical. Genealogical research can spark curiosity about a topic, and that curiosity can result in one more pair of hands digging out archival material languishing in local or national depositories. The author is one such example. Two of his great-great grandfathers served in Manigault's Brigade and it was the desire to understand more fully their Civil War careers that led to this thesis. Private William Samuels and Second Corporal A.J. Groom survived the war, though each was wounded. No family papers are known to exist describing either man's war experiences.

¹⁰William R. Scaife, *The Campaign for Atlanta*, (Atlanta: William R. Scaife, 1985); William R. Scaife, *Hood's Campaign for Tennessee*, (Atlanta: William R. Scaife, 1986); William R. Scaife, *The March to the Sea*, (Atlanta: William R. Scaife, 1989).

CHAPTER I

I HAVE SEEN THE MONKEY SHOW

They came from red clay counties in central Alabama, such as Coosa, and from Black Belt districts, such as Georgetown, on the soggy South Carolina coast. Some volunteered in 1861 while others did not muster until compelled by the Conscription Act of 1862, the first universal draft of white men in American history. All of them served the Confederate States of America in Manigault's Brigade of the Army of Tennessee, the principal Confederate fighting force in the western theater of the war. Initially perhaps 2500 strong in late 1862, Manigault's Brigade and the five regiments comprising it--the Tenth South Carolina, the Nineteenth South Carolina, the Twenty-Fourth Alabama, the Twenty-Eighth Alabama and the Thirty-Fourth Alabama--fought for the duration of the Civil War and surrendered mere fragments of their former strengths in 1865 (see Map 1, page 83).¹

Manigault's Brigade was a typical outfit in the Army of Tennessee, and its soldiers were a cross section of the

¹Alabama Regimental Muster Rolls, Alabama Department of Archives and History, (Hereafter cited as ADAH); South Carolina Regimental Memory Rolls, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, (Hereafter cited as SCDAH); Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 79, xi, 21.

antebellum Deep South, with plain folk and planters sharing in the burdens and horrors of civil war. Some were veterans of the Mexican War, and one company in the Twenty-Fourth Alabama saw action at Shiloh early in 1862; but most of A.M. Manigault's troops had only heard about the glories of serving one's country in April 1862. By the end of that year, all the men of Manigault's Brigade were combat veterans, and more than a few would write loved ones cursing a war that twelve months before seemed to some so necessary, so righteous, and so glorious.²

General Manigault, a wealthy planter from the Georgetown district, South Carolina, owned 150 slaves on one plantation alone before the war. His family had deep South Carolina roots, and family honor was upheld when Manigault fought in the Mexican War. In May 1861, at the age of thirty-seven, he volunteered again and was elected colonel of the Tenth South Carolina regiment, whose companies included the following: Company A, the Georgetown Rifle Guards, whose captains included Plowdon Weston and C.C. White; Company B, the Brooks Guards of Horry District, with captains J.H. Norman and W.J. Tolar; Company C, the Lake Swamp Volunteers of Horry, with captains A.H. Johnson and Carmi Johnson; Company D, the Marion Volunteers, with captains Z. Godbold and Robert Harllee; Company E, the Black Mingo Rifle Guards of

²Manigault, *A Carolinian*, ix; Newspaper account in the Twenty-Fourth Alabama Regiment folder, ADAH.

Williamsburg, captained by James F. Pressley, J.F. Caraway, T.M. Miller and G.P. Anderson; Company F, the Pee Dee Rangers of Marion, captained by E. Miller and F.J. Bostick; Company G, the Horry Rough and Ready's, captained by Samuel Bell, C.T. Ford and M.F. Sarvis; Company H, the Liberty Volunteers of Williamsburg, captained by J.R. Nettles and W.J.M. Lee; Company I, the Swamp Fox Guards of Marion, captained by H.M. Lofton and B.B. McWhite; no Company J included; Company K, the Eutaw Volunteers of Charleston, captained by Julius T. Porcher and John Palmer; Company L, the Liberty Guards of Marion, captained by S.E. McMillian and A.H. Ford; and Company M of Horry, captained by William J. Tylor, J.P. Bessant and W.C. DuBois.³

The cavalier spirit of the Old South lived in Captain Plowdon Weston of Company A. He outfitted at his own expense his entire command with English Enfield rifled muskets, all gear and uniforms for both summer and winter. Four of his slaves were brought along to act as a pioneer corps to clear marching paths, and he gave \$5000 to the State Ordnance Department. His most lavish act for his men came after a fruitless scouting expedition when, on the return hike,

³George C. Rogers, Jr., *The History of Georgetown, County, South Carolina*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 296-297; Manigault, *A Carolinian*, xi; Mark M. Boatner III, *The Civil War Dictionary*, (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1987), 612; *The Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, vol. 64, ed. Janet B. Hewett, (Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1999), 796-800, (hereafter cited as *S.O.R.*, volume number, page number); A company numbered approximately one hundred men, with a regiment about one thousand.

Captain Weston treated his company to a sit down, gourmet meal at his family's nearby plantation. Sol Emanuel remembered that feast as "on par with the feudal entertainments of the great lords of Europe."⁴

The Nineteenth South Carolina regiment was formed in December 1861 with William C. Moragne elected colonel. Its companies included Company A of Edgefield, captained by Tilman Watson, E.W. Perry, Elijah Horne and Ezekiel Randall; Company B of Edgefield, captained by Thomas Show and Thomas Getzen; Company C of Edgefield, captained by John Quattelbaum and Rufus Dean; Company D of Edgefield, captained by Ira Crowley, John Denny and William Peterson; Company E, district unknown, captained by William Green and B.R. Richbourg; Company F of Edgefield, captained by Wade Holstein, W.H. Norris and J.W. Turner; Company G of Abbeville, captained by Robert W. Lites, James White and Robert McCaslan; Company I of Abbeville, captained by Hugh Robinson and Addison Clinkscales; and Company K of Edgefield, captained by A. Jones, William Gregg, W.H. Timmerman and J.B. Courtney.⁵

The Tenth South Carolina drilled at Camp Marion near Georgetown while the Nineteenth South Carolina trained at Camp Hampton near Columbia. The Tenth regiment mustered eight hundred men in December 1861 and the main diet for new

⁴Sol Emanuel, *An Historical Sketch of the Georgetown Rifle Guards and as Co. A of the Tenth Regiment, So. Ca. Volunteers in the Army of the Confederate States* (S. Emanuel: n.p., 1909), 8-10.

⁵S.O.R., vol. 65, 133-136.

soldiers in the nineteenth century was repetitious drilling and the practice of light infantry tactics as proscribed by the manual authored by Confederate General William J. Hardee. *Hardee's Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics* was published in 1855, while Hardee was Commandant of Cadets at the United States Military Academy, and it was the drill manual of choice for Confederate forces. Heavy infantry fought in compact bodies equipped with smoothbore muskets, and light infantry fought in a more dispersed manner carrying rifled muskets. Rifled musketry was not an American invention, and British soldiers began carrying the vaunted Enfield rifle in 1853, years before the U.S. War Department opted to discontinue Napoleonic smoothbores for the new technology.⁶

The reason was simple. United States Ordnance Department tests performed in 1860 using caliber .58 rifled muskets revealed remarkable accuracy at hundreds of yards on stationary targets the size of a man on horseback (a ten foot wooden square). At one hundred yards, the percentage of hits fired by volley was 96 percent for the rifle, and at three hundred yards 46 percent of the rifle shots fired by volley hit their mark. Without the spin imparted to the bullet by

⁶*S.O.R.*, vol. 64, 801; *S.O.R.*, vol. 65, 137; *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, Volume 6, page 360, (hereafter cited as *O.R.*, vol., part, page. All citations Series I unless otherwise stated.); *United States Infantry and Rifle Tactics*, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lipincott & Co., 1862), 2; Claud E. Fuller, *The Rifled Musket*, (New York: Bonanza Books, 1958), 55-148. This book contains microfilm reprints of dozens of the 1860 tests, allowing the reader to examine the accuracy of different weapons.

rifling, old model smoothbores were rarely accurate past a few dozen yards. Captain Weston's largesse in arming his Georgetown Rifle Guards with British Enfields in the summer of 1861 made his men an elite fighting force guarding the South Carolina coast, provided they mastered Hardee's tactics. Cornelius Irvine Walker remembered that the rest of the regiment was armed with four makes of guns for much of the war, finally achieving Enfield uniformity only in late 1864.⁷

Unfortunately for the nineteenth-century soldier, technology had outpaced tactics on the battlefield. Hardee's stressed the tight, elbow to elbow formations designed to deliver massed volleys of inaccurate smoothbore fire that won Napoleon such acclaim a half century earlier. Rifled musketry now stretched the killing zone out for hundreds of yards. Close order formations on the battlefields of the 1860s fared much differently than they had for a French emperor conquering Europe six decades past. In 1861, volunteers throughout the South struggled to learn intricate marching formations, such as a right wheeling movement, and how to load and fire their shoulder arms in the ten simple steps mandated by drill instructors.

In August 1861, the Twenty-Fourth Alabama regiment was raised with William Buck elected colonel. It included the

⁷Fuller, *Rifled Musket*, 59,63; C. Irvine Walker, *Rolls and Historical Sketch of the Tenth Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers*, (Charleston: Walker, Evans and Cogswell, 1881), 74-75.

following: Company A, the Washington Guards of Mobile County, captained by William Smith, Bart S. Chamberlain and Daniel Berry; Company B, the Emmett Guards of Mobile, captained by Bernard O'Connell, William O'Brien and Rutledge T.B. Parham; Company C, the Dixie Boys of Pickens, captained by Newton N. Davis, William McCracken and William Dunlap; Company D of Mobile, captained by George Bonner and Starke Oliver; Company E, the Dickinson Guards of Clarke, captained by Daniel McLeod, David Thomas and Thomas Kimbell; Company F of Mobile, captained by John Fowler and William Fowler; Company G, the Gulf City Guards or Garrison Guard of Mobile, captained by Alphonse Hurtel and William Higley; Company H of Shelby, captained by Junius Pierce and Hubbell Pierce; Company I, the Confederate Guards of Mobile, captained by J. Hooper and John Hazard; and Company K, the Jabe Curry Rifles of Talladega, captained by Ben Sawyer, James Hall and Joshua Morse.⁸

The Jabe Curry Rifles took their nickname from the real Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, a Talladega politician who resigned his seat in the United States Congress when secession became fact. Ben Sawyer personally equipped this company with rifles and gear at the 1861 sum of \$2,500 then led them at the battle of Shiloh eight months later as part of Blythe's Mississippi regiment. Captain Sawyer was wounded at Shiloh,

⁸*United States Infantry Tactics*, 78-84, 143-147; *Hardee's Tactics* allowed a body of troops to load and fire in four motions once they had mastered the ten step process; *S.O.R.*, vol. 1, 558-561.

and, in the fall of 1862, he requested his company be transferred into the Twenty-Fourth Alabama, whereupon the Jabe Curry Rifles were consolidated with the Autauga Guards, also late of Blythe's Mississippi unit.⁹

By early 1862, the reports from Richmond that conscription was essential convinced most of the remaining eligible white males to enlist rather than be seen waiting to be drafted. At Shelby Springs, Alabama, the Twenty-Eighth Infantry regiment was organized in March, with John Frazer elected colonel. Its companies included Company A, of Perry County, captained by William Butler, James Graham, and John Wilson; Company B, the Confederate Sentinels or Wathall Confederates of Blount and Marshall Counties, captained by John Turpin and Eli Kiker; Company C, of Blount, captained by Max Tidmore and John Couch; Company D, of Jefferson, captained by William Nabors; Company E, the Deyampert Warriors of Walker, captained by H.A.M. Henderson, Hugh Loller and Robert Cox; Company F, the Walker Legion of Walker, captained by Franklin Gamble and L.E. Gilbert; Company G, of Jefferson, captained by John Miller, John Morrow, and G.W. Hewitt; Company H, the Jonesboro Volunteers of Jefferson, captained by Samuel Tarrant, Williamson Hawkins, William McAdory and William McLeod; Company I, the

⁹*American National Biography*, vol. 5, ed. John Garraty, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 877-878. Jabez Curry eventually became the general agent of the Peabody Fund for Education in the South; Newspaper account, Twenty-Fourth Alabama Regiment folder, ADAH.

Dallas Warriors of Dallas, captained by Francis Hopkins and Pleasant Greene Wood; Company K, of Perry, captained by Charles Harris, Homer Ford and Eli George; and Company L, of Walker, captained by F.A. Musgrove.¹⁰

The Deyampert Warriors were named in honor of a leading citizen of Perry county who donated \$1500 towards proper outfitting of the troops. The captain of the company, the man who recruited the 112 fighting men in it, was the Reverend Howard Henderson. In a letter published in the *Selma Reporter* he proclaimed that only five of his recruits were slave holders, the other men of lesser standing, "Patriots of the finest stamp." The Reverend Henderson resigned in the fall of 1862.¹¹

When Manigault first saw the eight hundred man Thirty-Fourth Alabama regiment he called it "one of the finest looking bodies of men that I ever saw." He was not impressed with its initial officers. The Thirty-Fourth was organized in April 1862, and Julius Caesar Bonaparte Mitchell was elected colonel. Its companies included the following: Company A, from Coosa and Montgomery, captained by Thomas Mitchell and R.G. Welch; Company B, from Coosa, captained by John Slaughter, E.B. Wood and William Lambert; Company C, from Tallapoosa, captained by James Willis and William

¹⁰James McPherson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 427; *S.O.R.*, vol. 1, 583-586.

¹¹*Selma Reporter*, 1862, The Twenty-Eighth Alabama Regiment folder, ADAH.

Oliver; Company D, from Tallapoosa, captained by H.R. McCoy, L. Paradise and William Holston; Company E, from Tallapoosa, captained by M. Fielder and John Colquitt; Company F, of Tallapoosa, captained by J. Frank Ashurst and Henry Rix; Company G, of Tallapoosa, captained by P.J. Pinckard, W.L. Brooks and James M. Smith; Company H, of Montgomery, captained by John Carter and Fred Cobb; Company I, the Shorter Guards of Russell, captained by Henry Crowder, William Johnson, and Joseph Simms.¹²

While the Thirty-Fourth Alabama was organized in the spring of 1862, Colonel Manigault and his Tenth South Carolina regiment were shipped west to Corinth, Mississippi, to help secure that important railway interchange. After the battle of Shiloh, nearby Corinth became a stagnant holding pen for wounded soldiers and crowded reinforcements, all making do with bad water, poorly placed latrines, and increasing Mississippi heat. The Tenth South Carolina had contracted the measles the previous December, and Manigault was appalled at conditions in Corinth. Soon, the Tenth South Carolina could muster only half of its nine hundred men; the rest were on sick leave. The Civil War killed more than six hundred twenty thousand Americans, yet only one-third of those were battle deaths; the rest were from disease. Writing after the war, Manigault supposed that upon evacuating Corinth at the end of May 1862 one-fourth of the

¹²Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 21-22; *S.O.R.*, vol. 1, 648-652.

Confederate army was in a hospital. *The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* confirmed such ill health.¹³

When Union Generals Henry Halleck and John Pope slowly moved to cut off Corinth, Colonel Manigault's regiment experienced live enemy fire as skirmishing frequently took place; however, no general engagement involved the South Carolinians. The generous Captain Weston found himself captured when the enemy broke through picket lines on his company's flank and, after being paroled, eventually relinquished his command to become Lieutenant Governor of South Carolina. A stinking Corinth was given up in June to Union occupation, and the Confederates reorganized the Army of Tennessee at Tupelo in the summer of 1862.¹⁴

Colonel Manigault found himself the ranking officer in his brigade at Tupelo, because of the failing health and subsequent resignation of Brigadier General James Trapier. The Fourth Brigade in Jones Withers' Division then consisted of the Twenty-Eighth and Thirty-Fourth Alabama and the Tenth and Nineteenth South Carolina Infantry regiments. Waters' Alabama Battery provided the artillery. Colonel Manigault was not promoted to general until the following year, but from Tupelo until he was forced out of the war, A.M.

¹³Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 19, 20-21; O.R., vol. 53, 204; E.B. Long, *The Civil War Day by Day*, (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1971), 712; O.R., vol. 10, part 1, 791.

¹⁴Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 19-21; Emanuel, *An Historical Sketch*, 13; O.R., vol. 17, part 2, 632-635.

Manigault fought with this brigade in every major engagement of the Army of Tennessee save one.¹⁵

Manigault and his Fourth Brigade were used only in supporting positions during the late 1862 Kentucky campaign, which reached a climax at the battle of Perryville on 8 October. Beginning in August, Army of Tennessee commander Braxton Bragg transported and marched his men from Mississippi, across Tennessee and into Kentucky in an attempt to secure that border state for the Confederacy. Robert E. Lee's invasion of Maryland, another border state, began simultaneously and hopes were high in Richmond that by bringing all of the border slave states into the Southern confederation an end to the fighting and European recognition of the Confederate States of America as an independent country would occur. With Lee checked in September at Antietam, the Kentucky campaign warranted anxious attention in both national capitals.¹⁶

The Tenth South Carolina won praise from General Bragg during the taking of Munfordville, Kentucky, 14-17 September. As Manigault watched the Tenth move forward as a skirmish line in advance of the main body of troops, General Bragg and staff rode up next to the South Carolina colonel. After a short time Bragg remarked, "That's worth looking at, Colonel. Your regiment does you honor." Munfordville was surrounded

¹⁵O.R., vol. 17, part 2, 632; Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 36.

¹⁶Boatner, *Dictionary*, 642-644.

by Confederates, and the next day surrendered to Bragg but only after Union Colonel J.T. Wilder, a volunteer, first requested a flag of truce to seek the advice of an attacking Confederate officer.¹⁷

The Fourth Brigade did not see any further substantial action until the Confederates were on the retreat after the battle of Perryville. Bragg actually inflicted much damage to the Union army there but lost his nerve a day later and opted to leave Kentucky rather than continue fighting another nearby wing of the divided Federal forces commanded by General Don Carlos Buell. On the way back to Tennessee the Fourth Brigade assisted the cavalry rear guard in halting pursuing Union soldiers. The Twenty-Eighth Alabama and Nineteenth South Carolina did service at Little Rock Castle Creek on 19 October, in relieving Colonel Joseph Wheeler's tired cavalry and then repelling Union troops. Colonel Frazer of the Alabama regiment reported his men drove in the enemy skirmishers "with great alacrity." Wheeler complained it was the only time on the retreat that Bragg sent infantry to help check advancing Union infantry units, infantry being superior to cavalry in sustained combat.¹⁸

Bragg's Kentucky campaign was a strategic failure although it included something of a tactical victory at

¹⁷Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 38; McDonough, *War in Kentucky*, 178-180.

¹⁸McDonough, *War in Kentucky*, 304-311; *O.R.*, vol. 16, part, 1, 983-989.

Perryville. Manigault was an admirer of Bragg, particularly after Bragg's discipline and order restored the fighting spirit of the Army of Tennessee once it left Corinth. Consequently Manigault harbored no resentment towards his general's leadership abilities in the wake of Kentucky. By November 1862, Bragg's army was resting in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, and in December, President Jefferson Davis visited not only for an inspection of the troops but also to offer his military advice. One soldier of the brigade told his family "we had a jenral revew yesterday and we wer reviewed by our prezedent Jef Davis he is a good looken man [*sic*]."¹⁹ But the former Secretary of War decided that ten thousand men from Bragg's army should at once reinforce Vicksburg, Mississippi, and this order was issued in the face of a Union army concentrating just thirty miles away in Nashville.²⁰

In late December, the Army of Tennessee was alerted to Union movements south towards the railroad hub of Chattanooga. The Fourth Brigade of Withers' Division was commanded by General Patton Anderson and now was composed of the Twenty-Fourth, the Twenty-Eighth, and Thirty-Fourth Alabama regiments, coupled with the Tenth and Nineteenth

¹⁹Thomas Warrick Letters, ADAH, (hereafter cited as Warrick papers.) All letters quoted throughout this work are reproduced exactly as written, with original spellings, spacing, and punctuation. To avoid overuse of the term *sic* in works drawn from primary sources rife with misspellings, editors for the *Chicago Manual of Style* recommend an explanatory footnote and no further use of the term.

²⁰Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 51-53.

