BROTHER
against
BROTHER
the drawing of the sword

W.C.S

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION TO BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER

1.1. OVERVIEW

Brother against Brother is a two-player game devoted to battles of the American Civil War, with the Union and Confederate armies represented at the regimental level. Regardless of whether it is played by one or two players, its turn structure is "IgoUgo": that is, first one player takes his turn by moving and giving orders to as many units as he sees fit, and after he has ended the turn his human or computer opponent takes a turn.

Combat occurs between player turns, with every unit attacking automatically in a random order during this turn resolution phase. Units target the closest enemy possible in their forward facing arc, and prefer units closer to the center of their firing arc. It is therefore incumbent on the player to maneuver and position his units in a manner that will bring about the best possible outcome when the shooting starts. Victory is achieved by a combination of taking and holding key positions on the battlefield and degrading the enemy force's Strength, Morale and unit cohesion.

This manual is divided into three broad sections: a basic introduction to the game; an "Advanced Rules" section devoted to more detailed explanations of gameplay as well as the types of calculations that go into many of the game's features; and, a section devoted to the history that has inspired *Brother against Brother*.

Brother against Brother: The Drawing of the Sword contains many scenarios of the opening battles of the American Civil War:

First Bull Run/First Manassas, the battle fought within a day's march of Washington, D.C. on July 21, 1861, in which Gen. Irwin McDowell's Union Army of Northeastern Virginia surprised Gen.

P.G.T. Beauregard's Confederate Army of the Potomac (supported by most of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah), arranged in a defensive position along the crossings along the Bull Run Creek, by launching an ambitious flanking attack, only to see the Union's initial advantage disappear and for them ultimately to be routed from the field of battle – revealing to the North that war with the southern states would not be over quickly.

★ Williamsburg, the first true battle of the following spring's Peninsula Campaign, fought on May 5, 1862 after the Confederates under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston had withdrawn from their position at Yorktown just before the famously unaggressive Union Gen. George B. McLellan felt ready to attack, with part of Johnston's army defending a pre-fortified position outside of Williamsburg against part of McLellan's in order to buy time for the bulk of the army to escape to the safety of Richmond fifty miles away.

★ Wilson's Creek, the first battle fought in the trans-Mississippi theater, when early in the morning of August 10, 1861 a force setting out from Springfield, Missouri under Union Gen. Nathaniel Lyon attempted a two-pronged surprise attack on Gen. Benjamin McCulloch's small Western Army and Gen. Sterling Price's similarly small Missouri State Guard force, only to see Lyon's plans fall apart, and for him to be killed while leading a counter-charge soon before his outnumbered forces crumbled –
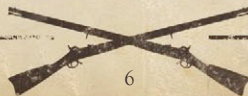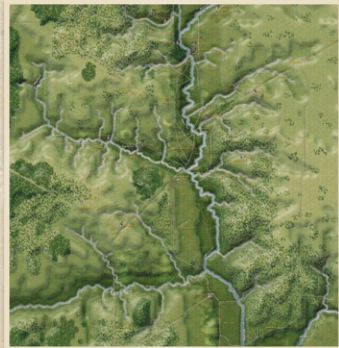
preventing the Union from asserting control over all of Missouri until the following year.

★ Mill Springs/Logan's Cross Roads, a relatively small engagement with major consequences for the war in the western theater, since when the forces of the Confederate Western Department under Gen. George B. Crittenden and Felix K. Zollicoffer left the safety of their fortified encampment at Beech Grove on January 19, 1862 to march ten miles through rain and mud in order to take on Gen. George H. Thomas's Army of the Ohio they quickly lost the element of surprise and soon began to fall victim to the Union force's superior firepower, and after Zollicoffer's death and a successful attack on their flank were forced to retreat back along the same ten-mile road – giving the Union its first victory of the war (and a major morale boost), and significantly weakening the Confederacy's position in Kentucky.

1.2. SYSTEM REQUIREMENTS

Minimum System Requirements
CPU 1.4 GHz or faster (can use multi-core)
RAM: 1GB
Hard Drive Space: 2 GB
OS: Windows XP or better with DirectX 9 or higher
Minimum Resolution: 1024 * 768
Video Card DirectX 9 compatible or greater
Sound Optional, DirectX 9 compatible
Internet Connection for Multiplayer PBEM++
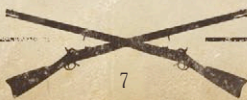
1.3. INSTALLING THE GAME

To install the game, insert the game DVD disc into your DVD drive. If you have disabled the Autorun function on your DVD or if you are installing from a digital download, navigate to the DVD or download file location, double-click on the installation file, and if it is a zip archive, then double click on the executable (exe) file that is shown inside the archive. The correct file name will normally include the words "SetupRelease". Follow all on-screen prompts to complete the installation.

1.4. UNINSTALLING THE GAME

Please use the Add/Remove Programs or Programs and Features option from the Windows Control Panel or the "Uninstall" link in the game's Windows START menu to uninstall the game. Uninstalling through any other method will not properly uninstall the game.

1.5. PRODUCT UPDATES, BONUS CONTENT AND REGISTERING YOUR GAME

In order to maintain our product excellence, Matrix Games releases updates containing new features, enhancements, and corrections to any known issues. All our updates are available free on our website and can also be downloaded quickly and easily by clicking on the "Check for Updates" link in your Game Menu or by using the "Update Game" shortcut in your Windows START menu folder for the game.

We also periodically make beta (preview) updates and other content available to registered owners. Keeping up with these special updates is made easy and is free by signing up for a Matrix Games Member account. When you are signed up, you can then register your Matrix Games products in order to receive access to these bonus game-related materials. Follow this process:
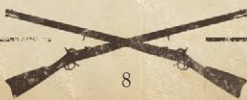
1.5.1. SIGN UP FOR A MATRIX GAMES MEMBER ACCOUNT

THIS IS A ONE TIME PROCEDURE; once you have signed up for a Matrix account, you are in the system and will not need to sign up again. Go to www.matrixgames.com and click the Members hyperlink at the top. In the new window, select Register NOW and follow the onscreen instructions. When you're finished, click the Please Create My New Account button, and a confirmation e-mail will be sent to your specified e-mail account.

1.5.2. REGISTER A NEW GAME PURCHASE

Once you have signed up for a Matrix Games Member account, you can then register any Matrix Games title you own in your new account. To do so, log in to your account on the Matrix Games website (www.matrixgames.com). Click "Register Your Game" near the top of the menu in the Members Club to register your new Matrix Games purchase. If you were already logged into our site when you purchased the game from our store, your game was already registered for you at the time of purchase.

We strongly recommend registering your game as it will give you a backup location for your serial number should you lose it in the future. Once you've registered your game, when you log in to the Members section you can view your list of registered titles by clicking My Games. Each game title is a hyperlink that will take you to an information page on the game (including all the latest news on that title).

Also on this list is a Downloads for Registered Games hyperlink that takes you to a page that has all the latest public and registered downloads, including patches, for your registered titles. You can also access patches and updates via our "Latest Downloads" section (http://www.matrixgames.com/products/latestdownloads.asp).

1.5.3. RE-DOWNLOADING YOUR GAME

If you were logged into your Members Club account when you purchased your game, it will be automatically registered and you can access an automatic re-download link by going to http://www.matrixgames.com/members/myorders.asp or using the "My Orders" link in the Members Club. If your download does not show up there, you can contact our Help Desk at http://www.matrixgames.com/support/ to receive a new download link. This process generally takes one business day, but is often faster during normal work hours.
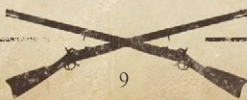
1.6. GAME FORUMS

Our forums are one of the best things about Matrix Games. Every game has its own forum with our designers, developers and the gamers playing the game. If you are experiencing a problem, have a question or just an idea on how to make the game better, post a message there. Go to http://www.matrixgames.com and click on the Forums hyperlink.

1.7. TECHNICAL SUPPORT

Should you have a technical problem with the game, the best way to get help is to post a note in the Technical Support sub-forum of the main game forum at http://www.matrixgames.com/forums. You'll then hear back from either our Matrix Games Staff, the development team, or from one of the many helpful players of the game. This is usually the fastest way to get help. Alternatively, you can contact our Help Desk at http://www.matrixgames.com/support/

Support requests will generally be answered within 24 hours, except on weekends or national holidays.

1.8. MULTI-PLAYER REGISTRATION

The server-based PBEM system requires a Slitherine registration. We highly recommend registering your game first before playing. You can simply do this through the game menu, from Multiplayer or directly at Slitherine`s website at:

http://www.slitherine.com/sign_up

This is because you will need a registered account to play Multiplayer games on Slitherine`s PBEM (play by e-mail) server.

When registering you can choose to sign up to the newsletters to receive regular updates, offers and discounts on the rest of Slitherine's catalogue so it is worth registering!

2. LOADING THE GAME

After the game has loaded you will be taken to the first of two menu screens devoted to setting up the game. As the game loads you will see the version number of the game in the upper right.

2.1. MAIN MENU

On this first screen you can choose among these options: starting or continuing a play-by-e-mail (PBEM) game, starting a local game, or loading the save file for a local game. You can also turn-off the background music. Local games include hot-seat games, played against another human opponent, and games against the computer's A.I.

2.2. "SETUP LOCAL GAME" SCREEN

On this screen you make all of the decisions necessary to set up your new game:

★ **USA vs. CSA:** If playing the AI set your side to "Human" and the enemy to "Computer"; if playing a hot-seat game then set both sides to "Human."

★ **Choose Scenario:** Pick one scenario from the list of scenarios.

★ **"Option: End of Turn Activation Failure":** Players have the option of having the division-activation check done at the beginning or end of the turn. If toggled on, you will take your turn without knowing whether the units in a division will be able to follow the movement orders issued to them. If toggled off, you will know immediately which units cannot be moved around and issued new orders that turn.

★ **Difficulty Level:** The difficulty level affects the following aspects of the game: Movement Points (MP's); casualties and Morale loss in a fire attack; chance to resist panic for the computer player; charge casualties; bonus attack or counter-attack chances; chance for the computer player to make division activation checks; chance for the computer player to change brigade orders.

> *IMPORTANT: When playing with difficulty level less than Lieutenant Colonel, units do not misinterpret movement orders. This is true even when playing against a human hot-seat opponent.*

Once you choose a scenario you will see the "OK" button appear in the lower-right corner. Clicking on that will begin the game.

3. WHAT YOU SEE WHEN THE SCENARIO BEGINS

When the scenario begins, you will be able to see the map and at least one of your units. Your units will all be unselected. You can left-click on one of your units to select it. The information and options for a selected unit is presented at the bottom of the screen.
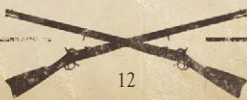
Before and after selecting the Richmond Howitzers.
Cyan arrows show hexes of potential movement.
The circles show hexes into which this unit can fire.

3.1. MAP

The map is divided into hexes. Each hex represents roughly 75 yards.

To scroll around the map move the mouse to the edge of the screen, or hold down <SHIFT> while moving the mouse.

Some features of the map are:

★ **Terrain:** Terrain features can be found inside the hex, such as hexes filled with forest or swamp; between hexes, such as with hexes connected by roads; or on the edges of hexes, such as hexes bordered by creeks or fortifications. Terrain features affect movement costs; the movement of different types of units (infantry, cavalry, artillery, supply) may be affected differently by the same type of terrain. Following trails and roads provides movement benefits but only for units under certain types of brigade orders.

Hexes have one of five levels of elevation ("height") or may be ravines. Elevation changes affect movement costs and line-of-sight. Artillery on a height receives a small increase in its range.

Ravines hide units from line of sight unless an enemy is in an adjacent hex, and prevent units in them from attacking non-adjacent enemy units.
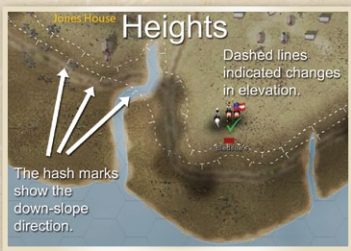
★ **Smoke:** Units that fire create smoke in their hexes. Smoke builds up and dissipates gradually over time. Thick smoke will block line-of-sight through a hex, and smoke will also decrease the effectiveness of fire into- and out-of- a hex containing smoke.
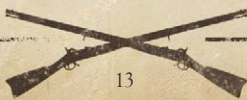
★ **Victory hexes:** Victory is achieved by seizing and occupying specific "victory hexes," while making sure that the enemy does not do the same. There are three types of victory hexes: those to be targeted by Union forces (blue), those for Confederate forces (red), and those that both sides might possess (white).

★ **Fog of War:** Hexes into which none of your units have line-of-sight are easily recognized by their gray color. The terrain in fog-of-war hexes is visible, but enemy units will not be. (See sect. 6.5.1.2.)

★ **Zoom feature:** The CTRL+'+' and CTRL+'.' keys will zoom in and out, as does the mouse-wheel. When one zooms out to the widest levels units are automatically drawn as "NATO" chits, even if normally shown as sprites.

★ **Informational labels:** Points on the battlefield that are of particular interest or importance will have a question mark, and right-clicking on these will bring up descriptive text, much of it historical in nature.

3.2. MINI-MAP

Positioned over the map towards the lower-right corner is a small, rectangular "thumbnail" map that gives you an overview of the entire battlefield. In addition to basic terrain features, such as creeks, ponds, and forests, the mini-map shows both your troops and all enemy troops in line of sight – red for CSA, blue for USA. The locations of victory hexes are shown in yellow. The portion of the map that is currently on your screen is indicated by means of a gray box within the mini-map; as you move about the map you will see this gray box move, too, and by dragging over the mini-map with the mouse you can move around the map.

3.3. TOP OF SCREEN

Along the top of the screen important information is provided:
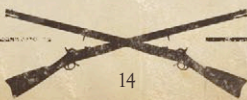
- ★ **Strength of Forces:** At the upper-left the total strength of both sides is shown (not including reinforcements). For infantry and cavalry the number of men is provided, while for artillery it is the number of guns.

- ★ **Time Limit:** Each scenario has a built-in time limit, at which point the game ends and the Scoring Screen appears.

- ★ **Current Day & Time:** Provides the time of day, as well as how many days into the battle you have progressed. *Note that all day-time turns are twenty minutes in length.*

- ★ **Score:** Provides the current score for each side (see sect. 14). By mousing over this area it is possible to see the scoring breakdown, in terms of both casualties and the number of victory hexes controlled by each side as well as the number that it can control. (For the CSA player these numbers will reflect only the red and white Victory Hexes and for the USA only the blue and white.)

- ★ **"Terrain under Mouse" Display:** At the upper-right the information about the terrain in the hex under the mouse-cursor is provided. Following these are the hex's coordinates, which will be of use to modders or people who wish to discuss the scenario.

- ★ **"Unit under Mouse" Display:** Located below the terrain display, this provides all of the critical information regarding any unit that one mouses over. Information regarding enemy units will be partial at best.

3.4. GAME BUTTONS AND MENUS

At the very bottom of the screen is the control box area, in which a number of options are available for controlling individual units, advancing the game, and changing game settings. When a unit is selected there is significantly more information presented in this area, and the buttons for controlling units become active (see sects. 4.1.5-4.1.8).

3.4.1. END TURN

If you are playing a local game against the computer's AI, the computer will take over and resolve the turn. If you are playing a hot-seat game, a black screen will come up prompting your opponent to hit the <x> key to begin his or her turn. If you are playing a PBEM game, your save files will be generated and uploaded to the PBEM server automatically (see sect. 15).
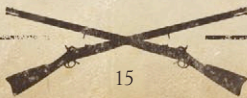
3.4.2. "GAME" BUTTON

Press this to save or end your game.

3.4.3. OPTIONS MENU

Pressing this provides access to four sub-menus with a range of options, some of which can be accessed by means of hot-keys. (A list of hot-keys can be found in sect. 21.)

3.4.3.1. UNIT DRAWING OPTIONS MENU:

> Draw Echelon Colors (ON)
> Toggle Names (ON)
> Toggle Unit Stats (OFF) <a>
> Show Out-of-Command Icon (ON)
> Brigade Order Overlay (OFF)
> Toggle Chit View <v>

These options let you choose how much information about particular units and groups of units to show. Of particular importance are the "Draw Echelon Colors" option, which toggles on and off the multi-colored symbols below units that help one identify how they fit into the army hierarchy, and "Toggle Chit View," which switches from unit "sprites" to NATO chits. The full range of options includes:

★ **Draw echelon colors:** Draws color-coded circles and squares beneath each unit that indicate its position in the army hierarchy, matching the colored lines in the Order of Battle Display (see sect. 3.6).

★ **Toggle names:** Toggles on and off the name under each unit. (Note: Due to the length of these names they are normally truncated, but the full name becomes available beneath it after one selects the unit.)

★ **Toggle unit stats:** This option permits the player to see for each unit its precise supply level, approximate Strength and Morale levels (green and blue bars, respectively), and its in-command star. Hotkey is <a>.

Star means this unit is out-of-command or OOC.

★ **Show Out-of-Command Icon:** Determines whether or not the small, black star with a gold edge is drawn.

★ **Brigade Order Overlay:** Superimposes the Brigade Order under which every individual unit is operating.
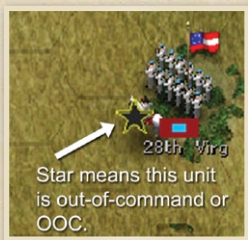
★ **Toggle chit view:** Replaces unit sprites with standard "NATO chits." Hotkey is <v>.

Chit View

3.4.3.2. UNIT HIGHLIGHT FILTER MENU

This menu enables the player to cycle through categories of units to be highlighted with a yellow hex-shaped icon.

No Highlight (ON)
Highlighted Moved (Off)
Highlight Disordered (Off)
Highlight Ready-to-Fight (Off)
Highlight Out-of-Command (Off)
Highlight Out-of-Supply (Off)

★ No Highlight

★ **Highlight Moved:** Indicates units that have already moved that turn.

★ **Highlight Disordered:** Shows all units that have become disordered.

★ **Highlight Ready-to-Fight:** Shows all units that have the status of "Ready-to-Fight."

★ **Highlight Out-of-Command:** Shows all units that have gone out-of-command.

★ **Highlight Out-of-Supply:** Shows all units that have run out of supply.
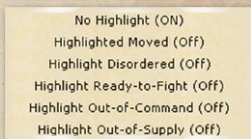
3.4.3.3. SCREEN DRAWING OPTIONS MENU

These options let you control some of what gets shown and how quickly this happens. The full list includes:

Instant Movement (OFF)
Movement Fast Slide (OFF)
Draw Unit Shadows (ON)
Draw Smoke (ON)
Set Message Delay
Turn Music Off
Set Battle Delay
Draw Mini-Map (ON)
Attack Report (ON)

★ **Instant Movement:** Players wishing to speed up the game may select this option and have their units "teleport" to their destined hex rather than watching them march there.

★ **Movement Fast Slide:** If units are set to march to a location with "instant movement" turned off, you can turn on "fast slide" to have them march very quickly. If instant movement is turned on, this setting will have no effect.

★ **Draw Unit Shadows:** Toggles on and off the shadows cast by units. You might try turning off unit shadows if the game is running slowly on your system.

★ **Draw Smoke:** Toggles on and off drawing smoke in hexes from which units have been firing (see 20.11). You can use this to help speed up the game if it is running slowly on your system. Note that the smoke will still exist in certain hexes, you simply won't be able to see it.

- ★ **Set Message Delay:** Permits one to establish how long messages remain on the screen before disappearing. (This does not apply to any pop-up message that must be clicked on to close it.)

- ★ **Turn Music On/Off:** Toggles on and off the background music.

- ★ **Set Battle Delay:** You can use this to control the speed of delays during the combat phase (for messages, attack animations, and the like).

- ★ **Draw Mini-Map:** Toggles on and off the Mini-Map.

- ★ **Attack Report:** Toggles on and off the "Attack Report," which during combat gives detailed information about each exchange of fire, especially the modifiers that determined the outcome. (This also toggles on or off the "Charge Report," which only appears if one or more units engage in a charge.)

3.4.3.4. OTHER UNIT OPTIONS

There are just two additional options:

- ★ **Center on Current Unit:** Lets you quickly return to the unit that is selected, regardless of which part of the map you are looking at. Hotkey is <ENTER>.

- ★ **Open Unit List:** Opens the "Unit Roster" Display (see sect. 3.5). Hotkey is <u>.

3.4.4. QUICK OPTION MENU

To the left of the Options menu there is a row of small buttons permitting easy access to various options, some of which can also be accessed through the Options menu or by hotkeys:

- ★ **Toggle show overlay of casualties from last combat:** Shows, on the map, the casualties received by each unit during the previous turn.

- ★ **Open battle history:** Shows in reverse order the Turn Reports from the five most recent turns.
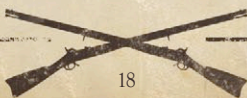
- ★ **Cycle through history graphs:** Shows graphs for both sides representing the changes over time to overall Morale, Strength, score, and other performance metrics.

- ★ **Toggle brigade orders overlay:** Displays the current brigade orders as an overlay of units on the map.

- ★ **Toggle 'Attack Report' during combat:** Determines whether the "Attack Report" automatically pops open during combat.

- ★ **Toggle show echelon colors:** Determines whether the colors showing the echelon (corps/division/brigade) of every unit is shown on the map.

- ★ **Cycle through victory hexes:** Permits one to cycle through the Victory Hexes, re-centering the map on each hex in turn.

- ★ **Open scenario briefing:** Reopens the scenario introduction that appears when a scenario first begins.

- ★ **Center on current unit:** Centers the map on the currently active unit.

- ★ **Cycle unit highlight:** Highlights all of one's units that have just Moved, or are Disordered, Ready-to-Fight, Out-of-Command, or Out-of-Supply.

- ★ **Toggle showing unit stats overlay:** If the stats overlay is turned on, the map shows a small green bar and blue bar for each unit representing the unit's Strength and Morale respectively. To the right of this is a white number representing the unit's current level of supply.

- ★ **Toggle showing move-from arrows:** If this is toggled on, movement green and blue arrows are drawn on the map to show the movement of each unit in the game

The green arrow shows a unit's long-range move.

Blue arrows show a unit's move during the last turn.
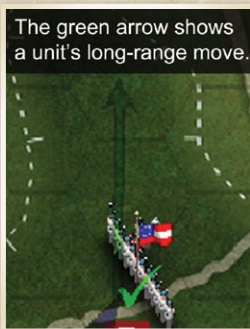
– both the units you have moved on your turn and for the units your opponent moved on his turn. (Blue arrows represent movement during the current turn, while green arrows represent long-range movement.)

★ **Toggle chit/figure view for units:** Toggles between little-men graphics and NATO-style unit counters.

3.5. ORDER OF BATTLE (OOB) DISPLAY OR "UNIT ROSTER"

If you select this in the Advanced Menu, select the "Unit Roster" button at the left of the screen, or press the <u> hot-key, then a complete order of battle for your army (or armies) will fill most of the screen, showing the unit-brigade-division-corps-army hierarchy and the Strength, Morale and supply levels of each unit as well as its remaining Movement Points, and whether it is out-of-command ('OOC'). Movement points followed by the letter 'd' indicate a unit that has been delayed this turn due to its location in very rough terrain. This screen can also be used to locate units, as clicking on a unit's name immediately centers the map on it. (Note that the colored lines correspond to a unit's echelon colors.)

3.6. UNITS

When a scenario begins, at least one of your units as well as any enemy units not in fog-of-war hexes will be visible. You can right-click on a unit for more

information. Some essential information pertaining to units is immediately evident from the map itself:

★ **Flags:** Union and Confederate flags reveal each unit's loyalties.

★ **Unit type:** The five basic unit types – infantry, cavalry, artillery, headquarters and supply – are all easily recognizable, either as animated graphics or, if the option is toggled on, as NATO chits.

★ **Unit strength:** An infantry or cavalry unit's approximate strength is indicated by the number of tiny human figures comprising the unit.

★ **Unit facing:** Units always face towards one hex edge, with the two adjacent edges in the forward arc.

★ **Checkmarks:** At the start of a scenario and each subsequent turn units that have no Movement Points are marked with red checkmarks, while those with 1+ MP's have no such marking. After a unit has spent at least 1 MP it will bear a green checkmark, which remains until it is completely out of MP's. Units that have a white checkmark begin a scenario "encamped" and are thus immobilized until a certain time unless first attacked (see sect. 5.3)

The red check mark means that the unit has no moves left.

28th Virg

The green check mark means this unit has moved this turn.

3rd Tennessee Infantry
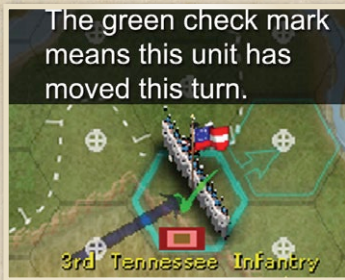
★ **Colored echelon circles/squares:** The relationships among the various units can be partly determined by the colored circle and square symbols affixed to each. These colors represent the different armies, corps, divisions and brigades, and correspond to the colors in the Orders Of Battle Display (see sect. 3.5). Thus every unit in a brigade or artillery battalion has the same color sequence.

Echelon Colors

Circular colors indicate commanders

Rectangular colors indicate regiments

```
8th Virginia Infantry / 5th Brigade / Army of the Potomac
Strength: 560
Morale: 3.70
Supply: 60
Moves: 19
Fresh
Weapon: Smoothbore Musket
Secondary Commander: Charles B. Tebbs
Secondary Commander: Norborne Berkeley
```

Right-click on a unit for more information.

IMPORTANT NOTE: Sometimes enemy units will only appear on the map as a large national flag belonging to your enemy. This indicates that your corps commander has failed to make an intelligence check. Your units will still be able to attack this unit normally, you are simply – temporarily! – unable to determine any details concerning the enemy unit. (Note that in games in which your units do not have a corps-level echelon, you still make a check to determine whether enemy units have been identified, but in this case you do not receive any bonus that a corps commander would provide.)

Unidentified enemy units are shown on the map by their national flags.

Blackburn's Ford
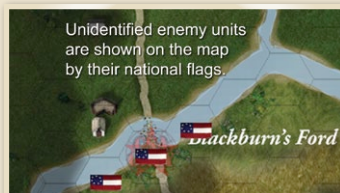
4. WHAT YOU SEE AFTER SELECTING A UNIT

Upon selecting a unit (by means of the left mouse button) a number of changes will be immediately evident.

4.1. CONTROL BOX

On the left side and in the middle of this box at the bottom of the screen information will be provided that is specific to this unit, while on the right some of the formation buttons will have become activated.

4.1.1. CURRENT UNIT STATISTICS AND STATUS:

Just below the unit's name will be several rows providing essential information regarding a unit's condition and readiness to fight. These include Strength, Morale/Quality, Supply, Moves, (number of) Junior Officers, Mounted/Dismounted (for cavalry), and one or more status levels indicating that unit's ability to fight effectively. If a unit is out-of-command this is indicated with "(OOC)" just after its name.

The number in parentheses after the unit's strength is the "breaking strength" of the unit. Units with a Strength below their breaking Strength will suffer a significant Morale loss each round until they finally are forced to rout.

4.1.2. WEAPON TYPE(S)

Just to the right will be an image of the gun(s) or artillery piece(s) with which that unit fights. Units might be armed with "Improvised" weapons, meaning

that they are poorly armed with a combination of inferior weaponry, as was common especially at the start of the Civil War.

Units may either be entirely armed with one type of weapon or a combination of two; in the latter case the amount of damage the unit does is based in part on the relative percentage of each type. For example, an artillery battery with four 6-pounders will do less damage than one with two 6-pounders and two 10-pounder Parrotts. Note that when an infantry or cavalry unit is armed with two weapons types the percentages are provided, while in the case of artillery units it is the number of individual guns that appears.

Below the information identifying the weapon(s) is a range table providing base damage at different hex ranges, beginning with one hex away. Historical information for each gun type can be viewed by mousing over that gun's image.

4.1.3. COMMANDER NAME AND PHOTO

The name of the officer in active command of the unit is provided, and often a photo as well. Mousing over the photo makes the officer's ratings appear.

4.1.4. SPECIAL ABILITIES AND UNIT ATTRIBUTE SYMBOLS

If a unit has one or more specialized abilities or specific attributes (e.g., sharpshooters, Zouaves or a military band) it will be represented by a square symbol, which can be identified if one mouses over it. (For the functions of these abilities and attributes see sects. 20.7 & 20.8.)

4.1.5. FORMATION AND ASSAULT-RELATED BUTTONS

The buttons for entering the three possible formations – column, line, skirmish – only become active when a unit is selected, and the chance of entering a formation without penalty (i.e., the loss of all remaining Movement Points) is provided on the button. As "skirmish" is only possible for infantry, the same button is assigned different functions for cavalry and
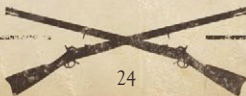
artillery: for the former, it instructs the cavalrymen to dismount or remount their horses, while for the latter it assigns a battery to barrage enemy batteries (instead of the default targeting of the closest units regardless of type). A fourth button orders, permits (at the discretion of the regiment's commander), or forbids an infantry or cavalry unit to charge an adjacent enemy unit when and if the opportunity arises. (For these formations and tactics, see sect. 6.6.8.)

4.1.6. ENTRENCH BUTTON

This button may or may not be active, depending on whether a unit is capable of digging in and creating fortified positions (see sect. 6.6.10).

4.1.7. SPLIT BUTTON

This button allows for the division of a unit into two (see sect. 6.6.5).

4.1.8. FORCE MARCH BUTTON

This button can be used to give a unit a slight boost in terms of movement rate for one turn at a time, but runs a risk of causing the unit to become fatigued (see sect. 6.6.4).

4.1.9. COMBAT REPORT BUTTON

Pressing this button shows the unit's Combat Report (i.e., the detailed breakdown of its fire attacks) from the previous turn's combat phase.

4.1.10. SURRENDER

This button removes the selected unit from the battle – sometimes a better option than letting one's opponent rack up extra points by causing more casualties than necessary (see sect. 5.3).

4.2. ECHELON WINDOW

On the left side of the screen will be a display showing where the selected unit fits in the overall order of battle, from brigade (or artillery battalion) to division, to corps, to army. For each level the commanding officer is provided, along with buttons for specific actions that are implemented at that level and information on the chance of success for actions dependent on that commander's ratings (see sect. 6.2). The ratings themselves can be obtained by
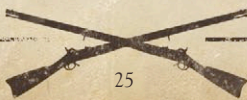
mousing over each commander's photo. In addition, if a force is out-of-command this is indicated with "(OOC)" just after its name, while if its commander has not yet arrived on the battlefield and thus there is no Headquarters unit to command the army/corps/division/brigade then "(No HQ)" will appear after its name, and it will automatically be out-of-command.

4.3. MAP

The changes that will become visible on the map when a unit is selected all concern that unit's abilities to move or fire at the enemy, and are indicated by means of various overlays.

★ **Cyan movement hexes:** If a unit is able to move into one or more other hexes these will be outlined in cyan, with an arrow in each hex showing the direction in which the unit would end up facing upon arriving there. By mousing over a cyan hex you can learn how many Movement Points would remain if the unit were to move there.

★ **Command Radius hexes:** If one has previously toggled on the feature that shows a brigade, division, corps or army commander's command radius then the areas in which he can effectively exercise command will be highlighted in red. This radius updates whenever a Headquarters unit is moved (see sect. 6.3).

★ **Red "threat" X's:** Hexes into which a unit cannot move because of the enemy's proximity and its own battle-footing are marked with large, red X's (see sect. 9.2).

★ **White line-of-sight and targeting graphics:** Any hex into which the selected unit has line-of sight is marked with a white "plus" sign (+); any

hex into which the selected unit also can fire theoretically is marked with the same symbol surrounded by a white circle. (See sect. 10.)

Red-X shows hexes where unit cannot go because of its brigade's orders.

The '+' symbol shows hexes the selected unit can see.

This shows hexes into which the selected unit can fire theoretically.
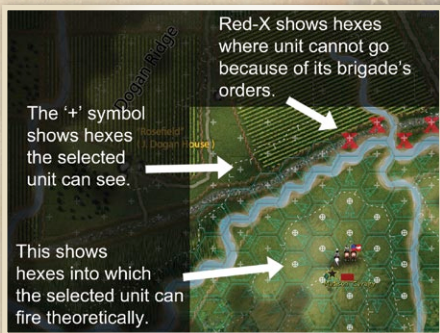
5. UNIT TYPES, PROPERTIES AND STATUSES

Brother against Brother is played at the regimental level, and thus the basic unit is the infantry or cavalry regiment and the artillery battery, though in smaller battles especially there are companies and artillery sections functioning as units rather than sub-units. These units are generally assigned to an infantry or cavalry brigade or an artillery battalion, which is itself assigned to a division, corps and army, though sometimes units are directly attached to an upper echelon.

In addition to the basic combat units there are also "Headquarters" units that consist of a brigade, division, corps or army commander and a small number of staff and cavalry escort. Such units are absolutely essential to command and control (see sect. 6), but even though they function as cavalry units they are not designed to engage in fighting: they never assault the enemy, are invisible to the enemy unless adjacent to one or more units, if they get too close to the enemy they will retreat to safer ground, and they cannot hold a Victory Hex.

Brother against Brother also has another non-combat unit that is of great importance: supply units ("wagons"). Supply wagons are used to resupply units during the battle (see sect. 11), and therefore are not intended to engage the enemy directly. Thus they remain in "column" formation, are unable to enter "line" or "skirmish," and cannot knowingly approach within four hexes of an enemy unit. Supply units automatically distribute resupply to friendly units that require it during every combat phase. Re-supply is split between all eligible units.
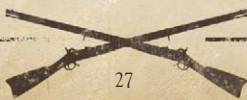
To provide supply to a unit the supply unit must be able to trace a valid movement path to the unit in question that takes no more than ten (10) movement points for the supply unit. This path is limited by all normal restrictions to movement for the supply wagon, including such factors as enemy zones-of-control.

The effectiveness of every unit is based on a combination of statistics and characteristics, the former dynamically changing through the course of the battle and the latter static. In addition, a combination of factors will determine a unit's current status and whether it is able to fight effectively (or fight at all). This information is all provided on the left side of the Control Box (see sects. 4.1.1-4.1.4).

5.1. DYNAMIC STATISTICS

The dynamic statistics are:

- ★ **Strength:** The current number of men available to fight or engaged in fighting. This changes as casualties are incurred. Regiments typically numbered 600-800 men, while artillery batteries ranged from 60-100 (depending in part on the number of guns). Unit Strength is among the most essential factors in calculating damage; however, frontage rules for infantry and cavalry units and limitations on the number of men needed to operate each artillery piece prevent units with excess strength from causing excessive damage.

- ★ **Morale:** Morale is the statistic that most greatly impacts a unit's ability to fight effectively, and along with overall Strength determines just how effectively it fights. A unit's Morale level is initially determined from its Quality level, but whereas Quality is a permanent attribute – a unit is either a well-trained veteran unit or a green unit "seeing the elephant" for the first time or it isn't, and this does not change hour to hour – Morale changes during the battle, generally trending downwards as casualties mount and troops tire. Both current Morale and starting Morale (i.e., Quality) are shown. (For specific rules pertaining to Morale, see sect. 20.9.)

- ★ **Supply:** Each unit has a supply level that corresponds to the number of rounds the men are carrying or, in the case of artillery units, have available (see sect. 11).

- ★ **Moves:** The number of Movement Points available to a unit that turn. (Note that unused MP's are lost, not saved for the next turn.)

★ **Junior Officers:** Units may have up to three officers assigned – usually a colonel, lieutenant colonel and major – but in the case of infantry and cavalry units each also has a number of abstracted junior officers, one for each company (and thus mostly representing captains). Unlike commanding officers, these junior officers do not individually impact a unit's performance, but as a group they are essential to unit cohesion: the more that are lost, the less effectively a unit is able to fight (since junior officers help resist Morale loss), and the more trouble it might have when attempting to change formation (since a unit that has lost junior officers is more likely to become disordered if it fails to enter the new formation). (Note: This feature does not apply to small units such as artillery batteries and independent companies, which normally are commanded by an officer who held the rank of captain, but only to units large enough to have had multiple companies.)

5.2. STATIC UNIT CHARACTERISTICS

The static unit characteristics are:

★ **Special abilities:** Many of the superior units (i.e., those that are known to have fought particularly well during the battle) have been assigned one or more "Special abilities" that reflect historical performance, as a way of modestly encouraging them to behave in the same manner as the historical units did if they face a similar situation. Thus, for example, some regiments from the Stonewall Brigade get the ability "Steady" for First Bull Run. (For a full list of Special Abilities, see sect. 20.7.)

★ **Unit attributes:** Some units have a small group of men with a particular specialty that can impact the unit's performance: e.g., Scouts, Sharpshooters, Zouaves. (For a full list of Unit Attributes, see sect. 20.8.)

★ **Weapon:** Every unit is armed with one or two types of guns, or else in the case of poorly armed units the men just have "improvised" weaponry (see sect. 4.1.2).

5.3. UNIT STATUSES

The types of unit status are:

★ **Ready-to-Fight / Not Ready-to-Fight:** At the beginning of a scenario units make a "check" to see if their commanders have properly readied
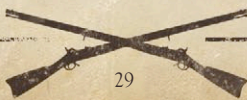
them for battle. Units not yet "Ready-to-Fight," which is the default, and thus designated "Not Ready-to-Fight," will fight at a 50% penalty when first attacked or attacking, and thus cannot be counted on to operate effectively. Units become "Ready-to-Fight" when they have been attacked, when the enemy draws close, or when their corps commander successfully readies them (by means of making an initiative check while they are in-command). The number of units that start or become "Ready-to-Fight" in the early turns of a scenario is thus partly determined by the corps commanders (see sect. 6.5.1.3).

★ **Encamped:** Some Civil War battles began with part of an army, or even an entire army, still encamped and unprepared for a fight; likewise, some *Brother against Brother* scenarios begin with one side partly or mostly "encamped." Units that are in this mode cannot be activated by the player until they are attacked (and suffer at least one casualty), or until the day has advanced to the "unencamp" time designated for the scenario. An "encamped" unit initially fights at a severe penalty and has a significant chance of becoming "disordered" when surprise-attacked, especially if by an artillery bombardment – a reflection of its (abstracted) pickets failing to warn their comrades in time. "Encamped" units have 0 Movement Points, and are represented by rows of tents in lieu of the normal little-man graphic, or by a white checkmark if viewing the units in 'chit' mode.

★ **On Guard:** Units that are "on guard" are assigned a hex at the outset of the scenario and cannot be activated or receive Movement Points until a designated time (which can be learned by mousing over the unit), unless enemy units appear in their vicinity or they are attacked and receive significant damage. The critical difference between "encamped" units and those that are "on guard" is that the latter are fully alert, and do not fight under a penalty if attacked. These units are marked with a red checkmark, indicating their lack of mobility.

★ **Dismounted:** For cavalry units only, and the opposite of their default status as mounted. (See sect. 6.6.7.)

★ **Fresh:** A unit is considered "fresh" if it has not yet engaged in significant fighting, and thus fights more effectively – i.e., gets large bonuses – during its first attacks.
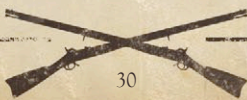
★ **Fatigued:** Through prolonged fighting or through forced marching, a unit's men might become too exhausted to fight at peak effectiveness.

★ **Tangled:** An artillery unit is so disorganized that it cannot move because of some hindrance or other problem (e.g., because of dead horses attached to caissons).

★ **Disordered:** Units that fail to change formation or suffer significantly in an exchange of fire can become disordered, and will then function much less effectively because they do not have a formation (as will be evident by looking at the unit). One may attempt to restore order by having the unit enter line or column formation, with the latter being easier for a disordered unit to achieve.

★ **Shaken:** Instead of becoming disordered, some units can retain their formation but become "shaken," which causes them small penalties in combat or if they attempt to change formation. Every time a shaken unit rallies there is a chance to shake off this status, with Morale and Quality being the chief factors.

★ **Shocked:** Units have a small chance to become "shocked" when they take casualties from artillery fire. Shocked units cannot move on their next movement phase – they are considered to be cowering to avoid further artillery damage. Being shocked lasts for a single turn, but the same unit can take further damage from artillery the following turn and thus remain shocked. Units of higher Quality and Morale have a lower chance to become shocked than units of lesser Quality and Morale.

The surrendered unit Battery G (1st sect.), 1st U.S. Artillery (Battery G (1st sect.), 1st U.S. Artillery / 4th Brigade / 1st Division / Army of Northeastern Virginia) is removed from the map.

OK

★ **Routed:** A unit has been reduced to negative morale. Such units will usually flee to safety within a turn or two of reaching this point, only becoming effective again if able to rally (see sect. 6.4.4.1).

★ **Surrendered:** Units will surrender if they are charged and their Morale drops to -2.0 or lower, and they have nowhere to retreat. Units will also surrender (become "dispersed") if they are attacked in a firefight by a unit
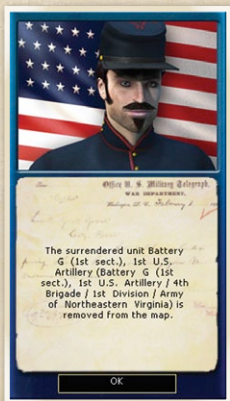
within 2 hexes and have a final Morale less than or equal to -2.0. Units may also be surrendered voluntarily by the player, so as to minimize the number of casualties received and thus not have these impact victory points (which are partly based on total casualties). A surrendered unit remains in place on the map until the next combat phase. Surrendered units are depicted without combat uniforms and bearing no flag.

In addition, though technically not a status, units can be out-of-command, which adversely affects their movement (see sect. 6.10).

6. COMMANDING GROUPS AND UNITS

Rather than functioning with complete autonomy, units in *Brother against Brother* are affected by the command hierarchy. It is therefore important to understand not only how to move and deploy units, but also the role played by the brigade (or artillery battery), division, corps and army commanders above them. Each level of command has unique responsibilities which, when functioning properly, enable an army to operate effectively.

6.1. CONTAINERS

It is helpful to think of armies, corps, divisions and brigades (or artillery battalions) as "containers," inside which there are either units or subordinate containers (e.g., several brigades within a division), or sometimes even both. Units, like the atom, are the basic building block and therefore, while they too can be split (see sect. 6.6.5), they cannot have a smaller unit attached to them. Units are assigned to a single container, and that container in turn may be inside larger containers. Unless the battle has taken a severe toll, every unit and container will have a commander.

6.2. COMMANDERS

The generic term "commanders" here applies both to men who held the rank of general during the Civil War and to lower-ranking officers. In *Brother against Brother* a commander's historical title does necessarily limit the commands to which he might be assigned during the course of a game: for example, a
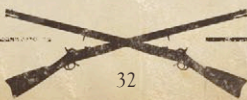
colonel can command a brigade. Every unit has three officer slots – normally a colonel, lieutenant colonel and major, though artillery batteries and individual infantry or cavalry companies will usually be commanded by a captain and two lieutenants – while each brigade, division, corps and army will have a single general (or, sometimes, a colonel) in command.

Unit commanders who are killed or severely wounded will be replaced automatically by a subordinate, so long as there is one available; when units or containers are left without a commander there will be considerable penalties. When a brigade, division, corps or even army loses its commander the player may promote a replacement at the start of the following turn, choosing from a list of available commanders. Every commander is assigned several ratings that affect his performance and that of his men: Leadership, Tactics, Initiative, Command, and, when appropriate, Artillery or Cavalry. The numerous ways that these ratings affect the game are discussed below and in the "Advanced Rules" section. (Note that one may see a commander's ratings by mousing over his portrait if he is a unit commander, and right-clicking on his portrait in the Echelon Window if he commands a container.)

BG Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson
Initiative: Excellent
Tactics: Excellent
Command: Excellent
Leadership: Superb
Cavalry: No Rating
Artillery: No Rating

BG Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson   0%
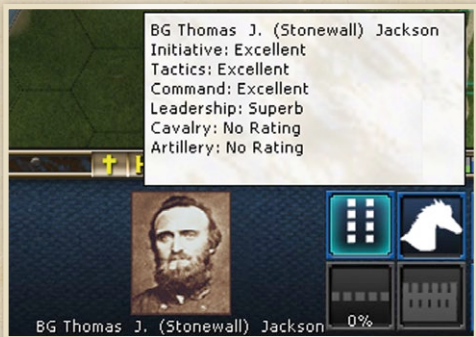
IMPORTANT: When prompted to make a battlefield promotion and replace a fallen commander, you may check the ratings of the available replacements by clicking on their names.

6.3. HEADQUARTERS UNITS

While unit commanders are essentially a part of their unit and cannot be controlled individually, every brigade, division, corps and army commander is attached to a "Headquarters" unit. Headquarters units, representing the commander, his staff, and a small cavalry guard, are modified cavalry units: they

have great range of movement but are ineffective at combat, and their value is in being positioned so as to command the subordinate units and containers most efficiently.

Each Headquarters has a "command radius," which is comprised of the hexes within range of the commander or his messengers, and determined by terrain and his "Command" rating. (An overlay of reddish hexes indicating command radius can be toggled on and off by clicking in the circle above the commander's portrait in the Echelon Window. For the effects on containers and units that are out-of-command, see sect. 6.10.)

Command Radius Display

The red hex outlines show the hexes within the leader's command radius.

Click on this button above the commander to toggle a display of his command radius.

NOTE: *It is important to move Headquarters units together with their subordinates, since if left too far away from these units, they will be out-of-command on the following turn.*

A Headquarters unit usually must itself be within the command radius of the commander's superior for the Headquarter and its commander to be in-command. For example, a division commander that is part of a corps echelon needs to be within the command radius of his corps commander in order to be in command himself. Commanders who are out-of-command generally suffer a 50% penalty to performance in the bonuses and special-actions they normally provide.

Regiments usually only need to be within the command radius of their brigadier commander in order to be in-command. This is true regardless of whether or not the brigadier is himself in-command or not.

6.4. THE ECHELON WINDOW AND COMMANDING BRIGADES, DIVISIONS, CORPS AND ARMIES

While it is necessary to move Headquarters units about the battlefield in order for them to be most effectively positioned, specific orders are given to brigades,

divisions, corps and armies by means of the "Echelon Window" on the left side of the screen. The chance of these orders are received and successfully implemented depends largely on the commander's ratings. At each level of the army hierarchy there are different types of command that can be issued. This is done by clicking on the button beside the appropriate commander's portrait. (When buttons cannot be used in a particular situation they become noticeably faded.)

> IMPORTANT: *Either because of the size of a battle or the fact that the corps structure was not fully developed among the eastern armies until 1862, one or both sides in some battles in Brother against Brother do not have the full army-corps-division-brigade hierarchy. In such cases it has often been necessary to "promote" or "demote" a container for the sake of optimal functionality: thus, for example, at Wilson's Creek the Union's Army of the West and Confederacy's Western Army are both divisions (perhaps to be thought of as "brevet-armies," if you will) and the Confederacy's Missouri State Guard is a corps that contains one true division – with two brigades – as well as four divisions that are brigade containers. When this has been done it should be obvious from the arrangement of the Echelon Window.*

6.4.1. ARMY

The army is the highest echelon on the battlefield and contains within it all the elements that men need to move and fight on a strategic level.

6.4.1.1. SPEED DIVISION FUNCTION:

Every turn the army commander gets a certain number of "speed division" actions, each of which permits the player to give all of a division's in-command units 25% more Movement Points (if it successfully makes its activation check). In this manner, one or more divisions with a crucial task to perform can be given a boost by the battlefield commander. This is done by selecting any unit in the chosen division and clicking the "Speed Division" button to the left of the general's portrait.

Note that units under "March" orders from their brigadiers, or under other orders but far enough from the enemy to be moving as though under "March," do not receive the bonus movement points.
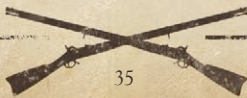
6.4.2. CORPS

A corps is a subdivision within an army that is responsible for the aggregation and dissemination of operational intelligence.

6.4.2.1. SCOUTS

Each corps commander can have one or more abstract "scouts" available, the number of which is determined by his "Tactics" rating, and is indicated to the left of his portrait. This number is halved if the corps is out-of-command. These scouts, who do not appear on the map as individual figures, are activated by clicking the "Send Scouts" button and then clicking on a hex that is no more than ten hexes away from a unit serving in that corps. (Note that the mouse-cursor says "Scout" after the button has been pressed, and until the scout has been assigned his destination. This can be cancelled by hitting <Escape>.)

6.4.2.2. DIVISION COORDINATION ATTACKS:

If one wishes to make a large thrust against the enemy that employs two or more divisions – a tactic made famous by "Pickett's Charge," but more effectively employed by Gen. Longstreet at Chickamauga and Second Manassas – and wishes to lessen the risk of a piecemeal, uncoordinated assault it is best to use the "Division Coordination" function. This is done by pressing the "Division Coord." button, which immediately causes all units in the corps to lose 50% of their normal Movement Points as their commander methodically prepares his officers and men for the assault. This process takes at least one turn (depending on the corps commander's "Command" rating). Following the turns of preparation is a turn of coordinated movement in which all eligible units in the corps receive 25% more MP's for a turn of coordinated movement. Coordinated movement may last two turns under exceptional commanders. During this time of coordinated movement, divisions in this corps will not fail their command activation checks and thus can be moved reliably.

6.4.3. DIVISION

A division is a group within a corps that is primarily responsible for the coordinated movement of units.
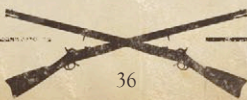
6.4.3.1. DIVISION COMBAT FOCUS

Based on their ratings, division commanders can select a certain number of hexes every turn for "combat focus." Hexes marked for combat focus are selected during a firefight more preferentially as targets than other available target hexes, and there is a 20% chance that units attacking into this hex get a second attack.

6.4.4. BRIGADE (AND ARTILLERY BATTALION)

Brigades are the group within a division that represents the basic unit of combat coordination within an army.

6.4.4.1. BRIGADE ORDERS
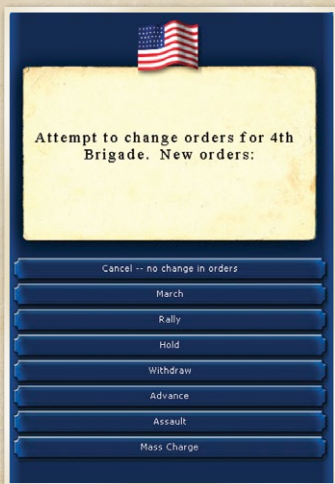
Brigadier commanders issue brigade orders to their brigades. These orders affect many important aspects of regiments within the brigade, such as movement in combat. Brigades will need to change brigade orders in order to march, fight, withdraw, or rally effectively during a battle.

A brigade's current Brigade Orders are indicated on the "Brigade Orders" button to the left of the brigadier's portrait. Changing Brigade Orders is done by means of the menu that appears when you press this button, while the chance of succeeding is indicated further to the left, in the "Change Orders" line.

After one has selected a new Brigade Order there are four possible results:

★ **Success:** The brigade successfully changes orders immediately (with the "Brigade Orders" button reflecting this change).

★ **Late Success:** The brigade will change orders at the end of the turn. In this case the "Late Orders" are indicated in a line below the brigade's current orders as well as beside the button.

- ★ **Change and Stand:** The brigade changes orders but all regiments within the brigade lose any remaining movement points.

- ★ **Failure:** The brigade fails to change orders.

The Brigade Orders are:

- ★ **March:** Good for moving long distances, especially along roads. Marching units receive twice the normal amount of Movement Points. Units in "March" mode cannot approach within 4 hexes of the enemy, unless the enemy is hidden from sight (see sect. 9.2). Though it is the best Brigade Order for movement because of the bonus MP's as well as the ability to use roads, bridges and fords, "March" is the worst for combat: units automatically lose all remaining MP's when they enter line formation, their maximum attack range is 2 hexes, and they do a fraction of normal attack damage.

- ★ **Advance:** This Brigade Order is intended for closing on the enemy or maneuvering near enemy lines. Units move normally, and like units in "March" can take advantage of roads, bridges and fords, but cannot move into a hex adjacent to a visible enemy unit. Advancing units can enter line formation without automatically losing their remaining MP's (though there is a chance of this) and make normal attacks (i.e., they receive no attack bonus, as do those in "Assault" mode), but have a maximum attack range of 4 hexes.

- ★ **Assault:** This is the standard Brigade Order for fighting, primarily to be used when inflicting damage is more desirable than maneuvering. Units have limited mobility – often no more than a single hex – because they receive half their normal Movement Points allotment, but can enter line formation and can close within a hex of the enemy. Another essential aspect of "Assault" mode is that units are able to initiate an attack against enemy units at their weapons' maximum range,

> Assault: Useful for closing into contact with enemy units and inflicting maximal damage. Units move at 50% of normal movement, can attempt to form lines without losing movement points, and inflict 25% more combat damage.
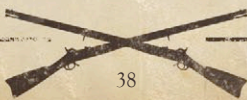
regardless of distance. Units with fighting orders do not get the benefit of road movement and the ability to use fords or bridges as units under "March" or "Advance" may do.

