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## FROM CHICKAMAUGA TO CHATTANOOGA, THE BATTLEFIELD ACCOUNT OF SERGEANT JOHN M. KANE

## Edited by JOSEPH E. SUPPIGER

When recently a worn little Civil War-vintage diary book fell into the editor's hands, he thought little about it except to notice that it appeared to have been written by a Union veteran of the Battle of Chickamauga. Only later did some peculiarities of the manuscript become apparent.

First of all, an inscription on the fly leaf reads: "An acount of the battle and victory of Chicamauga fought sept 18th 19th & 20th 1863," and yet it is customary to look upon Chickamauga as a Union *defeat*. Secondly, the author must have decided to go further than his original title circumscribed, and extended his account by about a week, going into something of the defense of Chattanooga, to which the retreating, if not defeated, Union forces retired after Chickamauga. Finally, there are the many candid comments of a soldier in the field about his officers and fellow men to make for interesting reading.

John Milton Kane, a 1st sergeant of Company A, 101st Regiment, 2nd Volunteers, was a thirty-year old Hoosier in the Army of the Cumberland, under the command of General William S. Rosecrans, which fought its way across Tennessee toward the vital railroad center at Chattanooga. In retreat southeast from Murfreesboro for the first six months of 1863, by June, General Braxton Bragg, commander of the Confederate Army of Tennessee, was finally put into a defensive position at Chattanooga, where Rosecrans outflanked him, striking southwest of that city. He thus forced the Confederate commander to hurry toward Lafayette, Georgia, where he would be reinforced by eastern, as well as western, troops.

In the afternoon of September 18, the two armies clashed almost as if by sheer accident. Thus began a bloody battle in hilly and wooded terrain that concluded on September 20, with the drive of General James Longstreet through a gap in the Northern center, and a general

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Union flight to Chattanooga—save for the corps under General George H. Thomas, Kane's commanding officer. The valiant stand of the 14th Corps earned Thomas the nickname, "The Rock of Chickamauga."

Somehow sensing the historical significance of the Battle of Chickamauga, Sergeant Kane left his only extended battlefield account on this subject. Later a medical practitioner in Indiana, Kane wrote very little more on his Civil War experiences (some separate diary entries, letters, etc.) though he served with General William T. Sherman on his famed March to the Sea, and then northward.

No attempt has been made by the editor to correct errors in spelling and grammar, though capitalization and punctuation have been modernized somewhat, for clarity. It is hoped that the original language will help bring out the flavor of a common soldier's chronicle.

Sergeant Kane added notes to his manuscript, placing the note numbers within squares near the word or words being annotated, beginning with the number 1 near the word "Victory" on the title page. The notes themselves were set down elsewhere in his account, and given the general title "Notanda." In this transcription, the numbers have been placed within parentheses to avoid confusion with the editor's documentation; and the author's notes themselves follow the conclusion of the account, under the title "Notanda." The editor's notes are in the customary position at the foot of each page.

### An acount of the battle and Victory (N.1) of Chicamauga fought sept 18th 19th & 20th 1863 Is dedicated to my sister

The acount (N.2) of any event extending over the time and with as many variations as the battle I am about to try to describe must to a great extent be confused and imperfect. No man except the commanding Genl. can have any verry perfect idea of any verry extended part of the battle. On Fryday the 18th our division was relieved from its position in line at Pond Spring (N.3) by a division of McCook's Corps<sup>1</sup> Johnson's I think. By 2 o'clock p.m. of that day we were in motion to the North, but moved verry slowly so that at daylight next morning we had only reached Crawfish Spring, a distance of 6 miles. We were not allowed to stop any length of time at one place during the night, so the men did not get any sleep, or if any at all it was by dropping down by the roadside when the column halted, and dozing till the order was given to "fall in" and march on again (N.4).

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Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Major General Alexander McCook commanded 20th Corps. The other two corps in General Rosecrans' Army of the Cumberland were Major General Thomas L. Crittenden's 21st Corps and Major General George H. Thomas' 14th. Kane was with Thomas. See Joseph C. McElroy, *Chickamauga* (Cincinnati, 1896), 1-3; Glenn Tucker, *Chickamauga: Bloody Battle in the West* (Indianapolis, 1961), 394. Hereafter cited Tucker.

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other two corps Thomas L. Critwas with Thomas. Tucker, Chickar cited Tucker.