South Carolina, the only bodies of troops from that state in the Army of Tennessee. Thomas Warrick of the Thirty-Fourth Alabama, wrote his wife Martha, "I shant see no fun this Christmous," but Christmas passed peacefully without a clash between Confederate General Bragg and Union General William Rosecrans, commander of the Army of the Cumberland and the man charged with capturing Chattanooga.²¹

On 29 December, Company A of the Tenth South Carolina was on picket duty when it fought off Union cavalry. The next day saw skirmishing and artillery shelling. On 31 December, Bragg attacked the right flank of the Army of the Cumberland just as the Federals had their breakfast. Rosecrans had drawn up a battle plan identical to Bragg's yet by allowing his men time to eat he doomed thousands of them. Manigault led the Fourth Brigade of Withers' Division in the first Confederate line of attack, center left, the Thirty-Fourth Alabama on the left flank followed right to left by the Twenty-Eighth Alabama, the Twenty-Fourth Alabama, the Nineteenth South Carolina, and the Tenth South Carolina (see Map 2, page 84). Confederates initially poured into the Union camps up and down the line, and Rosecrans watched his right flank give way in panic. Traversing thick cedar stands and limestone outcroppings, Bragg's men attacked swiftly and so successfully that some units became exposed on their flanks when other commands could not keep up such a

²¹O.R., vol. 20, part 2, 418-423; Warrick papers, ADAH.

victorious pace. The Fourth Brigade suffered this fate when a Union battery opened on Manigault's unprotected right and forced the Confederates to retreat momentarily. Rallied to the advance, Manigault's men were again shot down to the extent that a third charge and supporting troops on the right flank were required to overpower the Union position.²²

Moving forward again, the Fourth Brigade participated in a right wheeling movement that was designed to force the Union right wing back upon the left wing and to sever the supply line to Nashville. Another Union battery soon opened on Manigault, who found himself facing not only artillery that fired canister shot projectiles, but a brigade of Union infantry in support as well. The Tenth and Nineteenth South Carolina regiments carried the Federal position and captured the guns, only to have a Federal counterattack reclaim the battery and repel the South Carolinians. When the entire Confederate left wing again surged forward, the Union infantry abandoned the guns; and the Houghtaling Battery was captured property. Nineteenth South Carolina Colonel A.J. Lythgoe was dead on the field, and Division Commander Withers wrote, "He dies well who dies nobly," describing Lythgoe in his official report.²³

Bragg's wheeling movement began to slow as the day ground down and Union resolve stiffened. Using the cedars

²²O.R., vol. 20, part 1, 687-689; Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 55-58.

²³O.R., vol. 20, part 1, 753-758.

and limestone boulders to their advantage, Union General Phil Sheridan's men bought time for Rosecrans to rally his shaken divisions. Struggling to remain a cohesive attacking force, Bragg's soldiers began piecemeal assaults in bloody attempts to cut the Nashville Railroad. Artillery and musketry were so severe that men were seen to pick cotton from the few open fields and stuff it into their ears. Rosecrans' Army of the Cumberland clung to the railroad embankment and repulsed every uncoordinated Army of Tennessee attack as a winter sun set on a vicious New Year's Eve. The Confederates had captured more than four miles of battleground, yet were unable to cross the Nashville Railroad to secure the victory. While his men slept on frozen ground without fires for warmth, Braxton Bragg pondered his next move.²⁴

Taking New Year's Day off to bind up wounds and reconnoiter, neither army took to the offensive. Bragg then decided to assault the left flank of the Union line which was situated on high ground across Stones River. Late in the gray afternoon of a cold 2 January 1863, the Army of Tennessee returned to the attack and initially drove in Union skirmishers. But in a blistering action of only twenty minutes, failed presidential candidate John Breckinridge led a charge that went straight through the water, up a hill and into the muzzles of fifty-eight waiting cannons. General

²⁴McDonough, *Stones River*, 137-151; *O.R.*, vol. 20, part 1, 689-690.

Breckinridge lost 1,700 men in less than half an hour, and the Federal line never flinched. The Fourth Brigade was held in reserve during the assault on the Union left flank.²⁵

At the battle of Stones River, casualties for both armies were almost 33 percent for a combined total of more than twenty-four thousand killed, wounded, and missing men, more than the combined total for the battle of Shiloh. The Twenty-Fourth Alabama had twenty killed and ninety-five wounded, the Twenty-Eighth Alabama had seventeen killed and eighty-eight wounded, the Thirty-Fourth Alabama had eleven killed and seventy-seven wounded, the Tenth South Carolina sixteen killed and ninety-one wounded, and the Nineteenth South Carolina had eight killed and seventy-two wounded. The Fourth Brigade lost 530 out of 2,200 men engaged. Thomas Warrick wrote wife Martha, "I can inform you that I have seen the Monkey show at last and I dont Waunt to see it no more. . . . I am tirde of Ware." But the brutality of killing did not soften all of his comrades. Lieutenant James Mitchell, of the Thirty-Fourth and a student when the war broke out, admitted, "There was a great deal of pilfering performed on the dead bodies of the Yankees by our men. . . . I ordered my men to take their fine guns and canteens if they wished, but nothing else."²⁶

²⁵ O.R., vol. 20, part 1, 757; McDonough, *Stones River*, 193-201.

²⁶ Thomas Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America: 1861-1865*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 97; O.R., vol. 20, part 1, 693; Warrick papers, ADAH; James Mitchell Letters, ADAH, (hereafter cited as Mitchell papers, ADAH.)

The men of the Alabama regiments later were upset with the report filed by Corps commander Leonidas Polk that seemed to ignore the efforts made by the Alabamians in the fight, protesting it favored the accomplishments of Manigault's South Carolinians. Colonels Mitchell, Reid, and Davis wrote a joint letter of complaint that their regiments were being denied proper recognition for valor, and Colonel Manigault endorsed their heroism to Polk. A printer's mistake, said the corps commander, inadvertently added an "s" to Polk's description of Manigault as a "South Carolinian" and made it appear as if only "the gallant South Carolinians" had returned to the charge. Pacified by the explanation, Manigault's Alabamians went about their duties and prepared for winter quarters.²⁷

Veterans of combat after Stones River, Manigault's men and the soldiers of the Army of Tennessee waited for spring and good fighting weather before engaging General Rosecrans again. General Bragg, having failed to take Kentucky, was now charged with holding on in Tennessee and keeping the railroad hub of Chattanooga out of Union hands. Down the railroad line was Atlanta, and both generals knew the value and the

²⁷O.R., vol. 20, part 1, 696-697. Stones River National Military Park encompasses a small portion of the battlefield, but the site is not highly developed. The area of the last Union line of defense along the embankment of the Nashville Railroad is preserved, and the site of Breckinridge's attack against Union artillery is also intact. Cedar stands and limestone outcroppings still abound. Though there is little commemorative statuary, the 1863 Hazen Memorial is thought to be the nation's oldest Civil War monument.

cost of possessing the heart of the Deep South. Captain Newton N. Davis wrote his wife, "Alas what tears have been shed, what pain and anguish of heart has been endured on account of this unjust and unholy crusade against the South."²⁸

²⁸Newton N. Davis, "Newton N. Davis Confederate Letters," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, 18 (1956): 605.

CHAPTER II

BARREN VICTORY, IGNOBLE DEFEAT

Spring of 1863 found enemy armies in the Civil War's western theater still very near the Middle Tennessee town of Murfreesboro. In the warming sun of spring, both armies rested and contemplated the coming campaign season, one sure to focus on the railway center of Chattanooga one hundred miles to the southeast. The 1863 campaign for Chattanooga, however, with the attendant battle at Chickamauga, saw the fortunes of war in the heartland of the South turn against the Confederacy in eight short autumn weeks. By year's end, the Tennessee rail hub was in Union hands, and Confederates could only prepare for an assault on Atlanta, the next big stop down the tracks of the Western and Atlantic Railroad. Unable to defend the gateway city of Chattanooga, the Army of Tennessee and Manigault's Brigade failed to seal off the best invasion route into the Deep South. In time that invasion would be led by William Tecumseh Sherman, and from it the Confederacy never recovered.¹

The winter drilling impressed visitors at the Confederate camps at Tullahoma, Tennessee. Colonel Arthur

¹Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 280.

Fremantle, the British observer who later witnessed the battle at Gettysburg, believed that "the discipline in this Army is the strictest in the Confederacy." Bragg was a West Pointer and Mexican War veteran with a well known reputation as an organizer. His efforts to combat desertion were legendary. The standard punishment was a shaved head, branding on the left hip with a letter "D," fifty lashes, and the ceremonial drumming out of the service to the tune *Rogue's March*. To be hung by the thumbs was routine and execution for desertion became an accepted ritual in Bragg's army, though most who witnessed such a measure shrank from the sight. Thomas Warrick wrote home in December 1862, "I saw a site today that made me feel mity Bad I saw a man shot for deserting. . . . But I could not helpe my self I had to do Jest as thay sed for me to doo." Major John Slaughter of the Thirty-Fourth Alabama wrote his wife that complaining women on the homefront were the cause of much of the deserting, telling her, "3 men shot for desertion in our Brigade & I do not doubt that their wives were the cause of it." Five men of the Twenty-Eighth Alabama would be shot for deserting in April of 1864.²

Life in the Tullahoma camps, in early 1863, was strict but not repressive, and grand reviews of marching soldiers

²Colonel Arthur Fremantle, *The Fremantle Diary*, ed. Walter Lord (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1954), 125; Ezra Warner, *Generals in Gray*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), 30; Daniel, *Soldiering*, 108-112; Warrick papers, ADAH; Major John Slaughter Letters, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, (hereafter cited as Slaughter papers, ADAH); Daniel, *Soldiering*, 113.

were popular, yet instructive, diversions. Foreign observers and Richmond dignitaries were treated to horsemanship tournaments and actual horse racing, while the men in the ranks enjoyed comfortable lodgings and adequate rations. The lodgings, built by the bunkmates themselves, were remembered to be quite snug against the winter weather. James Maxwell of the Thirty-Fourth Alabama wrote, "Not a nail in the whole building. . . . As good quarters as any soldier wanted for his winter housing." The central feature in such wooden huts was the "three-foot-wide fireplace, its walls made by ramming mud inside of a wooden frame, which frame soon burnt out, leaving the baked mud." Chimneys of baked mud and stacked wooden barrels vented the fires. Bunks consisted of pole frames atop two foot high forked sticks, which stood straight up in the hard packed ground. Laced with hickory bark, "chair bottom fashion," the frames supported sleeping soldiers in hammock-like comfort.³

Although the rest from active campaigning was welcome, Manigault's Brigade and the entire Army of Tennessee nevertheless experienced the loneliness and fear that all soldiers know in time of war. John Crittenden, of the Thirty-Fourth Alabama, dreamed of summertime watermelons with his family, telling his wife "If the soldiers were allowed to settle the matter peace would be made in short order." Regimental companion James Mitchell eventually asked his

³Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 230; James Robert Maxwell, *Autobiography of James Robert Maxwell of Tuscaloosa, Alabam[sic] 1850-1926*, (New York: Greenberg Publishing, 1926), 130, 150-151.

family "Why don't someone from home write to me? . . . Some of you write." Revivalism swept over Bragg's winter camps and conversions numbered in the hundreds. Because of a chronic shortage of chaplains, soldiers flocked by the thousands to sermons delivered mostly in open air settings, for few structures in the area could accommodate more than a few souls. Bad weather only intensified the desire for regular church meetings among many Confederates. Lieutenant J.K. Callaway of the Twenty-Eighth Alabama told his wife, "This Regiment is following the example of the others and getting up the Christian Association, a kind of church. It is a good thing and I hope will prosper." Revivalism flourished in the army to the degree that Bragg himself was baptized and confirmed during that wave of righteousness which engulfed the Army of Tennessee in early 1863.⁴

Manigault's Brigade was detached in April, to protect some artillery batteries sent in search of better pastures and forage for draft animals. For six weeks, the brigade enjoyed what Manigault recalled as "a beautiful country and most delightful camp." Callaway wrote his family of playing marbles and baseball everyday, only being disturbed by the occasional order to drill.

By May 1863, the Army of Tennessee mustered nearly forty-four thousand men and more than a few of those soldiers

⁴John Crittenden Letters, Center for American History, Austin, (hereafter cited as Crittenden papers, CAH; Mitchell papers, ADAH; Daniel, *Soldiering*, 116-118; Judith Lee Hallock, *The Civil War Letters of Joshua K. Callaway*, (Athens; University of Georgia Press, 1997), 98.

were becoming, in the words of one Twenty-Eighth Alabamian, "impatient for an opportunity to win more glory." In June, Bragg's cavalry commander, General Nathan Bedford Forrest, reported movements by the Union Army of the Cumberland. Union commander William Rosecrans was headed south and Bragg's Army of Tennessee stood between Rosecrans and the gate city of Chattanooga. His men were keen for battle, but Braxton Bragg was confused as to where an attack should take place because the Union army was advancing from Murfreesboro in five different columns. Confederate cavalry became overextended trying to secure such a wide front and Bragg found himself lacking information concerning Union whereabouts. When its lines of communication were cut near Shelbyville, Bragg's army was compelled to retreat into Chattanooga, Middle Tennessee being surrendered without a fight. General Bragg was driven from position by General Rosecrans with a series of near bloodless flanking movements and feints in a two week campaign recalled by Manigault as "the most brilliant of the war."⁵

The Union flanking movements continued around the citadel of Chattanooga as Rosecrans attempted to avoid a frontal assault against a position naturally gifted with high ground from which artillery could rake attacking troops. In early September, Union forces maneuvered south of the city

⁵Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 73; Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 159; Hallock, *Callaway Letters*, 88; Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 231; Hallock, *Callaway Letters*, 89; Boatner, *Dictionary*, 850-851; Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 77.

and threatened the Western and Atlantic Railroad, the supply line from Atlanta for the Army of Tennessee. Fearful of having that lifeline severed, Bragg ordered his army to abandon Chattanooga. Retreating south and into northern Georgia, the Army of Tennessee established camp near Lee and Gordon's Mill on Chickamauga Creek. There the Confederates concentrated and turned to await the advance of the Union Army of the Cumberland.⁶

Once the lines of supply from Atlanta were exposed to capture, the evacuation of Chattanooga was sound military policy; but Bragg paid a heavy price in Southern newspapers for his lack of offense in the field. In August, Bragg advised Jefferson Davis that the Union army, and not Chattanooga, was the objective, saying, "We can not hold this town." After the town was given up, the *Richmond Examiner* cried, "but O! for an hour of Jackson!" This reference to the martyred "Stonewall" Jackson voiced the despair of many Southerners. With Lee repulsed at Gettysburg and the Mississippi River controlled by Union gunboats after the fall of Vicksburg, Confederate newsmen reported Bragg's back pedaling in Tennessee with some contempt. Rosecrans, too, was convinced that Bragg's army was in headlong retreat towards safe haven in Georgia. The Union commander assumed much based on information gleaned from captured prisoners and deserters, men actually planted by Bragg to deceive Rosecrans into thinking that the Confederates were in no condition to

⁶Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 247-248.

offer battle. In mid-September 1863, the fifty-eight thousand man Army of the Cumberland was unwisely rushing against a firmly posted and fully equipped Army of Tennessee ready for combat along a sluggish stream in northern Georgia. J.K. Callaway wrote his wife, "The troops are still in fine spirits. I don't think anybody is afraid of the result." After a nine month reprieve, thirty-five thousand men were about to become casualties of war.⁷

Beginning on 19 September 1863, units of Nathan Bedford Forrest's Confederate cavalry began skirmishing with advanced elements of the Army of the Cumberland. Commanding generals Bragg and Rosecrans, each sensing a brewing battle, continued to allow piecemeal assaults throughout the day, ordering individual brigades to go to the sound of small arms fire wherever it was heard. Evolving into a torrent of unsupported attacks that relied more on the bravery of the common soldier to gain a victory than upon enlightened generalship, the first day's action at Chickamauga was a stalemate. Low woods and dense growth made communication or coordination on the battlefield difficult and, at day's end, a rare night assault by Confederate General Patrick Cleburne failed to gain a breakthrough in Union lines but compounded the confusion. Bragg ordered no fires for his men the cold night of the nineteenth. With the dark, however, came reinforcements for the Army of Tennessee, as General James

⁷J. Cutler Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 348; Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 248; Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 105-106; Hallock, *Callaway Letters*, 133.

Longstreet arrived with another corps of men from the Army of Northern Virginia. Taking advantage of relative calm in the eastern theater in the wake of Gettysburg, Richmond authorities allowed Longstreet to go west to aid Bragg. General Longstreet used the South's few railroads with inspired efficiency, and after the first day's fighting at Chickamauga, nearly ten thousand fresh soldiers joined the Army of Tennessee.⁸

Manigault's Brigade did not see heavy action on 19 September. The brigade was in the center of Bragg's line, near the mill on the creek, and most of the fighting occurred on the Confederate right flank. On the night of the nineteenth, however, because of large troop movements throughout the day towards the right, Manigault's Thirty-Fourth Alabama found itself occupying the extreme left of Bragg's line. A Union scouting party of sixty men stumbled upon the Alabamians in the dark, and volleys were fired at close range. The Thirty-Fourth suffered a dozen casualties, and only two Union men escaped uninjured in the exchange. Manigault's men joined General Longstreet's wing the following day to help the Army of Tennessee win its only true victory in the west (see Map 3, page 85).⁹

On 20 September, Longstreet's soldiers crashed out of woods near the Brotherton family log cabin and crossed the Lafayette Road. Protecting the left flank of the entire

⁸Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 201-211.

⁹O.R., vol. 30, part 2, 345.

Confederate battle line was Manigault's Brigade, with the Thirty-Fourth Alabama as Manigault's leading regiment. Part of Longstreet's command found a gap in the Union line, and the Confederate veterans poured into the breach with proven acumen. Manigault, however, encountered terrific opposition from Colonel J.T. Wilder's Union cavalry armed with the new Spencer seven-shot repeating carbine and posted on a small hill. This quick-firing breechloader gave the Union defenders such an advantage in rapid firepower that General Longstreet heard the noise to his left and assumed that another Union division had reached the field. Portions of Manigault's Alabamians were twice forced back across the Lafayette Road to escape the shooting from the hilltop. Major John Slaughter, commanding the Thirty-Fourth Alabama, later reported, "all these movements had been performed at a run and our men were very much exhausted." Along with the dead and wounded, twenty-eight Alabamians were taken prisoner in the retreats.¹⁰

On the brigade's right flank, the Tenth and Nineteenth South Carolina regiments were thrown into confusion by the retreat of the Alabamians, and the whole brigade fell back to regroup. Manigault requested reinforcements before continuing his attacks and remembered the wait as less than an hour until they arrived. Increasing pressure on the Union

¹⁰Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 97-99; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 392-394; Boatner, *Dictionary*, 782; *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, eds. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956), 3: 659.

line by the rest of Longstreet's Confederates soon allowed Manigault's men to charge forward again and, in the words of the Nineteenth South Carolina's colonel, drove "the already severely punished Abolitionists before them."¹¹

By mid-afternoon of 20 September, the left wing of the Army of Tennessee had secured the breakthrough of the Union battleline and was executing a right wheeling movement, attempting to trap the Union army between General Longstreet and General Leonidas Polk, commander of the Confederate right wing. The last citadel of Union defense became Horseshoe Ridge, which protected the only road open for escape back to Chattanooga, choked with panicked men and animals. Even commanding Union General Rosecrans had abandoned the field after witnessing Longstreet's attack, and fled for safety back to Tennessee.¹²

On the top of Horseshoe Ridge, however, Union General George Thomas rallied the staggered Federals. With the advantage of the high ground, Thomas used his outnumbered men to maximum effectiveness, his soldiers depleting nearly all of their ammunition in a valiant bid to hold off defeat until nightfall, when an orderly retreat might be accomplished. In the waning daylight, Confederates continued to charge up the ravines of the Georgia countryside, with Manigault's Brigade also fighting on the crest of the prominence known as

¹¹O.R., vol. 30, part 2, 352, 355; Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 98-99.

¹²Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 99; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 403-405.