★ **Mass Charge:** A sort of attacking advance, to be initiated when the enemy is no more than two hexes away. Units get a slight bonus to their movement rates, and can form lines and attack with normal effectiveness, and with a greater chance of driving back enemy units. However, units under this order suffer 50% greater than normal combat casualties and their attacks are limited to short range targets. (Note: This Brigade Order is not to be confused with the "Charge" command that can be given to individual units so that they attack adjacent enemy units. Units operating under "mass charge" orders will always charge in combat if this is possible regardless of the orders given to each regiment.)

★ **Rally:** This Brigade Order is the best way of trying to restore Morale to units incrementally, but more quickly than they might otherwise regain it (see sect. 20.9). However, units being rallied are ineffective at combat, and cannot approach within 4 hexes of the enemy; though they may move three hexes to their rear while maintaining forward facing.

★ **Hold:** Whereas "Assault" and "Mass Charge" are aggressive specialized Brigade Orders, "Hold" is intended as a defensive one: units move more slowly and fire as effectively as units in "Assault" mode, but, more significantly, they are less likely to be driven back by enemy attacks (or to drive back the enemy). Like brigades in "Assault," those set to "Hold" can initiate attacks against units even some distance away. Units ordered to hold a position will be most effective if in line formation and skirmish mode.

★ **Withdraw:** Permitting units to fight as they retreat from a position, this Brigade Order leads units to take less damage, but to have a greater chance of being driven back by the enemy. Units may move backwards three hexes while maintaining their forward facing, but have half the normal number of Movement Points. Like units in "Assault" and "Hold" mode, they may attack distant enemy units.

Brigade Order	Movement Points	Closest Approach to Enemies	Can Form Line Normally	Can Charge	Can Cross Fords	Can Benefit from Using Roads	Misinterpret Difficulty Modifier
March	200%	4	No	No	Yes	Yes	10%
Rally	75%	4	No	No	No	No	70%
Hold	50%	3	Yes	No	No	No	70%
Withdraw	50%	—	Yes	No	No	No	100%
Advance	100%	2	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	70%
Assault	50%	—	Yes	Yes	No	No	100%
Mass Charge	125%	—	Yes	Yes	No	No	130%

Brigade Order	Prefer Charge	Retreat Percent	Exploit Percent	Morale Restore	Max. Attack Range (hexes)	Combat Damage Percent	Combat Defense Percent
March	No	50%	0%	0.1	2	20%	100%
Rally	No	50%	0%	0.3	2	25%	75%
Hold	No	20%	0%	0.15	n/a	125%	100%
Withdraw	No	80%	0%	0.13	n/a	100%	80%
Advance	No	35%	35%	0.03	4	100%	75%
Assault	No	35%	70%	—	n/a	125%	100%
Mass Charge	Yes	50%	50%	—	2	100%	150%

The importance of the Brigade Orders system to game-play cannot be understated. Brigades and artillery battalions must be given the order best suited to the situation in order for subordinate units to move and fight most effectively. The player's failure to anticipate a situation and issue the correct orders, or the division or brigade commander's failure to issue those orders (by means of passing a change-orders check based on the "Command" rating), may muddle

NOTE: *The exception to the rule that all units in a brigade or artillery battalion operate the same way under their Brigade Order is that if a brigade or artillery battalion is in "Advance" or "Assault," any units that are more than ten hexes from an enemy unit will receive 75% of the Movement Points they would if they were in "March" – thus a brigade can have some regiments in line formation assaulting a nearby enemy while others are quickly marching towards the fight.*
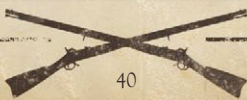
your plans, sometimes leading to disastrous results. Furthermore, if the brigade commander is out-of-command the chance of successfully changing orders is reduced, so unbroken communications are crucial to the effective deployment of one's units.

6.4.4.2. "URGE" UNIT

Your brigadier or battalion commander can exhort the selected unit to greater movement and Morale by means of the "Urge Unit" button to the left of the commander's portrait. The number of units, which is based on his "Command" rating, is indicated to the left of the button. Units that are "urged" to greater action receive the following bonuses:

- ★ +2 Movement Points

- ★ Greater flexibility of minimum movement: Units may make a "minimum movement" into every adjacent hex into which movement is physically possible, even if its Brigade Order would otherwise forbid the move. Minimum movements can only be made when a unit has not yet spent any Movement Points. Units in column formation may receive an even larger minimum movement in the forward direction.

- ★ Urged units receive an immediate rally boosting their Morale.

- ★ Urged units encounter the "red X" hexes (see sect. 9.2) at half the normal distance for their "Brigade Order," permitting them to have a greater chance at closing-with, or simply passing-by, the enemy.

6.5. AUTOMATIC FUNCTIONS OF CORPS, DIVISIONS AND BRIGADES

In addition to the active orders that you can give at each echelon level, some passive echelon features are performed automatically each turn. The effectiveness of these features are determined by the commander's ratings, and are adversely affected when the commander is out-of-command.

Some smaller battles may not have the full army-corps-division-brigade echelon hierarchy. In these cases, the passive features are performed without any commander bonus but no penalty for being out-of-command is applied.
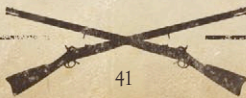
6.5.1. CORPS

6.5.1.1. DIVISION ACTIVATION

The pink circle means that this unit is part of a division that failed its activation check and so did not actually move last turn.

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Not all of the units a player attempts to move during his turn will actually move: each division must make an activation check, and if it fails this check then any units in that division are returned to their starting locations (or to the nearest possible location to their starting location) before combat is resolved, and brigades that were attempting to change their brigade orders fail to do so. Divisions that fail this check and miss their activation will always succeed on their check the following turn. A division's activation check is based on the "Initiative" rating of its commanding officer and that of the corps commander, and is intended to reflect effective and time-efficient communications along the chain of command. Thus divisions that are out-of-command take a penalty to their activation checks every other turn. (Note: This is an "advanced" feature, and can be turned off when on the Setup Screen.)

Units that failed to move in the previous turn because of a failed division activation are marked with a pink colored circle.

Activation Fails

Office U. S. Military Telegraph,
WAR DEPARTMENT,

8th Louisiana Battalion Infantry (independent) failed its activation check and fails to move.

OK
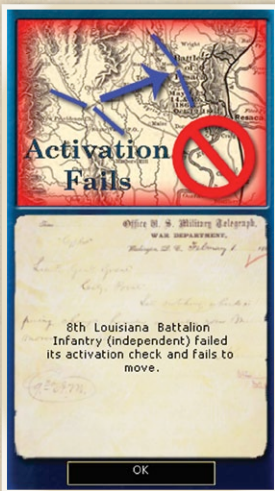
6.5.1.2. PENETRATING FOG OF WAR

One of the most important tasks for corps commanders was to gain a full understanding of their part of the battlefield, through personal observation, constant communication with their division commanders, and use of scouts (see sect. 6.4.2.1), and then to disseminate this information to the division commanders. In *Brother against Brother* the player's ability to identify visible enemy units and obtain detailed information depends on the corps commanders.

At the start of every turn each corps commander makes a check based on his "Command" rating, and if he fails it then enemy units seen only by units in his corps are represented by a fog-of-war flag and cannot be identified, whereas if his intelligence succeeds, then those units will be named and identifiable in greater detail. If an enemy unit was identified the previous turn and did not move its identity will remain known regardless of a corps commander's fog-of-war check.

If a corps commander has successfully made this check it will be indicated by "FOW Details: Yes" written to the left of his portrait.

6.5.1.3. PREPARING UNITS FOR COMBAT

Depending on the scenario or game conditions, some units will not be "Ready-to-Fight" and thus will suffer significant combat penalties (see sect. 5.3). Such units each turn have a chance to become "ready," with the number determined by their corps commander's "Initiative" rating – a simulation of the need for corps commanders at the outset of battles to arrange their divisions and brigades in an effective manner and ensure that orders had been passed down the chain of command.

6.5.2. DIVISION

6.5.2.1. DIVISION ACTIVATION

(See sect. 6.5.1.1.)

6.5.2.2. BOOSTING MOVEMENT RATES

A division commander's "Initiative" rating can increase the number of movement points for all units in his division other than cavalry, while his "Cavalry" rating can achieve this result for cavalry units.

6.5.3. BRIGADE (AND ARTILLERY BATTALION)

The primary role of brigade and artillery battalion commanders is to ensure the proper implementation of new brigade orders (based on their "Command" rating as well as that of their division commander), but they can also provide an attack bonus for successful "Brigade Coordination" and make possible a bonus attack or counter-attack.
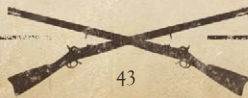
6.5.3.1. COORDINATION

Regiments fighting together adjacent to the same enemy unit can receive significant bonuses to their combat damage, but these bonuses are only possible when the attacking regiments are from the same brigade and the brigade commander has made his "brigade coordination" check for the current game turn. This check is based on the commander's Tactical rating. The chances of making this check each turn are indicated by the "Coordination: X%" line to the left of a brigade commander's portrait.

6.5.3.2. BONUS ATTACK OR COUNTER-ATTACK

The chance for one or more units in a brigade or battalion to make an additional attack or counter-attack in a round of combat is determined for each unit by the brigade-level commander's "Initiative" or "Tactics" rating respectively. The bonus attack does not stack with the occasional bonus attack that can be made by units when the Division Combat Focus option has been employed.

6.6. SELECTING AND COMMANDING UNITS

You have several basic operations available for a selected unit: move the unit, give it a long-range destination, change the unit's formation or mode, split/recombine the unit, or give it a specific task, such as: barrage (for artillery), dismount or remount (for cavalry), or entrench.

> NOTE: *To deselect a unit, use the <spacebar> or <ESC>. To cycle through all unmoved units use the +/- keys.*

6.6.1. UNIT MOVEMENT (SINGLE TURN)

When a unit is selected, all of the hexes into which it is able to move – based on available Movement Points, enemy proximity, current formation and brigade order, unit type, terrain, and other factors – will be highlighted with a cyan outline, with a cyan arrow indicating the direction in which the unit would end up facing if it were to enter that hex. To move the unit to one of these hexes, simply left-click on the hex.

If the "Screen Drawings Option" menu is set so that units move slowly to their destination hex you may simply click the left mouse button while the unit is moving so that it will instantly complete the move. Units that failed to follow
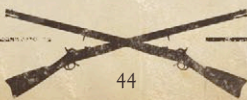
their movement orders in the previous turn will be denoted by a pink circle the following turn.

Units that use Movement Points (MPs) during a turn will not fight as effectively at the end of that turn. This penalty is proportional to the percentage of MP's just used.

6.6.2. UNIT MOVEMENT (MULTIPLE TURNS)

It is possible to assign a unit a long-range destination simply by left-clicking on a hex that is outside of its current movement range (i.e., any hex that does not show the cyan highlighting when the unit is selected). The unit immediately moves as far as it can in that direction; at the start of each new turn, every unit with such a long-range assignment will move in the direction of its destination hex. The destination hex will be indicated by a green movement arrow. Units with long-range destinations will continue in this manner unless one selects them again (by left-clicking), which will return them to the player's full control. Otherwise, they will ultimately stop when they move within three hexes of their destination.

6.6.3. GIVING LONG-RANGE MOVEMENT ORDERS TO ENTIRE ECHELONS

To give a long-range command to all of the units in a brigade, division, corps or army, select that echelon by clicking on the Command Radius Toggle (see sect. 6.10) and then left-click on the destination hex while holding down the CTRL key.)

6.6.4. FORCE MARCH

Using the "Force March" button (on the right side of the Control Box) gives an infantry or cavalry unit +6 Movement Points for the turn, regardless of brigade order and formation, so long as it is not fatigued. Having a unit quicken its movements in this manner is not without potential costs: there is always a loss of Morale, and on top of this a "fresh" unit has a chance to lose its freshness, and a chance that it might become fatigued (see sect. 5.3).

6.6.5. SPLITTING UNITS

Adopting a tactic commonly used by regimental and battery commanders, it is possible for the player to split any unit (other than Supply and Headquarters)
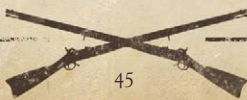
one time, using the "Split" button (on the right side of the Control Box). Splitting a unit uses 3 MPs and requires an adjacent empty hex, but can be done with a unit of any Strength.

A split infantry unit forms into "Left" and "Right" parts (i.e., left and right wings), while a cavalry or artillery unit forms two numbered sections. The second officer in the original regiment (when one is available) is assigned to command the new unit, and the junior officers are evenly split between the two units.

Split units can later be recombined, so long as they are 1) adjacent, 2) not surrendered, and 3) not disordered. (Note: This "recombine" option is only available for units that the player himself splits, not those that begin a scenario split.)

6.6.6. CHANGING FORMATION AND MODE

When a unit is selected there will appear several formation and mode buttons (on the right side of the Control Box). A unit's formation and mode (when applicable) is essential to determining how many MPs it will receive, how effective it is at firing, and whether it is taking a semi-defensive posture. The only one that can be used for all types of units – even Headquarters and Supply – is "column," while the others have more limited uses.

Changing formation or deploying/recalling skirmishers uses up 3 Movement Points, while mounting/dismounting cavalry uses 5, and entrenching uses up all remaining MP's. When considering whether to change a unit's formation or mode it is important to check the percentage number indicated on the button. This number, based on the unit commander's "Command" rating, terrain, and other factors, represents the chance of changing successfully and not losing the unit's remaining MP's as well as becoming "unprepared" to fight (meaning that until the next turn the unit will suffer a 50% combat penalty; see sect. 5.3).

Units that have lost some junior officers have a chance of becoming disordered when they fail a check to change formation. This chance is equal to the percentage of junior officers the unit has lost.

Infantry unit in column formation.

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6.6.6.1. COLUMN

Units in "column" formation can move most quickly, especially when set to the "March" brigade order (see sect. 6.4.4.1). However, they are much

less able to fight effectively: thus they suffer both attack and defend penalties if engaging with the enemy while in this formation. Units in column receive a minimum movement such that terrain costs do not prohibit them from moving at least two hexes directly forward.

6.6.6.2. LINE

Infantry, cavalry and artillery units in "line" formation have considerably less mobility than those in column, but are most effective at fighting, especially when set to the "Assault" or "Advance" brigade order (see sect. 6.4.4.1). Units in line can always move at least one hex directly forwards, so long as a unit is not blocking them.

An infantry unit in line formation.

6.6.6.3. SKIRMISH

Infantry in line with skirmishers deployed
Infantry in column with skirmishers deployed

Infantry units that have deployed skirmishers – whether in column or line formation – have taken a somewhat more defensive posture that lets them do less damage while taking less damage. This mode is always combined with one of the two formations, column or line.

For the full range of bonuses and limitations associated with skirmish mode, see sect. 20.6.

6.6.7. DISMOUNTING/MOUNTING CAVALRY

You can dismount and mount cavalry by means of the "Mount/Dismount" button (on the right side of the Control Box). Cavalry in dismounted mode move and fight more like infantry. Dismounted cavalry fights with a 25% Strength penalty, representing the need for some of the men to remain behind as horse-holders.

Mounted cavalry fires at a -75% penalty, representing the reduced effectiveness of cavalry units attacking while on horseback. It is thus advisable for cavalry to move while mounted and then fight dismounted.
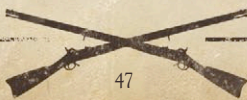
6.6.8. CHARGE

Individual infantry and cavalry units engaged in combat may be instructed to charge an adjacent enemy, which is done using the button to switch the unit from its default of "Never" charge to "May" or "Must" charge. Units that "must" charge will always attempt to do so if possible, while those that more cautiously "may" charge will do so if the circumstances are favorable.

Note that cavalry charges against infantry were uncommon during the American Civil War, and the relatively few times they were attempted such charges were not very effective. Compared to the Napoleonic era, Civil War cavalry were not as well-trained and equipped for charges against infantry, and Civil War era infantry wielded more effective weapons than infantry in previous ages. Keep this in mind when contemplating charges with your cavalry.

6.6.9. BARRAGE

By default artillery units will attack the enemy closest to them in their forward facing arc. However, artillery may be given orders to ignore closer enemies in favor of making attacks against enemy artillery farther away. If a unit is set to "anti-artillery barrage" it will fire preferentially upon enemy artillery units unless there is an enemy unit in its forward arc within five hexes.

6.6.10. ENTRENCHING

The "Entrench" button enables a unit that has been given the "Diggers" special ability or has the Pioneers attachment (see sect. 20.8) to prepare along the hex edge it is facing a hasty entrenchment (i.e., a field fortification that can be quickly readied; see sect. 12). The base chance of entrenching successfully is 25%, with "fresh" units receiving a 25% bonus and "fatigued" units a 25% penalty; the "Diggers" special ability provides a 25% bonus as well. A unit must be in line or column formation to undertake this task. Units that have been engaged in this activity have a 50% change of becoming "fatigued," and they always lose their "fresh" status.

Units that have lost some junior officers have a chance of becoming disordered when they fail a check to change formation. This chance is equal to the percentage of junior officers the unit has lost.

6.7. COMMANDING INDEPENDENT UNITS

While the great majority of units are assigned to brigades or artillery battalions, and these in turn are assigned to divisions, corps and armies, units can
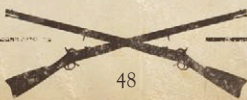
sometimes be assigned directly to a corps or army commander. As these units do not fall under the full multi-level army hierarchy some special rules are in place so that they can function without a brigadier's oversight:

★ Independent units not under a division have to make their own activation checks (i.e., the movement-related check normally done at division level). The chance for a successful check is 70%.

★ Independent units can receive the same commands as units receiving "Brigade Orders" (see 6.4.4.1). Unlike brigades, they are always able to change their orders successfully, but at the cost of half of their remaining Movement Points.

★ In some scenarios certain independent units are always in command.

6.8. AUTOMATIC FUNCTIONS OF UNIT COMMANDERS

The colonels or captains who are commanders of regiments have a significant effect on the performance of these units. The ratings of these regiment commanders have the following effects:

★ A unit's chance of changing formation without problem is determined by the commanding officer's "Command" rating.

★ An infantry or artillery unit's movement rate might be increased (i.e., bonus Movement Points) based on the commanding officer's "Initiative" rating, while cavalry units can get this boost based on his "Cavalry" rating.

★ In combat the commanding officer's "Tactics" rating affects damage done by infantry units, while the "Cavalry" and "Artillery" ratings do so for cavalry and artillery units, respectively.

★ The commanding officer's "Leadership" rating gives his unit a chance at avoiding panic in combat, and if the unit is rallying increases the amount of Morale that is restored and increases the chance of becoming unfatigued or unshaken.

6.9. TEMPORARY BRIGADE ATTACHMENTS

To reflect the ability of commanders to reassign particular units to other brigades or artillery battalions during a battle, it is possible to attach units to
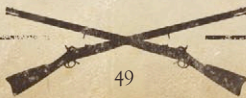
other brigade and battalion commanders. This is done by selecting the unit to be reattached, putting the mouse over any unit in the new brigade, and pressing the <b> key. A successful change of brigade or battalion will end that unit's turn and cause it to become out-of-command until the beginning of the next turn. Failure can occur if any of the following restrictions apply to the situation:

★ The selected unit must be within 3 hexes of a unit in the new brigade or battalion

★ The selected unit cannot be within 3 hexes of the enemy, though the unit in its new brigade/battalion might be.

★ The new brigade or battalion commander is unable to command an additional unit. Brigade- and battalion-level commanders can command a number of units no greater than their "Command" rating plus 2.

★ Unit must have remaining Movement Points greater than or equal to the number of Movement Points with which it started the turn. (This is possible through the "Urge" option available to brigade-level commanders (see sect. 6.4.4.2) and army commanders' "Speed Division" function (see sect. 6.4.1.1).)

★ The division commander for each division involved in the transfer must pass a check, based on "Command" rating, to determine whether the transfer is effective.

★ Units cannot be transferred if disordered.

Note that units cannot be detached from a brigade or battalion and made independent (i.e., attached to a division, corps or army commander).

6.10. THE EFFECTS OF GOING OUT-OF-COMMAND

Units that are out-of-command incur significant penalties:

★ Corps: There is 50% less chance that corps can provide scouting-based intelligence on the enemy units they see, and the number of scouts available to the corps is likewise halved.

★ Divisions: The chance that a division will activate successfully is cut in half.
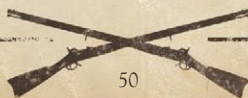
- ★ Brigades: The chance of successfully changing its Brigade Order is halved, and adjacent units attacking an enemy unit will have just half the chance at successful Brigade Coordination.

- ★ Units: Individual regiments, batteries, and other units lose 25% of their Movement Points, cannot benefit from the army commander's "Speed Division" ability, and have no chance at becoming "Ready-to-Fight" if "Not Ready-to-Fight."

> NOTE: *Depending on the scenario, some units, brigades, and divisions have the benefit to remain always in command. These are mostly forces given a specific task that takes them and keeps them far from their superior, such as defending a ford or launching a flanking attack. Thus, based on historical circumstances, they do not suffer OOC penalties.*

Units and groups that are out-of-command can be recognized by the "(OOC)" after their name in the Unit Roster display. This problem of OOC units is easily anticipated: you can click on the Command Radius Toggle – the small, circular button just above a commander's portrait – in order to see all the hexes that are within the commander's command radius marked on the map with a red outline, revealing where the commander's subordinate commanders (or brigades, for a brigadier commander) should move in order to remain in command.

6.11. MISINTERPRETED COMMANDS

Units sometimes "misinterpret" your orders and move to the wrong hex, a problem that historical commanders would face often. Greener, less experienced units, have a much higher chance of making such errors. Brigade Orders affect this chance: units set to "March" are least likely to misinterpret commands.

Since most of the units fighting the opening battles of the American Civil War were quite inexperienced the frequency of misinterpreted commands is relatively high.

7. TIPS ON FINDING THE ENEMY

There will always be large areas of the map that are in "fog of war" (indicated by grayish hexes), and enemy units in these will be invisible to you. Depending on
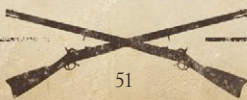
the scenario there may be some enemy units in close proximity to your forces at the start of the scenario.

It is, of course, important to find the enemy, regardless of whether you are defending a position or on the attack. Here are some tips for doing so:

★ **The mini-map:** Enemy units that are visible to at least one of your units will be visible as points on the mini-map in the lower-right corner.

★ **Scouting:** One of the abilities of corps commanders is that they periodically can send out scouts in order to penetrate fog of war. To do so, select a unit and then click on the "Scouts" button on the corps echelon tab, which turns the mouse-cursor into a "Scouts"-cursor, permitting you to left-click on a position within ten hexes of that unit.

★ **Use your cavalry:** One of the principle uses of cavalry units is to move quickly about the battlefield seeking out the enemy. Some cavalry units are assigned the "Scouts" unit attribute, which makes them especially skilled at penetrating fog of war.

★ **Take advantage of heights:** Each "height" level represents roughly 50 feet – this varies slightly from battlefield to battlefield – so even sending a unit up just one level can provide views of hexes not previously visible, and may well bring enemy units into view. Heights, however, do not provide a "God view," as thick woods and other terrain, as well as distance, can affect line-of-sight.

★ **Beware of ravines:** Ravines are very effective at hiding units, as one must have a unit positioned at the edge of a ravine in order to see into it. Thus at battlefields with long ravines the enemy may be stealthily advancing on your position, taking advantage of this terrain feature.

8. EVALUATING ENEMY STRENGTH AND FIGHTING CAPACITY

Before determining whether to try to engage an enemy unit it is useful to obtain information regarding its strength and condition. This can be done both by
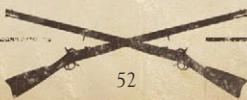
looking at the unit itself and by right-clicking on it. When playing with unit graphics you can get an instant sense of a unit's current Strength from the number of tiny figures accompanying its flag. A estimate of unit Strength and Morale can be obtained by right-clicking on an enemy unit, along with the enemy unit's place in its army's hierarchy. If one of your units is selected and you right-click on an enemy unit within range of your selected unit, the right-click display will contain a damage estimate for an attack by your unit on the enemy. You may also see a report on the number of units in your brigade that qualify for the flanking bonus under brigade coordination (see sect. 6.5.3.1).

9. APPROACHING AND ENGAGING THE ENEMY

Once you have analyzed the enemy's forces and determined his preferred course of action it may be necessary to maneuver your units into position. There are several factors to consider so that your units might travel along the safest line of approach and occupy the hexes from which they can do maximum damage to the target.

In *Brother against Brother* the player does not designate targets for each unit, but rather, as occurred historically, units will fire at the enemy unit that is closest and most threatening. This makes the position of a unit an important consideration when forming your attack plan since the position of a unit will most likely determine the target of its attack.

9.1. MOVEMENT

Units begin each turn with a certain number of Movement Points (MP's), with mounted cavalry typically starting with the most and artillery the fewest. Fighting effectively requires maneuvering effectively. While many of these rules are intuitive, you might wish to pay special attention to the rules associated with command radiuses, unit formations, brigade orders, and movement orders.

9.1.1. COMMAND RADIUS

As discussed above, if one does not keep Headquarters units close enough to the units or corps/divisions/brigades under their command one will face a number of penalties, some of which affect movement, and therefore it is essential to
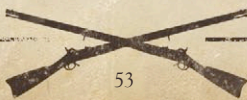
be aware of each HQ's command radius (see sect. 6.3). Not only do individual units lose 25% of their base MP's when out-of-command, but when a division is out-of-command there is a greater chance of its failing its activation check and being unable to move at all.

9.1.2. FORMATION

A unit's ability to move is primarily impacted by its formation. Column is a good formation for moving; line, a good formation for fighting. Similarly, mounted cavalry move farther than dismounted, and units with skirmishers deployed must spend 1 MP extra for each move and thus move slowly. (See sects. 6.6.6-6.6.7.)

9.1.3. BRIGADE ORDERS

Brigade Orders have a significant effect on the number of MP's units receive (see sect. 6.4.4.1). Note well that while "Assault" and "Advance" are quite slow and restrictive, regiments in the same brigade or battalion that are more than ten hexes from an enemy unit move as though under "March" orders, though with 75% of the MP's – an rule that permits some units to fight while others might hurry to the fight.

9.1.4. MINIMUM MOVEMENT

Units that would otherwise be caught in situations preventing them from being able to move at all are allowed minimum movement regardless of terrain cost and certain other factors. Units in column formation receive a larger minimum movement under this rule than units in line formation. Units that have been "urged" by their brigade commander this turn receive an even larger minimum movement.

9.2. RED X'S AND THREATS TO MARCHING, ADVANCING OR RALLYING UNITS

Even before units reach their destination they may be in danger. This is signalled by the Red "threat" X graphic superimposed over hexes that are too close to one or more enemy units for safe entry. As you move units under "March" orders, the Red X's appear if your unit

comes within four hexes of the enemy. Similarly, a unit attempting to "Rally" will be warned at this same distance. A unit operating under "Advance" orders can approach within one hex before encountering the Red X.

In all cases the enemy unit (or units) triggering the warning must be in line-of-sight of either the selected unit or another friendly unit. This rule thus is not in effect for enemy units hidden by fog-of-war.

9.3. ZONE OF CONTROL

Enemy units create zones-of-control (ZOC) in adjacent hexes. ZOCs have the following effects:

★ Moving out of a ZOC costs +2 MPs; moving into a ZOC uses all MPs.

★ One can never cross a big creek into or out of a ZOC. However, ZOC's do not extend across big creeks.

★ ZOC's do not extend up heights, but do extend downhill.

★ A unit cannot cross a hex edge with a field fortification (see sect. 12) in order to enter that fortification if that hex is in a ZOC, and cannot enter or leave such a hex if it is in a ZOC.

★ Units in large forts (e.g., Fort Magruder at Williamsburg) prevent enemy units from entering the fort in their ZOC hexes.

Note that only effective fighting units exert a ZOC; units that have surrendered, routed or become disordered do not have ZOC's. Supply units and Headquarters units likewise do not create a ZOC.

9.4. PROPER POSITIONS AND POSITIONING

Whether one unit can effectively attack another depends on a number of factors:

★ Brigade Orders: Brigade Orders affect a regiment's effective attack range. While units will never initiate an attack against enemy units beyond the range of their weapons, they may not always initiate an attack against those that are within range if their current Brigade Order discourages such attacks: infantry and cavalry will forgo attacking a target that is beyond their current Brigade Order's range restriction 50% of the time. There is no restriction on returning fire when attacked. (For range restrictions on attacks, see sect. 6.4.4.1.)
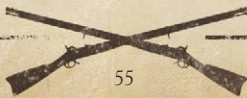
★ **Facing:** Units fire most effectively from their forward arcs, especially directly forward, and are most vulnerable when attacked from behind (rear hex edge) or the flanks (one of the two hex edges adjacent to the unit's rear). Whenever possible, position your units into the enemy's rear or flank.

★ **Brigade Coordination bonus:** When two or more units from the same brigade attack an adjacent unit while adjacent to one another they get a significant bonus for being able to flank or rake the enemy unit from at least one angle. While such "brigade coordination" automatically becomes possible whenever such a situation exists on the battlefield, the bonuses are only achieved when the commander passes a brigade-coordination check based on his "Tactics" rating (the chances of which are indicated by the "Coordination: X%" line to the left of his portrait). The chances of passing this check are reduced if the brigade commander is out-of-command.

10. LINE-OF-SIGHT AND OTHER NON-RANGE FACTORS IN FIRING ON THE ENEMY

A unit's line-of-sight (LOS) is primarily affected by the presence of other units, smoke, and terrain.

★ **Units:** Both friendly and enemy infantry units can block LOS; friendly units that block LOS also cannot be fired through. Artillery units neither block LOS nor targeting.

★ **Terrain:** Terrain affects a unit's ability to attack and defend. While some terrain types are completely open (e.g., "clear," "mud," "lake"), others are somewhat impenetrable (e.g., "forest," "tall grass," "village"). As you look at the map, any hex that at least one of your units can see into will normally be illuminated, while all others will be grayish, indicating fog-of-war (see sect. 6.5.1.2).

When a unit is selected, white '+' signs will be displayed on the map showing the hexes into which

> **+** Selected unit has LOS to this hex.
>
> **⊕** Hex is in range of the selected unit.
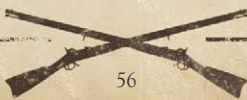
the unit can see. Hexes into which the unit can fire effectively will be indicated by a white circle around the "plus" sign.

The most important terrain-related factors determining line-of-sight include:

★ **Heights and other terrain types:** Having a unit placed above surrounding terrain will give a very significant boost to line of sight, as only forest hexes will block the view into hexes that are lower. By contrast, "light forest," like "tall grass" and "village" hexes, among others, only block line of sight at their own level, and not when a unit is on a hill above them. Moreover, units on heights do not have their line of sight blocked by an adjacent unit that is lower, and can fire over such units.

★ **Defilade:** Areas on the map containing a range of heights may have areas of defilade. Where there are changes between elevations, a unit cannot see into a higher or lower hex that that is closer to point at which the elevation changes than unit is. For example, if a unit is on a Level 2 hill three hexes away from where the hill slopes down to Level 1 it will be able to see an enemy hex that is likewise three hexes from that slope, but the enemy unit will be invisible if adjacent to the slope or two hexes away.)

Units in fog of war areas (i.e., grayish hexes) are usually invisible to the player, but if close enough to the player's units that their presence would be detected the enemy units may be represented by a flag. This symbol reflects that enemy forces have been spotted but that the type of unit, its Strength and its formation cannot be discerned. Enemy Headquarters units are not visible unless located in a hex immediately adjacent to one of the player's own units, which rarely happens because Headquarters units enjoy an automatic move at the start of combat to avoid such contact.

IMPORTANT: Line-of-sight is not necessarily symmetric: it is sometimes possible for a unit to see an enemy unit but not to be seen by that unit, such as with a unit at the edge of a forest. Regardless of line-of-sight, a unit that is fired upon by an enemy is always eligible to return fire, even against an attacker that it normally cannot see.
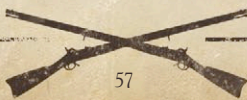
11. SUPPLY AND RESUPPLY

Infantry and cavalry units always start a scenario with a supply level roughly approximating the number of rounds of ammunition that the men were carrying; artillery units start with a supply level corresponding to the number of rounds of ordnance carried by their caissons. As units engage in combat they deplete their supply each turn at a rate roughly reflecting the number of rounds that would have been fired during a 20-minute period (though if the a unit fails to inflict a certain level of casualties then no supply is used).

Units that are out of supply fight at a severe penalty, so it is important to resupply units whenever possible. This can be achieved in two very different ways.

11.1. SUPPLY WAGONS

Each supply wagon unit carries a limited number of rounds of ammunition and ordnance, which can be transferred to combat units that are close enough to be resupplied (i.e., within 10 MPs of the supply unit, with its path subject to the movement costs and restrictions for such units). This is done automatically: at the start of a turn each supply wagon divides a quantity of supply among units that are in range and low on supply. While the distribution of supply is automated, the player can determine in advance which units are in range of a supply wagon by selecting it and then mousing over nearby units, which produces a solid white circle instead of the regular mouse cursor when a unit can be resupplied

You can find out how much supply your units received by selecting a supply wagon unit. Each combat unit resupplied during the previous combat phase will show two numbers indicated the current supply and the amount just received after a "+" sign. Supply wagons attempt to divide 60 supply points among eligible units, but provide no unit more than 25% of the unit's maximum supply level, which, for most units, is 60. Supply units that have exhausted all available supply are removed from the game.

11.2. CORPSE-FILLED HEXES

During the Civil War it was common for soldiers to search among the fallen and wounded for ammunition, especially when they were fighting in the woods and thus not easily resupplied. Therefore, in *Brother against Brother* infantry and cavalry units – but not artillery – with less than 50% of their maximum possible
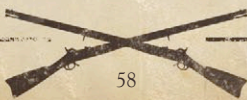
supply will receive 5 levels of supply for each turn that they are located in a hex strewn with bodies. (As the ammunition available in such a hex is collected the number of bodies visible has a chance of being reduced. Thus the amount of supply to be found in this manner is finite.)

> IMPORTANT: *Since supply wagons are units they may be destroyed during the course of combat: therefore, you should be sure to keep your own wagons well protected from the enemy, while trying to locate and attack his.*

12. FORTS AND FIELD FORTIFICATIONS

Maps in *Brother against Brother* include a range of defensive features constructed before the battle began. In the case of forts, these features occupy an entire hex, whereas trenches, rifle pits and abatis are located along the edge of hexes, as are hasty entrenchments.

- ★ **Fort:** A large earthwork construction occupying most of a 75-yard hex, which in turn can be occupied by a single unit and provides a significant amount of protection from all directions.

- ★ **Trench:** A generic name for an earthwork constructed so as to defend against attack from a certain direction.

- ★ **Rifle pits:** As the most shallow form of defensive feature, rifle pits provide the least defense (like trenches, against fire coming from a single direction).

- ★ **Abatis:** Rather than earth, abatis employed trees that were felled and either left in place or arranged so as to slow the enemy's advanced – thus one might find a hex filled with abatis or one with abatis positioned in a line, normally to prevent the enemy from quickly approaching an entrenched position. Thus infantry crossing a hex edge with abatis will lose all remaining MPs, which not only slows them down but makes their fire attacks less lethal, while cavalry units and those requiring wheels – artillery and supply – are unable to cross through abatis.
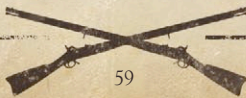
★ **Hasty entrenchment:** An improvised defense prepared during a battle, and thus the only one that can be readied in-game, by means of the "Entrench" button (see 4.1.6). The nature of such field fortifications would vary based on what was available to the soldiers and how much time they had, but normally would involve the piling of logs or fence railings, digging a shallow depression into the ground, or a combination of the two. During the early stages of the Civil War the soldiers had not yet grasped the value of quickly fortifying their position in this manner as they awaited the enemy, but in 1862 they become increasingly proficient at it.

> NOTE: *Since "Brother against Brother: The Drawing of the Sword" is devoted to the war's first battles, throwing up defenses during a battle is rarely an option.*

Due to their nature, forts and field fortifications play an important role in establishing Zones of Control (see sect. 9.3).

13. AFTER HITTING "END TURN": THE COMBAT PHASE

After you hit "End Turn" the Combat Phase begins. During the Combat Phase any possible attacks are resolved in a random order. Units automatically receive resupply or rally if they can.

After the Combat Phase, in single-player games the AI player will make its moves. During this time the message "AI Working…" is displayed. On some computers it may take a minute or two for the AI to make all of its moves during a complicated scenario.

In PBEM games, you'll be returned to the PBEM management screen and your game will be uploaded before the Combat Phase occurs. In PBEM games the Combat Phase occurs before you make your movement orders. This re-ordering is intended to save players from the temptation to cheat in PBEM games by cancelling the upload of their games after observing the results of the Combat Phase.
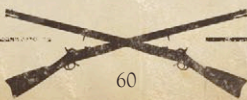
As the Combat Phase unfolds, you will be able to see both movements and attacks, with a stream of Combat Reports and other types of reports announcing combat events and giving detailed information explaining the factors behind both successful and unsuccessful attacks. In addition to the reports that pop up, casualty figures from each exchange of fire will be visible on the map itself, with Confederate and Union casualties represented in red and blue, respectively, rising from the wounded units. At the very end, after all exchanges of fire and other attacks have taken place, the Turn Report will appear, cumulatively recording the results of every unit's successful attack (and the reasons for failed attempts) as well as changes to Morale and casualty figures.

Most of what occurs during this phase represents the two sides' plans being properly executed, thwarted by the enemy, or failing due to some other cause, but some developments occur without either side having specifically planned for it:

★ **Capturing artillery/supply units:** During a charge there is a small chance to capture an enemy artillery or supply unit (see sect. 20.2.3. Capturing the unit damages it but gives the player control of it.

★ **Hitting supply units:** Supply wagons can receive fire, with lucky hits even destroying a significant portion of their remaining supply.

★ **Killing and wounding commanders:** While there are ways to improve one's chance of hitting enemy commanders, this is a matter of luck – and when lucky, one can take an important commander out of the game by severely wounding or killing him (see sect. 20.3).

★ **Exploitation moves:** When a unit recoils from an attack, there is a chance that the unit attacking it can move into its hex if this was initiated from an adjacent hex. The base chance of this happening is determined by the Brigade Order under which the attacker is operating.

STRATEGY TIP: Any combat unit can hold a victory hex. To hold victory hexes in relatively safe territory, you can split a regiment into two wings or sections and use one of these to hold the victory hex.
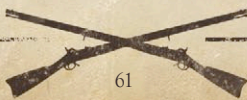
14. VICTORY AND SCORING

Achieving a winning score in *Brother against Brother* requires the pursuit of two goals: gaining control of the battlefield by means of taking and holding Victory Hexes (VH), and reducing the enemy's force significantly relative to one's own losses. You must keep a combat unit on a victory hex to maintain control of it; victory hexes cannot be held by Headquarters or Supply units.

The score changes as the game progresses, with the final score indicated after the scenario's time limit has been reached. As can be seen at the top of the screen, where the scoring formula is provided, the score is tracked throughout the game, with both the number of victory hexes each side has and the maximum number possible shown, as well as the casualties taken by each side. The ratio of casualties caused by both sides is a multiplier on score: the side that has caused the greater number of casualties receives a proportional increase in its score, to a maximum of +100%. E.g., if the CSA has caused 1,000 casualties and the USA has caused only 750 casualties, then the CSA's score is multiplied by 1.33 (which is 1,000 / 750).

```
Score Summary
------------------
USA Victory Hexes 2 / 9
CSA Victory Hexes 1 / 12

USA Casualties: 3428
CSA Casualties: 3483

USA Score Multiplier: 1.02 = CSA/USA Casualties, max. 2

USA Score: 2 = Victory Hexes X Score Multiplier
CSA Score: 1 = Victory Hexes
```

IMPORTANT: You may also achieve victory by breaking the morale of the enemy army, reducing that army's average morale below a certain level determined by the army commander's Leadership rating. Similarly, you must safeguard your own army's morale carefully. A display of your army's average morale and the level at which it breaks is displayed in the top-center of the screen.

15. PBEM GAMES

15.1. MULTIPLAYER PLAY-BY-EMAIL

You can play *Brother against Brother* against human opponents using the Slitherine PBEM++ (play-by-email) system. To launch the PBEM system, press the "Multiplayer" button on the main-menu screen.

If you have not yet registered your game, you will see a pop-up window like this:
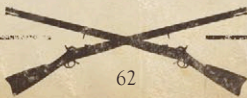
If you have a Slitherine account, you may use your login and password in these prompts. Then press "OK." If you do not already have a Slitherine account, press register. You will then see a pop-up window like this:

On this screen enter the login name of your choice with which you wish to be identified, a new password, and your e-mail address. Then press "OK." In subsequent multiplayer sessions you should see a login window like this:

If you enter your password correctly, you should see the "PBEM++ Games and Challenges" screen.

This screen lets you see game challenges that have been issued by other players and allows you to start a new game by accepting one of these challenges. It also shows you the games you have

in progress and lets you play a turn (if it is your turn to move) or resign one of those games. Finally, this screen allows you to issue a new challenge that can be accepted by another player.

A. List of challenges. This shows the list of all the challenges issued by players using the PBEM++ system.

B. Accept Challenge. If you'd like to accept one of these challenges, select an item in the list and then click this button.

C. Cancel Challenge. If you have issued a challenge and would like to retract it, select the challenge and then click this button.

D. Games in Progress. This shows all of the games in which you are a player.

E. Play a Turn. If you'd like to play a turn, and the game is listed as being your turn, then select the game in the list and press this button.

F. Resign Game. If you would like to resign from a game in progress, select the game in the list, then click this button.

G. Scenario List. If you'd like to issue a new PBEM challenge, first select a scenario to play in this list.

H. Other Challenge Information. After you have selected a scenario for a new challenge, enter a name for your game, and select whether you would like to be the USA or CSA player. Then click the "Issue a Challenge" button.

I. Refresh. The refresh button reloads the data for all of the lists on the screen from the server.

Playing a Play-by-Email turn: When you play a game by email, you will be taken to the normal game screen. When you are done, click the "End Turn" button normally. This will end your turn, send your game to the PBEM server, and take you back to the "PBEM++ Games and Challenges" screen.

16. SCREEN RESOLUTIONS

Brother against Brother is designed to run in screen resolutions of at least 1024 x 768. Note that the game does not run properly in 1366 x 768 resolution; if your computer uses this resolution natively you should still be able to run the game properly by changing your Desktop resolution to some other resolution such as 1024 x 768.
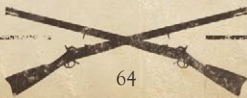
17. HELP AND TROUBLESHOOTING

The F1 key opens a screen showing helpful hot-keys and a map-key explaining many of the symbols used to mark the map and units.

If, despite your computer meeting the minimum system specs required to run "Brother against Brother," you are having trouble installing the game, getting it to run, or having it run smoothly these are some approaches you should try:

★ If the game is running slowly check the various screen-drawing options under the Options menu (see sect. 3.4.3) and try turning off some of the graphics features.

★ Make sure that other applications that may consume significant resources are turned off.

If you are unable to resolve a problem on your own, please visit the Matrix Games Help Desk and forum (see sects. 1.6 & 1.7).

18. FOR THE HISTORY BUFF

Knowing that games such as *Brother against Brother* are played by those who love history – as is certainly the case with those who design them – we have included a great deal of information about the battles and the men who fought them within the game itself, in addition to our battle overviews (see sect. 23).

18.1. MAP INFORMATION

At certain points on each battlefield there are large question marks. Right-clicking on these brings up information about that part of the battlefield or the events that transpired there.

18.2. COMMANDERS' BIOS

A project initiated for "Forge of Freedom: The American Civil War 1861-1865" that led to the creation of short biographical sketches for 300 of the 1000 Civil War generals is being continued for *Brother against Brother*. Thus roughly a third of the men who would take the field as a general or later earn the rank of brevet general already have bios available, and more will be included over time as the volunteers who wrote these continue in their efforts. Commanders for whom a bio is available can be identified by inclusion of an asterisk superimposed over their portrait at the center of the control-box, and left-clicking on this image will make it appear.

18.3. UNIT AND BRIGADE/DIVISION/CORPS/ARMY HISTORIES

As with commanders, information about the history of certain units, brigades, divisions, corps and armies is provided, with more to be added over time. The presence of such a write-up is signalled by the inclusion of an asterisk after the name in the Echelon Window, on which one should left-click. (Note: In addition to formal "bios," for a number of units additional information is included in the "Notes" column of the OrdersOfBattle.txt file of each standard scenario.)

18.4. GUN HISTORIES

Mousing over the graphic representing the gun or guns with which a unit is equipped causes a brief description of that weapon's history, strengths and weaknesses to appear.

19. MODDING

Western Civilization Software is providing a guide for modders. Check the main directory for a file named ModdingGuide.pdf.

20. ADVANCED RULES

The main part of this manual covers all of the rules and features that must be understood in order to play *Brother against Brother*. In addition to these there is a large – and growing – set of rules that are intended to add to the game's realism, but are not as essential to grasp initially as those already discussed.
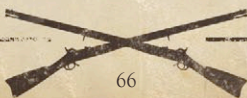
20.1. SPECIAL RULES FOR FIREARMS

Flintlocks: Flintlock muskets have a penalty for firing in the rain, since these older models, unlike percussion-cap muskets, would easily begin to malfunction as they became wet (see sect. 20.5). (This shortcoming was among the primary factors leading to the Confederates' defeat at Mill Springs, where soldiers became so frustrated with their weapons that in anger they broke them by swinging them at tree trunks and discarded them left and right.)

20.2. SPECIAL RULES FOR ARTILLERY UNITS

20.2.1. ARTILLERY CAN LOSE A GUN

Artillery units can lose guns in combat as a result of attacks that inflict at least 20 casualties or that cause casualties against the unit's horses.

20.2.2. MEN AND HORSES

Each artillery unit has an abstract number of men and horses, both of which are essential to effective performance, and as units take damage they risk losing one or more from each group.

★ **Men:** Only a certain number of men were needed to operate an artillery piece: the presence of a greater number would not enhance its deadliness, while as men were lost a gun would fire less often and effectively. Thus every artillery unit should have an average of 15 men (i.e., "strength") per gun for maximum efficiency, and can afford to lose men until the average drops below this level.

★ **Horses:** Reflecting the essential role of horses in moving guns about the battlefield, at the start of a battle each artillery unit has four horses per gun, but if one or more horses are killed and the unit no longer has this required minimum of four horses per gun then when it next moves it will be forced to abandon one or more guns. (Abandoned guns do not remain on the battlefield to be acquired by another unit, but are presumed spiked and lost from play.)

20.2.3. CAPTURING ARTILLERY UNITS

An infantry or cavalry unit that was set to "Charge" has a chance of capturing an artillery unit (or a supply unit) if its charge is successful. When a unit is captured, 50 men are transferred from the capturing unit.
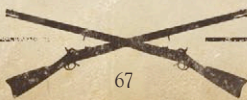
20.2.4. ARTILLERY ON HEIGHTS

Artillery on higher ground than their target extend their maximum range by 6 hexes. (For example, artillery firing from Height Level 3 or Height Level 2 at units on Height Level 1 will get a boost to their range.)

20.2.5. FIRING ON FIXED TARGETS

Artillery units receive a small bonus when bombarding units in fixed targets, i.e. forts.

20.2.6. MOVING AND FIRING

Artillery units that move and fire in the same turn fire under a greater penalty than infantry units do (representing the time that would be required to unlimber).

20.3. TARGETING GENERALS AND OFFICERS

In *Brother against Brother* it is possible for a general or officer to be killed or else either "lightly wounded" or "severely wounded." The death or serious wounding of a general or unit commander requires that he be replaced through a battlefield promotion before the next turn (see sect. 6.2), while those that are lightly wounded remain in command. In addition, each unit that consists of multiple companies has a number of abstracted "junior officers" who are important for unit cohesion, and their deaths cause a loss of .05 Morale.

While the wounding and killing of commanders is an important aspect of the game, it is not possible to give an order to fire upon a specific enemy commander – but it is possible to maximize the chance of this occurring. A unit with the sharpshooters attribute (see sect. 20.8) present increases the chance of hitting a commander, by making that unit three times as dangerous to enemy leaders. The chance of hitting such targets is increased by greater proximity to them.

20.4. NON-LETHAL EFFECTS OF FIRE ATTACKS

In addition to causing casualties, firing by infantry, cavalry and artillery can affect the battle in ways not directly related to degrading the size, morale and leadership of the enemy's force.
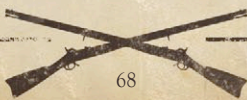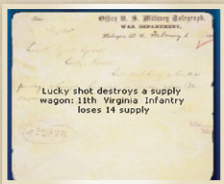
20.4.1. "LUCKY SHOTS" AND SUPPLY

Lucky shot destroys a supply wagon: 11th Virginia Infantry loses 14 supply

Attacking artillery units have a chance of scoring a "lucky shot" and destroying an (abstracted) supply wagon and thus reducing the supply of the targeted unit by a significant amount.

20.4.2. SHOCKING AND PANICKING UNITS

Units hit by artillery fire have a chance to become "shocked" or "panicked," and sometimes both. Being shocked deprives units of their MPs during the next movement phase because they are too scared to move but does not permanently affect them (see sect. 5.3), whereas panic is associated with a sudden collapse of Morale, with the loss being considerably larger than the loss of Morale an attack would normally cause. Units that have lower Quality or Morale are especially susceptible to shock and panic, as veteran units were better at overcoming their fear of artillery.

20.5. IMPACT OF WEATHER CONDITIONS

Weather conditions, which reflect the historical conditions on the day of battle, can affect movement costs, the results of both fire and charge attacks, line-of-sight distances, and the chance to change formation without losing Movement Points. The types of weather are Light Rain, Rain, Storm, Fog, Heat, and Clear.

Of these, the most important – it had a major impact at both Mill Springs and Williamsburg – is Rain, which has the following effects:

★ Reduces Movement Points by 20%

★ Adds +1 Movement Point to movement along muddy roads

★ Makes formation changes 20% more difficult

★ Reduces normal line-of-sight distance from 14 hexes to 5, and scouts' LOS from 18 to 9

★ Reduces combat damage by 30% in general, and lowers it further for damage done at ranges greater than 1 hex (except for artillery units firing upon fixed fortifications)

- ★ Reduces damage caused by flintlock muskets by 60% (as they were likely to be rendered harmless by water)

- ★ Causes an additional 75% damage penalty for artillery units that are attacking

Heat causes units engaging in a firefight to have a greater chance of becoming fatigued if they take 5 or more casualties, and causes charging units automatically to suffer fatigue instead of having a greater chance to suffer fatigue.

20.6. RULES FOR SKIRMISHERS

The value of deploying skirmishers in certain circumstances, whether a unit is in column or line formation, cannot be understated, since they can provide the following benefits:

- ★ Increase line-of-sight distance by 1 hex

- ★ Reduce damage by 50% for both their defense and their attacks (and by 75% when defending against artillery)

- ★ Increase flanking bonus damage by 50% (against units not in forts)

- ★ Provide 20% bonus to attacks out of forests, orchards, and village/urban hexes (whereas units normally suffer penalties when firing out of these terrain types)

- ★ Provide 50% chance to avoid charges from enemy infantry units

- ★ Reduce the amount of Morale loss by 33% if the unit is not in a fort

- ★ Provide a bonus chance of avoiding instant Morale collapse (i.e., panicking; see sect. 20.4.2)

Skirmishers are not without costs, however, as they:

- ★ Reduce Movement Points by 2

- ★ Increase the cost of moving by 1

- ★ Increase the cost of changing face for units in line formation by 4

- ★ Suffer 50% higher casualty rate when charging
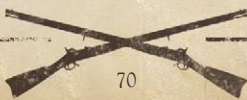
20.7. LIST OF SPECIAL ABILITIES

Disciplined	Formation changes cost only one movement point.
Brave	Can charge with no chance that the charge degenerates into a fire-fight.
Wild	Make an opportunity charge after disordering an enemy in fire combat
Fast	Adds 3 to unit's movement rate
Hardy	50% less likely to suffer fatigue
Oblique Fire	Making a fire attack does not necessarily end turn if unit had more than 6 movement points before firing.
Diggers	Double the normal chance to entrench. Allows unit to entrench without Hasty Entrenchment upgrade.
Night Owls	Do not receive penalty for night movement rates. Receives only half the normal night attack damage penalty.
Independent	Only 10% to become disordered when issuing/recalling skirmishers. Changing skirmish order only costs 3 movement points.
Shooters	10% bonus to fire attack damage.
Flankers	Double flanking bonus to damage
Swampwise	Receives terrain defensive bonus of 25% damage taken for being in the swamp; movement penalty for swamps is halved. No penalty for charging out of mud/swamps.
Chargers	25% additional damage when charging
Steady	50% chance to avoid becoming disordered as a result of fire combat
Blasted	Additional 50% damage when charging artillery.
Obedient	50% to avoid going out-of-command.
Foragers	*nonapplicable*
Polar Bears	*nonapplicable*
Woodsmen	33% bonus when attacking from Forest (instead of attack penalty).
Sustained Volley	Take 25% fewer casualties when firing on enemy infantry
Dreaded	Cause double Morale damage against adjacent units while making a fire attack.
Heroes	Restores .25 levels of Morale to all friendly units within two hexes every turn.
Resilient	100% to return to column formation if Morale is greater than zero.
Organized	Make formation checks as if unit's Morale were +2.0.
Bulldogs	Enemies get no flanking damage in fire combat
Thrifty	Attacks use only 1 point of supply.
Stalwart	While unit is Fresh it takes only 1/10th normal Morale loss from fire attacks.
Rangers	Reduces cost to enter a hex by 1 if the terrain cost is 3 or more.
Cautious	Reduces damage this unit takes and causes in fire combat by 25%.
Aggressive	Increases damage this unit takes and causes in fire combat by 25%.

