

CHAPTER ONE: THE CAMPAIGN FOR CHATTANOOGA, JUNE TO NOVEMBER 1863

Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park commemorates and preserves the sites of important and bloody contests fought in the fall of 1863. A key prize in the fighting was Chattanooga, Tennessee, an important transportation hub and the gateway to Georgia and Alabama. In the Battle of Chickamauga (September 18-20, 1863), the Confederate Army of Tennessee soundly beat the Federal Army of the Cumberland and sent it in full retreat back to Chattanooga. After a brief siege, the reinforced Federals broke the Confederate grip on the city in a series of engagements, known collectively as the Battles for Chattanooga. In action at Brown's Ferry, Wauhatchie, and Lookout Mountain, Union forces eased the pressure on the city. Then, on November 25, 1863, Federal troops achieved an unexpected breakthrough at Missionary Ridge just southeast of Chattanooga, forcing the Confederates to fall back on Dalton, Georgia, and paving the way for General William T. Sherman's advance into Georgia in the spring of 1864. These battles having been the subject of exhaustive study, this context contains only the information needed to evaluate surviving historic structures in the park.

Following the Battle of Stones River (December 31, 1862-January 2, 1863), the Federal Army of the Cumberland, commanded by Major General William S. Rosecrans, spent five and one-half months at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, reorganizing and resupplying in preparation for a further advance into Tennessee (Figure 2). General Braxton Bragg's Confederate Army of Tennessee was concentrated in the Tullahoma, Tennessee, area. Although Rosecrans's long pause caused considerable consternation in Washington, his nearly bloodless success when he finally did move in June 1863 justified his careful preparation. Using a series of feints and flanking movements, the Federals threatened to sever Bragg's lines of communications, and the Confederates retreated to Chattanooga without offering battle. Gen. Rosecrans began his movement against Chattanooga in August, swinging most of his army far to the right while the Federal Army of the Ohio under General Ambrose Burnside advanced on Knoxville. When Bragg learned of the fall of Knoxville in the first week of September and discovered that Federal forces were across the Tennessee River far downstream of Chattanooga, he ordered the evacuation of the city.¹

Alarmed by the potential loss of Chattanooga, the Confederate government had already decided to reinforce Bragg for a bold counterstroke. Two divisions from Mississippi joined Bragg's army in north Georgia, and Confederate President Jefferson Davis detached