Snodgrass Hill. A Twenty-Fourth Alabama soldier later said, "I tell you they had sand in their gizzards and lots of ammunition when they first commenced. They used it too." Elements of the brigade won praise on Snodgrass Hill, Brigadier General Bushrod Johnson citing portions of the Twenty-Eighth and Thirty-Fourth Alabama regiments for their help.¹³

But General Johnson also reported that his plea for help late in the afternoon to General Manigault and another brigadier commander was turned down. The aide to Johnson who delivered the request reported that Manigault and Brigadier General Deas said of their men "that they would not stand." Major Slaughter explained that, as most of the Thirty-Fourth Alabama went without water for twenty-four hours, his men lacked energy for the last attacks. As many as six distinct charges were made that late afternoon by Confederate attackers and exhaustion robbed them of coordination during the final efforts to conquer the immovable General Thomas. In the night the Union forces successfully retreated, and the Army of Tennessee and Braxton Bragg finally won a major victory at the battle of Chickamauga.¹⁴

In the days of reckoning after the battle, Manigault's Brigade reported 547 casualties out of the 2300 men that took the field on 19 September. The Twenty-Fourth Alabama had

¹³Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 500-521; *Confederate Veteran*, 21: 28; *O.R.*, vol. 30, part 2, 463.

¹⁴*O.R.*, vol. 30, part 2, 345, 370, 463, 470.

twenty-two killed and ninety-one wounded, The casualty lists for the Twenty-Eighth and Thirty-Fourth Alabama were not in the *Official Records* nor its *Supplement*, and the casualties for the combined Tenth and Nineteenth South Carolina regiments totaled twenty-six dead on the field and 210 wounded. Nearly nineteen thousand Confederates were killed, wounded, or captured during the battle, while sixteen thousand Union soldiers became casualties of war. Both armies lost 28 percent of their strength. The two days at Chickamauga made and ruined several Civil War reputations, none more so than that of Union General Rosecrans, who was disgraced for his loss of nerve and shortly replaced by U.S. Grant. George Thomas became the "Rock of Chickamauga" and received command of his own army group. Braxton Bragg meted out punishment for inadequate performances from corps commanders Bishop Polk and D.H. Hill and from division commander Thomas Hindman, all three men being relieved of command. Manigault wrote, "Chickamauga was, I think, the hardest fight that I have ever been engaged in." A man in the Twenty-Eighth Alabama described the combat to his wife, then added, "And may God deliver us from so awful a scourge and calamity!" Thomas Warrick wrote home "the yankes hant cild mee yet."¹⁵

On 21 September, commanding General Bragg, content with his costly battlefield, did not immediately order a pursuit

¹⁵Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 90-103; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 522-576; *O.R.*, vol. 30, part 2, 302-305, 347, 356; Hallock, *Callaway Letters*, 138; Warrick papers, ADAH.

of his routed enemies. This lack of initiative caused a crisis among subordinate officers in the Army of Tennessee. Longstreet, Forrest, and even Manigault, the last a rare Bragg admirer, all saw a good chance wasted by allowing the Union Army of the Cumberland to slip back into Chattanooga to begin fortifying. Bragg reasoned that his army was too damaged to give effective chase, but as the Union army was only a few hours up the road, the explanation fell on deaf ears. While Bragg had the fields swept for usable weaponry likely to be needed in a battle for Chattanooga, Union soldiers there were ensuring that Bragg's every effort to dislodge them would require supreme sacrifice. The days passed without a Confederate move into Tennessee, and word soon reached Richmond that Bragg's officer corps was in dissent. President Jefferson Davis traveled to Georgia, in early October, to support his good friend Bragg, and by November, four of six wing or corps commanders in the Army of Tennessee were replaced. Cavalry commander Nathan Bedford Forrest vowed never to serve with Bragg again and was granted a transfer. General Bragg's decision to lay siege to Chattanooga held firm, and Confederate veterans debated into their dotage the wisdom of his plan.¹⁶

Grant replaced Rosecrans as commander in Chattanooga, and by late October 1863 Bragg's siege tactics were

¹⁶James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960), 466; Brian Steel Wills, *A Battle From The Start*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 145-147; Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 101; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 230-250.

inflicting damage on Union troops. Built into a bend of the Tennessee River, Chattanooga sat in the shadow of Lookout Mountain to the south, while to the east ran Missionary Ridge. Confederate artillery stared down from those points, and Bragg's infantry waited while the new Union commander attempted to salvage the starving Army of the Cumberland. Pickets of the Army of Tennessee literally watched Grant make an inspection of the river on his first day in Chattanooga and did not fire a shot at the enemy general. With his food almost gone and ammunition low, Grant's first course of action was a surprise attack four days later on a lightly guarded river crossing which allowed Union troops to lay a pontoon bridge out of sight of Confederate cannoneers. The bridge opened a circuitous but secure supply route which did much to improve life in Union Chattanooga, a city that placed a premium on firewood and horseflesh. With supplies finally flowing, Grant looked to attack Bragg.¹⁷

Confederate headquarters on Missionary Ridge overlooked Chattanooga from a height of four hundred feet. On 23 November, Union troops seized an advanced Confederate post near the base of the ridge called Orchard Knob. The Twenty-Eighth Alabama was on picket duty that day and lost 181 men and the regimental colors. On 24 November, Grant fought the

¹⁷Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, ed. E. B. Long (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1952), 315-318.

battle of Lookout Mountain and captured the highest ground in the area. Then he took dead aim at Missionary Ridge.¹⁸

Manigault's Brigade was placed in the center of a Confederate line of defense near the top of Missionary Ridge, just below and to the right of Bragg's headquarters (see Map 4, page 86). Bragg regarded the high ground as being impregnable to assault, but his chief engineer made a deadly error in laying out the lines for the Army of Tennessee and Manigault recognized the error. The last line of battle ran along the topographical crest of the ridge, rather than the military crest--the highest point from which a clear line of sight allows shooting at enemies. From the topographical crest, cannoneers could not depress their barrels enough to permit the most destructive field of fire. There was, therefore, cover under the guns on Missionary Ridge for Union troops quick enough to reach the summit.¹⁹

Manigault attempted to remedy his portion of the line, but tools and time were short. General Bragg also had trouble with the first line of Confederate works, the rifle pits at the base of the ridge. If attacked, Bragg instructed the men in the pits, including parts of Manigault's Tenth and Nineteenth South Carolina regiments and part of the Thirty-Fourth Alabama, to fire a volley and withdraw to the top of the ridge. No thought, apparently, was given to the fact

¹⁸Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 153; *O.R.*, vol. 30, part 2, 256; *O.R.*, vol. 31, part 2, 298.

¹⁹McDonough, *Chattanooga*, 181-205.

that Confederates above would not shoot until their comrades below had rejoined them. The enemy could follow close on the heels of the men from the rifle pits and gain considerable attacking momentum.²⁰

Union artillery on Orchard Knob signaled the assault on Missionary Ridge on 25 November. Beginning with simple intentions the attack culminated in one of the great feats of the entire war. Ordered to only take the rifle pits at the base of the ridge, Union troops of General George Thomas, after occupying those works, started independently to continue up the slope and toward the top of the ridge. In small groups and following their regimental flags, the same army beaten so badly just eight weeks before at Chickamauga, clawed its way up a hillside into the muzzles of waiting death. Confederates who fell back and up the slope from the rifle pits were remembered by Manigault to be "broken down, exhausted and demoralized" upon reaching the last Confederate line. General Manigault also was shocked to see the Thirty-Fourth Alabama march out of line just as the Union movement began. The order was not Manigault's, and the Alabamians were reinforcing another unit; but with the enemy advancing, Manigault's Brigade was deprived of strength.²¹

²⁰Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 135-138; McDonough, *Chattanooga*, 181-205.

²¹Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 138-142; John Hoffman, *The Confederate Collapse at the Battle of Missionary Ridge: The Reports of James Patton Anderson and his Brigade Commanders*, (Dayton: Morningside Press, 1985), 60-63.

Union soldiers quickly appeared among the Confederates. Using ravines as shelter and exploiting the inability of Confederate artillerists to lower their field of fire properly, the Federals forced a break in the confused Rebel line. A brigade to the left of Manigault was the first to give way and, suddenly, Union men turned captured cannons on Manigault's men from point blank range. The Twenty-Eighth Alabama stubbornly resisted the flanking fire, but eventually all became chaos on Missionary Ridge, as a Union charge into the face of an entrenched enemy succeeded. Manigault fought until ordered to retreat, but most Confederates did not wait for orders to escape the Union rush. Instead, they crowded the road in the direction of Chickamauga with other routed units of the Army of Tennessee.²²

Bragg telegraphed to Richmond a dispatch of the defeat and faulted Anderson's division for being the first Confederates to give way on Missionary Ridge. Newspapers then assigned the blame for the break on Manigault's Brigade, but the *Atlanta Register* corrected the error and announced the brigade was actually the last unit in that sector to leave the field. Manigault's men suffered 541 casualties at Chattanooga, Joshua K. Callaway among the dead and Lt. James Mitchell shipped off to Johnson's Island, Ohio to be a permanent prisoner of war. The brigade ended 1863 with a

²²McDonough, *Chattanooga*, 160-70; Hoffman, *Confederate Collapse*, 63-68.

muster roll of 740 soldiers and 281 weapons on hand for all of Manigault's men.²³

The loss of Chattanooga opened an invasion route that eventually ended with Sherman in Savannah. Braxton Bragg resigned his command of the Army of Tennessee in 1863 and became a special adviser to President Davis. Grant was sent east in 1864 to fight in Virginia. The Army of Tennessee returned from defeat at Missionary Ridge to contest for Atlanta and Nashville in bitter campaigns that consumed all of 1864. Always able to return to battle, the men of that army, however, could not win another major victory after Chickamauga. With 1863 a high water mark for Confederate arms in the Civil War, General D.H. Hill recalled his days as corps commander on a field in northern Georgia and lamented, "The elan of the Southern soldier was never seen after Chickamauga--that brilliant dash which had distinguished him was gone forever . . . that barren victory sealed the fate of the Southern Confederacy."²⁴

²³Hoffman, *Confederate Collapse*, 92; Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 143, 153; *O.R.*, vol. 31, part 3, 825; Hallock, *Callaway Letters*, 166-167; Regimental casualty reports were not found in the *O.R.*

²⁴Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 30; *Battles and Leaders*, 3: 662. The Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park is one of the nation's oldest. The Chickamauga battlefield is well preserved and full of compelling statuary. Lee and Gordon's Mill still stands on the creek, but the building is not open to the public. In Chattanooga, Orchard Knob is surrounded by housing, and Missionary Ridge is also lined with expensive homes. Park Service plaques along the ridge give information at key points on the battlefield. Some of the best Civil War monuments in America are in this area.

CHAPTER III

HUNDRED DAYS FIGHT

Election year 1864 was a time of doubt for Abraham Lincoln and the Union. As the spring shifted into summer, the war fortunes of Federal armies east and west were inconclusive, Grant fighting trench warfare around Petersburg, Virginia, and Sherman inching down the Western and Atlantic Railroad line headed for Atlanta. The fourth year of Civil War in America had given momentum to a peace party of Democrats led by former Union General George McClellan, who was outspoken in his criticism of Lincoln. The Peace Democrats planned to end the war through compromise and not unconditional victory, the goal of the Republicans. Lincoln and the Union badly needed a battlefield win in the summer of 1864 to help secure November success at the ballot box. Only then Lincoln believed could total victory be won in a war challenging the nation's dedication to the proposition that all men are created equal.¹

With Grant labeled a butcher for his generalship in the Wilderness campaign in the spring, Republican hopes rested on William T. Sherman and his western armies somehow striking a

¹McPherson, *Battle Cry*, 770-771.

blow in the heart of the Confederacy. Trying to prevent that from happening was the new commander of the Army of Tennessee General Joseph E. Johnston, the man who led what became the Army of Northern Virginia until a wound forced him aside in favor of Robert E. Lee. In May, Sherman and Johnston clashed in northern Georgia and spent the next two months engaged in daily skirmishing and flanking maneuvers along a railway line that led to Atlanta. John Bell Hood replaced Johnston in July, but the hundred days fight in summer 1864 between the western armies proved decisive in the election in the fall. When Sherman captured Atlanta, the Confederacy cracked down the middle, and neither the South, nor the Army of Tennessee and Manigault's Brigade, could recover.²

The men of the Army of Tennessee greatly admired Johnston, for he extended furloughs upon taking command in December 1863. The main winter camp at Dalton, Georgia saw much drilling of idle men, many reviews of the troops and several visits from politicians exhorting the army with rhetoric. What the soldiers really wanted was to be with family.³

Sergeant John Crittenden, of the Thirty-Fourth Alabama, wrote home about a mock battle staged with live ammunition, performed to charge the martial spirit of the men. "One part presented the Confederate States Army and one the Yankees army. . . . Five rounds to the man." I.B. Cadenhead, of the

²McPherson, *Battle Cry*, 742; Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 161-162.

³Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 312-313; Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 163.

Thirty-Fourth Alabama, told his wife, "it is for you and our little Children that I am willing to fight."⁴

Lieutenant James Mitchell, a prisoner of war on Johnson's Island, Ohio, experienced a shocking winter as the temperature on the Lake Erie island twice fell to twenty-five degrees below zero in January 1864. One of the few prisons built during the war specifically for captured soldiers, Johnson's Island was primarily an officer's stockade. Money and supplies from home reached many of the inmates, and Mitchell's first letter home proposed, "If you can arrange it please send me a letter of credit on some Northern bank here for two or three hundred dollars, like you used to do when I was at Chapel Hill." He periodically received such financing, and like other prisoners was allowed to purchase food and clothing from nearby merchants catering to the inmates. Mitchell told of reading Shakespeare from the prison library and playing ball for exercise, and "Sometimes we get a couple of violins and have a rough stag dance, which we enjoy very much." Conditions on the island were spartan but not overly harsh, though men were shot for breaking curfew and rats did occasionally become food. The death rate on Johnson's Island was low when compared to other Civil War prisons, only 221 Confederates out of almost twelve thousand succumbing during the forty month life of the jail.⁵

⁴Crittenden papers, CAH; I.B. Cadenhead, "Some Confederate Letters of I.B. Cadenhead," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, 18 (1956): 565.

⁵Mitchell papers, ADAH; Edward T. Downer, "Johnson's Island," *Civil War History*, 8 (Summer 1962): 100-101, 102, 105-106.

Major John Slaughter often wrote home regarding the family's finances, which included lands and slaves. He particularly advised his wife, Celia, about the slaves, on one occasion lecturing:

We have enough of slinking wenches now more by three than I would have if I had the control of them Soph if she is properly taken care of will make us a valuable negro if she breeds (& she comes of good stock for that on both sides of the house) I want her to have a fair chance to breed, if she don't I will sell her certain. I I will not have a negro woman which I [-- --] control who is barren⁶

General Manigault remembered the condition of the men that spring to be "excellent. . . . Their spirits were high." With a total strength of 1,900 soldiers, Manigault's Brigade headed into another campaign season as veterans and were anxious for a chance to redeem the stain of Missionary Ridge upon their combat reputations. The Army of Tennessee totaled nearly fifty thousand; Sherman left Chattanooga for enemy territory with one hundred thousand men.⁷

Sherman entered Georgia and relentlessly marched his army by the right flank in a series of movements designed to avoid a general engagement with the Army of Tennessee. By trying to out-flank Johnston, Sherman hoped to conserve resources as he marched behind enemy lines, his own

⁶Slaughter papers, ADAH.

⁷Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 178-179; *O.R.*, vol. 32, part 1, 2-5; *O.R.*, vol. 38, part 3, 12-14, 614, 676; *O.R.*, vol. 38, part 1, 62-63.

calculations estimating 135 ten-ton box cars of supplies per day being required to maintain his army.⁸

Manigault's Brigade got its first action of the 1864 campaign against on 14 May, at Resaca. Sherman moved to the right, near Dalton, and attempted to gain the rear of the Army of Tennessee through Snake Creek Gap. General Johnston blocked the move by hurrying his army to the Confederate left and at Resaca put up an obstinate defense that checked Sherman's movement. Fighting in a corps commanded by Army of Virginia legend General Hood, Manigault was in the second line on the brow of a hill at Resaca and remembered "the rattle of small arms and roar of artillery was nearly equal to anything that I ever heard." Superior Union cannons did much damage to the Confederates and Manigault's Brigade suffered approximately twelve killed and fifty wounded in the action, the general himself injured in the hand. Captain Hugh Loller, Twenty-Eighth Alabama, was killed.⁹

Skirmishing heavily the next day, Sherman began to move right again, in the direction of Dallas. Johnston offered battle on 19 May, at Cassville, and was positioned on high ground, but only the Union gunners accepted the challenge. Manigault recalled how expertly the Union cannoneers knocked their Confederate counterparts to pieces. Six days later, at

⁸William Sherman, *Memoirs*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 2: 11.

⁹Castel, *Decision in the West*, 153-154, 157-167; 180-181, 205; O.R., vol. 38, part 3, 686.

New Hope Church near Dallas, Manigault's men were again engaged with Sherman.¹⁰

A crossroads town, Dallas was vital to Sherman's plan of flank marches through Georgia. Hood's Division and Manigault's Brigade barely reached the field before the firing commenced. Only into the first weeks of a campaign that would take all summer, Manigault marveled at how quickly his men threw up breastworks given any opportunity. The brigade was on the front line at New Hope Church, and the Union attacked to the immediate right of Manigault, so only the extreme right portion of his men were engaged. The brigade suffered eleven killed and forty-six wounded, and after three days Sherman pulled back and moved right again, in another attempt to turn Johnston's flank.¹¹

The pattern of right flank marches by Sherman and blocking movements by Johnston was repeated again and again those first few weeks of the Atlanta campaign in 1864. Daily skirmishing, as one army attempted to break away from the other to steal the advantage on a march to the next gap or crossroads town, followed by a sharp clash every third or fourth day, with no major battle erupting became routine. Beginning in June, Sherman remembered it to be "really a continuous battle," and the men in the ranks of both sides became adept at marching all night and throwing up

¹⁰Castel, *Decision in the West*, 171-181, Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 187.

¹¹Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 188; *O.R.*, vol. 38, part 3, 687.

breastworks the moment a position was taken. The trenches in Georgia and Virginia were formidable works, complete with head logs and firing slits, which greatly resembled the trenches constructed fifty years later in Europe. Officers who experienced the American Civil War combats reasoned that one man in the trench was equal to three men attacking, resulting in the defensive position dominating the battlefield. Soldiers in the Atlanta campaign quickly realized the near futility of charging defensive works, as did certain commanders. Sergeant Crittenden criticized cowardly officers, writing, "They were so scared that they went so far as to get their men to refuse to go back. . . for fear that they would be cashiered." Some Union and Confederate generals did not personally witness these punishing attacks and remained loyal to the era of the bayonet charge, but most painful to the men in the ranks were generals who did see combat in 1864 and still believed in the tactics of the frontal assault.¹²

As the summer wore on, Manigault became annoyed with incessant sniper fire and guessed it cost the brigade perhaps ten men a day. He noted that the greatest danger from such assault was in back of the main line, where soldiers became lazy or careless. The armies were so close to each other

¹²Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2: 62; Crittenden papers, CAH; Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jameison, *Attack and Die Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage*, (University: The University of Alabama Press, 1982), 74-76.

that summer in Georgia that the rifled musket easily brought unwary men into the killing zone.¹³

On 22 June, a battle occurred which shaped Manigault's opinion of General Hood, his new corps commander. Hood ordered an attack against breastworks that would cross not just open ground for half a mile, but also a creek, which was hidden from the attacker's initial point of view. Most damning to Manigault was his knowledge that enough officers of the corps had seen the ground the day before to know of the creek's location, so Hood's refusal to amend his attack order demonstrated either ignorance or cold indifference to butchery. Manigault's men advanced alone to occupy a belt of woods and were not forced to cross the hidden creek, as was the main attacking body. The woods protected Manigault's Brigade, and their loss was small; but the opinion of General Hood formed by General Manigault was equally low. Manigault called the action at Kolb's Farm "a disgrace to the officer who planned it . . . for which there could be no excuse."¹⁴

Unfortunately for Manigault, General Hood was to be the next commander of the Army of Tennessee. Except for a 27 June victory at Kennesaw Mountain in which Sherman deliberately stormed Confederate entrenchments and was repulsed all along the line with heavy loss, Johnston failed to stop the Union advance through Georgia. By mid-July,

¹³Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 239.

¹⁴Castel, *Decision in the West*, 291-299; Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 192. The Kolb House still sits next to the Powder Springs Road, near Marietta, Georgia.

