

Civil War, Regimental Series:

South Mountain

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Introduction

On September 14th, 1862, the rebel division of D.H. Hill was surprised and attacked by Ambrose Burnside's Wing of the Army of the Potomac. D.H. Hill's men held out all day against a rising tide of Federal troops from both the 1st and 9th Corps. Despite the fact that it was a rather sharp defeat for the rebels, saved only by the late arrival of D.R. Jones and Hood's divisions, Hill remained justifiably proud of the fight his men managed for 12 long hours atop South Mountain. They had given Lee the time he needed to concentrate his army in the face of a suddenly aggressive Federal force.

not apply the penalty to Leader movement or Command Radius traced along a Road.

1.2 Sloping Ground

In addition to the more common hexside features noted above, there are Sloping Ground hexes. Sloping Ground more accurately reflects the effects of a steep hillside on moving troops, especially when moving laterally across the face of a hill. Sloping Ground has no effect on line of sight.

1.3 Runs

Runs are small in-hex water features provided for historical reference. They have no effect on play.

1.4 Orchards

Any hex with at least one complete Orchard Tree symbol is an Orchard hex. The *first* Orchard hex along a line of sight (LOS) is ignored; two or more Orchard hexes affect LOS normally.

2.0 Union Special Rules

2.1 Army Command

Technically, Burnside is a Wing commander for all Union forces, and Reno has command of 9th Corps. However, due to McClellan's presence, Burnside was largely a supernumerary in this battle, and his only *potential* role is to assume Army command if McClellan becomes a casualty, or to command 9th Corps if Reno becomes a casualty. Until such an event occurs, Burnside may not issue or receive orders and may not use Initiative.

McClellan commands the Army of the Potomac. Until his entry at 3 pm, orders can only be issued by Leader initiative.

1.0 Terrain and Map Notes

1.1 Slopes

The terrain of South Mountain, which is more extreme than most Civil War battlefields, has a contour interval set at 50 feet instead of the usual 30. This makes for some abrupt elevation changes and lots of steep sloping ground. To account for this, the standard movement costs for elevation changes and slopes have been increased and a new hexside feature called a "Vertical Slope" has been added.

Thin contour lines represent a change in elevation and cost +1 MP to cross (like CWB). A single thick contour line is considered a Slope and two thick contour lines are considered Extreme Slope. Any hexside with three or more thick contour lines is considered a Vertical Slope, which is impassable. Refer to the Terrain Effects on Movement Chart for all of these hexside features.

1.1a Roads. When moving along a Road, add 1/2 MP for **each** Slope line a unit crosses. Do **not** add this Slope penalty when moving along a Pike or Trail, and do

2.2 Corps Units

A number of Union cavalry and artillery units are assigned directly to Corps. These units must maintain a command radius of **6 MP** from their Corps HQ and may never voluntarily move out of command radius.

2.3 Detachments

The Union 1st Corps may detach one Division, and each 1st Corps Division may detach one Brigade. Reno's 9th Corps may detach a maximum of two divisions, but may not detach Brigades. Attachments are not allowed.

3.0 Confederate Special Rules

3.1 Command

The Army of Northern Virginia is not yet organized into the more rigid Corps structure seen in later battles. Instead, the army is fighting as individual Divisions and Brigades. Since Lee is not on the field, all orders must be issued by Leader initiative. When Longstreet arrives at 5 pm, he may use initiative to issue orders to any Division leader or Brigade leader he is stacked with, **except for leaders in D.H. Hill's division**. On a successful initiative roll, Longstreet may issue one order to a Division leader **or** one order to a Brigade leader.

There is no replacement for Longstreet. If he becomes a casualty, Confederate forces fight on as separate commands.

Historically, Lee was never on the field at South Mountain. From his headquarters at Boonsboro (just off map) he controlled the movements of his army and directed reinforcements to the battle.

3.2 D.H. Hill

Until Longstreet arrives, D.H. Hill may use initiative to issue orders to any division leader or brigade leader he is stacked with. On a successful initiative roll, Hill may issue **one** order to a Division leader (which may be D.H. Hill himself), **or** he may issue orders to **any two** Brigade leaders. When attempting initiative, Hill ignores all Loose Cannon results and is the only leader in the game that may do so.

When Longstreet arrives at 5 pm, Hill reverts to normal command of his division and the exception to Loose Cannon is revoked.

3.3 Detachments

The divisions of D.H. Hill and D.R. Jones may each detach up to three Brigades. Hood's division, with only two brigades present, may not create detachments. Attachments are not allowed.

3.4 Reserve Artillery

The Confederates have five artillery batteries from the Army Reserve (Arty Res). These units may trace command radius to any Confederate brigade leader or brigade HQ as if they were a unit of that brigade, or to any Confederate division HQ (8MP). Command radius may be changed from one source to another without orders or initiative.

3.5 Independent Units

The 5th Va Cavalry and the Pelham artillery units are independent (Ind) and are exempt from any command radius restrictions. They can move and fight freely anywhere on the map. However, these units may never enter a hex with any type of Union unit and may not initiate Close Combat.

This force guarded the gaps before D.H. Hill's men arrived. Hill was not aware that they were on the field, and in fact, they never received orders from anyone during the battle. The restriction on entering enemy occupied hexes exists simply to prevent "commando raids" on Union headquarters and supply.

3.6 Supply

All Confederate units may resupply from the Wing Supply Wagon. Since there is no Army Train, artillery units may trace a path of supply to the Wing Supply Wagon or to any road hex on the west edge of the map.

4.0 General Special Rules

4.1 Breastworks

No unit can build Breastworks.

4.2 Withdrawal from EZOC

During the Movement Phase, any unit that wishes to move out of an EZOC must make a Morale Check *before* moving. This Morale Check is made using the morale rating of the moving unit, or the top unit in a stack that is moving, without any morale modifiers. Exception: BL units and units

entering a hex to conduct Close Combat do **not** make this Morale Check.

On a result of BL, SH, or NE (No Effect) the unit or stack may move normally. In this case, do not place a Morale marker or change the Morale status of the moving unit(s) in any way. Any other result, meaning any result with a retreat requirement, is executed immediately as a retreat and movement for the affected unit or stack ends. Place the appropriate Morale marker and execute the retreat normally, including any Straggler losses that may be incurred.

Design Note: This rule was first introduced in A Fearful Slaughter, with some variation. It goes a long way towards preventing a common problem with phased retreats in the Regimental Series however.

4.3 Random Events

So much of what occurs in a Civil War battle lies beyond the realm of predictability, and South Mountain is no different. In order to introduce a level of uncertainty in the game in a suitably chaotic manner, a Random Event Table is introduced in section 7.0. During each Command Phase, immediately after rolling for New Order Acceptance, the player whose turn it is must roll on the Random Event Table and apply the result (if any) immediately.

5.0 Victory

Victory is decided by Victory Points (VP) awarded to each side. VP are awarded for controlling specific hexes on the map and for enemy units and formations that are eliminated or wrecked. At the end of the game, add up the points for each side and *subtract* the Confederate total from the Union total. The remainder, either positive or negative reflects the level of victory achieved as shown in section 5.3.

5.1 VP for Terrain

Terrain VP may be claimed by the player who last occupied or moved through the hex with a non-Routed infantry or unlimbered artillery unit. Cavalry units, Leaders, and wagons do not count for control of a hex.

Hex	Union	Confederate
06.10	0	2
16.02	0	10
19.23	4	3
19.32	4	2
33.02	0	5
36.26	5	5
39.34	6	2
40.07	1	5
56.21	2	2
56.23	2	2

5.2 VP for Wrecked Formations

VP are awarded for wrecking enemy formations and for enemy artillery units that were eliminated. When awarding VP for wrecked formations, count only those formations that have *exceeded* their wreck point with Stragglers and/or hard losses (casualties).