### From Chickamauga to Chattanooga

All the way the fences were on fire, said to have been fired "by order of the General [Rosecrans]." I suppose to blind the enemy in regard to our position and numbers. There were fires enough on this line for an army of a hundred thousand men. At the Spring (N.5) we stopped long enough to make coffee. Then came the order to "fall in." The boys carried the coffee with them. Some had meat in frying pans. They stuck to their pans like good soldiers. We went about a quarter of a mile, passing "Gen. Rosecranz Head Quarters" as a sign on a board told us. We stopped long enough to eat our coffee[,] crackers and meat. Then on again[;] a little farther on we came to three regiments of cavalry (N.6) camped to the East of the road. We stopped long enough to learn the outlines of the fighting they were engaged in on the day before [Friday, September 18, 1863]. They were attacked by fifteen thousand of Longstreets Corps,<sup>2</sup> who they reported as fighting splendidly, advancing in perfect lines scarcely noticing our cavalry who kept their ground till the enemy were nearly onto them. But when [Colonel] Wilder's men opened the ball the rebles retired in disgust. We learned but little more from the cavalry.

Farther on we stoped long enough to get and read our letters (N.7).

All this time we could hear the boom of cannon at intervals coming no closer, gowing no farther, putting the boys in good spirits as they thought our forces on the left were holding their ground. While other divisions were coming up from the right. About ten we took position in a woods. From that time till noon [Saturday, September 19] we were manoevering up toward the left, and at twenty minutes till one we were laying on the west of a road [the Lafayette Road, near Widow Glenn's] running North as near as I can remember. At that time a heavy fight was gowing on in the thick woods to the left. Our brigade was ordered to the right to stop the reble advance. Our regiment was left in front of [Captain] Harrises batterie (19th India[na]) which was stationed on a hill in an open field. Presently we were ordered down to the right, but first as we were filing out of the field an aid[e] of Genl. Palmer<sup>3</sup> ordered us to halt (N.8). The Genl himself ordered us to the left to help the right of his division which was hard pressed. We faced about [and] marched back to the front of Harrises battery, then to the front right into the woods. Presently we passed a regt. of Palmers division gallantly holding their ground. We raised the Hoosier yell, and went in on a run. We drove the enemy nearly a quarter [mile] before firing a shot. We could see them running like wild turkis. But just as we were gowing down a hill only slightly wooded, the enemy, who had rallied in the edge of a thicket about sixty yards from us, opened fire. It was a fierce, searching fire. A number of men were killed almost at the first shots. Our men recoiled, then opened fire. They went to work in earnest (N.9). The line of officers mooved among the men telling them to "keep cool," "take good aim" and "fire low" (N.10). "Fire low" was all that was required. They were so close no aim was required-just shoot down low enough to hit. That was all there was to do, then fire fast.

We soon, by the effect of our fire, drove them nearly a hundred yards. At that distance the fire was kept up for some time. When the fireing commenced,

Ibid., 394.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lieutenant General James Longstreet commanded General Braxton Bragg's left wing of the Army of Tennessee, including corps under Major General S. B. Buckner, Major General J. B. Hood, Brigadier General Joseph Wheeler, and Brigadier General N. B. Forrest. See Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge, 1959), *passim;* Tucker, 395-96. <sup>8</sup> Major General John M. Palmer commanded the 2nd Division of Crittenden's Corps. *Ibid* 304

Co.[s] A & F were behind the line. After a little time they gained ground, up to the line. Their fire had fired the leaves, and as they advanced the fire burned among their own men. I noticed it and reported [it] to [Lt. Colonel] Will O'Brien (N.11). He told me to have Capt. Stanton have the fire put out. I went and had the fire put out, then back to the company. Balls were flying thick and fast. Men were falling every second. This was my first fight. I felt cool, fearless and reckles as if there was no enemy in miles. But after the enemy retired and our men ceased firing, an occasional shot from the rebs came over us. I wanted to dodge the balls. A man was killed in five steps of me at the first fire. He was in the front rank nearly right in front of me. It did not scare me or give such a shock as an accidental death usually does. I felt a kind of wonder, then stopped to see if I could help him but the ball had passed through his head.

Poor boy it leaves me a melancholy duty to do. I must return a min[i]ature and write to the lady informing her of his death while serving his country.

But the battle is raging. Battery I of the 4th regulars formed on our right, with a support to the right.