Richmond was so frustrated with Johnston's inability to halt Sherman's relentless flanking movements that John Bell Hood was made commander of the Army of Tennessee, and his reputation as an aggressive fighter was about to be displayed.¹⁵

Hood lashed out of the Atlanta trenches on 20 July at the battle of Peachtree Creek and hit Sherman's army in a gap between the men of George Thomas and those of John Schofield. The 3:00 P.M. attack was late getting started and continued until dark when Hood left 600 dead on the field. Total Confederate casualties were 2,500 with Manigault's Brigade idle. Union envelopments of Atlanta continued to the east of the city, and two days later Manigault's Brigade accomplished its most noted achievement of the war.¹⁶

On 22 July, Manigault's Brigade was in the front line of an attack that moved up the Georgia Railroad tracks and into the heart of Sherman's Fifteenth Corps (see Map 5, page 87). With the Twenty-Eighth Alabama out front on the skirmish line, the Thirty-Fourth Alabama held the left flank and the Tenth South Carolina held the right as the brigade approached Sherman's entrenchments. Supported by several brigades, Manigault's men pushed the Union skirmishers back into the

¹⁵Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 414-424. Kennesaw Mountain is a well established National Battlefield Park, though the ground is little changed from 1864.

¹⁶Castel, *Decision in the West*, 369-383; Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 122.

Union works, and the Army of Tennessee then continued fighting in front of the Union line.¹⁷

Lt. Colonel C. Irvine Walker, of the Tenth South Carolina, ordered men from the Tenth and Nineteenth to occupy the second floor of a "white house" from which they put down such a fire as to drive Union soldiers out of their trenches. Manigault's Brigade then entered the abandoned Union works and turned left, capturing a battery and hauling it back toward Confederate lines. The brigade continued attacking down the line of works and successively caught in the flank several regiments of Sherman's soldiers. Manigault next moved against the De Gress Battery H of the First Illinois Light Artillery, guns which had two days before been the first to shell Atlanta. The men of the brigade again climbed to the second floor balcony of a nearby home to pour in a galling blaze of musketry, and with one other Confederate brigade in the Union trench attacking to the right, Sherman's line of defense was cleared for half a mile. The De Gress Battery was turned on fleeing Union troops, and Manigault was spearheading a break in the encircling Federal forces.¹⁸

Searching for Confederate reinforcements, Manigault received instead severe enfilade fire from artillery on a

¹⁷Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 225-228, 291; Castel, *Decision in the West*, 405-406.

¹⁸C. Irvine Walker, *Rolls and Historical Sketch*, 113-114; Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 292. The action centered around the Troup Hurt House. Neither the "white house" or the Hurt House still exist, but state plaques on present day Battery Place and De Gress Avenue explain key moments of the fight.

hill anchoring the Union right flank. Personally ordering all available cannon to train on the spot of the breakthrough, General Sherman, who witnessed Manigault's success, directed the initial counter attack. The South Carolinian remembered the barrage as a terrific fire, "The shells tore through the lines or exploded in the faces of the men with unnerving regularity." When two Confederate brigades did start forward to widen Manigault's lodgement, massing Federal troops and Sherman's accurate artillery fire convinced Confederate division commanders to order a withdrawal. All Confederate units, including Manigault's, inside the Union lines withdrew, leaving the prized De Gress Battery behind. Attacks in other sectors continued till dark, prompting General Hardee to call the battle "one of the most desperate and bloody of the war."¹⁹

Manigault's Brigade lost 430 men out of approximately 1,400 engaged on 22 July, casualties surpassed by the brigade only at Stones River and Chickamauga. In the only report on file, the Nineteenth South Carolina lost twelve killed and sixty wounded. Major Slaughter told his wife that the Thirty-Fourth Alabama had 105 killed and wounded and that "The overexertion of the last few days has again injured my health." His regimental comrade, I.B. Cadenhead, was one of the killed. The battle of Atlanta cost the Army of Tennessee over eight thousand soldiers, while the capture of the De

¹⁹Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 228-229; Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2: 81; Castel, *Decision in the West*, 405-410.

Gress Battery, recalled Manigault "was one of the most spirited and dashing contests that the brigade ever fought."²⁰

Hood's attacks on Sherman were major engagements, but they did not stop the Union encirclement of Atlanta. On 28 July, General Hood again sent his men on the offensive to prevent the loss of his lines of communication on the city's south side. At the battle of Ezra Church, Manigault's Brigade was one of several that attacked uphill into Union breastworks, but the strain proved too much for them. Manigault declared the noise of the musketry rivaled any he had ever heard, as his men crumbled under the killing force of entrenched defenders whose engineering, Manigault said in his report, had doubled the strength of a naturally good position. Major Slaughter, in his report, stated Ezra Church to be "by far the most destructive fire they ever had been under." The Twenty-Fourth Alabama lost two killed and fourteen wounded, the Twenty-Eighth Alabama had four killed and twenty-four wounded, the Thirty-Fourth Alabama lost fourteen killed and forty-six wounded, and the combined South Carolina Nineteenth regiment lost nine killed and thirty-four wounded.²¹

²⁰Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 229-230; *O.R.*, vol. 38, part 3, 787; Slaughter papers ADAH; Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 122-123. The breakthrough near the Hurt House is the focus of the forty foot tall, three hundred fifty foot long *Battle of Atlanta* cyclorama painting on display in Grant Park, Atlanta. Popular forms of nineteenth century entertainment, the only other Civil War cyclorama painting still on display in America is at Gettysburg.

²¹Castel, *Decision in the West*, 422-434; *O.R.*, vol. 38, part 3, 781-789.

General John C. Brown, division commander, felt differently about the attack and said in his report "the greater portion [of] Manigault's Brigade behaved badly." Brown individually cited each of his other brigade commanders for gallantry on the Ezra Church battlefield. The Army of Tennessee suffered over four thousand casualties in General Hood's third attempt to halt Sherman from surrounding Atlanta, and four weeks later Manigault and his soldiers were called upon to redeem their reputations.²²

Sherman soon moved against the railroad south of Atlanta, and on 31 August, the two corps of Generals Hardee and S.D. Lee were ordered to attack Union positions near Jonesboro. Lee commanded the right wing, with Manigault in the second line, but Lee moved on the sound of skirmishing from his left and not the sound of Hardee's main advance. The flanks of Lee's Corps were exposed while thick timber and brush further hampered the assault, so Confederates never got within two hundred yards of Union lines. Manigault recalled he "never saw our men fight with so little spirit as at Jonesboro." A second day of Confederate attacks did little to impress Sherman's forces, but Manigault's Brigade was held in reserve. S.D. Lee complained in his report of the feebleness of the effort, and later wrote "the officers and men were so impressed with the idea of their inability to carry even temporary breastworks. . . they regarded it as recklessness in the extreme." Manigault, however, remembered

²²O.R., vol. 38, part 3, 768; Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 124.

the loss of thirty-four brigade officers as the true cost of Jonesboro. Thomas Warrick told his wife, "We lost a great many men for mity little gain." Overall, General Hood lost 1,700 men in two days of fighting before withdrawing.²³

On rear-guard duty marching back to Atlanta on the night of 1 September, Manigault's regiments heard the explosions in the distance when Hood blew up the ordnance train for the Army of Tennessee. Four vicious battles in six weeks had not stopped Sherman from nearly surrounding Atlanta, so General Hood was giving up the encircled city to march north. Unable to defeat Sherman from within the city's works, Hood gambled on luring the Union armies away from Atlanta, hoping he could then turn to give battle on ground of his choice. The Atlanta campaign was over, and Manigault's Brigade suffered 1,250 killed and wounded in the defeat. With 625 effectives on the rolls, Manigault and his regiments of the Army of Tennessee followed their commander north, toward home.²⁴

²³Castel, *Decision in the West*, 495-505; Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 232-237; *O.R.*, vol. 38, part 3, 762-765; *O.R.*, vol. 39, part 1, 810; Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 125. Most of the battlefields around Atlanta were covered long ago by housing and highways. The site of Peachtree Creek is surrounded by a subdivision, a presidential library sits atop Bald Hill (from where Sherman directed the artillery during Manigault's breakthrough), and the site of Ezra Church battlefield is now a nursing home. Jonesboro battlefield, except for the Warren House, is almost completely nonexistent. State plaques provide information at most sites.

²⁴Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 251; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 467-469.

CHAPTER IV

THE FATE OF AN ARMY

After losing Atlanta in September 1864, General John Bell Hood turned his troops away from the city and headed for Tennessee in an autumn campaign seeking to recapture the success he had enjoyed in Virginia. Determined to invade the North and threaten Cincinnati he employed frontal assaults against entrenched positions, and divided his army while attempting to besiege a numerically superior force; all of which wrecked the Army of Tennessee before it reached even the Cumberland River. As a soldier, Hood's record was one of valor and bravery, but as general of an army he was unfit for command. He voluntarily resigned his command in January 1865 and into the breach would be thrust Joseph E. Johnston to organize a last stand against overwhelming odds. In 1865, Sherman continued his relentless march through the Carolinas in his attempt to unite with Grant, and without effective troops in the west relieving pressure on Lee in the east, the Confederacy staggered toward an inevitable end.¹

The September 1864 loss of Atlanta cost Hood and the South dearly. The re-election of Abraham Lincoln and the

¹Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 517-522.

subsequent defeat of a Democratic "peace candidate" was all but assured when Sherman wired the message, "So Atlanta is ours, and fairly won." The Army of Tennessee lost over twelve thousand men in four defeats in and around the city, and it lost its entire reserve supply of ammunition when Hood waited too long to order the ordnance train to leave Atlanta. Twenty-eight car loads of cartridges and projectiles were blown up to prevent capture. Cannon and railroad foundries, machine and iron works, the Confederate Arsenal, and the Confederate Rolling Mill were all abandoned to the enemy. The South was down to one major railway hub after the Union captured Atlanta, with only the besieged Virginia city of Petersburg remaining to service Confederate supply requirements.²

In October 1864, Hood's quest for Lee-like glory was unfulfilled; therefore, he planned yet another attack on Sherman's army. Manigault said he and other officers were determined to give their unpopular commander "one more trial" and that the health of the men in the ranks was "admirable." Moving to the northwest, Confederates struck at Sherman's supply line on 5 October attempting to sever the Western and Atlantic Railroad running down from Chattanooga to Atlanta. Allatoona Pass was guarded by a fort on each side of sixty-five foot high rock cliffs. Each fort was garrisoned by

²O.R., vol. 38, part 5, 777; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 468. Union General Phil Sheridan's devastation of the Shenandoah Valley, which culminated with victory 19 October 1864, at Cedar Creek, is also credited with helping secure the November election for Lincoln.

nearly a thousand Union troops and many of those men were armed with repeating rifles. At the base of the pass was a Union supply depot containing over a million rations of bread. Sherman had sensed an attack and just hours after reinforcements arrived, Confederate artillery began pounding away on the Federal position. Hood's 2,200 man infantry detachment seemingly cut off further supply or escape routes. With rare numerical superiority, the Confederates pushed Union defenders into the forts on the cliffs. Low on ammunition, however, and apprised of a Union force approaching from the south, the Confederate field commander retreated with a loss of eight hundred casualties.³

General Hood moved further north to harass Sherman's supply line again. A Federal garrison at Dalton, Georgia surrendered and Confederates destroyed parts of the Western and Atlantic Railroad. The resulting havoc on supply lines necessitated a Union move against Hood. Prior to the attacks on Allatoona and Dalton, Union Generals George Thomas and John Schofield had been ordered back to Tennessee to prepare for a possible Confederate invasion of that state. General Sherman and forth thousand Federals then left a well-garrisoned Atlanta to pursue the Army of Tennessee. By 13 October Sherman and his command were only miles away from Hood, but rather than accept battle, Hood continued moving

³Manigault, *A Carolinian*, 278; Boatner, *Dictionary*, 8-9; Sword, *Embrace An Angry Wind*, 54-56; Scaife, *Campaign for Tennessee*, 9; O.R., vol. 39, part 3, 113.

into the mountains of Alabama. General Stephen D. Lee's Corps held a mountain gap on 15 October in order to allow the Confederates passage, but Manigault's Brigade was not prominently engaged in the heavy skirmishing that took place. Hood continued west until Sherman grew tired of the chase, and the Union general then marched back east, headed for Savannah and the sea.⁴

In mid-November Hood turned north again and entered Tennessee. The return to its namesake state lifted the morale of many in the Army of Tennessee and Major John Slaughter, of the Thirty-Fourth Alabama, wrote of Maury, County, "I have seen much good country but this country surpasses any I have met with." General Hood's grand design called for the capturing of Nashville, a Union bastion since 1862, from which he could threaten Ohio or link up with Lee in Virginia. The plan had been cleared in October with General P.G.T. Beauregard, officially the over-all Confederate commander in the western theater; and Beauregard had assumed the crossing into Tennessee was imminent. A month had passed with Generals Thomas and Schofield busily preparing for Hood's arrival in the state. Major Slaughter was confident of success, writing they would "move on Nashville . . . they have but few forces. Our troops are in the very brightest spirits and would fight well."⁵

⁴O.R., vol. 39, part 1, 811; Castel, *Decision in the West*, 552-555; Sword, *Embrace an Angry Wind*, 56-62.

⁵Slaughter papers, ADAH; John Bell Hood, *Advance and Retreat*, (Philadelphia: Burk and M'Fetridge, 1880), 267;

The Confederates approached Spring Hill, Tennessee near the end of November, with nearly thirty-five thousand men in the ranks. Part of Hood's force included the cavalry of General Nathan Bedford Forrest, and it was Forrest who severed Union General Schofield's line of communication. The Federal commander, without his cavalry, was ignorant of the Confederate move on Spring Hill--a position between Schofield in Columbia and Thomas in Nashville. With only twenty-eight thousand men in Columbia, General Schofield, who had finished first in tactics at West Point, was flanked from the east by a superior Confederate force. A message to Schofield from Union cavalry finally reached Columbia at 7:00 A.M., 29 November, and the race to Spring Hill between Schofield and Hood turned deadly serious.⁶

Hood's cavalry successfully screened a good maneuver that threatened to divide Union forces in Middle Tennessee. Confederates, however, moved over country roads rougher than the main Nashville Pike used by Schofield's lead brigades. Schofield's men beat their enemies to high ground south of Spring Hill by mere minutes. With three brigades and ten artillery pieces, the Union kept Confederate cavalry in check throughout the early afternoon of 29 November. By late

⁶O.R., vol. 45, part 1, 147, 1144; Sword, *Embrace an Angry Wind*, 97-106. .

afternoon a total of thirty-four Union cannons were in position at Spring Hill.⁷

Part of General Hood's infantry, however, arrived before dark, and soon a Confederate infantry division advanced from fields east of the Nashville Pike and turned north to press the Union high ground. General Patrick Cleburne's brigades pushed Union infantry back into Spring Hill village, and only sundown halted the Confederate attack. Manigault's Brigade and Lee's Corps could not march up until the next day when Hood planned to renew the fight. The Army of Tennessee bivouacked in fields just east of the pike, but no Confederate soldiers actually blocked the road to Nashville.⁸

Schofield's remaining Union infantry quietly approached Spring Hill in darkness and clearly saw Confederate campfires to the right of the road less than a quarter of a mile away. Sentry reports reached Confederate headquarters late in the night about Union troops moving on the pike, but the pike stayed open. General Schofield's separated command marched all night, within sight of Confederate camps, to reach Franklin early on the morning of 30 November. A supply line of more than eight hundred wagons, spread over five miles, had creaked behind the Union army.⁹

⁷Levi T. Scofield, *The Retreat From Pulaski to Nashville, Tenn.*, (Cleveland: Press of the Caxton Co., 1909), 16-19.

⁸Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 495-499; O.R., vol. 45, part 1, 652-653.

⁹O.R., vol.45, part 1, 379; Sword, *Embrace an Angry Wind*, 144.

The anger and disgust that poured from General Hood at breakfast, 30 November, was directed at everyone but himself. Enraged that a smashing flank attack was wasted because someone did not block the separated Union troops, Hood lashed his army the dozen miles to Franklin. Lee's Corps reached Spring Hill village in the morning and immediately continued to march. As the Army of Tennessee arrived piecemeal on Winstead Hill overlooking Franklin plain, John Bell Hood, studying the entrenched Federal position turned to his division commanders and declared, "We will make the fight."¹⁰

General Schofield's men were dug in on the other side of a flat valley two miles across. At 4 P.M., Manigault's Brigade and the rest of Lee's Corps was still on the march, along with all but two of the Confederate artillery batteries. In late afternoon sun in the autumn of 1864, a part of the Army of Tennessee formed battle lines and advanced on a numerically superior force posted behind breastworks. Confederate commander Otho Strahl told his men, "Boys, this will be short but desperate" as eighteen thousand veterans stepped off with unfurled colors. Union General Jacob Cox remembered the Confederate's slow march across the fields as a "magnificent spectacle," while another Union man closed a letter to his wife saying, "We are ordered up . . . One last look south. The air is hazy. I can hear bands

¹⁰O.R., vol. 39, part 1, 811; McDonough and Connelly, *Five Tragic Hours*, 55,63. The Nathaniel Cheairs House, site of the emotional breakfast meeting, stands on the right of the road to Franklin on property belonging to the Saturn Automobile Corporation.

playing." The ensuing combat deaths were unequaled in a one day fight in the entire western theater (see Map 6, page 88).¹¹

General S.D. Lee arrived just as the battle at Franklin commenced. His men were held in reserve, and as dark fell he was ordered to send in Edward Johnson's Division to support the left wing. Manigault's Brigade and the rest of Johnson's Division then groped its way in the dark to the killing ahead. Earlier, Hood's army actually broke the center of the Union line, but a successful counterattack restored Schofield's defenses. C. Irvine Walker, commanding the Tenth South Carolina, said, "We found ourselves under a terrific fire from front and flank, and no orders--lost on the battlefield at night." Blindly striking breastworks near the extreme right of the Union line, Johnson's division and Manigault's regiments tore at an entrenched enemy in the darkness, often fighting hand to hand. Arthur Middleton Manigault was shot in the head and two of his command successors, N.N. Davis of the Twenty-Fourth Alabama and T.P. Shaw of the Nineteenth South Carolina were also hit. Manigault and Davis survived, but the general never rejoined the army. His men were eventually ordered back a safe distance and Walker remembered sleeping on a battlefield covered, in his words, "with its heaps of slain." Thomas Warrick told his wife, "I never saw men fite lik our men fout

¹¹McDonough and Connelly, *Five Tragic Hours*, 104-105, 109; Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 132.

there." The brigade had five killed and eighty-five wounded at Franklin, the smallest number of losses in the division.¹²

Confederate corps commander Benjamin Cheatham, who also saw fighting in the Mexican War, said, "I never saw anything like that field." Dead on the ground, on the first of December, were 1,750 Confederates. Six generals died attacking Schofield and a total of thirteen Confederate generals were casualties. The Army of Tennessee suffered seven thousand losses at Franklin. Its ranks and officer corps gutted, Hood's army nevertheless held the field when the first of December dawned because Schofield had retreated to Nashville in the early hours of the morning.¹³

General Hood declared in his report of operations in Tennessee: "I left the army in better spirits and with more confidence in itself than it had at the opening of the campaign." Southern dead at the one day fight at Franklin outnumbered or were equal to Union dead at battles such as Shiloh, Fredericksburg, Stones River, Chancellorsville or Chickamauga. Generals killed included the talented Cleburne and the grim Strahl. By November 1864, the use of a frontal

¹²O.R., vol. 45, part 1, 687; Walker, *Rolls and Historical Sketch*, 122-123; O.R., vol. 45, part 1, 684-686; Warrick papers, ADAH.