Union VPs...

Each Confederate Brigade wrecked
1 VP

Each Confederate artillery unit eliminated:
½ VP

D.H. Hill's Division wrecked
2 VP

Jones Division wrecked
2 VP

Hood's Division wrecked
1 VP

5th Va Cav Regiment wrecked
2 VP

Confederate VPs...

Each Union infantry Brigade wrecked
1 VP

Each Union artillery unit eliminated
1 VP

1/1 Division wrecked
3 VP

2/1 Division wrecked
2 VP

3/1 Division wrecked
2 VP

1/9 Division wrecked
1 VP

2/9 Division wrecked
1 VP

3/9 Division wrecked
1 VP

K/9 Division wrecked
1 VP

F/Cav Brigade wrecked
3 VP

5.3 Victory Level

Confederate Massive Victory
-6 or less

Confederate Major Victory
-5 to +1

Confederate Marginal Victory
+2 to +8

Draw
+9 to +15

Union Marginal Victory
+16 to +20

Union Major Victory
+21 to +29

Union Massive Victory
+30 or more

Confederate Information

Setup:

5th Va Cavalry: **19.23**
Pelham A Battery: **22.23**
Pelham B Battery: **20.23**

C/dH

Colquitt, 23 Ga: **30.21**
13 Ala: **28.23**
27 Ga: **29.23**
6 Ga: **29.22**
28 Ga: **30.20**

D.H. Hill, dH/Div HQ, Wing Supply Wagon: **36.26**
Carter (Arty/dH): **35.26**
Lane (Arty Res): **34.17**
Lloyd, Blackshears, Ross, Patterson (Arty Res): **w/i 3 of 36.27**

A/dH

G.B. Anderson, A/dH: **w/i 2 of 38.31**

G/dH (detached)

Garland, Brigade HQ, 5 NC: **25.25**
20 NC: **26.25**
13 NC: **27.26**
23 NC: **28.25**
12 NC: **29.26**
Boudrant (Arty/dH): **30.25**

Orders:

- (Complex) D.H. Hill's division is moving into position to guard the mountain passes as Federal forces begin to arrive in the area. Word is, the whole Union army is going to cross here and engage Lee at Boonsboro.
- (Complex) Garland's brigade (G/dH) is detached to defend Fox's Gap.

Artillery Ammunition:

Reinforcements: refer to Confederate Order of Arrival

6.0 Battle of South Mountain

D.H. Hill's division is moving into position to guard the mountain passes as Federal forces begin to arrive in the area. Word is, the whole Union army is going to cross here and engage Lee at Boonsboro.

General Information

First Turn: 9:00 a.m. September 14th

Last Turn: 8:00 p.m. September 14th

Game Length: 45 Turns

First Player: Union

Union Information

Setup:

Cav Division: **all w/i 5 of 18.05**

Pleasonton
Cav HQ
Farnsworth (F/Cav)
1 Mass
8 Ill
3 Ind
C/G 3 US Artillery

Orders:

Pleasonton is defending the National Road to protect Union forces as they arrive. Only one brigade (F/Cav) is operating with the cavalry division.

Artillery Ammunition:

Reinforcements: refer to Union Order of Arrival

7.0 Random Events

Random Events that call for a random selection should be determined by chance. For example, when choosing a division for some random event, roll the dice to determine which division is affected. Players may use whatever method of random selection they find convenient.

7.1 Confederate Random Events

Roll two dice. On a result of **11 or 12** roll again for a Random Event.

2 Hill may be Injured

Roll on the Leader Loss Table and apply the result as follows. If Killed, Hill is removed from play. If Wounded, Hill is placed on his division HQ and must remain with the HQ at all times. He may continue to issue orders with a Leader rating of 3. Ignore this event if Hill has already been Wounded.

3 Hill is Indecisive

D.H. Hill may not attempt Initiative for the next 2 turns. Ignore this event if Hill is currently under this restriction.

4 Brigade Morale

Select one Confederate Brigade at random and immediately make a Morale Check for each unit in the Brigade. Use all appropriate modifiers (if applicable) and execute the result normally, including any straggler losses.

5 Ammo Shortage

The Union player freely picks any one Confederate combat unit and marks it Low Ammo. This event cannot reduce a unit to No Ammo.

6 Reinforcements are Delayed

The next scheduled group of reinforcements is delayed for two turns. Variable reinforcements are not affected unless they are already scheduled to arrive. If both Force A and Force B happen to be scheduled for the same turn, select one of them at random.

7 Reinforcements Arrive Early

Freely select any one Brigade that is scheduled as a reinforcement and advance the arrival time by four turns. If the new arrival time is prior to or the same as the current turn, the Brigade arrives this turn. Ignore Force A and Force B unless they are already scheduled to arrive.

8 Flank Fire

In the Fire Combat Phase of the current turn, the Confederate player may apply all Flank fire modifiers to any one Fire Combat containing Small Arms fire. Include all Flank fire modifiers on any Straggler Check and Morale Check that may result.

9 Friendly Fire

The Union player freely chooses one Confederate infantry or dismounted cavalry unit that is within 3 hexes of a Union infantry or dismounted cavalry unit and immediately resolves a Fire Combat on the selected unit (or stack) using the 4-6 column on the Fire Combat Table (no other modifiers apply). Ignore marking Low Ammo if it occurs and apply the Flank modifier to any Straggler Check and Morale Check.

10 Desperate Stand

Freely choose any three Confederate Brigades and then select one of them at random. All units of the selected Brigade ignore all unfavorable Morale results during the current Confederate player turn.

11 Brigade Halt

Select one Confederate Brigade at random. The selected Brigade may not move or fire in the current Confederate player turn.

12 Hill is Indecisive

D.H. Hill may not attempt Initiative for the next 2 turns. Ignore this event if Hill is currently under this restriction.

7.2 Union Random Events

Roll two dice. On a result of **10, 11 or 12** roll again for a Random Event.

2 Corps Leader may be Injured

Select one Corps leader at random and roll on the Leader Loss Table. If Killed, remove the leader from play. If Wounded, place the leader on his Corps HQ and reduce his leader rating by -1. The leader must remain with the Corps HQ at all times. Ignore this event if any Corps leader has already been Wounded or Killed.

3 McClellan Remains Aloof

McClellan may not issue orders for the next 4 turns. Ignore this event if McClellan is currently under this restriction or has not yet arrived.

4-5 Brigade Halt

Select one Union Brigade at random. The selected Brigade may not move or fire in

the current player turn.

6 Ammo Shortage

The Confederate player freely picks any one Union combat unit and marks it Low Ammo. This event cannot reduce a unit to No Ammo.

7 Reinforcements are Delayed

The next scheduled group of reinforcements is delayed for two turns.

8 Order Status

Randomly select one order that is currently in Delay and roll again on the Acceptance Table using the same values as the original order. Apply the new result normally.

9 Brigade of Iron

All units of Gibbon's Brigade (4/1/1) can ignore all unfavorable Morale results during the current Union player turn.

10 Friendly Fire

The Confederate player freely chooses one Union infantry or dismounted cavalry unit that is within 3 hexes of a Confederate infantry or dismounted cavalry unit and immediately resolves a Fire Combat on the selected unit (or stack) using the 4-6 column on the Fire Combat Table (do not apply any other modifiers). Apply the Flank modifier to any Straggler Check and Morale Check.

11 Division Stoppage

Select one Union Division at random. If the Division is currently acting on an attack order, either by itself or as part of a Corps order, treat it as having failed a Stoppage Check and apply the effects immediately. New orders or Initiative are required for the Division to resume operations. Ignore this event if the selected Division (or its Corps) does not have a currently Accepted order.