Tenacious	*nonapplicable*
Hill Defenders	Unit takes 10% fewer casualties and loses 33% less Morale loss when defending from fire attacks on heights.
Uphill Chargers	Unit suffers half the normal penalty for charging enemies located on heights.
Efficient Fire	*nonapplicable*
Anti-Battery	Reduces penalty for artillery-vs-artillery fire attacks from -90% to -70%.
Abatis Fighters	Unit does 50% more damage when charging across an abatis line.
Bombarders	Unit does 50% more damage beyond range 10.
Streetfighters	Unit receives half the normal penalty when attacking into and out of an urban hex.
Skilled Skirmishers	Unit does 20% more combat damage when skirmishers are deployed.
Marksmen	Unit does additional Morale damage when attacking beyond range 1.
Mounted Infantry	Unit does -50% damage when firing from horseback instead of -75%.

20.8. LIST OF UNIT ATTRIBUTES

NOTE: Italicized attributes are not assigned to units in any of the current scenarios, but are available to modders.

Brigade Artillery	25% of unit's attack is made with the range profile of a 6-pounder gun. Unit has -2 movement penalty.
Brigade Cavalry	Increases charge damage inflicted by 25%. Decreases charge damage sustained by 33%. Reduces flankers from coordinated brigades by 1.
Sharpshooters	Increase Morale loss from an attack at distances greater than 1 hex. Increased chance to kill enemy generals at distances less than 4 hexes. Cause +100% damage against Artillery.
Rapid Fire Gun	Bonus +50% damage in fire combat at a distance of 1 hex when the unit has not moved or when defending.
Balloon	Pierces fog-of-war for 16 hexes every 4 turns, or every 3 turns if the unit has two Balloons.
Pioneers	All terrain with movement cost 3 or higher costs 1 fewer movement point. Receives additional bonus from defensive terrain (double terrain bonus with one, triple with two). Enables units to dig field fortifications and provides 10% bonus to chance of success.
Baggage Train	Increases maximum supply level of a unit by +5, but decreases movement rate of a unit by 3. Unit begins combat with maximum supply.
Medical	Reduces combat casualties by 20%.
Scouts	Adds +4 to sighting distance during the day, +2 at night. In daytime can penetrate fog-of-war in a 3-hex radius (doubled with two Scouts) despite obstacles in line of sight.
Slaves	Halves chance of fatigue when force-march or entrench.
Smokeless Powder	Unit does not generate smoke in combat.
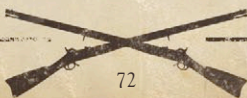
Military Band	Gives a 50% chance to stop a unit from panicking during an attack, and inspires brigades that have been routed and return to positive Morale to go immediately into column formation instead of being disordered.
Zouaves	Zouaves wear brightly colored uniforms and often possess a higher Quality than their companions in arms.
Quality Horses	Adds +6 to unit's movement.
Horse Artillery	25% of unit's attack is made with the range profile of a 6-pounder gun. Unit has -4 movement penalty.

20.**9**. MORALE RULES

Due to the central importance of unit Morale to "Brother against Brother," there is a large body of rules pertaining to what affects Morale and what is affected by it. Morale, as previously explained, is a derivative of unit "Quality": before a battle each unit has a static quality rating that reflects its experience and historical performance, but once the battle begins that number is converted into Morale, which rises and falls as events dictate. Victory directly depends on inflicting high casualties while minimizing the casualties one takes, but it indirectly depends on causing the enemy force's individual units to lose Morale and ultimately drive them from the field of battle. It is therefore important to be aware of what can cause Morale losses, how Morale can be raised, and what the impacts of lower and higher Morale can be.

Morale losses can occur as a result of such developments as:

★ Taking casualties from a fire attack or charge attack (the primary cause of Morale loss)

★ Being in a brigade or artillery battalion that has a unit captured by the enemy (causing a .2 loss)

★ Being in a brigade or artillery battalion that breaks after too much of its strength becomes disordered (causing disorder and a .3 loss)

★ Passing through a corpse-filled hex – as would sometimes occur on the way to the front line – and becoming dismayed by the sight

★ Having to endure a forced march

★ Being attacked by an enemy unit with the "Marksmen" special ability (see sect. 20.7)
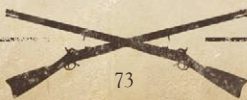
Note that Morale losses can be reduced: for example, if a unit's skirmishers are deployed its Morale will not drop as much from successful enemy fire attacks (see sect. 20.6).

Morale can be raised either through rallying or receiving other types of Morale boosts:

★ Every turn commanders at the army, corps, division and brigade levels have a chance to rally low-Morale units within 2 hexes of their Headquarters unit that are subordinate to them, with their "Leadership" rating being a crucial factor.

★ Each turn units restore some lost Morale according to their brigade orders with bonuses from their unit commander's "Leadership" rating. This restoration of Morale is 25% higher for units with a Morale less than 2.0, but is decreased for units that have lost junior officers. Units operating under the "rally" brigade order restore significantly more Morale than units which are not.

★ If a brigade commander's "Urge Unit" function is applied to a unit one of the effects will be a Morale boost comparable to the one received for having leftover Movement Points.

★ If a unit has been assigned the "Heroes" special ability it will inspire Morale to rise among other units in its immediate vicinity.

★ If a unit has the "Military Band" unit attribute it has a chance of significantly boosting the Morale of nearby units (see sect. 20.8).

Lower Morale can impact units in a variety of ways:

★ It makes them less effective in combat.

★ It increases the chance of a unit's status becoming "Shaken," "Shocked," "Routed," "Surrendered," or "Panicked."

★ Units under fire from 1-2 hexes away will "disperse" (i.e., be removed from the map) if their Morale is less than or equal to -2.0 after the attack.

★ Units below their break point in men (listed in parentheses next to current unit strength) will take much greater morale damage when they take additional casualties.
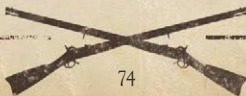
20.10. RULES RELATING TO TERRAIN

As discussed earlier, such essential elements of game-play as movement, combat, communication, and supply are affected by terrain. While these effects are usually straightforward, some of the more advanced rules require further explanation:

20.10.1. RAVINES

Ravines are among the most distinctive terrain features in "Brother against Brother," and have a large effect on movement and line-of-sight. Units in ravines cannot be seen from a non-adjacent hex on the same height level, and a unit in a ravine can only see into adjacent hexes outside the ravine. This not only permits units to be concealed from nearby enemy units, but affects fire attacks, since units in ravines can only attack an adjacent unit.

20.10.2. MUD

In addition to slowing movement for any unit, mud has a small chance of causing artillery to become tangled.

20.10.3. STREAM/CREEK/BIG CREEK

In contrast to impassably large bodies of water, i.e. lakes, ponds and rivers, all streams and creeks can be crossed with varying degrees of difficulty:

★ Streams may be crossed with relative ease by all infantry and cavalry units at an additional cost of 6 MP's), but will cause supply and artillery units as well as units in line formation to end their turn after crossing.

★ Creeks can be crossed only by infantry and cavalry units, which lose their remaining movement points, so long as they are in column formation; supply and artillery units must use a bridge.

★ Big Creeks, i.e. those as wide and deep as the Bull Run or Wilson Creek, normally can only be crossed at a bridge or ford (which costs 6 MP's).

Fords

★ Minimum Movement Rule Exception: Any unit, even an artillery or supply unit or an infantry or cavalry unit in line formation, can get across a creek or big creek, though at significant cost in terms of time. Artillery and supply units as well as other units in line formation will take two turns to get across a creek even without a bridge, while it takes all units two turns to cross a big creek, regardless of formation.

IMPORTANT: Units in line formation may not use fords or bridges to aid in crossing streams, creeks, or big creeks.

20.10.4. PAVED ROAD / ROAD / PATH

Roads and paved roads allow units to move faster through difficult terrain, e.g. following a road through the forest allows a unit to avoid the additional movement cost of a forest. Paths or trails provide the same bonus but cost one more MP's to follow than a road. Note that any unit in line formation cannot use a road and gains no benefit from moving along a road. Similarly, any unit not operating under March or Advance brigade orders cannot gain the benefit of road movement.

20.10.5. USE OF OVERRIDES

Note that while every terrain type has inherent movement and defensive values, in order to achieve greater accuracy and realism, maps in *Brother against Brother* employ movement and defensive overrides that can change the qualities of a standard type; for example, the battlefield surrounding Wilson Creek features not just the "tall grass" and "light woods" terrain types, but an area of savannah shown with tall grass dotted by trees and bushes. Terrain that has modified will have unique graphics on the map and the presence of one or more overrides will be indicated in the upper right-hand corner of the screen in the "Terrain under Map" display.
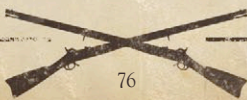
20.11. SMOKE

Battlefield Smoke

As units fire smoke builds up in their hex, so that eventually, when there is sufficient smoke, it will decrease casualties both inflicted and received, and even will block line-of-sight. Smoke dissipates a little each turn.

21. HOTKEYS LIST

'+'/'-' keys cycle through unmoved units

CTRL + '+'/'-' keys zooms in/out

<Escape> deselects the active unit, and if "Scouts" is selected at the corps level deactives that

<Tab> toggles on and off movement arrows

<Spacebar> deselects the active unit

A toggles on/off the unit Strength/Morale/Supply/OOC overlay

H toggles on/off the Echelon Window

T causes the appearance of a pop-up indicating the terrain under the mouse

U toggles on/off the Order of Battle Display

V toggles on/off "NATO" chits

Z toggles between maximum zoom-in and zoom-out

22. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FOW: Fog-of-war

LOS: Line-of-sight

MP: Movement Point

OOC: Out-of-command

ZOC: Zone of Control

23. HISTORICAL BATTLE OVERVIEWS

23.1. BATTLE OF FIRST MANASSAS/FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN: AN INTRODUCTION TO WAR (JULY 21, 1861)

by Bill Battle

INTRODUCTION

War is not a spectator event.

Just ask the fine citizens of Washington, D.C. who took the Sunday carriage ride down to Manassas July 21, 1861. They expected a picnic. They got a panic: "Never did an American army take to the field so convinced of its righteousness, so confident of success, yet so deluded as to the price that success would exact, as did the armies of 1861," wrote John Hennessy in his work *The First Battle of Manassas: An End to Innocence July 18-21, 1861.*

If there were any romantic notions of war as a grand adventure, they were snuffed out in the first major engagement of the eastern theater of the Civil War. Also snuffed out at Bull Run, the Northern name for the battle, were notions that the Confederacy was a fly-by-night organization. Indeed, for the Federals, this war would last longer than the time needed to march to Richmond.

For the young Confederate nation, the battle at Manassas vindicated the belief that the fledgling nation could defend itself against the tyranny of the Federal government.

On the field, men and their leaders learned hard lessons about the conduct of 19th-century warfare. Many commanders were still learning the rudiments of leading large elements of men. Tactical maneuvers tended to be crude and clumsy. Flanks were left uncovered, and many men became casualties as their leaders learned on the job. The battle also helped to pioneer rail movement of men and reportedly was one of the first where the use of the signal corps played a role in sending important information.

It has been hypothesized that the fight in northern Virginia could have been the only one of the war had the Confederates organized a proper pursuit element to cut off any Federal retreat: thus even the victors still had significant room for improvement.
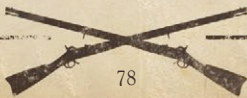
On the Federal side, a battle plan which looked good on paper did not work on the battlefield. On the Confederate side, the battle saw the first tactical movement of troops by railroad, enabling the Army of the Shenandoah to help turn the tide of battle with its critical and well-timed arrival. The Confederacy also found a hero in the former Virginia Military Institute professor, Thomas J. Jackson, who earned his everlasting nickname "Stonewall" during this engagement. Many other men who were to become important leaders for each side saw action in this initial major engagement of the eastern theater.

The battle also started another Civil War practice. The warring sides each gave the battle a unique name. In the South, this fight became "First Manassas." In the North, it was the "First Battle of Bull Run." (The Confederacy instead attached the name Bull Run to the skirmish at Blackburn's Ford July 18, the first action of the campaign, and one fought over a crucial crossing of that creek.)

So just how unprepared for war were these men? One could just look at the soldiers.

Federal Col. Israel Richardson, leading the 4th Brigade of the 1st Division, travelled with his wife and her beehive. With no wind, the Confederate national flag "Stars and Bars" looked almost exactly like the Federal "Old Glory."

Troops from Wisconsin came into battle wearing gray. Some Virginians (including Col. Jackson) were dressed in blue. Both sides had Zouave units, soldiers dressed like troops from North Africa, leading to incidents of mistaken identity by both sides.

The First Minnesota Regiment of Col. Samuel P. Heintzelman's Third Division (Col. W.B. Franklin's First Brigade) wore red shirts with no coats. They made fine

A pair of Zouaves

targets. Some from the 79th New York (The New York Highlanders) went into battle wearing plaid kilts and glengarry hats. Many had changed into regular uniforms prior to the campaign. One captain changed during the match after an embarrassing incident while chasing a pig. The 39th New York of the 5th Division's 4th Brigade went under the name "Garibaldi Guards."

That certainly made things difficult to identify friend and foe, as both sides later found out. The 4th South Carolina actually fired on the 1st Special Louisiana Battalion, which returned fire before venting its wrath on the approaching Federals.

Most units had colorful nicknames at the company level, typically telling of the home areas which had produced the units. There were many "Rifles," or "Guards," or "Sharpshooters" etc. Perhaps the most famous was Wheat's 1st Special Louisiana Battalion, part of Col. Nathan "Shanks" Evans' 7th Brigade, Army of the Potomac. Led by Maj. Chatman Wheat, the Louisiana Tigers took their name from Co. B, the Tiger Rifles of Orleans Parish, commanded by Capt. Alexander White. (Wheat was an interesting character. A Virginia native, he had fought in Mexico with a Tennessee unit. He continued as a mercenary, fighting in Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua and Italy.)

Colorful would be an understatement for this rough group from Louisiana. When preparing for war, many of the men had bold statements written on their hats. "Tiger in Search of Abe" was one, noted by a New Orleans reporter. Others included "Tiger Never Says Die" and "Tiger Bound for the Happy Land." The reporter wrote, "The Tiger Rifles will surely make their mark as well as the rest when they get into action."

Other Confederate nicknames included Co. G, 11th North Carolina (later 21st North Carolina State Troops) Volunteers (Town Fork Invincibles), Co. G of the 3rd South Carolina (Laurens Briars), Co. A of the 8th Louisiana (Creole Guards), Co. H of the 5th Alabama (Warrior Guards), Co. I of the 6th Alabama

(Raccoon Roughs), Co. D of the 17th Mississippi (Rough and Readies) and Co. H of the 4th Alabama (Lauderdale Volunteer Dragoons). The 6th Louisiana Regiment of Col. Richard Ewell's 2nd Brigade, Army of the Potomac, was the Irish Brigade (a name that was shared with a more famous northern brigade). The artillery include the famed Washington Artillery of New Orleans.

The unit which later became famous as the Stonewall Brigade consisted of men from the Shenandoah Valley. The 2nd, 4th, 5th, 27th and 33rd Virginia regiments, with support from the Rockbridge Artillery, was formed into Jackson's brigade after the capture of Harpers Ferry by Virginia militia in April 1861.

The regiments in this noted command had nicknames. There were the "Innocent 2nd," which reportedly earned its name for not pillaging on marches. The "Harmless 4th" had good camp demeanor. The "Bloody 27th" originally earned its nickname from an unruly contingent, but later paid for it with a large number of casualties in battle. The "Lousy 33rd" got its nickname from being the first unit in the brigade to be infected with lice.

With most of its troops coming from Washington College, Co. I of the 4th Virginia was named the Liberty Hall Volunteers. The 5th Virginia had a boy-company of German immigrants, in which 84 of the original 87 members were 18 years of age or under when they enlisted. That included the unit's captain. The 33rd Virginia had the Emerald Guards, a company of Irish immigrants.

On the Federal side, there was the 69th New York Militia, an Irish unit, which served side-by-side with the 79th New York (Highlanders) in Col. William T. Sherman's 3rd Brigade. The 11th New York (1st New York Fire Zouaves or Ellsworth's Zouaves) had suffered one casualty even before moving out: their commander, Col. Elmer Ellsworth, was killed by Arlington's Marshall House Inn owner James Jackson while trying to remove the Confederate flag flying there May 24, 1861, in an incident sparking outrage throughout the North.

BEFORE THE BATTLE

More than three months had passed since the first major shooting incident between the new Confederate States of America and the United States of America had occurred at Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor. In Washington, D.C., President Abraham Lincoln and his supporters chafed as the Confederacy became stronger each day. They needed action, and not just some skirmish like Big Bethel in the Virginia peninsula or anything in the West, which was too far away to be noticed by the newspapers and foreign powers.
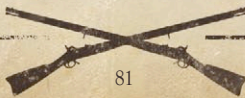
On the other side, Confederate President Jefferson Davis gained confidence each day that the Federal armies did not march south. The Confederacy had a capable military force led by men who learned their trade as professional soldiers at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Many of these men had seen battle against the Mexicans, Indians and others. But this was the first time they would face foes who had been fellow citizens just months prior.

The Angel of Death already was visiting both sides before any weapons were fired in anger. Many soldiers on both sides never saw the death and carnage on the battlefield. Instead, camp diseases took lives well before the men marched into battle. Training accidents also led to casualties. And most were naive when it came to combat.

THE COMMANDERS

The Confederate forces were led by a pair of commanders.

Brig. Gen. Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard led the Confederate Army of the Potomac, which held ground near Manassas Junction, and just before the battle he was joined by Brig. Gen. Joseph Johnston and his Army of the Shenandoah, arriving by rail.

The fight on July 21 was not the first of the war for Beauregard, who oversaw the siege on Fort Sumter, but it was the first time Beauregard had commanded a large force in arms. The Louisiana native had briefly been superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy earlier in 1861, but was removed after a few days due to his Southern sympathies. If Beauregard did not have his mind made up as to where to go, that probably influenced the 1838 West Point graduate. Beauregard had served with distinction during the Mexican War, but when war came again, this time he was wearing Confederate gray. For his service at Manassas, Beauregard was promoted from brigadier general in the Provisional Confederate Army to full general in the Regular Confederate Army in a battlefield promotion.

Johnston, who had been the quartermaster general before his resignation from the U.S. Army, commanded the
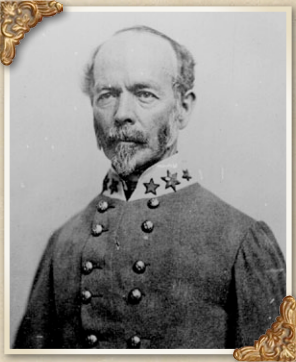
Confederate Army of the Shenandoah. He oversaw its transfer, by railroad, to the Manassas area after disengaging the Federal forces under Maj. Gen. (of Pennsylvania volunteers) Robert Patterson. Arriving there, he took local command from Beauregard. Johnston had a distinguished career in the U.S. Army. Graduating in the West Point Class of 1829, along with Robert E. Lee, Johnston received both wounds and brevets in action against the Seminoles and the Mexicans. Johnston received his promotion to full general Aug. 31, 1861 to rank from July 4, 1861. That placed him fourth among Confederate generals behind Samuel Cooper, Albert S. Johnston and Robert E. Lee.

On the Federal side, Brig. Gen. Irwin (sometimes listed as Irvin) McDowell led the Federal forces. A classmate of Beauregard's at West Point, McDowell graduated a bit lower in the final order in 1838. Leading such a raw and untested army was new to McDowell. According to Hennessy, he had never been in direct command of a force more than eight men prior to his assignment to head the Federal army.

This army had been so hastily assembled from regular army forces and state-raised units that it did not even have an official name at that time. It represented the Federal Department of Northeastern Virginia. The Federal forces were even more of a hodgepodge. They included the best artillery the U.S. Army had to offer at the time among its regulars. But after that, there were a mix of units. Some of the regiments were those called up by President Lincoln from the various states to put down the rebellion. Some of these units were three-month volunteers, units raised in hopes that the war would have a fast ending. Some of the regiments had signed up for up to three years of duty. Some of the men had previous military experience. But for most,
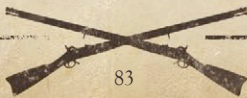
the intense drilling leading up to the expedition south was the first time they had been involved in anything like that.

"It is true your men are green, but so are the Confederates," an anxious President Abraham Lincoln is famously reported to have said. "You are all green together."

THE CONFEDERATES PREPARE

Called Tudor Hall prior to its selection as a defensive position by the Confederates, the area between Bull Run Creek and Manassas Junction consisted of many houses of one or two stories and small farms of at least 100 acres. The area was selected as a defensive area for many reasons. Beauregard did not like the position, but had little choice in the matter.

"Although the position at the time was strategically of commanding importance to the Confederates, the mere terrain was not only without natural defensive advantages, but, on the contrary, was absolutely unfavorable," recalled Beauregard.
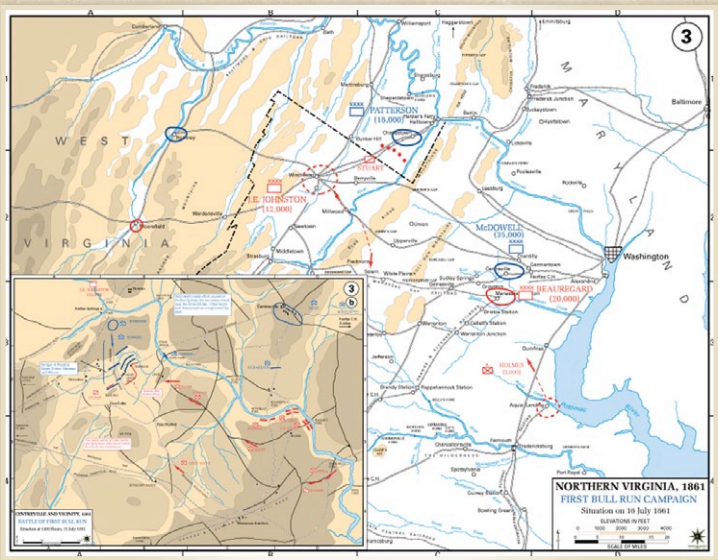
Map showing position of forces on July 18, 1861, three days before the battle (Prepared by West Point Military Academy)

Beauregard considered as advantages being close to the Federal army as it was assembling near Washington, D.C. and the potential for easy supply and reinforcement. However, he felt the Bull Run to be a poor defensive position.

"But on the other hand, Bull Run, a petty stream, was of little or no defensive strength; for it abounded in fords, and although for the most part its banks were rocky and abrupt, the side from which it would be approached offensively in most places commanded the opposite ground," he wrote.

The major reason to choose the Tudor Hall area, then, was not the area's terrain, but the need for protection of the vital railroad link at Manassas Junction, from which the Manassas Gap Railroad's rail line led to the Shenandoah Valley and the breadbasket of Virginia. This would prove crucial in transporting both men and food for the Confederacy. The Manassas Gap met up with the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, a vital link for reinforcements from the south. To defend this junction, the Confederates needed to fortify the Tudor Hall area. To supplement this defensive area, the Confederates established outposts closer to Washington. Milledge Bonham's brigade was posted at Fairfax Courthouse. Brig. Gen. Richard Ewell's brigade was at Sangster's Station. These outposts were meant to be abandoned when the Federals decided to march. And when the Confederate forces in those locations pulled back, it gave another false signal of easy victory to the Federals. Beauregard had advance warning of the Federal offensive from spy Rose Greenhow.

Drawing by Léon Joseph Frémaux showing position of Confederate Capt. F.B. Schaeffer's artillery battalion near Lewis's Ford
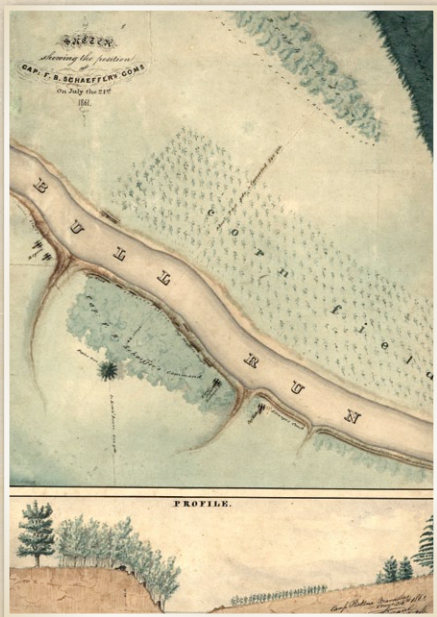
Beauregard had a force of 21,883 effectives when the Federals moved and he had positioned them to cover all seven crossings of the Bull Run between the Stone Bridge on the macadamized Warrenton Turnpike and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Bridge at Union Mills. The brigade of Col. Nathan "Shanks" Evans covered the Stone Bridge on the Warrenton Turnpike. Troops under Col. Philip St. George Cocke guarded the Lewis Ford and Ball's Ford. Cavalry under Col. R.C.W. Radford watched the Island Ford. Downstream from Bonham and Longstreet were Brig. Gen. D.R. Jones at McLean's Ford and Brig. Gen. Richard Ewell at the Union Mills Ford, site of a railroad bridge.

Beauregard felt the main Union thrust would come at Mitchell's Ford on the Manassas-Centreville Road, the most direct route for the Federals aiming at seizing Manassas Junction. The Confederate numbers increased as Johnston was able to break away from Patterson and start sending his men to Manassas Junction via railroad several units at a time. Also, other reinforcements were brought up to add to the defensive line. Most of the men arrived July 19-20, with those serving under Brig. Gen. Edmund Kirby Smith (known as Kirby Smith) arriving on the day of battle itself. Organization never was a strong point of the Confederacy and Beauregard was starting to feel the sting of a lack of train cars to transport men to Manassas. Upon further investigation, several train cars were found to be loaded with luggage and sitting unused. Beauregard did not want to use those cars and force his soldiers to remove their luggage.

Other units moved to reinforce Beauregard. The brigade of Brig. Gen. Theophilus Holmes marched from Fredericksburg. The Hampton Legion took a long train ride to the battlefield on the Orange and Alexandria, arriving in time to lose 121 men (19 killed, 100 wounded, 2 missing) in the conflict.

Beauregard's final plan was to hit the Federal left with his men from the area of Blackburn's Ford towards the right end of his line. Once the Federals there were broken, the idea was to advance on Centreville and cut off the Federal line of supply. Beauregard had other problems, though. He thought the Federal army was 20,000 men stronger than it actually was – not the last time during the war that a commander would make such an error in judgment. And Johnston convinced him to take some of the troops he intended to use in his original plan and reinforce the left.

Beauregard's original plan was to wait for McDowell to advance through Centreville. Then, Johnston's command would advance through Ashby's Gap and through Aldie, Virginia, hitting the Federal right flank. When McDowell had to turn to face the new threat, Beauregard's army would advance and wedge
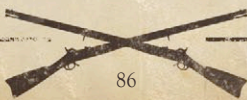
the Federals in the vice between armies, winning the campaign – and, he hoped, the war. Unfortunately for Beauregard, Johnston had other ideas on how to bring his troops into the battle. Johnston's history-making movement would squash Beauregard's plan.

THE MARCH SOUTH

McDowell and his 35,000-man army left the comforts of Washington, D.C., July 16. "On to Richmond!" they shouted at times. Many had written "Richmond or Hell!" on their hats. The army, estimated at 28,452 effectives, was reported to be the largest field army ever assembled on the continent up to that time.

To say the Federals were spoiling for a fight was an understatement. While in camp, the Federal army was jittery. More men were lost at night to trigger-happy camp guards than anything else. It was reported that nine men were shot on one anxious night. On the road, nearly every thicket heavy enough to possibly mask the enemy was scrutinized. When the Federals found the abandoned campsites of the Confederate advanced outposts, they felt victory was at hand. And it was not long before some of the eager Federals started to pillage the Virginia countryside near Germantown, Virginia.

"They would not keep in ranks, order as much as you pleased. They were not used to denying themselves much," said McDowell.

McDowell's master plan was to send three columns into battle. Two columns were to engage the Confederates at Bull Run. The third was to swing around the Confederate right, cutting the railroad link with Richmond and threatening

the Confederate rear. At the most, he figured this could rout the Confederates. At the very least, it would make the Rebels give up their position close to the Federal capital. A key to the plan was the force watching the Shenandoah Valley under Maj. Gen. Patterson, who had commanded at that grade during the Mexican War and was leading the Pennsylvania volunteers, which could keep Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah tied up and unable to reinforce Beauregard. Patterson had 18,000 men to Johnston's 8,864.
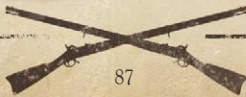
Patterson felt he was doing everything possible to make sure Johnston did not leave the Valley. And he felt the Confederates were reinforcing Johnston, when the exact opposite was true. Patterson's failure to do his simple task and keep Johnston from uniting with Beauregard led to the end of his long Federal military career.

It should be noted that neither side employed maximum force in the battle. The Confederates were forced to keep some troops covering Manassas Junction and others the Shenandoah Valley. Most of these troops did not get into the action July 21, but were close enough to provide support if needed.

By July 18, the Federals had reached Centreville, where the advance temporarily stopped. Brig. Gen. Theodore Runyon and his 4th Division was detached with 5,000 men to cover the Federal rear. Runyon's division contained four 90-day regiments and it was unknown whether they would stay and fight. Also left behind was Col. Louis Blenker's 1st Brigade of Col. Dixon Miles' 5th Division. Later, this force – still fresh – helped to cover the retreat.

AN UNPLANNED FIRST FIGHT: BLACKBURN'S FORD

Also on the 18th, troops under Brig. Gen. Daniel Tyler and his 1st Division 4th Brigade of Col. Israel Richardson skirmished with Confederates guarding Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford. Tyler's force marched through Centreville early that morning, seeing more abandoned Confederate camp sites and hearing from the locals tales of the Confederates retreating in force. Confident that he had chased the entire Rebel army, he continued toward the Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford, despite orders to the contrary specifically *against* bringing about a general engagement with the enemy.

Tyler selected 40 men each from the 2nd Michigan, the 3rd Michigan, the 1st Massachusetts and the 12th New York and placed Capt. Robert Brethschneider of the 2nd Michigan in charge of this light infantry battalion. A cavalry squadron and two 10-pound rifles were added to give the advance unit some extra strength. This unit moved toward Bull Run and was followed by the rest of the brigade.

Seeing both Blackburn's Ford and Mitchell's Ford, Tyler opted to operate against the former, having a more advantageous position due to the terrain. Nonetheless, in the clash against Brig. Gen. James Longstreet's troops Tyler's probing attack could not dislodge the Confederates.

Brig. Gen. Richard Ewell's 2nd Brigade of the Army of the Potomac, positioned nearby, was not actively engaged, but waited for action along the
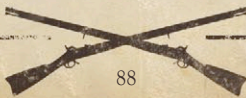
banks of Bull Run. This did nothing but reinforce Beauregard's thought that the main battle would happen close by at Mitchell's Ford, where he had stationed a heavy fortified force with artillery support.

Tyler's men tarried a bit longer than planned. While Tyler felt like pulling back after discovering that the ford was guarded by numerous and capable Confederate troops. Disengaging the men, who were caught up in the heat of first combat, proved to be tougher. Eventually, a misunderstood order sent the 12th New York to the rear and opened the flanks of sibling regiments. That started a general retreat. Longstreet, pushed by the Federals, ordered a charge across the stream. Like the Federal pullout, this also proved to be a slow and tedious affair which never got going. By this time, Confederate reinforcements from Col. Jubal Early's brigade started to arrive. Eventually, Tyler pulled back. An artillery duel between Federal pieces and some of the celebrated Washington Artillery of New Orleans finished the day's fighting. A small battle, the Confederates were ecstatic with the results. Tyler withdrew all the way to Centreville, much to the chagrin of McDowell, who had wanted him to stay south of that town. As a result, Tyler's men would have to cover the same ground three days later. In the end, Richardson's brigade was only lightly engaged on the 21st – though the green troops might have disagreed with such a characterization.

"It was the most decided down-right whipping the Yankees ever received on Virginia soil," reported a solder of Longstreet's 1st Virginia Infantry.

THE BATTLE PLAN TAKES SHAPE

The first skirmish caused McDowell to change his battle plans. Originally, he had wanted to go around the Confederate right and cut off the railroad junction. By surveying the situation, McDowell found out that this was not possible: the roads just would not support such a move, as they were closer to being small trails through the woods. And, thanks to Tyler and Richardson, he knew the Confederates had the most direct route to Manassas Junction well-guarded. Instead, McDowell decided to test the other flank for an opening. But first his men had to move up to Centreville from Fairfax Courthouse in order to make sure Tyler's battle-weary men would not be routed from their position in town.

After Maj. John Barnard (West Point Class of 1833) was tasked with finding undefended fords which could be used by a large body of troops, and finally discovered that the upper fords were usable for large numbers of troops, McDowell had found his opening on the Confederate left.
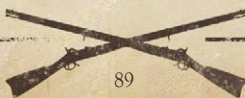
Richardson along with the brigade of Col. Dixon Miles would jointly demonstrate at Blackburn's Ford and Mitchell's Ford. This would be enough to keep the Confederates interested, and thus unable to reinforce the left. McDowell ordered the rest of Tyler's division to move against the Stone Bridge on the Warrenton Turnpike, with the crucial purpose of trying to convince the Confederates that the main attack was happening there – a reasonable option, as this was the best road in the area, and the bridge the best crossing of the Bull Run. Two other divisions, under Brig. Gen. David Hunter and Col. Samuel Heintzelman, would move to the west. Hunter would secure the Sudley Ford and then capture the Poplar (or Red House) Ford to allow Heintzelman's men to cross. Both divisions would hook up to sweep the south side of the bank, hitting Beauregard square in the flank. Richardson's brigade of Tyler's division would demonstrate at Blackburn's Ford prior to joining the attack after defenders there had shifted to deal with the flanking move. Other units would pin down the Confederate defenders until the flank attack hit.

Perhaps later in the war, this complex and ambitious plan of attack would have succeeded. But McDowell was relying on raw and untested men and officers, and unfolding his plan in the middle of the night in unfamiliar territory. And much of the army's success relied on Patterson's forces pinning down Johnston in the Valley. Little did McDowell know, but much of Johnston's strength already was in position to fight him on the 21st.

Nor did McDowell know that Patterson had failed in his mission and the Confederates were being reinforced by the Army of the Shenandoah via railroad. Intelligence for the Federal commander was hard to gather. McDowell even summoned Prof. Thaddeus Lowe and his hot air balloon in an attempt to find out just what the Confederates were doing.

On July 20, McDowell was maneuvering near Bull Run when three units of 90-day men announced they were leaving the army. True, their enlistments were up that day. The 4th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry under Col. John Hartranft refused to move on the morning of the battle. Hartranft stayed with the army, attaching himself to the brigade staff of Col. William B. Franklin. Varian's New York Artillery also left the day before the battle. A third regiment offered to stay in the army through the upcoming battle.

On the morning of the battle, men of the 1st Rhode Island Detached Militia reported being roused around 2 a.m. McDowell's grand plan had the army on the move by 2:30 a.m. This was partially designed to surprise the Confederates, but also was planned to avoid fighting during the hottest part of the day.
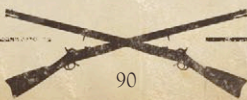
ALL ABOARD!

Ordered by Richmond to support Beauregard "if practicable," Johnston was able to start moving his command to the aid of the defenses at Bull Run. But they were not marching. Instead, the 35 miles between Piedmont Station and Manassas Junction would be covered by a rail move.

Moving an army via railroad was a novel plan which had not been tried before. Could enough troops be moved in time to make a difference? Commanders and railroad personnel gambled that the equipment and tracks would be enough to haul the men to Manassas Junction, from which they could march several miles northward to the positions along the creek. Railroad was still a new form of transportation and subject to equipment failures. Even as slowly as the trains moved, it still was faster than marching, and the men would arrive fresh.

With Virginia cavalry under Col. J.E.B. Stuart providing a screen, Johnston's men moved toward Piedmont Station and the Manassas Gap Railroad July 18. Just one engine was available to pull the army.

"General Beauregard is being attacked by overwhelming forces," Johnston told his men. "Every moment now is precious, and the general hopes that his soldiers will step out and keep closed, for this march is a forced march to save the country."

The brigade of Brig. Gen. Thomas Jackson was the first to make the eight-hour movement via rail, arriving late in the afternoon of July 19. Nobody was more surprised to see Jackson at the McLean House than Beauregard. The commander asked if the remainder of Johnston's force would be marching to join him and was surprised to find out the Army of the Shenandoah would be coming via railroad.

Even the Federals had an idea of what was happening. In Centreville the night before the battle, McDowell and Tyler could hear the trains. "I am as sure as that there is a God in Heaven that you will have to fight Jo. Johnston's army at Manassas tomorrow," Tyler told McDowell.

Johnston himself arrived in the middle of the day July 20, and could have relegated Beauregard, but instead, the two generals worked together to come up with a workable defense. The brigades of Bartow and Bee made the trek July 20. In the early morning hours of July 21, the day of battle itself, Col. Arnold Elzey's men boarded.

The movement of the 3rd Tennessee under Col. John C. Vaughn was typical of the Confederate movement. In "The Last Confederate General: John
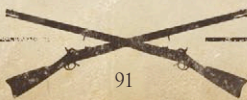
C. Vaughn and His East Tennessee Cavalry," author Larry Gordon described the trek. Part of Elzey's brigade, the 3rd Tennessee left Winchester, forded the Shenandoah River and made a 30-mile march to catch the train at Piedmont Station. There, they had to wait to board, as the lack of rolling stock and engines limited how many men could be moved at one time. The 3rd Tennessee finally boarded cattle cars and boxcars around 3 a.m. on the morning of July 21st during a downpour. At times, the train moved slowly enough that bold soldiers jumped off to pick blackberries, until an angry Kirby Smith berated them to get back on board. (That was not the only time or place that day that Confederate soldiers decided to pick blackberries or stop for water during important maneuvering: multiple times soldiers stopped during charges or while making tactical moves for these reasons).

The train carrying Kirby Smith's men arrived at Manassas Junction around noon. The troops were too late for the start of the battle, but arrived just in time to turn the tide.

AT LAST, FIGHTING!
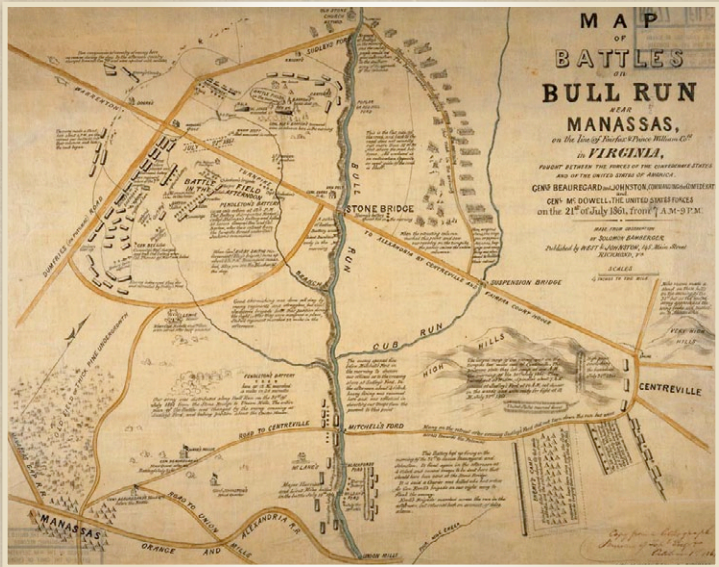
Federal artillery, led by a 30-pound Parrott gun, opened up near the Stone Bridge on Warrenton Turnpike around 6 a.m., initiating a long day of fighting. But immediately, the raw forces started to make mistakes.

The green Federal troops tried to execute McDowell's plan, but struggled to stay organized long enough to reach their positions. Tyler demonstrated against the Warrenton Turnpike's Stone Bridge, trying to buy time for the right flank movement to roll up the Confederate defenses. However, there were major delays. The flanking divisions allowed Tyler's men designated for the feint at the Stone Bridge to go first on the road, even though their route was a relatively short, straight line – not a circuitous one that involved many hours of marching. The Federals never intended to make a major thrust there: reports had the bridge heavily defended and possibly mined. And it was not simply a matter of these men all needing to use the same road, since one unit heading towards the bridge was assigned the task of hauling a 30-pound Parrott cannon, effectively slowing the entire advance

Then, there was a bottleneck at the rickety Cub Run Bridge, which slowed the flanking divisions to a crawl. The flanking column finally was able to cross Bull Run unopposed at Sudley Springs, three hours behind schedule. Elsewhere, Federal forces pushed from the north until meeting the Confederates.

The delay not only threw off McDowell's battle plan, but it exposed the flanking divisions to the sun's rays, which reflected off a brass cannon and warned the Confederates of the approaching Federal army. Capt. Edward Porter Alexander (West Point Class of 1857, a student of new military innovation), based on Wilcoxen's Hill, spotted the movement around 8:30 a.m. and relayed the information via signal flags, a new innovation. "Look out for your left, you are turned," Alexander sent to Col. Nathan "Shanks" Evans, positioned close to the Stone Bridge. Alexander then dashed off a message to Beauregard and Johnston describing the flanking column. Thus, the Confederates were able to prepare for the coming onslaught. Alexander left his tent not long before the Federal 30-pound Parrott sent a cannonball into it.

Meanwhile, Johnston's men were moving to reinforce the left side of the line and they were not happy. Not knowing about the flanking movement, most felt the fighting would be done on the other side of the line and they would miss it. Brig. Gen. Barnard Bee was furious. When John Imboden, head of the artillery detailed to go with Bee, claimed his men had not eaten in a day, Bee said, "You will have plenty of time to cook and eat, to the music of a battle in which we shall probably take little or no part."

There were mistakes on the Confederate side as well. While Evans was trying to shield his numbers from the Federals, two Confederate cavalrymen (one later reported to be Maj. Wheat of the Louisiana battalion) rode out into the middle of a shallow part of Bull Run (near Red House Ford) and challenged the Yankees to come and fight. This did nothing but show Col. William T. Sherman a place to cross his Third Brigade away from the Stone Bridge Evans was defending. Ewell was supposed to start the counterattack, but never received orders. Orders sent to D.R. Jones were poorly written. If taken literally, Jones was to attack his fellow Confederate general Ewell. Jones was to wait until Ewell moved. Longstreet was to follow Jones. Beauregard later blamed his couriers, "Our guides and couriers were the worst set I ever employed."

Warned by Alexander, Evans was able to take appropriate measures to move most of his men, eventually to Matthews Hill, to oppose the flank movement. As he had not revealed his – in truth limited – strength at the Stone Bridge, Evans was able to move most of his force without the knowledge of the Federals. While setting up his defenses, reinforcements started to arrive. All of a sudden, Bee was going to get his fight. Imboden's artillerymen wouldn't be cooking any meals for a while and would have to go hungry. The fighting was at hand.

McDowell soon realized his plan had been discovered and sent orders to Tyler to force a crossing at the Stone Bridge. The small force left by Evans would have to fight superior numbers.

On Matthews Hill, Evans did what he could to halt the initial attack carried out by the 2nd Rhode Island up the slope of Matthews Hill (a little after 10:30 a.m.). The unit had been near the front of the advance led by Hunter and Rhode Island Governor William Sprague. Col. John Slocum led his regiment into battle. Early in the advance, a soldier named Webb fell over a fence and broke his bayonet, bringing laughter from his comrades. The Confederates fought with small arms and artillery. "A perfect hail storm of bullets, round shot and shell was poured into us, tearing through the ranks and scattering death and confusion everywhere," recorded Pvt. Sam English of the 2nd Rhode Island. Despite the

fire, the 2nd Rhode Island carried the top of the hill and soon was joined by Capt. William Reynolds and six James field pieces, ordered into the line by Col. Ambrose Burnside. Confederates fell back and the 1st Special Louisiana Battalion and 4th South Carolina returned fire (the two Confederate units actually fired on each other first with two wounded). Col. Slocum fell crossing a fence at the top of the hill with a fatal head wound. He later died at the Matthews House. Maj. Sullivan Ballou had a leg torn off by artillery and died. Col. Hunter was hit in the neck and relinquished command to Porter. Porter deployed his brigade to the rear, wasting precious time and forcing the Rhode Islanders to continue the fight alone.

About 10:45 a.m., Wheat's men charged up the hill, right into Reynolds' battery. The Confederate charge was unexpected. Using rifles as clubs and charging with drawn knives, Wheat's men dropped many artillerymen of Reynolds' unit, but was stopped short by the 2nd Rhode Island and the 1st Rhode Island, which had reached the fighting. Sgt. Robert Ritchie of Co. B of the 1st Special Louisiana Battalion wrote, "I have been in battle several times before, but such fighting never was done... as was done for the next half hour... (we were) devils mingling in the conflict, cursing, yelling, cutting, shrieking."

Bee and Bartow had taken positions on Henry Hill. Bee tried to convince Evans to pull back to his position. Eventually, Bee relented and moved his men to Buck Hill, a lower ridge of Matthews Hill. Once there, the defensive position for the Alabamans proved to be a poor one. Instead of pulling his men back, Bee sent for the rest of his brigade to reinforce the position. It proved to be a futile move. The 7th Georgia and 8th Georgia were hit hard in the Matthews farmyard.

The Confederates finally decided to pull back from Matthews Hill. Heintzelman's division was reinforcing Porter's (formerly Hunter's) division. Wheat was hit by a ball which penetrated both lungs (but did not prove to be fatal) as his unit was starting to pull back. Col. Egbert Jones of the 4th Alabama was left, fatally wounded, and captured. "Gentlemen, you have got me, but a hundred thousand more await you!" Jones told his captors before dying.

For the time being, Imboden's small mixed artillery command (he had three guns from the Washington Artillery and the Lynchburg Artillery) north of Henry House. This unit had been ordered to hold until relieved and was watching the Federals gather. At the same time, Col. Hampton's South Carolina Legion was moving up to support one of the retreating Georgia regiments. "Men of the Legion, I am happy to inform you that the enemy is in sight," Hampton told his men. Hampton led his men into support of the Georgians and up to Imboden's
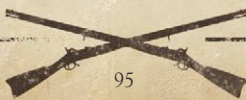
position near the Robinson House. On the Federal side, units took their own initiative. The 27th New York moved to the Stone House, but soon incurred the wrath of Imboden's guns. The 27th New York ran into Hampton's men, but held fire, thinking the Confederates might have been the 8th New York, a gray-clad unit. Once it was discovered they were facing the enemy, a firefight broke out. Imboden's withdrawal uncovered the Hampton Legion's flank and it also was forced to retire. On the Federal side, Col. William Averell sent the 8th New York and 14th Brooklyn regiments to attack Henry Hill. Instead of moving up the hill, they ended up being fired upon by artillery on Henry Hill and retreated.

Tyler finally pushed across near the Stone Bridge on Warrenton Pike, adding more confusion to the collapsing Confederate defense. The Confederates finally broke around noon, retreating south of Young's Branch and the Warrenton Pike just as Sherman's men joined the fray. Both sides paused to reorganize the tangled units. Beauregard and Johnston both on the right, realized the fighting was on the other side of the field. Both moved to the fighting. Early and Holmes were ordered to move men to the fighting. Only the minimum number of men needed on the right would be left there.

THE FIGHTING ON HENRY HILL

The Federals paused for about an hour, which gave the Confederates the chance to organize on Henry Hill. Five Virginia regiments under Col. Thomas Jackson arrived on the reverse slope about noon. That position kept his men hidden from
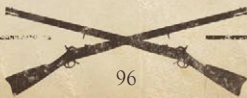
the Federals. They had no idea Jackson's brigade was there. Jackson originally had been ordered to support Cocke, but heard that Bee and Bartow had run into trouble, so he moved his men to Henry Hill. Imboden's three guns joined Jackson, despite the fact they were short on ammunition. Jackson told Imboden they would give the appearance of having a stronger line. Jackson set up his defense where the Federals would have to cover 300 yards of open ground just to get to the hidden Confederates. As survivors of the earlier fighting retreated past Jackson's brigade, Bee tried to rally his men. Bee and Jackson briefly conversed. "General, they are driving us," Bee said. "Sir, we will give them the bayonet," Jackson replied.

A South Carolina native, graduate of the U.S. Military Academy and one-time Texas Republic secretary of state, Bee uttered the most famous phrase of the battle while trying to rally the 4th Alabama Infantry.

"Look! There is Jackson standing like a stone wall! Rally behind the Virginians!"

Exactly what meaning Bee had for his words is lost to history. It is possible Bee was trying to reform his men. It also is possible Bee was being sarcastic as to Jackson's failure to join in the earlier fight.

About that same time, Col. Francis Bartow, already wounded in the foot, seized the colors of the 8th Georgia and tried to reform his men on Jackson's left.

"General Beauregard expects us to hold this position and, Georgians, I expect you to hold it," commanded Bartow. As he handed the colors back to the color bearer, he was hit by small arms fire.
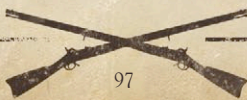
"They have killed me, but boys, never give up," Bartow was reported to have said shortly before dying on the field. Bartow's death spot was marked with a monument, the first Civil War monument erected. The monument was broken in 1862 and taken with the retreating Confederates. Today, only the bottom of the shaft remains in place on Henry Hill.

Elsewhere, Johnston and Beauregard were trying to rally the disorganized troops. At one point, Beauregard's mount was killed. He calmly found another horse and continued his work. By 1 p.m., the generals had formed a 2,600-man line with 13 pieces of artillery. Now it was up to the Federals to press their attack. Still they waited. "There was a want of headquarters somewhere on the field and as a result 18,000 men spent the better part of two hours standing around with nothing to do," said Averell.

By 2 p.m., the fighting had moved to Henry Hill and went up and down its slopes. First to move up the hill was the brigade of Erasmus Keyes. The 2nd Maine and 3rd Connecticut hit the Hampton Legion and 5th Virginia. Fighting raged around the Robinson House before the Federals withdrew. Keyes' men were done for the day, though they retreated into position where they could have done some damage had they known the situation. McDowell decided to send artillery to do the job. Those units were James Ricketts' Battery I, 1st U.S. Artillery and Charles Griffin's Battery D, 5th U.S Artillery (West Point Battery). McDowell hoped to let the artillery rake the Confederates, with the infantry later moving up take advantage of the situation. Four infantry units did move up to support. Going forward were the 14th Brooklyn, the U.S Marine battalion, the 1st Minnesota and the 11th New York (Fire Zouaves). Griffin argued that Chinn Ridge, 500 yards to the rear, would be a better location. First fire on the artillery came from the Henry House. Ricketts had it shelled. There, Mrs. Judith Carter, a widow, was hit in three places and fatally wounded. She died before nightfall, the only civilian to die in the fighting. When the Federals opened fire, the Confederates' masked batteries revealed themselves and the Federals were in a tough spot. Jackson knew he held the upper hand, if he could keep his raw soldiers from breaking under frightening but ineffectual cannon fire. Most of the shells sailed over the Confederate lines and exploded well to the rear. Meanwhile, Jackson found Col. J.E.B. Stuart's 300 cavalrymen and split them to cover each flank.