¹³James I. Robertson Jr., "The Human Battle of Franklin," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 24 (Spring 1965): 20-30; McDonough and Connelly, *Five Tragic Hours*, 157; O.R., vol. 45, part 1, 684-686. Franklin battlefield is not well preserved. Residential growth has claimed most areas of the main fighting. The Carter House, scene of the Confederate breakthrough, is a good, private museum. Carnton House, where so many Confederate generals lay dead on the back porch on 1 December 1864, is still standing and open to the public.

assault against men armed with rifled muskets and fighting behind breastworks had proved suicidal at places such as Pickett's Mill, Kennesaw Mountain, Ezra Church and Jonesboro. S.D. Lee, a supporter of Hood's tactics, allowed that the Union position at Franklin "was, for infantry defense, one of the best I have ever seen." The Army of Tennessee advanced twenty miles in pursuit of John Schofield after Franklin, but Nashville was not what Major John Slaughter of the Thirty-Fourth Alabama had hoped.¹⁴

Consolidating under General George Thomas, Schofield's men brought the number of Union soldiers inside the Nashville fortifications to fifty thousand. General Hood advanced on Thomas with twenty-three thousand battered men, and the outcome of such odds was predictable. Manigault's Brigade numbered 838 effectives the first week in December. An ice storm battered both armies, and neither Hood nor Thomas did anything but survive in the weather. Confederates shuddered around low campfires in the hills to the south of the city, attempting to scratch out a line of earthworks, though Major Slaughter wrote "our troops [are] in the very best of spirit for the fray." Thomas and his men enjoyed the shelter of forts, winter quarters, and even the hotels of their occupied citadel. The Army of Tennessee was laying siege to

¹⁴O.R., vol. 45, part 1, 656, 684-686; Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 79, 96-98, 105; O.R., vol. 45, part 1, 688.

Nashville, and when the weather broke, so did Hood's questionable grip on Thomas.¹⁵

Union forces stormed out of their defenses on 15 December and hit hard at Hood's left flank. A coordinated, yet smaller, assault on Hood's right kept the Confederates pinned in position, and the Confederate line was attacked throughout the day. As pressure on his left increased, Hood sent Manigault's Brigade and one other to reinforce General Alexander P. Stewart, whose troops connected small, earthen redoubts containing Confederate artillery. Manigault's Brigade was first to arrive and was ordered into place behind a stone wall opposite redoubt number four (see Map 7, page 89). As the next supporting brigade of Zachariah Deas was being positioned, the Union troops captured redoubts numbers four and five and turned the cannons on the men in Deas' and Manigault's Brigades. General Stewart's report read, "The two brigades named, making but feeble resistance, fled." C. Irvine Walker remembered the redoubts as having already been captured by the time he and his men arrived. Retreating with other units, Manigault's Brigade arrived on high ground to support a battery of cannon and according to General Stewart "again fled, however, on the approach of the enemy".¹⁶

¹⁵Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 132; O.R., vol.45, part 2, 651; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 508; Slaughter papers, ADAH.

¹⁶O.R., vol. 45, part 1, 688, 709; Walker, *Rolls and Historical Sketch*, 124.

Darkness put an end to the Union attack before Confederate strength in that sector completely failed. With his left flank turned, General Hood fell back and shortened his line during the night, flanks anchored to Shy's Hill on the left and Peach Orchard Hill on the right. Lee's Corps and Manigault's Brigade were posted on the right flank, Stewart held the center and Cheatham was on the left.¹⁷

The following day Thomas again struck Hood. A Union attack on Peach Orchard Hill made by United States Colored Troops was completely repulsed on the Confederate right, and Stewart reported every assault on his center line as being severely punished; but an attack on Shy's Hill on the left flank late in the afternoon doomed Hood's army. A massed Union artillery shelling softened Confederate resistance on the hill and, when superior numbers of Federal infantry stormed the high ground, the left flank panicked; and the Union forces were behind the Army of Tennessee. Confused and routed Confederates ran for safety back down the pike toward Franklin, and only the able rear guard action of General S.D. Lee and Forrest's cavalry prevented the Union from further annihilating General Hood's remnants. Walker states that members of Manigault's Brigade formed a contingent that aided Lee in checking the advancing Federals. Fifty-four pieces of artillery were lost and less than fifteen thousand effective Army of Tennessee troops could muster for duty in the wake of

¹⁷O.R., vol. 45, part 1, 688.

the battle at Nashville; the majority of casualties were prisoners of war. The Tennessee campaign of 1864 had thundered to its conclusion, and John Bell Hood was finished as a commanding general.¹⁸

After the Tennessee campaign, an Alabamian told his family, "I shall not attempt to give you a detail of our campaign suffice it to say it has been bad." As the beaten Army of Tennessee straggled into Tupelo, word filtered back to Richmond that the battle-prone General Hood had very little left with which to defend the western Confederacy. General Beauregard was shocked upon seeing the condition of the army that returned from Nashville, and Hood's protestations of incompetent subordinates and gutless divisions quietly subsided with a written resignation of command. General Joseph E. Johnston was recalled to rebuild the army he had led against General Sherman six months before. Sherman marched from Atlanta to Savannah the previous fall and turned north to help Grant subdue Lee. Early in 1865, Johnston and the Army of Tennessee traveled east to head off a numerically superior force and somehow

¹⁸ O.R., vol. 45, part 1, 689-690, 710-711; Sword, *Embrace an Angry Wind*, 357-363, 425; Walker, *Rolls and Historical Sketch*, 127-128; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 513. Today, Nashville battlefield hardly exists. Fort Negley, an important Union position, is in ruins and closed to the public. Remnants of the Confederate redoubts on Hood's left flank are inaccessible and on private property. Shy's Hill is surrounded by homes. Walking the sites is almost impossible, as major roads and subdivisions cover most of the battlefield areas.

relieve the Army of Northern Virginia. The fate of the Confederacy depended on the outcome.¹⁹

Assembling his command in February, General Johnston declared no more than five thousand men were present for duty out of an army mustering nearly forty thousand only weeks before. As furloughs granted after the return to Tupelo began to expire, and as soldiers made their way to Johnston's camps in South Carolina, the army somewhat recovered as a fighting unit. Colonel C. Irvine Walker, of the combined Tenth and Nineteenth South Carolina, was forced to admit after the war that the temptation to desert the army for a quick leave so close to home was too much for nearly 150 of his men. Voluntarily reassembling themselves at Marion, South Carolina, the group was unable to rejoin the regiment because Sherman blocked the route. Walker felt certain that his former comrades still "rendered valuable service" against outlaw pillagers in the war's closing weeks.²⁰

In February 1865, Manigault's Brigade reported 285 effectives on the rolls and Lieutenant Colonel John C. Carter was commanding the scarecrow regiments. The Army of Tennessee was still scattered across the Deep South attempting to reach Chester, South Carolina in order to reorganize itself. Thomas Warrick wrote home, "we are cut off from our command . . . tho times looks dim at present

¹⁹Warrick papers, ADAH; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 512-514.

²⁰Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 423; Walker, *Rolls and Historical Sketch*, 131-133.

tho." General Sherman burned Columbia, South Carolina, on 17 February and was moving north in three columns totaling sixty thousand men.²¹

At first, the Union's main opponent was the weather, as continuous rain filled rivers and swamps to slow Sherman's advance. His genius as an organizer, however, kept his army moving, and Sherman's own column approached the railroad town of Goldsboro, North Carolina, by the first week of March. Another Union column commanded by General Schofield was attempting to rendezvous from the coast with Sherman when General Johnston saw an opportunity to strike a divided enemy. Ordering all available Army of Tennessee units by rail to Kinston, North Carolina, Johnston hoped to halt the advances of at least Schofield's troops. In command of the affair at Kinston was Braxton Bragg, again serving in the field and illustrating the Confederacy's dire need for all available men in the campaign to halt Sherman. Bragg and General D.H. Hill's Army of Tennessee division, including Manigault's Brigade, attacked the Union on 8 March and encountered a vigilant and entrenched enemy.²²

For three days Bragg jabbed at the Union line, first prodding the Union left flank then the right, and on 10 March returning to attack the Federal left again. D.H. Hill was

²¹O.R., vol. 47, part 2, 1285; Warrick papers, ADAH; Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2: 280.

²²Jacob D. Cox, *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), 435-438; O.R., vol. 47, part 2, 1366.

ordered to make a demonstration in his sector while the main Confederate advance would be to the right of him. Colonel John C. Carter volunteered Manigault's Brigade to help cover Hill's left flank during the movement and Union skirmishers were pushed back to their main line. The attack on Hill's right failed in the face of strong Union entrenchments, and Bragg retreated after three unsuccessful days. Manigault's Brigade suffered four killed and fourteen wounded, Lt. Colonel Walker among the injured. General Hill, only recently returned to action, noted that his officers had told him the men avoided charging breastworks, "their experience in the late campaign not being favorable to such an undertaking."²³

In Virginia, Lee was nearly surrounded by Grant, and a Sherman capture of Raleigh, North Carolina, would cut the supply lines between Johnston and Lee. Johnston watched for another opportunity to attack one of Sherman's constantly moving columns in detail, for the Confederates could then muster approximately twenty thousand troops, the equal of one of Sherman's three wings. On 16 March, General Hardee's lone corps clashed with Sherman's own column at Averasboro, North Carolina, but the Confederates were overmatched. Three days later General Johnston had better luck with a unified force.²⁴

²³O.R., vol. 47, part 1, 1086-1089.

²⁴ O.R., vol. 47, part 1, 1055-1056.

At Bentonville, late on the afternoon of 19 March, General Slocum's Union column was surprised by a ferocious Confederate offensive that many veterans remembered as one of the sharpest engagements of the war (see Map 8, page 90). Hitting the Union column in the left flank, Johnston's Army of Tennessee was in vintage form as it drove Sherman's Fourteenth Corps across open ground for over a mile. Manigault's Brigade was in the second wave of Hill's Division, which was on the right wing of the Confederate line.²⁵

Exploiting a gap in the center of Slocum's men, Hill's Division helped punish the Federals by turning the left flank of an exposed portion of Slocum's advanced units. In an area of the battle known as the "Bull Pen," Colonel John C. Carter led Manigault's Brigade in helping gain the rear of a Union division that was pinned down in front by General Bragg. The surrounded Federals, hoping to buy time for reinforcements to mount a counterattack, asked to speak to the commanding Confederate officer in the area and Colonel Carter stepped forward. In an audacious moment the Union officer demanded the surrender of Carter's Confederates. Shortly after refusing the demand, Colonel Carter, Manigault's Brigade, and the rest of the Confederate troops in that area were themselves compelled either to flee or surrender when Union reinforcements arrived. Several dozen Confederates from

²⁵O.R., vol. 47, part 1, 1056-1057.

different commands chose to hide in a nearby swamp, most of them turning up in Raleigh a week later to triumphant cheers. C. Irvine Walker remembered that men of the Tenth and Nineteenth South Carolina, including the Tenth's color bearer, were among those caught in the swamp. A small band of them found their way back to the brigade that night, Walker saying it was "Sergeant Meyers tearing the flag from the staff and putting it under his coat" that preserved the colors of the regiment. General Hill noted in his report that "Captain Wood, assistant adjutant-general, Manigault's brigade, brought out ten men and eight prisoners." ²⁶

The first day's fight at Bentonville saw the Army of Tennessee push back a Union army with repeated hard charging that reminded some Union soldiers of their 1863 defeat at Chancellorsville. On 20 March, Union reinforcements from Sherman's nearby column put an end to Confederate offensives, and Johnston withdrew after a clash on 21 March that killed the sixteen year old son of General Hardee. General Johnston took nearly sixteen thousand men into the fight at Bentonville and lost some 2,600 casualties, while Sherman's eighteen thousand suffered 1,600 losses. Manigault's Brigade had four killed and fifty-three wounded, all on the first day. The Army of Tennessee had taken the offensive again and its officers were pleased with the behavior of the men. One Confederate veteran noted, "If there was a place in the

²⁶O.R., vol. 47, part 1, 1084-91; Bradley, *Last Stand in the Carolinas*, 237-243; Walker, *Rolls and Historical Sketch*, 133-134.

battle of Gettysburg as hot as that spot, I never saw it." Officers who had served in the Army of Northern Virginia said it was the hottest infantry fight they had ever been in, except Cold Harbor. Sherman, nonetheless, continued marching.²⁷

Shoes were a problem for the Army of Tennessee. On 28 March Johnston wired Richmond: "We need shoes much. Can you send 5,000 pairs immediately to Raleigh?" He asked for a report on the number of barefooted men in the army--there were 708 and twice that was likely to become so in three days march. Later, Johnston asked officers in Mississippi if they might locate some of the eleven thousand guns the army should have brought from Tennessee, because "less than half that number has come here."²⁸

The Army of Tennessee was reorganized on 9 April 1865, the day Lee surrendered to Grant. In the new army, the old regiments of Manigault were consolidated, the Twenty-Fourth, Twenty-Eighth, and Thirty-Fourth Alabama regiments becoming the single Twenty-Fourth Alabama, Colonel John Carter commanding. The Tenth and Nineteenth South Carolina became

²⁷O.R., vol. 47, part 1, 1091-1096; Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 134-135; Bradley, *Last Stand in the Carolinas*, 394-395; Robert Sanders, "The Battle of Bentonville," *Confederate Veteran*, 34 (1926): 299; Thomas Ward Osborn, *The Fiery Trail*, eds. Richard Harwell and Philip N. Racine, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), 192-195. Bentonville battlefield is a state park, and is one of the best preserved Civil War sites in America. Little changed from 1865, the fields and woods contain few monuments, some original trenches, and the Harper House, which served as a hospital after the fight.

²⁸O.R., vol. 47, part 3, 708, 719.

the Nineteenth South Carolina, Major James Ferrell commanding. Those two regiments then joined the Eighth Mississippi Battalion and the Ninth Mississippi regiment in General Jacob H. Sharp's Brigade of Lee's Corps. Manigault's old brigade had mustered 427 effectives on 3 April and three weeks later the reorganized Nineteenth South Carolina regiment was down to eighty men.²⁹

General Johnston cited events in Virginia "which broke every hope of success by war" in a surrender announcement dated 27 April 1865. Sherman issued paroles for 20,640 men of Johnston's command (total present, not effectives), and after four years, four command changes and one major victory in the field, the Army of Tennessee was dismissed. Tennesseans with the army at the surrender numbered 1312; Texans mustered 527, and the Louisiana contingent was down to 104. Union General John Schofield saluted the tenacity of his old foes when he wrote after the war, "I doubt if any soldiers in the world ever needed so much cumulative evidence to convince them that they were beaten."³⁰

²⁹O.R., vol. 47, part 1, 1064; O.R., vol. 47, part 3, 748; Walker, *Rolls and Historical Sketch*, 136.

³⁰O.R., vol. 47, part 3, 844; Horn, *Army of Tennessee*, 424b, (copy of Beauregard's 19 April 1865, Greensboro, North Carolina, surrender list); John M. Schofield, *Forty-Six years in the Army*, (New York: The Century Co., 1897), 248.

CONCLUSION

It has been the purpose of this narrative history to set down pertinent and interesting facts about Manigault's Brigade of the Army of Tennessee and then place such facts in the proper historical context. If Mark Twain believed there were lies, damned lies and statistics, then the same sentiment applies to teaching history "out of time." Both student and scholar must keep history in its proper place and context to appreciate fully the actions of previous generations. Imparting historical perspective is the goal of any teacher, and students overly concerned with moral judgments fail to learn history's lessons.

Secession and slavery in 1860 America were topics for legitimate discussion. Constitutionally, secession was a debatable procedure, while the ownership of slaves was absolutely sanctioned by law. Certainly, any perceived threat to an institution as vital and expensive as slavery could be seen to be life-threatening to some, making action against such a threat seem logical. Thomas Warrick, John Slaughter, Cornelius Walker, James Mitchell, Joshua Callaway, and Arthur Middleton Manigault were men of different backgrounds and varying status, all apparently very much in

love with family and home. That love goes a long way in explaining the harshness of the American Civil War.

Was the Confederate cause a rich man's war and a poor man's fight? What was the percentage of slave-holding officers in Manigault's Brigade? What percentage of the eligible planter class served in each regiment? What percentage of plain folk deserted? So much of the historical record of the Army of Tennessee is lost that massive census and National Archive research would be required to bring Manigault's Brigade into sharper focus. Interestingly, the Appomattox parole roster for the Army of Northern Virginia has been published several times, yet the author cannot find a mention of the corresponding Greensboro or High Point, North Carolina, parole roster for the Army of Tennessee. The absence of an important document such as this is emblematic of the challenges of research on the western theater.

An expansive history of Manigault's Brigade would include the National Archive service records of all possible men, rosters for all companies, and census research on the counties and districts that contributed those companies. Rosters would depend on the number of existing muster rolls on file in state and local archives. Census records could provide percentages of planter class and plain folk serving in the army, along with personal wealth statistics for officers.

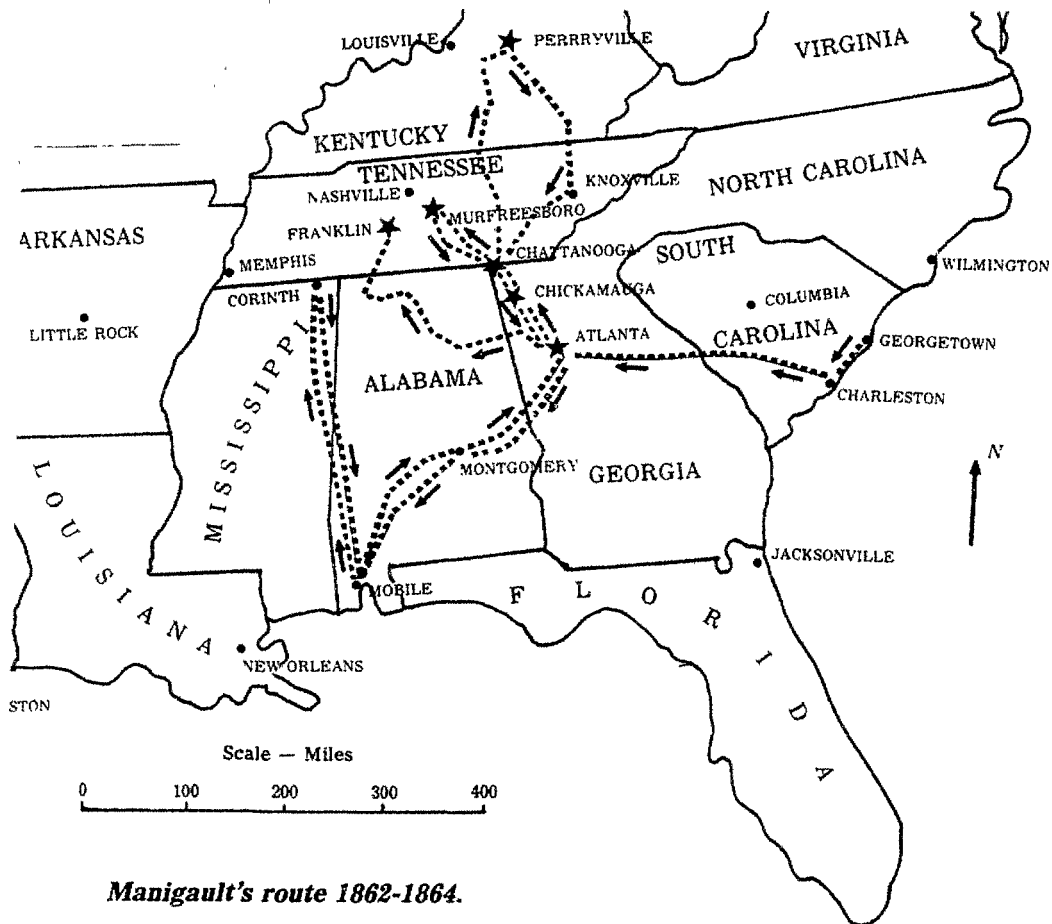
The private letters of the men of Manigault's Brigade

were overwhelmingly concerned with family matters, such as the health of loved ones and the upkeep of farms or plantations. Most of them revealed no great insights, but references to Yankees as vulgar infidels did show the stress of combat and the attendant anxious worry for affairs back home. None of the letters implied any attitude other than the individual beliefs of a few men that Northern aggression, both political and physical, was the cause of the fighting. While this perception of "Northern aggression" emanates from this small sample of letters, the actual convictions of these men may have been more varied. Some of their letters home may have muted certain feelings about the war's causes for fear of undermining resolve on the home front. Only a more representative sample of letters from Manigault's Brigade would help separate reality from perception.

As the war went on, politics tended to disappear from conversation except to pass along the usually false and outrageous camp gossip concerning the damage being done by Lee to Grant in the east. Most of the correspondence from 1864 and 1865 hardly discussed the latest campaign, and concentrated almost exclusively on family news and the well being of neighbors serving alongside the letter writer. In short, the typical Civil War letter home seems to resemble all other wartime correspondence from soldiers to their families, the unashamed and fundamental desire to simply talk to loved ones.