12 Corps Confusion

Union Corps leaders may not attempt Initiative for the next 2 turns.

Historical Notes

The Battle of South Mountain was considered the opening round of the larger, bloodier, and more historically fascinating Battle of Antietam, fought three days later. The current wave of Civil War publishing, however, which began in the late 1980s, has seen attention paid to all of the preliminary fights before Sharpsburg. South Mountain and Crampton's Gap have each been the focus of individual volumes, and substantial portions of a number of new histories on Antietam also focus on the battles for the gaps.

South Mountain was one of the larger "small battles" of the war. Two Union corps, numbering about 25,000 Federals, attacked several Confederate divisions. Rebel troop numbers rose throughout the day from about 8,000 to upwards of 20,000 men. Thus, the overall size of the fight was roughly 45,000 combatants. It was also a substantial Union victory over the Army of Northern Virginia, a rare experience for the men of the Army of the Potomac.

South Mountain was also a battle that was largely fought by accident. Initially, very little Rebel attention was paid to defending any of the gaps, since Lee's plans by mid-September were aimed at drawing the Union army out of Washington as far as possible. Lee wanted to fight and defeat the Federals well beyond the safe haven the Washington defenses represented. On the night of September 13, only Colquitt's Rebel Brigade was posted at Turner's Gap, and the rest of D.H. Hill's Division was four miles west of Boonsboro. Additionally, Hill initially made no special effort to reinforce the gap's defenders when he first got word from Stuart that Union troops had taken Frederick, and that they might arrive at the foot of South Mountain that night. However, Stuart also apparently badly underestimated the size of the Union force, for when Colonel Colquitt got his first glimpse of the Federals in the evening twilight, he realized that he was facing a Yankee corps or more and sent an urgent message to Hill requesting more aid. Hill responded by sending another Brigade, Garland's, back to join Colquitt, and an urgent message to Lee, in Hagerstown, informing the commanding General that McClellan's main body had appeared on his front.

Had the matter rested there overnight, the Battle of South Mountain would have been a brief affair, with the Union 9th Corps gobbling up these 2,500 Rebs handily on the morning of the 14th. Lee, however, had also just received word from Stuart about the captured "lost order" (Special Orders 191, which detailed all Lee's plans) having fallen into McClellan's hands, and the Rebel commander made an urgent decision - to order Hill back to South Mountain in person, and shift Longstreet's command back towards Boonsboro the next morning, in order to be in

position to reinforce the various gaps as needed. Hill, who received this message around midnight, took Roswell Ripley's Brigade and personally headed back to Turner's Gap. The stage was now set for the fight of Hill's career.

The fight itself, though filled with dramatic moments, was essentially one-sided. All day long, D. H. Hill clung stubbornly to the passes, aided by a slow Union start and the rough terrain. Despite Rebel reinforcements late in the day, Union numbers gave the attackers a decided edge, and by the end of the fight, the Rebels were in retreat to Sharpsburg, where they hoped to make a stand while Jackson finished the Harper's Ferry affair and rushed north to reunite with Lee's army. Battle losses eloquently describe the intensity of the action. Though records are incomplete, the Confederates lost at least 1949 men, while the Federals suffered 1813 casualties. Stragglers added up to a great many more, especially in the Confederate army, which was forced to make a difficult night march after the fighting in order to escape larger disaster.

The Birth of the Iron Brigade

The most famous single incident of the battle has to be the charge of Brigadier General John Gibbon's western brigade of Wisconsin and Indiana troops. This high-profile advance, observed by McClellan himself, gave the unit their subsequent sobriquet: "Iron Brigade." This appellation, as much as anything, gave the unit its lasting fame.

The reason Gibbon's advance drew such attention was because of the location. When the rest of Hooker's I Corps shifted to the north to try and outflank Hill's line, Gibbon's four regiments were moved to the center, astride the National Pike, to protect that position. Through most of the day's fight, they held that position. Action surged all around them, but they remained out of the fight.

That changed in the late afternoon. With Federals on both flanks driving forward, Burnside sent an order direct to Gibbon to advance in the center. With less than 1,500 men, the four regiments advanced on both sides of the Pike, aimed at Confederate Brigadier General Colquitt's Georgia Brigade. Lacking cover, and in full view of the Rebel infantry and artillery, the attack was sure to be a costly one.

The Yankees began to take losses quickly. It was more than a mile to the Rebel main line, all uphill. Rebel cannon and skirmishers took an early toll, but the

advance did not falter. Supported by Battery B, 4th US (a unit much associated with the brigade) the Federals drove in the Georgia skirmishers and climbed nearly to the crest. There, they became entangled in a firefight with Colquitt's troops until after dark. Gibbon was unable to clear the crest alone, but he did halt his command at the apex of their advance and clung stubbornly to the hillside that night. When the Rebels withdrew in the dark, Gibbon's men were left in sole possession of the field and Turner's Gap.

The brigade casualties amounted to 318 men, half of those from the 7th Wisconsin. To the observers below, including both McClellan and Burnside, the Federal advance never wavered. While the attack itself had little to do with encouraging Hill to leave - with both flanks driven in he had little choice - it was a spectacular display of discipline and bravery. Praise poured in from senior commanders in their official reports, and it was said that later, when McClellan was describing the attack to Joseph Hooker, the I Corps commander and Gibbon's superior, he called them a "brigade of iron." The name stuck.

D. H. Hill

Despite the initial surprise and the battle's conclusion, Hill was justifiably proud of South Mountain. His daylong stand atop that ridge undoubtedly saved Lee's army, and he was fully aware of the size of the enemy forces sent against him. The strain was severe, but Hill never lost sight of the objective, or of the need to hold on as long as possible. He held until dark against two Federal Corps, a feat that bought Lee an entire day in which to reconstitute the army.

Ironically, the Antietam Campaign actually marks his last significant combat service with the Army of Northern Virginia. Hill was present at Fredericksburg, in December, but his entire command only suffered 173 losses, mostly from long-range artillery fire, and he saw no action. Early in the new year of 1863, he was given independent command in North Carolina, though he was not promoted. His command was widely scattered, deployed as it was along the Atlantic Coast to resist Union incursions or unexpected landings, and there was little chance to exercise his combat talents. Hill and most other officers regarded the new post as a backwater, a curious posting for a proven officer of his skills.

Why Hill left the army is unclear, but he departed under a bit of a cloud. Certainly the fact that he was a North Carolinian and one with a noted combat record were both points that argued strongly for his assignment to the new district, but the transfer did not come with a promotion, and it was largely a desk job. Hill himself felt the reason was simple: he was not a Virginian and thus Lee wanted him out of

Brigade Loss Chart*Army of Northern Virginia*

Brigade	Morale	Stragglers	Brigade Status (wrecked regiments)
5 th Va Cav	B	███████████	
D.H. Hill Division		██████✓□	
GB Anderson	A	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	██████✓□
Colquitt	C	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	██████✓□□
Garland	B	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	██████✓□□
Ripley	B	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	███✓□
Rodes	B	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	██████✓□□
Jones Division		██████✓□□	
GT Anderson	C	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	██████✓□
Drayton	C	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	██████✓□
Garnett	A	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	██████✓□□
Kemper	B	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	████████✓□
Walker	C	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	████████✓□□
Hood Division		███✓	
Wofford	A	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	████████✓□
Law	A	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	██████✓□
Evans Brigade			
Evans	C	████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████ ██████████	██████✓□□

Brigade Loss Chart

Army of the Potomac

9 Corps Reno

1 Corps Hooker

Brigade Loss Chart*Army of Northern Virginia*

Brigade	Morale	Stragglers	Brigade Status (wrecked regiments)
5 th Va Cav	B	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	
D.H. Hill Division		◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	
GB Anderson	A	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Colquitt	C	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Garland	B	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Ripley	B	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻
Rodes	B	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Jones Division		◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	
GT Anderson	C	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Drayton	C	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Garnett	A	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Kemper	B	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Walker	C	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Hood Division		◻◻◻	
Wofford	A	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Law	A	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Evans Brigade			
Evans	C	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻

Brigade Loss Chart

Army of the Potomac

Brigade Loss Chart*Army of Northern Virginia*

Brigade	Morale	Stragglers	Brigade Status (wrecked regiments)
5 th Va Cav	B	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	
D.H. Hill Division		◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	
GB Anderson	A	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Colquitt	C	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Garland	B	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Ripley	B	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻
Rodes	B	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Jones Division		◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	
GT Anderson	C	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Drayton	C	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Garnett	A	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Kemper	B	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Walker	C	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Hood Division		◻◻◻	
Wofford	A	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Law	A	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻
Evans Brigade			
Evans	C	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻◻

Brigade Loss Chart

Army of the Potomac

Brigade Loss Chart*Army of Northern Virginia*

Brigade	Morale	Stragglers	Brigade Status (wrecked regiments)
5 th Va Cav	B	◻◻◻◻◻◻◻	
D.H. Hill Division		◻◻◻◻✓◻	
GB Anderson	A	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻✓◻
Colquitt	C	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻✓◻◻
Garland	B	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻✓◻◻
Ripley	B	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻✓◻
Rodes	B	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻✓◻◻
Jones Division		◻◻◻✓◻◻	
GT Anderson	C	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻✓◻
Drayton	C	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻✓◻
Garnett	A	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻✓◻◻
Kemper	B	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻✓◻
Walker	C	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻✓◻◻
Hood Division		◻◻✓	
Wofford	A	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻◻✓◻
Law	A	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻✓◻
Evans Brigade			
Evans	C	◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻ ◻◻◻◻◻	◻◻◻✓◻◻

Brigade Loss Chart

Army of the Potomac

Regimental Loss Chart***Army of Northern Virginia***

Unit Morale Strength

*Record Casualties (X) AND Stragglers (/) for EACH Regiment.

D.H. Hill Division

2 NC	B	□□□□□✓□
4 NC	A	□□✓□
14 NC	B	□□□✓□□□
30 NC	A	□□□□□✓□□□

Anderson □□□✓□

13 Ala	C	□□□□□✓□□□
6 Ga	B	□□□□□✓□□□□
23 Ga	C	□□□✓□□
27 Ga	C	□□✓□
28 Ga	B	□□□✓□□□

Colquitt □□□✓□□

5 NC	B	□□□□□✓□□□
12 NC	B	□□✓□
13 NC	B	□□✓□
20 NC	C	□□✓□□
23 NC	C	□□□✓□□

Garland □□□✓□□

44 Ga	B	□□✓□
1 NC	A	□□□□□✓□
3 NC	B	□□□□□□□✓□□□□□

Ripley □□✓□

3 Ala	B	□□□✓□□
5 Ala	C	□□✓□□
6 Ala	B	□□□□□□□✓□□□□□
12 Ala	B	□□□✓□□□
26 Ala	C	□✓□

Rodes □□□✓□□***Independent***

5 Va Cav C □□□□□✓□□□

Evans Brigade

17 SC	C	□□✓□
18 SC	C	□□✓□
22 SC	C	□□□✓□□□
23 SC	C	□✓
Holcombe	C	□□✓□

Evans □□□✓□□

Regimental Loss Chart

Army of Northern Virginia

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Morale</i>	<i>Strength</i>	<i>*Record Casualties (X) AND Stragglers (/) for EACH Regiment.</i>
Jones Division		□□□✓□□	
1 Ga	B	□□✓□□	
7 Ga	B	□□✓□	
8 Ga	C	□✓	
9 Ga	C	□✓□	
Anderson		□□□✓□	
50 Ga	C	□□✓□□	
51 Ga	C	□□✓□□	
15 SC	C	□□□✓□□□	
Phillips	C	□□✓□□	
Drayton		□□□✓□	
8 Va	A	□□✓□	
18 Va	A	□□□✓□	
19 Va	B	□□✓□	
28 Va	B	□□□✓□□	
56 Va	B	□□✓□□	
Garnett		□□□✓□□	
1 Va	B	□✓□	
7 Va	B	□✓□	
11 Va	B	□□✓□	
17 Va	B	□□✓□	
24 Va	B	□□✓□	
Kemper		□□□□✓□	
1 SC Vol	C	□✓□	
2 SC Rifles	B	□□✓□□	
5 SC	C	□□✓□	
6 SC	C	□□✓□	
4 SC Bn	C	□✓□	
Palmetto SS	B	□□✓□□	
Walker		□□□□✓□□	
Hood Division		□□✓	
18 Ga	B	□□□✓□□	
Hampton Lgn	A	□□□✓□□□	
1 Texas	A	□□□✓□□	
4 Texas	A	□□□✓□□	
5 Texas	A	□□✓□□	
Wofford		□□□□✓□	
4 Ala	B	□□□✓□□□	
2 Miss	B	□□□□□✓□□□□	
11 Miss	B	□□□✓□□□	
6 NC	B	□□□□✓□□□	
Law		□□□✓□	

Regimental Loss Chart***Army of the Potomac***

Unit Morale Strength

*Record Casualties (X) AND Stragglers (/) for EACH Regiment.

Hooker 1 Corps2 NY D **Hatch 1/1 Division** 22 NY B 24 NY C 30 NY C 84 NY B 2 US SS B **1/1/1** 7 Ind B 76 NY C 95 NY C 56 Penn C **2/1/1** 21 NY C 23 NY C 35 NY C 80 NY C **3/1/1** 19 Ind A 2 Wisc A 6 Wisc A 7 Wisc A **4/1/1** **Ricketts 2/1 Division** 97 NY C 104 NY B 105 NY C 107 Penn C **1/2/1** 26 NY B 94 NY B 90 Penn C **2/2/1** 12 Mass B 83 NY B 11 Penn C 13 Mass B **3/2/1**

Regimental Loss Chart

Army of the Potomac

Unit Morale Strength

*Record Casualties (X) AND Stragglers (/) for EACH Regiment.

Meade 3/1 Division □□✓□

1 Penn Res	B	□□□□✓□□□
2 Penn Res	B	□□□✓□□
5 Penn Res	B	□□□□✓□□□
6 Penn Res	C	□□□□✓□□□□
1/3/1		□□□✓□
4 Penn Res	C	□□✓□
7 Penn Res	C	□□□✓□□
8 Penn Res	B	□□□□✓□□□
2/3/1		□□✓□
9 Penn Res	B	□□□□✓□□□
10 Penn Res	C	□□□✓□□□
11 Penn Res	C	□□✓□□
12 Penn Res	B	□□□□✓□□□
3/3/1		□□✓□□

Pleasonton Cavalry Division

8 Ill	B	□□□□□□□✓□□□□□□
3 Ind	C	□□□✓□□□
1 Mass	D	□□□□□□✓□□□□□
F/Cav		□✓□□

Reno 9 Corps

G 1 Maine	D	□
6 NY	D	□□□✓□□□□□□
3 Ohio	B	□

Willcox 1/9 Division □✓□

28 Mass	C	□□□□□□✓□□□□□
8 Mich	B	□□□✓□□□
17 Mich	A	□□□✓□□□
79 NY	C	□□□✓□□□
50 Penn	D	□□□□□□✓□□□□□□
1/1/9		□□□✓□□
46 NY	C	□□□□□□✓□□□
45 Penn	C	□□□✓□□□
100 Penn	B	□□□□□□✓□□□□□
2/1/9		□□✓□

Regimental Loss Chart***Army of the Potomac***

Unit Morale Strength

*Record Casualties (X) AND Stragglers (/) for EACH Regiment.