Here, missed identification caused different Federal units to make fatal mistakes. The 33rd Virginia took advantage of one case of mistaken identification
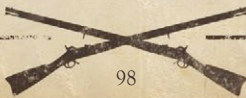
to fire a devastating volley into the 1st Minnesota and 11th New York. As the Federals continued to advance on Henry Hill, an officer ordered canister and the guns to be trained on an approaching body of troops. This officer's superior ordered that fire be held because the oncoming troops were friendly ones coming to support the battery. The unexpected Confederate volley killed just about every horse Ricketts had. Stuart then led one half of his forces in a charge which disrupted the Federal retreat even more. Stuart's charge shook the fight out of the 11th New York and 1st Minnesota, who effectively were done for the day. The battle still was up in the air. More Federal and Confederate units moved into line to support their respective positions. Griffin relocated some of his guns, trying to enfilade the Confederate position. After initial success, Griffin noticed a group of men clad in gray approaching. Maj. William Barry, Federal chief of artillery, ordered Griffin to hold fire. With Barry guaranteeing that this was the supporting force, Griffin's gunners went back to counterbattery fire. It turned out that these were men of the 49th Virginia Infantry, commanded by Col. "Extra Billy" Smith. The Federals noted what was going on, but did nothing as it was assumed these men were friendly. Finally, at the range of 40 yards, the Confederates fired a volley which effectively knocked Griffin's battery out of the fighting. The 33rd Virginia of Col. Arthur Cummings followed up with a disorganized charge which took the guns on the Confederate left. While the capture of the two guns of Griffin's Battery was one of the first Confederate positives, it did not last long. The 14th Brooklyn overlapped the 33rd Virginia and drove the Confederates from the guns. Spurred by success, they continued into the Confederate positions, but not the location of the 33rd. Instead, the 14th Brooklyn advanced on the Confederate artillery. Jackson found his 4th and 27th Virginia and instructed the regiments to wait until the red-clad Federals were close. "Reserve your fire until they come within 50 yards. Then fire and give them the bayonet, and when you charge, yell like furies," Jackson ordered.

Sheer will brought the New Yorkers to within feet of the artillery. Point-blank volleys and canister drove them back, shattered. The 4th and 27th Virginia then charged, taking the Ricketts guns. As more Confederate units came up into the line on the left, the 6th North Carolina charged and took the Griffin guns. However, they were hit by heavy fire and Col. Charles Fisher was killed when struck in the head. With Fisher gone, the Confederates became confused. The North Carolinians worried they were firing on friendly units, but realized their mistake too late to hold a position. They retreated.

Fighting around the guns of Ricketts, the Federals tried several unorganized charges to try to recapture them. The 1st Michigan tried and failed. A unit of New Yorkers from the 14th Brooklyn and 11th New York tried and failed. "It was a clear case, on their part, of self-imposed butchery," said one Virginia soldier. The 5th and 11th Massachusetts had better luck getting to the top of the hill, only to see much disorder from the Federal troops there. Beauregard personally led the 5th Virginia and elements of the Hampton Legion in a charge which sent the Massachusetts men fleeing. At this point, the battle broke down into charges and counter charges between shaken elements. Not long after that, Bee fell mortally wounded, shot in the abdomen while leading part of the 4th Alabama. He lingered until the next day, dying in a cabin near the battlefield which had served as his headquarters.

McDowell committed the brigade of Col. Oliver O. Howard, one of his last reserve units, to the Chinn Ridge west of Henry Hill. But that unit was at about half strength due to a forced march. Sherman's brigade, fresh, was sent up into the meat grinder on Henry Hill. There, the 2nd Wisconsin, dressed in gray, had to avoid fire from their own men as well as the Confederates. The 69th and 79th New York fired on the Wisconsin men during the fighting and they were forced to find cover. Those New York regiments got involved in heavy fighting as well. Col. James Cameron of the 79th New York Highlanders, brother of Secretary of War Simon Cameron, was mortally wounded in this fighting. Again, mistaken identity forced the New Yorkers to pause long enough for the Confederates to rip them with fire. Col. Orlando Willcox, a Federal brigade commander, was wounded and captured. The casualties mounted. Hampton fell near Henry House, hit in the leg. The 69th and 38th New York briefly retook the guns of Ricketts.

About the same time, the Confederates quietly were building a line to the south which would sweep the Federals from the field. Two of Cocke's Virginia regiments, the 8th and 18th, came upon the Robinson House and swept the New Yorkers from the hill. "I thought I was dead and shut my eyes," one Federal soldier reported. "But finding myself still alive, I got up and ran like thunder."

THE FIGHTING'S FINAL PHASE

While the Federals no longer had any hold on Henry Hill, they still had capable commands on the field. About the only intact unit left was Howard's brigade and it was trying to outflank Henry Hill.

"McDowell made a gallant effort to recover his lost power, riding with his troops and urging them to brave efforts, but our convex line, that he was just now pressing back upon itself, was changed. Though attenuated, it had become concave by reinforcement, and in elliptical curve was delivering concentrated fire upon its adversary. Before the loss of his artillery he was the Samson of the field; now he was not only shorn of his power, but some of his mighty strength was transferred to his adversary, leaving him in desperate plight and exposed to blows increasing in force and effectiveness," wrote Brig. Gen. James Longstreet in his book *From Manassas to Appomattox* (1896).

Just before 4 p.m., Johnston's reinforcements were in place and were moving north. It was a six-mile forced march to meet the Federals who were threatening the Confederate right. Johnston met Kirby Smith's force and directed them to "Go where the fire is hottest."
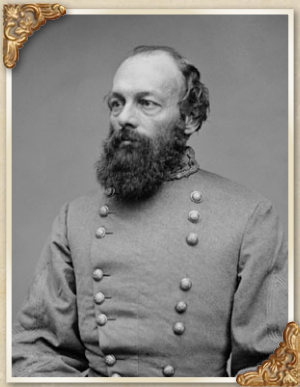
Moving forward, the reinforcements reached the southern edge of Henry Hill and found a pocket of Federal troops. There, Kirby Smith was hit in the chest with a musket ball and knocked from his saddle. The wound, though serious, was not mortal. Many of the men knew Kirby Smith well. While in charge of the Lynchburg post, he had accepted many of the units into Confederate service.

Col. Arnold Elzey, one of Smith's regimental commanders, took charge of the advance.

"Now for a yellow sash or six feet of ground!" Elzey yelled, figuring he would either do something worthy of promotion to brigadier general or die trying.

Moving up behind the 2nd South Carolina of Col. Joseph Kershaw, the relief force deployed along the Chinn Branch left of the Manassas-Sudley Road. Advancing, Elzey's men marched across the Chinn's "Hazel Plain" farm and approached Chinn Ridge and Howard's brigade. About half of the men in the unit were there to hold the ground. Soon, they would be outflanked. Elzey carefully placed his men so that artillery could enfilade the Federals and cavalry guarded the left flank. Once the Confederates could make certain the men on the ridge were Federals, they opened fire. "Stars and Stripes! Stars and Stripes!

Give it to them boys!" Elzey ordered. Beckman's battery of artillery opened with considerable effect on the Federals. Cries of "Black Horse Cavalry" panicked the Northerners even more. The Black Horse Cavalry actually was a troop attached to the 30th Virginia Cavalry for the battle. The Fauquier County militia unit had become famous for escorted John Brown to the gallows in 1859. Despite the fact that it was a small unit, to the panicked Federals, all cavalry that appeared in sight that day – even their own at times – was the dreaded "Black Horse Cavalry."

"It was a beautiful panic on small scale in which shoulder-straps (officers) were conspicuous," wrote one Federal soldier.

Fixing bayonets, Elzey's men along with the 10th Virginia of Col. Jubal Early (his men had moved from one end of the Confederate line to the other, stopping to eat blackberries along the way) and troopers from Stuart's command charged and drove Howard from the high ground. The Federals started a general retreat, about 5 p.m., past Young's Branch and eventually back to Washington.

For his action, Elzey was called the "Blücher of the day," by Beauregard (an allusion to the great Prussian general of the Napoleonic era). The attack turned potential disaster into certain victory.

Howard tried to reposition his men to meet this new threat, even though they were running out of ammunition. Orders were misunderstood and the final retreat started. It was a good thing, too, from the Confederate point of view: Elzey's men became more interested in the blackberries that were growing in profusion. They were hungry. They had not eaten and they were chasing a foe which seemed happy just to run away. "Why let all of those blackberries go to waste?" thought the Confederates as they halted pursuit to enjoy the moment.

In his official account, later published in the U.S. War Department's *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, McDowell reported that this action was key in forcing him from the field: "It was at this time that the enemy's re-enforcements came to his aid from the railroad train . . . They threw themselves in the woods on our right, and opened a fire of musketry on our men, which caused them to break and retire down the hillside. They soon degenerated into disorder, for which there was no remedy . . . The plain was covered with the retreating groups, and they seemed to infect those with whom they came in contact. The retreat soon became a rout, and this soon degenerated still further into a panic."
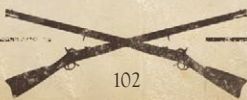
A screen of U.S. Army regulars covered the retreat.

Some Confederate cavalry units did follow. Stuart's men briefly fought the U.S. Army Regulars guarding the rear. Radford's men captured many guns of Carlisle's battery. Confederates crossed the Stone Bridge. The 8th South Carolina captured U.S. Congressman Alfred Ely of New York near the Stone Bridge. Ely nearly did not make it into captivity. Col. E.G.R. Cash of the 8th South Carolina threatened to blow Ely's brains out. The situation was defused before that happened and Ely became a "guest" of the Confederates for the next several months. Elsewhere, the Confederates did what they could to increase panic.

The grand 30-pound Parrott eventually had to be abandoned. Overall, it would take the Federals twelve hours to retreat, whereas it had taken four days to get to the battlefield.

The Federal retreat was compounded by a panic of spectators from Washington, who clogged the roads back from Centreville to Washington, D.C. For Howard, his unit started an unfortunate trifecta for his commands in the Eastern theater. Howard later had the misfortune to be at the crux of overwhelming Confederate attacks and Chancellorsville and Gettysburg.

Any Confederate pursuit on the right was snuffed out when troops, reported to be Federal, started moving across the Bull Run. Bad information received by Beauregard led him put the brakes on pursuit. Actually, these troops were men of the D.R. Jones command returning from demonstrating against Federals north of Bull Run. It was another case of mistaken identification leading to missed opportunities.

According to Longstreet, the Federal retreat was covered under regulars of George Sykes' U.S. Infantry Battalion as well as by regular cavalry. Some pursuit had been planned, but some of the troops set for the counterstrike had been used in the main battle. The Confederates pursued closely enough to shell Federals retreating through Centreville, but Longstreet reported that Maj. Whiting from Johnston's staff commanded them not to fire. Longstreet added that he disagreed with Bonham on the matter, but deferred as it was getting too late to pursue. Bonham would resign his commission in early 1862 to serve in the Confederate Congress.

The next day, rain came to the battlefield, casting a gray cloud of reality over the survivors of this first clash.
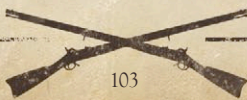
THE BUTCHER'S BILL

With the fighting finished on the main field of battle, it was time to count the casualties. Howard's brigade suffered heavy losses with 50 killed, 116 wounded and 622 missing. While the 3rd Maine led the count in killed (26) and wounded (46), the 4th Maine had 335 missing men. Remember the 1st Minnesota? The red-shirted Westerners suffered 42 killed, 108 wounded and 30 missing at the battle. Col. William Sherman's 3rd Brigade of the 1st Division also was hit hard. The Irish of the 69th New York lost 38 killed, 59 wounded and 95 missing. The 79th New York Highlanders lost 32 killed, 51 wounded and 115 missing. The 2nd Wisconsin, later part of the famed Iron Brigade, had 24 killed, 65 wounded and 23 missing. The 11th New York Fire Zouaves continued to find trouble with 48 killed, 75 wounded and 65 missing. In Porter's 1st Brigade of Hunter's 2nd Division, the 14th New York and 27th New York took most of the casualties of a brigade which also consisted of Regular Army troops and a Marine battalion. Unfortunately for the Federals, these numbers were representative of the units engaged in combat.

On the Southern side, the units taking the most casualties were from Johnston's command. Jackson stood like a stone wall, but at the cost of 119 killed and 442 wounded through the brigade. The 33rd Virginia took the most killed at 45, but the 27th Virginia suffered 122 wounded. Also surpassing 100 wounded were the 33rd Virginia and the 4th Virginia. The 8th Virginia of Bartow's brigade lost 41 killed and 159 wounded. The 7th Georgia had fewer dead, 19, but took 134 wounded. The 4th Alabama suffered heavy losses, 40 dead and 156 wounded. Overall, that was the heaviest casualty count for any Confederate regiment.

It should be noted that Evans' brigade lost only 19 men killed and 117 wounded among its one infantry regiment, one battalion and two cavalry troops.

Final casualties for this first major battle of the war were reported as 2,986 for the Federals (460 killed, 1,124 wounded, 1,312 captured or missing) and 1,982 for the Confederates (387 killed, 1,582 wounded, 13 missing).

On the Confederate side, the Army of the Shenandoah lost two of its brigade commanders and a third had been left for dead.

Col. Francis Bartow, commander of the 2nd Brigade and originally of the 8th Georgia, was killed on the field. Cass County Georgia was renamed Bartow County in honor of the fallen hero in November of 1861. Smith, while gravely injured when hit in the chest, recovered to command in Tennessee. At the end of the war, he commanded the Trans-Mississippi Department as a general. The
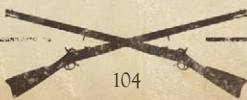
other brigade commander from the Army of the Shenandoah, Jackson, also was wounded. Jackson not only earned a nickname during the battle, but he also had a finger shot off. As the story goes, he was holding an arm above his head to balance the body's blood flow. Col. C.F. Fisher, leading the 6th North Carolina Infantry of Bee's 3rd Brigade was killed during the fighting. Also killed from that brigade was Col. Egbert Jones of the 4th Alabama. He immediately was replaced by Col. States Rights Gist, who had come to the battle as a volunteer aide. Also wounded was Hampton, who had led his Legion via the Alexandria and Orange Railroad into the battle.

The Federals escaped without death of any leaders at the brigade level or higher, but there were casualties. Col. David Hunter, commanding the 2nd Division, was hit in the face and neck, but not seriously wounded. Col. Andrew Porter finished the battle in charge of the division. Col. Samuel Heintzelman, leading the 3rd Division, also was wounded slightly in the fighting. Col. Orlando Willcox, leading the 2nd Brigade of Heinzelman's 3rd Division, suffered the double by being wounded and captured. Willcox's command was surprised from behind by the 28th Virginia. First wounded and then captured, Willcox was a prisoner of war until Aug. 19, 1862, when he was exchanged. Willcox, originally with the 1st Michigan, received the Medal of Honor in 1895 for "leading repeated charges before being wounded and taken prisoner" during the battle. In the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, of Col. Andrew Porter, two regimental commanders were wounded. Col. A.M. Wood of the 14th New York and Col. Henry Slocum (thigh) of the 27th New York were knocked from command. From Col. Ambrose Burnside's 2nd Brigade 2nd Division, Col. G. Marston was killed. Col. J.S. Slocum of the 2nd Rhode Island was killed. Col. Michael Corcoran of the 69th New York Militia (later part of the Federal Irish Brigade), part of Col. William Sherman's 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, was wounded and captured. Col. J. Cameron of the 79th New York (Highlanders) of the same brigade was killed.

Col. William B. Franklin's 1st Brigade of the 3rd Division lost Col. S.C. Lawrence of the 5th Massachusetts was wounded. Capt. James Ricketts, leading Co. I of the 1st U.S. Artillery in some of the hottest fighting of the day, was wounded four times and captured.

The Fire Zouaves (11th New York) continued to suffer bad luck. Co. W.C. Farnham was wounded while leading his men in the 2nd Brigade of the 3rd Division.
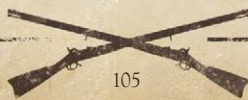
AFTERMATH

When President Jefferson Davis arrived at the battlefield the following day, he promoted Beauregard to full general on the spot. Happy, victorious troops cheered along the entire line, all throughout the area.

Jackson is reported to have asked for 10,000 men to go to Washington and finish the war. Again, Jackson's ambition and excitement seemed to win out over the factual abilities of the troops of the day.

While the battle would pale in comparison to the carnage of bloody fighting later in the war, enough blood was shed to remind all that this war would be serious business.

Eventually, the Confederates moved closer to Washington, D.C., but could not mount an assault on the city. Confederates under Johnston remained close to Washington, D.C., until the winter. In October, Evans commanded forces which easily repulsed a Federal force under Col. Edward Baker (also a U.S. senator from Oregon) at Ball's Bluff Oct. 21, 1861. Baker, a close friend of Lincoln and leading Republican, was killed in the fighting and Brig. Gen. Charles Stone's military career was ended over that matter (Stone was jailed without charges for months). The Confederate army returned to Manassas and stayed in that general area until just before the Peninsula Campaign of 1862.

The winning generals, Johnston and Beauregard, experienced different career paths after Manassas. Johnston got his promotion to full general and led the Army of Northern Virginia through the Peninsula Campaign until being severely wounded in the chest and right shoulder at the Battle of Seven Pines, June 1, 1862. After his recovery, he was assigned to command the Department of the West. He was unable to prevent the fall of Vicksburg. After the Army of Tennessee was defeated during its siege of Chattanooga, Johnston replaced Gen. Braxton Bragg as commander of the Army

A Union soldier at Centreville, near the Manassas battlefield

of Tennessee. He fought a number of defensive engagements as the army fell back to Atlanta while preventing his men from being outflanked. Relieved of command July 17, 1864, Johnston later was placed back into command of what was left of the Army of Tennessee trying to slow down Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's forces through Georgia and the Carolinas.

Beauregard went west as well, but got a much earlier start. In April of 1862, he was second in command to Gen. Albert S. Johnston when Confederate forces hit the Federals at Shiloh, Tennessee. Beauregard assumed command when Johnston was killed April 6, 1862, and led the retreat to Corinth. Falling ill, Beauregard was replaced by Bragg. Beauregard spent much of the rest of the war in charge of coastal defenses in Georgia and South Carolina. During Lt. Gen. U.S. Grant's Overland Campaign of 1864, Beauregard went back to Virginia, where his men played a major role in action at Bermuda Hundred and defended Petersburg until the Army of Northern Virginia could arrive. At the end of the war, Beauregard's forces were part of Joseph Johnston's Army of Tennessee.

The Federals did not waste any time in taking action. The day after the battle, Patterson was sacked for failing to keep Johnston from reinforcing Beauregard. Had the aged Patterson done his job, the affair along the banks of Bull Run might have had a much different outcome.

The losing commanding general, McDowell, was not exiled for the defeat despite being replaced by Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan six days after the loss. He returned to command a corps in McClellan's Army of the Potomac and later Maj. Gen. John Pope's Army of Virginia. Another debacle at the same battlefield (Second Manassas or Bull Run) ended his active command. He was sent west to command the Department of the Pacific in California July 1, 1864. Howard, the Federal colonel hit by the Confederate attack at the end of the fight, later found success in charge of the Army of the Tennessee, where he took over after James B. McPherson was killed at the Battle of Atlanta July 22, 1864. He led this army successfully through Georgia and the Carolinas until the war ended.

Sherman, who ended up being sent west after the battle, later would famously say, "War is Hell." It took a bloody afternoon in northern Virginia to teach that fact. Sherman would get the chance to put that statement into practice. After failing in Kentucky, Sherman recovered to pair up with U.S. Grant in the west as they crushed the Confederates. After the capture of Vicksburg and Grant's call to the eastern theater, Sherman rained hell across the south. His troops,

including the Army of the Tennessee, the Army of the Cumberland and the Army of the Ohio, drove deep into the Confederate heartland, destroying as they went. Sherman's "March to the Sea" introduced the concept of "Total War" on a grand scale, targeting not only the enemy, but also anyone who could aid or abet the opposing forces.

The Wilmer McLean family, who resided in the Tudor Hall region where the troops clashed and whose home Beauregard had used as his headquarters, did not want to be around the war after the events that occurred in their previously peaceful corner of northeastern Virginia. McLean chose to move from there, finding a quiet new home far away from the expected carnage, near Appomattox Court House – where the war in this theater would come to an end four years later..

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23.2. BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK: OPENING SALVO OF THE WAR IN THE WEST (AUGUST 10, 1861)

by Bill Battle

A STATE DIVIDED

For Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, the end was near.

After leading his troops on a charge near the crest of Bloody Hill during the closing stages of the Battle of Wilson's Creek Aug. 10, 1861, life quickly ebbed from the Federal commander of the Army of the West. Wounded for the third time during a hot, humid August morning just southwest of Springfield, Mo., there would be no recovery from the ball which penetrated both lungs and severed Lyon's aorta before exiting.

And as Lyon passed away around 9:30 a.m., so did Federal chances of prevailing in the first major battle in the Trans-Mississippi/Frontier area of the Civil War. The Battle of Wilson's Creek (also called the Battle of Oak Hills) resulted in a victory for the fledgling Confederacy and its allies while cementing a partnership between the new nation and the Missouri State Guard. While Lyon was no longer around to see what became of affairs in the Show-Me State following his death, he played a major role in making the chain of events which led to Wilson's Creek take place.

To fully understand the dynamics of how it came to Missourian fighting Missourian

The death of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, as drawn by Frank Leslie

in the southwest part of the state, one has to go back before the start of the Civil War.

Missourians had seen collateral conflict going back to 1854 and the fate of Kansas Territory, of whether it would eventually enter the Union as a slave state or free state. The balance of the U.S. Senate, and any future legislation, hinged upon the outcome. When supporters of both sides of the issue flooded into Kansas, some of the violence from "Bleeding Kansas" seeped over into the Show-Me State.

That violence against neighbors angered many in the western part of the state, inciting a hatred towards Kansas which remains to this day. The University of Kansas adopted the name Jayhawks, taken from jay hawkers who terrorized the border region both before the Civil War and during the conflict. The Missouri State Militia frequently was assigned to patrol the western part of the state to prevent jay hawker violence against Missouri border communities.

With the clouds of war spreading across the horizon in 1860, Missouri initially sought to stay out of the impending war with armed neutrality.

By 1860, the state had become very diverse in its population. Most citizens were born outside of Missouri and had emigrated from either the South or Midwest. The state also had over 160,000 immigrants from outside the U.S. with most coming from Germany. Many of the Germans, strongly against slavery, settled in the St. Louis area. That set up the next milestone on the road to Wilson's Creek.

CAMP JACKSON

In the elections of 1860, Missouri narrowly supported Democrat Stephen Douglas for president. Abraham Lincoln actually finished fourth in polling behind John Bell and John C. Breckinridge.

In Jefferson City, Claiborne F. Jackson was elected governor. Jackson was a Douglas backer during the election. Jackson had been sympathetic to the southern cause and later pushed for Missouri's inclusion in the Confederacy, but apparently only after his original idea of armed neutrality had been quashed. Jackson had wanted Missouri to do the same thing as Kentucky and try to stay out of the upcoming war.

The governor was representative of Missourians at this time in history. As Basil W. Duke, a Kentucky native, St. Louis resident (and base ball player) later wrote that Missourians were sympathetic to the Southern cause, but not open and active in expressing that sympathy.

The United States government maintained troops in St. Louis. To watch these forces, and prevent a Federal takeover of the state's largest city, Jackson sent the Missouri Volunteer Militia, the state's legal defense organization, to St. Louis.

"Despite its pro-secessionist leanings, the Missouri Volunteer Militia had violated neither state nor federal law, while Lyon's volunteers had been raised and armed illegally and its formation was against the constitution. The federal commander seemed bent on making war against a state that had not left the Union," wrote William Garrett Piston and Thomas P. Sweeney in the June 1999 edition of North & South Magazine.

Many of the men had seen action protecting Missouri's western border against Jay Hawkers. Here, the locals trained and drilled in preparations for the upcoming war. Missouri Volunteer Militia Brig. Gen. Daniel Frost was in charge. At the time, the Missouri Volunteer Militia was a very diverse group with men of all political leanings serving with the state's official defensive unit.

Neither side of the upcoming conflict were not going to let Missouri sit out of the upcoming war. Pro-southern factions (Minute Men, St. Louis Grays, Laclede Guards, Washington Blues, Missouri Videttes, etc.) were making plans to bring in artillery from the south and pro-Unionists (Wide Awakes, Schwarze Jaeger, etc.) pressed to eradicate any thoughts of secession.

Events in Charleston, S.C., created shockwaves in St. Louis and pushed both sides closer to conflict. When Fort Sumter was bombarded and forced to surrender, events around the nation escalated

John Schofield was called back into service from a teaching stint at Washington University in St. Louis and he was called upon to enforce a directive from Washington after Fort Sumter's surrender in Charleston Harbor.

When Secretary of War Simon Cameron called for 4,000 troops from Missouri to be raised and put under Federal service, Schofield was the man picked to visit Gov. Jackson April 16. He received no reply. The next day Jackson stated he would not authorize Missouri troops to put down the rebellion. Jackson sent Basil Duke and Colton Greene to Montgomery, Ala., to try to secure arms from the new Confederate government for the Missouri militia. At the same time, Frank Blair was coming back from Washington, D.C., with permission to draw 5,000 muskets from the St. Louis Arsenal to arm his own home guard and enroll them as U.S. Volunteers. The pressure cooker in St. Louis was heating up to dangerous levels. Additionally, more men joined the U.S. Reserve forces, extra regiments created from those who volunteered.
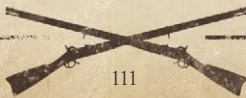
Some of the camped militia left to join the new Federal forces and five additional regiments of U.S. Reserves were commissioned under Thomas Sweeny, who had come to St. Louis with two companies of U.S. Army Regulars to bolster the arsenal defenses. Blair armed five regiments and the rush to conflict picked up the pace. It all came to a head May 10, 1861.

With Department of the West commander Brig Gen. William S. Harney in Washington, D.C., to seek limitations on the newly enrolled militia, Capt. Nathaniel Lyon of the 2nd U.S. Infantry acted to seize Camp Jackson. The militia camp was then outside the city limits, but today near the campus of Saint Louis University. At that time, it was perceived that the troops there would try to take the Federal Arsenal in St. Louis.

Whether that was the stated goal of the militia is not known. Actually, the militia term was set to expire the next day. It has been stated that Gen. Frost was deeply troubled by his contradicting orders to "faithfully serve the State of Missouri" and "sustain the Constitution and laws of the United States."

Some of the more active Minute Men obviously wanted to see the Federal troops driven out of St. Louis, but no action, other than trying to procure arms, had been taken prior to the next move.

In fact, Lyon's action took Brig. Gen. Frost by surprise. Lyon surrounded the camp and demanded its immediate, and unconditional surrender, promising that the men would be "humanely and kindly treated."

Frost, greatly outnumbered, showed his character in his response: "Sir: I never for a moment having conceived the idea that so illegal and unconstitutional a demand as I have just received from you would be made by an officer of the United States Army. I am wholly unprepared to defend my command from this unwarranted attack, and shall therefore be forced to comply with your demand. I am, sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant."

In a bloodless action, Lyon and his Federal forces, 6,500 now with the five new volunteer regiments, took the Missouri Volunteer Militia members (which now included five companies of Minute Men) into custody and marched them into St. Louis.

During the march, hostile crowds confronted the Federal forces. Eventually, this led to troops, mainly Reserve Corps units, to fire into the masses. A total of 28 civilians were killed and 100 wounded.

That only served to increase tension between Missourians and the Federal government. Many of the Camp Jackson prisoners eventually went south to fight for the Confederacy.
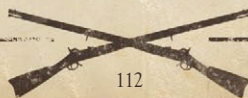
Witnesses to the Camp Jackson incident and the St. Louis Massacre included future Union generals Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman.

Following the events in St. Louis, the Missouri state government on May 11 authorized Jackson "to raise money to arm the state, repel invasion and protect the lives and property of Missouri." The result was the Missouri State Guard with former governor Sterling Price named its major general.
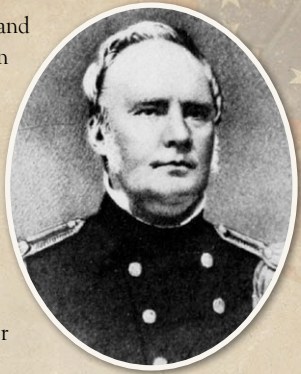
HARNEY-PRICE TRUCE

On May 21, Brig. Gens. Harney and Price signed a truce which would assure Missouri's neutrality and calm rising tensions. The agreement would leave Federal troops in charge of military matters in the St. Louis area and the Missouri State Guard in charge of the remainder of the state. This would stay in place as long as Missouri did not send men or supplies to either warring faction.

While the truce briefly calmed tensions in Missouri, the shockwaves resonated to Washington, D.C., where the wheels were in motion to force Missouri to choose between the soon-to-be warring sides.

Spurred by Missouri Senator Frank Blair, President Abraham Lincoln approved Harney's removal as department chairman and gave temporary command to Lyon, newly promoted to brigadier general.

Lyon, an abolitionist and leader of the raid on Camp Jackson, had different ideas than the cautious Harney and he acted to cut the truce. Anyone who knew the fiery Lyon should have known what would happen with his appointment. It was like mixing fire and gasoline, and enflamed an already sensitive issue, due to his past of working with abolitionist groups. Lyon was going to do whatever was necessary for his side to win. This is most likely what helped him secure the department leadership.

Lyon had been active with a number of Unionist groups, including the Wide Awakes, and his appointment sent a clear message to Fox and Price. Lyon met with Jackson and Price June 11, 1861, at the Planter's House Hotel in St. Louis as the Missouri government tried to avert conflict.
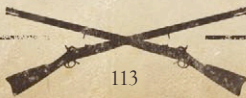
The two sides were far apart on any agreement. Lyon refused to stand down militia companies of the Home Guard, formed in the St. Louis area to keep Missouri in the Union. Lyon demanded that Missouri had no right to limit military action within the state and broke off talks, telling Jackson and Price, "[R]ather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to dictate to my government however unimportant, I would rather see you... every man, woman and child in the state, dead and buried This means war!"

Lyon then gave Jackson and Price one hour to leave St. Louis or they would be arrested. Between the Camp Jackson affair and the cancellation of the Price-Harney Truce, many Missouri fence-sitters were forced to choose sides. It was exactly the outcome those championing peace had feared. Price, a supporter of staying in the Union, was forced to change his mind after dealing with Lyon.

BUILD-UP TO WAR

Whether Lyon ever had any intention of dealing with the Missouri government as long as Jackson was governor is unknown, but on June 13, Federal troops took Jefferson City without a struggle after being transported by steamboat. He continued his work to secure the Show-Me State by advancing to rout Missouri State Guard under John S. Marmaduke (Jackson's nephew) at Boonville, up the river from Jefferson City, June 17. Each side lost five men, but the fight ended with Lyon's forces scattering the ill-trained and supplied guardsmen. Only one company, the Washington Blues from St. Louis, had trained before and was properly supplied.

Another Federal unit struck to the far southwest part of the state, clashing July 5 against the Missouri State Guard under Jackson at Carthage. Outnumbered, but better armed, Sigel squared off in fighting which took much of the day, with Sigel gradually moving south into the town square. With more forces reported to be moving in, Sigel retreated that night to Sarcoxie.

By this time, the Missouri State Guard had taken its side and was flying Confederate flags. As had been the case at Boonville, many guardsmen were unarmed, or poorly equipped. It was the first, and only, time that a sitting governor (Jackson) actively led troops in the field against U.S. Army forces. Marmaduke, so frustrated with his uncle's mishandling of the situation after recommending an orderly retreat from Boonville prior to the fighting, resigned his commission and went to Richmond to apply for service in the Regular Confederate Army.
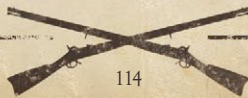
At the same time, Price was active in the southwest part of the state. He was running a training camp at Cowskin Prairie, near the Arkansas border, for southwest elements of the Missouri State Guard.

Lyon continued his restructuring of Missouri. With Jackson out of the capital and with the Missouri State Guard in the southwest part of the state, the Missouri Constitutional Convention was reconvened. The new government selected former Missouri Supreme Court Chief Justice Hamilton R. Gamble as governor and the state declared for the Union.

Any thoughts of avoiding conflict within Missouri were now finished and both sides were on the march towards the bloody day on the banks of Wilson Creek. (The name of the battle – Wilson's Creek – was different than the stream.)

NATHANIEL LYON

Born near Ashford, Conn., July 14, 1818, Nathaniel Lyon was determined to become a soldier. Relatives had fought in the American Revolution and young Nathaniel wanted to serve his country.

Attending the U.S. Military Academy (West Point), Lyon graduated 11th out of 52 with the Class of 1841. He immediately saw action against the Seminoles in Florida. However, there was criticism, too. In 1842, Lyon beat a sergeant

Gen. Nathaniel Lyon with the 1st Iowa Infantry at Wilson's Creek, as drawn by Frank Leslie
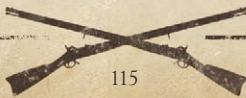
(reportedly drunk) who questioned orders. Lyon received a court martial after beating the man bloody with the flat of his sword and then having him bound and gagged for over an hour.

Lyon fought in the Mexican War, earning praise for gallantry under fire at Mexico City, Contreras and Churubusco. At Mexico City, he captured enemy artillery. His actions earned a promotion to 1st lieutenant and a brevet promotion to captain.

Moving with three companies of the 2nd Infantry and a company of the 2nd Dragoons, Lyon led a punitive mission against the Chomo Indian tribe for the killing of miners. On May 14-15, Lyon's men found the Indians in the Battle of Clear Lake, where over 65 Indians were killed. He continued his pursuit to the present Healdsburg, Calif., on the Russian River, where his men shot down over 75 more of the Chomo warriors. The 2nd Infantry later served in Kansas, where Lyon violated orders to support the Freesoil cause.

Was Lyon an abolitionist? The records are not clear, but Ezra Warner in his seminal work, Generals in Blue, states, "Even though he was far from being an abolitionist and was not in favor of disturbing slavery where it existed, he developed an unconditional adherence to the Union." In fact, Unionism was his religion. He pursued keeping the Union together as a sacred, pious duty. His devotion to duty ranked up with his loyalty to the Union.

In February of 1861, Lyon came to St. Louis with the 2nd Infantry's Co. D. He again chose to meddle in local affairs in St. Louis and personally conducted intelligence (reportedly disguised as a farm woman) on Camp Jackson before leading the raid there. Some reports state he was the one who ordered the troops to fire on the crowds after the sack of Camp Jackson.

At any rate, Lyon's actions drew attention around the country. In Washington, D.C., he was lauded and promoted to department commander. In the rest of Missouri, Lyon enflamed the local population and many of the state's military-age men decided to cast their lot with the fledgling Confederacy after his heavy-handed tactics.

STERLING PRICE

One of those who decided to go with the South following Lyon's actions was Sterling Price. A conditional Unionist, Price opted to cast his lot with the duly-elected Missouri state government and the South after Lyon's seizure of Camp Jackson and firing into civilians following the camp's capture.
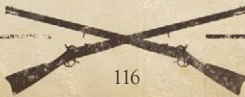
Price was a veteran of Missouri politics and had lived in the state for nearly 30 years before the Civil War. He was born Sept. 20, 1809, in Prince Edward County, Va. He received his education at Hampden-Sydney College and studied law after that. In 1831, he moved to Missouri, settling in Chariton County.

Price entered politics in the Missouri legislature, serving four years as speaker of the house. In 1844, Price was elected to the U.S. Congress, serving as a state representative for less than a term. He resigned to fight in the Mexican War and was commissioned as colonel of the 2nd Missouri Infantry, a unit of mounted volunteers. He led that unit to reinforce New Mexico, being named the military governor by Gen. S.W. Kearny. Price also carried a commission as brigadier general of volunteers.

He had to put down a revolt which killed the civilian Gov. Charles Bent in 1847. Price conducted a campaign which crushed the rebellion. During a trial of the accused, Price ordered the attorney general, Frank Blair Jr., arrested, starting a lifelong feud between the two Show-Me State men.

In 1848, Price invaded Chihuahua, Mexico, winning the Battle of Santa Cruz de Rosales. Price's training as military governor of New Mexico gave Price experience he needed to become Missouri's governor from 1853-57. Price was chairman of the state convention which opposed secession, but he nevertheless took command of the Missouri State Guard when Jackson offered him the role.

BEN MCCULLOCH

While Lyon and Price were the principal commanders with major knowledge of each other, they were not the only major players in the Battle of Wilson's Creek. Ben McCulloch commanded the only actual Confederate force in the fight as Price's men technically were only fighting for the Missouri State Guard at the time of the battle. Additionally, a division of the Arkansas State Guard also took part in the battle.

McCulloch was a native of Tennessee who had moved to Texas. Born in Rutherford County, Tenn., Nov. 11, 1811, he heard tales of his neighbor, Davy Crockett, and moved to Texas in time to fight at the Battle of San Jacinto.

McCulloch stayed and became an Indian fighter and surveyor as well as a noted Texas Ranger. In the Mexican War, he led a Texas Rangers company with Gen. Zachary Taylor's forces.

He briefly went to California for the gold rush, but came back to assume the duties of U.S. Marshal for the coast district, a job he had for six years.
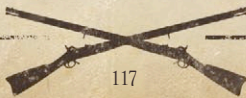
In February, 1861, McCulloch was a colonel of Texas state troops. He received the surrender of Brevet Maj. Gen. David Twiggs in San Antonio at the start of the Civil War. On May 11, 1861, McCulloch was commissioned as a Confederate brigadier general and assigned to command in Arkansas. He gathered 2,700 men at his headquarters in Fort Smith, including two regiments of Arkansas Mounted Infantry, the 3rd Louisiana Infantry, cavalry raised in Dallas, Texas, by Elkanah Greer and additional Arkansas forces. He combined his men with the Missouri State Guard and Arkansas State Troops for the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

OTHER COMMANDERS

Second in command of Confederate forces was Col. James M. McIntosh. Born at Fort Brooke (later Tampa), Fla., in 1828, McIntosh was the lowest graduate in the U.S. Military Academy Class of 1849. His father, Col. James McIntosh, was killed at the Battle of Molino del Rey during the Mexican War.

McIntosh was sent to the 1st U.S. Cavalry on the frontier and rose to captain before resigning May 7, 1861. He received a captain's commission in the cavalry arm of the Regular Confederate Army and was colonel of the 2nd Arkansas Mounted Rifles at the time of Wilson's Creek. He led McCulloch's brigade in the fight as McCulloch had overall command of his own troops and those of the Arkansas State Guard.

Nicholas B. Pearce commanded a brigade of Arkansas State Troops at Wilson's Creek with a state commission of brigadier general. A native of Kentucky, Pearce was born in Caldwell County July 20, 1828. He graduated 26th of 44 from the U.S. Military Academy's Class of 1850 and went into the infantry. Stationed in Arkansas and Oklahoma, Pearce resigned his lieutenant's commission in 1858 to go into business with his father-in-law in Osage Mills, Ark. Working in the local militia, Pearce soon earned a colonel's commission.

When Arkansas held its secession convention in May of 1861, it appointed Pearce a brigadier general in charge of the 1st (Western) Division. However, despite his willingness to fight for his state, Pearce was an opponent of secession. Wilson's Creek would be his finest hour in uniform.

Franz Sigel already had seen action in the southwest part of Missouri before he commanded part of the Federal army at Wilson's Creek. Sigel was born Nov. 18, 1824, in Sinsheim in the grand duchy of Baden, Germany. He graduated from the military academy in Karlsruhe in 1843, entering service
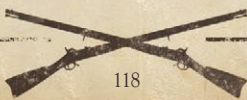
under Grand Duke Leopold. In the revolution of 1848, Sigel served as minister of war for the revolutionary side. After its defeat, he escaped to Switzerland, briefly resided in England and immigrated to the United States. He initially settled in New York City, but moved to St. Louis. He was a school teacher with a commission as major in the 5th New York Militia. He was one of the colonels commissioned at the original muster of Missouri men prior to the Camp Jackson affair.

At the time of Wilson's Creek, Sigel held a colonel's commission, but his promotion to brigadier general (made Aug. 7), was backdated to May 17. Sigel was popular among the German-American population of St. Louis. "I goes to fight mit Sigel" was a popular song of the day.

Samuel D. Sturgis assumed command of Federal forces during the later phases of the Battle of Wilson's Creek. Born June 11, 1822, Sturgis was a member of the U.S. Military Academy's Class of 1846. He fought in Mexico and was held prisoner for eight days after being captured on reconnaissance near Buena Vista. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Sturgis had command at Fort Smith, Ark. He refused to surrender and took his men, part of the 1st U.S. Cavalry, and much of the government property, to Fort Leavenworth, Kan.

Thomas W. Sweeny was another immigrant, coming from Ireland. Born in County Cork Dec. 25, 1820, Sweeny came to America in 1832 with his mother. Serving in the Mexican War, Sweeny lost his right arm after being injured at the Battle of Churubusco. In 1848, Sweeny received a lieutenant's commission with the 2nd U.S. Infantry. He was with Sigel at Carthage in command of 90-day Missouri militia.

Maj. John Schofield was Lyon's chief of staff and was with the 1st Missouri Infantry. Born Sept. 29, 1831, in New York, Schofield grew up in Freeport, Ill. He was a member of the U.S. Military Academy Class of 1853, graduating eighth among 52. He nearly did not make it, initially being dismissed from West Point in his final year for allowing cadet candidates to make offensive jokes

and drawings. A board overturned the expulsion and Schofield went into the artillery branch of the U.S. Army. After two years, he returned to West Point and served as assistant professor of natural and experimental philosophy. In 1860-61, he was on leave from West Point, serving as a physics professor at Washington University in St. Louis. While there, he informed the War Department he was ready to come back into the army.

OPPOSING FORCES

Lyon formed his Army of the West into a compact four-brigade unit once all of the elements reached Springfield, where Sweeny had been in overall command prior to the return of Sigel and arrival of Lyon.

Maj. Samuel Sturgis commanded the first brigade, a mixed-arms force of nine companies.

Maj. Peter Osterhaus led two companies of the 2nd Missouri Infantry.

Capt. Joseph Plummer had four companies of the 1st U.S. Infantry, a Regular Army outfit.

Capt. Samuel Wood brought Co. I of the 2nd Kansas Infantry, a mounted unit.

Lt. Charles Canfield brought Co. D of the 1st U.S. Cavalry and Capt. James Totten had Co. F of the 2nd U.S. Artillery. Totten had commanded the Federal Arsenal at Little Rock, Ark., prior to the war, but evacuated to St. Louis, where he became part of Lyon's command.

The good people of Little Rock had tried to get Totten to stay, even presenting him with a sword. Still, Totten left. And he had that sword on his belt when he moved with Lyon's forces.

Sigel led the 2nd Brigade, a larger force consisting of the 3rd (Lt. Col. Anselm Albert) and 5th (Col. Charles E Salomon, another of the original colonels during the first muster) Missouri Infantry regiments, Co. I of the 1st U.S. Cavalry (Capt. Eugene Carr), Co. C of the 2nd U.S. Dragoons (2nd Lt. Charles Farrand) and Backof's Battery, Missouri Light Artillery (Lt. Edward Schuetzenbach).

Lt. Col. George Andrews led the 3rd Brigade consisting of his own 1st Missouri Infantry, four companies of the 2nd U.S. Infantry under Capt. Frederick Steele, and a battery under Lt. John Du Bois. Andrews was in charge as the unit's regular colonel, Frank Blair, was in Washington for a special session of the U.S. Congress.

Col. George Deitzler of the 1st Kansas Infantry led the 4th Brigade. An Ohio native and recently mayor of Lawrence, Kan., Deitzler also had the 1st
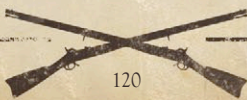
Iowa Infantry under Col. John Bates, the 2nd Kansas Infantry of Col. Robert B. Mitchell, the Home Guards of Capt. Clark Wright and a 21-man detachment of the 13th Illinois Infantry under Lt. James Beardsley.

The 1st Iowa was called the Greyhounds, based upon both its gray uniforms and its marching pace. The gray uniforms would play a major role in mistaken identification at Wilson's Creek. The unit consisted of a mix of Iowa natives and German immigrants, two groups slow to mix at the unit's inception. The 1st Iowa initially was sent to Hannibal, Mo., to keep the peace. The Greyhounds then moved to Boonville. Accounts describe the unit's weapons as they had been issued smoothbore flintlocks from the 1820s.

The Kansas units were armed with modern rifles and uniformed in blue, a stark contrast to some of the other units raised in different states.

Many of the Federal forces were 90-day enlistments and some expired literally the day before the fighting, leaving the Union army shorthanded.

Discipline also was an issue as the 1st Kansas had the dishonor of performing the first execution of the war on one of its own, who had stabbed a fellow soldier to death during an argument.

The self-styled Western Army under Brig Gen. Benjamin McCulloch had three different forces under its command.

The only Confederates were in McCulloch's Brigade, which was led by Col. James McIntosh of the 2nd Arkansas Mounted Rifles as McCulloch ran the overall effort along with Missouri Maj. Gen. Sterling Price.

McCulloch's Brigade consisted of the 3rd Louisiana Infantry of Col. Louis Hebert, the 3rd Arkansas Infantry Battalion of Lt. Col. Dandridge McRae, the 1st Arkansas Mounted Rifles of Col. Thomas Churchill, the 2nd Arkansas Mounted Rifles of McIntosh (Lt. Col. Benjamin Embry commanded as McIntosh led the brigade) and the South Kansas-Texas Mounted Regiment (also known as the 3rd Texas Cavalry) of Col. Elkanah Greer. That unit had been assembled in Dallas, Texas.

Commanding the 1st (Western) Division of the Arkansas State Guard (the militia guaranteed by the Confederate constitution, not the U.S. one), Pearce had a mixed unit. Col. De Rosey Carroll led the 1st Arkansas Cavalry while Capt. Charles Carroll had his own cavalry force. Col. John Gratiot led the 3rd Regiment, Arkansas State Troops. Col. J.D. Walker commanded the 4th Regiment, Arkansas State Troops (but Col. Frank Rector, division adjutant general, commanded in the fight as Walker was sick) and Col. Thomas Dockery
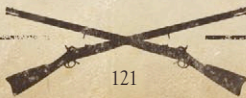
had the 5th Regiment, Arkansas State Troops. Artillery was provided by the batteries of Capt. William Woodruff and Capt. J.G. Reid.

Woodruff commanded the Pulaski Light Battery, which had just been renamed from the Totten Artillery. It was named for Dr. William Totten, commander of the U.S. Arsenal in Little Rock. Capt. James Totten, now in charge of Federal artillery, had been its prewar commander. The Reid unit was called the Fort Smith Light Battery.

Price had five divisions of the Missouri State Guard in his command.

Rains commanded the second division with two brigades and artillery support.

Division artillery was led by Capt. Hiram Bledsoe. Among the men were the Lafayette County Cavalry, led by Jo Shelby. A Kentucky native, Shelby was a cousin of Frank Blair and B. Gratz Brown, who were Unionist leaders in St. Louis. Both tried to get Shelby to join the Federal forces, but he stuck with his neighbors and joined the Missouri State Guard. Shelby's force had joined the Missouri State Guard units at the Lamar training camp.

Col. Richard Weightman led the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Missouri State Guard Infantry regiments. Weightman, originally from Washington, D.C., had been kicked out of West Point, but still fought in the Mexican War as an artillery captain and had been a congressional delegate from New Mexico Territory. Here also fought in the Bleeding Kansas conflicts.

The cavalry arm was under Col. James Cawthorn and consisted of Peyton's McCowen's and Hunter's Cavalry units.

The other divisions were much smaller.

Brig. Gen. John B. Clark Jr. led the 3rd division of Col. John Burbridge's Infantry and Lt. Col. James Major's cavalry.

The 4th Division was led by Brig. Gen. William Slack and consisted of infantry units of Col. John Hughes and Maj. C.C. Thornton and the cavalry of Col. Benjamin Rives.

Brig. Gen. Mosby Parsons led the 6th Division of Col. Joseph Kelly's infantry, Col. Ben Browne's cavalry and Capt. Henry Guibor's artillery battery. Kelly had been leader of the Washington Blues militia company, which missed the Camp Jackson affair as it had been detailed to transport arms and gunpowder to Jefferson City.

The Washington Blues had been formed in St. Louis in 1857. Mainly Irish, the unit was led by Kelly, who was a former British soldier and said to be a strict disciplinarian. It was one of the cornerstone units of its division
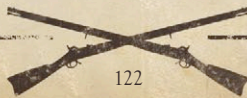
Brig. Gen. James McBride led the 7th Division of Col. Edmund Wingo's and Col. John Foster's infantry units and Capt. Campbell's cavalry.

The Missouri men represented the full spectrum of political thought. Many took to arms to protect their homes from Jayhawkers, anticipating more border conflict. Like a good number of men, many chose allegiance to Missouri after President Lincoln's call for volunteers to put down the rebellion.

The Polk County Rangers were one such unit which cast its lot with Missouri. In a letter, the Rangers announcing their sympathies, it was stated that President Lincoln had "ignored his constitutional obligations" and the "rights of states as sovereignties."

Arming the Missourians was a problem during the early phases of the war. Many of the Missouri State Guardsmen went to battle with shotguns, farm implements or ancient muskets. This played a role in McCulloch's decision to delay his attack on Springfield and led to the battle location along the banks of Wilson Creek.

According to Col. Thomas L. Snead in his article written for *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* ("The First Year of War in Missouri"), there could have been more Confederate forces in the movement. Snead stated Brig. Gen. William J. Hardee had a large command (several thousand good soldiers) at Pitman's Ferry, Ark., close to the Missouri border. When invited to join the expedition, Hardee declined as he "did not wish to march to their assistance with less than 5,000 men, well appointed, and a full complement of artillery."

MOVEMENT TO CONTACT

Lyon began his plan to sweep Missouri of forces which wouldn't cooperate with his will. After winning at Boonville, Lyon united with the forces of Sturgis, who came from Fort Leavenworth. Lyon met Sturgis at Clinton, but failed to cut off the Missouri State Guard forces retreating from Boonville and Lexington. Other Federal troops, under Sigel, came by rail from St. Louis to Rolla, where they then headed southwest on the Springfield Road to concentrate at Springfield.

The two sides were getting closer and closer to sparring on a large scale, and that was just fine with many of the soldiers. "The boys are absolutely spoiling for a fight," wrote a 2nd Kansas soldier. "They are getting tired of marching all the team, and want to try their hand at a fight."
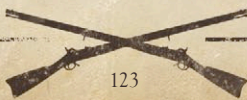
Meanwhile, the opposing forces also were concentrating in the same area. Missouri State Guard forces came together after the Boonville defeat. Jackson was able to reform at Lamar and conduct some training.

Price met at Maysville, Ark., with McCulloch and convinced the Confederates to join his force. Price brought Pearce's Arkansas troops into an agreement to fight. Other reports cite McCulloch was under orders to move into either Missouri or Kansas, whatever was deemed to be necessary to protect Arkansas and the Indian Territory.

The Confederate-Missouri-Arkansas force included many unarmed men and camp followers as most of the Missouri State Guardsmen had not been supplied with weapons.

Sweltering Missouri weather (reported as high as 110 F), slowed Lyon's push away from Springfield as he attempted to pin down and defeat Price.

Sweeny won a skirmish at Forsyth July 22, and proceeded to loot the town and arrest about 100 citizens. If Lyon's reputation in St. Louis harmed his interaction with neutral Missourians, Sweeny did his best to make enemies as well.

"The persons and property of law-abiding citizens will not be molested," Lyon ordered.

The unified force of Missouri and Arkansas troops came together at Cassville July 29, and at the same time, Brig. Gen. Gideon Pillow began the invasion of Missouri near New Madrid in the southeast corner of the state. By July 31, the Anti-Federals had 10,000 effectives as well as the unarmed Missourians. Lyon's scouts actually reported twice that number.

Near Dug Springs Aug. 2, the two sides met as Lyon's men pushed along the Wire Road. Soon, forces under Missouri State Guard Brig. Gen. James Rains were routed. A camp at Curran Post Office also was broken up by Lyon's men.

Despite the success, Lyon pulled his men back to Springfield Aug. 5.

Realizing he was now outnumbered, Lyon wired Maj. Gen. John C. Fremont, who was named Department of the West commander July 25, for additional troops. Fremont, who was building up the St. Louis defenses and endeavoring to make sure Cairo, Ill., at the juncture of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, was secure, declined to send more men and advised Lyon to retreat in front the larger combined force.

In that theater, Fremont was trying to counter Confederate Maj. Gen. Leonidas Polk. The overall Confederate strategy endeavored to come into Missouri around New Madrid and push up the Mississippi River Valley to take St. Louis. He had Col. Jeff Thompson's First Missouri State Guard Division in
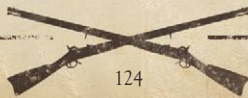
his command. Price hoped that pinning Lyon in Springfield while the offensive proceeded would give him the time to train, and hopefully arm, the majority of the men in the Missouri State Guard.