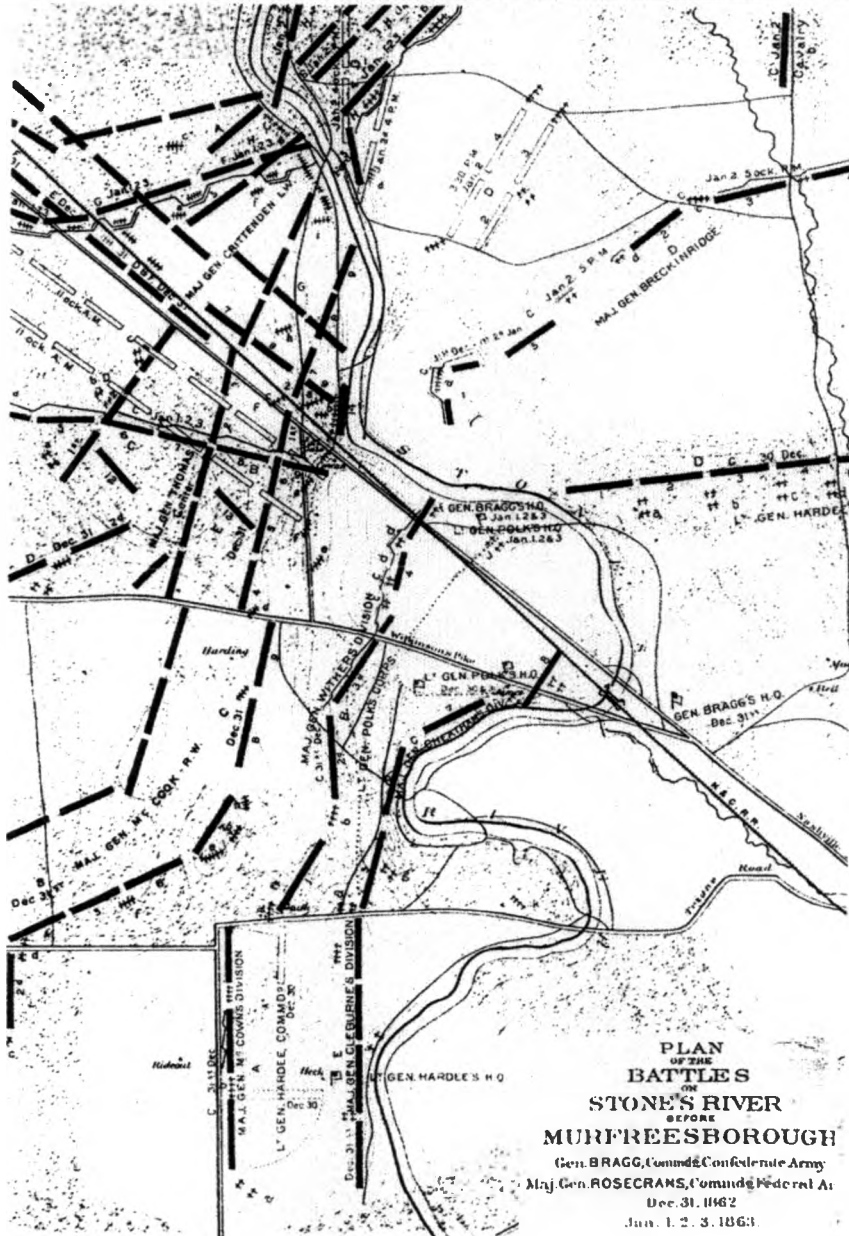
The historiography of the Army of Tennessee has undeniably improved in the last thirty years, and fascination with the Civil War is driving increased interest in battlefield preservation, living history presentations, and internet soldier-data banks. While the great men of war always get their due in books, there is a need for modern, objective histories of small combat units to help teach the totality of civil war. Unit histories remind the student that the study of war is the study of sons, brothers, and fathers who killed and died for reasons which must be placed in the proper context of the times if the lessons of war are ever to be learned.

APPENDIX ONE
MAPS



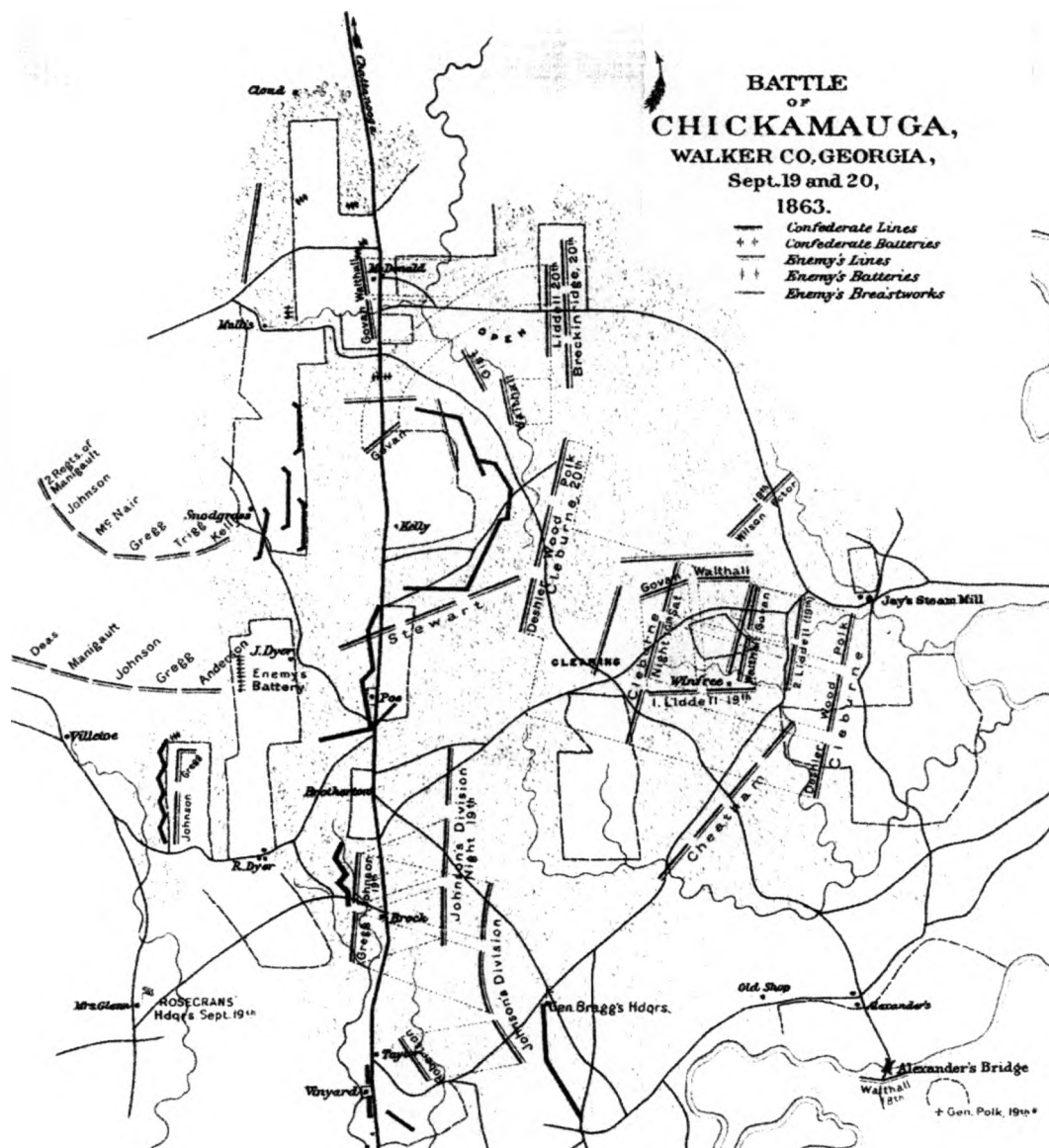
Map 1. The image was reprinted from *A Carolinian Goes to War*, ed. R. Lockwood Tower, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983), 276.

MAPS



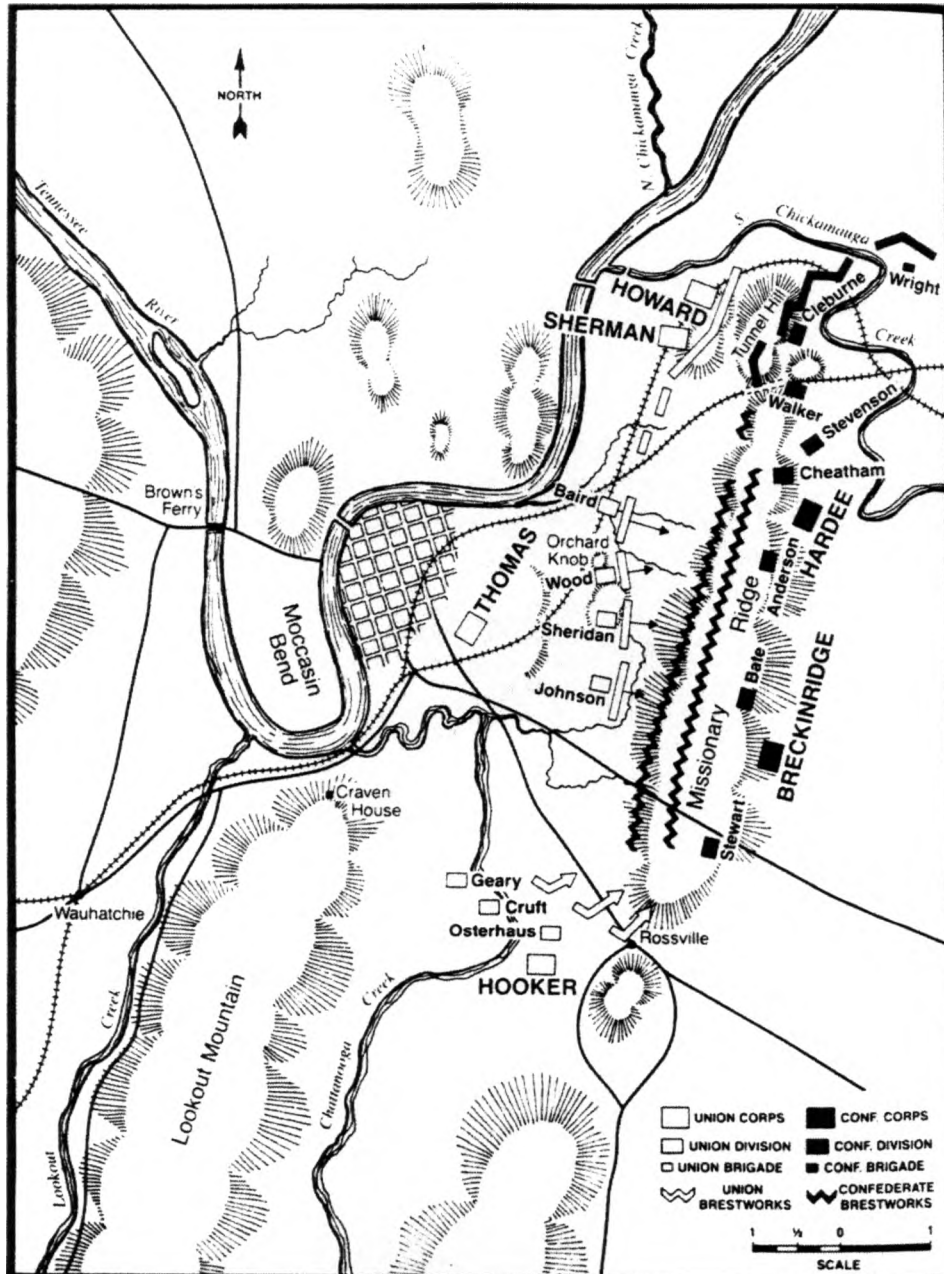
Map 2. The image was reprinted from *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891-1895), Plate 32-1.

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MAPS



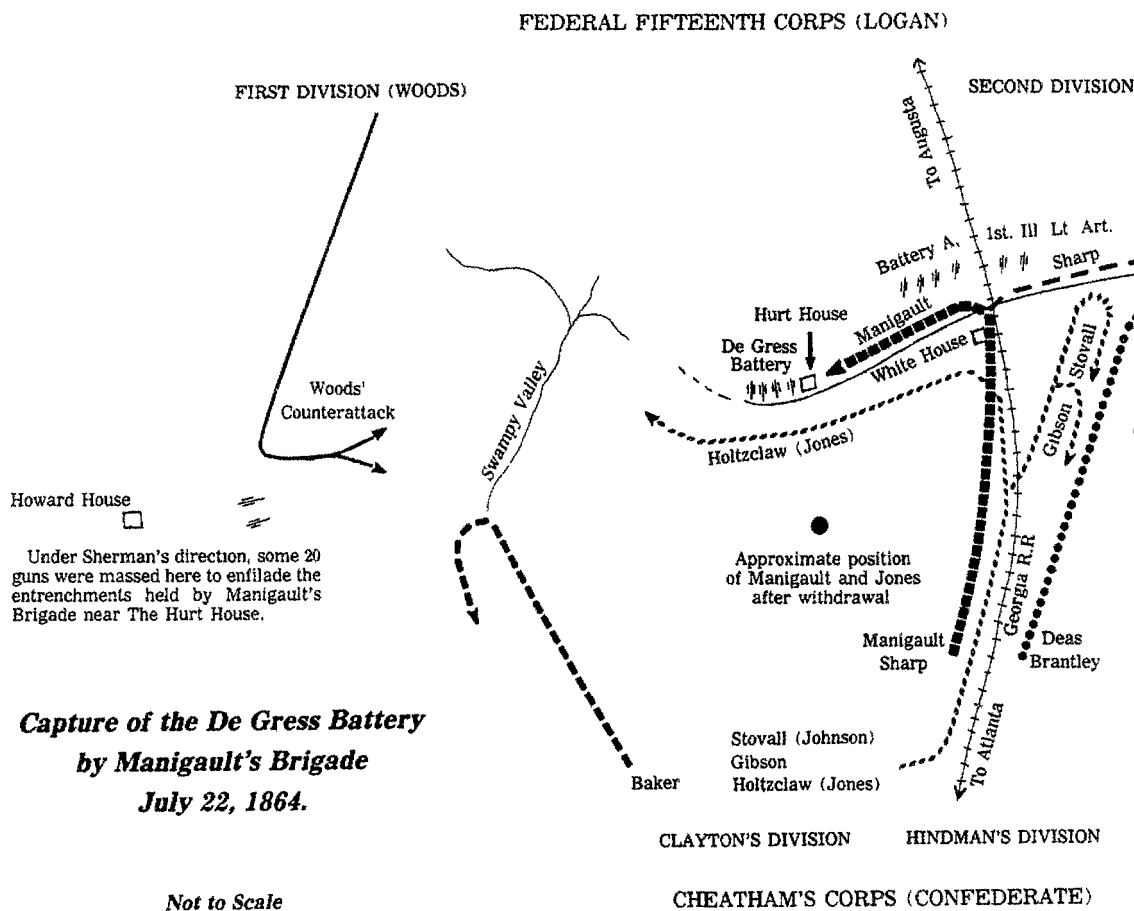
Map 3. The image was reprinted from *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891-1895), Plate 46-4.

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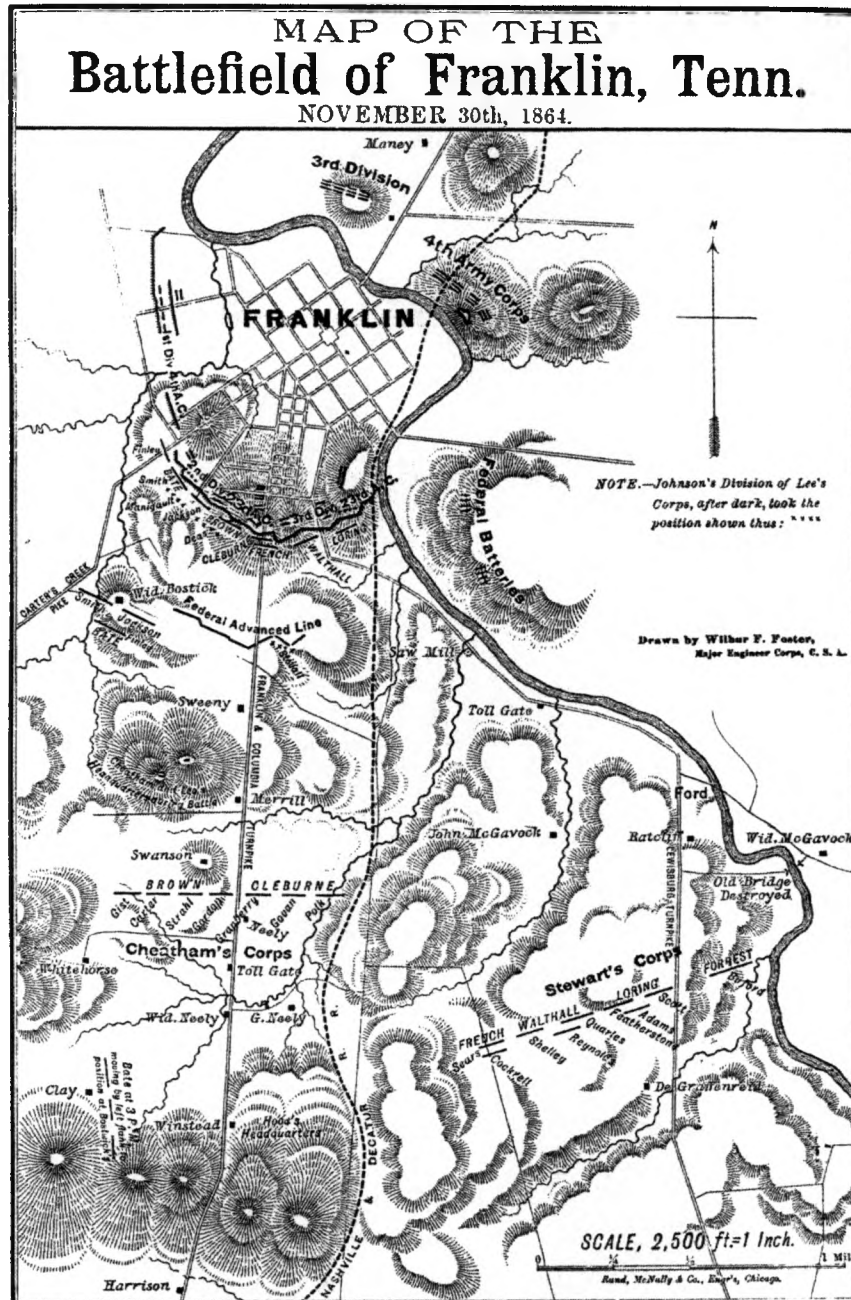
Map 4. The image was reprinted from *Chattanooga: A Death Grip on the Confederacy*, James Lee McDonough, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 170.

