

THE MAPS OF SECOND BULL RUN

An Atlas of the Second Bull Run (Manassas) Campaign
from the Formation of the Army of Virginia
Through Chantilly, June 26–September 1, 1862

Bradley M. Gottfried

**WITH ONE SAMPLE FACING PAGE
OF TEXT AND MAP--KEEP READING!**



Savas Beatie
California

© 2025 Bradley M. Gottfried

The Maps of Second Bull Run: An Atlas of the Second Bull Run (Manassas) Campaign from the Formation of the Army of Virginia Through Chantilly, June 26–September 1, 1862

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Gottfried, Bradley M., author. | Savas Beatie, publisher.

Title: The Maps of Second Bull Run: An Atlas of the Second Bull

Run/Manassas Campaign from the Formation of the Army of Virginia Through Chantilly, June 26–September 1, 1862 / Bradley M. Gottfried.

Description: El Dorado Hills: Savas Beatie, [2025] | Series: Savas Beatie military atlas series | Includes bibliographical references and index. |

Summary: “This work continues Bradley M. Gottfried's efforts to study and illustrate the major campaigns of the Civil War's Eastern Theater. This is his tenth book in the ongoing Savas Beatie Military Atlas Series. It breaks down the entire campaign into sixteen map sets or “action sections,” enriched with 122 detailed full-page color maps. This is a seminal work that belongs on the bookshelf of every serious and casual student of the battle.”-- Provided by publisher.

Identifiers: LCCN 2024022379 | ISBN 9781611217087 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781611217094 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Bull Run, 2nd Battle of, Va., 1862--Maps. | Manassas (Va.)—History—Civil War, 1861-1865—Maps. | LCGFT: Atlases.

Classification: LCC G1294.M25S5 G6 2024 | DDC 973.7/320223--dc23/eng20240522

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024022379>



Savas Beatie LLC

989 Governor Drive, Suite 102

El Dorado Hills, CA 95762

916-941-6896

Sales@savasbeatie.com

www.savasbeatie.com

Savas Beatie titles are available at special discounts for bulk purchases in the United States. For more details, e-mail sales@savasbeatie.com or call us.

The tenth volume of
The Savas Beatie Military Atlas™ Series

To Dr. William Overlease & Sr. Helen Joseph,
for teaching me how to believe in myself and making everything possible.

CONTENTS

Preface xiii

Acknowledgments xiv

PART 1: TO CEDAR MOUNTAIN

MAP SET 1: Lincoln Creates a New Army (June 26 – August 7)

Map 1.1: John Pope Takes Command (June 26 – 27) 2

Map 1.2: Pope Irritates and Prepares (June 28 – June 30) 4

Map 1.3: Pope Slides into Position as Stonewall Jackson
Heads North (July 1 – July 24) 6

Map 1.4: McClellan Moves North to Join Pope (July 24 – August 7) 8

MAP SET 2: Jackson and Banks Converge on Cedar Mountain (August 7 – 9)

Map 2.1: Jackson Heads North to Confront Pope (August 7 – 8) 10

Map 2.2: Pope Moves South to Attack the Railroads (August 7 – 8) 12

PART 2: THE BATTLE OF CEDAR MOUNTAIN

MAP SET 3: The Battle of Cedar Mountain Begins (August 9)

Map 3.1: Both Sides Approach the Battlefield (8:00 a.m. – Noon) 14

Map 3.2: Final Approach to the Battlefield (Noon – 2:00 p.m.) 16

Map 3.3: Deploying for Action (2:00 – 3:30 p.m.) 18

Map 3.4: Early Receives Support (3:30 – 5:15 p.m.) 20

Map 3.5: Final Preparation Before the Attack (5:15 – 5:45 p.m.) 22

Contents (continued)