"The situation of Lyon at Springfield was critical, and the small disintegrating garrison at Cairo was hourly exposed to assault by an overpowering force," Fremont wrote after the war in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* ("In Command In Missouri"). "Among the various points threatened, Cairo was the key to the success of my operations. The waterways and the district around Cairo were of first importance. Upon the possession of this district depended the descent and control of the Mississippi Valley by Union armies, or the inroad by the Confederate forces into the loyal States."

On the Federal side, Lyon was not blind to what was happening in his corner of the state. Lyon knew about the joining of the Missouri State Guard, Arkansas State Troops and the Confederate Brigade. Lyon now believed he faced a force at least five times larger than his own. However, help was not coming from the department level.

The proposed move from the east never came for the Confederates, as the army along the Mississippi faced the same difficulties as the Missouri State Guard, little time for training and scare weapons to arm the new soldiers with.

That left Lyon with some hard choices, either retreat to Rolla and regroup, or attack. It is likely that Lyon, who had not been impressed with what he had seen in his opponents, did not feel overly threatened by the thought of offensive action against a numerically superior, but tactically inferior foe.

"We shall attack [the enemy] in his position, and endeavor to hurt him so that he cannot follow us," he declared. "I propose to march this evening with all our available force... throw our whole force upon him at once, and endeavor to rout him before he can recover from his surprise," Lyon told his war council.

Sigel prevailed with a plan for an envelopment attack against the encamped rebels, which, if pulled off correctly, would result in the enemies fleeing without a heavy fight. Aware that most of his troops followed Sigel like a messiah, Lyon agreed to the plan.

On the other side, McCulloch took charge of the collected forces and named it the Western Army. Price pushed for an attack on Springfield, but McCulloch delayed. While many of the men lacked arms, most also did not have leather cartridge boxes. McCulloch halted the force at Wilson Creek Aug. 9 due to rain as he feared most of the men would have wet powder and would not be effective in battle.

On the rainy night of Aug. 9, the Confederates camped, but did not put out pickets.
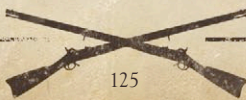
MAP
OF THE
BATTLE-FIELD
OF
WILSON'S CREEK, Mo.,
Aug. 10, 1861.
Wm HOELCKE, Captain and Add'l A. de C.U.S. Army.
Chief Eng'r Departm't of the Mo.
HDQRS. DEPARTM'T OF THE Mo. St LOUIS, 1865.

Scale.

— Union
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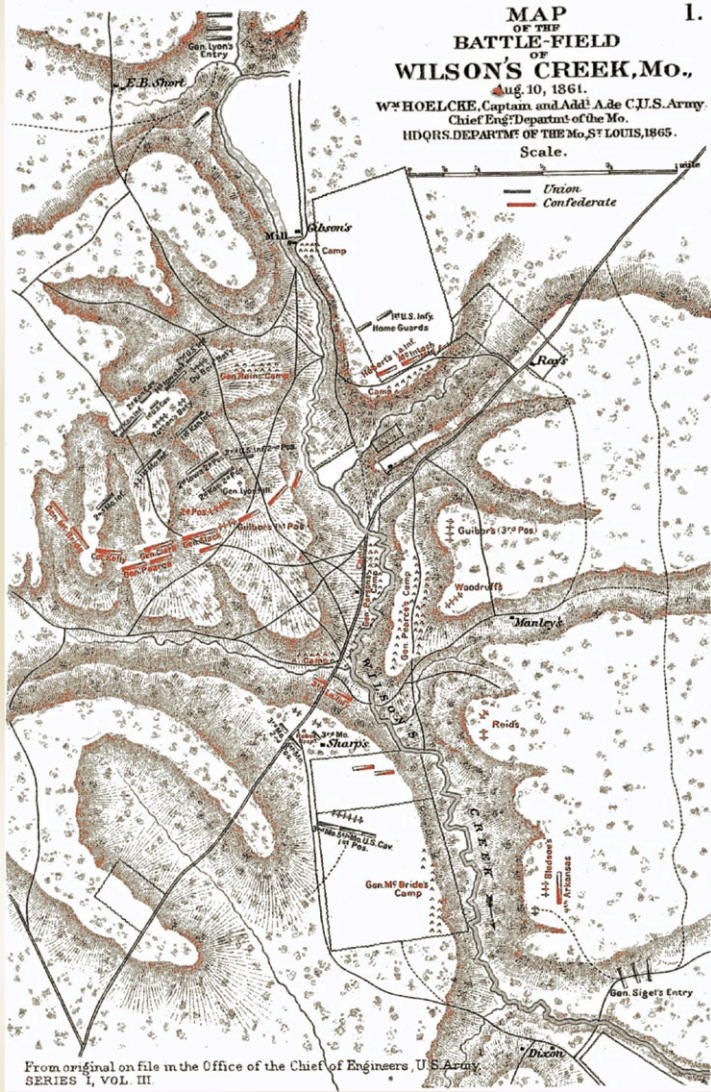
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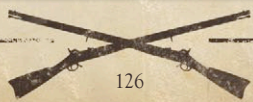
SURPRISE ATTACK

While the combined forces halted Aug. 9, the Federals were in action. Lyon was on the move early and he surprised the opposition at 5 a.m. Aug. 10. The Western Army had a little advance warning, but not enough to form up before the onslaught.

Lyon had three brigades with the main attack force, including Sturgis' men and Capt. Frederick Steele's regulars. The final unit consisted of two Kansas regiments and the 1st Iowa. Lyon's column had 4,300 men, including 3,800 infantry, 350 on horse and 10 guns with 150 artillerists.

Sigel's force was not quite as strong with 1,100 men, and many of them were either raw or nearing the end of their enlistments. In fact, it's thought that Sigel's force was reduced by as many as 300 men not long before the battle.

Around 5 a.m., the two sides made contact. Initially, fighting went Lyon's way. The Federals ripped through the opposing forces. At the same time, Sigel's artillery opened fire on the Western Army camps from the southeast side. Lyon appeared to have the Confederates trapped against the creek.

Col. James Cawthorn's mounted brigade of the 8th Missouri State Guard Division became the first unit to try and defend the crest of Oak Hill, which forever became known as Bloody Hill after the battle. Lyon was able to prevail with his superior force. Next to engage was Rains' brigade of the Missouri State Guard and Lyon's advance was slowed near the top of Bloody Hill.

Initially, McCulloch did not believe reports of the fighting. The army commander was within an acoustic shadow – a rare meteorological phenomenon that could dampen even sounds as loud as gunfire and artillery fire – and he was skeptical of anything coming from Rains after the Dug Springs encounter a few days previously.

Capt. William E. Woodruff Jr., put his Arkansas guns to work and slowed the Federal advance long enough to give McCulloch's forces the chance to regroup. The Federal Co. F, 2nd U.S. Artillery under Capt. James Totten, soon targeted Woodruff's guns, the battery which once bore his name, with counterbattery fire.

Fighting then turned to the Ray Cornfield, where part of Sturgis' 1st Brigade consisting of U.S. Army Regulars under Capt. Joseph Plummer, were sent to secure the Federal left flank and cross the creek.

Plummer's 300-man force crossed the creek around 6:30 a.m. and soon entered a field of "Indian corn of moderate height."
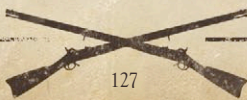
From the northeast, the Pulaski Arkansas Battery was delivering devastating fire against the top of Bloody (Oak) Hill. Plummer spotted the well-positioned Pulaski Light Artillery and sought to silence its guns. The target change gave the Western Army the chance to counter Plummer's movement.

Fighting in the cornfield soon broke out between Plummer's 300 and a 1,200-man column under McIntosh coming up the Wire Road. For some time, Plummer's men kept the Confederates from exercising that numerical superiority. Eventually, the 3rd Louisiana was able to flank Plummer and McIntosh ordered a charge which drove the Federals from the cornfield. In the haste to follow up the success, the Confederate forces became disorganized. As McIntosh halted them to reform, Plummer's survivors withdrew, eventually recrossing to the west side of Wilson Creek.

Now, it was the Federals' turn to exercise control. The Du Bois battery, four guns, fired on the Confederates and routed them back out of the fields. The issue was McIntosh's men had never faced artillery before and it was a new experience. When action in the area halted around 7:30 a.m., the Confederates had lost 100 men and about 80 of the Federals were casualties, including Plummer. Capt. Arch Houston assumed command of those forces.

SIGEL ATTACKS FROM THE SOUTH

On the southern end of the battlefield, Sigel had put Backof's Missouri Light Battery into action, firing on unsuspecting Confederate camps from a high hill, and from a position in which it could not be seen by those below. He also sent part of the battery to block the Wire Road, along with the bulk of his column.

Sigel's plan worked initially, taking the camps by surprise. Being hit first were cavalry under Col. Elkanah Greer (South Kansas-Texas Cavalry) and Col. De Rosey Carroll's 1st Arkansas Cavalry. Many unarmed men and camp followers also were in the fields first shelled by Sigel.

"Sigel's movement was a bold one, and we really could not tell, on his first appearance, whether he was friend or foe," Pearce wrote in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* ("Arkansas Troops In he Battle of Wilson's Creek"). "An accidental gust of wind having unfurled his flag, we were no longer in doubt." Pearce reported he ordered Reid's Battery (Fort Smith Artillery) to open fire on Sigel's attackers.

Flush with victory and expecting the same from Lyon's force, Sigel soon advanced and moved past the Sharp house onto the Wire Road. He placed four pieces of artillery and a battalion of the 3rd Missouri near the house while
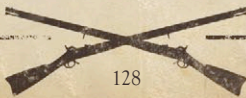
keeping the rest in reserve at the Wire Road, waiting for the opposing force expected to be driven his way by Lyon's assault. Sigel saw more success as about 100 unarmed solders filed down the Wire Road only to surrender to Sigel's force.

"We were now on the principal line of retreat of the enemy, and had arrived there in perfect order and discipline," Sigel wrote in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* ("The Flanking Column At Wilson's Creek"). "Up to this time, we had made 15 miles, had been constantly in motion, had had a successful engagement, and the troops felt encouraged by what they had accomplished."

Sigel sent some skirmishers into the woods and hills, keeping the rest of the men in column, waiting for the easy capture of the routed rebels. However, Sigel left the rest of his formation in column formation and did not deploy his men. He had no reason to at that time as he really had not been tested.

Sigel spotted a group of soldiers in gray, about 400 men, which he assumed to be part of the 1st Iowa. Instead, those were troops of the 3rd Louisiana, who had been reformed after the chase through Ray's cornfield. McCulloch felt comfortable that the right flank was secure, and now turned to deal with Sigel.

At this point, Lyon reported that he felt the enemy was in retreat.

"This opinion became stronger by the report of Dr. Melcher, who was in advance on the road to Skegg's Branch, that 'Lyon's troops' were coming up the road and that we must not fire."

Led by McIntosh, the formation picked up men and approached Sigel's position. The skirmishers failed Sigel, pulling back at first contact and then reporting it was Lyon approaching. That gave McIntosh enough time to set a trap of his own, deploying infantry and artillery to handle Sigel.

Because the men were assumed to be the 1st Iowa "Greyhounds," Sigel's force did not take it as being hostile. At point-blank range, it discovered the truth as the Louisiana men poured fire into Sigel's force.

"At this juncture, Gen. McCulloch in person led two companies of the Louisiana infantry in a charge and captured five of the guns (Sigel's artillery)," Pearce wrote.

When McIntosh's force opened fire, about one-third of Sigel's forces fell as casualties and the situation quickly turned into a rout.

"I instantly ordered the artillery and infantry to fire," Sigel wrote. "But it was too late – the artillery fired one or two shots, but the infantry, as though paralyzed, did not fire; the 3rd Louisiana, which we had mistaken for the gray-clay 1st Iowa, rushed up to the plateau, while Bledsoe's battery in front and
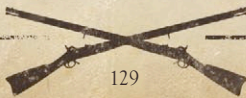
Reid's from the heights on our right flank opened with canister at point-blank range against us."

Because the Federals were not deployed in line of battle, it did not take much for the Confederates to rout them. The southern part of the Federal attack had failed. Sigel and 250 of his men and one piece of artillery retreated toward Springfield. Because pursuit was not coordinated, Sigel made it back to Springfield with some of his troops. Estimates were that 64 were killed and 147 captured during the pursuit.

Sigel failed to get word to Lyon that he had been repulsed, and that lack of communication later played a large role during the next phase of fighting. Because Lyon had no idea Sigel had turned tail, he assumed relief was coming from the south.

One more important fact from Plummer's retreat and Sigel's rout was that the Federals now did not have access to Wilson Creek and its water. That would add to the Union misery on what had become a steamy, hot Missouri morning.

OAK HILL TURNS BLOODY

With fighting on the sides now done, all troops concentrated on Bloody Hill.

Lyon continued to hold the hill with Totten's guns still duelling with the Pulaski Arkansas Battery. Price worked to put his Missouri State Guard into

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Civil War Museum
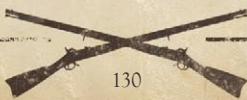
line of battle at the bottom of the hill on the south side. Soon, they faced Lyon's onslaught.

Under fire, Lyon showed renewed vigor. "He maintained an imperturbable coolness, and his eye shone with the ardor of conflict," wrote William M Wherry, an aide de camp to Lyon and a member of the 6th U.S. Infantry for *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* ("Wilson's Creek, And The Death of Lyon"). "He directed, encouraged and rallied his troops in person, sending his staff in all directions, and was frequently without an attendant except one or two faithful orderlies."

Fighting was uneven, sometimes at the range of 100 yards, but often much closer than that. The closeness of the action helped the Missouri State Guard, which was not as well-armed as other units. The range allowed shotguns and other weapons to become deadly. There were few volleys, instead knots of troops fired at will.

Lyon based his line around Totten's guns, which still were dueling with the Pulaski Arkansas Battery, or bluntly, Totten vs. Totten.

Because Lyon could not see the Missouri State Guard from the top of the hill, Price was able to prepare his men for action. Capt. Henry Guibor's Missouri Light Artillery joined the fray to the left side of Price's center. Soon, Price's men had enough of an advantage that Brig. Gen. James McBride's 7th Division, Missouri State Guard, got around the Federal right flank and pushed the 1st Missouri (U.S.) back up the hill. Lyon now was put on the defensive.

Parsons and Clark moved around McBride and continued to overlap the Federals.

Lyon put his trust into the Kansans. He brought up his reserve unit, the 2nd Kansas, while ordering the 1st Kansas to fix bayonets. Col. George Deitzler led about 200 men into the charge. While he was wounded, it forced the Missouri units back temporarily. The 2nd Kansas joined the attack, firing buck and ball (a load of one musket ball along with three buckshot) and the Missourians were driven back to the bottom of the hill around 8 a.m. Both sides paused to reform.

As more units joined the fighting, the casualties rose as they mostly just stood and shot at each other. Finally, ammunition running out, the sides took another break.

Price had been lightly wounded in the side during the fighting. "That isn't fair; if I were as slim as Lyon, that fellow would have missed me entirely," Price remarked. But Lyon's charmed existence among the speedy projectiles was about to end. As he walked among his men, encouraging them while leading his horse,
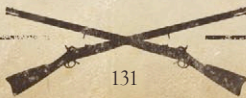
he was grazed along the right calf and had to be treated. Returning to the front lines, his horse was shot and killed. Lyon then was grazed in the head. Coupled with the hot day, Lyon found a quiet spot and sat down.

When Schofield found Lyon, the general reported that he felt the day was lost. Schofield encouraged Lyon to try again and the general resumed the fight.

Taking the horse of one of the orderlies, Lyon went back to the front. Between the 1st Iowa and 1st Missouri, Lyon spotted Price. He gave orders for his escort, about 6-8 men, to draw pistols and follow. Lt. William Wherry dissuaded him from charging after Price. Delegating Sweeny to rally the 1st Iowa, Lyon supervised as the 2nd Kansas was brought up into the gap around 9:30 a.m. When that force was in place, Lyon decided to personally lead the charge, waving his hat and yelling.

"Come on my brave boys, I will lead you! Forward!" Lyon yelled.

About that time, fire erupted from thick brush in front of the Federals. Lyon was hit in the left side and this time, the wound was fatal.

Pvt. Albert Lehmann, Lyon's personal aide, tried to catch Lyon as he fell from the saddle.

"Lehmann, I am going," proved to be Lyon's final words, according to one source. Another stated Lyon fell without any words. At any rate, the Federal Army of the West commander was dead.

"General Lyon was killed gallantly leading his men to what he and they supposed was victory, but which proved disastrous defeat," Pearce wrote. "In the light of the present day, even, it is difficult to measure the vast results had Lyon lived and the battle gone against us."

Solders from many units claimed having shot Lyon. "Several of our boys who had Mississippi rifles captured form the enemy at Neosho took shots at him," reported J.N. Boyd of the 1st Arkansas Mounted Riflemen.

Fighting continued to rage around that location. Eventually, the Kansas troops secured the location. Wherry, worried the news of Lyon's death would cause disorder among the men, decided to hide the fact as long as possible. Quietly, Wherry found Schofield and Schofield passed command to Sturgis, who was the ranking regular army officer left in the fight. By this time, Sweeny also had been wounded in a leg.

Meanwhile, McCulloch, still near the Sharp farm, was contacted to send reinforcements to Bloody Hill. He found Pearce's Arkansas men and a battalion of the 3rd Louisiana, which he led to the fight.
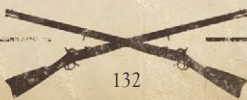
"You have beaten the enemy's right and left wings, only their centre is left, and with all our forces concentrated upon that we will soon make short work of it," McCulloch told the Louisiana men. McCulloch also ordered Col. Greer to take his South Kansas-Texas Cavalry and turn the Federal right flank. The uncoordinated charge was easily repulsed. "Their cavalry is utterly worthless on the battle-field," Capt. Totten later stated.

Still, the combined forces gathered and Price was ready to move again.

On the other side, Sturgis had tough decisions to make. Nobody had any clue what had happened to Sigel. If they gave up the hill and Sigel was closing the trap, all would be lost.

The third assault by the combined Confederate, Missouri and Arkansas men proved to be a bloody one. Men hid in the tall grass, but that was not safe cover as many still perished. Totten's guns fired canister. This continued until about 11:30 a.m., when Price pulled his men back.

Taking advantage of the lull, Sturgis started to shift his troops, especially those low on ammunition. The 2nd Kansas led the way, followed by Du Bois' Battery and the 2nd Missouri. Next to go were the 1st Kansas and the 1st Iowa. Except for a weak attempt to hit the Federal rear guard, this proved to be the end of the fighting.

Sturgis retreated the forces to Springfield, and the next day the Federals were on the road for Rolla.

By percentage, Federal losses at Wilson's Creek were higher than Antietam. A total of 24.5 percent of Federals fighting at Wilson's Creek became casualties. The Federals lost 285 killed, 873 wounded and 186 missing among 5,400 ready for action. The rate at Antietam was 16.5 percent among those present for duty. Not only that, but the losses were greater than any battle from the Mexican War.

Among the combined Confederate, Missouri and Arkansas troops, the rate was 12 percent. The Western Army had 277 killed and 945 wounded for 1,222 casualties among 10,200 men. The combined casualty rate was 16 percent, which could be higher if one considers the fact that many were unarmed and took no active role in the day's combat.

Exactly what happened in southwest Missouri was not clear to the rest of the country. Both sides claimed victory. The New York Times proclaimed it as a "Great National Victory in Missouri" which showed the lack of immediate information available from the battlefield.
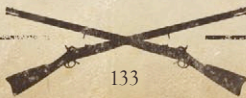
LYON LOST AND FOUND

Somewhere along the line, Lyon's body was misplaced. It was found by the victorious army and turned over to Dr. Samuel Melcher, an assistant surgeon who remained on the field to look after Federal wounded. "They left their dying chieftain to the mercy of a victorious but magnanimous enemy," stated R.G. Childress of the 3rd Texas.

After identifying the body at the Ray Farmhouse, Melcher and an escort delivered the body to Sturgis in Springfield. It was his intention to take it with him to Rolla, but due to the wounds, embalming was impossible. Instead, the body was taken to the farm of U.S. Congressman John Phelps south of Springfield.

With the body being stored in the ice house there and being threatened by drunken rebels, Mrs. Mary Phelps asked Gen. Price to arrange a burial to keep it from further damage. Capt. Henry Guibor's artillery battery performed the task in the Phelps family garden Aug. 13.

"In death his features wore the same troubled and puzzled expression that had been fixed upon them for the past week," New York Herald reporter Thomas W. Knox who had been with the Federals.

On Aug. 22, 1861, Lyon family members Danford Knowlton and John Hasler exhumed the coffin and transported it to St. Louis, where it lay in state for two days. A military funeral was held Aug. 28 and the body was sent by train to Lyon's home state of Connecticut. Along the way, ceremonies were held in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York and numerous smaller cities. He was finally buried in Phoenixville, Conn., next to his mother and sister, Sept. 4, 1861.

On the battlefield, Lyon won praise from his foes. "(He) was a very able and capable man who doubtless have reached the highest rank in Federal service if he had lived," Capt. W.H. King of the 3rd Missouri State Guards Division stated.

AFTERMATH

The victors did not stay together for long. McCulloch's first priority still was to secure northern Arkansas and the Indian Territory for the Confederacy. And Pearce's Arkansas State Troops had done their job in thwarting the Federal threat. That left Price to continue operations in the Show-Me State. Thus, the Western Army broke up as the individual commanders set off to their next tasks.

Just because Lyon was gone did not mean the Federals decided to be nice to Missouri's general population. Missourians were still subject to being harassed at any time by Federal troops who could force anyone to proclaim his
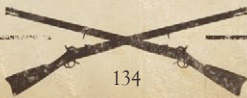
or her allegiance to the Union. Acting Aug. 30, Maj. Gen. Fremont issued his Emancipation Proclamation, forever freeing the slave population of Missouri.

The move was not received well in Washington, D.C., where President Abraham Lincoln asked Fremont to modify it to comply with the Confiscation Act of 1861 (freeing only slaves used by Confederates to aid in the war effort). Lincoln eventually had to remove Fremont from department command and rescinded the order, but the movement to free all slaves had started.

Price was the immediate benefactor of the victory at Wilson's Creek. On Sept. 12, he laid siege to Lexington. The siege lasted until Sept. 20. With 20,000 men, Price captured the town and a large Federal garrison under Col. James Mulligan in a fight which also became known as the Battle of the Hemp Bales. From the time of the Battle of Wilson's Creek to Lexington proved to be the high-water mark for the Confederacy in Missouri.

Jackson and the government-in-exile passed an ordinance of secession Oct. 28, 1861, in Neosho. The Confederacy recognized Missouri as its 12th state Nov. 28, 1861. However Jackson had to flee to Arkansas with Missouri forces. After a defeat at Pea Ridge, Jackson died in Little Rock, Ark., Dec. 6, 1862, of stomach cancer. He was initially buried at Mount Holly Cemetery in Little Rock before being exhumed and reburied in Sappington Cemetery (the Sappingtons were his in-laws) near Arrow Rock.

Price received a commission as a Confederate major general March 6, 1862. After fighting at Pea Ridge, Price went to the Army of the West. He led troops at Iuka, Corinth and Helena, Ark. In 1864, he helped to repulse the raid of another Wilson's Creek veteran, Maj. Gen Frederick Steele during the Camden Expedition.

Life in the Show-Me State did not get much better. The average citizen had to be ready for oath tests at any time. Some bold Confederate commanders braved the home guard to make recruiting forays back to their home areas. Bushwhackers, riding under the flags of both sides, raided and pillaged throughout the state. Kansas used the opportunity of war to settle old scores on the western side of the state. The result was much turmoil and friction throughout Missouri, despite the fact most of the state remained under Federal control.

Price made one final attempt to liberate Missouri, raiding into the Show-Me State in the fall of 1864. His forces bled at Pilot Knob, suffering enough casualties at Fort Davidson to make an attempt to take St. Louis impossible. Instead, his army raided as close as Franklin (today's Pacific) and fought at
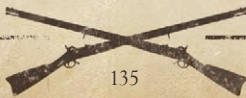
Union before taking Washington and Hermann. Avoiding Jefferson City, Price's army went west along the Missouri River, briefly holding Boonville and Glasgow before continuing west. At the Battle of Westport, Price's forces were defeated. Another costly rear-guard action was fought at Marais Des Cygnes River. Price's force fought 43 battles during the campaign and only about half of the men were still fighting at the end of the run.

Price, and some of his men, went to Mexico after the end of the Civil War (which was inspiration for the movie *The Undefeated*), but came back to St. Louis in January of 1867. Out of money and in poor health, "Old Pap" died Sept. 29, 1867. His funeral, to Bellefontaine Cemetery, was one of the biggest seen in St. Louis to that time.

The war ended for both McCulloch and McIntosh March 7, 1862, at the Battle of Pea Ridge (Elkhorn Tavern). McCulloch was killed by a Federal sharpshooter while scouting positions. About a half-hour later, McIntosh was killed by a shot to the chest while leading a charge against troops of Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis and Col. Osterhaus. McIntosh died a brigadier general, having been promoted to the rank in January.

Pearce's command ended soon after Wilson's Creek as he opposed transfer of his men into Confederate service. Eventually, Pearce gave in and accepted a commission in the Confederate army as a major in the commissary department of Arkansas, Indian Territory (Oklahoma) and Texas. He ended the war in Houston and later was pardoned by President Andrew Johnson. After a teaching stint at the University of Arkansas, he held different jobs. For the benefit of his wife's health, he moved to Texas and died in Dallas March 8, 1894.

Elkanah Greer, the cavalry leader, was wounded at Pea Ridge and commissioned a Confederate brigadier general Oct. 8, 1862. he served out the war as conscription chief of the Trans-Mississippi Department. He also led reserves. He died DeVall's Bluff, Ark, March 25, 1877.

Louis Hebert, the colonel of the 3rd Louisiana cited for bravery at Wilson's Creek, had an adventurous war. He was initially reported as killed in action after he was captured with many of his men at Pea Ridge. Exchanged, he was promoted to brigadier general in Brig. Gen. Lewis Little's Division of Price's Army of the West. His brigade absorbed the brunt of the Federal attack at Iuka and saw action both at Corinth and Vicksburg. Exchanged again, he was sent to North Carolina and supervised heavy artillery around Fort Fisher. He became a newspaper editor and school teacher until he died Jan. 7, 1901.
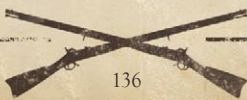
Of the Missouri generals, Rains declined to follow others to Mississippi and led a mixed unit in northwest Arkansas. He was removed from command in October of 1862 and was inactive after that. He recruited during Price's raid, but pulled back. After the war, Rains moved to Texas, where he died May 19, 1880, in Dallas County.

John B. Clark, also a Missouri senator in the First Confederate Congress and representative in the Second Confederate Congress, returned to Fayette after the war and died there Oct. 29, 1885.

Slack recovered from his Wilson's Creek wound, but was wounded in the same hip at Pea Ridge. He seemed to be recovering, but had to be evacuated to another field hospital to keep him from falling into enemy hands. His condition deteriorated and he died March 21, 1862. Still, he was promoted to brigadier general in Confederate service April 12, 1862, as authorities in Richmond did not know he had died.

Parsons missed Pea Ridge, but was appointed a Confederate brigadier general Nov. 5, 1862. He led his men at Prairie Grove and Helena in Arkansas and was a commander opposing the Red River Campaign and the Camden Expedition. Gen. Edmund Kirby Smith appointed Parsons a major general April 30, 1864, but it was never approved by Richmond.

After the war, Parsons was another former Confederate who saw no future in the United States. He went to Mexico, where his party was executed by Mexican Army cavalry near China, Mexico, Aug. 15, 1865.

McBride, who commanded the local division of the Missouri State Guard, participated in the win at Lexington. In 1862, he was captured and exchanged. He resigned his state commission in an attempt to receive a similar rank in the Confederate army. Still awaiting word, he was ordered into a recruiting role to find soldiers in Missouri and Arkansas for the Confederacy. Eventually, he was commissioned as a colonel. Suffering from pneumonia, McBride died in March near Bluffton in Yell County, Ark.

Among the Federals, Sigel's star rose quickly and his promotion to brigadier general came soon after the fight. He was a recruiting star, energizing German immigrants to sign up for the Federal cause at a fast rate. However, Sigel's battlefield reputation was already being questioned. In the aftermath of Wilson's Creek, Sigel's tactics were debated. The officers studied Sigel's day-long retreat in front of Carthage, his decision to pull back to Springfield and Sigel's lack of proper preparation during his attack from the south side.
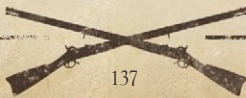
However, these concerns were outweighed by his contributions in bringing the German community to the Union cause.

Sigel made the best of his chance, playing a massive role in the Federal victory at Pea Ridge. There, he led two divisions and personally directed artillery which devastated the Confederates. However, that's where his battlefield excellence came to an end.

Pea Ridge led to Sigel's promotion to major general March 21, 1862, and transfer east to lead a division. He was thrown into the Shenandoah Valley against Confederate Maj. Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. During the Second Bull Run Campaign, he commanded the I Corps in Maj. Gen. John Pope's Army of Virginia. Wounded at Second Battle of Bull Run, Sigel became XI Corps Commander in the Army of the Potomac, where his presence was very popular among the Germans who comprised much of the corps. In February of 1863, Sigel left the corps and he was replaced by Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard. Under Howard, many of Sigel's men suffered heavily at Chancellorsville and again at Gettysburg.

Sigel served in eastern Pennsylvania until being placed in charge of the Department of West Virginia in March of 1864. Invading the Shenandoah Valley, Sigel was whipped by Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge at the Battle of New Market May 15, 1864. Virginia Military Institute cadets played a major role in the Confederate victory. Soon after, Sigel was replaced by Maj. Gen. David Hunter. His final action came against Lt. Gen. Jubal Early at Harper's Ferry. After the war, Sigel worked in newspapers in Baltimore and New York. He was pension agent for New York City under President Grover Cleveland. He died Aug. 21, 1902.

Sturgis also received a commission as brigadier general of volunteers, dated to the day of the Wilson's Creek battle. He was brought to the Washington, D.C. defenses before being sent out to support Maj. Gen. John Pope during the Second Bull Run Campaign. Here, he tried to draw railroad assets to move his men where he had a famous conversation with Brig. Gen. Herman Haupt about priory movements. Haupt was using the railroad to supply Pope. Sturgis was not thrilled about having to wait. "I don't care for John Pope one pinch of owl dung," he said.

Sturgis led the 2nd Division of the IX Corps at South Mountain and Antietam during the Maryland Campaign of 1862 and again at Fredericksburg. When the IX Corps was shifted west, Sturgis also went. He had command roles
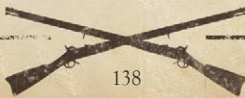
away from the front as cavalry commander of the Department of the Ohio in Tennessee and Mississippi before he tangled with the "Wizard of the Saddle," Maj. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest, at the Battle of Brice's Crossroads, June 10, 1864. In a fight considered to be Forrest's greatest tactical victory, Sturgis squandered a 5,000-man advantage while being routed. Sturgis took no further active role in the war.

At the end of the war, Sturgis received a brevet promotion to major general, but reverted back to lieutenant colonel of the 6th U.S. Cavalry. On May 6, 1869, he was promoted to colonel of the 7th U.S. Cavalry with Lt. Col. George A. Custer as his second-in-command.

While Sturgis was not present at the Battle of Little Big Horn, one of his sons, 2nd Lt. James G. Strugis, was killed along with Custer. Sturgis later led the 7th Cavalry against the Nez Perce tribe in 1877. He retired in 1886 and died in St. Paul, Minn. Sturgis was buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Besides having a son and grandson reach the rank of general in the army, Sturgis also had a town in South Dakota named after him (the site of major annual motorcycle rallies) as well as a World War II troop transport.

Schofield, who later received the Medal of Honor for "conspicuous gallantry" at Wilson's Creek, received his promotion to brigadier general Nov. 21, 1861. Commanding the Army of the Frontier, Sturgis was promoted to major general Nov. 29, 1862. A feud with Maj. Gen. Samuel Curtis resulted in a brief transfer to command the XIV Corps 3rd Division in the Army of the Cumberland before he went back to Missouri later in the year. After Missourians sent a delegation to Washington, D.C., insisting Schofield was too lenient with bushwhackers, Schofield was sent to take charge of the Army of the Ohio under Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman advancing on Atlanta in 1864. After further controversy, Sherman put him under command of Gen. David S. Stanley, commanding the U.S. IV Corps, Aug. 30, 1864.

Schofield was sent to Tennessee to counter Gen. John Hood's Army of Tennessee incursion. Cut off at Spring Hill, Tenn., Schofield was able to maneuver out of the trap and hand Hood massive casualties at the Battle of Franklin. For his action there, he earned the rank of brigadier general in the regular army (Nov. 30, 1864), and the brevet rank of major general (March 13, 1865). He worked with his old adversary Maj. Gen. George Thomas (who had recommended his dismissal from West Point) to secure victory at the Battle of Nashville and ended the war in North Carolina with Sherman's army.

Schofield was secretary of war from June 1868 to March 1869. He later recommended that Pearl Harbor be developed as a port in the Hawaiian Islands, served as superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy and was commanding general of the U.S. Army from 1888-1895. He was promoted to lieutenant general Feb. 5, 1895. Schofield died in St. Augustine, Fla., March 4, 1906, and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, was named after him.

Sweeny was moved to colonel of the 52nd Illinois, the regiment he led at Fort Donelson. He was a brigade commander at Shiloh and later took over a brigade at the Battle of Corinth. Promoted to brigadier general March 16, 1862, Sweeny ascended to command the XVI Corps 2nd Division. At the Battle of Atlanta, Sweeny's division was hit by Hood's flank attack. During the fight, he had his own skirmish by sparring physically with Maj. Gen. Grenville Dodge, his corps commander, after Dodge personally directed one of Sweeny's brigades. Sweeny was court martialed, but acquitted.

After the war, Sweeny led the Fenian invasion of Canada (which sought to free Ireland from British rule), but was arrested. He returned to the U.S. Army, retiring in 1870 as a brigadier general. Sweeny died in Astoria, N.Y. (on Long Island) April 10, 1892, and was buried at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, N.Y.

Steele was made colonel of the 8th Iowa Sept. 23, 1861. He was promoted to brigadier general Jan. 29, 1862, commanding in southwest Missouri. He led troops there until the capture of Helena, Ark., Moved to Vicksburg, Steele fought under Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman at Chickasaw Bluffs and Arkansas Post.

Steele was promoted to major general March 17, 1863, and commanded the XV Corps during the Vicksburg Campaign. He moved to the Department of Arkansas in command of VII Corps. He led the unsuccessful Camden Expedition in support of the Red River Campaign. At the end of the war, he led a division against Mobile, Alabama. After the war, Steele stayed in the army and commanded the Department of Columbia as well as the 20th Infantry as a colonel. He was fatally injured in a carriage accident in California and died in San Mateo, Calif., Jan. 12, 1868.

Osterhaus went to the 12th Missouri, a unit he helped to start, as its colonel. At the Battle of Pea Ridge, Osterhaus' infantry held firm and that helped the Federals win the fight. Osterhaus was promoted to brigadier general June 9, 1882, and given a division in the Army of Southwest Missouri. The division was transferred to Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant during the Vicksburg Campaign and Osterhaus led his men in the Battle of Champion's Hill. At Big Black River, he was wounded.
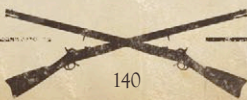
Osterhaus returned in time for the Battle of Missionary Ridge and then during the Atlanta Campaign. He briefly commanded the XV Corps, being promoted to major general July 23, 1864. He ended the war in the west. Discharged in January of 1866, Osterhaus started a hardware factory and export business. He was named U.S. deputy counsel in Mannheim, Germany, in March of 1898. On March 3, 1905, Osterhaus was named a brigadier general in the regular U.S. Army. He died Jan. 2, 1917, in Duisburg, Germany, and was buried in Coblenz, Germany.

Salomon, who in 1860 defeated Ulysses S. Grant for the office of St. Louis County engineer, stayed in command of the 5th Missouri Regiment until its enlistment ended Aug. 26, 1861. He then went to the 9th Wisconsin Infantry, fighting in Arkansas and survived the war with the rank of brevet brigadier general of volunteers to rank from March 13, 1865.

The Battle of Wilson's Creek was a fast, bloody, hot affair which acquainted many men who later ascended to high ranks to the cruelties of war. It also served to force many to make hard choices about whether or not they should remain loyal to the government of the United States or to the once-legal Missouri government.

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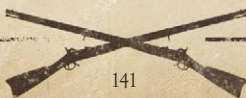
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23.3. BATTLE OF MILL SPRINGS: THE BATTLE WITH MANY NAMES (JANUARY 19, 1862)

by Bill Battle

INTRODUCTION

It was a tragedy of errors.
One by one, commands across the two warring nations learned under fire. Some found immediate success. Others turned minor mistakes into major blunders. And forces from the United States and Confederate States based in Kentucky learned the same hard lessons their brothers in arms had discovered the previous summer at other places of conflict.

Meeting at a location reported by the Mill Springs Battlefield Association to have more names than any other battle (nine), troops from the warring sides met at Mill Springs, Fishing Creek, Logan's Cross Roads, Beech Grove, Somerset or any of a number of other names given to the action which drove the Confederates from Eastern Kentucky in early 1862. The battle also marked the rise or fall of many early war commanders.

KENTUCKY, THE NEUTRAL STATE

At the outbreak of the war, Kentucky had declared its neutrality. Both sides quickly eyed the Bluegrass State as a key to waging successful war, with its importance most succinctly having been stated by President Abraham Lincoln, who is reported to have said, "I hope to have God on my side, but I must have Kentucky."
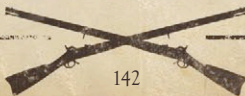
Supported by the state legislature, Gov. Magoffin turned down Lincoln's request for troops following Fort Sumter and declared Kentucky a neutral state in May of 1861.
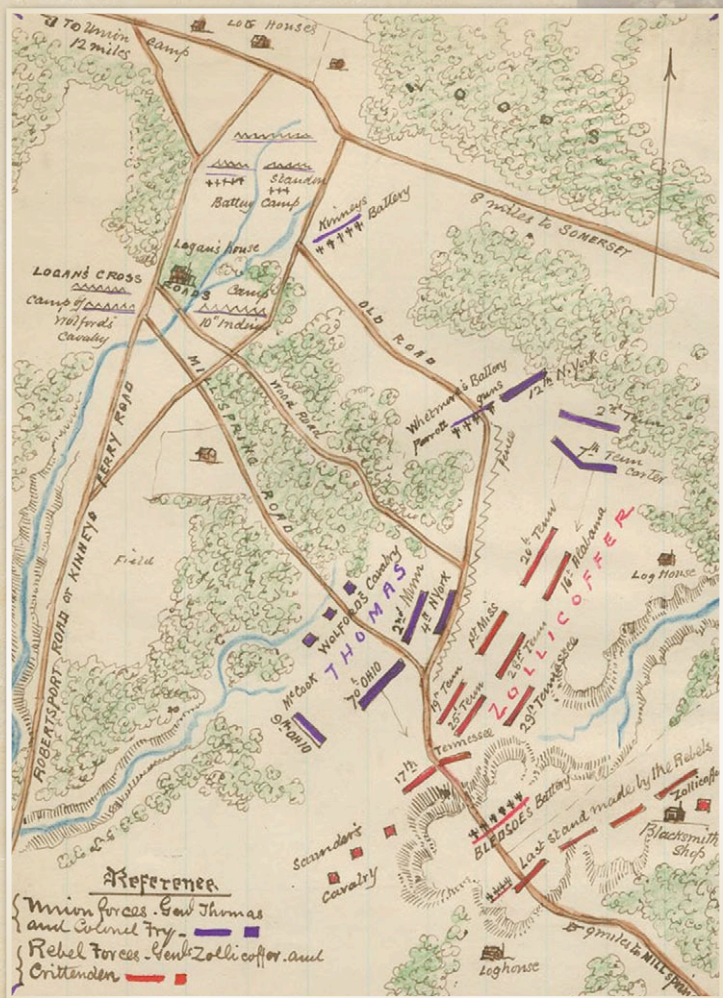
However, forces from both inside and outside the Bluegrass State conspired to make Kentucky choose its course.

The Kentucky State Guard was formed under Simon B. Buckner to enforce neutrality. When it became apparent that the new force had Confederate leanings, the Kentucky Home Guard started to take shape with arms being supplied by the Federals.

Elections in the summer of 1861 saw Unionist gains in the congressional and state races. Magoffin was stripped of his military powers and eventually resigned in August of 1862.

With Kentuckians starting to take up arms, both sides watched what was happening with great interest.

A neutral Kentucky served as a buffer between the warring sides. However, Kentucky also could give each side a strategic advantage in winning the war. A Federal Kentucky would put Union troops on the north border of Tennessee with opportunities to also move into western Virginia and down the Mississippi River. A Confederate Kentucky would put the South on the Ohio River with the chance to threaten Cincinnati and sever Federal supply lines.

Urged by Unionists in eastern Tennessee, President Lincoln moved to act by mustering three regiments of infantry from eastern Kentucky and Tennessee under U.S. Navy Lt. William Nelson.

Nelson established camps in Kentucky for the training and arming of forces loyal to the Union. The main one was Camp Dick Robinson (named for the land's owner), roughly halfway between Cincinnati and Tennessee. Another facility, set up by Naval Lt. Samuel Cooper, was established near Barbourville. It was called Camp Andy Johnson after Tennessee politician Andrew Johnson (and future Vice President and President). Troops trained at the two camps were to help to liberate east Tennessee as well as secure Kentucky.

The Federal Department of Kentucky had been created in Cincinnati under Brig. Gen. Robert Anderson, the commander at Fort Sumter. This command later grew to include Tennessee as the renamed Department of the Cumberland.

The Confederates made the first move into the state. Forces under Maj. Gen. Leonidas Polk and Brig. Gen. Gideon Pillow occupied the bluffs over the Mississippi River at Columbus and the town of Hickman. Castigated by their superiors, the Confederates were ordered to adhere to the state's neutrality, but the trap had been sprung. Soon, both sides were moving forces into the neutral state, which later declared it would remain in the Union.
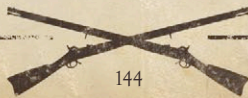
Anderson's Department of the Cumberland was relocated to Louisville. Another Federal commander, Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, took Paducah. Anderson started to acquire subordinate officers who would play key roles in the war as well. Accepting positions in the department were Brig. Gen. George H. Thomas and Brig. Gen. William T. Sherman, who had been among those commanding a brigade at Manassas in July.

Thomas replaced Nelson at Camp Dick Robinson when Nelson was detailed to the task of freeing eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. Thomas had about 9,000 men under his command at Camp Dick Robinson with infantry being the 1st and 2nd East Tennessee regiments, the 3rd and 4th Kentucky regiments, the 14th, 17th and 38th Ohio regiments and the 33rd Indiana regiment. He had the 1st Kentucky Cavalry and three batteries of light artillery (two from Kentucky, one from Ohio) as well.
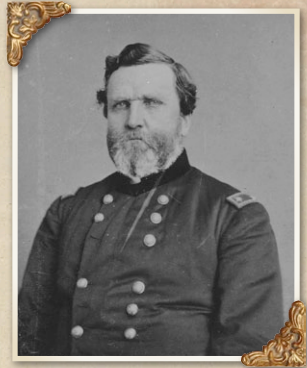
Anderson relinquished department command Oct. 8 due to poor health and Sherman took over.

In the South, the Confederacy also was organizing quickly. Gen. Albert S. Johnston, another native of Kentucky, had been detailed to command the Confederate forces in Tennessee. Johnston used three different forces to advance into Kentucky and secure the Confederacy's northern frontier in that vulnerable area.

Polk remained at Columbus, Kentucky, holding on to key bluffs which controlled the vital Mississippi River. Johnston established a strong middle defense in Tennessee with the building of Forts Henry and Donelson to guard the Tennessee and Cumberland River approaches into Tennessee, and brought troops to Bowling Green in order to hold a central strong point in the defensive line.

In the east, Johnston turned to Brig. Gen. Felix Zollicoffer to both hold the perilous eastern part of Tennessee and to move into Kentucky while controlling the Cumberland Gap.

Zollicoffer, a former newspaper editor, politician and militia officer, had the toughest task of the group. He neither enjoyed a strong position, nor had well-equipped troops, nor was in a friendly area. He was forced to use many of his
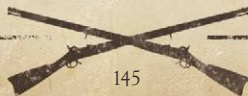
men to police eastern Tennessee as Unionists caused havoc. Still, he eventually was able to move into Kentucky by the end of the year. His first move was to establish Camp Buckner at Cumberland Ford.

At Camp Buckner, Zollicoffer had the 11th, 17th, 19th and 20th Tennessee Infantry regiments, the 15th Mississippi infantry regiment, eight companies of cavalry from the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Tennessee Cavalry battalions, and Rutledge's Tennessee Battery.

As 1861 came to a close, the opposing forces were set in place.

NEUTRAL NO MORE

Kentucky shed its neutrality Sept. 18, 1861, siding with the Federals while condemning the Confederate advance. In the North, the state fell under the command of Maj. Gen. Henry Halleck in St. Louis (Department of Missouri) and Brig. Gen. Don Carlos Buell (Department of the Ohio) to divide operations in the state between them. Buell, who had been helping Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan in Washington, D.C., took over from Sherman Nov. 15, 1861. That same day, Maj. Gen. George Crittenden took over Zollicoffer's position, but retained the old commander as leader of the district's first division. Additionally, it took some time for Crittenden to actually make it to Zollicoffer's forces as he made a trip to Richmond to visit the Confederate high command.

Buell started to reorganize his command. Brig. Gen George Thomas was assigned one of the five divisions created during the reorganization. Other divisions went to Brig. Gen. Alexander McCook, Brig. Gen. Ormsby Mitchel, Brig. Gen. William Nelson, and Brig. Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden (younger brother of the Confederate general).

Thomas, who made his headquarters in Lebanon, Kentucky, had four brigades under his command and a number of unattached units.

Leading the Union's First Brigade was Brig. Gen. Albin Schoepf, a veteran of the Austrian army. His units were the 33rd Indiana, 17th Ohio, 12th Kentucky and 38th Ohio. The second brigade was led by Col. Mahlon Manson and consisted of the 4th Kentucky, 14th Ohio, 10th Indiana and 10th Kentucky infantry regiments. The Third Brigade was led by Col. Robert McCook and consisted of the newly-created 18th U.S., 35th Ohio, 9th Ohio and 2nd Minnesota regiments. Acting Brig. Gen. Samuel Carter had the 1st East Tennessee, 2nd East Tennessee, 12th Ohio and 38th Ohio. Unattached units were the 1st Kentucky Cavalry and three batteries of light artillery. Two
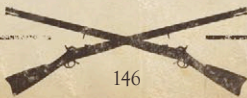
were from the 1st Ohio and the final one was from Kentucky. In the South, Johnston had established his defensive line. Zollicoffer and his forces, mainly from Tennessee, pushed through the Cumberland Gap and advanced 70 miles northwest to advance the eastern end of Confederate outposts.

First contact was made near Barbourville, as Zollicoffer sent an 800-man detachment under Col. Joel Battle of the 20th Tennessee to disperse Camp Andrew Johnson. This had been a base of operations for Unionists who had hoped to free eastern Tennessee from the Confederacy. The Confederate force arrived Sept. 19, 1861, to find that the Federal recruits had been moved on to Camp Dick Robinson, and only a small local unit remained. The Confederates routed the home guard, under Capt. Isaac Black and captured weapons and supplies.

Another Confederate raid succeeded at Laurel Bridge and the Goose Creek Salt Works Sept. 28. The main adversaries collided again Oct. 21, 1861, at Wild Cat Mountain. Samuel Carter, a former U.S. Navy lieutenant and acting brigadier general (he later became the only American officer to hold the ranks of major general and rear admiral), chose that site for another camp. Col. Frank Wolford's 1st Kentucky Cavalry moved to set up Camp Wild Cat. Thomas sent the 7th Kentucky Infantry (led by Col. Theophilus T. Garrard) to reinforce Camp Wild Cat. Garrard was reinforced by Schoepf's brigade and the latter took overall command. Zollicoffer attacked with a bigger force, 7,500 to 5,400, but the Federals made better use of natural cover and fortifications. The 33rd Indiana, under Col. John Coburn, took much of the Confederate attack. Initially, the 11th Tennessee of Col. James Rains attacked. A second effort on the camp was made by Col. Tazwell Neuman and his 17th Tennessee.

For the battle, the Confederates suffered 53 casualties (11 killed, 42 wounded) to 25 (four killed, 21 wounded) for the Federals. Despite having more troops, Zollicoffer was unable to exploit his advantage and retreated.

After Wild Cat Mountain, Zollicoffer proposed defending Cumberland Gap as it was a better defensive location than Camp Buckner. He proposed pulling his defensive line back south of Cumberland Gap. Soon after that, Zollicoffer flip-flopped his position and went on the offensive south of Monticello, Kentucky. Zollicoffer's inconsistency on his command's stance would lead to problems later.

On Nov. 8, partisans burned four bridges in eastern Tennessee ahead of an expected Federal advance which did not materialize. This led to the Confederates to send reinforcements and put down the insurrection.
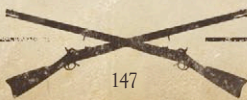
Nelson, elevated to brigadier general in the army by this point, won a victory over Confederates under Col. John Williams at Ivy Mountain, Nov. 8-9, and followed up by occupying Pikeville Nov. 9.

From there, both sides moved to fill the void in southeastern Kentucky. The campaign for the Bluegrass State was on.

MOVES, COUNTER MOVES AND CONTACT

Zollicoffer finally decided to move his force to Mill Springs, Kentucky, a location with a 200-foot bluff which controlled the south bank of the Cumberland River and had a grist and saw mill. Controlling the river would allow his command to be resupplied by river from Nashville, much easier than trying to move supplies over treacherous roads from Knoxville in the dead of winter.

In the meantime, Capt. Boston Dillion of the 1st Kentucky Cavalry had been ordered to move across from Mill Springs. Instead, he decided to stop at the Fishing Creek defensive positions.

Had Zollicoffer faced any opposition or had he listened to his engineers, who were busy working on building boats to send forces across the river in early December, he might have lasted through the winter. But Zollicoffer decided to push forward, boosted by a small skirmish Dec. 4 in which elements of the 17th Ohio Regiment were driven back.

"The result of your crossing the river now will be that you will be repulsed and lose all the artillery taken over," wrote Capt. Thomas Estill, one of the engineers for Zollicoffer's army.

Zollicoffer would find out the hard way that Estill's prediction would come true. Still, Zollicoffer insisted upon crossing the river in force to solidify its control.

On Dec. 5, Zollicoffer's cavalry ran into the Federal positions at Fishing Creek. During the brief encounter, the Federal pickets were pushed back across the creek with some prisoners taken by the Confederates. In another skirmish, part of Schoepf's staff was captured at another ford of Fishing Creek. After that, Schoepf decided to withdraw Col. John Connell's 17th Ohio and other forces from the Fishing Creek, Waitsboro (upstream from Mill Springs) and Somerset.

On Dec. 6, Zollicoffer decided to continue moving his men north of the river, despite having not heard from Gen. A.S. Johnston on his communications of Nov. 27 and Nov. 30. The 16th Alabama Infantry was the first unit to cross, joining a hand-picked contingent of the 20th Tennessee and the cavalry. The 19th Tennessee and 25th Tennessee followed suit. Camp was set about a mile
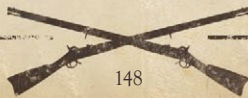
north of the river on an elevated area in a beech grove. The rest of the 20th Tennessee crossed Dec. 6-7.

After receiving orders to return to Mill Springs, Zollicoffer delayed, insisting upon trying to have his position heard. Beech Grove was a fine defensive spot with both flanks anchored. However, higher command saw it too easy for the river to be forded either upstream or downstream for the Federals to cut off the command. Prior to the arrival of Crittenden, Zollicoffer did everything possible to fortify the position. An abatis was placed in front of the breastworks.

"This camp is immediately opposite Mill Springs, 1 1/4 mile, distant. The river protects our rear and flanks. We have about 1,200 yards fighting front to defend, which we are entrenching as rapidly as our few tools will allow. The position I occupy north of the river is a fine basis for operations in front. It is a much stronger natural position for defense than that on the south bank. I think it should be held at all hazards," Zollicoffer wrote Johnston.

With that, Zollicoffer justified his position north of the Cumberland.

Even with orders to move back, why did Zollicoffer stay at Beech Grove? Perhaps the will to continue to move towards the enemy drove him. By that time, Zollicoffer was aggressive in trying to find the enemy and guard his encampment. Perhaps, knowing how hard his men had worked in setting up the camp, Zollicoffer did not want to uproot them from what they had made. Perhaps the struggle with camp maladies made Zollicoffer not want to move. Like their Federal counterparts, the Confederates at Beech Grove were suffering from all of the miseries of camp life. Measles hit the Tennessee men on both sides particularly hard. Typhoid and pneumonia also were killers.