APPENDIX ONE MAPS



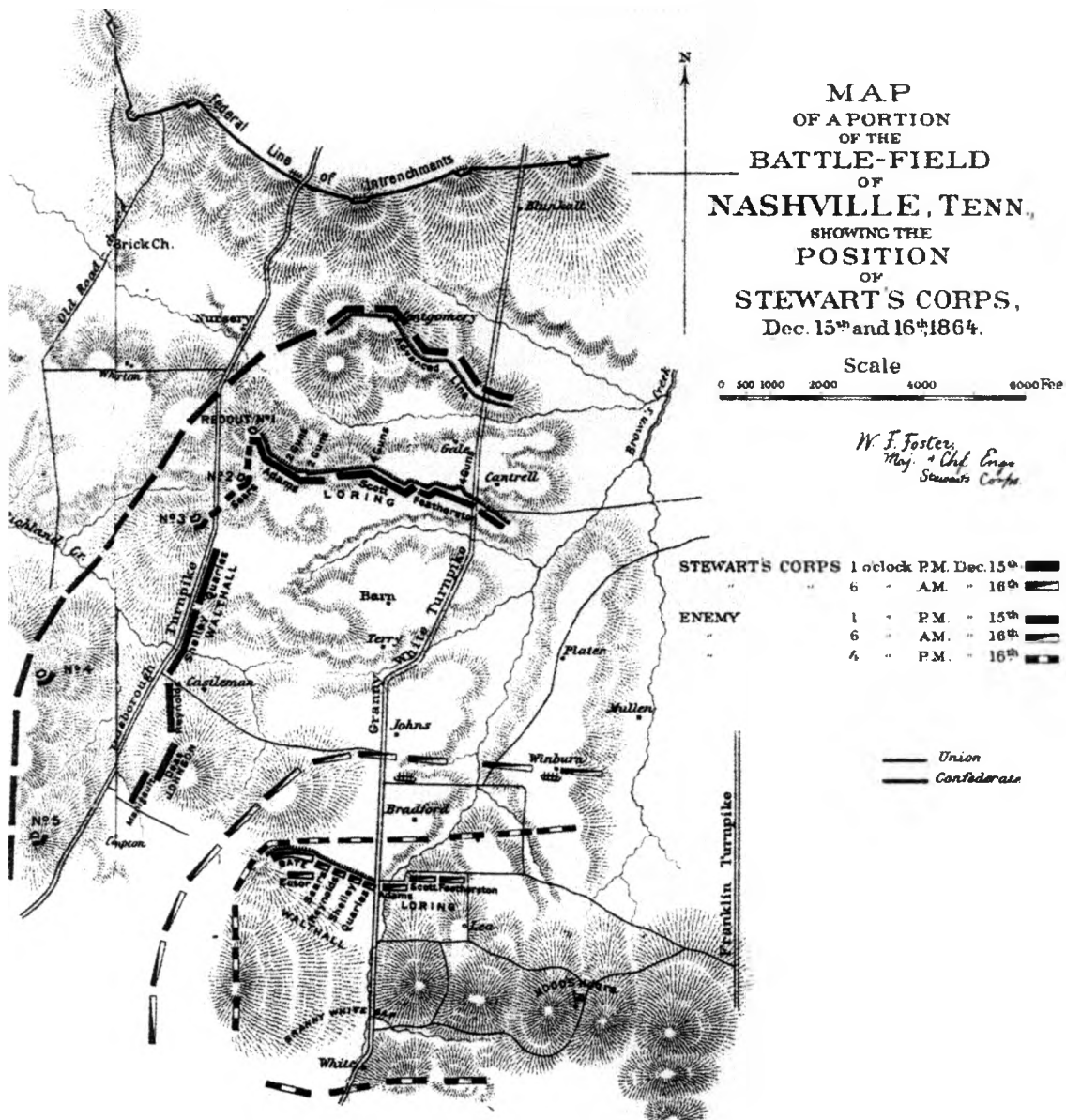
Map 5. The image was reprinted from *A Carolinian Goes to War*, ed. R. Lockwood Tower, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983), 290.

APPENDIX ONE
MAPS



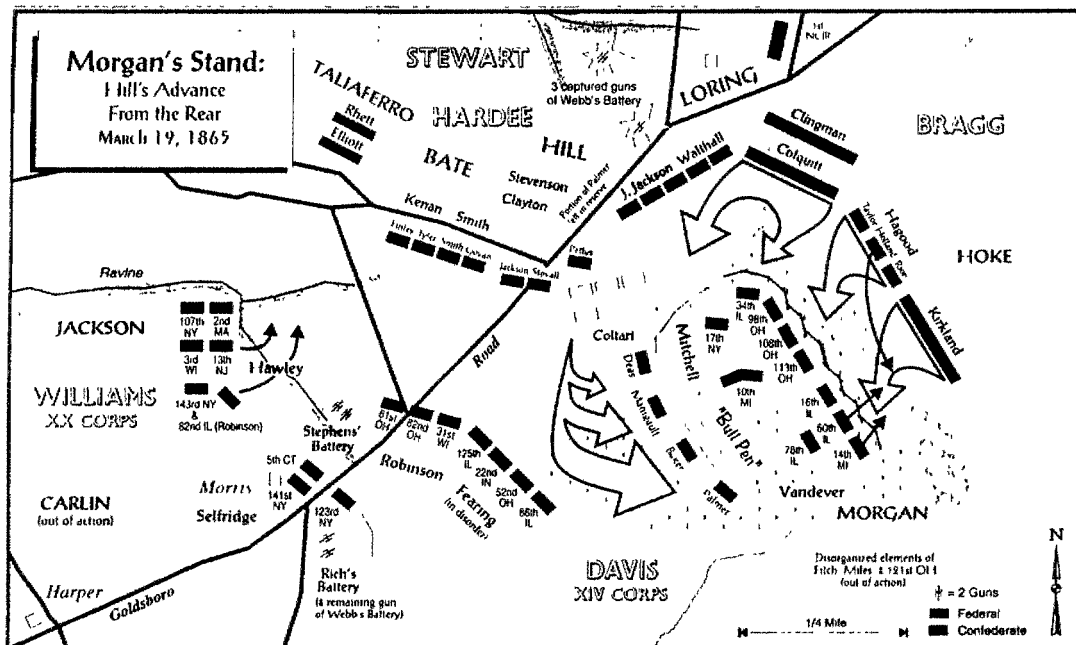
Map 6. The image was reprinted from *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, eds. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956), 4: 430.

APPENDIX ONE
MAPS



Map 7. The image was reprinted from *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891-1895), Plate 73-2.

APPENDIX ONE
MAPS



Map 8. The image was reprinted from *Last Stand in the Carolinas: The Battle of Bentonville*, Mark L. Bradley, (Campbell, California: Savas Woodbury Publishers, 1996), 241.

APPENDIX TWO
FLAGS
TENTH SOUTH CAROLINA REGIMENTAL COLORS

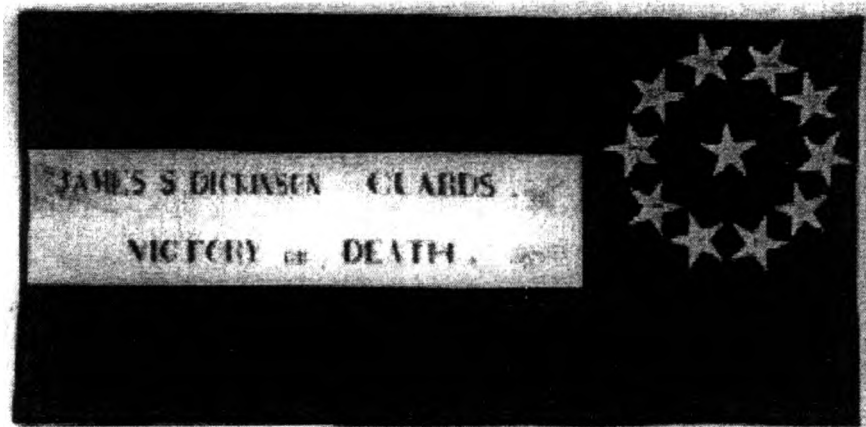


This flag, in much the same condition, is on display in the Confederate Relic Room and Museum in Columbia, South Carolina. The image was reprinted from *The Carolina Rifle Club, Presentation of the Tenth Regiment, S.C.V., Confederate States Army*, (Charleston: Walker, Evans and Cogswell, 1875), 1.

APPENDIX TWO
FLAGS
NINETEENTH SOUTH CAROLINA REGIMENTAL COLORS

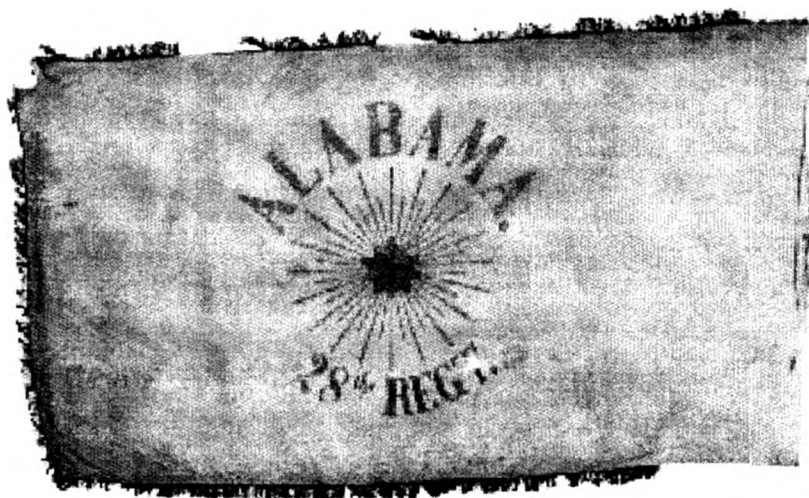
The April 1865 reorganization of Manigault's Brigade consolidated the two South Carolina units into the single Nineteenth South Carolina. The flag for that regiment was surrendered in North Carolina at war's end. It has disappeared. According to curators at the Confederate Relic Room and Museum, in Columbia, South Carolina, however, a forged Nineteenth South Carolina flag frequently shows up on the auction table.

APPENDIX TWO
FLAGS
TWENTY-FOURTH ALABAMA COMPANY COLORS



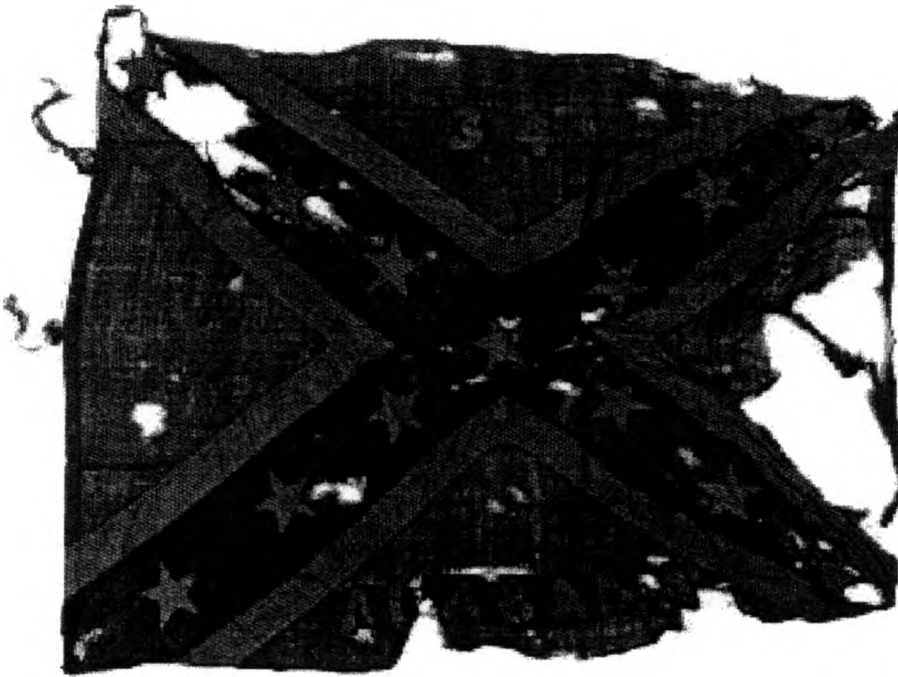
Company E, the Dickinson Guards, carried this flag in 1861, before the confusion of too many company and regimental flags on the battlefield forced individual company flags into retirement. The regimental flag of the Twenty-Fourth Alabama is hanging in Confederate Memorial Hall, New Orleans, Louisiana. The image and provenance are courtesy of the ADAH.

APPENDIX TWO
FLAGS
TWENTY-EIGHTH ALABAMA REGIMENTAL COLORS



This was the flag captured in hand-to-hand combat on Orchard Knob in Chattanooga, 23 November 1863. It was returned to the state of Alabama from Smithsonian Institution archives in 1905. The image and provenance are courtesy of the ADAH.

APPENDIX TWO
FLAGS
THIRTY-FOURTH ALABAMA REGIMENTAL COLORS



The *Official Records* mistakenly report this flag as captured at Nashville in December 1864. The flag of the Thirty-Fourth Alabama, however, survived the war in the possession of Major Slaughter and was returned by his family to the state of Alabama in 1910. Its shape is unique to an infantry regiment, as a square flag was usually the mark of an artillery battery. The image and provenance are courtesy of the ADAH.

APPENDIX THREE
PORTRAITS
IMAGES OF THE TENTH SOUTH CAROLINA REGIMENT
COMPANY A



Colonel Manigault



C.I. Walker

The Manigault image was reprinted from *A Carolinian Goes to War*, ed. R. Lockwood Tower, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983), 136c. The Walker image was reprinted from C. Irvine Walker, *Rolls and Historical Sketch of the Tenth Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers*, (Charleston: Walker, Evans and Cogswell, 1881).

APPENDIX THREE
PORTRAITS
IMAGE OF THE NINETEENTH SOUTH CAROLINA REGIMENT
COMPANY H



GEN. J. FULLER LYON, U. C. V.

J. Fuller Lyon
United Confederate Veteran General

The image was reprinted from *Confederate Veteran*, ed.
S.A. Cunningham, (Nashville: Cunningham, 1893-1932), 29
(1921): 106.

APPENDIX THREE
PORTRAITS
IMAGE OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH ALABAMA REGIMENT



E.W. Short

The image was reprinted from *Confederate Veteran*, ed.
S.A. Cunningham, (Nashville: Cunningham, 1893-1932), 6
(1898): 379.

APPENDIX THREE
PORTRAITS
IMAGE OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH ALABAMA REGIMENT
COMPANY B



William Samuels

The image is in the author's possession. The date is unknown.

APPENDIX FOUR
STATE OF ALABAMA PENSION APPLICATION FOR WOUNDED SOLDIERS

FORM 1.
Physically Incapable of Making a Livelihood by Labor.

APPLICATION

For Relief by Soldiers Maimed or Disabled during the Late War, under Act approved February 25, 1887.

The State of Alabama,
COUNTY OF Cossa

Personally appeared before me, Jno S. Bentley
Judge of Probate in and for said County, A. J. Groom
who, being duly sworn, deposes and saith that when a soldier
in Company B of 34 Regiment of Alabama
he was wounded by being shot through the thigh just above
the knee and through the skin coming out
through the calf all in the left leg
while in the discharge of his duty on the 31 day of August
1864, at Jonesboro, in the State of Georgia
and in consequence of which wound or wounds he has been rendered physically in-
capable of making a livelihood by labor; that he was a resident of Alabama on the
25th day of February, 1887, and is a resident at the date of this application; that
he is engaged in the business of farming; and that his tax-
able property does not exceed one thousand dollars in value

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 12 day of August, 1887. A. J. Groom
Applicant

Jno S. Bentley
Judge of Probate of Cossa County.

The State of Alabama,
COUNTY OF Cossa

I hereby certify that the duplicate of the foregoing application
and affidavit is on file in my office, and that I believe the statements
made therein are entitled to credit.

Given under my hand this the 12 day of August, 1887.

Jno S. Bentley
Judge of Probate of Cossa County.

Duplicate to be filed in the office of the Judge of Probate.

W. D. BROWN & CO., State Printers, Montgomery, Ala.

Original application for Corporal A.J. Groom, Company B,
Thirty-Fourth Alabama regiment is on microfilm at ADAH.

APPENDIX FIVE
ROSTERS
COMPANY G, HORRY ROUGH AND READY'S, TENTH SOUTH CAROLINA
ON FILE AT SCDAAH

Captains

Samuel Bell
C.T. Ford
M.F. Sarvis

First Lieutenant

D.D. McDuffie

Second Lieutenants

W.H. Privett
W.S. McCaskill
S.E. Lucas

Sergeants

M.F. Gause
J.J. Todd
W.J. Suggs
J.T. McCracken
Daniel Boyd
A.D. Martin
S.G. Tompkins
Jessee Boyd
A.M. Chestnut
W.P. Allen

Privates

J.T. Alford	C.G. Cox
T.J. Anderson	H.L. Doyl
Levi Anderson	Daniel Dawsey
R.P. Arnold	D.M. Edge
W.L. Baker	W.L. Edge
Joseph Barnhill	J.M. Elliott
Josiah Barhhill	J.J. Fulghum
John Boyd	J.W. Gause
S.P.Branton	J.G. Graham
L.M. Boon	William F. Galaway
H. Cartrett	A.J. Galaway
D.H. Chesnut	E.J. Gause
J.W.Cade	L.J. Hardwick
J.S. Cade	J.B. Hardee
T.J. Cook	R.C. Hardee

Thomas Henniford
J.T. Hawkins
R.S. Holmes
H.C. Houson
M.A. Hampton
N.A. Howell
W.E. Jerrold
E. Johnson
Isaac Lewis
M. McDowall
L.C. McCumber
M.H.R. Martin
Robert Millikin
B.B. Nobles
Hardy Parker
T.A. Rials
H.F. Riley
John Rogers
G.W. Reaves
N.E. Stanley
Bethel Smith
R.Shannon

H.L. Stephens
J.H. Stephens
J.M. Sudam
A. Singleton
W.F. Todd
J.M. Todd
L.M. Todd
H.J. Todd
S.J. Todd
S.J. Todd
John H. Todd
D.W. Todd
S.D. Todd
Dennis Todd
Moses Tylee
Lewis Tylee
C. Tompkins
J.B. Tompkins
D.W.M. Tompkins
H.T. Williams
Levi Watts

APPENDIX FIVE
ROSTERS
COMPANY D, NINETEENTH SOUTH CAROLINA
ON FILE AT SCDAAH

Captains

Ira Cromley, 38
John W. Denny, 30

Lieutenants

John A. Crowder, 29
Elzey B. Forrest, 37
Isaac Edwards, 38
Bazil Peterson, 29
James H. Lagrone, 20
Henry E. Vansant, 22

Sergeants

Theophilus S. Wright, 34
Samuel T. Edwards, 27
J.D. Smith Livingston, 33
Thomas E. Chapman, 32
William G. Matthews, 27
John C. Wheeler, 25

Corporals

Rowland Eidson, 26
Levi M. Crouch, 25
James M. Abney, 33
John D. Eidson, 15
William E. Reese, 31
Amos W. Satcher, 20

Privates

John P. Abney, 25
James C. Abney, 20
Ezra Abney, 23
D. Sumter Adams, 30
Wesley A. Black, 19
Henry S. Black, 17
Wm. H. Banks, 16
John D. Rruce (Bruce?), 19
John A. Chapman, 36
Charles Carson, 16
Zedekiah Crouch, 16

Larkin Crouch, 33
Jacob Crouch, 30
James B. Crouch, 18
James R. Crouch, 19
Sion Corley, 16
William Corley, 31
Arthur Davis, 24
John Davis, 22
Pinckney D. Denny, 16
Pickens Dean, 37
Julius Eason, 22

William Gentry, 28
Lewis C. Goff, 23
William C. Goff, 21
Johnathan N. Gregory, 20
Daniel Havird, 22
J. Franklin Havird, 20
Israel P. Hartzog, 27
-- Holden, 18
Jesse Jay, 30
G. Irvin Jones, 32
Henry P. Jones, 34
Brown Jennings, 32
Phillips Jennings, 35
George Little, 25
-- Langston, 20
Wm. McCarty, 28
Isaac McCarty, 26
John Manuel, 30
Simeon Morse, 26
Geo. W. Matthews, 25
Wm. Matthews, 18
J. Sutton Mills, 40
John Nelson, 16
Moses New, 24
Edward G. New, 29
Jackson J. Odom, 40
Lawson Padgett, 16

Samuel Padgett, 31
Armstead Parish, 28
Wesley Parish, 23
Cornelius E. Rowe, 31
John Rushton, 20,
Wm. M. Rabover, 33
Josiah Rodgers, 27
Lemuel Satter, 37
John C. Satter, 31
Wm. Satter, 29
L. Gideon Satter, 24
Geo. A. Schumpert, 18
James Speer, 32
Jasper Story, 33
A.M. Smith, 40
James Vines, 25
Wm. A. Watson, 23
Milledge Watson, 20
Patrick Wages, 29
Edward J. Wilks, 32
H. Lafayette Winn, 16
John W. Whittle, 31
Henry A. Williams, 18
Burr J. Yarborough, 16

APPENDIX FIVE
ROSTERS
COMPANY C, TWENTY-FOURTH ALABAMA
ON FILE AT ADAH

Fort Morgan, Ala.

Newton N. Davis, Captain
Wm. G. McCracken, 1st. Lieutenant.
W.H.C. Dunlay, 2nd. Lieutenant.
L.A. Lavender, Jr. 3rd. Lieutenant.
Henry, Orderly Sergeant.
H.H. Howard, 2nd. Sergeant.
W.S. Coleman, 3rd. Sergeant.
S.D. Bonds, 4th. Sergeant.
H.B. Latham, 5th. Sergeant
James M. Benson, 1st. Corporal.
Abram Glenn, 2nd. Corporal.
R.H. Oglesby, 3rd. Corporal.
B. Jordan, 4th. Corporal.