MAP SET 4: The Fighting Begins

- Map 4.1: Augur Attacks South of Orange–Culpeper Road (5:45 – 6:00 p.m.) 24
- Map 4.2: Taliaferro and Early Counterattack (6:00 – 6:30 p.m.) 26
- Map 4.3: Williams Prepares for Action (3:00 – 5:30 p.m.) 28
- Map 4.4: Crawford’s Brigade Launches its Attack (5:30 – 6:00 p.m.) 30
- Map 4.5: Crawford’s Brigade Rolls Up Garnett’s Flank (5:30 – 6:00 p.m.) 32
- Map 4.6: Crawford’s Brigade Continues Rolling Up
the Confederate Left Flank (6:00 – 6:30 p.m.) 34
- Map 4.7: The Last of Garnett’s Brigade and All
of Taliaferro’s Are Defeated (6:00 – 6:30 p.m.) 36
- Map 4.8: Jackson’s Men Stabilize Their Lines (6:00 – 6:30 p.m.) 38

MAP SET 5: The Tide Turns in Favor of the Confederates

- Map 5.1: A. P. Hill’s Division Arrives as Union Troops
South of the Road Withdraw (6:30 – 7:00 p.m.) 40
- Map 5.2: The 10th Maine Attacks Across the Wheatfield (6:30 – 7:00 p.m.) 42
- Map 5.3: The Cavalry Attacks as Gordon’s Brigade Enters the Fray (6:30 – 7:00 p.m.) 44
- Map 5.4: A. P. Hill Begins His Counterattack (6:30 – 7:00 p.m.) 46
- Map 5.5: A. P. Hill Defeats Gordon’s Brigade (6:30 – 7:00 p.m.) 48
- Map 5.6: Final Mopping Up in the Cornfield (6:30 – 7:15 p.m.) 50

PART 3: PRELUDE TO SECOND BULL RUN

MAP SET 6: Momentous Decisions (August 10 – 28)

- Map 6.1: Immediate Moves After Cedar Mountain (August 10 – 13) 52
- Map 6.2: Lee Decides to Move North; Pope
Concentrates His Army (August 13 – 16) 54
- Map 6.3: Lee Is Frustrated (August 17 – 19) 56

Contents (continued)

Map 6.4: Pope Settles in While Lee Advances (August 20 – 21)	58
Map 6.5: Stuart's Raid (August 22 – 23)	60
Map 6.6: Early Crosses the River; Pope Responds Decisively (August 22 – 23)	62
Map 6.7: Lee's Has a New Plan (August 23 – 24)	64
MAP SET 7: Lee Heads for Pope's Rear (August 25 – 27)	
Map 7.1: Lee Launches Stonewall Jackson (August 25 – 26)	66
Map 7.2: Jackson Reaches the Orange & Alexandria Railroad (August 26)	68
Map 7.3: Pope Reacts to Jackson's Raid (August 26 – 27)	70
Map 7.4: Jackson Enjoys the Spoils of Manassas Junction (August 26 – 27)	72
MAP SET 8: The Fighting at Kettle Run/Bristoe Station (August 27)	
Map 8.1: Hooker's Division Approaches Bristoe Station (7:00 a.m. – 2:00 p.m.)	74
Map 8.2: The Battle of Kettle Run/Bristoe Station Begins (2:00 – 3:00 p.m.)	76
Map 8.3: Additional Units Enter the Fray (3:00 – 4:00 p.m.)	78
Map 8.4: The Battle of Kettle Run/Bristoe Station Ends (4:00 – 5:00 p.m.)	80
MAP SET 9: The Affair at Thoroughfare Gap (August 27 – 28)	
Map 9.1: The Armies Maneuver on August 27 (6:30 p.m. – Midnight)	82
Map 9.2: Both Sides Approach Thoroughfare Gap (August 28, 6:30 a.m. – 3:00 p.m.)	84
Map 9.3: The Opening Fight at Thoroughfare Gap (3:00 – 4:00 p.m.)	86
Map 9.4: The Battle for Thoroughfare Gap Ends (4:00 – 5:00 p.m.)	88