With the arrival of Maj. Gen. George Crittenden, overall command passed from Zollicoffer. Reinforcements also were expected from Brig. Gen. William Carroll's brigade, but trouble finding sufficient arms for the men led to it being sent forth piecemeal, starting with Col. Moses White's 37th Tennessee, which left Knoxville Dec. 28. Carroll's command started to arrive Jan. 15 along with six guns from Capt. George Monsarrat's battery.

In the meantime, several skirmishes took place as the armies moved into position.

On Jan. 7, the steamboat *Noble Ellis* arrived carrying supplies from Nashville. For much of the way, the boat had a cavalry escort on the northern bank. The Federals attempted to interdict the boat's passage, but miscalculated its position and thus missed an interception.

Buell told Thomas and Schoepf to concentrate their commands for movement against Zollicoffer. He envisioned a two-pronged attack to send the Confederates back to Tennessee.

"It is not sufficient to hold Zollicoffer in check; he must be captured or dispersed."

Crittenden utilized the *Noble Ellis* to help pick up supplies as foraging expeditions were being sent out daily to help try to supply the Confederates. It was during some of these missions that the Southern commander started to find out that the Union forces were moving against him. It was only a matter of time before the Federals, heading toward Somerset, and the Confederates, sending foraging parties out from Beech Grove, would meet.

On Jan. 15, a Confederate foraging party discovered that Faubush Creek was not fordable. The area's streams, which had been low, were coming up with the recent rain.

That led to Mill Springs, the battle with many names.

Manson's brigade moved out and had to deal with poor road and bridge conditions while laboring to make it to join Schoepf. In the meantime, Schoepf was trying to figure out a location for attacking the Confederates in their works. But before the Federals were able to find an optimal way to attack the Beech Grove encampment – by then protected by trenchworks, abatis, and artillery redoubts – the Confederates spilled out of it and came looking for a fight. It was early in the morning of Jan. 19, and that day's events would change the future of the war in Kentucky.

Those troops as they marched were afflicted by the cold and rain, but this was not the first or last time that the elements would have an impact on the day's battle. First, the Cumberland River, which had come up from its low December stage, forced the hand of the overall area Confederate commander, Maj. Gen. George Crittenden during the period leading to the battle. On Jan. 19 itself, heavy rain continued to fall, making movement difficult for soldiers on both sides. Moreover, the rain also fouled muskets: many of the Confederates were using flintlocks, which would not fire in the wet conditions. Even the Federals had to pause after the battle to issue dry ammunition to the troops. Also, there was fog, which made spotting the enemy even tougher, especially for the near-sighted local Confederate commander in the white raincoat, Brig. Gen. Felix Zollicoffer, who was to pay dearly for his inability to tell friend from foe.
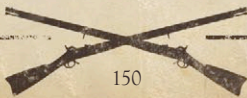
THE COMMANDERS

Later in the war, George Thomas would be called "The Rock of Chickamauga" for his stand at that Georgia battlefield in November of 1863. But in 1861 and early 1862, Thomas was a rarity in the Federal forces as a Virginian who stayed loyal to the United States. So, not only did he have to fight his family (his sisters disowned him), but he also had to continuously prove his loyalty to those suspicious of his background. As a youth, his family was caught in the middle of Nat Turner's slave revolt in 1831. He attended the U.S. Military Academy and graduated 12th in the Class of 1840. He immediately saw action against the Seminoles in Florida and later earned commendations for gallantry at Monterey and Buena Vista during the Mexican War. After that war, he served in the cavalry in Texas. In January of 1861, Thomas applied for the commandant's job at Virginia Military Institute. In March of 1861, Thomas was offered the position of Virginia chief of ordnance by Gov. John Letcher. He turned that spot down and stayed with the U.S. Army. In the opening months of the war, he was a colonel in charge of a brigade of troops under Brig. Gen. Robert Patterson in the Shenandoah Valley. In the shakeup of commanders after Patterson's failure to check Confederate Gen. Joseph Johnston's movement to support Brig. Gen. Pierre G.T. Beauregard at the Battle of First Manassas, or First Bull Run, Thomas was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers Aug. 17, 1861, and sent to Kentucky.

Confederate Maj. Gen. George B. Crittenden was the area commander in charge of the Confederate defenses in eastern Tennessee and Kentucky starting with his appointment to head the District of East Tennessee Dec. 8, 1861. Under the overall control of Gen. Albert S. Johnston, Crittenden was responsible for operating a chain of outposts along the Tennessee-Kentucky frontier. As Kentucky had proclaimed its neutrality, it should have been a buffer between Tennessee and the Federal bases in the northern states. Nobody believed Kentucky's neutrality would hold up and the outposts were the Confederacy's way of checking the buffer zone.

The local commander for the Confederates in the Cumberland Gap area was Brig. Gen. Felix Zollicoffer. A former newspaper editor and
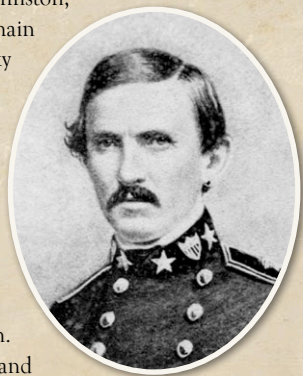
Whig politician, Zollicoffer had done everything he could to prevent war from happening. He had been at the Peace Conference in Washington, D.C., earlier in 1861, trying to smooth things over between the sides. But when that failed, he became a brigadier general of Tennessee state troops around the time Fort Sumter was taken. After that, he was accepted into Confederate service at the same rank. On July 9, 1861, Zollicoffer was made head of the District of East Tennessee, Department No. 2. When Crittenden came, Zollicoffer remained as leader of the department's 1st Brigade.

By all accounts, Zollicoffer was popular not only among his men, but also with civilians his command passed.

"He was the only Confederate General I ever saw and I think still he was the finest that ever commanded troops in this section of Kentucky," John W. Simpson, a young boy who lived near Bronston, Kentucky, later recalled. "He did not allow his troops to steal from citizens. One of his soldiers stole a goose at Mill Springs and he had him pay $50 for it."

In camp, Zollicoffer was subjected to many of the same hardships as his troops, which further endeared him to them. And, on Christmas Eve, 1861, he ordered two gallons of whiskey be distributed to every company.

Unlike many of the political generals, Zollicoffer did have some military training. He was a veteran of the Seminole War, where he served for a year as a first lieutenant in the Florida fighting. Zollicoffer realized the importance of controlling the Cumberland Gap, and late in 1861, he moved his men through the gap and into Kentucky.

QUESTIONABLE JUDGMENT

But Zollicoffer was subject to major lapses. Camped at Beech Grove, Kentucky, Zollicoffer put his command on the north side of the Cumberland River, despite direction from Johnston not to do so. Zollicoffer had moved to that location, his proposed base of winter operations, so he could draw supplies from Nashville by river rather than from Knoxville by perilous roads.

Meanwhile, Thomas was concentrating his forces at Columbia, Kentucky, for the winter. This was a position which would allow him the opportunity to defend against either Johnston or Zollicoffer. Other smaller forces were left at Crab Orchard, London and Somerset.

By the time Crittenden arrived, he had trouble. The Confederates were caught between a Rock (of Chickamauga, Thomas's future nickname) and a
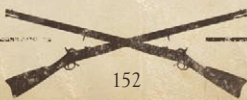
hard place (the swollen Cumberland River). There were not many options. Just moving the men across the river under those conditions was going to be tough. But that also would mean the loss of artillery, ammunition and supplies which would have to be left to the enemy. Crittenden ordered Zollicoffer to withdraw to the south side of the river in late November. Had Zollicoffer acted immediately, he would have recrossed during a period of low water on the Cumberland. In fact, the water was low enough that the smallest of the steamers sent from Nashville with supplies had trouble making the voyage.

"I infer from yours that I should not have crossed the river, but now it is too late. My means of recrossing is so limited, I could hardly accomplish it in the face of the enemy," Zollicoffer wrote Johnston on Dec. 10, 1861.

Actually, Zollicoffer had time if he would have acted at that moment. The two sides would not clash for more than a month, and that would come with the Confederates advancing to instigate the battle. Had Zollicoffer known that Thomas did not start his advance from his base at Lebanon, Kentucky, until Jan. 1, 1862, and was encountering horrible road conditions, he might have had the chance to pull back. But he did not. It took 17 day for Thomas to reach Logan's Cross Roads and even longer for other reinforcements to concentrate.

Crittenden arrived to find the orders had not been obeyed on Jan. 3. Zollicoffer had fortified his position between the Cumberland River and Fishing Creek, but Crittenden decided it was not enough. Federal forces arrived at Fishing Creek Jan. 17, and planned to continue moving toward contact.

Crittenden, unaware of the closing Federal forces until it was too late to retreat, decided there was just one alternative – attack the enemy before they could threaten the Confederate camps. He moved out his forces. Confederate cavalry met Federal pickets of Manson's 10th Indiana about 2 a.m. on the morning of Jan. 18. The "Battle of Many Names" was getting closer to taking place.

THE BATTLE BEGINS

Crittenden did what he could. He formed his command into two brigades. Zollicoffer commanded the 1st Brigade, which consisted of the 15th Mississippi, 16th Alabama, 19th Tennessee, 20th Tennessee, 25th Tennessee, four guns and two companies of cavalry. The 2nd Brigade was led by Brig. Gen. William Carroll (son of a six-time Tennessee governor) and consisted of 17th Tennessee, 28th Tennessee, 29th Tennessee, 37th Tennessee, two artillery pieces and cavalry. Carroll was placed in charge of this force despite his recent arrival from the Memphis area.
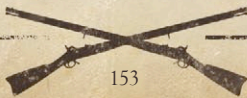
At least one of the regiments was not at full staff. The commander of the 15th Mississippi, Col. Winfield Statham (who later commanded a brigade at Shiloh, but never made the general's rank), had taken leave and headed to Bowling Green to try to convince Gen. Albert S. Johnston to transfer his unit to that outpost. In his absence, the regiment was led by Lt. Col. Edward Walthall, who later ascended to major general).

Crittenden had scouting reports that the Federals were separated by Fishing Creek. He had hoped that by attacking quickly he would have the luck of overpowering one portion of the enemy. Several things would have to go right, though. Crittenden banked on Fishing Creek being too badly flooded for the Federals to reinforce. Unfortunately for the Confederates, this proved to be a false assumption. Another report stated that only two regiments occupied Logan's Cross Roads, but that also was wrong information: the Federals in fact had eight regiments there at the time.

Writing Johnston, Crittenden stated he was "threatened by a superior force of the enemy in front, and finding it impossible to cross the river, I will have to make a fight on the ground I now occupy." Crittenden had hoped Johnston would demonstrate to draw forces away from his position, but the note had to be delivered by horseback. That would take time – time Crittenden did not have.

On the night of the 17th, Crittenden held a council of war. He later reported the officers were unanimous in supporting the decision to attack. Reportedly, Zollicoffer never voted and said he would go because he was ordered to go. Thomas was prepared for the action. He had sent out scouts, who reported the Confederates were getting ready to leave their fortifications. Both brigades moved forward on the morning of Jan. 19, 1862, with about 4,600 men, enough to displace the two regiments of Federal infantry Crittenden thought he would be facing.

Placed in the lead of the march (behind screening cavalry) was the 15th Mississippi. The Confederates labored for about nine miles along a muddy Mill Springs Road in a heavy rain and cold temperatures. "It was the most cheerless and disagreeable night I ever experienced," wrote Lt. Albert Roberts of the 20th Tennessee.

Eventually, the Confederates made contact with the Federals. Crittenden had hoped to hit the Federals quickly and overcome the expected two regiments. Therefore, he did not put in orders to hit the line without forming into a battle line. The Confederate cavalry found the pickets of the 1st Kentucky Cavalry
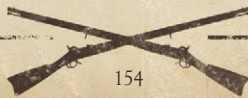
near the crossing of Timmy's Branch about 6:10 a.m. The 15th Mississippi's E Co., the McClung Rifles, was given the task of clearing the rest of the cavalry from the route of advance. While the encounter led to a few casualties, it also gave the Federals more warning that the Confederates were on the march.

Driving in the advance guard, the Confederates continued to move forward. Next in the line of attack were two companies of the 10th Indiana (K and I) located near Burton's Hill. First coming upon the 10th Indiana's Co. K, the 15th Mississippi advanced two companies, E and G (the Granada Rifles) as skirmishers. Both had been trained as Zouave skirmishers and were advancing in a line deployed eight paces apart. About 6:40 a.m., the engagement had drawn in the two companies of the 15th Mississippi with the 10th Indiana and the remaining Federal cavalry.

Crittenden, who had deployed most of his cavalry to the rear of the column, had no idea his forces had been halted by two companies of infantry. Zollicoffer was convinced that he was facing much more than that and deployed his men into a line of battle, again wasting time. The failure to properly plan for the attack was costing the Confederates dearly. The 15th Mississippi was deployed to the right side of the road. The 19th Tennessee was ordered to deploy on the other side of the road.

THE BATTLE HEATS UP

Here, south of Logan's Cross Roads, at Burton's Hill in an area known to the locals as the "Old Fields," the general battle was engaged. It was 6:35 a.m.

At the Federal camp, the Union forces stirred and started to move once the alarm was sent. The long roll played and the rest of the 10th Indiana started to move in support of their comrades. Included in that number was 1st Lt. Lew Wallace, who later would become a Federal general, and is most famous for his controversial performance at Shiloh and writing Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ years after the war.

Reinforced by the 20th Tennessee and the 25th Tennessee, the Confederates hit the 10th Indiana's advanced force (many of them Rich Mountain and Wild Cat Mountain veterans), which was being reinforced by other elements of its regiment. Col. Mahlon Manson, an acting brigadier general, summoned the rest of his brigade to repel the Confederate attack.

With superior numbers engaged, the Confederates pushed the 10th Indiana back off the hill. Under the direction of Maj. Abram Miller, the units of the
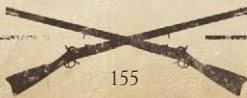
10th Indiana reformed past the crest of the hill. Zollicoffer was cautious in his scouting, feeling that some sort of ambush awaited his men. Meanwhile, the rest of the 10th Indiana (coordinated by Lt. Col. William Kise) and the 1st Kentucky Cavalry was on the way at the head of Federal units looking to reinforce their brothers in arms.

Scouting ahead, Walthall and the 15th Mississippi found the Federals. After an exchange of volleys, the Confederates charged with the famous Rebel Yell.

The Confederate advance against the 10th Indiana and the 1st Kentucky Cavalry continued with the 19th Tennessee in the lead on the left side of the road. The 15th Mississippi, hit hard by the early action, was followed by the 20th Tennessee and the 25th Tennessee, which had been redeployed on that side of the road as well. By 7:25 a.m., four guns of Rutledge's battery (under Lt. Eugene Falconnet) had arrived on the southern side to help the Confederates with additional firepower.

Though not directly engaged, the 20th Tennessee started to receive fire which had passed over the 15th Mississippi.

"Boys, 'tis pretty rough but that is what we are here for," said Maj. Patrick Duffy of the 20th Tennessee, who had his horse shot out from under him before the regiment ever got close enough to engage the enemy.

The Federals reformed in better defensive positions, slowly contesting the ground while taking few losses. Around 7:35 a.m., the Confederates reformed again. The 25th Tennessee was sent back to the west side of the road to support the 19th Tennessee. The 15th Mississippi was supported by the 20th Tennessee.

Crittenden arrived on the scene and ordered the 20th Tennessee to deploy on the right to turn the Federal flank. He also ordered Falconnet to fire on Federal artillery from the dangerous 9th Ohio Battery. The 15th Mississippi moved into a wooded ravine, which provided cover for that unit to approach the Federals. Col. Speed Fry of the 4th Kentucky (Union), which had joined the Federal defense by that time, demanded the Confederates "stand up and fight like men."

The 20th Tennessee moved through Federal fire. Col. Joel Battle, the regiment's commanding officer, implored his men not to dodge the fire. Battle himself had to move quickly to avoid being hit by a large shell. "Boys, dodge the big ones, but don't dodge the little ones!" Cpl. William McMurray later reported Battle saying.

Artillery fire started to hit everywhere. Fire from the 9th Ohio Battery struck the corn bin near the Burton house and the family fled.
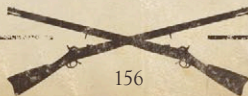
The 20th Tennessee tried to move around the Federal left flank, being guarded by the dismounted 1st Kentucky Cavalry, which drove in the 20th Tennessee's skirmish line. The 1st Kentucky Cavalry was able to hold off the 20th Tennessee despite inferior numbers. Superior weapons played a role in the fight. The Kentuckians were armed with Sharps rifles. Many of the Confederates were carrying flintlocks, shotguns and other assorted firearms not nearly in the same class. It was a theme that would be played out throughout the day.

About the same time, events escalated in the middle of the lines. As both sides took losses, Carroll's brigade finally made up the distance to join the fight. Led by the 17th Tennessee, the new Confederate units started to move into position. Also, with cavalry starting to arrive, the Confederates sent mounted units around the left flank. Kise was forced to pull back one company of his 10th Indiana to meet this new threat.

Lt. Col. William Kise, commanding the left (west) side, was forced to fall back around 8:20 a.m. under heavy pressure from the 19th Tennessee. Maj. Abram Miller also retreated with his four-company unit on the east side of the road, reporting the unit fell back in good order. There was a new problem for the Federals: they were running out of ammunition.

Fortunately for the Federals, troops of Col. Robert McCook's brigade arrived just in time to extend the Federal left. Some of these troops were not as experienced as the 10th Indiana. The 2nd Minnesota was a green unit under a veteran, Col. Horatio Van Cleve. "I will never forget the first shell that passed high above us, and our poor regiment settled nearly a foot in the muddy ground," stated Pvt. Hezekiah Bayless. These troops were the men of Col. Robert McCook's brigade. He had the 2nd Minnesota and 4th Kentucky arriving and the 9th Ohio on the way. Some of the men in the brigade had seen action in Western Virginia, including McCook.

Additionally, troops of Acting Brig. Gen. Samuel Carter moved up. These units included the 1st and 2nd East Tennessee as well as the 12th Kentucky. The new Federal line was set up near the south side of Logan's Cross Roads, also near the Federal camps. This line was away from the central fighting.

Both sides were struggling with the weather, which had turned rainy again. A cold and heavy downpour struck combatants of both sides, sparing nobody from being drenched. The 10th Indiana eventually had to withdraw from the action due to casualties and a lack of ammunition. Kise reported that most of his men were down to just 5-10 rounds. Lt. Louis Johnson of Co. E, 10th Indiana, reported the men in his company were out of ammunition.
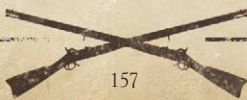
With the 10th Indiana and 1st Kentucky Cavalry retiring, not necessarily in good order, the Confederates were not in position to take immediate advantage of the situation. Both Crittenden and Zollicoffer felt they had defeated the only Federal units in the area. But they were mistaken, and by tarrying, the Federals had enough time to organize their new line.

The Confederates realized their mistake of thinking the day was won when the advancing 15th Mississippi was hit by a volley from the 4th Kentucky. The 20th Tennessee swung around to the right of the 15th Mississippi and increased pressure on the 4th Kentucky.

"Coming out of the woods on the rise of another field, (we) found ourselves before the very face of the enemy, who opened on us a terrible fire. Our boys immediately commenced firing without waiting for orders and then the battle commenced in dead earnest," wrote Lt. Albert Roberts of Co. A, 20th Tennessee.

Meanwhile, the 25th Tennessee pushed up on the right flank of the 4th Kentucky, crossing the Mill Springs Road. The 25th Tennessee, which included a number of black troops, opened fire on the 4th Kentucky's Companies A, B and C with telling effect. However, the advantage the Confederates enjoyed washed away.

"We tried to fire our guns but they wouldn't work because they had gotten wet. The Yankees had guns that always fired. Some of our boys got so mad that they bursted their guns against trees or threw them away," stated Pvt. William C. Speck of the 25th Tennessee. The rain had rendered many of the flintlock rifles unusable. The Federals had percussion rifles, which worked better in the wet conditions. Wet weapons did more to stop the 25th Tennessee's advance and saved the 4th Kentucky from having its right flank rolled up. The 25th Tennessee fell back to regroup.

About this time, the confusion factor also came into focus. At least one staff officer thought the 25th Tennessee had been attacking a sibling Confederate unit.

With a lull in the action, Col. Speed Fry worked to move his men to more protected positions. The 4th Kentucky, especially the right three companies, had been suffering while defending the Corn Field. Fry's men regrouped alongside the remnants of the 10th Indiana near the edge of the Corn Field and the Old Road. About this time, 8:55 a.m., the 10th Indiana also was reorganizing and obtaining more ammunition. Thomas arrived near the battle site about this time and collected the 10th Indiana to return to the fighting. This regiment took position on the left of the 4th Kentucky. Volleys from the two Federal
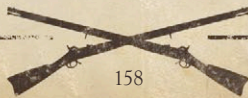
units, and the rain affecting weapons, checked the advancing 20th Tennessee in the Corn Field.

The Confederate advance fell to the 15th Mississippi on the right side and the 19th Tennessee on the left. The 19th Tennessee had an easier time of it, marching on the intersection of Mill Springs Road and Old Road, which was guarded by a thrown-together group of Federal troops. On the other side, the 15th Mississippi fixed bayonets and pushed into the Corn Field, only to be forced to take cover in a ravine. Like the 25th Tennessee, the men of the 19th Tennessee ran into trouble with their weapons. Many refused to fire at all.

"Many of the men had old flintlock guns which were, in the rain, utterly useless," said William Worsham of the 19th Tennessee.

Thus, a potential enveloping attack on the Federal right was stopped.

As mentioned, the 19th Tennessee and elements of the 4th Kentucky and 10th Indiana were closely involved at this time. And just who was friend and who was foe was not evident to all. Officers in different Confederate regiments were trying to halt fire, thinking they were shooting at their own forces. It was not something uncommon to the opposing troops early in the war. Adding to the confusion was the fact that many of the Confederates were uniformed in blue. For Lt. William B. Harrington, Co. C of the 15th Mississippi, the mistake was fatal as he was shot down while Walthall tried to ascertain whether or not forces at his front were friend or foe. They were members of the 4th Kentucky.

"For a brief time the hottest firing occurred that I was subjected to during the war," said Pvt. Thomas T. Smith of the 15th Mississippi.

Some reports stated that Fry yelled at the 15th Mississippi, demanding that they come forward like men.

DEATH OF A GENERAL

With it being the first real action for just about everyone involved, there were many mistakes made on both sides. The biggest was by Zollicoffer, who, despite pleas not to go by his aides, moved to the front of the 19th Tennessee after hearing reports that the regiment was firing on the 15th Mississippi. Fry and his staff rode past the 19th Tennessee and up to a spot near the intersection of Mill Springs Road and Old Road.

Nearsighted to begin with, Zollicoffer mistook soldiers of the 10th Indiana regiment (which wore light gray state militia uniforms) for 15th Mississippi troops on the left side of his lines. Rain, fog and smoke made the visibility even worse.
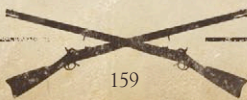
Even Federals could not tell whether Zollicoffer was friend or foe. Some thought that he was Lt. Col. Frank Wolford of the 1st Kentucky. As was later recalled by Capt. James A. Vaughan of Co. B, 4th Kentucky, "A man rode around the angle in the road on a gray horse. He wore a white rubber coat and a blue army cap. Ten or 15 feet from the angle, he halted in full view, within 50 feet of us, reconnoitring. An East Tennessean, I forget his name, belonged to our regiment and wished me to give him a gun-cap quick, for he had lost his cap-box in the hurry that evening and he wished to shoot that man, saying 'that it was old Zolly himself.' I told him he was mistaken that it was Lt. Col. Wolford of the 1st Kentucky. I had met Wolford a day or two before, riding the same kind of horse and the man resembled him very much. The Tennessean assured me that he knew Gen. Zollicoffer better than myself and insisted on shooting him, but I would not allow him to do so."

Along the Federal line, other men had the same idea to shoot, but were cautioned against it as nobody seemed to be able to figure out who the strange figure was. Capt. David N. Steele of Manson's staff, felt the figure was a division quartermaster.

Zollicoffer approached Fry, who also had been trying to ascertain the situation, and ordered him to stop firing on his own men. Some have figured that Zollicoffer realized who Fry was and tried to bluff his way out of the situation. Zollicoffer successfully left the discussion when one of his aides, Lt. Henry M.R. Fogg, approached, yelling that Fry's and his men were the enemy. The aide shot at Fry, but hit his horse. The alarm did nothing but alert the Federals. Fry and others returned fire. Fry fired his revolver, hitting Zollicoffer in the hip. Fogg and Lt. Evan B. Shields were mortally wounded in the exchange. Sgt. Major Henry Ewing was the only Confederate to escape the meeting unscathed. Zollicoffer was hit several times and fell from his horse. About 9:30 a.m., Zollicoffer was down.

Reports differ on Zollicoffer's final words. "I was mistaken; they are the enemy; charge them." was one report. Another was "Go on, go on, my brave boys. I am killed."

For the meantime, the Confederates tried to withhold information on Zollicoffer's fate from his men. "Don't mention it yet, the general is dead," Ewing told Sgt. Major Henry Doak of the 19th Tennessee. Meanwhile, Confederates who had seen the general shot were in action to try to retrieve him. Having been ordered by the now-dead Zollicoffer to cease firing, the 19th Tennessee took

fire from the Federal right without returning it. The 19th Tennessee was forced to fall back in something less than an orderly readjustment of the lines. The Confederates had reached their zenith in the battle.

THE BATTLE CONTINUES

Command of Zollicoffer's brigade fell to Col. David Cummings of the 19th Tennessee, although the official confirmation of this did not come for a time.

The next general on the scene was Thomas and he rearranged his forces. The 10th Indiana was moved to the right, filling in some of the area recently vacated by the 19th Tennessee. Thomas ordered Capt. Alvan Gillem to bring up resupplies by wagon to bring the 10th Indiana back into the fight.

With Thomas on the scene, some of the troops that had been defending the camps were called forward.

Thomas was able to push two fresh regiments into the line, the 2nd Minnesota and 9th Ohio regiments. Thomas then ordered Samuel Carter's men on the left to swing around and try to hit the Confederates in the flank.

Crittenden moved to the front and tried to take control of the situation. The new plan of attack had the 15th Mississippi (main attack) and 20th Tennessee (holding the right flank) on the right side. Crittenden had been misinformed about their participation earlier in the day and felt that a frontal attack launched by those two regiments could win the day. Gen. William Carroll's brigade was to move up and support. On the left, the 19th Tennessee was expected to lead the assault on the left side of the line.

The general advance was ordered despite the fact Crittenden did not really know what he was facing. The 15th Mississippi taking up the vanguard on the right, was ordered to charge. What happened was an advance the men would never forget. Exposed to heavy fire from the 1st Kentucky and 4th Kentucky, the 15th Mississippi paid dearly for every foot of advance.

"Some of the best blood in the South went down," wrote an unknown soldier of Co. F of the 15th Mississippi. "The enemy then got out in the timber and fired on us heavily in the open field. There we fell a man to the minute for we were nearly surrounded – the main army being on our right and a regiment (1st Kentucky) armed with Colts (Sharps) revolving rifles just in the front," wrote Pvt. Charles C. Frierson, Co. F, 15th Mississippi, one of the wounded.

The Confederate attack seemed to be close to success until an artillery section joined the Union line at a key moment. The guns, under command of
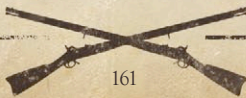
Lt. Frank Viets, came from Battery C of the 1st Ohio. The two 6-pound brass pieces firing grapeshot swept the 15th Mississippi, adding to the casualties.

Still, the 15th Mississippi advanced to the fence position being held by the 4th Kentucky. Hand-to-hand fighting broke out. The 15th Mississippi used "cane knives" and other soldiers poked bayonets through the fence.

The side reinforced first would be the one to win the moment. And it was Federal troops joining the fray first. Both Fry and Walthall, commanding the 4th Kentucky and 15th Mississippi, respectively, were lightly wounded but did not leave the field.

The reinforcements came at the correct time. Alerted that the Kentuckians were running out of ammunition, Thomas implored them to hold until McCook's men could come up and support.

Soon, the 2nd Minnesota and 9th Ohio (of Col. Robert McCook's 3rd Brigade) joined the Federal effort, giving the Northerners a numerical advantage at the point of attack. Fighting was heavy. From the Confederate side, the 15th Mississippi carried most of the battle. The 28th Tennessee, the next closest fresh Confederate unit in support, was not in position to support the attack.

"The enemy was about to make a bayonet charge on the Kentucky boys, which if it had been made would have driven then down upon us and created much confusion," wrote Pvt. Joseph McAlpin of Co. F, 2nd Minnesota.

CONFEDERATE DEFEAT AND RETREAT, AND OVERNIGHT ESCAPE

Both sides fell back briefly at times, but eventually, the Confederates were forced to yield ground to find cover. On the other side of the road, the 10th Indiana moved up into territory left vacant by the retiring 19th Tennessee. The 1st Kentucky Cavalry moved along the Mill Springs Road, threatening the left flank. The only thing halting the 1st Kentucky was the discovery of Zollicoffer's body.

The 20th Tennessee, which had halted to dry out its flintlocks, was ordered to make a general advance. While this advance was taking place on one side of the road, the 19th Tennessee, and later, the 25th Tennessee, were being driven back by the 10th Indiana with support from the 9th Ohio. Col. Sidney Stanton of the 25th Tennessee, was wounded when he could not tell which force was approaching from the front. Neither Crittenden nor Cummings realized that their left wing was disintegrating.
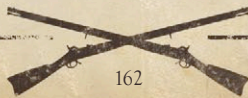
While the advance of the 20th Tennessee allowed the survivors of the 15th Mississippi to escape destruction, it could not carry the day. The 20th Tennessee and 15th Mississippi slugged it out with the 2nd Minnesota and 4th Kentucky at the fence until the Confederates were forced to withdraw to regroup.

The Confederate alignment had not been done to form a complete line. Instead, Confederate forces were in two lines. The 19th Tennessee was followed by the 25th Tennessee on the left side. On the right, the 15th Mississippi was supported by an overlapping 20th Tennessee. The 28th Tennessee was behind with the 29th Tennessee following that regiment. The 17th Tennessee and 16th Alabama were holding near the artillery positions. Additionally, the 1st Tennessee (Union) and 12th Kentucky (Union) were moving into a flanking position to the right of the 15th Mississippi and 20th Tennessee. After Zollicoffer's death, Crittenden was slow to fix the lines and engage the new threats.

Eventually, the Confederates were pushed back, as rain continued to plague them and their weapons. One soldier estimated that only 20 percent of the Confederate weapons worked. Only the 15th Mississippi, 16th Alabama and 29th Tennessee had some percussion weapons. Reportedly, many soldiers smashed their useless flintlock weapons against trees. Also, the terrain did not allow the Confederates to successfully employ artillery for long periods of time.

One by one, Confederate regiments were dumped into the fight to support others. The 15th Mississippi and 20th Tennessee, which had pushed far forward, were forced to retreat under heavy pressure from the flanks. The 9th Ohio, a German unit from Cincinnati, moved with a bayonet charge which broke the Confederate left. The 15th Mississippi and 20th Tennessee resisted. Lt. Bailie Peyton Jr., the 20th Tennessee's Co. A commander, was killed while holding his position firing his pistol at the Federals.

The Confederates fell back in a general retreat. Some of Carroll's troops were forced to fight a rear-guard action. During the fighting Col. (Acting Brig. Gen.) Robert McCook was hit in the leg, but did not leave his command.

"I'm shot in the leg, but I'm good for the day anyhow," McCook later told a friend on Thomas' staff.

Eventually, the 19th Tennessee, 17th Tennessee and 16th Alabama were left to hold off the Federal advance. A bayonet charge by the 9th Ohio broke the 17th Tennessee. Just before noon, the Confederates were headed back to the south, to relative the safety of their Beech Grove encampment ten miles away.
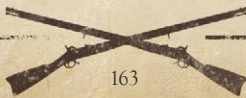
Just after noon, with the 9th Ohio and 2nd Minnesota leading the way, the pursuit was on. By 4:30 p.m., the Federal pursuit was coming within range of the Confederate camps. As he could not scout the camp before dark, Thomas just ordered an artillery bombardment, expecting to resume his attack the next morning. But that night, in a skilled operation, the Southern forces completely abandoned their camp, supplies, horses and artillery (12 cannon), and with the help of the *Noble Ellis* crossed the Cumberland River and reached their original encampment on the south side of the river, where Thomas could not reach them.

"The panic among them was so great that they even left a number of their sick and wounded in a dying state upon the river bank," wrote Col. (Acting Brig. Gen.) Mahlon Manson.

AFTERMATH AND OVERVIEW

Those men who were able to move across the river were subsequently led by Crittenden on another retreat, to Cumberland Gap in eastern Tennessee. Thus, in the end, the Federals were unable to exploit their victory. After eliminating Zollicoffer's outpost, they retired further into Kentucky. The Cumberland Gap area would trade hands several times after that in the Civil War, but it would not be this small force under Thomas taking it.

The fighting cost the Confederates 125 killed, 309 wounded and 99 missing. The 20th Tennessee of Col. Joel Battle lost 33 killed and 59 wounded. Col. Edward Walthall's 15th Mississippi suffered 44 killed and 153 wounded. Among leaders, Co. Sidney Smith Stanton of the 25th Tennessee was wounded as was Col. Fry from the 4th Kentucky. On the Federal side, the casualties were significantly lower: 40 killed, 207 wounded, and 15 missing.

In Thomas the Federals found an able commander, as he directed an efficient battle, one that would characterize the Virginian's Civil War service in the Federal Armies. Thomas went on to direct the Army of the Cumberland later in the war.

Just over two months after his exchange with Zollicoffer, Fry was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers (March 21, 1862). For the rest of the war, Fry's commands either arrived too late to participate in major fights or were detained. He came under fire by Maj. Gen Don C. Buell as being "inefficient," and ended the war in garrison duty and commanded Camp Nelson near Lexington, Kentucky, for much of the war.
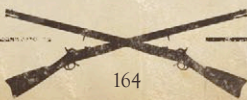
Manson, who led the Federal troops in the first area of conflict at the battle, later was wounded and captured during Gen. Braxton Bragg's Kentucky campaign. Exchanged, he briefly commanded the XXIII Corps after Chickamauga, but was reassigned to brigade command upon restructuring. He was badly wounded at Resaca, Georgia, May 14, 1864, which eventually led to his resignation from the army Dec. 21, 1864.

Zollicoffer's body was returned to his family by the victors, although the trip from the battlefield to Nashville was a roundabout one.

Crittenden, the surviving senior Confederate commander, never overcame the criticism of his handling of the campaign and resigned his commission in October of 1862. Carroll's brigade was lightly engaged at the battle and retreated in good order. Coming under fire from Gen. Braxton Bragg, Carroll was arrested for "drunkenness, incompetency and neglect." Bragg reportedly stated Carroll was "not safe... to intrust with command." The former colonel of the 37th Tennessee resigned his commission Feb. 1, 1863, and took his family to Canada, where he died just over five years later.

SOURCES INCLUDE:

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Generals in Gray, by Ezra Warner

Generals in Blue, by Ezra Warner

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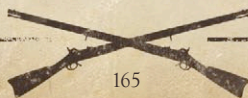
23.4. BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG: MOVING UP THE VIRGINIA PENINSULA (MAY 5, 1862)

by Bill Battle

MISSED CHANCES
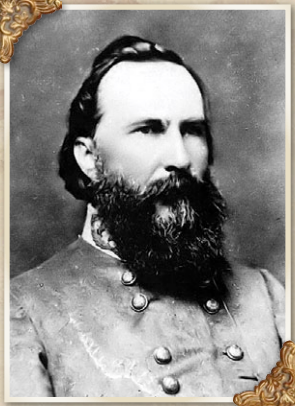
Both sides could make a case that the Battle of Williamsburg, contested in front of the Colonial Virginia capital, might have gone much differently.

Both sides also could make a claim for victory in the struggle. The Confederates under Maj. Gen. James Longstreet accomplished their task of delaying the Federal advance of Maj. Gen. George McClellan's Army of the Potomac.

"It was a fair and square infantry fight at close range and most stubbornly contested," said Pvt. Salem Dutcher of the 7th Virginia Infantry, which fought on the Confederate left

And the Confederates inflicted much more punishment on their left with forces under Brig. Gen. Richard H. Anderson defending against the offensive surge of a Federal division under Brig. Gen. Joseph Hooker near the intersection of Yorktown and Lee's Mill Roads.

The cost of the battle hit home for Anderson, who lost his brother, Capt. Edward McKenzie Anderson, during the fighting.

"The fight continued all day," Brig. Gen. Anderson said. "After dark, when the firing ceased, I went to Williamsburg and, at the home of Doctor Garrett, I saw my brother's body. It was here that I, for the first time, fully realized the dreadful fact. The hand of death was laid upon the face of him whose countenance had only a little while before delighted me by its animation, its courage, its intelligence, and its strong affection. It was the most agonizing moment of my life."

Many would face death for the first time during the war at Williamsburg. Most would come to the grim realization that the war was not some adventure, but a quest to survive to fight another day.
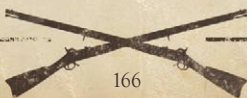
On the Federal right, information from a fleeing slave gave the Federals just what they needed to win the day. The Confederates had overlooked manning two redoubts on the left side of their line behind Cub Creek on the York River side of their defenses. Elements under Brig. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock were able to exploit that oversight, but were reined in by the Federal battle commander, Brig. Gen. Edwin V. Sumner, before they could make a major impact.
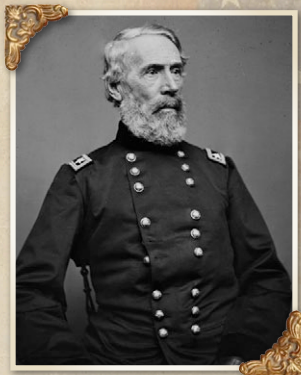
Hancock's men did record the biggest Federal success in the battle, tearing up two Confederate regiments under Brig. Gen. Jubal Early, the 24th Virginia and 5th North Carolina. Here, hand-to-hand fighting and bayonet charges dominated.
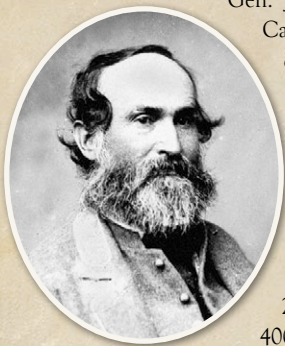
At the end of the battle, the Federals held the field, giving McClellan – who arrived too late in the day to effectively command in the battle, leaving his corps commander Sumner in charge for much of the day – a chance to declare a great victory.

Overall, the Federals suffered more losses, 2,283 to 1,682. The Confederates had to leave 400 badly wounded men in Williamsburg to be cared for by the advancing Federals.

Rain plagued both sides during the battle, slowing troop movements to a crawl. Particularly hurt were the Federals, who struggled up the overused muddy roads trying to reach the battlefield and give their side a major victory.

The battle contained many "What if?" scenarios. Both sides had many more men within reinforcement range during the fighting. The Confederate reinforcements were in position to support the defenses, if needed. For the most part, poor overall command left at least 25,000 Federal troops within support range, but unused in the fighting. For instance, the division of Brig. Gen. Silas Casey stopped a mile behind the lines in the rain and did not advance further.

Overall, the fighting was some of the most brutal of the war to that point. Veterans of First Bull Run (Manassas) reportedly said the Battle of Williamsburg was much more bloody than the war's first huge battle. It certainly dwarfed the first skirmish on the Virginia Peninsula, Big Bethel, fought the year before. Williamsburg would be a prelude for much more massive battles to come closer to Richmond during McClellan's Peninsula Campaign.

COLONIAL CAPITAL, COLLEGE TOWN

Founded as a fortified settlement, Middle Plantation, in 1632, Williamsburg played a prominent role in Colonial America. Not far from where English colonists first founded the first successful colony at Jamestown in 1607, Williamsburg flourished and became an important city. Occupying a key location between the James and York Rivers, it served as capital of the Virginia Colony from 1698 to 1780.

Near the end of the American Revolution, Williamsburg witnessed the final battle, an American victory at nearby Yorktown which sealed independence for the colonies. Just about 80 years later, Williamsburg again would be drawn into conflict as the Confederate States of America tried to secure its freedom and the United States of America attempted to rein in the breakaway states.

The American Civil War came early to Williamsburg, as many volunteered for Virginia regiments in the Confederate Army. Enlistments from the College of William and Mary depleted the school's student body and forced the faculty to vote to close the school May 10, 1861.

When the War became a shooting war in July of 1861, it was not long before Confederate forces were stationed on the Peninsula. The first combat between forces took place at Big Bethel June 10, 1861, a Confederate victory.

Benjamin Ewell, a West Point graduate and president at William and Mary, became captain of the school's infantry company, the Junior Guards. By the end of June, 1861, the company was joined into a regiment. Ewell was commissioned as colonel of a Peninsula-raised unit, the 32nd Virginia.

Troops of the Army of the Peninsula were placed there to counter Federal troops occupying Fort Monroe at the Peninsula's tip. The fort had been reinforced at the outbreak of hostilities so that it would not suffer the same fate as Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina. As such, it represented a significant Federal foothold – and one that would play a vital role during the operational movements of 1862.

Defensive lines had been set to keep forces from Fort Monroe from easily marauding through the countryside. Behind a forward line stood the Yorktown Line, or Warwick River Line, set around the historic city on the York River and continuing to the James River. This line, much of which followed the right bank of the Warwick River, featured some enhancements. The river was dammed in places to make it a bigger obstacle for assaulting forces. Beyond that, covering a key road junction in front of Williamsburg, stood Fort Magruder, another defensive position to delay any attacking force.

Soon, the conflict would come much too close for the residents of historic Williamsburg.

"PRINCE JOHN"

Commanding the Confederates' Army of the Peninsula was John B. Magruder. The West Point-educated Magruder had been in overall command at Big Bethel and became a hero throughout the South for the victory. "He's the hero for the times, the furious fighting Johnny B. Magruder," quoted one ballad.

Magruder, also known as "Prince John," loved to entertain, a habit carried over from his days in the U.S. Army. His command was noted for its dinner parties and formal reviews.

Magruder was elevated through the ranks, becoming a brigadier general June 17, 1861, a week after the Big Bethel battle. He was promoted again to major general Oct. 7, 1861. By the spring of 1862, Magruder would be faced with a problem he couldn't solve with a party, but his flair for the dramatic would help make his opponent cautious by overestimating the Confederate strength.

While in charge of the Peninsula, Magruder oversaw the construction of defensive fortifications east of Williamsburg. Fort Magruder, shaped much like an elongated pentagon, was the main defensive position. Its walls rose 15 feet out of a moat which was nine feet deep. The walls were nine feet thick. It could host up to eight artillery pieces when fully occupied.

The fort, which guarded the intersection of Hampton and York (Telegraph) roads was further guarded by a number of strongpoint redoubts and smaller redans (i.e., chevron-shaped earthworks with the open end facing to the rear). In front of the redoubts and redans were rifle pits. All trees within a mile of the line were felled to create an open area and in front of that, an abatis to break up advancing troops.

In places, defensive works left over from the Revolutionary War could be found. Magruder was going to make every man count. Overall, the line

extended four miles between Tutters Neck Pond to Jones Pond and Cub Dam Creek. On the right side, Redoubts 1-4 were behind a steep mile-long ravine between College Creek and Tutters Neck Pond. More fortifications (Redoubts 7-14) were placed behind a marshy area of Jones Mill Pond and Cub Dam Creek. Redoubt 1 covered the Quarterpath Road from Allen's Wharf. Fort Magruder along with Redoubts 5-10 blocked the Hampton and Yorktown roads. Redoubts 11-14 covered the roads over Jones Mill Pond and Cub Dam Creek.

Unjustly, while Magruder had overseen the creation of the defenses, he was not there on May 5 to direct the troops during the battle, having taken ill.

"LITTLE MAC"
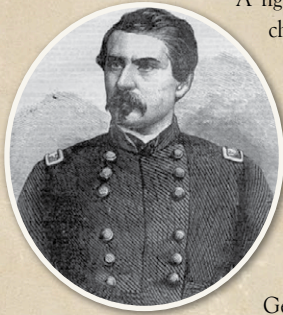
A lightning rod clad in blue, George B. McClellan chose the Virginia Peninsula as the site of his master campaign to take the Confederate capital, Richmond, and end the war.

A month after Magruder led men into battle at Big Bethel, McClellan won his first victory in another small-scale engagement, at Rich Mountain, Virginia, July 11, 1861. A major general of volunteers, McClellan led his forces in a rout of Confederates under Brig. Gen. Robert Garnett. Garnett was killed and the western Virginia counties were eventually able to form their own state in 1863 after McClellan's successful campaign.

Meanwhile, the Federal government was looking for any success early in the war. McClellan provided that success and "Little Mac" soon found himself in the national capital, organizing the Army of the Potomac. McClellan had the ability to do whatever was needed to whip the army into shape. The American nation needed victory. And the sooner that victory came, the better.

Pressured by President Lincoln and others in the administration to move, McClellan finally put the Army of the Potomac into play, but not completely how McClellan had planned. McClellan's approved plan had involved putting the Army of the Potomac ashore at Urbanna, a river city on the Rappahannock. But this plan would be changed. When Johnston withdrew his army from Manassas, it no longer could be cut off by the Urbanna plan.
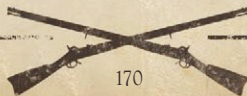
Urged forward by Lincoln and his cabinet, McClellan altered his plans to attack out of Fort Monroe. But the appearance of a new type of ship would unexpectedly modify plans.

A NEW ERA

The appearance of the CSS *Virginia*, née USS *Merrimack*, March 8, 1862, off Hampton Roads struck fear and destruction through the Federal blockading force and changed McClellan's original plan.

When the *Virginia*, on its trial run, turned for home, the USS *Cumberland* was sunk and the USS *Congress*, grounded, was on fire. Two more Federal ships were grounded while trying to get away from the Confederate ram. When the *Virginia* – with Lt. Catesby ap Roger Jones in charge, as Capt. Franklin Buchanan had been wounded the previous day – returned the next day to continue mauling the wooden blockading fleet, it met a funny looking, low-floating "cheesebox on a raft." For four hours, the *Virginia* and *Monitor* fought in the world's first battle of armored ships. Both sides suffered. The battle was abandoned when the *Virginia* was threatened with grounding as the tide went out. The *Monitor*'s commanding officer, Lt. John L. Worden, was wounded and the ship briefly withdrawn to reorganize.

Officially, the fight was a draw. Both ships survived the encounter. The blockading fleet was saved, but the *Virginia* still guarded the James River approach to the Confederate capital, Richmond. However, local sea superiority had been won by the Federals. And that was enough to allow McClellan to put his new plan into motion. McClellan would have liked to have the U.S. Navy supporting his flanks by controlling both the York and James Rivers as he moved up the Peninsula towards Richmond. But even with the *Virginia* controlling the James, McClellan felt confident enough to move forward, as long as the guns at Yorktown covering the York River could be silenced. His eventual flank landing at West Point, *Virginia* would come from the York River anyway.

MOVING THE ARMIES

The first part of McClellan' new offensive involved a transport movement from Washington, D.C., to Fort Monroe at the tip of the Virginia Peninsula. Over the course of three weeks, all types of ships transported major elements of the Army of the Potomac to Fort Monroe.

Numbering 121,500 men, according to the Assistant Secretary of War John Tucker, the army was moved to Fort Monroe. Within 36 hours of arrival
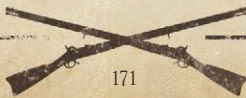
McClellan advanced in two columns, with the right one under Brig Gen. Samuel Heintzelman designed to pin the Yorktown defenders, and the left column under Brig. Gen. Erasmus Keyes to cut off any chance for retreat.

The Federal army moved past Hampton, Newport News, Little Bethel, Big Bethel, Howards Bridge and Warwick Court House to test Magruder's 17,000-man Army of the Peninsula and its defensive line running from Yorktown along the Warwick River. At first, the advance was rapid. Then, the rains hit and slowed down everyone.

McClellan met his first challenge there in the form of the defensive line stretching from Yorktown along the Warwick River. On April 5, McClellan's army began to establish a siege positions around Yorktown. By this time, Magruder was being reinforced by troops of Gen. Joseph Johnston, who had left his positions near Manassas Junction when word came of McClellan's move. Fearful that these troops in northern Virginia would be cut off from Richmond, the Confederates had retreated from positions near Manassas when intelligence indicated McClellan was getting ready to move.

The Confederates needed time to set up an effective defense. This could not be done at the Warwick River Line. Magruder held as long as he could, and to his good fortune a Federal assault, which likely would have succeeded, was called off.

Magruder himself had a significant role in achieving this change in plans: he had his men do anything possible to make it look like the line was fully manned and would chew up any assault attempt. Confederate troops moved along the line, showing themselves to the Federals at as many places as possible. Some regiments made the march between Yorktown and the James River as many as six times during the siege. Adding to the deception, the Confederates employed "Quaker Guns," logs painted to look like real cannon and make the fortifications look even stronger.

Four prisoners from the 14th Alabama were questioned by detectives in the Federal army's employ and exaggerated the Confederate force, stating that 40,000 men held the Warwick River Line with reinforcements expected to swell the numbers to 100,000 within days and that Gen. Joseph Johnston himself would be commanding the defense.

McClellan had Pinkerton's finest detectives and two air balloons operated by Thaddeus Lowe – described as big, yellow soap bubbles by historian Stephen W. Sears in *To the Gates of Richmond: The Peninsula Campaign* – "Intrepid" and
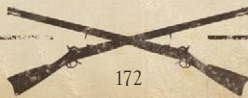
"Constitution," to peer across the lines into the Confederate works. And yet, despite the availability of some of the newest intelligence gathering methods, McClellan believed the overstated numbers.

Compounding the problem, the Pinkerton detectives only reinforced McClellan's notion that he was vastly outnumbered by the Confederates. This

Period map of Yorktown Peninsula by Robert K. Sneden showing CSA defensive lines at both Yorktown and Williamsburg, along with troop movements

failure to appraise the size of an enemy force properly was something which would plague McClellan throughout his career as Army of the Potomac commander.

The only reinforcements to arrive on the line was a brigade sent over from the Norfolk garrison of Maj. Gen. Benjamin Huger. For the time being, Huger, held at Norfolk and Portsmouth (south of the James River). Further south, Maj. Gen. Theophilus Holmes had a force making sure Federals on North Carolina's Roanoke Island did not expand their foothold in the Tarheel State. Huger had to leave his position in early May with an increased Federal presence.

THE OPENING ACTION

On the night of May 3, the Confederates left the Warwick River Line, not long before McClellan felt he had sufficient force to assault the line, leaving him to come up empty after much preparation. Having abandoned Yorktown, the Confederates moved up the Peninsula, in the pouring rain, to the next defensive line that had been prepared in advance – at Williamsburg.

To McClellan, this was a grand victory of his siege tactics: his enemy, which he thought to have superior numbers, had fled in front of his brilliant strategy. In fact, Johnston did not want Magruder's force to be caught too far out on the Peninsula. It was too easy for an amphibious assault to cut off those forces. Johnston knew he was going to need all of the troops he could muster in the eventual defense of Richmond.

During the afternoon of May 4, elements of the two armies, mostly cavalry and light artillery, met near Williamsburg and engaged in a relatively minor clash, but the Federal advance force was too small to have much success, and by the time more Federal forces reached the area it was too late for an attack. Instead, both sides settled in for the night.

On May 5, in what developed as a Confederate delaying action, the Battle of Williamsburg, took place. While the Confederates had were only intending to buy time for the bulk of their army and supplies to reach Richmond and build better defensive positions there, the Federals mistook the action as a determined defensive posture.

What followed was a baptism of fire for many troops on both sides. For veterans of earlier encounters, it was an indication that the major bloody fighting was back.

While McClellan would proclaim great victory, in truth the battle was a draw. The Confederates retreated, but achieved their immediate goals of setting up a better defensive position and saving the supplies.
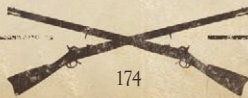
THE DEFENDERS

Gen. Joseph Johnston briefly oversaw action, but turned local command over to Maj. Gen. James Longstreet, who made his headquarters at William and Mary College. Numbering 32,000 men, the Confederates under Longstreet were tasked with delaying the Federal advance. Under horrible weather, Longstreet centered his defense at an earthen fortification called Fort Magruder, after the commander who was too ill to participate in the battle. Longstreet, who later would excel in defensive warfare as a corps commander, was the perfect choice for this assignment. Most of the forces at Williamsburg came under the direct command of Longstreet and the 2nd Division.