The enemy again advanced in force after a hard fight though not lasting very long. The right was driven back, then the battery and we were alone. Shots commenced coming in from the right flank and the order came to retreat, which was done in tolerable good order, the men turning to shoot as we retired.

When we recrossed the road, the regular battery was formed on the left of Harrisses. We formed on the left of the regular batt[ery].

Here we fought till one gun of Harrisses bat. (N.12) had fired forty eight rounds of cannister. The regulars worked in splendid stile. A gun would recoil about ten feet by the time three or four men had the gun in position. It was swabed, loaded, primed, ready to fire. And they did not wait long to fire. At first they fired case shot. I suppose they used cannister toward the last. But the fire was too hot. Some of their men were killed and many of the horses, so they had to retire. Co's A & F formed on the ground held by the regulars, and finally after the support on the right gave way, Harrisses batt. had to retire, loosing one gun by an accident.

[Illegible] No. 2 gowing to gun No. 1. No. 1 could not get to No. 2 in time to get it out. At this time it looked scaly for the 75th. But at this time the 1st Ky. came up forming on our right, drawing part of the enemies fire and protecting our right flank. Our men were in good order, firing coolly. Not a man had left the regiment except the wounded or those with them (N.13).

Our orderly was shot through the bowels. The 1st Ky. had to retire. Just then an aid[e] rode up, asked for the comdg. officer. The field officers were not in sight (N.14), so Capt. Steele took command.

The 9th Ind. came up behind us and laid down. We retired walking over them. Just behind us was a fence and a woods.

Genl. Reynolds<sup>4</sup> ordered us to halt, "form in line," "fix bayonets" and lie down, ready to charge in case the enemy should drive the 9th and try to advance on us.

Here we lay till the 9th retired, forming to the left of us. The enemy then changed their place of attack coming round to the left. The[y] drove the ninth, leaving our left exposed. At this time shots were coming in from the right.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Major General Joseph J. Reynolds commanded the 4th Division of Thomas' Corps, in which Kane served. One of the best accounts of Reynolds' movements in this battle is still Richard W. Johnson, *Memoir of Maj.-Genl George H. Thomas* (Philadelphia, 1881), 99-103, 105, 106, 109.

Genl. Reynolds gave the order to retire. Col. Robinson called us up, about faced and marched. We kept a good line till we struck a cedar thickett. Here we could not keep in line, so we marched as we could, but gowing quietly, slowly, and in good order, for the place. After we got out of the thickett we had to cross an open field. One man was killed and a few wounded by the reble shots. Finally, the right wing and the colors rallied in a peach orchard to the right of a lane. The left rallied on a hill under Col. Robinson.

Capt. Steel took command of the right and mooved over and joined the left.

Here the brigade was together for the first time since noon. The 75th had helped Palmer. The 101st farther to the right aided a part of the line which was hard pressed (N.15). The 101st faired as we did seeing support after support to the right give way. They retired in good order contesting the ground and only retreated to rally whenever ordered.

Genl. Reynolds was one of the heroes of the fight, but fought at a disadvantage, his division being in four places. He showed a coolness, courage and judgement seldom equaled, never surpassed. He is worn in the inmost hearts of the men of this division and others who saw him during these two bloody [days].

While we were reforming, Brannans division<sup>5</sup> and the gallant 3rd brigade of this div. drove the enemy from the ground they had gained.

One of the heroes of the Antietam said the bayonet charges were splendid at night, as much or more ground was held than in the morning.

Our brigade about sundown took position to the left of where we fought during the day. Half of the men fit for duty went on picket. I made my supper of tea, some bits of cracker and a little piece of meat. Rather light diet for a stout man to fight on. I and the Cap. & Lieut. slept together on an oil cloth, with an over coat and an oil cloth over us, my canteen and hat for a pillow. I was up before light and waked the boys. My breakfast was coffee & crackers. Cheap enough.

I had to go on picket with all the rest of the regt. By the time it was fairly sun up [Sunday, September 20] firing had commenced between pickets. But the pickets held their ground till nine o clock before we were driven in. And our battery had been firing over us for an hour. We held our ground till several shells bursted close to us. Then I prevailed on Capt. Bauchert who was in command of the picket to retire inside of the line. I was in favor of gowing in sooner. Had the enemy advanced, we would have been taken by the enemy, or killed by our own men.