PART 4: THE BATTLE OF SECOND BULL RUN OPENS (AUGUST 28 – 29, 1862)

MAP SET 10: The Battle of Groveton/Brawner's Farm

Map 10.1: The Armies Converge on Manassas (Afternoon, August 28)	90
--	----

Contents (continued)

Map 10.2: The Battle of Groveton/Brawner's Farm Begins (5:00 – 6:00 p.m.)	92
Map 10.3: Additional Troops Enter the Fray (6:00 – 6:30 p.m.)	94
Map 10.4: Both Sides Slug It Out as Darkness Descends (6:00 – 6:30 p.m.)	96
Map 10.5: Neither Side Gains an Advantage/Jackson Mobilizes More Troops (7:00 – 8:00 p.m.)	98
Map 10.6: The Battle of Groveton/Brawner's Farm Ends (7:30 – 8:00 p.m.)	100
MAP SET 11: Moving Toward Battle	
Map 11.1: Pope Concentrates Against Jackson (August 28 – 29)	102
Map 11.2: Pope Prepares for Action as Jackson Waits for Longstreet on August 29 (1:00 – 5:00 a.m.)	104
MAP SET 12: Sigel Opens the Battle (August 29)	
Map 12.1: Schurz's Division Advances Against A. P. Hill's Division (5:00 – 9:30 a.m.)	106
Map 12.2: The Remainder of Sigel's Men Swing into Position as Kearny Arrives (9:30 – 10:30 a.m.)	108
Map 12.3: Milroy Is Denied Glory (10:00 – 11:00 a.m.)	110
Map 12.4: Schurz Continues Battling as Kearny's Division Deploys for Action (10:00 – 11:00 a.m.)	112
Map 12.5: Schurz Battles Hill as Kearny Tentatively Advances (10:00 – 11:00 a.m.)	114
Map 12.6: Sigel's Attacks Continue (11:00 a.m. – Noon)	116
MAP SET 13: Longstreet Begins Arriving as Sigel Continues Fighting Jackson (10:30 a.m. – 2:00 p.m.)	
Map 13.1: Longstreet Begins Deploying for Action (10:00 – 11:00 a.m.)	118
Map 13.2: Longstreet Continues Deploying (11:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.)	120
Map 13.3: Pope Arrives and Misjudges Jackson's Intentions (1:00 – 2:00 p.m.)	122

Contents (continued)

**MAP SET 14: Hooker's Division Attacks Stonewall Jackson's
Left Flank (Noon - 4:00 p.m.)**

Map 14.1: The Fight Continues Along the
Unfinished Railroad Cut (Noon – 2:00 p.m.) 124

Map 14.2: Grover's Brigade Enters the Fight
as Carr's Brigade Continues Firing at the Enemy (2:00 – 4:00 p.m.) 126

Map 14.3: Grover's Brigade Drives Thomas's Brigade
from the Unfinished Railroad (2:00 – 4:00 p.m.) 128

Map 14.4: Grover's Brigade Is Driven Back While Carr's
Brigade Attempts to Hold Its Position (2:00 – 4:00 p.m.) 130

MAP SET 15: Hooker's Fight Continues on Jackson's Left (4:00 – 6:00 p.m.)

Map 15.1: Nagel Is Ordered Forward (4:00 – 5:00 p.m.) 132

Map 15.2: Nagel Attacks Jackson's Line as
Other Troops Enter the Fray (4:00 – 5:00 p.m.) 134

Map 15.3: Nagel's Brigade Is Defeated as Reinforcements Arrive (4:00 – 5:00 p.m.) 136

Map 15.4: Hooker's Assault Finally Ends (4:00 – 5:00 p.m.) 138

MAP SET 16: Kearny Finally Attacks (4:00 – 6:00 p.m.)