Brig. Gen. Ambrose P. Hill, who later would command a corps in the Army of Northern Virginia, commanded a Virginia brigade of the 1st, 7th, 11th and 17th regiments.

Brig. Gen. Richard H. Anderson commanded four South Carolina units, the 4th, 5th and 6th South Carolina and the Palmetto Sharpshooters. He also had the Louisiana Foot Rifles in his brigade.

The 3rd Brigade was led by Brig. Gen. George Pickett, who had the 8th, 18th, 19th and 28th Virginia regiments.

Brig. Gen. Cadmus Wilcox led a pair of Alabama regiments, the 9th and 19th, and the 19th Mississippi.

Two more Alabama regiments, the 8th and 14th, were in the brigade of Brig. Gen. Roger Pryor. He also had the 14th Louisiana and part of the 32nd Virginia.

And rounding out the division was the three-regiment brigade of Brig. Gen. Raleigh Colston. He had the 3rd Virginia and 13th and 14th North Carolina regiments.

With Magruder out of action, his command fell to Brig. Gen. David "Neighbor" Jones and Brig. Gen. Lafayette McLaws (who had field command).

Brig. Gen. Paul Semmes led the 10th Georgia, 5th and 10th Louisiana and 15th Virginia regiments into action.

Brig. Gen. Joseph Kershaw had the 2nd, 3rd, 7th and 8th South Carolina regiments in his brigade.

Stationed at Williamsburg under Col. Benjamin Ewell, were the 52nd, 68th and 115th Virginia Militia, the Old Dominion Rifles, part of the 32nd Virginia and two companies of Allens Artillery Battalion.

Maj. Gen. Daniel H. Hill brought the brigades of Brig. Gen. Jubal Early and Brig. Gen. Robert Rodes to the action. Early had the 5th and 23rd North
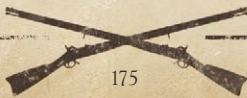
Carolina with the 24th and 38th Virginia. Rodes brought two of his own Alabama regiments, the 5th and 6th, and the 12th Mississippi along with the 2nd Florida (which may have been unattached during the fighting).

The cavalry was led by Brig. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart, and had been involved in the fighting May 4 while covering the Confederate withdrawal. Units under Stuart included the 1st, 3rd and 4th Virginia Cavalry, the Jefferson Davis Legion of Mississippi, the Wise Legion of Virginia and Pelham's Horse Artillery.

THE ATTACKERS

While Maj. Gen. George McClellan was in charge of the Army of the Potomac, he was at Yorktown when the battle started. Command passed to one of the army's senior brigadiers, Brig. Gen. Edwin V. Sumner. The II Corps commander assumed local command of the battle until Little Mac could be summoned, around 5 p.m. McClellan was overseeing the loading of troops for a water movement up to Eltham's Landing, or West Point, in an attempt to cut off a significant part of the Confederate army. Fighting would take place near there May 7.

For the Peninsula Campaign, McClellan had three full corps and part of a fourth. He had a significant force in reserve as well. Three major Federal forces played a role in fighting at Williamsburg.

The Cavalry Advanced Guard was led by Brig. Gen. George Stoneman. His lead cavalry brigade was led by the longtime army veteran, Brig. Gen. Philip St. George Cooke with the 1st and 6th U.S. Cavalry units. Brig. Gen. William H. Emery brought the 3rd Pennsylvania and 8th Illinois cavalry regiments. Artillery support was provided by Battery M of the 2nd U.S. Artillery and Battery C of the 3rd U.S. Artillery.

The fighting at Williamsburg was conducted mainly by two Corps-sized units of the Army of the Potomac. The III Corps of Brig. Gen. Samuel P. Heintzelman and the IV Corps of Brig. Gen. Erasmus Keyes saw the action against Fort Magruder.

Heintzelman had two of his divisions engaged. Brig. Gen. Joseph Hooker's 2nd Division and Brig. Gen. Philip Kearny's 3rd Division represented Heintzelman's corps.

Both division commanders were rising stars within the Federal ranks. Hooker, who earned his nickname "Fighting Joe" on that rainy day in front of the Williamsburg Line, eventually would command the Army of the Potomac. Kearny's rise ended with his death at the Battle of Chantilly Sept. 1, 1862.
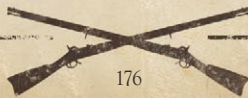
Hooker's 1st Brigade was led by Brig. Gen. Cuvier Grover and consisted of the 2nd New Hampshire, 1st and 11th Massachusetts and 26th Pennsylvania regiments.

The 2nd Brigade, also known as the Excelsior Brigade, was led by Col. Nelson Taylor. This New York unit had the 70th, 72nd, 73rd and 74th regiments from the Empire State.

The 3rd Brigade was from the other side of the Hudson River and represented the Garden State. The 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th New Jersey regiments were led by Brig. Gen. Francis Patterson.

Artillery support was provided by Maj. Charles Wainwright's command, which consisted of Battery D of the 1st New York, the 4th New York, the 6th New York and Battery H of the 1st U.S. Artillery.

Brig. Gen. Charles Jameson led the first brigade of Kearny's division. His regiments were the 57th, 63rd and 105th Pennsylvania and 87th New York.

Brig. Gen. David Birney led the 2nd Brigade, which was split between New York and Maine regiments. The 38th and 40th New York were matched with the 3rd and 4th Maine.

Brig. Gen. Hiram Berry's 3rd Brigade bright a trio of Michigan regiments, the 2nd, 3rd and 5th, along with the 37th New York.

Troops from three different divisions in Keyes' IV Corps also were engaged at Williamsburg. Only a slow response prevented the rest of this command from reaching the battlefield in time to make a difference.

From the 1st Division of Brig. Gen. Darius Couch, the 2nd Brigade of Brig. Gen. John Peck fought. This brigade had two New York regiments (55th and 62nd) and three from Pennsylvania (93rd, 98th and 102nd).

Brig. Gen. William F. "Baldy" Smith had three of his brigades engaged at Williamsburg.

The 1st Brigade was led by another rising star within the Federal ranks, Brig. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock. His troops were the 5th Wisconsin, 6th Maine, 43rd New York and 49th New York regiments.

The 2nd, or Vermont Brigade, was led by Brig. Gen. William Brooks. Regiments were the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Vermont. Elements had seen action before. Some had fought at First Bull Run that previous July. Most had seen combat just a couple of weeks before against the Warwick River Line at Dam No. 1.

Brig. Gen. John Davidson led the 3rd Brigade with the 7th Maine, 33rd New York, 49th New York and 77th New York regiments.
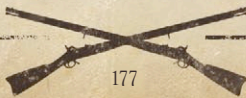
From the 3rd Division of Brig. Gen. Silas Casey, only Brig. Gen. Henry M. Naglee was able to move into the fighting. His brigade consisted of the 52nd and 104th Pennsylvania, the 56th and 100th New York and the 11th Maine.

PRELUDE TO BATTLE

The head start by the Confederates helped them to reach the Fort Magruder defensive area without much harassment from the Federals. Confederates marched through muddy roads to arrive at positions which had been turned into a quagmire by the rains. Many fell ill and commanders tried to rotate troops out of the mud as often as possible.

In Williamsburg, Gen. Johnston had arrived. He had to check into the City Hotel with his staff after being turned away by a lady for use of her house. "I have no room for retreating generals," she reportedly said.

Johnston stayed through the night of May 4 in Williamsburg while overseeing the withdrawal of the army. It is reported he entertained his staff with a sabre exhibition that evening, according to Lt. Col. Edward Porter Alexander, chief of ordnance.

The opening of fighting came around 4 p.m. on May 4. This was the rear guard of the Confederate forces, the 4th Virginia Cavalry under Lt. Col. Willams Wickham, which had been fighting Federal troops from the 1st and 6th U.S. Cavalry under Brig. Gen. Philip St. George Cooke, who led the vanguard of the cavalry pursuit of Brig. Gen. George Stoneman. The Federals were backed up by a battery of flying artillery from Hays' brigade. Two miles east of Williamsburg, the 4th Virginia Cavalry made contact with the rear of the Confederate infantry forces withdrawing from Yorktown.

Another Federal cavalry unit, under Brig. Gen. William Emory, skirmished with Confederate cavalry and artillery. The skirmishes were growing.

Cooke's men came within view of Fort Magruder first. Bringing up artillery under Capt. Horatio Gibson, the Federals opened fire on Fort Magruder. Unknown to them, it was unoccupied.

Lt. Col. Edwin Porter Alexander found the closest unit. This was the 10th Georgia under Col. Alfred Cumming and part of the brigade of Brig. Gen. Paul J. Semmes. It had halted on the edge of town. These were men brought to Williamsburg under Brig. Gen. Lafayette McLaws the previous summer. Alexander implored them to man the defensive positions. The 10th Georgia manned the fort and other units from the Semmes Brigade moved into the redoubts and redans as the battle moved closer.
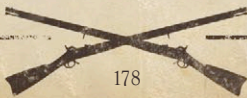
Federals of the 6th U.S. Cavalry threatened to take some of the positions before the Confederates could man them. Elements of the 6th U.S. Cavalry actually moved through some of the fort's huts before retiring under pressure of Kershaw's brigade and the 10th Virginia Cavalry.

Six guns of Gibson's command and the 1st U.S. Artillery dueled with Fort Magruder until Stoneman came up and ordered the pieces back after roughly 250 rounds had been fired. As the Federals were pulling back, the Confederates found the range. One Federal gun was bogged down with four caissons. In the meantime, a squadron of 1st U.S. Cavalry under Lt. Col. William Grier and Confederates of the 4th Virginia Cavalry and Hampton Legion under Lt. Col. Williams Wickman clashed around the gun position. Both Grier and Wickman were wounded in the fighting. After a time, the flag of the 4th Virginia Cavalry was in Federal possession, however the man who captured it was wounded repeatedly by his own men in the melee.

One final Federal cavalry charge ended the day's fighting and allowed the whipped artillery crews the chance to retreat. As troops continued to concentrate on either side, darkness approached. There would be major action when the light returned.

THE NIGHT OF MAY 4

During the evening, the troops of Longstreet's division relieved those of Semmes' brigade, who pulled back through Williamsburg. Somewhere in the exchange, the two redoubts on the far Confederate left were overlooked and left unmanned. During that day, McLaws was in command of the Confederate effort in the cavalry skirmishes.

The Federals had encountered horrid marching conditions on May 4 and could not come into contact with the enemy until it was too dark. Elements of the III and IV Corps were forced to use Telegraph Road. McClellan had sent Brig. Gen. Smith's division of the IV Corps out under Brig. Gen. Sumner. Meanwhile, III Corps Commander Brig. Gen. Heintzelman was moving with a division under Brig. Gen. Joseph Hooker. Eventually, these two forces had to use the same road thanks to a bridge having been destroyed by the Confederates. Hooker received permission to shift over to Hampton Road and continue his advance.

When the Federals arrived near the scene of the earlier fighting, the sun was quickly setting. Sumner, nonetheless, decided to attack and set up lines.
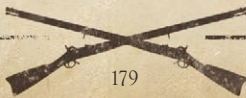
Unfortunately, the men got tangled up in the brush and darkness. Sumner had to spend the night with the troops at the front rather than risk getting lost on the way back to his headquarters at the Whittaker House. About 10 p.m., Hooker's division arrived at its destination and the men fell asleep.

On the Confederate side of the lines, Longstreet was strengthening his position with Brig. Gen. Richard H. Anderson replacing McLaws in local command. As the opposing forces settled in for the next day's fight, the rain returned. Men of Brig. Gen. Roger Pryor's brigade manned five redoubts to the right (facing the enemy) of Fort Magruder along with a battalion detached from the locally-raised 32nd Virginia. Anderson set up in Redoubt 6 with the Louisiana Foot Rifles. Men of the 5th South Carolina manned Fort Magruder with the Richmond Howitzers and the Palmetto Sharpshooters. Other units from the 5th and 6th South Carolina manned redoubts to the left of the fort. Again, the Confederates failed to account for the two redoubts at the far left – according to Longstreet, they could not be seen through the rain and nobody had informed him that they were there.

The defensive position was strengthened by the 4th South Carolina being posted as skirmishers in front of the Confederate works. Brig. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart arrived with more of his cavalry, including the 3rd Virginia and the Jeff Davis Legion. This group was sent to the left to watch over the left flank and Queens Creek.

THE BEGINNING OF A DAYLONG BATTLE

At daybreak, there was action on both sides. The Federals realized that they were much closer to the Confederate works, which looked much more daunting in the light. Sumner pulled back Smith's men, who had marched without rations the day before.

Early but relatively minor contact was made by the 4th Virginia Cavalry under Maj. William Payne, who had taken over for the wounded Wickham, when he led them on a scouting mission down Telegraph Road, towards the Federal forces hidden in the woods that filled much of the area.

The fighting proper began a little after 7 a.m. when Hooker and Maj. Charles Wainwright looked to set up Federal artillery. The brigade of Brig. Gen. Cuvier Grover deployed with the 1st Massachusetts and 2nd New Hampshire coming up. Immediately, they came under fire from the 4th South Carolina. As the Confederates were slowly driven back, Capt. Charles Webber of the 1st U.S. Artillery made an ambitious move to the edge of the slashed clearing.

Confederate artillery in and around Fort Magruder immediately found the range of the Federals and scattered the crews. Men from the 1st New York Battery volunteered to service the guns. Fire from the fort slowed and ended in the rain and Federal infantry moved up to support the artillery.

As the Federals slowly advanced against the Confederate works, the troops of Brig. Gen. Cadmus Wilcox were arriving behind the Confederate lines. The brigade of Alabama and Mississippi troops moved out to turn the Federal flank among the woods and felled trees. It was here that the fighting started in earnest, with much of the fiercest fighting in the dense woods to take place in the area of a ravine – fighting so intense that the terrain feature that came to be known simply as "The Ravine" would earn its place among the "Hornet's Nest" at Shiloh and a select group of other points on Civil War battlefields associated with terror and carnage.

Wilcox's 19th Mississippi led the way with the 9th Alabama to the left and the 10th Alabama to the right. They collided with the 6th New Jersey, 7th New Jersey and 1st Massachusetts.

The first attack to be repulsed was that of the 10th Alabama, which hesitated when being told it was firing on elements of the 2nd Louisiana. When the 10th Alabama paused, the New Jersey troops fired pointblank, forcing the 10th Alabama into a retreat.

Fighting was not heavy until the Virginians of Brig. Gen. Ambrose Powell Hill arrived to support Wilcox. The 9th Alabama opposed the 1st Massachusetts. The 19th Mississippi was opposite the 72nd New York of the Excelsior Brigade. The 7th Virginia lined up opposite of the 6th New Jersey. And Col. Sam Garland's 11th Virginia opposed the 7th New Jersey.

The 19th Mississippi pressed forward and it cost them their leader, Col. Christopher Mott, who was mortally wounded. The 9th Alabama under Col. Samuel Henry with Hill's 1st Virginia in support, pressed forward. By this time, about 22,000 men were involved in the fighting and some Federal units were running out of ammunition. Eventually, the Confederate advance hit the Excelsior Brigade of New York. The 70th New York, also known as the 1st Excelsior, was sent into action as well around 12:30 p.m.

On the other side, more troops were moving up to support. Brig. Gen. George Pickett's "Gamecock Brigade" moved behind the Confederate fortifications. These troops withstood a volley from the New Jersey men before continuing the fight.
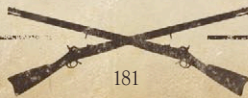
Eventually, the Confederates reached the rear of what had been the positions of the 7th and 8th New Jersey regiments. Outnumbered locally, Hooker's position in the woods and felled trees became desperate.

The battle was about to come to the 70th New York under Col. William Dwight in a major way. The 70th New York, or 1st Excelsior, was about to face three Confederate brigades.

Seeing the casualties of three New Jersey regiments, the 6th, 7th and 8th, being evacuated unsettled the untested rookies. Those three regiments lost over a third of their strength in the fighting. While the Confederates mauled the 70th New York, Hooker tried to reform other elements behind them.

The Excelsior Brigade of New Yorkers was especially hard hit. The Brigade took 772 casualties with many missing. The 70th New York lost half of its strength.

"I desire to do justice to the soldierly steadiness of this command," said Pvt. Salem Dutcher of the 7th Virginia Infantry on the 70th New York. "For two hours or more it held us at bay, at one time forcing us back a short distance by the sheer weight of its fire and never gave way till two-thirds of its officers and nearly one-half of its men had been shot down."

Dwight was part of his unit's losses. Wounded and left for dead on the field, he was rescued by the Confederates and later exchanged. In November of 1862, he was promoted to brigadier general.

Both sides tried to take advantage of confusion of trying to convince the other side into thinking it was firing on friendly units. When the firings stopped, the other side took advantage to shoot unopposed. One such exchange cost the Confederates Col. Thomas Irby of the 8th Alabama, who was killed by one such sucker volley. Another such trick killed Col. Gilman Marston of the 2nd New Hampshire. Both sides soon became weary at the trick, which started to backfire after a while.

The Federals continued to be pushed back. Fort Magruder's guns added to their misery.

With the Federals on the brink of disaster, inexperience hit the Confederates. Out of ammunition, some started to waver. But elsewhere, the Confederates captured several guns at the far edge of the clearing.

The brigade of Brig. Gen. John Peck, part of the Federal IV Corps, formed up to stop the Confederate attack. Taking major losses, the 55th New York and 102nd Pennsylvania helped to stop the Confederate assault. The Pennsylvanians found themselves against the 4th Virginia Cavalry. While stopping this foray, they wounded Payne who, shot in the mouth, was saved by Dr. Edmund S. Pendleton between the lines.

FEDERAL MOVEMENTS – AND FAILURES TO MOVE

The Federals were not able to employ all of their troops. Many were bogged down on the muddy roads leading to the battlefield. Some just stopped short of the fighting. The division of Brig. Gen. Silas Casey was discovered about noon stopped a mile behind the lines making coffee.

"The smoke and rain were driven into the faces of the men. Brig. Gen. Samuel P. Heintzelman said. "Even the elements were combined against us."

The 2nd Florida came up to help support the Confederates as they fell back toward the Fort Magruder rifle pits. The situation was about to change again. As Longstreet pulled the last of his reserve brigades, the North Carolina troops of Brig. Gen. Edward R. Colston, into the fight, the Federals were getting fresh troops from Brig. Gen. Philip Kearney's division, whittled down to 1,900 effectives after a hard slog into the line. The time was after 2 p.m.

"I'm a one-armed Jersey son-of-a-gun!" Kearny shouted, "Follow me!"

The combatants ended up holding pretty much the same ground as before the fighting when things bogged down.

Kearny's men had been halted at Cheesecake Church (from the Indian Chiskiack, referring to the Yorktown area) awaiting orders before the forced march to the front. They finally got those orders from Heintzelman, who had reached Hooker's headquarters around 1 p.m.

Additionally, Federal cavalry under Emory moved to the Federal left, anticipating orders to move up the Quarterpath Road to Allen's Wharf in a
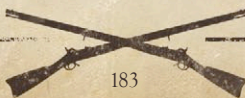
flanking move. With infantry and artillery support, this flank attack started around 3:30 p.m., but was ended late in the day. The force was without a guide and thought to be too small for the task.

HANCOCK'S FLANKING ATTACK

On the other side of the battlefield, things were looking up for the Federals. In a more significant attempt at a flanking maneuver, and one that was to meet with much success, Brig. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock continued to march toward the Cub Creek Dam, which was reported to be uncovered. Hancock's troops took the empty Redoubt No. 11 and advanced toward Redoubt No. 11. Behind that was the screening force of the Jeff Davis Legion.

With the 5th Wisconsin, 49th Pennsylvania, 6th Maine, 7th Maine, 33rd New York and 1st New York Battery, Hancock was accompanied by IV Corps commander Brig. Gen. Erasmus Keyes and a young lieutenant serving as a volunteer aide – George Armstrong Custer.

With Custer leading an advance party from the 5th Wisconsin, the unoccupied Redoubt 14 fell to the Federals. Hancock then moved on Earthwork No. 11 with skirmishers in front. Taking that, Hancock formed for battle within sight of Fort Magruder. Advancing, Hancock finally hit the Confederates, units of the 6th South Carolina holding Redoubt No. 9. Col. Micah Jenkins, in charge at Fort Magruder, then had to deal with the new threat.

Meanwhile, Hancock's men took another fortification. Unfortunately, for the Federals, the advance soon was stopped. But it was not the Confederates halting Hancock. Instead, Sumner ordered Hancock to retire to Redoubt No. 14, which had a creek at its front (the Federal rear). Hancock delayed implementing this order until at least 5 p.m., enough time to do some serious damage to the Confederates rash enough to attack.

Meanwhile, Confederate unit were sent to deal with Hancock, whose position overlooking Fort Magruder and their left was unacceptable. Brig. Gen. Jubal Early brought his brigade of Virginia and North Carolina troops to oppose

Hancock. About the same time, Longstreet left his Williamsburg headquarters to return to Anderson's field command post.

Advancing through hard terrain, the 24th Virginia found the enemy first. Making an ill-advised charge against a superior opponent in strong defensive positions, the 24th Virginia was sliced apart. Even Early was wounded, getting hit in the shoulder.

As the 24th Virginia was being brutalized, the 5th North Carolina entered the fray. Guided by division commander Brig. Gen. D.H. Hill the 5th North Carolina of Col. Duncan McRae started a bayonet charge. Despite the fact the Federals were starting to fall back under orders, the 5th North Carolina also was cut up badly.

The remnants of the two Confederate regiments reached a brief respite at a rail fence, 75 yards from a Federal-held redoubt. By this time, Maj. Richard Maury of the 24th Virginia and Col. McRae of the 5th North Carolina were the only mounted officers left in the advance. Most of the remaining 5th North Carolina men continued to advance while the 24th Virginia received the retreat order from Hill. The 5th North Carolina became the object of fire for several Federal units, and was mauled. The North Carolinians escaped with just 75 of 415 who marched into battle that day. And their battle flag also was in the hands of the enemy.

"I can not think of it till this day without horror," said Brig. Gen. D.H. Hill. "The slaughter of the 5th North Carolina Regiment was one of the most awful things I ever saw, and it was caused by a blunder"

Custer took credit for taking the flag, but the real credit likely belongs to an anonymous solder from the 5th Wisconsin.

At the end of the day, Hancock's position was being reinforced by men from Brig. Gen. Silas Casey's division. The brigade of Brig. Gen. Henry Naglee led the way. Fortunately for them, there was no more fighting to be had.

AFTERMATH AND FURTHER FIGHTING

Following a long, hard day of fighting during which their line was gravely endangered but held and achieved its purpose, Longstreet's forces abandoned Fort Magruder and slipped through Williamsburg to join the rest of the army, which by then was well beyond McClellan's reach.

On May 6, the day after the rain-soaked battle, the sun finally came out. "The 6th of May was a beautiful morning, with birds singing among the thickets
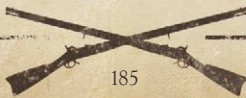
in which lay the dead. The next morning, we marched through quaint, old-fashioned Williamsburg," Warren Lee Goss, private in the U.S. Army, later wrote in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (edited by Ned Bradford).

The Federals rounded up the wounded who were still alive. The haul included many Confederates too wounded to be moved from Williamsburg. That included Maj. Payne of the 4th Virginia Cavalry, who had been shot in the mouth. Having been evacuated to Williamsburg by his comrades, Payne eventually was captured and became one of the first Confederate officers to be sent to the Johnson's Island prison camp. It was the first of three times Payne would be captured. He ended the war as a brigadier general and was at home recovering from a wound when he was captured for the final time, after the surrender.

The Federal push up the Peninsula continued and the Confederates continued to resist, though there would be no more major land battles until the end of the month. The day after the Battle of Williamsburg, Federal troops under Brig. Gen. William B. Franklin, were put ashore at Eltham's Landing, threatening Confederate movement. This was designed to try to cut off the forces retreating from Yorktown and Williamsburg.

Confederate Maj. Gen. Gustavus W. Smith opposed this new threat and led an assault on May 7 in the Battle of Eltham's Landing (also called Barhamsville or West Point). In a two-hour fight, the Confederacy nearly lost Brig. Gen. John B. Hood. Advancing with the 4th Texas, which was ordered to move with rifles unloaded, Hood was in the sights of a Federal soldier. One shot rang out. A soldier of the 4th Texas had disobeyed orders and killed the Federal who had lined up Hood.

On May 9, Huger was forced to abandon Norfolk and the Confederates made sure there was nothing left of use for the Federals to find. This also left the CSS *Virginia* without a home port. As it could not pass a bar at the mouth of the James River, the revolutionary ship would meet its end by being grounded in the Elizabeth River and scuttled.

McClellan slowly continued his march on Richmond. By the end of May, McClellan was preparing his siege of the Confederate capital with five corps. However, Johnston attacked first at the Battle of Seven Pines, on May 31. Johnston was wounded during the fighting and G.W. Smith finished the day as commander, with Gen. Robert E. Lee subsequently taking command of the Army of Northern Virginia and becoming McClellan's new antagonist.
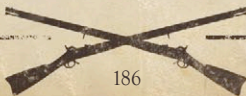
In June things changed for the better for the Confederacy. On June 12-15, Gen. Stuart achieved his famous ride around McClellan's army. By June 17, the Confederates were being reinforced by Stonewall Jackson's forces, which had been running rampant through the Shenandoah Valley. On June 25, what became known as the Seven Days Campaign began.

By early July, the Army of the Potomac had been driven back to Harrison's Landing on the James River. On July 11, Maj. Gen. Henry Halleck was named General-in-Chief of all U.S. land forces. Soon, the Army of Virginia under Maj. Gen. John Pope would come into action. McClellan's forces stayed near Harrison's Landing until the middle of August, when it withdrew back down the Peninsula. What was left of the IV Corps was left at Suffolk, Virginia. The rest of the Army of the Potomac began the long slog back toward Washington, D.C. The Peninsula Campaign had proved to be a major failure from the Federal perspective – one made worse by the effective defense made by the retreating Confederates at Williamsburg.

SOURCES INCLUDE:

Defend This Old Town: Williamsburg During the Civil War, by Carol Kettenburg Dubbs

To the Gates of Richmond: The Peninsula Campaign, by Stephen W. Sears

A Pitiless Rain, by Earl C. Hastings Jr. and David S. Hastings

Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Edited by Ned Bradford

Generals in Gray, by Ezra Warner

Generals in Blue, by Ezra Warner

The Historical Times Illustrated Encylopedia of the Civil War, Editor Patricia L. Faust

Encyclopedia of the American Civil War, Editors David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler

Civil War Blunders, by Clint Johnson

INTERNET:

Wikipedia (history of Williamsburg, OOB for Battle of Williamsburg)

National Park Service Net

24. SCENARIO ORDERS OF BATTLE

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR 1ST MANASSAS (BLACKBURN'S FORD) Small

1st Division (Army NE Virginia) (BG Daniel Tyler)	**(BG Daniel Tyler) 3rd Brigade (COL William T. Sherman)**	**13th N.Y. Infantry** (COL Isaac F. Quinby, LTC Elisha G. Marshall, MAJ Oliver L. Terry) Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle **69th N.Y. State Militia** (COL Michael Corcoran, LTC James Haggerty, CAPT Thomas F. Meagher) Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **79th N.Y. Infantry** (N.Y. Highlanders) (COL James Cameron, LTC Samuel M. Elliott, MAJ Danny McClellan) Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **2nd Wisconsin Infantry** (COL S. Park Coon, LTC Henry W. Peck, MAJ Duncan McDonald) Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **Battery E, 3rd U.S. Artillery** (CAPT Romeyn B. Ayres, LT Dunbar R. Ransom) Strength: 75 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 2 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
	4th Brigade (COL Israel (Fighting Dick) Richardson)	**Light Battalion Infantry** (CAPT Robert Brethschneider) Strength: 160 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle **1st Massachusetts Infantry** (7 cos.) (COL Robert Cowdin, MAJ Charles P. Chandler) Strength: 462 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle **1st Massachusetts Infantry** (3 cos.) (LTC George D. Wells) Strength: 198 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle **2nd Michigan Infantry** (MAJ Aldophus W. Williams) Strength: 660 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle **3rd Michigan Infantry** (COL Daniel McConnell, LTC Ambrose A. Stevens, MAJ Stephen G. Champlin) Strength: 660 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle **12th N.Y. Infantry** (COL Ezra L. Walrath, LTC Robert M. Richardson, MAJ John Louis) Strength: 660 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **Battery G (1st sect.), 1st U.S. Artillery** (LT Samuel N. Benjamin) Strength: 50 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 2 24-pd. Howitzer **U.S. 2nd Cavalry Battalion** (CAPT Albert G. Brackett) Strength: 100 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Sharps Carbine
		Supply Wagons (Tyler) Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
Army of the Potomac (BG Pierre G.T. Beauregard)	**4th Brigade (BG James Longstreet)**	**1st Virginia Infantry (sect. 1)** (COL Patrick T. Moore, MAJ Frederick G. Skinner) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **1st Virginia Infantry (sect. 2)** (LTC William H. Fry) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **11th Virginia Infantry** (COL Samuel Garland, jr., LTC David Funsten, MAJ Carter H. Harrison) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **17th Virginia Infantry** (COL Montgomery D. Corse, LTC Morton Marye, MAJ George W. Brent) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **24th Virginia Infantry** (LTC Peter Hairston, jr., MAJ J.P. Hammet) Strength: 420 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **3rd Company, (2nd Sect.) Washington Battalion Artillery** (LT Louis A. Adam, LT John J. Garnett, LT Joseph B. Whittington) Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore **Supply Wagons** (Beauregard) Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR 1ST MANASSAS (BLACKBURN'S FORD) Small

Army of the Potomac (BG Pierre G.T. Beauregard)	**1st Brigade (BG Milledge L. Bonham)**	**11th North Carolina Infantry** (COL William W. Kirkland, LTC James M. Leach, MAJ James R. Richardson) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **2nd South Carolina Infantry** (COL Joseph B. Kershaw, LTC Erwin P. Jones, MAJ Artemas D. Goodwyn) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **3rd South Carolina Infantry** (COL James H. Williams, LTC Barham Bobo Foster, MAJ James M. Baxter) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **7th South Carolina Infantry** (COL Thomas G. Bacon, LTC Robert A. Fair, MAJ Emmett Seibels) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **8th South Carolina Infantry** (COL Ellerbe B.C. Cash, LTC John W. Henagan, MAJ Thomas E. Lucas) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **8th Louisiana Battalion Infantry** (COL Henry B. Kelly, LTC Francis R.T. Nicholls, MAJ John B. Prados) Strength: 420 Quality: 3+ Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle **Alexandria Light Artillery** (CAPT Delaware Kemper, LT W. Douglas Stuart) Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore **Company H, 30th Virginia Cavalry** (CAPT Joel W. Flood) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **Company G, 30th Virginia Cavalry** (2nd Squadron Cavalry) (CAPT Winston Radford) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **Black Horse Troop** (3rd Squadron Cavalry) (CAPT William H.F. Payne) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **Chesterfield Light Dragoons** (3rd Squadron Cavalry) (CAPT William B. Ball) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **Hanover Light Dragoons** (1st Squadron Cavalry) (CAPT William C. Wickham) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **Fairfax Cavalry (1st Squadron Cavalry)** (CAPT E.B. Powell) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **Supply Wagons** (Beauregard) Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
	3rd Brigade (BG David R. Jones)	**17th Mississippi Infantry** (COL Winfield S. Featherston, COL Winfield S. Featherston) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 50% Mississippi Rifle / 50% Smoothbore Musket **18th Mississippi Infantry** (COL Erasmus R. Burt, COL Erasmus R. Burt) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Mississippi Rifle **5th South Carolina Infantry** (COL Micah Jenkins, LTC G.W.H. Legg, MAJ William T. Thompson) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **Company H, 30th Virginia Cavalry** (CAPT Joel W. Flood) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **3rd Company, (1st sect.) Washington Battalion Artillery** (CAPT Merritt B. Miller, LT Joseph Norcom) Strength: 50 Quality: 3 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore
	6th Brigade (COL Jubal A. Early)	**7th Louisiana Infantry** (COL Harry T. Hays, LTC Charles Dechoiseul, MAJ Davidson B. Penn) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle **7th Virginia Infantry** (COL James L. Kemper, LTC Lewis B. Williams, jr., MAJ Waller T. Patton) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **13th Mississippi Infantry** (COL William Barksdale, LTC James W. Carter, MAJ Kennon McElroy) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle **1st/4th Companies, Washington Battalion Artillery (sect. 1)** (CAPT Benjamin F. Eshelman, LT Charles W. Squires, LT James Dearing) Strength: 65 Quality: 3 Guns: 5 6-pd. Smoothbore **1st/4th Companies, Washington Battalion Artillery (sect. 2)** (LT J.B. Richardson) Strength: 50 Quality: 3 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR 1ST MANASSAS (STANDARD SCENARIO) Later Start

Army of Northeastern Virginia (BG Irwin McDowell)

1st Division (BG Daniel Tyler)

1ST BRIGADE (COL ERASMUS D. KEYES)

2nd Maine Infantry (COL Charles D. Jameson, LTC Charles W. Roberts, MAJ George Varney)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3.2 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket

1st Connecticut Infantry (COL George S. Burnham, LTC John Speidel, MAJ Theodore Byxbee)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 80% Minie Rifle / 20% Sharps Rifle

2nd Connecticut Infantry (COL Alfred H. Terry, LTC David Young, MAJ Ledyard Colburn)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 80% Minie Rifle / 20% Sharps Rifle

3rd Connecticut Infantry (COL John L. Chatfield, LTC Allen G. Brady, MAJ Alexander Warner)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3.2 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket

2ND BRIGADE (BG ROBERT C. SCHENCK)

2nd N.Y. State Militia (COL George W.B. Tompkins, LTC Henry W. Hudson, MAJ J.J. Dimock)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 80% Minie Rifle / 20% Enfield

1st Ohio Infantry (COL Alexander McD. McCook, LTC E.A. Parrott)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket

2nd Ohio Infantry (COL Lewis Wilson, LTC Rodney Mason, MAJ A.C. Parryn)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket

Battery E, 2nd U.S. Artillery (CAPT J. Howard Carlisle, LT Stephen C. Lyford, LT Stephen D. Fuller)
Strength: 75 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer

Battery E, 2nd U.S. Artillery (rifle sect.) (LT John M. Wilson, LT Edward B. Hill)
Strength: 50 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 2 12-pdr. Gun

Battery G (2nd sect.), 1st U.S. Artillery (LT Peter C. Hains)
Strength: 30 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 1 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle

3RD BRIGADE (COL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN)

13th N.Y. Infantry (COL Isaac F. Quinby, LTC Elisha G. Marshall, MAJ Oliver L. Terry)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3.1+ Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle

69th N.Y. State Militia (COL Michael Corcoran, LTC James Haggerty, CAPT Thomas F. Meagher)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3.3++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket

79th N.Y. Infantry (N.Y. Highlanders) (COL James Cameron, LTC Samuel M. Elliott, MAJ Danny McClellan)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3.1++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket

2nd Wisconsin Infantry (COL S. Park Coon, LTC Henry W. Peck, MAJ Duncan McDonald)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.45 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket

Battery E, 3rd U.S. Artillery (CAPT Romeyn B. Ayres)
Strength: 75 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer

Battery E, 3rd U.S. Artillery (rifle sect.) (LT Dunbar R. Ransom)
Strength: 50 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 2 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle

4TH BRIGADE (COL ISRAEL (FIGHTING DICK) RICHARDSON)

Light Battalion Infantry (CAPT Robert Brethschneider)
Strength: 160 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle

1st Massachusetts Infantry (COL Robert Cowdin, LTC George D. Wells, MAJ Charles P. Chandler)
Strength: 660 Quality: 2.85+ Guns: 100% Minie Rifle

2nd Michigan Infantry (MAJ Aldophus W. Williams)
Strength: 660 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle

3rd Michigan Infantry (COL Daniel McConnell, LTC Ambrose A. Stevens, MAJ Stephen G. Champlin)
Strength: 660 Quality: 2.75+ Guns: 100% Minie Rifle

12th N.Y. Infantry (COL Ezra L. Walrath, LTC Robert M. Richardson, MAJ John Louis)
Strength: 660 Quality: 1.6 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket

Battery M, 2nd U.S. Artillery (MAJ Henry J. Hunt)
Strength: 75 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 4 Napoleon

Battery G (1st sect.), 1st U.S. Artillery (LT John Edwards, jr., LT Samuel N. Benjamin, LT Babbitt)
Strength: 50 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 2 24-pd. Howitzer

SUPPLY WAGONS (TYLER)
Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

SUPPLY WAGONS (TYLER)
Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

SUPPLY WAGONS (TYLER)
Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

Army of Northeastern Virginia (BG Irwin McDowell)

2nd Division (COL David Hunter)

1ST BRIGADE (COL ANDREW PORTER, LT WILLIAM W. AVERELL)
8th N.Y. State Militia (COL George Lyons)
Strength: 630 Quality: 2.2 Guns: 80% Minie Rifle / 20% Enfield
14th Brooklyn (N.Y. State Militia) (COL Alfred M. Wood, LTC Edward B. Fowler, MAJ J. Jordan)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3.1+++ Guns: 80% Minie Rifle / 20% Enfield
27th N.Y. Infantry (COL Henry W. Slocum, LTC Joseph J. Chambers, MAJ Joseph J. Bartlett)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.8+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
U.S. Infantry Battalion (MAJ George Sykes, CAPT N.H. Davis)
Strength: 560 Quality: 2.8++ Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
U.S. Marine Corps Battalion (MAJ Joseph G. Reynolds)
Strength: 320 Quality: 2.1 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
U.S. Cavalry Battalion (MAJ Innis N. Palmer, CAPT Albert G. Brackett, CAPT James E. Harrison)
Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Sharps Carbine
Battery D, 5th U.S. Artillery (CAPT Charles Griffin, LT Charles Hazlett, LT Horatio B. Reed)
Strength: 100 Quality: 2.6+ Guns: 3 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
2ND BRIGADE (COL AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE)
2nd N.H. Infantry (COL Gilman Marston, LTC Frank S. Fiske, MAJ Josiah Stevens, jr.)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 20% Sharps Rifle / 80% Smoothbore Musket
1st Rhode Island Infantry (MAJ Joseph P. Balch)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.6++ Guns: 90% Minie Rifle / 10% Burnside Carbine
2nd Rhode Island Infantry (COL John S. Slocum, LTC Frank Wheaton, MAJ Sullivan Ballou)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.95+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
71st N.Y. State Militia (COL Henry P. Martin, LTC Haynes)
Strength: 700 Quality: 1.5 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
2nd Rhode Island Light Artillery (CAPT William H. Reynolds, LT T.F. Vaughn, LT J. Albert Monroe)
Strength: 100 Quality: 2.35 Guns: 6 12-pdr. Gun
Ellis' Navy Boat Howitzers (CAPT A. Van Horn Ellis)
Strength: 50 Quality: 3 Guns: 2 12-pdr. Gun
SUPPLY WAGONS (HUNTER)
Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
SUPPLY WAGONS (HUNTER)
Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

3rd Division (COL Samuel P. Heintzelman)

1ST BRIGADE (COL WILLIAM B. FRANKLIN)
5th Massachusetts Infantry (COL Samuel C. Lawrence, LTC James D. Greene, MAJ Hamlin W. Keyes)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.7+ Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
11th Massachusetts Infantry (COL George Clark, jr., LTC William Blaisdell, MAJ George F. Tileston)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3.2++ Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
1st Minnesota Infantry (COL Willis A. Gorman, LTC Stephen Miller, MAJ William H. Dike)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.3++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
Battery I, 1st U.S. Artillery (CAPT James B. Ricketts, LT Douglas Ramsay, LT Edmund Kirby)
Strength: 100 Quality: 2.4++ Guns: 6 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle
2ND BRIGADE (COL ORLANDO B. WILLCOX)
11th N.Y. Infantry (Ellsworth's Fire Zouaves) (COL Noah L. Farnham, LTC John A. Cregier, MAJ Charles McK. Leoser)
Strength: 1000 Quality: 2.2+ Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
38th N.Y. Infantry (COL J.H.H. (Hobart) Ward, LTC Addison Farnsworth, MAJ James D. Potter)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3.7+ Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
1st Michigan Infantry (MAJ Alonzo F. Bidwell)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.5+ Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
4th Michigan Infantry (COL Dwight A. Woodbury, LTC William W. Duffield, MAJ Jonathan W. Childs)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
Battery D, 2nd U.S. Artillery (CAPT Richard Arnold, LT Barriger, LT Throckmorton)
Strength: 50 Quality: 2.75+ Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pdr. Gun
3RD BRIGADE (COL OLIVER O. HOWARD)
3rd Maine Infantry (MAJ Henry G. Staples)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.1+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
4th Maine Infantry (COL Hiram G. Berry, LTC Thomas H. Marshall, MAJ Franklin S. Nickerson)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.7 Guns: 80% Smoothbore Musket / 20% Mississippi Rifle
5th Maine Infantry (COL Mark H. Dunnell, LTC William S. Heath, MAJ Sewel C. Hamilton)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.2 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
2nd Vermont Infantry (COL Henry Whiting, LTC George G. Stannard, MAJ Charles H. Joyce)
Strength: 700 Quality: 2.7 Guns: 50% Minie Rifle / 50% Smoothbore Musket
SUPPLY WAGONS (HEINTZELMAN)
Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
SUPPLY WAGONS (HEINTZELMAN)
Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR 1ST MANASSAS (STANDARD SCENARIO) Later Start

Army of Northeastern Virginia (BG Irwin McDowell)	5th Division (COL Dixon S. Miles)	**1ST BRIGADE (COL LOUIS BLENKER)**
		8th New York Infantry (LTC Julius Stahel, MAJ Andrew Lutz)
		    Strength: 670 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		29th New York Infantry (COL Adolph von Steinwehr, LTC C. Loest, MAJ William P. Wainwright)
		    Strength: 630 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		39th New York Infantry (COL Frederick G. D'Utassy)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		27th Pennsylvania Infantry (COL Max Einstein, LTC Charles Angeroth)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
		Bookwood's Independent Battery Light Artillery (CAPT Charles Bookwood)
		    Strength: 100 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 6 6-pd. Smoothbore
		Battery A, 2nd U.S. Artillery (CAPT John C. Tidball)
		    Strength: 75 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
		2ND BRIGADE (COL THOMAS A. DAVIES)
		16th New York Infantry (LTC Samuel Marsh, MAJ Buel Palmer)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 2.9 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		18th New York Infantry (COL William A. Jackson, LTC William H. Young, MAJ George R. Myers)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		31st New York Infantry (COL Calvin E. Pratt, LTC William M. Browne, MAJ Addison Dougherty)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 2.9 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		32nd New York Infantry (COL Roderick Mathseon, LTC Francis E. Pinto, MAJ George F. Lemon)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		Battery G, 2nd U.S. Artillery (LT Oliver D. Greene)
		    Strength: 75 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 4 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle
		SUPPLY WAGONS (MILES)
		    Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
		SUPPLY WAGONS (MILES)
		    Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

Army of the Potomac (BG Pierre G.T. Beauregard)	1st Brigade (BG Milledge L. Bonham)	**11th North Carolina Infantry** (COL William W. Kirkland, LTC James M. Leach, MAJ James M. Richardson)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		2nd South Carolina Infantry (COL Joseph B. Kershaw, LTC Erwin P. Jones, MAJ Artemas D. Goodwyn)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 2.8+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		3rd South Carolina Infantry (COL James H. Williams, LTC Barham Bobo Foster, MAJ James M. Baxter)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		7th South Carolina Infantry (COL Thomas G. Bacon, LTC Robert A. Fair, MAJ Emmett Seibels)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		8th South Carolina Infantry (COL Ellerbe B.C. Cash, LTC John W. Henagan, MAJ Thomas E. Lucas)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 2.8 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		8th Louisiana Battalion Infantry (COL Henry B. Kelly, LTC Francis R.T. Nicholls, MAJ John B. Prados)
		    Strength: 420 Quality: 3+ Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle
		30th Virginia Cavalry (1st Squadron) (COL Richard C.W. Radford)
		    Strength: 250 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		30th Virginia Cavalry (2nd Squadron) (LTC Thomas T. Munford)
		    Strength: 150 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		Alexandria Light Artillery (CAPT Delaware Kemper, LT W. Douglas Stuart)
		    Strength: 75 Quality: 3.2+ Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore
		1st Company, Richmond Howitzers (CAPT John C. Shields)
		    Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore

	2nd Brigade (BG Richard S. Ewell)	**5th Alabama Infantry** (COL Robert E. Rodes, LTC Allen C. Jones, MAJ John T. Morgan)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
		6th Alabama Infantry (COL John J. Seibels, LTC Benjamin H. Baker, MAJ John B. Gordon)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
		6th Louisiana Infantry (COL Isaac G. Seymour, LTC Louis Lay, MAJ Samuel L. James)
		    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		Harrison's Battalion Cavalry (LTC Walter H. Jenifer, CAPT Julien Harrison)
		    Strength: 200 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		2nd Company, Washington Battalion Artillery (CAPT Thomas L. Rosser, LT C.C. Lewis, LT Culbert H. Slocomb)
		    Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 12-pd. Howitzer

Army of the Potomac (BG Pierre G.T. Beauregard)	**3rd Brigade (BG David R. Jones)**	**17th Mississippi Infantry** (COL Winfield S. Featherston, COL Winfield S. Featherston) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 50% Mississippi Rifle / 50% Smoothbore Musket **18th Mississippi Infantry** (COL Erasmus R. Burt, COL Erasmus R. Burt) Strength: 700 Quality: 3.3+ Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Mississippi Rifle **5th South Carolina Infantry** (COL Micah Jenkins, LTC G.W.H. Legg, MAJ William T. Thompson) Strength: 700 Quality: 3.6+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **Company H, 30th Virginia Cavalry** (CAPT Joel W. Flood) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **3rd Company, (1st sect.) Washington Battalion Artillery** (CAPT Merritt B. Miller, LT Joseph Norcom) Strength: 50 Quality: 3 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore
	4th Brigade (BG James Longstreet)	**5th North Carolina Infantry** (COL Duncan K. McRae, LTC Joseph P. Jones) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle **1st Virginia Infantry** (COL Patrick T. Moore, LTC William H. Fry, MAJ Frederick G. Skinner) Strength: 700 Quality: 3+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **11th Virginia Infantry** (COL Samuel Garland, jr., LTC David Funsten, MAJ Carter H. Harrison) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **17th Virginia Infantry** (COL Montgomery D. Corse, LTC Morton Marye, MAJ George W. Brent) Strength: 700 Quality: 3.1+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **24th Virginia Infantry** (LTC Peter Hairston, jr., MAJ J.P. Hammet) Strength: 420 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **Company E, 30th Virginia Cavalry** (CAPT Edgar Whitehead) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **3rd Company, (2nd Sect.) Washington Battalion Artillery** (LT Louis A. Adam, LT John J. Garnett) Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore
	5th Brigade (COL Philip St. George Cocke)	**8th Virginia Infantry** (COL Eppa Hunton, LTC Charles B. Tebbs, MAJ Norborne Berkeley) Strength: 560 Quality: 3.7++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **18th Virginia Infantry** (COL Robert E. Withers, LTC Henry A. Carrington, MAJ George C. Cabell) Strength: 700 Quality: 3.7++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **19th Virginia Infantry** (LTC John B. Strange, MAJ Henry Gantt) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **28th Virginia Infantry** (COL Robert T. Preston, LTC Robert C. Allen, MAJ William Watts) Strength: 700 Quality: 3.4 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **49th Virginia Battalion Infantry** (COL William (Extra Billy) Smith, LTC Edward Murray, MAJ Caleb Smith) Strength: 210 Quality: 3.6 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **Schaeffer's Battalion Infantry** (CAPT Frank B. Schaeffer, CAPT McGavock Goodwin, CAPT Edgar Macoin) Strength: 210 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **Loudoun Cavalry** (1st Squadron Cavalry) (CAPT William W. Mead) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **Company F, 30th Virginia Cavalry** (1st Squadron Cavalry) (CAPT James Wilson) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **Company B, 30th Virginia Cavalry** (2nd Squadron Cavalry) (CAPT John S. Langhorne) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **Company D, 30th Virginia Cavalry** (2nd Squadron Cavalry) (CAPT Giles W.H. Hale) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun **Loudoun Artillery** (CAPT Arthur L. Rogers, LT Henry Heaton) Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore **Lynchburg Artillery** (1st sect.) (CAPT H. Grey Latham) Strength: 50 Quality: 3 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore
	6th Brigade (COL Jubal A. Early)	**7th Louisiana Infantry** (COL Harry T. Hays, LTC Charles Dechoiseul, MAJ Davidson B. Penn) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle **7th Virginia Infantry** (COL James L. Kemper, LTC Lewis B. Williams, jr., MAJ Waller T. Patton) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **13th Mississippi Infantry** (COL William Barksdale, LTC James W. Carter, MAJ Kennon McElroy) Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle **1st/4th Companies, Washington Battalion Artillery (sect. 1)** (CAPT Benjamin F. Eshelman, LT Charles W. Squires, LT James Dearing) Strength: 65 Quality: 3 Guns: 3 6-pd. Smoothbore **1st/4th Companies, Washington Battalion Artillery (sect. 2)** (CAPT Harry M. Isaacson, LT J.B. Richardson, LT Joseph B. Whittington) Strength: 50 Quality: 3 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR 1ST MANASSAS (STANDARD SCENARIO) Later Start

Army of the Potomac (BG Pierre G.T. Beauregard)	**7th Brigade (COL Nathan G. Evans)**	**1st Special Battalion Louisiana Infantry** (MAJ Chatham R. Wheat)
		  Strength: 500 Quality: 3.8+++ Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle
		4th South Carolina Infantry (Sloan's command) (COL John B.E. Sloan, LTC Charles S. Mattison)
		  Strength: 420 Quality: 3.7+++ Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle
		4th South Carolina Infantry (Companies B-C-E-J) (MAJ James H. Whitner)
		  Strength: 280 Quality: 3.7+++ Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle
		Company A, 30th Virginia Cavalry (CAPT William R. Terry)
		  Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		Company I, 30th Virginia Cavalry (CAPT John D. Alexander)
		  Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		Lynchburg Artillery (2nd sect.) (LT George S. Davidson, LT Clark Leftwich)
		  Strength: 50 Quality: 3 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore

	Holmes's Reserve Brigade (COL Theophilus Holmes)	**1st Arkansas Infantry** (COL James F. Fagan)
		  Strength: 650 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle
		2nd Tennessee Infantry (COL William B. Bate)
		  Strength: 650 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle
		Purcell Artillery (CAPT Reuben L. Walker)
		  Strength: 100 Quality: 3 Guns: 6 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle

		Hampton's Legion (COL Wade Hampton, LTC Benjamin J. Johnson, CAPT James Conner) Strength: 600 Quality: 3.7+++ Guns: 100% Enfield
		Madison Cavalry (CAPT W. Thomas) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		Prince William Cavalry (CAPT William W. Thornton) Strength: 70 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		Supply Wagons (Beauregard) Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Supply Wagons (Beauregard) Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Supply Wagons (Beauregard) Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Supply Wagons (Beauregard) Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Supply Wagons (Beauregard) Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Supply Wagons (Beauregard) Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

	Army of the Shenandoah (BG Joseph E. Johnston)	**1ST BRIGADE (BG THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON)**
		2nd Virginia Infantry (COL James W. Allen, LTC Francis Lackland, MAJ Lawson Botts)
		  Strength: 600 Quality: 2.7 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		4th Virginia Infantry (COL James F. Preston, LTC Robert D. Gardner, MAJ Matthew D. Bennett)
		  Strength: 600 Quality: 3.9+++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		5th Virginia Infantry (COL Kenton Harper, LTC William H. Harman, MAJ William S.H. Baylor)
		  Strength: 600 Quality: 3.6++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		27th Virginia Infantry (COL William W. Gordon, LTC John Echols, MAJ Andrew J. Grigsby)
		  Strength: 600 Quality: 3.9+++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		33rd Virginia Infantry (COL Arthur C. Cummings, LTC W.F. Lee, MAJ B. Hardin)
		  Strength: 480 Quality: 2.8++ Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Flintlock musket
		Rockbridge Artillery (CAPT William N. Pendleton, LT John B. Brockenbrough, LT William McLaughlin)
		  Strength: 75 Quality: 3.6+ Guns: 3 6-pd. Smoothbore / 1 12-pd. Howitzer
		
		2ND BRIGADE (COL FRANCIS BARTOW)
		7th Georgia Infantry (COL Lucius J. Gartrell, LTC John Dunwoody, MAJ Lemuel B. Anderson)
		  Strength: 700 Quality: 3.6+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		8th Georgia Infantry (LTC William M. Gardner)
		  Strength: 700 Quality: 3.6+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		Wise Artillery (CAPT Ephraim G. Alburtis, LT John Pelham)
		  Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR 1ST MANASSAS (STANDARD SCENARIO) Later Start