Meantime the ball had opened on the left, and as the enemy was driven from our wooden walls they slowly drifted down to the right. As a division of the enemy was repulsed, they concentrated farther to the right. Shortly after the pickets were driven, the 3rd was hotly engaged, the enemy trying to carry the works by charging, but it was too unequal a contest.

Our western men were protected by a breast work of logs from which they could take aim as if shooting turkeys. Presently the enemy came in front of us at a distance of about two hundred yards, then the springfields of our boys spoke death and defeat to the enemy.

They stood bravely up to the work, but it was impossible for any body of men to advance before such a withering fire as we poured upon them.

<sup>5</sup> Brigadier General John M. Brannan commanded the 3rd Division of Thomas' Corps. Tucker 394.

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ion of Thomas' ovements in this as (Philadelphia, After a time they advanced on the line held by Brannan, who for a long time held them at bay.

Here occurred an incident which if I saw it correctly was to an extent disgraceful.

I will give my own impression which may not be correct.

While Brannans men were holding their line like heroes, a line of men in the rear gave way and scattered.<sup>6</sup>

I have heard they were a line coming up as reserves. When just as they were getting into position, some shells from a battery of the enemy bursted in their ranks killing a number of men and causing the flight of the line.

Presently the heavy column of men of the enemy caused the forces farther down to the right to retire. And finally the gallant brigade, of which the 10th Ind. and 4th Ky. of Mill Springs notoriety is a part, had to retire from being out flanked on the right. Still the battery was playing on the enemy. A part of the Brigade rallied, one regt. of which had fallen to the rear of our regt., made a bayonet charge.

Oh it was a splendid sight to see this small but dairing regiment "gowing in" with the bayonet. They were in splendid line and mooved as if on drill, only with more spirit and "vim" they went in to win. They drove the enemy back as though it were the stroke of the thunderbolt. From our position we could see the advance and the retreat of the rebles. They were exposed to a galling fire in the flank. They did not try to keep in line as they fell back. They ran like a drove of turkeys. The position had been regained and shouts went up along the line, but they were of short duration. Even before the gallant charge which had driven the enemy back we could plainly see the heavy columns of the enemy advancing to the breach which had been made in our line. Fiercely our regiments and two batteries fired into the exposed flank of the enemy. Harrisses Bat. was all right obliqued and firing double charges of cannister at just the distance to take effect rightly. The loss of the enemy at this place must have been perfectly horrible, but these veterans of Hill and Longstreet were used to fire. They drove the gallant 3rd division a half mile. Then it was rallied and reinforced and for the rest of the day all the charges of the enemy were of no avail. In the meantime our division being out flanked and entirely cut off, it became necessary to change our position.

Our brigade was doubled back facing to the rear, and during all this afternoon from one till nearly five our division stood on the defensive, our batteries being buisily engaged for a good part of this time.

Had the enemy not been to[0] busily engaged they could after some hard fiting have captured or dispersed a large part of our division, with a part of Palmers and two regts. of Brannans division, all of which were under Genl. Reynolds. Here we stood isolated from the rest of the army while this terrible battle was being fought out nearly all around us. At times the firing of the two armies was one continued deafening roar. Not volley after volley, not the heavy boon old we whice search and the in the share one

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The editor believes that the incident described was related to another "disgraceful" affair—the improper placement of General Thomas Wood's division (1st Division of Crittenden's Corps) in such manner that a gap was disastrously opened up in the Union lines for Longstreet's breakthrough. This occurred at about 11:00 a.m. of September 20, approximately the time of the above mentioned incident. Rosecrans was held accountable, but many officers like General John Turchin faulted Wood for failing to question illogical, and hastily issued, orders that came down to him to "close up on Reynolds" despite General John Brannan's already having done so. Brannan's division lay to the left of Wood but to the right of Reynolds. See John B. Turchin, *Chickamauga* (Chicago, 1888), 112-13.

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ther "disgraceful" (1st Division of up in the Union of September 20, held accountable, question illogical, Reynolds" despite ay to the left of (Chicago, 1888), boom of cannon but one continued deafening roar of small arms, as our brave old Ge[n]l. Thomas stubbornly held his ground against all comers. We thought we could tell when Granger<sup>7</sup> came up, the terrible firing which followed, in which the enemy were driven back some distance and we were once more in search of orders from our old Romanlike commander, who ordered us to retire and "take a position to cover his retreat to the hills." These were the words of the order. I heard them given. Meantime our brigade had sustained a great loss in the death of gallant Col. [Edward A.] King.<sup>8</sup> He had been in the hotest of the fire and was on horseback at the time. He was killed by a shot from a reble sharp shooter, who was in a tree. He [the sharpshooter] was afterward killed by one of our men.