Map 16.1: Kearny and Jackson Prepare for a Fight (4:00 – 5:00 p.m.) 140

Map 16.2: Robinson's Brigade Attacks Jackson's Left Flank (5:00 – 6:00 p.m.) 142

Map 16.3: Kearny Continues Attacking Jackson's Left Flank (5:00 – 6:00 p.m.) 144

Map 16.4: Birney and Leasure Begin
Attacking Jackson's Left Flank (5:00 – 6:00 p.m.) 146

Map 16.5: Birney and Leasure Are Defeated (5:00 – 6:00 p.m.) 148

MAP SET 17: Longstreet Launches a Probing Attack (3:00 – 7:30 p.m.)

Map 17.1: Longstreet Plans His Reconnaissance in Force (3:00 – 6:30 p.m.) 150

Map 17.2: Longstreet Launches His Reconnaissance in Force (6:30 – 7:00 p.m.) 152

Map 17.3: Hatch's Division Is Defeated (7:00 – 7:30 p.m.) 154

Contents (continued)

PART 5: THE BATTLE CONTINUES (AUGUST 30, 1862)

MAP SET 18: Both Sides Prepare for August 30 (7:30 p.m. – 6:00 a.m.)

- Map 18.1: Nightfall Almost Ends the Fighting on August 29 (7:30 – 9:30 p.m.) 156
Map 18.2: Pope Prepares for August 30 (9:30 p.m. – 7:00 a.m.) 158
Map 18.3: Both Army Commanders Take Stock of the Situation (7:00 – 9:00 a.m.) 160
Map 18.4: Initial Combat on August 30 (9:00 – 10:00 a.m.) 162

MAP SET 19: Porter Attacks Jackson Along Unfinished Railroad (1:00 – 4:00 p.m.)

- Map 19.1: Porter Prepares for Action (1:00 – 2:30 p.m.) 164
Map 19.2: Porter Prepares His Attack (2:30 – 3:00 p.m.) 166
Map 19.3: Porter's Attack Begins (3:00 – 3:45 p.m.) 168
Map 19.4: Porter's Attack Sputters (3:00 – 3:45 p.m.) 170
Map 19.5: Patrick's Brigade Is Thrown into the Fray (3:45 – 4:00 p.m.) 172
Map 19.6: Porter's Attack Ends (3:45 – 4:00 p.m.) 174
Map 19.7: After Porter's Attack (3:45 – 4:00 p.m.) 176

MAP SET 20: Longstreet Begins His Attack (3:45 – 4:30 p.m.)

- Map 20.1: McDowell Miscalculates as
Longstreet Prepares to Attack (3:45 – 4:00 p.m.) 178
Map 20.2: Hood Launches His Attack Against Warren's Brigade (4:00 p.m.) 180
Map 20.3: Warren's Brigade Is Almost Destroyed (4:00 – 4:30 p.m.) 182
Map 20.4: As Warren Retreats, Hardin's Brigade
Prepares for Action (4:30 – 5:00 p.m.) 184
Map 20.5: Hood's Brigade Defeats Hardin's Brigade (4:30 – 5:00 p.m.) 186

MAP SET 21: The Fight for Chinn Ridge Begins (5:00 – 6:00 p.m.)

- Map 21.1: The Two Sides Prepare for the Initial Attack on Chinn Ridge (5:00 p.m.) 188
Map 21.2: The Attack on McLean's Brigade Begins (5:00 – 5:30 p.m.) 190

Contents (continued)