Army of the Potomac (BG Pierre G.T. Beauregard)	Army of the Shenandoah (BG Joseph E. Johnston)	

		3RD BRIGADE (BG BARNARD E. BEE, JR., LT STATES RIGHTS GIST)
		4th Alabama Infantry (COL Egbert J. Jones, LTC Evander M. Law, MAJ Charles L. Scott)
		  Strength: 700 Quality: 3+ Guns: 100% Minie Rifle
		2nd Mississippi Infantry (COL William C. Falkner, LTC Bartley B. Boone, MAJ David W. Humphries)
		  Strength: 700 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		11th Mississippi Infantry (COL William H. Moore, LTC Philip F. Liddell, MAJ Samuel F. Butler)
		  Strength: 140 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		6th North Carolina State Troops (COL Charles F. Fisher, LTC Charles E. Lightfoot, MAJ Robert F. Webb)
		  Strength: 700 Quality: 2.8++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		Staunton Artillery (CAPT John D. Imboden, LT Thomas L. Harman)
		  Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore
		
		4TH BRIGADE (BG EDMUND K. SMITH)
		1st Maryland Battalion Infantry (COL Arnold Elzey, LTC George H. Steuart, MAJ Bradley T. Johnson)
		  Strength: 480 Quality: 3.65++ Guns: 100% Mississippi Rifle
		3rd Tennessee Infantry (COL John C. Vaughn, LTC J.J. Reese, MAJ G.W. Morgan)
		  Strength: 600 Quality: 3.65++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		10th Virginia Infantry (COL Simeon B. Gibbons, LTC Edward T.H. Warren, MAJ Dorilas H.L. Martz)
		  Strength: 600 Quality: 3.65++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		Newtown Artillery (CAPT George A. Groves, LT Robert F. Beckham, LT J.A. Jacobs)
		  Strength: 75 Quality: 3.6++ Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore
		1ST VIRGINIA CAVALRY (LTC J.E.B. (JEB) STUART, MAJ ROBERT SWAN)
		  Strength: 300 Quality: 3.8+++ Guns: 100% Shotgun
		THOMAS ARTILLERY (CAPT PHILIP B. STANARD, LT CHARLES H. THORNTON)
		  Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore
		SUPPLY WAGONS (JOHNSTON)
		  Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
		SUPPLY WAGONS (JOHNSTON)
		  Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
		SUPPLY WAGONS (JOHNSTON)
		  Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR MILL SPRINGS (BEECH GROVE) (Alternate History)

Department of the Ohio (1st Division) (BG George H. Thomas)	**1st Brigade (Schoepf) (BG Albin Schoepf)**	**17th Ohio Infantry** (COL John M. Connell) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle **31st Ohio Infantry** (COL Moses B. Walker) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **38th Ohio Infantry** (COL Edwin D. Bradley) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle **Battery B, 1st Kentucky Light Artillery** (CAPT John M. Hewett) Strength: 100 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer **Supply Wagons** (Schoepf's Brigade) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised
	2nd Brigade (Manson) (COL Mahlon D. Manson)	**10th Indiana Infantry** (LTC William C. Kise, MAJ Abram O. Miller) Strength: 710 Quality: 3.5+++ Guns: 100% Enfield **4th Kentucky Infantry** (COL Speed S. Fry, LTC John T. Croxton) Strength: 400 Quality: 3.6+++ Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle **10th Kentucky Infantry** (COL John M. Harlan) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle **14th Ohio Infantry** (COL James B. Steedman) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle
	3rd Brigade (McCook) (COL Robert L. McCook)	**2nd Minnesota Infantry** (COL Horatio P. Van Cleve, LTC James George, MAJ Alexander Wilkin) Strength: 450 Quality: 3.3+++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **9th Ohio Infantry** (MAJ Gustav Kammerling, MAJ Karl Joseph) Strength: 640 Quality: 3.3++ Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle **35th Ohio Infantry** (COL Ferdinand Van Derveer) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle
	12th Brigade (Carter) (COL Samuel P. Carter)	**1st East Tennessee Infantry** (COL Robert K. Byrd, LTC James G. Spears) Strength: 610 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **2nd East Tennessee Infantry** (COL James P. Carter, LTC Daniel C. Trewhitt) Strength: 442 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **12th Kentucky Infantry** (COL William A. Hoskins, CAPT Cornelius C. Ham, CAPT Lawrence H. Rousseau) Strength: 478 Quality: 3 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle
		Battery B, 1st Ohio Light Artillery (CAPT William E. Standart, LT Eben Sturges, LT John A. Bennett) Strength: 122 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 6 6-pd. Smoothbore
		Battery C, 1st Ohio Light Artillery (CAPT Dennis Kenny, Jr., LT Frank Viets) Strength: 110 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 6 6-pd. Smoothbore
		9th Ohio Battery (CAPT Henry S. Wetmore) Strength: 104 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 2 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
		1st Kentucky Cavalry (COL Frank Wolford, MAJ John A. Brents) Strength: 250 Quality: 3.25+ Guns: 100% Sharps Carbine
		1st Michigan Engineers & Mechanics (2nd Detachment) (LTC Kinsman A. Hunton) Strength: 300 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle
		Union Supply Wagons Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Union Supply Wagons Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR MILL SPRINGS (BEECH GROVE) (Alternate History)

Western Department (Crittenden's Division) (MG George B. Crittenden)	1st Brigade (Zollicoffer) (BG Felix K. Zollicoffer)	**15th Mississippi Infantry** (COL Winfield S. Statham, LTC Edward C. Walthall) Strength: 820 Quality: 3.6++++ Guns: 50% Mississippi Rifle / 50% Smoothbore Musket **19th Tennessee Infantry** (COL David H. Cumming, LTC Francis M. Walker, MAJ Abraham Fulkerson) Strength: 675 Quality: 2.7 Guns: 60% Mississippi Rifle / 40% Flintlock musket **20th Tennessee Infantry** (COL Joel A. Battle, LTC Moscow B. Carter, MAJ Patrick Duffy) Strength: 700 Quality: 3.3++ Guns: 100% Flintlock musket **25th Tennessee Infantry** (COL Sidney S. Stanton) Strength: 675 Quality: 2.7 Guns: 60% Minie Rifle / 40% Flintlock musket **Rutledge's Tennessee Light Artillery Battery** (LT Eugene F. Falconnet, LT Mark S. Cockrill) Strength: 140 Quality: 2.8 Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
	2nd Brigade (Carroll) (BG William H. Carroll)	**16th Alabama Infantry** (COL William B. Wood, LTC John Harris) Strength: 380 Quality: 3+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **17th Tennessee Infantry** (COL Tazewell Newman, LTC Thomas C.H. Miller) Strength: 400 Quality: 3.2++ Guns: 100% Flintlock musket **28th Tennessee Infantry** (COL John P. Murray) Strength: 750 Quality: 2.9 Guns: 60% Smoothbore Musket / 40% Flintlock musket **29th Tennessee Infantry** (COL Samuel Powel, MAJ Horace Rice) Strength: 650 Quality: 2.9+ Guns: 60% Minie Rifle / 40% Flintlock musket **McClung's Tennessee Battery** (CAPT Hugh L.W. McClung, LT Elliott S. McClung) Strength: 80 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 2 12-pd. Howitzer / 2 6-pd. Smoothbore
		Branner's 4th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (LTC Benjamin M. Branner) Strength: 335 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		McClellan's 5th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (LTC George R. McClellan) Strength: 315 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		Bledsoe's Cavalry Company (CAPT Willis S. Bledsoe) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.95 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		Sanders's Cavalry Company (CAPT Q.C. (Ned) Sanders) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.95 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		McKenzie's 13th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (LTC George W. McKenzie) Strength: 50 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		Brazelton's 3rd Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (LTC William Brazleton, CAPT William Snow, CAPT William Gass) Strength: 80 Quality: 2.55 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		McNairy's 1st Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (LTC Frank N. McNairy, CAPT Tim Allison) Strength: 200 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		37th Tennessee Infantry Regiment (COL Moses White, MAJ Edward F. Hunt) Strength: 400 Quality: 2.4 Guns: 80% Flintlock musket / 20% Improvised
		Monsarrat's Tennessee Artillery Battalion (CAPT George H. Monsarrat, LT Ed Baxter) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 1 6-pd. Smoothbore / 1 Ordnance Rifle
		Monsarrat's Tennessee Artillery Battalion (sects. 2-3) Strength: 80 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 3 6-pd. Smoothbore / 1 Ordnance Rifle
		Confederate Supply Wagons Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Confederate Supply Wagons Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Confederate Supply Wagons Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR MILL SPRINGS (Standard Scenario)

Department of the Ohio (1st Division) (BG George H. Thomas)	**1st Brigade (Schoepf) (BG Albin Schoepf)**	**17th Ohio Infantry** (COL John M. Connell) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle **31st Ohio Infantry** (COL Moses B. Walker) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **38th Ohio Infantry** (COL Edwin D. Bradley) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Minie Rifle **Battery B, 1st Kentucky Light Artillery** (CAPT John M. Hewett) Strength: 100 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer **Supply Wagons** (Schoepf's Brigade) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised
	2nd Brigade (Manson) (COL Mahlon D. Manson)	**10th Indiana Infantry** (LTC William C. Kise, MAJ Abram O. Miller) Strength: 710 Quality: 3.5+++ Guns: 100% Enfield **4th Kentucky Infantry** (COL Speed S. Fry, LTC John T. Croxton) Strength: 400 Quality: 3.6+++ Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle **10th Kentucky Infantry** (COL John M. Harlan) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle **14th Ohio Infantry** (COL James B. Steedman) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle
	3rd Brigade (McCook) (COL Robert L. McCook)	**2nd Minnesota Infantry** (COL Horatio P. Van Cleve, LTC James George, MAJ Alexander Wilkin) Strength: 400 Quality: 3.3+++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **Co. A, 2nd Minnesota Infantry** (CAPT Judson Bishop) Strength: 50 Quality: 3.3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **9th Ohio Infantry** (MAJ Gustav Kammerling, MAJ Karl Joseph) Strength: 560 Quality: 3.3++ Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle **Co. I, 9th Ohio Infantry** (CAPT John Gansen) Strength: 40 Quality: 3.3 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle **Co. K, 9th Ohio Infantry** (CAPT George Sommer) Strength: 40 Quality: 3.3 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle **35th Ohio Infantry** (COL Ferdinand Van Derveer) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle
	12th Brigade (Carter) (COL Samuel P. Carter)	**1st East Tennessee Infantry** (COL Robert K. Byrd, LTC James G. Spears) Strength: 610 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **2nd East Tennessee Infantry** (COL James P. Carter, LTC Daniel C. Trewhitt) Strength: 442 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **12th Kentucky Infantry** (COL William A. Hoskins, CAPT Cornelius C. Ham, CAPT Lawrence H. Rousseau) Strength: 478 Quality: 3 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle
		Battery B, 1st Ohio Light Artillery (CAPT William E. Standart, LT Eben Sturges, LT John A. Bennett) Strength: 122 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 6 6-pd. Smoothbore
		Battery C, 1st Ohio Light Artillery (CAPT Dennis Kenny, Jr., LT Frank Viets) Strength: 110 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 6 6-pd. Smoothbore
		9th Ohio Battery (CAPT Henry S. Wetmore) Strength: 104 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 2 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
		1st Kentucky Cavalry (COL Frank Wolford, MAJ John A. Brents) Strength: 250 Quality: 3.25+ Guns: 100% Sharps Carbine
		1st Michigan Engineers & Mechanics (2nd Detachment) (LTC Kinsman A. Hunton) Strength: 300 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Smoothbore Musket / 50% Minie Rifle
		Union Supply Wagons Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR MILL SPRINGS (Standard Scenario)

Western Department (Crittenden's Division) (MG George B. Crittenden)	**1st Brigade (Zollicoffer) (BG Felix K. Zollicoffer)**	**15th Mississippi Infantry** (COL Winfield S. Statham, LTC Edward C. Walthall) Strength: 520 Quality: 3.6++++ Guns: 50% Mississippi Rifle / 50% Smoothbore Musket **19th Tennessee Infantry** (COL David H. Cumming, LTC Francis M. Walker, MAJ Abraham Fulkerson) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.7 Guns: 60% Mississippi Rifle / 40% Flintlock musket **20th Tennessee Infantry** (COL Joel A. Battle, LTC Moscow B. Carter, MAJ Patrick Duffy) Strength: 500 Quality: 3.3++ Guns: 100% Flintlock musket **25th Tennessee Infantry** (COL Sidney S. Stanton) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.7 Guns: 60% Minie Rifle / 40% Flintlock musket **Rutledge's Tennessee Light Artillery Battery** (LT Eugene F. Falconnet, LT Mark S. Cockrill) Strength: 100 Quality: 2.8 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer **Rutledge's Tennessee Light Artillery Battery** (Sect. 3) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.8 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore
	2nd Brigade (Carroll) (BG William H. Carroll)	**16th Alabama Infantry** (COL William B. Wood, LTC John Harris) Strength: 330 Quality: 3+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **17th Tennessee Infantry** (COL Tazewell Newman, LTC Thomas C.H. Miller) Strength: 400 Quality: 3.2++ Guns: 100% Flintlock musket **28th Tennessee Infantry** (COL John P. Murray) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.9 Guns: 60% Smoothbore Musket / 40% Flintlock musket **29th Tennessee Infantry** (COL Samuel Powel, MAJ Horace Rice) Strength: 650 Quality: 2.9+ Guns: 60% Minie Rifle / 40% Flintlock musket **McClung's Tennessee Battery** (Sect. 1) (CAPT Hugh L.W. McClung) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 2 12-pd. Howitzer **McClung's Tennessee Battery** (Sect. 2) (LT Elliott S. McClung) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore
		Branner's 4th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (LTC Benjamin M. Branner) Strength: 250 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		McClellan's 5th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (LTC George R. McClellan) Strength: 210 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		Bledsoe's Cavalry Company (CAPT Willis S. Bledsoe) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.95 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		Sanders's Cavalry Company (CAPT Q.C. (Ned) Sanders) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.95 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		Brazelton's 3rd Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (LTC William Brazleton, CAPT William Snow, CAPT William Gass) Strength: 80 Quality: 2.55 Guns: 100% Shotgun
		37th Tennessee Infantry Regiment (COL Moses White, MAJ Edward F. Hunt) Strength: 400 Quality: 2.4 Guns: 80% Flintlock musket / 20% Improvised
		Monsarrat's Tennessee Artillery Battalion (CAPT George H. Monsarrat, LT Ed Baxter) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 1 6-pd. Smoothbore / 1 Ordnance Rifle
		Confederate Supply Wagons Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised

2nd Division (Smith), Keyes' Corps (BG William F. (Baldy) Smith)	**1st Brigade (Hancock) (BG Winfield S. Hancock)**	**5th Wisconsin Infantry** (COL Amasa Cobb, LTC Harvey W. Emery, MAJ Charles H. Larrabee) Strength: 700 Quality: 3.6+++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **6th Maine Infantry** (COL Hiram Burnham, LTC Charles H. Chandler, MAJ Benjamin F. Harris) Strength: 700 Quality: 3.5+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **49th Pennsylvania Infantry** (COL William H. Irwin, LTC William Brisbane, MAJ Thomas M. Hulings) Strength: 700 Quality: 3.5+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **7th Maine Infantry** (COL Edwin C. Mason, LTC Selden Connor, MAJ Thomas W. Hyde) Strength: 700 Quality: 3.1++ Guns: 100% Minie Rifle **33rd New York Infantry** (COL Robert F. Taylor) Strength: 490 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **33rd New York (Corning's battalion)** (LTC Joseph W. Corning) Strength: 210 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **1st Battery, N.Y. Artillery** (LT Andrew Cowan) Strength: 75 Quality: 3.4+ Guns: 6 Ordnance Rifle
	2nd Division Artillery (Ayres) (LT Charles Kusserow)	**Battery E, 1st New York Artillery** (CAPT Charles C. Wheeler) Strength: 75 Quality: 3.4+ Guns: 4 Ordnance Rifle
		3rd Battery, N.Y. Artillery (CAPT Thaddeus P. Mott) Strength: 75 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 4 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 Napoleon
Longstreet's Army (MG James Longstreet)	**Anderson's Field Command (Longstreet's Division) (BG Richard H. Anderson)**	**2ND BRIGADE (JENKINS) (COL MICAH JENKINS)** **4th South Carolina Battalion** (MAJ Charles S. Mattison) Strength: 450 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **5th South Carolina Infantry** (COL John R.R. Giles, MAJ William M. Foster) Strength: 650 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **6th South Carolina Infantry** (COL John Bratton) Strength: 275 Quality: 2.6 Guns: 70% Smoothbore Musket / 30% Minie Rifle **6th South Carolina (Steedman's battalion)** (LTC John M. Steedman) Strength: 275 Quality: 2.6 Guns: 70% Smoothbore Musket / 30% Minie Rifle **Fauquier (Va.) Battery** (CAPT Robert M. Stribling, LT James H. Kidwell, LT William C. Marshall) Strength: 68 Quality: 3 Guns: 2 24-pd. Howitzer / 2 12-pdr. Gun **Lynchburg (Va.) Battery** (CAPT James Dearing, LT Thomas F. Richardson) Strength: 60 Quality: 3.5++ Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore
	D.H. Hill's Division (MG Daniel H. Hill)	**1ST BRIGADE (EARLY) (BG JUBAL A. EARLY)** **5th North Carolina Infantry** (COL Duncan K. McRae, LTC John C. Badham, MAJ Peter Sinclar) Strength: 460 Quality: 3.8++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **23rd North Carolina Infantry** (COL John F. Hoke, MAJ Daniel H. Christie) Strength: 540 Quality: 2.3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **24th Virginia Infantry** (COL William R. Terry, LTC Peter W. Hairston, jr., MAJ Richard L. Maury) Strength: 740 Quality: 3.6+++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket **38th Virginia Infantry** (LTC Powhatan B. Whittle) Strength: 544 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
		Unidentified cavalry unit Strength: 150 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR WILLIAMSBURG (STANDARD SCENARIO)

Army of the Potomac (MG George B. McClellan, BG Edwin V. (Bull) Sumner)	**3rd Corps (Heintzelman) (BG Samuel P. Heintzelman)**	

2ND DIVISION (HOOKER) (BG JOSEPH HOOKER)
1st Brigade (Grover) (BG Cuvier Grover)
2nd New Hampshire Infantry (COL Gilman Marston)
   Strength: 770 Quality: 3.2++ Guns: 80% Smoothbore Musket / 20% Springfield Rifle
1st Massachusetts Infantry (COL Robert Cowdin)
   Strength: 708 Quality: 3.4+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
11th Massachusetts Infantry (COL William Blaisdell, LTC George Tileston, MAJ Porter D. Tripp)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3.4+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
26th Pennsylvania Infantry (COL William F. Small, MAJ Casper M. Berry)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3.3+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle

2nd Brigade (Taylor) (COL Nelson Taylor)
70th New York Infantry (COL William Dwight, jr., LTC J. Egbert Farnum, MAJ Thomas Holt)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3.7+++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
72nd New York Infantry (LTC Israel Moses, MAJ William O. Stevens)
   Strength: 875 Quality: 3.4++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
73rd New York Infantry (COL William R. Brewster, LTC Lewis Benedict, Jr.)
   Strength: 875 Quality: 3.4++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
74th New York Infantry (LTC Charles H. Burtis, CAPT John P. Glass)
   Strength: 550 Quality: 3.4++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle

3rd Brigade (Patterson) (BG Francis E. Patterson)
5th New Jersey Infantry (COL Samuel H. Starr, LTC Gershom Mott)
   Strength: 833 Quality: 2.75+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
6th New Jersey Infantry (LTC John P. Van Leer, MAJ George C. Burling)
   Strength: 589 Quality: 3.5+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
7th New Jersey Infantry (LTC Ezra A. Carman, MAJ Francis Price, Jr.)
   Strength: 589 Quality: 3.5++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
8th New Jersey Infantry (COL Adolphus J. Johnson, MAJ Peter H. Ryerson)
   Strength: 589 Quality: 3.4 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle

2ND DIVISION ARTILLERY (WAINWRIGHT) (MAJ CHARLES S. WAINWRIGHT)
Battery D, 1st New York Light Artillery (CAPT Thomas W. Osborn)
   Strength: 75 Quality: 3.2++ Guns: 4 Ordnance Rifle
Battery H, 1st U.S. Artillery (CAPT Charles H. Webber, LT Horace L. Pike, LT Chandler P. Eakin)
   Strength: 75 Quality: 1.9 Guns: 4 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
4th New York Independent Light Artillery (CAPT James E. Smith, LT Joseph E. Nairn)
   Strength: 75 Quality: 2.9 Guns: 6 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle
6th New York Independent Light Artillery (CAPT Walter M. Bramhall)
   Strength: 75 Quality: 2.9++ Guns: 6 Ordnance Rifle
Supply Wagons (Hooker)
   Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
Supply Wagons (Hooker)
   Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

3RD DIVISION (KEARNY) (BG PHILIP KEARNY)
1st Brigade (Jameson) (BG Charles D. Jameson)
57th Pennsylvania Infantry (COL Charles T. Campbell)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
63rd Pennsylvania Infantry (COL Alexander Hays)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
105th Pennsylvania Infantry (COL Amor A. McKnight)
   Strength: 500 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
87th New York Infantry (COL Stephen A. Dodge)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle

2nd Brigade (Birney) (BG David B. Birney)
38th New York Infantry (COL J.H.H. (Hobart) Ward, LTC James C. Strong)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3.5+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
40th New York Infantry (COL Edward J. Riley)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3.3+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
3rd Maine Infantry (COL Henry G. Staples)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
4th Maine Infantry (COL Elijah Walker)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle

3rd Brigade (Berry) (BG Hiram G. Berry)
2nd Michigan Infantry (COL Orlando M. Poe, LTC Adolphus W. Williams, MAJ Louis Dillman)
   Strength: 600 Quality: 3.4+++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
3rd Michigan Infantry (COL Stephen G. Champlin)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
5th Michigan Infantry (COL Henry D. Terry, LTC Samuel E. Beach, MAJ John D. Fairbanks)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 4+++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
37th New York Infantry (COL Samuel B. Hayman, LTC Gilbert Riordan, MAJ Patrick H. Jones)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3.7 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle

3RD DIVISION ARTILLERY (THOMPSON) (CAPT JAMES THOMPSON)
Battery B, 1st New Jersey Light Artillery (CAPT John E. Beam, LT A. Judson Clark, LT John B. Monroe)
   Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
Battery E, 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery (CAPT George E. Randolph)
   Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
Battery G, 2nd U.S. Artillery (LT John H. Butler)
   Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 6 Napoleon
Supply Wagons (Kearny)
   Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
Supply Wagons (Kearny)
   Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

Army of the Potomac (MG George B. McClellan, BG Edwin V. (Bull) Sumner)	**4th Corps (Keyes) (BG Erasmus D. Keyes)**	**1ST DIVISION (COUCH) (BG DARIUS N. COUCH)**

1ST DIVISION (COUCH) (BG DARIUS N. COUCH)
1st Brigade (Graham) (COL Julius W. Adams)
65th New York Infantry (LTC Alexander Shaler)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
67th New York Infantry (LTC Nelson Cross)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
23rd Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment (COL Thomas H. Neill)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
31st Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment (COL David H. Williams)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
61st Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment (LTC Frank Vallee)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
Battery E, 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery (CAPT Theodore Miller)
    Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 12-pd. Howitzer

2nd Brigade (Peck) (BG John J. Peck)
55th New York Infantry (COL Philippe Regis de Trobriand)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 1.9 Guns: 80% Smoothbore Musket / 20% Springfield Rifle
62nd New York Infantry (COL John L. Riker)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 80% Smoothbore Musket / 20% Springfield Rifle
93rd New York Infantry (COL James M. McCarter)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 80% Smoothbore Musket / 20% Springfield Rifle
98th Pennsylvania Infantry (COL John F. Ballier)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 2.3 Guns: 80% Smoothbore Musket / 20% Springfield Rifle
102nd Pennsylvania Infantry (COL Thomas A. Rowley)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3.2 Guns: 80% Smoothbore Musket / 20% Springfield Rifle
Battery H, 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery (CAPT James Brady)
    Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 12-pd. Howitzer

3rd Brigade (Devens) (BG Charles Devens, Jr.)
7th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment (COL David A. Russell)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
10th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment (COL Henry S. Briggs)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
2nd Rhode Island Infantry Regiment (COL Frank Wheaton)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle

1ST DIVISION ARTILLERY (WEST) (MAJ ROBERT M. WEST)
Battery C, 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery (CAPT Jeremiah McCarthy)
    Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
Battery D, 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery (CAPT Edward H. Flood)
    Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 4 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
Supply Wagons (Couch)
    Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
Supply Wagons (Couch)
    Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

2ND DIVISION (SMITH) (BG WILLIAM F. (BALDY) SMITH)
1st Brigade (Hancock) (BG Winfield S. Hancock)
5th Wisconsin Infantry (COL Amasa Cobb, LTC Harvey W. Emery, MAJ Charles H. Larrabee)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3.6+++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
6th Maine Infantry (COL Hiram Burnham, LTC Charles H. Chandler, MAJ Benjamin F. Harris)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3.5+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
43rd New York Infantry (COL Francis L. Vinton)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
49th Pennsylvania Infantry (COL William H. Irwin, LTC William Brisbane, MAJ Thomas M. Hulings)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3.5+ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
7th Maine Infantry (COL Edwin C. Mason, LTC Selden Connor, MAJ Thomas W. Hyde)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3.1++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
33rd New York Infantry (COL Robert F. Taylor, LTC Joseph W. Corning)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle

2nd Brigade (Brooks) (BG William T.H. Brooks)
2nd Vermont Infantry (COL Henry Whiting)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
3rd Vermont Infantry (COL Breed N. Hyde)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
4th Vermont Infantry (COL Edwin H. Stoughton)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
5th Vermont Infantry (LTC Lewis A. Grant)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
6th Vermont Infantry (COL Nathan Lord)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
49th New York Infantry (COL Daniel D. Bidwell)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
76th New York Infantry (COL James B. McKean)
    Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle

3rd Brigade (Davidson) (BG John W. Davidson)

Army of the Potomac (MG George B. McClellan, BG Edwin V. (Bull) Sumner)

4th Corps (Keyes) (BG Erasmus D. Keyes)

2ND DIVISION ARTILLERY (AYRES) (CAPT ROMEYN B. AYRES, LT CHARLES KUSSEROW)
Battery E, 1st New York Artillery (CAPT Charles C. Wheeler)
Strength: 75 Quality: 3.4+ Guns: 4 Ordnance Rifle
1st Battery, N.Y. Artillery (LT Andrew Cowan)
Strength: 75 Quality: 3.4+ Guns: 6 Ordnance Rifle
3rd Battery, N.Y. Artillery (CAPT Thaddeus P. Mott)
Strength: 75 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 4 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 Napoleon
Battery F, 5th U.S. Artillery (LT Leonard Martin)
Strength: 75 Quality: 3.1 Guns: 4 10-pdr. Parrott Rifle / 2 Napoleon
Supply Wagons (Smith)
Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
Supply Wagons (Smith)
Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
3RD DIVISION (CASEY) (BG SILAS CASEY)
1st Brigade (Naglee) (BG Henry M. Naglee)
52nd Pennsylvania Infantry (COL John C. Dodge, jr.)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
104th Pennsylvania Infantry (COL W.W.H. Davis)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
56th New York Infantry (COL Charles H. Van Wyck)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
100th New York Infantry (COL James M. Brown)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
11th Maine Infantry (COL John C. Caldwell)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
5th U.S. Cavalry (MAJ Joseph H. Whittlesey, CAPT William P. Chambliss, LT William McLean)
Strength: 150 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Sharps Carbine
2nd Brigade (Keim) (BG William H. Keim)
85th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment (COL Joshua B. Howell)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
101st Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment (COL Joseph H. Wilson, LTC David B. Morris, MAJ Joseph S. Hoard)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
103rd Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment (MAJ Audley W. Gazzam)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
96th New York Infantry (LTC Charles O. Gray)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
3rd Brigade (Palmer) (BG Innis N. Palmer)
92nd New York Infantry Regiment (LTC Hiram Anderson)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
93rd New York Infantry Regiment (LTC Benjamin C. Butler)
Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle
Supply Wagons (Casey)
Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

Cavalry Advance Guard (Stoneman) (BG George Stoneman)

CAVALRY DIVISION (COOKE) (BG PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE)
1st U.S. Cavalry (LTC William N. Grier, CAPT W.T. Magruder)
Strength: 400 Quality: 3.9++ Guns: 100% Sharps Carbine
6th U.S. Cavalry (MAJ Lawrence Williams, CAPT William P. Sanders, CAPT John I. (Long John) Gregg)
Strength: 400 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Sharps Carbine
1ST BRIGADE, CAVALRY RESERVE (EMORY) (BG WILLIAM H. EMORY)
3rd Pennsylvania Cavalry (COL William W. Averell)
Strength: 400 Quality: 3.2 Guns: 100% Sharps Carbine
8th Illinois Cavalry (COL John F. Farnsworth)
Strength: 400 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Sharps Carbine
MCCLELLAN DRAGOONS (MAJ CHARLES W. BARKER)
Strength: 400 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Sharps Carbine
U.S. HORSE ARTILLERY BRIGADE (HAYS) (LTC WILLIAM HAYS)
Battery M, 2nd U.S. Artillery (CAPT Henry Benson, LT John W. Barlow, LT Peter C. Hains)
Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 6 Ordnance Rifle
Battery C, 3rd U.S. Artillery (CAPT Horatio G. Gibson, LT William D. Fuller, LT Edmund Pendleton)
Strength: 75 Quality: 3+ Guns: 5 Ordnance Rifle
Battery A, 2nd U.S. Artillery (CAPT John C. Tidball, LT Alexander C.McW. Pennington, jr., LT William N. Dennison)
Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 6 Ordnance Rifle
Batteries B & L, 2nd U.S. Artillery (CAPT James M. Robertson, LT John M. Wilson, LT Carle A. Woodruff)
Strength: 75 Quality: 3 Guns: 6 Ordnance Rifle
Supply Wagons (Stoneman)
Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR WILLIAMSBURG (STANDARD SCENARIO)

	Longstreet's Army (MG James Longstreet)	**ANDERSON'S FIELD COMMAND (LONGSTREET'S DIVISION) (BG RICHARD H. ANDERSON)**

ANDERSON'S FIELD COMMAND (LONGSTREET'S DIVISION) (BG RICHARD H. ANDERSON)

1ST BRIGADE (A.P. HILL) (BG A.P. (POWELL) HILL)
1st Virginia Infantry (COL Louis B. Williams, MAJ William H. Palmer)
   Strength: 400 Quality: 3.5 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
7th Virginia Infantry (COL James L. Kemper)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3.8+++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
11th Virginia Infantry (COL Samuel Garland, jr., MAJ Maurice S. Langhorne)
   Strength: 750 Quality: 3.5 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
17th Virginia Infantry (COL Montgomery D. Corse)
   Strength: 600 Quality: 3.5 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket

2ND BRIGADE (JENKINS) (COL MICAH JENKINS)
4th South Carolina Battalion (MAJ Charles S. Mattison)
   Strength: 450 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
5th South Carolina Infantry (COL John R.R. Giles, MAJ William M. Foster)
   Strength: 650 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
6th South Carolina Infantry (COL John Bratton, LTC John M. Steedman)
   Strength: 550 Quality: 2.6 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
Palmetto (S.C.) Sharpshooters (LTC Joseph Walker, MAJ William Anderson)
   Strength: 450 Quality: 3.5++ Guns: 80% Smoothbore Musket / 20% Enfield
St. Paul's (La.) Foot Rifles (CAPT McGavock Goodwin)
   Strength: 250 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
1st Louisiana Zouave Battalion (Coppens) (LTC George A.G. Coppens, MAJ Waldemar Hylested)
   Strength: 250 Quality: 3+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
Fauquier (Va.) Battery (CAPT Robert M. Stribling, LT James H. Kidwell, LT William C. Marshall)
   Strength: 68 Quality: 3 Guns: 2 24-pd. Howitzer / 2 12-pdr. Gun
Richmond Howitzers, 1st Co. (CAPT Edward S. McCarthy)
   Strength: 103 Quality: 3.5++ Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore
Williamsburg (Va.) Battery (CAPT William R. Garrett, LT John A. Coke)
   Strength: 50 Quality: 3.75++ Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore

3RD BRIGADE (PICKETT) (BG GEORGE E. PICKETT)
8th Virginia Infantry (LTC Norborne Berkeley)
   Strength: 450 Quality: 3.2+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
18th Virginia Infantry (LTC Henry A. Carrington)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3.3+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
19th Virginia Infantry (COL John B. Strange)
   Strength: 650 Quality: 3.3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
28th Virginia Infantry (COL Robert C. Allen)
   Strength: 600 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
Lynchburg (Va.) Battery (CAPT James Dearing, LT Thomas F. Richardson)
   Strength: 60 Quality: 3.5++ Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore

4TH BRIGADE (WILCOX) (BG CADMUS M. WILCOX)
9th Alabama Infantry (COL Samuel Henry, MAJ J.H.J. Williams)
   Strength: 550 Quality: 3.6++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
10th Alabama Infantry (COL John J. Woodward, MAJ William H. Forney)
   Strength: 550 Quality: 3.2+++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
19th Mississippi Infantry (COL Christopher H. Mott, LTC Lucius Q.C. Lamar, MAJ John Mullins)
   Strength: 800 Quality: 3.5+++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket

5TH BRIGADE (PRYOR) (BG ROGER A. PRYOR)
8th Alabama Infantry (COL John A. Winston, LTC Thomas H. Irby, MAJ Young L. Royston)
   Strength: 800 Quality: 3.2 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
14th Alabama Infantry (MAJ Owen K. McLemore)
   Strength: 700 Quality: 3.1+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
14th Louisiana Infantry (COL Richard W. Jones, LTC Zebulon York, MAJ David Zable)
   Strength: 750 Quality: 3.3+ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
32nd Virginia Infantry Battalion (CAPT John F. Segar)
   Strength: 150 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
Richmond Fayette (Va.) Battery (CAPT Miles C. Macon, LT William I. Clopton)
   Strength: 60 Quality: 3.1++ Guns: 6 6-pd. Smoothbore

6TH BRIGADE (COLSTON) (BG RALEIGH E. COLSTON)
3rd Virginia Infantry (COL Joseph Mayo, jr.)
   Strength: 550 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
13th North Carolina Infantry (COL Alfred M. Scales, LTC Thomas Ruffin, jr.)
   Strength: 575 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
14th North Carolina Infantry (COL Philetus W. Roberts)
   Strength: 625 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket
Maurin's Donaldsonville (La.) Battery (CAPT Victor Maurin, LT Lestang Fortier)
   Strength: 60 Quality: 3 Guns: 3 6-pd. Smoothbore
Supply Wagons (Anderson)
   Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
Supply Wagons (Anderson)
   Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
Supply Wagons (Anderson)
   Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised
Supply Wagons (Anderson)
   Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR WILLIAMSBURG (STANDARD SCENARIO)

D.H. Hill's Division (MG Daniel H. Hill)	**1ST BRIGADE (EARLY) (BG JUBAL A. EARLY)**	
	5th North Carolina Infantry (COL Duncan K. McRae, LTC John C. Badham, MAJ Peter Sinclar)	
	Strength: 460 Quality: 3.8++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	23rd North Carolina Infantry (COL John F. Hoke, MAJ Daniel H. Christie)	
	Strength: 540 Quality: 2.3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	24th Virginia Infantry (COL William R. Terry, LTC Peter W. Hairston, jr., MAJ Richard L. Maury)	
	Strength: 740 Quality: 3.6+++ Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	38th Virginia Infantry (LTC Powhatan B. Whittle)	
	Strength: 544 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	2nd Mississippi Battalion (LTC John G. Taylor, MAJ William S. Wilson)	
	Strength: 360 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	2nd Florida Infantry (COL George T. Ward, LTC Samuel St. George Rogers)	
	Strength: 530 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	Bondurant's Jeff Davis Battery (CAPT James W. Bondurant)	
	Strength: 80 Quality: 3 Guns: 6 6-pd. Smoothbore	
	2ND BRIGADE (RODES) (BG ROBERT E. RODES)	
	5th Alabama Infantry (COL Christopher C. Pegues)	
	Strength: 660 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	6th Alabama Infantry (COL John B. Gordon)	
	Strength: 1100 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	12th Alabama Infantry (COL Robert T. Jones)	
	Strength: 550 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	12th Mississippi Infantry (COL William H. Taylor)	
	Strength: 650 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	3RD BRIGADE (RAINS) (BG GABRIEL J. RAINS)	
	13th Alabama Infantry (COL Birkett D. Fry)	
	Strength: 474 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	26th Alabama Infantry (COL Edward A. O'Neal)	
	Strength: 283 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	6th Georgia Infantry (COL Alfred H. Colquitt)	
	Strength: 703 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	23rd Georgia Infantry (COL Thomas Hutcherson)	
	Strength: 370 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	4TH BRIGADE (FEATHERSTON) (BG WINFIELD FEATHERSTON)	
	27th Georgia Infantry (COL Levi B. Smith)	
	Strength: 428 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	28th Georgia Infantry (COL Thomas J. Warthen)	
	Strength: 518 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	4th North Carolina State Troops (COL George B. Anderson, MAJ Bryan Grimes)	
	Strength: 739 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	49th Virginia Infantry (COL William (Extra Billy) Smith)	
	Strength: 539 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Smoothbore Musket	
	Supply Wagons (D.H. Hill)	
	Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised	
	Supply Wagons (D.H. Hill)	
	Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised	
Stuart's Cavalry Brigade (BG J.E.B. Stuart)	**3rd Virginia Cavalry** (COL Thomas F. Goode)	
	Strength: 400 Quality: 3.2 Guns: 100% Shotgun	
	4th Virginia Cavalry (COL Beverly H. Robertson, LTC Williams C. Wickham, MAJ William H. Payne)	
	Strength: 540 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun	
	Jefferson Davis Legion (LTC William T. Martin)	
	Strength: 171 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun	
	8th Virginia Cavalry Battalion (LTC J. Lucius Davis)	
	Strength: 700 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Shotgun	
	Pelham's Horse Artillery (CAPT John Pelham, LT James Breathed, LT William McGregor)	
	Strength: 141 Quality: 3.7 Guns: 2 12-pd. Howitzer / 1 Blakely Rifle	
	Supply Wagons (Stuart)	
	Strength: 25 Quality: 3 Guns: 100% Improvised	

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR WILSONS CREEK (Standard Scenario)

Army of the West (BG Nathaniel Lyon)	**1st Brigade (MAJ Samuel D. Sturgis)**	**Battalion of Regulars** (CAPT Joseph B. Plummer, CAPT Charles C. Gilbert, CAPT Daniel Huston, jr.) Strength: 300 Quality: 3.8+++ Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **2nd Missouri Infantry Battalion** (MAJ Peter J. Osterhaus) Strength: 150 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Minie Rifle / 50% Smoothbore Musket **Kansas Rangers** (CAPT Samuel N. Wood) Strength: 150 Quality: 2.75+ Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine **Company D, 1st U.S. Cavalry** (LT Charles W. Canfield) Strength: 200 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine **Company F, 2nd U.S. Artillery** (CAPT James Totten, LT George O. Sokalski) Strength: 84 Quality: 2.65+++ Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
	2nd Brigade (COL Franz Sigel)	**3rd Missouri Infantry** (LTC Anselm Albert) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.45 Guns: 60% Smoothbore Musket / 40% Improvised **5th Missouri Infantry** (COL Charles E. Salomon) Strength: 490 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 50% Minie Rifle / 50% Improvised **Company I, 1st U.S. Cavalry** (CAPT Eugene A. Carr) Strength: 65 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine **Company C, 2nd U.S. Dragoons** (LT Charles E. Farran) Strength: 60 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine **Backof's Missouri Light Artillery** (MAJ Franz Backof, CAPT Gustavus A. Schaefer, LT Edward Schuetzenbach) Strength: 60 Quality: 2.8+ Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer **Backof's Artillery section** Strength: 25 Quality: 2.8+ Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore **Supply Wagons** (Sigel's Column) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised
	3rd Brigade	**Battalion of Regulars** (CAPT Frederick Steele, LT Warren L. Lothrop, SGT John Morine) Strength: 275 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Springfield Rifle **1st Missouri Infantry** (COL Francis P. Blair, jr., LTC George L. Andrews, CAPT Theodore Yates) Strength: 775 Quality: 3.2+ Guns: 80% Minie Rifle / 20% Shotgun **Du Bois's Battery** (LT John V. Du Bois) Strength: 66 Quality: 3.75 Guns: 3 6-pd. Smoothbore / 1 12-pd. Howitzer
	4th Brigade, CAPT Thomas W. Sweeny)	**1st Iowa Infantry** (COL John F. Bates, LTC William H. Merritt, MAJ Asbury B. Porter) Strength: 800 Quality: 3.8++++ Guns: 10% Minie Rifle / 90% Smoothbore Musket **1st Kansas Infantry** (COL George, MAJ John H. Halderman) Strength: 800 Quality: 3.25+ Guns: 40% Minie Rifle / 60% Smoothbore Musket **2nd Kansas Infantry** (COL Robert B. Mitchell, LTC Charles Blair) Strength: 600 Quality: 3.5+ Guns: 40% Minie Rifle / 60% Smoothbore Musket **13th Illinois Battalion** (LT James Beardsley) Strength: 21 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Voerster's Pioneer Company (CAPT John D. Voerster) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Sharps Rifle
		Switzler's Dade County Home Guard (CAPT Theodore A. Switzler) Strength: 100 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine
		Wright's Dade County Home Guard (CAPT Clark Wright) Strength: 100 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Breechloading Carbine
		Supply Wagons (Lyon's Column) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Supply Wagons (Lyon's Column) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR WILSONS CREEK (Standard Scenario)

Western Army (BG Benjamin McCulloch)	McCulloch's Brigade (COL James M. McIntosh)	**McRae's Arkansas Infantry** (COL Dandridge McRae) Strength: 220 Quality: 3.6+ Guns: 100% Improvised **3rd Louisiana Infantry** (COL Louis Hebert, LTC Samuel M. Hyams, MAJ William F. Tunnard) Strength: 700 Quality: 2.5++ Guns: 10% Springfield Rifle / 90% Mississippi Rifle **South Kansas-Texas Cavalry** (COL Elkanah B. Greer, LTC Walter P. Lane, MAJ George W. Chilton) Strength: 800 Quality: 2.35+ Guns: 70% Sharps Carbine / 30% Improvised **1st Arkansas Mounted Rifles** (COL Thomas J. Churchill) Strength: 600 Quality: 2.3 Guns: 30% Shotgun / 70% Improvised **2nd Arkansas Mounted Rifles** (COL James M. McIntosh, LTC Benjamin T. Embry) Strength: 400 Quality: 2.5+ Guns: 50% Breechloading Carbine / 50% Shotgun
	Arkansas State Troops (BG Nicholas B. Pearce)	**3rd Arkansas Infantry** (COL John R. Gratiot) Strength: 500 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 10% Minie Rifle / 90% Smoothbore Musket **4th Arkansas Infantry** (COL Jonathan D. Walker, COL Frank A. Rector) Strength: 550 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 30% Smoothbore Musket / 70% Improvised **5th Arkansas Infantry** (COL Tom P. Dockery) Strength: 650 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 40% Smoothbore Musket / 60% Improvised **Carroll's Arkansas Cavalry** (CAPT Charles A. Carroll) Strength: 40 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 60% Breechloading Carbine / 40% Improvised **1st Arkansas Cavalry** (COL DeRosey Carroll) Strength: 350 Quality: 2.3++ Guns: 50% Breechloading Carbine / 50% Improvised **Fort Smith Light Battery** (CAPT John G. Reid) Strength: 73 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore **Pulaski Light Battery** (CAPT William E. Woodruff, LT Omer R. Weaver, LT Lewis B. Brown) Strength: 71 Quality: 3.8+++ Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 2 12-pd. Howitzer
		Supply Wagons (Western Army) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Supply Wagons (Western Army) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised

ORDERS OF BATTLE FOR WILSONS CREEK (Standard Scenario)

Missouri State Guard (MG Sterling (Old Pap) Price)	**3rd Division (BG John B. Clark, Sr.)**	**Burbridge's Infantry** (COL John Q. Burbridge, MAJ John B. Clark, Jr.)
		    Strength: 270 Quality: 2.6+ Guns: 85% Smoothbore Musket / 15% Mississippi Rifle
		Major's Cavalry (LTC James P. Major)
		    Strength: 273 Quality: 2.55 Guns: 50% Shotgun / 50% Improvised

	4th Division (BG William Y. Slack)	**Hughes's Infantry** (COL John T. Hughes)
		    Strength: 500 Quality: 2.9+ Guns: 15% Shotgun / 85% Improvised
		Hughes's Extra Battalion (MAJ John C.C. Thornton)
		    Strength: 150 Quality: 1.8 Guns: 10% Shotgun / 90% Improvised
		Rives's Cavalry (COL Benjamin A. Rives, LTC A.J. Austin)
		    Strength: 284 Quality: 2.45 Guns: 50% Shotgun / 50% Improvised

	6th Division (BG Mosby M. Parsons)	**Kelly's Infantry** (COL Joseph M. Kelly)
		    Strength: 142 Quality: 2.65+ Guns: 20% Shotgun / 80% Improvised
		Brown's Cavalry (COL William B. Brown)
		    Strength: 320 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 70% Shotgun / 30% Improvised
		Guibor's Battery (CAPT Henry Guibor, LT William P. Barlow)
		    Strength: 61 Quality: 3.3+ Guns: 4 6-pd. Smoothbore

	7th Division (BG James H. McBride, LTC Edgar Asbury)	**1st Infantry** (COL Edmond Wingo)
		    Strength: 300 Quality: 2.4+ Guns: 95% Improvised / 5% Shotgun
		2nd Infantry (COL John A. Foster)
		    Strength: 305 Quality: 2.4+ Guns: 80% Improvised / 20% Shotgun
		Campbell's Cavalry (CAPT Leonidas S.Campbell)
		    Strength: 40 Quality: 2.4+ Guns: 30% Shotgun / 70% Improvised

	8th Division (BG James S. Rains)	**WEIGHTMAN'S INFANTRY (COL RICHARD H. WEIGHTMAN)**
		1st Infantry (LTC Thomas H. Rosser)
		    Strength: 300 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 20% Shotgun / 80% Improvised
		2nd Infantry (COL John R. Graves, MAJ Ezra M. Brashear)
		    Strength: 300 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 10% Shotgun / 90% Improvised
		3rd Infantry (COL Edgar V. Hurst)
		    Strength: 350 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 30% Shotgun / 70% Improvised
		4th Infantry (battalion) (LTC Walter S. O'Kane, MAJ Thomas H. Murray)
		    Strength: 350 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 40% Shotgun / 60% Improvised
		5th Infantry (COL James J. Clarkson)
		    Strength: 350 Quality: 2.5 Guns: 25% Shotgun / 75% Improvised
		CAWTHON'S CAVALRY BRIGADE (COL JAMES CAWTHON)
		Hunter's Cavalry (COL Dewitt C. Hunter)
		    Strength: 300 Quality: 2.4 Guns: 50% Shotgun / 50% Improvised
		Peyton's Cavalry (COL Robert L.Y. Peyton)
		    Strength: 460 Quality: 2.4 Guns: 50% Shotgun / 50% Improvised
		McCowan's Cavalry (LTC James McCowan)
		    Strength: 450 Quality: 2.4 Guns: 50% Shotgun / 50% Improvised
		Bledsoe's Battery (CAPT Hiram M. Bledsoe)
		    Strength: 65 Quality: 2.5+ Guns: 2 6-pd. Smoothbore / 1 12-pd. Howitzer

		Supply Wagons (Missouri State Guard) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised
		Supply Wagons (Missouri State Guard) Strength: 25 Quality: 2.75 Guns: 100% Improvised

25. OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH MATERIALS FOR BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER

The following list of works consulted provides the majority of published works and websites (as well as some unpublished materials) employed in the preparation of *Brother against Brother*. The books listed in the first section were primarily used for designing various aspects of the game and its rules, while the others were used for preparing the maps, compiling orders of battle, and designing scenarios.

GENERAL WORKS FOR GAME DESIGN

Paddy Griffiths, *Battle tactics of the American Civil War* (2001)

David S. Heidler, Jeanne T. Heidler & David J. Coles, *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social and Military History* (2000)

Earl J. Hess, *Field Armies and Fortifications in the Civil War: The Eastern Campaigns, 1861-1864* (2005)

Brent Nosworthy, *The Bloody Crucible of Courage: Fighting Methods and Combat Experience of the Civil War* (2003)

Philip Sabin, *Simulating War: Studying Conflict through Simulation Games* (2014)

GENERAL WORKS FOR SCENARIO DESIGN

Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (1884-88)

The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (1881-1901)

Bruce S. Allardice, *Confederate Colonels: A Biographical Register* (2008)

Frances H. Kennedy (ed.), *The Civil War Battlefield Guide* (2nd edn.; 1998)

1ST MANASSAS/BULL RUN

Ted Ballard, *Staff Ride Guide, Battle of First Bull Run* (2004) (http://www.history.army.mil/srides.html)

Gottfriend, Maps (see below)

Edwin C. Bearss, First Manassas Battlefield Map Study (1991)

John Hennessy, *The First Battle of Manassas: An End to Innocence, July 18-21, 1861* (1989)

[Note: Ethan Sepp Rafuse & Erin Greb, *Manassas: A Battlefield Guide* (2014), part of the University of Nebraska Press's "This Hallowed Ground: Guides to Civil War Battlefields" series, was published too late to be used.]

WILSON'S CREEK

Edwin C. Bearss, *The Battle of Wilson's Creek* (1992)

Edwin C. Bearss, *Historical Base and Ground Cover Map, Wilson's Creek National Battlefield* (unpublished study for National Park Service)

Earl J. Hess, Richard W. Hatcher III, William Garrett Piston & William L. Shea, *Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge, and Prairie Grove: A Battlefield Guide, with a Section on Wire Road* (2006)

Maj. George E. Knapp, U.S. Army (Retired), *The Wilson's Creek Staff Ride and Battlefield Tour* (1993)

John Milner Associates, Inc. (with Rivanna Archaeological Consulting, Conservation Design Forum & Bahr Vermeer & Haecker, Architects), *Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, Republic, Missouri: Cultural Landscape Report* (2004) [Report prepared for National Park Service]

William Garrett Piston & Richard W. Hatcher III, *Wilson's Creek: The Second Battle of the Civil War and the Men who Fought It* (2004)

MILL SPRINGS

Kenneth A. Hafendorfer, *Mill Springs: Campaign and Battle of Mill Springs, Kentucky* (2001)

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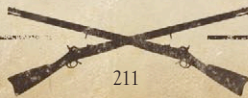
26. CREDITS

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Jörn Kaesebier - Commanders' bios
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Harry Smeltzer (https://bullrunnings.wordpress.com) - Regarding Bull Run/Manassas

5TH MICHIGAN REGIMENT BAND

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Musicians:
E Flat Soprano: Mary Davidson, Daniel Rossi
B Flat Soprano: Gene Kramer, Gordon Seiler
E Flat Alto: Richard Hedman, Kenneth Grimm
B Flat Tenor: Buzz Brown, Carole MacQueen, Douglas MacQueen, Judith MacQueen
B Flat Baritone: Daniel L. Hockman
B Flat Bass Baritone: Bob Anderson, Ann Gabhart, Michael Kurtti
E Flat Bass: Donald McFarland, Jennie Ross, Guy Smith
Percussion: Bryan Hanlon, Linda Kurtti, Glenn MacQueen, David Zielke
Color Guard: Commander: Sgt. Jerry Bauer
Flags and Guards: Dave Hockman, Ronnie Kadykowski, John Kurtti, Jason Viches
Support Personnel: Carol Bauer, Marie Hedman, Mary McFarland, Michaeleen Seiler, Carol Smith, Deborah Zielke

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MAP

Showing the Position of

WILLIAMSBURG

From Surveys made by command of Maj. Genl. Geo. B. McClellan

Com'd the Army of the Potomac

Surveys under the direction of
Brig. Genl. A.A. Humphreys,
Pres't. Topog'l. Engrs.
By Lieut. Col. H.R. Palmer,   Top. Eng.
  Lieut. N. Bowen,
  Mr. F. Churchill   Civil

Surveys made by order of
Brig. Genl. W.F. Smith
Com'd. Division.
By Capt. J. Hope,   2d Vt. Volunteers
  P.C.F. West,   Staff of Genl. Smith.

Compiled and drawn
By direction of Brig. Genl. Humphreys

Scale of Miles

Open Fields
Marsh
Forest
Water
Felled timbers
Roads and earth works
Main roads
By roads