On the fall of Col. King the command devolved on Col. [Milton S.] Robinson of the 75th.

Lt. Col. O Brien had been taken off the field in the morning, disabled by a verry slight flesh wound in the right arm, and as he had lost his horse the day before by some means, he could not stay with us. So at this crisis the command fell to a good man, Capt. Steel of Co. A, Turchins brigade (3rd of 4th div.).<sup>9</sup> We had during this time been mooved to the left and rear and taken a position ready to breake the enemies line, So. Genl. Thomas' order was timed with Genl. Reynolds & Turchins movements and found us ready for the moovement. Our brigade mooved out to support the gallant Third, but we were too late to help or see only a cloud of dust and another of rebs who they were trotting to the rear. We came out under a terrible fire. A reble battery was in the position Harris guns had held in the morning. As we were marching by the left flank, they entirely enfiladed us. We were surely under divine protection more than is usually the lot of man. As it was no man was killed and only one or two wounded. But of this number was the gallant Capt. McGinnis, one of the best of men and just as brave as man can be. His loss is deeply felt in the regiment.

The battery in the rear had the time and range only a little to high. Nearly a dozzen shell bursted directly over our regt.

The nois is nearly as deafening as a cannon. One bursted so near as to stun me. I thought for an instant that I was struck. While this battery was so buisy with shell, one to the right was throwing solid shot, while rifle balls were whistling by around and over us. A solid shot from the battery in the rear, after bouncing once or twice, struck a man in the back knocking him down. He was on his feet again, gave up his gun and bayonet and finally marched six miles, carrying the rest of his rig four miles. There was good pluck. But we were in motion and soon got out of range of thoes troublesome batteries. But on getting into the open fields an enemy to the right of us, but really up to the [Union] left, opened fire. But Turchin struck them and made them charge their base, not till they had wounded nearly a dozzen men for us. We passed through these fields and a strip of woods to the next opened ground. Here we halted and formed the brigade facing to the left and front. The 105th Ohio was missing. Presently an aid[e] of Genl. Palmer came for two regts. to open the way to two of his regts. who were still out on the front fiting. It was just getting dusk, and out in the fields to the right were the legions of Thomas and Granger, who had held the enemy at bay so long not but a half a mile, if so far, to the rear of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Major General Gordon Granger commanded the Union Reserve Corps. Tucker, 394. <sup>8</sup> Colonel King and his successor Colonel Robinson commanded the 2nd Brigade of General Reynold's 4th Division (in which Kane served). *Ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid. Brigadier General John B. Turchin was the author of *Chickamauga* (Chicago, 1888).

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line held by Brannan at the commencement of the fight in the morning. Thus after one hard days fighting lasting all day with vastly superior forces, the enemy only succeeding in gaining one half mile at a loss twice as great as ours. Just after dark the retreat of our division commenced. We reached Rossville about midnight. By two o clock [Monday, September 21] all the ground was filled by a mass of men apparently without order or discipline. At light, work commenced, and by 9 O clock every division and corps was formed and instead of a field full of terrified men, none were to be seen. Our men were all in position facing the enemy up the valley, or on the hillsides. Straglers were getting to their regts. But above all, before we went to position, rations were drawn and issued to the men. They got the notion, and I am the same way, that Rosey was not verry badly used up or he would not have had time to think of all these things. Our position was on the side of a hill to the left of the road we came in on. Just to the left of us was the 3rd brigade. In front was their battery, the 21st Ind. only five guns strong, having lost one late on sunday evening by breaking an axel. The 19th also lost one by an axel giving way from the effect of heavy firing. This battery must have fired a thousand rounds in the two days of fighting.

Capt. Harris, who is one of the best artillerists in the army, was wounded (N.16) on Saturday so as to be unable for duty for several days.