Sturgis **2/9 Division**

2 Md	C	□□□□□✓□□□□
6 NH	A	□□□✓□□□
9 NH	B	□□□✓□□□
48 Penn	C	□□□□□□✓□□□□□
1/2/9		□□□✓□

21 Mass	C	□□□✓□□
35 Mass	C	□□□✓□□□
51 NY	B	□□□□□✓□□□□
51 Penn	B	□□□□□□✓□□□□□
2/2/9		□□□✓□

Rodman **3/9 Division**

9 NY	C	□□□□□✓□□□□
89 NY	C	□□□□□✓□□□□□
103 NY	C	□□□□□✓□□□□
1/3/9		□□✓□

8 Conn	C	□□□□✓□□□□
11 Conn	B	□□□□□✓□□□□□
4 RI	B	□□□□□✓□□□□
2/3/9		□□✓□

Cox **K/9 Division**

12 Ohio	C	□□✓□□
23 Ohio	B	□□□✓□□
30 Ohio	C	□□□□□□□✓□□□□□□
W Va	C	□✓□
1/K/9		□□✓□□

11 Ohio	B	□□□□□✓□□□□
28 Ohio	C	□□□□□□□□✓□□□□□□
36 Ohio	C	□□□□□□□□✓□□□□□□□
Chicago Dgns	B	□✓□
2/K/9		□□✓□□

Regimental Loss Chart***Army of Northern Virginia*****Unit****Morale****Strength**

*Record Casualties (X) AND Stragglers (/) for EACH Regiment.

D.H. Hill Division**Strength**

2 NC	B	□□□□□✓□□□□
4 NC	A	□□✓□
14 NC	B	□□□✓□□□
30 NC	A	□□□□□✓□□□
Anderson		□□□✓□

13 Ala	C	□□□□□✓□□□
6 Ga	B	□□□□□✓□□□□
23 Ga	C	□□□✓□□
27 Ga	C	□□✓□
28 Ga	B	□□□✓□□□
Colquitt		□□□✓□□

5 NC	B	□□□□□✓□□□
12 NC	B	□□✓□
13 NC	B	□□✓□
20 NC	C	□□✓□□
23 NC	C	□□□✓□□
Garland		□□□✓□□

44 Ga	B	□□✓□
1 NC	A	□□□□□✓□
3 NC	B	□□□□□□□✓□□□□□□
Ripley		□□✓□

3 Ala	B	□□□✓□□
5 Ala	C	□□✓□□
6 Ala	B	□□□□□□□✓□□□□□□
12 Ala	B	□□□✓□□□
26 Ala	C	□✓□
Rodes		□□□✓□□

Independent

5 Va Cav	C	□□□□□✓□□□
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Evans Brigade

17 SC	C	□□✓□
18 SC	C	□□✓□
22 SC	C	□□□✓□□□
23 SC	C	□✓
Holcombe	C	□□✓□
Evans		□□□✓□□

Regimental Loss Chart***Army of Northern Virginia***

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Morale</i>	<i>Strength</i>
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*Record Casualties (X) AND Stragglers (/) for EACH Regiment.

Jones Division
1 Ga B 7 Ga B 8 Ga C 9 Ga C **Anderson** 50 Ga C 51 Ga C 15 SC C Phillips C **Drayton** 8 Va A 18 Va A 19 Va B 28 Va B 56 Va B **Garnett** 1 Va B 7 Va B 11 Va B 17 Va B 24 Va B **Kemper** 1 SC Vol C 2 SC Rifles B 5 SC C 6 SC C 4 SC Bn C Palmetto SS B **Walker** **Hood Division** 18 Ga B Hampton Lgn A 1 Texas A 4 Texas A 5 Texas A **Wofford** 4 Ala B 2 Miss B 11 Miss B 6 NC B **Law**

Regimental Loss Chart

Army of the Potomac

Unit Morale Strength

*Record Casualties (X) AND Stragglers (/) for EACH Regiment.

Hooker **1 Corps**

2 NY D

Hatch **1/1 Division**

22 NY B

24 NY C

30 NY C

84 NY B

2 US SS B

1/1/1

7 Ind B

76 NY C

95 NY C

56 Penn C

2/1/1

21 NY C

23 NY C

35 NY C

80 NY C

3/1/1

19 Ind A

2 Wisc A

6 Wisc A

7 Wisc A

4/1/1

Ricketts **2/1 Division**

97 NY C

104 NY B

105 NY C

107 Penn C

1/2/1

26 NY B

94 NY B

90 Penn C

2/2/1

12 Mass B

83 NY B

11 Penn C

13 Mass B

3/2/1

Regimental Loss Chart***Army of the Potomac***

Unit Morale Strength

*Record Casualties (X) AND Stragglers (/) for EACH Regiment.

Meade 3/1 Division

1 Penn Res	B	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
2 Penn Res	B	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5 Penn Res	B	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6 Penn Res	C	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1/3/1		<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

4 Penn Res	C	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
7 Penn Res	C	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
8 Penn Res	B	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
2/3/1		<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

9 Penn Res	B	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
10 Penn Res	C	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
11 Penn Res	C	<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
12 Penn Res	B	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3/3/1		<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

Pleasonton Cavalry Division

8 Ill	B	<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3 Ind	C	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1 Mass	D	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
F/Cav		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

Reno 9 Corps

G 1 Maine	D	<input type="checkbox"/>
6 NY	D	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3 Ohio	B	<input type="checkbox"/>

Willcox 1/9 Division

28 Mass	C	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
8 Mich	B	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
17 Mich	A	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
79 NY	C	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
50 Penn	D	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1/1/9		<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

46 NY	C	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
45 Penn	C	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
100 Penn	B	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
2/1/9		<input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

Regimental Loss Chart***Army of the Potomac***

Unit Morale Strength

*Record Casualties (X) AND Stragglers (/) for EACH Regiment.

Sturgis **2/9 Division**

2 Md	C	□□□□□✓□□□□
6 NH	A	□□□✓□□□
9 NH	B	□□□✓□□□
48 Penn	C	□□□□□□✓□□□□□
1/2/9		□□□✓□

21 Mass	C	□□□✓□□
35 Mass	C	□□□✓□□□
51 NY	B	□□□□□✓□□□□
51 Penn	B	□□□□□□✓□□□□□
2/2/9		□□□✓□

Rodman **3/9 Division**

9 NY	C	□□□□□✓□□□□
89 NY	C	□□□□□✓□□□□□
103 NY	C	□□□□□✓□□□□
1/3/9		□□✓□

8 Conn	C	□□□□✓□□□□
11 Conn	B	□□□□□✓□□□□□
4 RI	B	□□□□□✓□□□□
2/3/9		□□✓□

Cox **K/9 Division**

12 Ohio	C	□□✓□□
23 Ohio	B	□□□✓□□
30 Ohio	C	□□□□□□✓□□□□□□
W Va	C	□✓□
1/K/9		□□✓□□

11 Ohio	B	□□□□□✓□□□□
28 Ohio	C	□□□□□□□□✓□□□□□□
36 Ohio	C	□□□□□□□□✓□□□□□□□
Chicago Dgns	B	□✓□
2/K/9		□□✓□□

the way to make room for a general who was from the Old Dominion. Lee never offered a reason, but it was strongly in Lee's nature never to complain, but instead soldier on with the resources he was given, and the carping nature of Hill's acerbic observations must have grated on Lee. Finally, the question of Special Orders 191 lingered on. The copy McClellan captured was addressed to Hill from Lee's Headquarters, while Hill's copy in his own papers was an additional copy made by Jackson's staff and forwarded on. Hill, getting orders from Jackson, did not expect a copy direct from army headquarters. Lee's copy never made it to Hill, and the receipt envelope never made it back to Lee's Headquarters. The courier who carried the order has never been positively identified. Lee possibly blamed Hill, but in reality, his own headquarters was the guilty party. At the very least Lee's staff should have known that the receipt was not properly accounted for, which should have been a warning sign.