Map 21.3: Evans's Men Continue Their Attack; Kemper's Division Approaches McLean's Flank (5:00 – 5:30 p.m.)	192
Map 21.4: Kemper's Division and Some of Evans's Regiments Savage McLean's Brigade (5:00 – 5:30 p.m.)	194
Map 21.5: Union Reinforcements Arrive to Attempt to Hold Longstreet at Bay (5:30 – 6:00 p.m.)	196
Map 21.6: Tower's Brigade Enters the Fight (5:30 – 6:00 p.m.)	198
Map 21.7: Stiles's Brigade Enters the Fight; Tower's Brigade Heads to the Rear (5:30 – 6:00 p.m.)	200
Map 21.8: Both Sides Pour Reinforcements into the Maelstrom (5:30 – 6:00 p.m.)	202
Map 21.9: Union Troops Fight for Their Lives on Chinn Ridge (5:30 – 6:00 p.m.)	204
MAP SET 22: General Longstreet's Final Thrust (6:00 – 9:00 p.m.)	
Map 22.1: Chinn Ridge Falls; Law's Brigade Prepares to Attack Dogan's Ridge (6:00 p.m.)	206
Map 22.2: Pope Prepares for Action on Henry Hill (6:00 – 7:00 p.m.)	208
Map 22.3: Longstreet's First Attacks on Henry Hill Are Unsuccessful (6:00 – 7:00 p.m.)	210
Map 22.4: Jones Feeds Anderson's Brigade into the Fight (6:00 – 7:00 p.m.)	212
Map 22.5: Anderson's Division Joins the Fight (6:00 – 7:00 p.m.)	214
Map 22.6: Mahone's Brigade & Two Union Brigades Join the Fight (6:00 – 7:00 p.m.)	216
Map 22.7: The Tide Turns Against the Yankees on Henry Hill (7:00 – 9:00 p.m.)	218
Map 22.8: Pope's Final Actions (7:00 – 9:00 p.m.)	220

Contents (continued)

PART 6: THE CAMPAIGN ENDS

MAP SET 23: Retreat to Washington and Chantilly (August 31 – September 1)

Map 23.1: Pope Finally Acknowledges Defeat (August 30 – 31) 222

Map 23.2: Pope Gets Caught Up in His Own Lies (August 31) 224

Map 23.3: Jeb Stuart Undertakes a Reconnaissance
as Jackson Heads North (August 31) 226

Map 23.4: The Armies Move Toward Confrontation (September 1) 228

Map 23.5: Pope Marshals a Force to Confront Jackson (September 1) 230

MAP SET 24: The Battle of Chantilly (September 1)

Map 24.1: The Two Forces Maneuver into Position (2:30 – 4:00 p.m.) 232

Map 24.2: The Chantilly Fight Begins (4:00 – 5:00 p.m.) 234

Map 24.3: The IX Corps Continues to Battle Jackson (5:00 – 5:30 p.m.) 236

Map 24.4: Kearny Arrives to Save the Day (5:30 – 6:00 p.m.) 238

Map 24.5: Kearny Sends His Men into Battle (6:00 – 6:30 p.m.) 240

Map 24.6: The Battle of Chantilly Ends (6:30 – 7:00 p.m.) 242

Epilogue 244

Orders of Battle 246

Endnotes 256

Bibliography 285

Index 297

Preface

The *Maps of Second Bull Run* is the tenth book in the Savas Beatie Military Atlas Series. Several more are in development and will hopefully be published within the next few years. This long but rewarding publishing journey is now in its seventeenth year.

I began the overall project with *The Maps of Gettysburg* in 2007. It continued in 2009 with two more installments: *The Maps of Chickamauga* (by David Powell and David Friedrichs) and my own *The Maps of First Bull Run*. I continued the series with *The Maps of Antietam* (2012), *The Maps of Bristoe Station and Mine Run* (2013), *The Maps of the Wilderness* (2016), *The Maps of Fredericksburg* (2018), *The Maps of the Cavalry in the Gettysburg Campaign* (2020), and most recently, *The Maps of Spotsylvania and Cold Harbor* (2023). Most of these titles have been reprinted at least once (and several many times). All of them remain in print to this day.

This series uses maps and precise facing-page text to visualize the action and thus better explain and understand a military campaign. There is no better way to understand military actions, and no single traditional campaign or battle book can contain enough maps. Coverage is intended to be neutral. As anyone who is familiar with this series will attest, its purpose is to offer a broad and full understanding of the subject matter rather than a micro-history of a particular event or day.