Just after noon a division of troops came in from the direction of Chattanooga, carrying the splendid flag (N.17) of the reserve corps. I believe they had not been in the engagement. They mooved up to the left and were soon busily engaged with the rebs who had been demonstrating against our left nearly all day. They had got a rifle gun in position, which was firing briskly. All at once its firing ceased and loud cheering rang out on the left. We heard the gun and two hundred prisoners were taken. In the afternoon rations were issued and the men were allowed to cook their suppers and go to bed. But at 12 o clock we were silently called into line and mooved off toward Chattanooga. We got to the position just back of the fort partly built by Genl. Bragg.

By 10 o clock the entire army was concentrated around Chattanooga.<sup>10</sup> Details of men plied the spade & pick with the energy infused by the danger. A battery of regulars were stationed in the fort. Long lines of rifle pits were digged and filled with men as if by magic.

All day the cavalry were slowly filing by and crossing the river for duty on the other bank. The 40th Ind. was stationed here doing guard duty. They left on quick time for Bridgeport to protect our line of supplies.

The Reserve Corps took post on the other side of the river, and by this evening two days after the fight, our gallant Army of the Cumberland entirely reorganized. Straglers up & [illegible] ready and willing to be attacked as soon as Bragg shall recruit his badly whipped army. Our loss in artillery has not been verry heavy, mostly in disabled cannon, and nearly all of these brought in their cassions [caissons] and some their limbers.

Harrises battery brought in six cassions and limbers and only four guns. It is now stationed in the fort paying an occasional compliment to reble pickets and such as pretend to go to working on imitation fortifications.

Tuesday evening [September 22] the hottest fighting took place that has occured since sunday. The enemy made several attempts to drive the 101st, which was o day t the re

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The strategic importance of Chattanooga as a base of operations is brought out in *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (130 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. 30, Pt. 3, p. 905.

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was on picket, but they stubbornly held out till reinforced (N.18). During the day the enemy fired two shots from a rifle gun, the shell (N.19) dropping in the rear of us. Our batteries stopped that fun.

The next day [Wednesday, September 23] our guns fired a shell every few minutes into the woods in front of our lines. The enemy did not reply.

The next afternoon [Thursday, September 24] a reconoisance in force was made. Turchins brigade took the center. A brigade of Davisses<sup>11</sup> div. took the right. I do not know who had the left. The enemies pickets were driven in, The enemy were found in force, but no fighting took place. Before midnight the enemy drove Brannans line of pickets, but they were promptly driven back with a loss of ten of their number taken prisoner.

They said they thought we were retreating. A slight mistake, as we have no notion of leaving here after fighting two days to get here.

Since then there has been no fighting. About that time the enemy tried to cross above here, but were repulsed with some loss.

The fortifications here have swelled up into splendid proportions.

Casemates have been built in the forts in which our field guns are now placed, to be soon replaced by siege guns which are now on the way to this place.

Brannans division holds a splendid line of works for infantry, nearly a half mile in length, having twenty two guns in embrasures besides a raking fire from the guns of the fort in case of attack.

The position of this division is rather mixed, the second brigade having no commander is in a line of good rifle works so arranged as to give a cross fire in any direction from which an attack can come. The third brigade from the fighting quallities of its gallant old leader, and the freedom with which they used the bayonet, have been placed as a reserve.

I suppose in case the enemy should gain any part of the line they will drive them out, and they will do it too, if old Turchy (N.20) sais so, too.

For a few days our wounded have been coming in under a flag of truce. Our ambulances gowing to the pickett line, the rebles then take charge of them and drive out to the field, bringing our wounded to the line, then giving them in charge of our men.

The prisoners complain of being nearly starved to death. The surgeons of Longstreets and A P Hills Corps and the men of the same were kind to our men. The men of the western army acted like beasts. Wheelers Cavalry robbed the dead and wounded, and our surgeons who were left to take care of our wounded. The like was never done before in civilized lands.

Our wounded will pay it all back in the next fight they get into.

Reinforcements will be flowing in now and then for another foot race with Bragg.

#### NOTANDA

N1. The correspondent of the Gazett[e] [probably the Cincinnati Gazette] calls this battle a defeat, taking the statement of reble papers and my own notion in the matter and I call it a great and glorious victory gained by a hand full of men as it were by the most dairing bravery, protecting our left flank covering our own retreat and after inflicting terrible losses on the enemy and unfitting them for any moovement to injure our line of communication or to prevent Burnside reaching us. We retired without opposition to our base at Chattanooga. Had we retired to this place without a battle the enemy could have amused himself by holding us in a state of siege, cutting off our supplies, driving Burnside at will and finally our army from this place. The ammunition expended by the rebles must be supplied from some foreign country at a ruinous price. expended by the rebles must be supplied from some foreign country at a ruinous price,

<sup>21</sup> Major General Jefferson C. Davis commanded the 1st Division of McCook's Corps. Tucker, 394.

while our ammunition train gives us all we want. The loss of the enemy was two to our one, and when McPherson joins [us] we will have a beaten and baffled enemy to drive.