September 1862 was the high point in Hill's military career. He was given a brief chance at glory again in August 1863, when he was made a temporary Lieutenant General and sent to take over a corps command under Braxton Bragg, at Chickamauga. By October, however, he was back - the bilious atmosphere of Bragg's Headquarters proved to be a bitter experience for Hill. It did not help that Hill's performance as a corps commander proved unequal, or that his men were hours late in making the main attack on the second day of the battle. In time, Hill might well have developed into a first-rate corps commander, but he would not get the chance -- Bragg shipped him back east, Davis quietly refused to support his confirmation as LTG in the Confederate Congress, and he spent the rest of the war on the coast. He was among the conglomeration of commanders who surrendered to Sherman after Bentonville, along with a number of other men who did not meet Lee's standards for one reason or another.

There was one striking similarity to South Mountain in Hill's service out west. Nearly a year later to the day, Hill's corps found itself preparing to make a desperate defense of another mountain gap. This time, on September 9 and 10, Hill was defending Dug Gap in Pigeon Mountain, trying to hold back the Union XIV Corps from capturing the town of Lafayette Georgia, and thus splitting Bragg's Army. On the 9th, as Hill was riding forward to Dug Gap to observe the Union approach, he commented, "it was South Mountain all over again." In fact, the situation in Georgia never got that desperate, and the Federals turned out to be the ones in trouble as Rebel forces converged on them, but clearly the stand in Maryland was never far from Hill's mind.

Justifiably, Hill was proud of South Mountain. His daylong stand atop that ridge undoubtedly saved Lee's army, and he was fully aware of the size of the enemy forces sent against him. The strain was severe, but Hill never lost sight of the objective, or of the need to hold on as long as possible. A few days later, at Antietam, he aggressively defended the Sunken Road line just as tenaciously. Perhaps his abrasive personality and sometimes gloomy outlook unsuited him for higher command or greater Civil War fame, but here, at least, he had his best day.

Jesse L. Reno

Nothing brightens a reputation like being cut down in one's prime, at the forefront of battle. Two general officers, one Union, one Confederate, lost their lives in the battle, both slain at Fox's Gap, within just a few hundred yards of each other. The Federal was Major General Jesse Reno; temporarily commanding the Union IX Corps in the attack that day. His monument now stands beside the road that bears his name, at the crest of Fox's Gap.

Reno was a professional soldier, and a member of the storied West Point class of 1846. He had a successful pre-war career, winning brevets for bravery in Mexico under Winfield Scott, serving at West Point as an instructor, and going to Utah to suppress the Mormon revolt with Albert Sidney Johnston. In 1861, he commanded Federal arsenals in Alabama and Kansas, and was in fact forced to surrender the Alabama post in January 1861, when state forces arrived in the wake of the State's secession.

Reno's Civil War service can really be said to have begun when he joined the amphibious expedition being organized by Ambrose Burnside to retake parts of North Carolina. Reno served as a brigade and division commander in what became the IX Corps. By the time the IX Corps was ordered out of North Carolina to join Major General John Pope's newly formed Union Army of Virginia in August 1862, Reno had earned the respect of both subordinates and superiors for his service.

Service under Pope was less rewarding, as the new Union army was badly drubbed at Second Bull Run. For Reno personally, however, the battle was a career enhancer, not a liability. Burnside, commander of the IX Corps, was not present on the field at Manassas, and so command of the corps devolved upon Reno. His moment came when, on the last day of the battle, Longstreet's Confederates attacked the Union flank and all but drove the Union

army from the field in a rout, nearly repeating the events of the First Battle of Bull Run. Reno's men held the final positions on Henry House Hill, and their stand enabled the Federal army to escape. Despite the disaster, Reno earned praise from Pope, who called him a "complete soldier."

As the two armies moved away from the Manassas battlefield, Reno became ill, and missed the inconclusive action at Chantilly on September 1st, 1862. He rejoined the corps on the next campaign as it followed Lee into Maryland. However, with Burnside present, he reverted to divisional command. McClellan now resumed overall command of the Union armies and Pope's Army of Virginia was officially merged into the Army of the Potomac.

As McClellan advanced, however, he created informal "wing" commands that combined two or more infantry corps. Burnside was given one such command, comprised of his own IX Corps and Major General Joseph Hooker's I Corps. With Burnside acting as wing commander, Reno once again assumed the leadership of the IX Corps, and would be the officer most involved in directing it on September 14th.

The day before the battle, Reno and his brother, Colonel Benjamin Reno (acting as his aide) rode into Frederick to investigate one of the more popular rumors then floating about the army. An elderly lady had defiantly waved a Union flag at Stonewall Jackson's Rebels, it was said, when they marched through town. That woman was Barbara Frietschie, who lived on Patrick Street. Reno visited Frietschie, confirmed the rumor, and offered to buy the flag from her. Instead, she freely gave the memento to the General and Reno stuffed the flag into his saddlebag and rode away.

The next day, Reno's men opened the fight at South Mountain about mid-morning, with a cautious advance toward Fox's Gap. They encountered Rebel infantry and artillery, and after a short fight, halted to wait for the rest of the wing to catch up. Hooker's I corps was behind them, and deployed to the north about midday. In the afternoon, both corps renewed the advance. This time, the attack was successful, and by dark, both corps had cleared the gaps and driven the Rebels off the mountain. More Rebels were approaching, however, and the battle was not yet over.

In the darkness following the success of his men, Reno rode slowly up to Fox's Gap. Ahead of him, Colonel Ferrero's brigade was reforming. While most of Ferrero's men were veterans, and in fact had been the same men who stood on Henry House Hill at Second Bull Run, one new regiment had joined the brigade, the 35th Massachusetts Infantry. These troops were so raw that they barely knew how

to march, let alone drill. At the first shot in the previous attack, the regiment had routed into the woods, and was now trying to reform along the road in the dark. A member of the 51st Pennsylvania observing this effort was shocked to see the 35th using lanterns to round up their men.

Into this confusion rode Reno, leading his mounted escort and a few staff. Seeing the approach of this mounted force, and still panicky, a private in the 35th mistook the escort for Rebel cavalry and a series of shots rang out. One of them mortally wounded Reno.

Reno was born in Wheeling, Virginia, later West Virginia, and though his family moved to Pennsylvania early in his life, D.H. Hill still proudly reported the death of the "renegade Virginian, Reno, in a happy volley." At the time, Hill thought that Reno had been hit in the subsequent firefight between Ferrero's men and Hood's Rebels, a misconception that is still widely held. Historians have variously reported the cause of Reno's death. James Murfin, writing in 1965, recorded it as a Rebel Volley, while Stephen Sears, in 1983, attributed it to a Confederate sharpshooter. John M. Priest, in his 1992 study of the battle, however, presents a great deal of primary source evidence that it was indeed the unfortunate 35th who did the deed.

Reno was carried back down the mountain. He spoke a couple of times, enjoining his staff not to speak of his wounding in order not to alarm the troops. He told Orlando Willcox, another general of the IX Corps, that he was "killed by our own troops," and told Jacob Cox that he was "shot dead." He was brought to a field hospital at the foot of the Mountain where he died some hours later. His body was taken to Boston and Barbara Frietschie's Flag was draped over his coffin at the funeral. Initially buried in Boston, he was later moved to Washington D.C.