Before this latest entry I began work on *The Maps of Petersburg and Appomattox*, but decided to put it aside around the time of the pandemic to pursue other research. When it came time to return to the map series, I opted to leave the Petersburg/Appomattox volume for the time being and address the Second Bull Run Campaign. This volume begins in the aftermath of the Seven Days' Battles outside Richmond and carries the armies in the Eastern Theater into early September, ending on the eve of the invasion of Maryland, which of course picks up with *The Maps of Antietam*. There are surprisingly few studies of Second Bull Run (Manassas). The finest remains John Hennessy's *Return to Bull Run: The Campaign and Battle of Second Manassas*, which is now more than 30 years old. As good as it is, the number of maps therein are inadequate to explain the complex actions. This series in general, and this book in particular, rectifies this shortcoming by offering cartography in a different form that unlocks what others have written.

I am currently at work completing the series through 1862 with *The Maps of the Peninsula Campaign* (which includes the Seven Days' Battles). When that volume is completed, readers will be able to move effortlessly from the First Bull Run Campaign through Fredericksburg. Plans are in the works for a volume on the Chancellorsville Campaign. When that is completed, the Civil War in the Eastern Theater will be mapped from the beginning of the war through 1863. The Shenandoah Valley Campaigns of 1862 and 1864 will be addressed in separate volumes.

These map books are not the last word or definitive treatment of these topics, the various engagements, or any part thereof—nor did I intend them to be. Given space and time considerations, I covered the major events of these campaigns and combats, with smaller transition sections to flesh out the full story of those bloody and critical years. Original research

was intentionally kept to a minimum. My primary reliance was on readily accessible firsthand accounts and battle reports, followed by quality secondary scholarship. There are no new theories or evaluations within these pages of why the campaign or battles unfolded as they did. I am familiar with the terrain on these battlefields and have visited them many times. Whenever a book uses short chapters or sections, as this one does, there will inevitably be some narrative redundancy. I have tried to minimize this as much as possible. Sources can and often do conflict on many points, including numbers engaged, who moved when and where and why, what time a specific event unfolded, and of course, casualties. No one knows the exact location of every unit at all times, and in many cases I have pieced the evidence together to reach an educated conclusion. Much of this will be found in the lengthy endnotes. Some of my conclusions may be hotly debated, but they represent my best effort to get them right. It is also important to realize that the time a particular action occurred is always approximate. Not only did various participants disagree, but watches were not synchronized, and memories are inherently unreliable. It is common to be confronted with multiple recollections of when events occurred, even by those who were present making the history we so enjoy reading about today.

Inevitably, a study like this makes it likely that mistakes of one variety or another end up in the final text or on a map, despite endless hours of proofreading. I apologize in advance for any errors and I assume full responsibility for them. Pass along any mistakes you find and they will be fixed in subsequent printings.

* * *

This book (and series) could not have come to fruition without the help of many people. Theodore P. “Ted” Savas has always been a strong proponent of the series and a font of inspiration and support. Once again he did a masterful job of editing this complex account. These volumes could never be completed without him. Ted assigned Joel Manuel to help with the first round of developmental editing. Joel did a great job and also caught many errors in the maps along the way.

Ranger Jim Burgess of the Manassas National Military Park allowed frequent access to the vertical files brimming with primary and secondary sources. The outstanding map set of the Battle of Second Bull Run by John Hennessey/National Park Service was an indispensable resource. I cannot thank Jim enough for his help on this project and *The Maps of First Bull Run*. He and Ranger Anthony Trusso read the manuscript and provided useful perspectives and suggestions. I always appreciated their patience as I asked a myriad of questions. John Hennessey and Scott Patchen also helped orient me as I tried to understand some of the nuisances of this campaign.

Finally, my wife, Linda, continues to support my endeavors with love, grace, and patience.

Bradley M. Gottfried
Fayetteville, Pennsylvania

THE MAPS OF SECOND BULL RUN

An Atlas of the Second Bull Run (Manassas) Campaign
from the Formation of the Army of Virginia
Through Chantilly, June 26–September 1, 1862

Map 16.3: Kearny Continues Attacking Jackson's Left Flank (5:00 – 6:00 p.m.)