Privates

Alfred Adkerson	James Dotson
J.B. Archibald	Melbourn Deloach
J.W. Allen	Wm. L. Deloach
Zachariah Beardon	W.C. Eatman
John Ballard	John D. Glenn
J.N. Bridges	W.C. Gholson
W.J. Bonds	Calvin Gholson
J.A. Birchfield	Zechariah A. Hamlet
Thomas J. Butler	A.M. Horton
James M. Bradley	Thos. Irvin Horton
J.A. Black	Newton Halbert
Jackson Colson	B.D. Herron
David Childress	D.F. Herron
William Cox	G. McD. Harwick
W.A. Cox	James Hooper
A.B. Cotton	Benj. L. Harris
R.H. Curry	Bird H. Hoodenpyle
John M. Crowell	John E. Jordan
Thos. C. Conner	Jesse H. Jones
J.B. Clardy	Wm. Jones
James W. Dillard	Jeptha C. Jones

James M. Jay
J.H. Lavender
R.W. Love
W.S. Leonard
Josiah Leonard
Thomas H. Leonard
James H. Leigh
J.B. Latham
A.H. Loftin
James Murray
Wm. Andrew Morgan
John H. Morgan
J.H. Moore
David S. McGraw
John T. McShan
Alexander F. Morehead
William Harrison Marler
J.D. Pratt
C.A. Pate
Joel H. Puckett

George Washington Peeks
W.N. Storey
H.J. Storey
Ambrose Sanders
Lewis M. Stone
C.L. Stone
J.H. Spiller
J.C. Sherrod
V.H. Speed
J.C. Shaw
Curtis M. Haylor
C.B. Turnipseed
B.F.T. Valentine
G.C. Wells
James A. Whitten
Elijah Williams
Wm. M. Williams
Willis K. Wier

APPENDIX FIVE
ROSTERS
COMPANY E, TWENTY-EIGHTH ALABAMA
ON FILE AT ADAH

Company E, 28th Regiment Alabama Volunteer, Col. John W. Frazer
From 31st of Feb. 1862-31st of Oct. 1862.

Officers:

Hugh G. Lollar, Capt.
John B. McJunkin, 1st Leut.
Wm. Tucker, 2nd. Leut.
Love E. Gilbert, 2nd. Leut.
Robt. L. Cox, 1st. Sgt.
Ruben C. Reed, 2nd. Sgt.
Ruben Keton 3rd. Sgt.
Wm. Young, 4th. Sgt.
Elijah Orear, 5th. Sgt.
Samuel Jackson, 1st Corp.
Bartin Hamilton, 2nd Corp.
Benj. B. McDaniel, 3rd. Corp.
Thos. W. Smith, 4th Corp.
Francis F. Baker Musician
Wm. M. Owen Musician

Privates

Henry Aldridge
Wm. Bachelor
Samuel Bachelor
John A. Bailey
George T. Ballard
George F. Ballard
Wm. H. Beasley
James H. Boatler
Robt. F. Boatler
Alexander Block
Ambrose D. Burns
Wm. H. Burkett
Eli Bird Bradley
Thos. Bradley
Samuel H. Conelly
Henry Crump
Arthur Crocker
Moses Crocker

Thos. J. Davis
James M. Davis
Wiley Davis
Geo. W. Dutton
Simeon Dutton
Wm. Dutton
Samuel T. Fowler
Luke R. Gainey
Geo. W. Gantney
Henry Guttery
Robt. M. Guttery
Wm. Guttery
Thos. Goodwin
James J. Hamilton
Jacob Hamilton
Phillip A. Harris
Wm. Henson
Abner Jackson

Jepsi Jackson
 John Jackson
 Wm. Jackson
 Samuel R. Jackson
 John B. Karrh
 Geo. W. Key
 John Key
 Edley A. Pilgrim
 Larkin M. Poe
 Thos G. Poe
 Wiley Person
 James Rupell
 Thos. J. Rupell
 James Rutledge
 Wm. E. Rainey
 Noah V. Rave
 Geo. Reed
 Elijah Self
 Francis M. Sides
 Wm. R. Sutton
 Ruben F. Sumner
 Plutrach Vaughan
 James Wilson
 Hamilton Wooton

DIED

Wm. Aldridge
 Samuel Brown
 Wm. T. Fike
 Wm. H. Bradley
 Augustus C. Fletcher
 Linsy L. Ivy
 Wm. R. Jackson
 Harrison C. Lawley
 Sylvanius B. Powell
 Frank Sumner
 Jepsi F. Smith
 John R. Wakefield
 Levi T. Duttery
 Mathew R. Miller
 Jeff Davis
 Wm. Camp
 J.G. Ryan

DISCHARGED

John Hamilton
 S.J. Crocker
 Walter Wooton
 Richard Ivy

TRANSFERED

John Wooton
 Robt. Taylor

DESERTED

Peter Smith
 Wm. Whorton

APPENDIX FIVE
 ROSTERS
 COMPANY B, THIRTY-FOURTH ALABAMA MUSTER ROLL FOR MAY 1862
 ON FILE AT ADAH

J.C. Taylor	W.G. Morris 21 p
W.S. Bazemore present	T.J. Nelson 21 p
A.I. Vansant age 27 p	A.J. Nelson 18 p
J.P. Bazemore 31 p	J.F. Patterson 19 sick
A.J. Groom Corp. 36 p	C. Plyler 22 p
W.L. Collier 18 p	D. Posey 21 p
J.W. Calloway 27 p	E. Posey 36 sick
F. Bates 33 sick	L.M. Prater 19 p
J.W. Baxley sick p	W.G. Robertson 20 sick
G.B. Bazemore 18 p	W.T. Roberson 29 p
J.T. Bazemore 23 p	J.A. Roberts 30 p
J.T. Blankenship 33 p	D.A. Roberts 24 p
Epps Brown 35 p	J.W. Roberts died Apr. 25
E.J. Calloway 22 p	J. Mint Speer 27 p
W.A. Dunham 20 p	G.W. Taylor 36 w at hosp.
A.C. Culver 42 DisC	P.W. Taylor 18 sick
replace by son	Wm. Vansant 18 p
J.M. Griffin 33 p	W.P. Baxley 18 sick
G.P. Griffin 23 sick	A.M. Bazemore 23 p
S.L. Harmon 36 p	P.J. McAdory 29 furlough
Wm. Jennings 36 p	W. Nelson 26 p
C. Jones 42 p	J.B. Nobles 25 p
John Kelley 25 p	S. Posey 32 sick
F.W. Kelley 16 sick	G.W. Prater 29 sick
Wm. Lambert 25 p	Wm. Samuels 34 p
E. Lewis 21 p	Wm. Smith 17 sick
J.M.C. Miller 19 p	H.J. Taylor sick
A.S. Mooney 36 p	J.W. Vansant 38 p
J.T. Morris 28 sick	
T.R. Morris 19 sick	

Signed by J.N. Slaughter,
 Captain
 Co. B 34 Reg. May 26 1862

APPENDIX SIX
CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY *ROLL OF HONOR*

On 13 October 1862 an act of the Confederate Congress authorized the granting "of medals and badges of distinction as a reward for courage" to the men in the ranks of the Confederate States Army. A year later, with medals still not available, a *Roll of Honor* was created to commemorate valor on the battlefield. Men who were voted conspicuously courageous by their company comrades after a signal victory were eligible for induction. The roll was read in front of every regiment at the first dress-parade after its receipt and was published in at least one newspaper in each state. According to the *Official Records*, the Army of Tennessee voted soldiers onto the *Roll of Honor* after the battles of Stones River and Chickamauga.

Stones River Roll of Honor
for Manigault's Brigade

Twenty-Fourth Alabama Regiment

Capt. W.D. Smith, Co. A
Capt. W.P. Fowler, Co. F
Capt. John B. Hazard, Co. I
Capt. W.J. O'Brien, Co. B
Lt. J.A. Hall, Co. K
Lt. A.B. Nelson, Co. D
Lt. R.T.B. Parham, Co. H
Lt. A. Young, Co. A
Sgt. Maj. William Mink
First Sgt. J.M.J. Tally, Co. K
Sgt. John Ives, Co. A
Sgt. Samuel S. Wylie, Co. D
Pvt. Martin Duggan, Co. B
Pvt. Melbourn Deloach, Co. C
Pvt. Joseph Hall, Co. E
Pvt. Samuel M. Roberts, Co. F
Pvt. A.W. Scott, Co. G
Pvt. James R. Green, Co. H
Pvt. N. Lankford, Co. I
Pvt. A. Posey, Co. K

Twenty-Eighth Alabama Regiment

Sgt. Elias Wood, Co. G

Sgt. W.B. Curry, Co. K
Sgt. William E. Short, Co. L
Pvt. Topley Murphey, Co. B
The other companies made no selection.

Thirty-Fourth Alabama Regiment

Cpl. S.J. Numney, Co. A
Pvt. J.R. Browning, Co. C
Pvt. C.P. Greet, Co. D
Pvt. James Shehorn, Co. E
Pvt. S.W. Reynolds, Co. F
Pvt. J.G. Whaley, Co. G
Pvt. T.N. Cloud, Co. H
Pvt. B.R. Covington, Co. L
Pvt. J.G. Metts, Co. K
The other companies made no selection.

Tenth South Carolina Regiment

First Lt. C.C. White, Co. A
Sgt. C.W. Cockfield, Co. E
Sgt. S.B. Rhuarck, Co. M
Pvt. A.J. McCants, Co. A
Pvt. J.S. Beaty, Co. B
Pvt. W.D. Hewitt, Co. C
Pvt. G.S. Flowers, Co. D
Pvt. G.W. Curry, Co. F
Pvt. J. Cannon, Co. G
Pvt. N. Gray, Co. H
Pvt. W.H. Posten, Co. L
Pvt. J.W.H. Bunch, Co. K
Pvt. J.A. Boatwright, Co. L

Nineteenth South Carolina Regiment

Col. A.J. Lythgoe
Maj. John A. Crowder
Sgt. W.H. Burkhalter, Co. C
Sgt. Seth A. Jordan, Co. O
Sgt. Martin Yonce, Co. K
Pvt. Benjamin W. Booths, Co. A
Pvt. Samuel S. Horn, Co. B
Pvt. W.A. Black, Co. D
Pvt. S.D. McCoy, Co. E
Pvt. Samuel Bloodsworth, Co. F
Pvt. James McClain, Co. H
Pvt. James Jones, Co. I

Chickamauga *Roll of Honor*
for Manigault's Brigade

Twenty-Fourth Alabama Regiment

Sgt. George Moody (color bearer), Co. D
Pvt. Andrew Crevillari, Co. A
Pvt. Peter Cusac, Co. B
Pvt. G.C. Wells, Co. C
Pvt. Thomas Hamilton
Pvt. William Jinnery, Co. H
Pvt. William W. Meadow, Co. I
Companies E, G, and K declined selecting.

Twenty-Eighth Alabama Regiment

First Sgt. W.H. Logan, Co. C
First Sgt. W.J. Wilson, Co. G
Sgt. James R. Smith, Co. K
Cpl. David Knox, Co. F
Pvt. George Aubrey, Co. A
Pvt. J.R. Gaither, Co. B
Pvt. C.D. Goolsby, Co. D
Pvt. R.F. Sumner, Co. E
Pvt. Hosea Vines, Co. H
Pvt. L.P. Wright, Co. I
Pvt. Jacob Smith, Co. L

Thirty-Fourth Alabama Regiment

Sgt. J.L. Carlton, Co. A
Sgt. A.C. Ferguson, Co. C
Sgt. W.H. Long, Co. K
Pvt. W.M. Johnson, Co. E
Pvt. G.W. Smith, Co. G
Pvt. W.A. Houston, Co. H
Pvt. S.H. Pitts, Co. I
Companies B and F declined making selections.

Tenth South Carolina Regiment

Sgt. S. Bird, Co. D
Sgt. R.R. Owens, Co. K
Cpl. E.B. Glisson, Co. F
Cpl. Samuel Kirby, Co. H
Cpl. C.B. Foxworth, Co. I
Pvt. P.P. Todd, Co. B
Pvt. Cornelius Cannon, Co. C
Pvt. A.J. Council, Co. E
Pvt. J.A. Boatwright, Co. L
Pvt. E.T. Rogers, Co. M
Companies A and G declined selecting.

Nineteenth South Carolina Regiment

Sgt. J.R. Sneed, Co. K
Cpl. C.C. Du Bose, Co. E
Pvt. W.M. Dean, Co. C
Pvt. J.D.S. Livingston, Co. D
Pvt. Andrew Kneese, Co. F
Pvt. A. Abner, Co. H
Pvt. J.F. Crawford, Co. I
Companies A and B declined selecting.

APPENDIX SEVEN
BRIGADE DEATHS AT ROCK ISLAND PRISON CAMP

Rock Island, Illinois was the site of a prisoner of war camp for Confederate soldiers that opened its doors in October 1863. Unlike Johnson's Island, Ohio (a camp for officers) Rock Island held enlisted men. The first large group of prisoners were men captured after the battles for Chattanooga. During the twenty months of prison operations over twelve thousand Confederates were incarcerated on the Mississippi River island. The number of prisoner deaths totaled 1,960, resulting in a wretched death rate of 16 percent. The Elmira, New York prison for Confederates had a 24 percent death rate. Georgia's Andersonville prison had the highest death rate of the war, at 30 percent. The following names of the dead from Manigault's Brigade were taken from *Register of Confederate Dead Rock Island, Illinois, compiled in the Office of the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead, War Department, 1912*. The entries include rank, regiment and company, date of death, and plot number for the Confederate cemetery on Rock Island.¹

Twenty-Fourth Alabama Regiment

Pvt. Stephen Barnes, Co. G, 10 February 1864, plot 409
Pvt. Jno. F. Cunningham, Co. I, 11 April 1864, plot 1026
Pvt. Jackson Hughs, Co. D, 18 May 1864, plot 1153
Pvt. Joseph W. Power, Co. E, 9 March 1864, plot 777
Corp. Wallace W. Pritchett, Co. E, 3 May 1864, plot 1112
Pvt. John Roan, Co. E, 12 November 1864, plot 1605
Pvt. Arthur Roberts, Co. H, 23 August 1864, plot 1442
Pvt. Richard T. Stephens, Co. E, 6 February 1864, plot 394

Twenty-Eighth Alabama Regiment

Pvt. Jas. D. Armstrong, Co. H, 2 January 1865, plot 1735
Pvt. William Boyd, Co. H, 9 January 1864, plot 155
Pvt. Wm. H. Burnett, Co. C, 31 March 1864, plot 963
Pvt. Willis R. Bursing, Co. G, 27 April 1864, plot 1091
Pvt. Winston M. Burton, Co. K, 12 December 1864, plot 1662
Pvt. James Calvert, Co. L, 15 January 1864, plot 199
Pvt. E. Cann, Co. B, 19 December 1863, plot 23

¹ Benton McAdams, *Rebels at Rock Island: The Story of a Civil War Prison*, (Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), xi-9.

Pvt. Isaac L. Chambers, Co. B, 14 May 1864, plot 1144
 Pvt. Nathan Courington, Co. E, 16 January 1864, plot 210
 Pvt. Francis A. Crump, Co. C, 21 April 1864, plot 1059
 Pvt. Newton Deaton, Co. C, 10 June 1864, plot 1219
 Pvt. Julian T. Doty, Co. C, 19 March 1864, plot 854
 Pvt. Jacob Duncan, Co. K, 12 September 1864, plot 1499
 Pvt. Thos. Farrow, Co. E, 20 April 1864, plot 1072
 Pvt. William J. Fuller, Co. A, 3 February 1864, plot 350
 Sgt. Allen C. Gaither, Co. B, 14 July 1864, plot 1318
 Pvt. Jno. W. Hale, Co. C, 8 September 1864, plot 1486
 Pvt. E. Alexander Hall, Co. B, 6 March 1864, plot 741
 Pvt. Geo. W. Hallmark, Co. C, 5 May 1864, plot 1123
 Pvt. Levi Hanson, Co. F, 4 July 1864, plot 1290
 Pvt. Jno. M. Harden, Co. G, 22 March 1864, plot 891
 Pvt. Thos. J. Hollis, Co. G, 8 July 1864, plot 1305
 Pvt. Callaway Johnson, Co. E, 29 June 1864, plot 1280
 Pvt. Wm. T. Johnson, Co. B, 29 January 1864, plot 275
 Pvt. Samuel M. McCurry, Co. D, 20 April 1864, plot 1071
 Pvt. Wm. M. McDuff, Co. E, 9 October 1864, plot 1552
 Pvt. James C. Mann, Co. H, 7 January 1864, plot 135
 Pvt. Edmond C. Maxwell, Co. D, 14 August 1864, plot 1409
 Pvt. Green B. Miller, Co. G, 27 March 1864, plot 936
 Pvt. Peyton L. Myers, Co. L, 21 April 1864, plot 1075
 Pvt. Hiram C. Myrick, Co. G, 30 March 1864, plot 952
 Pvt. Joseph L. Parsons, Co. H, 14 March 1865, plot 1915
 Pvt. Hiram C. Payne, Co. L, 16 October 1864, plot 1571
 Pvt. William R. Phillips, Co. L, 3 April 1864, plot 985
 Pvt. Caleb Posey, Co. B, 25 February 1864, plot 604
 Pvt. Wm. E. Raimsey, Co. E, 31 December 1863, plot 93
 Pvt. Warren J. Rice, Co. L, 9 January 1864, plot 150
 Pvt. Wm. J. Roberson, Co. F, 29 February 1864, plot 666
 Pvt. Miles L. Roberts, Co. B, 19 March 1864, plot 858
 Pvt. William M. Robinson, Co. D, 2 April 1864, plot 980
 Pvt. Ruben Reeve, Co. E, 12 December 1863, plot 84
 Pvt. Geo. E. Self, Co. B, 16 February 1864, plot 557
 Pvt. Thos. Sexton, Co. G, 28 January 1864, plot 297
 Pvt. Thos. Stephens, Co. I, 5 May 1864, plot 1124
 Pvt. L. Taylor, Co. B, 21 May 1864, plot 1163
 Pvt. Samuel Thompson, Co. K, 9 January 1864, plot 156
 Pvt. Andrew Vines, Co. G, 19 February 1864, plot 522
 Pvt. Amos B. Walker, Co., L, 24 March 1864, plot 812
 Pvt. D.H. Williams, Co. B, 21 July 1864, plot 1335
 Pvt. Wm. C. Wommock, Co. H, 20 May 1864, plot 939
 Pvt. John Young, Co. E, 24 February 1864, plot 599

Thirty-Fourth Alabama Regiment

Pvt. T.J. Brown, Co. B, 13 March 1864, plot 802
 Pvt. Enoch J. Calloway, Co. B, 26 March 1864, plot 927
 Pvt. John L. Clark, Co. C, 2 March 1864, plot 710
 Pvt. A.A. Meadows, Co. D, 19 January 1864, plot 225
 Pvt. N.G. Owem, Co. D, 2 May 1864, plot 1108
 Pvt. Jacob Ozier, Co. H, 26 March 1864, plot 928
 Pvt. Thomas Pace, Co. F, 16 February 1864, plot 553

Pvt. M. Robberson, Co. H, 16 February 1864, plot 536
Pvt. M. Simms, Co. D, 13 September 1864, plot 1477
Pvt. Jeremiah Smith, Co. E, 19 December 1863, plot 24

Tenth South Carolina Regiment

Pvt. W. H. Bryant, Co. M, 3 March 1864, plot 722
Pvt. L. D. Cox, Co. C, 7 January 1864, plot 142
Pvt. Nathan Flowers, Co. L, 15 January 1865, plot 1780
Pvt. Jno. B. Sowls, Co. G, 24 January 1865, plot 1814
Pvt. John W. Lee, Co. H, 2 March 1864, plot 699

Nineteenth South Carolina Regiment

Pvt. Jas. Brown, Co. H, 10 February 1864, plot 416
Pvt. Jas. F. Crawford, Co. I, 8 May 1864, plot 1102
Pvt. W. P. Saxon, Co. G, 8 April 1864, plot 996
Pvt. John M. Schenck, Co. C, 10 August 1864, plot 1400
Pvt. James Shirley, Co. I, 14 February 1864, plot 462
Pvt. Thos. McManus, Co. C, 7 April 1864, plot 1001
Pvt. Wm. E. Watkins, Co. D, 11 November 1864, plot 1604
Pvt. Jas. M. Wiseman, Co. C, 3 February 1864, plot 353

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