Reno's untimely death, of course, has raised questions ever since about his potential legacy. Would Reno have made the difference in the IX Corps attacks three days later, at Antietam? Reno was a senior major general in the Union Army, and might well have received high command in the Army of the Potomac, or out west, when the IX Corps was sent to Tennessee in 1863. Would he have been added to the list of Army of the Potomac commanders who faced Lee before Meade and Grant emerged? Like another Union officer, Phillip Kearny, killed at Chantilly on September 1st, Reno's loss left all of these questions to linger through history.

In fact, Reno would likely not have influenced Antietam to a different outcome. The complicated command arrangement McClellan created for that battle, coupled with very confusing orders, limited any

success the IX Corps might have despite who led it. Burnside was still on the field, after all, and Major General Jacob D. Cox, who followed Reno, was a competent officer who accomplished what could be expected of him given the situation. As for later speculation, it is a good bet that Jesse Reno would have reached permanent corps command, and might well have become as well known a name as Hancock, Reynolds, or Sedgwick. He was competent, aggressive, and willing to lead from the front, all of which boded well for higher command. Whether or not he could have achieved more, however, is a question left unanswered by history.

Samuel Garland

A few yards from Reno's monument there is a much newer marker, placed in the 1990s, for the other general mortally wounded at Fox's Gap --- Confederate Brigadier General Samuel Garland. Garland's brigade of North Carolinians reached the gap at about 8:00 a.m., just in time to support Captain John Pelham's horse artillery and the handful of Rebel troops from the 5th Virginia Cavalry who were attempting to keep Reno's troops at bay.

Despite the composition of his brigade, Garland was a Virginian, and one with a reputation for daring. A lawyer by profession, he was a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute and still dabbled in military affairs, organizing a pre-war militia company in Lynchburg. He had fought in all the major actions of the Army save Second Manassas, and in a number of smaller affairs, each time earning praise. At Williamsburg, he was seriously wounded, but refused to leave the field. His promotion to Brigadier came soon after.

The Army of Northern Virginia's most famous historian, Douglas Southall Freeman, speculated that the loss of his family due to disease in 1861, coupled with the fact that Garland was the last in a distinguished line, led him to become reckless with his own life. Garland led from the front, often to the point of foolhardiness. At Gaines Mill, on the left of D.H. Hill's command, he urged Hill to let him try a flank attack against the Union right, which Garland believed was exposed and overlapped by his own battle line. Hill, worried by the massing of Federal artillery in his front, gave grudging approval for the tactic. Frontal attacks shattered the Union left first, forcing Federal Colonel Robert Buchanan's brigade to start retreating before Garland's attack was fully developed, but the incident showed Garland to be aggressive and to possess a keen tactical

eye.

On September 14th, Garland led his command into Wise's Field, and there halted with the 13th North Carolina. The commander of the 13th, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Ruffin, urged Garland to fall back and seek shelter, as Union fire was intensifying. Just then, Ruffin was badly wounded, and asked Garland to find a senior officer to command his regiment, as he was the only field grade officer with the unit. Garland, still mounted, turned to find his staff and comply with the request when he too was hit, shot in the chest. Mortally wounded, the general was borne off the field by his staff, using a blanket as an improvised litter. They took Garland to the porch of the Mountain House Inn, still standing at Turner's Gap, where he died on the porch a little while later.

Garland's Brigade also suffered. The 13th managed to hold the crest in Wise's Field, but the right flank regiments were driven back and routed by a strong Federal attack. The situation was only restored when some of Brigadier General G. B. Anderson's men arrived to support Garland's beleaguered line, and their counterattack forced the Federals to break off the fight and wait for the other Union troops to come up.

Garland's death was mourned through much of the Confederate army. He was young and displayed the dashing devil-may-care spirit that the army so admired, reminiscent of the likes of J.E.B Stuart, Robert E. Rodes, and others. Hill, ever effusive in praise of fallen heroes, wrote that Garland was a "pure, gallant, and accomplished, Christian soldier...who had no superiors and few equals in service."

Hood and Evans

Technically, Evans commanded a division consisting of his own and Hood's two brigades. This was more of a temporary arrangement, however, and due to differences of opinion between Hood and Evans, Lee and Longstreet sought to keep the two separated. Hood found himself at odds with Evans over, of all things, captured ambulances. Hood's command had captured these ambulances at Second Manassas, and Hood incorporated them into his command. Evans, by virtue of his seniority as Hood's divisional commander, demanded that the captured vehicles be turned over to him. Hood demurred, and Evans placed Hood under arrest for insubordination. Lee essentially ignored the squabble.

At South Mountain, as the column marched past Lee on their way up the mountain to relieve Hill's beleaguered men, the Texans began to agitate for their commander. "Give us Hood!" came the cry from the ranks. Responding, Lee is supposed to have said, "You shall have him, Gentlemen." Lee called

Hood from the rear of the column and told him that the arrest would be dropped with (as Stephen Sears describes it) a simple statement of regret. Hood refused. Unwilling to lose an exceptional officer over such a silly argument, Lee told Hood that the arrest was suspended, and to lead his command up the mountain.

Hood was detached with his two brigades before they entered the fight, leaving Evans to command what amounted to an independent brigade. This pattern was followed at Antietam, three days later, as well. Hood fought that fight at the head of his own two-brigade division in Jackson's sector, while Evans was deployed in Longstreet's zone. All in all, Evans - who was a bit of a drunk, among other things - did not find favor with Lee, and was soon sent back south, out of the Army of Northern Virginia. In fact, thanks to his various personality quirks, Evans and his men got perhaps the most complete tour of the CSA as any Rebel combat unit, being sent at various times to Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and even out to Mississippi for the Vicksburg Campaign. Their nickname was the "Tramp Brigade."

Order of Battle Notes

Any player who consults the tables of organization for the Army of Northern Virginia, or who compares the order of battle here with any of several games on Antietam, will note that a number of units are absent, detached, or otherwise unexplained.

Technically, 3rd Pennsylvania Reserve Regiment was in 2/3/1, but was detached to guard a side road prior to the rest of the division entering the map. It saw no action at South Mountain.

Pleasanton was the Cavalry Division commander, with five brigades under him. However, only one, Farnsworth's, was present at South Mountain. Pleasanton took a direct hand in placing these units, especially the artillery, and in fact acted more like the brigade commander than a divisional commander, detaching units to various parts of the field. We have preserved his rank and the nominal command structure, even though he has only one brigade on the field.

The IX Corps was an amalgam of several commands in the Maryland Campaign. The main elements of the corps were those troops ordered up from North Carolina with Ambrose Burnside, and who joined Pope's Union Army of Virginia in August 1862. At the same time, Jacob Cox's division of troops from West Virginia and the Kanawha River Valley were assigned to

Burnside's command. The 6th NY Cavalry and Seaman's 3rd Company Ohio Cavalry were the corps escorts, while L/M Battery, 3 US was directly attached to IX Corps. All of these units did very little fighting but were available.

The 4th Georgia of Ripley's Brigade was not present. Part of Hill's original mission was to guard the roads leading from Harper's Ferry for possible stragglers. When Ripley's men were drawn back to the field that night, the 4th was left on road guard duty.

The 11th Georgia of G.T. Anderson's Brigade was not present. The regiment was detached to guard trains before Anderson's command became engaged.

In D.R. Jones' division, only Brown's Battery is available for action. The rest of the divisional artillery was left at Leesburg, and was disbanded in October. For various reasons, these units were deemed unfit for field service and remained in Virginia to act as a guard there, against what Lee considered the remote possibility of the Federals trying to get between him and Richmond.

Cutts' Reserve Artillery was present with D. H. Hill, but consisted of inexperienced gunners. Hill commented on their inaccuracy of fire in his report. Lloyd's battery of three guns was not officially part of the battalion, but was present at Boonsboro, marched with Cutts' Battalion back to Sharpsburg that night, and was temporarily attached to Cutts through the battle of Antietam. For simplicity's sake I have included it with Cutt's command.