The regiment that suffered the worst losses was not part of Robinson's brigade. Col. Stephen G. Champlin's 3rd Michigan had pushed forward to reinforce the line and settled in near the right flank of Robinson's brigade (No. 1). It apparently lost contact with the regiments on either side and fought alone. Champlin's men initially drove back the enemy, but the Rebels were reinforced and shoved back the Maine men, who were probably hit in the front and left flank by Gregg's men and on its right by Branch's 7th and 37th North Carolina, and possibly the 33rd North Carolina (No. 2). According to Col. James Lane, when Gregg requested support because the left of his brigade was being driven in, Branch's three "regiments swept the enemy back in almost the twinkling of an eye, regaining the ground lost by General Gregg and reestablishing our line at that point. The enemy made six distinct attacks on this point, with as many fresh columns," claimed Lane, "but did not succeed in breaking it." The rest of Branch's brigade was sent to reinforce the front line farther to the right.¹²

Casualty figures help tell the story of Robinson's failed attack. The 63rd Pennsylvania lost 120 men during its multiple assaults on Gregg's brigade. The 3rd Michigan pushed on without support and was forced to withdraw. According to one soldier, the 139 men it lost during the short fight, Champlin included, represented two-thirds of the number it carried into the afternoon combat. The lower casualties suffered by the 105th Pennsylvania (52) and 20th Indiana (45) suggest they were not as heavily engaged as the two other regiments. The modern historian of the 105th Pennsylvania believed the men probably took refuge in the unfinished railroad cut to avoid the bullets and shells and did not make a serious attempt similar to the regiments flanking it. The commander of the 20th Indiana was killed early in the movement, which may have frozen the regiment in place.¹³

Following on the heels of Schurz's assault, Kearny's attack pushed Gregg's brigade to the limit. "The woods swarmed with them, recalled the brigade's historian. "They close in upon us

from front and right and left, pressing up with an enemy never before witnessed by us and certainly never surpassed since . . . line after line of theirs was hurled upon our single one, [which] was already fearfully thinned." A South Carolina officer reported "a semicircle of flame and smoke extending at least half round our devoted hill." Both sides of Gregg's command were pushed back, as was Thomas's brigade, which had reformed on the right side of the South Carolinians. When Hill asked Gregg if he could hold much longer, the embattled brigadier replied that "his ammunition was about expended, but he still had the bayonet."

Pender's brigade was also used up by its fights with the enemy and at least one subsequent dash after them. Pender rode rearward, found Archer, and asked if his mixed brigade of Alabama, Tennessee, and Georgia boys could replace him on the front line. When A. P. Hill consented to the move, Archer moved his men forward (No. 3). Hill was committing his last reserve to the fight. Brig. Jubal Early's brigade (Lawton's division), also in reserve, had already received a desperate plea from Hill to come to his assistance, as "one of his brigades, whose ammunition was nearly exhausted, was being very heavily pressed." Early complied without awaiting orders (No. 4). He encountered the 8th Louisiana of Forno's brigade, which had been sent to guard the wagon train but was now returning to the front. He also collected the 13th Georgia (Douglass's brigade) and continued heading east. Jackson's left flank would now be manned by Branch's, Early's, and Archer's brigades. The latter two were fresh and ready for action.¹⁴

The 40th and 101st New York were now in position and Birney ordered the troops to hug the earth until ordered into the fight (No. 5). The adjutant of the 101st, Theodore Dodge, wrote how Union infantry (probably Grover) "came skedaddling out of the woods in disgraceful style, the Rebels having driven them back." When they saw these retreating soldiers exiting "the woods in such disorder, a groan, half sorrowful and half derisive, rose from our ranks." Kearny, who was on hand, simply told them, "Now boys, do your duty!"¹⁵