Had we had enough men to defeat Bragg we could not have followed it up as our provisions would have been out before the supply train could have come up. As it was we were out of grub the night the train came in. Had we been twenty miles below we would have been out two or three days.

N2. The Gazett[e] man is not verry reliable though he pretends to know all about it.

N3. There had been sharp skirnishing across the creek and about two miles from the spring on the day previous, sept 17th. Nearly a division of men with two batteries were on picket on Fryday.

N4. When a man laid down to sleep the dust was nearly stifling. It had a strong smell and stung a mans nostrils nearly like the dust of tan bark.

N5. Crawfish spring is one of the best I ever saw. It is a river, clear as crystal and cold nearly as ice. An army might get water at this spring.

N6. These regiments were 4th regulars, 9th Penn and a Michigan regt., I think the 4th. They were considered the verry flower of our cavalry, and it shows the resolution of the enemies advance when this splendid cavalry could not check them for a single inst.

N7. It is singular with what eagerness the men seize [*iie*] and read letters. I believe some men would stop in time of battle to read a letter. The friends at home have a mighty influence, they can make heroes or cowards.

N8. The Gazett[e] makes Palmer to the right of Reynolds. We had to moove to the left to join Palmer, so he must have been to the left of us.

N9. To show how a man may be mistaken in writing an account, I will only say we had three or four positions in fifteen or twenty minutes. Cos A&F first opened fire, as from their position they first saw the enemy. We mooved up a little, making a circle of the right wing. Presently the right fell back about thirty or forty yards, then railied and advanced about half way. Shortly after, the left retired till a little way behind the right, then railied and reformed. All this time we kept up the fire.

N10. The adjutant made his mark mooving among the men, having the line reformed in good order, and finally for a short time taking command while the field officers were behind the straw stack. See notes 13 & 14.

N11. He had made himself as little in my estimation as he could be in times long agone, but I did hope he would have [been] man enough while holding the position he does to act the man, but his contemptible cowardice sinks him beneath notice. He is too low for any thing but contempt. See note 14.

N12. It was about this time Capt. Harris was wounded-he "staid in" till he got a severe hit.

N13&14. Neither Colonel [Robinson] or Lieut. Colonel [O'Brien] was in sight. Presently I saw them behind a straw stack. When we retired again, Lt. Col. O'Brien disappeared. I did not see or hear of him again till after the men were rallied and the brigade reformed. The regt. all say he showed the white feather. Col. Robinson was bad enough, but he (O Brien) was worse, and on sunday he left the field with a scratch on the arm and had two men to help him to Chattanooga.

N15. They went to support a regt. It gave way too quick so the enemy fell on the 101st pretty heavy. Before retiring some of Co. A fired lengthwise into a regt. of rebles, so it was about time to leave. Col. Doan stuck to the men and was on horse back all [the] time.

N16. I have spoken of the wounding of Capt. Harris on Saturday. By Thursday he was on duty again.

N17. Each Corps, division and brigade has a flag. The 14th Corps is blue. The 20th is red, the 21st red and white. The reserve is a red and white swallow tailed flag, with crescents instead of stars for the divisions.

Our flag is blue for the 14th corps, four stars forming a triangle for the fourth division, and with the figure 2 for the second brigade. Or this is the way it reads: blue 4 stars, 2; 14th Corps, 4th div., 2nd brigd.

The flag of the reserves is splendid.

Though as it looks something like that of the 21st, I might have been mistaken.

N18. Here Lt. Pfaff was wounded by a rifle ball in the head. He is now doing well. N19. Of the two shell[s] coming over, one was picked up by some of our men and allowed to lay in the way till just a day or two ago it was kicked into a fire and exploded killing one and wounding three . . . as much as it could have done if it had bursted in a line of men, and all through the carelessness of some man.

N20. Turchy is the knickname of the gallant Turchin.

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