Bibliography

Allen, John Owen. *The Strengths Of The Union And Confederate Forces At Second Manassas*. Master's Thesis, George Mason University, 1993. A detailed order of battle study, most useful here for its complete look at the strength of Lee's army on September 2nd, when it entered Maryland, and just 12 days before the battle of South Mountain. Overall, Confederate numbers for the Maryland Campaign are notoriously unreliable. Allen used company-level returns for much of his work, and it is the most complete look at the Army of Northern Virginia's strength yet.

Cox, Jacob D. "Forcing Fox's Gap And Turner's Gap." *Battles And Leaders*, New York, Thomas Yoseloff, 1956. Vol. II, pp. 583-90. An account from a senior Union commander.

Harsh, Joseph L. *Taken At The Flood*. Kent, Ohio. Kent State University Press, 1999. pp. 253-297. Harsh's outstanding work is a new interpretation of Antietam, and he covers South Mountain in quite a bit of detail. The most valuable part of his description is of the Rebel

retreat at the end of the day. He discusses the condition of the various units, and gives some idea of the straggling that occurred. The work focuses on Lee's point of view, so that we get little of the Union side of things, but what we do have is outstanding historical narrative. Harsh intended to write a companion volume from the Federal angle, but to date, his personal health has apparently delayed that endeavor.

Hill, Daniel H. "The Battle Of South Mountain, Or Boonsboro." *Battles And Leaders*, New York, Thomas Yoseloff, 1956. Vol. II, pp. 559-82. Hill's own perspective on South Mountain, written in the 1880s.

Murfin, James V. *The Gleam of Bayonets*. New York, Bonanza Books, 1965. This account is by no means dated, and includes some errors. (Reno's death is misreported, for example.) Overall, however, it is a good strategic overview of the situation on September 14th, including a fair amount of detail on the fighting.

Priest, John M. *Before Antietam: The Battle For South Mountain*. Shippensburg, PA, White Mane Publishing, 1992. The most complete narrative of the battle, but long and sometimes difficult to read. Priest likes to tell his story from the soldier's point of view, and at times the overall picture gets obscured. Being sometimes a bit difficult to read also mars the massive numbers of maps in this book. Overall, however, a richly detailed work, and the only major work on South Mountain.

Sears, Steven. *Landscape Turned Red*. New York, Ticknor and Fields, 1983. Sears' description of Antietam is a favorite of many readers. It is a first-rate account. His description of South Mountain is solid.

Blue And Gray Magazine, Vol. IV, Issue 21, "The Battles For South Mountain." 522 Norton Rd, Columbus, OH 43228 An excellent summation of the fighting, coupled with a detailed driving tour that will take you to the various sites. Blue and Gray specializes in their "General's Tours" which are aimed at the battlefield trumper who wants to see everything. The ideal companion for a tour of South Mountain.

U.S. War Department. *The War Of The Rebellion: The Official Records Of The Union And Confederate Armies*. 128 parts in 70 Volumes, Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901. Vol. 19, parts 1 and 2. The essential source, known commonly as the OR. These days the Official Records can be found on CD for around \$70, so that the OR is accessible to just about anyone.

For students seeking more information or with an interest in a particular regiment or battery there are a host of older studies, personal accounts, and unit histories covering the fighting on September 14th. The Antietam Battlefield Park can also provide a great deal of information from their files to interested students of the battle.

Union Order of Arrival

Time	Hex	Units	Orders
9:00 a.m.	1.09	Cox, 1/K/9	1
9:15 a.m.	1.09	Reno, 9 Corps HQ & Supply, 9 Corps Cavalry and Artillery: (G 1 Me, 6 NY, 3 Ohio and L&M 3 US, L 2 NY)	1
9:30 a.m.	1.09	2/K/9	1
11:30 a.m.	15.01	Willcox, 1/1/9, E 2 US (Arty/1/9)	1
Noon	15.01	2/1/9, 8 Mass Lt (Arty/1/9)	1
2:00 p.m.	15.01	Sturgis, 2/9 Division	1
2:30 p.m.	15.01	Hooker, 1 Corps HQ & Supply, 2 NY/1 Corps, Meade, 3/1 Division	2
3:00 p.m.	15.01	McClellan, Burnside, APot HQ & Supply	3
	15.01	4/1/1, B 4 US (Arty/1/1), Brigade HQ	4
3:30 p.m.	15.01	Rodman, 3/9 Division	1
	32.01	Hatch, 1/1 Division, less 4/1/1 and B 4 US	2
5:00 p.m.	32.01	Ricketts, 2/1 Division	2

Reinforcement Orders

- (Complex) 9th Corps is to advance northwest and capture Fox's Gap.
- (Complex) 1st Corps is to advance along Frogtown Road and capture Turner's Gap.
- (Simple) APot HQ is moving to the crossroads at Bolivar.
- (Complex) 4/1/1 Brigade with B 4 US is to establish defensive positions near the Beachley House (26.15) to protect the National Road and ensure communications between 1st and 9th Corps remains open.

Confederate Order of Arrival

Time	Hex	Units	Orders
11:30 a.m.	39.35	Ri/dH, Ro/dH, Hardaway and Jones (Arty/dH)	1
2:30 p.m.	****	Roll one die for each Variable Reinforcement group (Force A and Force B): 1 2:30 p.m. 39.35 2,3 3:00 p.m. 20.34 4,5 3:30 p.m. 39.35 6 4:00 p.m. 39.35	
		Force A: Jones, J Div HQ, A/J, D/J, Brown (Arty/J)	2
		Force B: G/J, K/J, W/J Brigades, 3 x Brigade HQ	3
4:30 p.m.	39.35	Evans Brigade	4
5:00 p.m.	39.35	Longstreet, Hood's Division	5

Reinforcement Orders

- (Complex) Ripley and Rodes are to join their division and help defend Turner's Gap.
- (Complex) Jones Division (less three brigades) is ordered to defend Fox's Gap.
- (Complex) Garnett, Kemper, and Walker are each detached and each has an order to defend Turner's Gap.
- (Complex) Evans is to move to defend Turner's Gap.
- (Complex) Hood is ordered to defend Fox's Gap, and to attack southward to recapture it if necessary.

Terrain Effects on Movement

Formation	Line	Column	Mounted	Limbered	Wagon	Leader
Movement Allowance	6	6	12	7(a)	6	12
Change Formation	1	1	3	3(b)	ne	ne
Clear	1	1	1	1	1	1
Orchard	1	1	2	2	2	1
Sloping Ground	2	2	4	P	P	1
Woods	2	2	3	4	4	2
Wooded Sloping Ground	2	2	4	P	P	2
Marsh	2	2	3	4	P	2
Pike (The National Road)	ot	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
Road	ot	1/2 (c)	1/2 (c)	1/2 (c)	1/2 (c)	1/2
Trail	ot	1	1	2	2	1/2
Stream	+1	+1	+1	+1	+1	ne
Up/Down Elevation	+1	+1	+1	+2	+2	ne
Up/Down Slope	+2	+2	+2	+4	+4	+1
Up/Down Extreme Slope	+4	+4	+4	P	P	+2
Vertical Slope	P	P	P	P	P	P
Run	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne
Stone Wall	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne

ot = other terrain in hex. ne = no effect (does not apply). P = Prohibited

Notes:

Note that **Bold** values are different from RSS standard for this game only.

(a) Horse artillery (cavalry) has a movement allowance of 12 when Limbered.
 (b) Artillery may only unlimber if it has not expended any MP in the current phase. Unlimbered artillery must pay 3 MP to change formation, and may then use remaining Limbered Movement Allowance.

(c) When moving along a Road (not Pike or Trail), add 1/2 MP for **each** Slope line (extreme slope would be +1).