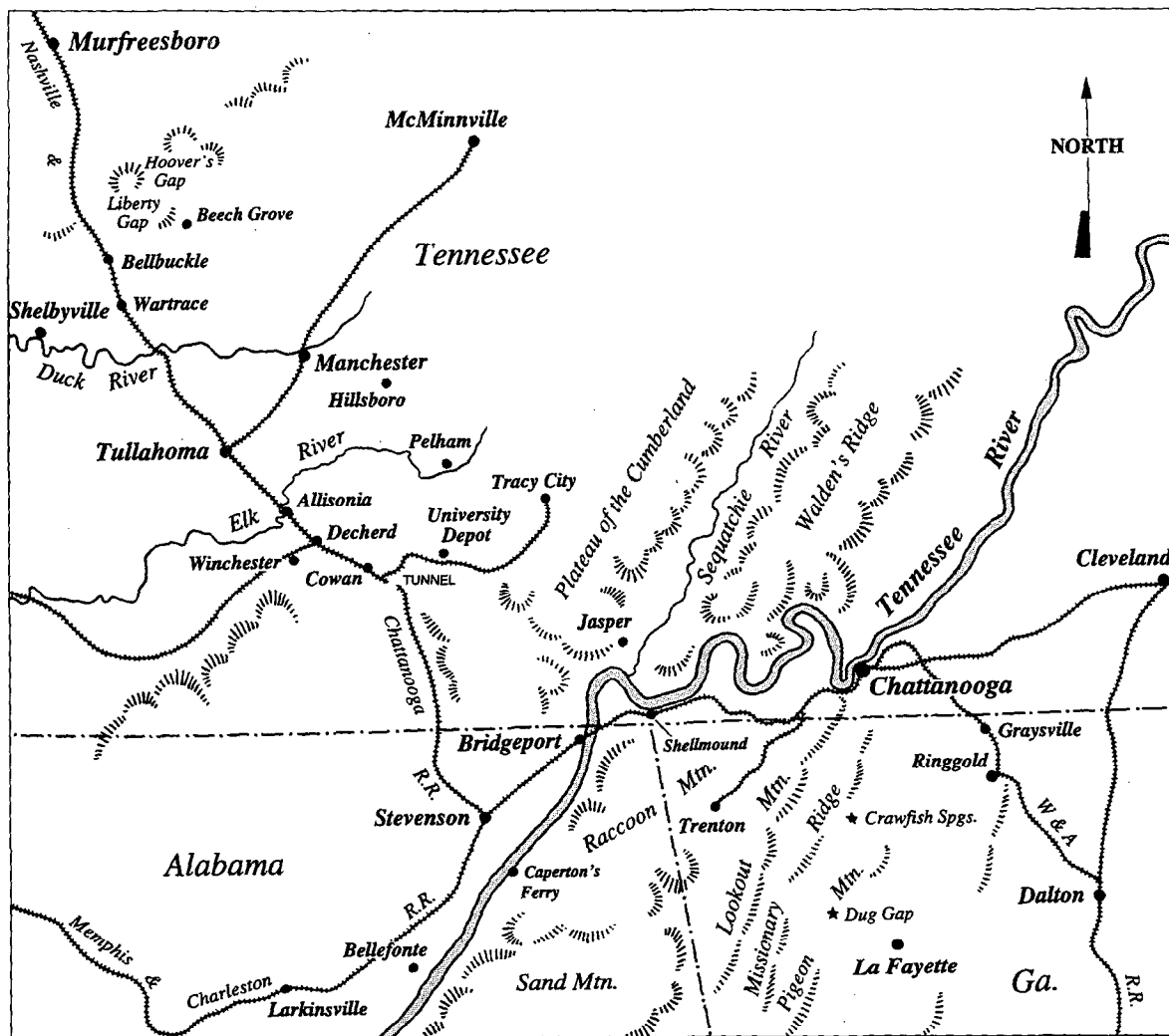


Figure 2. Route of Federal advance, Murfreesboro to Chattanooga, June to August 1863

12,000 men under Lieutenant General James Longstreet (Figure 3) from the Army of Northern Virginia in one of the war's most celebrated redeployments of troops by railroad. The loss of Knoxville to the Federals transformed a 550-mile journey into a ten-day, 900-mile trek by way of Wilmington, North Carolina, Augusta, and Atlanta. These additions gave Bragg 66,000 men to oppose the 58,000 that Rosecrans brought to the field at Chickamauga. Pursuing Bragg into north Georgia, Rosecrans deployed his three corps, commanded by Major Generals Thomas L. Crittenden, George H. Thomas, and Alexander McCook, on a wide front. Bragg intended to destroy each corps separately, but faulty scouting, imprecise orders, and the hesitancy of Bragg's corps commanders caused the Confederates to miss several opportunities between September 10 and September 15. Finally alerted to his danger, Rosecrans began to concentrate his forces in the valley of West Chickamauga Creek, about twelve miles south of Chattanooga, during the third week of September.²

In spite of his failure to attack the Federals when they were most vulnerable, Bragg still had an opportunity to cut Rosecrans off from Chattanooga. Two main north-south roads lying between Missionary Ridge on the west and Chickamauga Creek on the east were the Federals' only routes back to the city. The more important of the two, the Lafayette Road, ran almost due north for eight miles from its crossing of Chickamauga Creek at Lee and Gordon's Mill before bending to the west to approach the Rossville Gap in Missionary Ridge. The Dry Valley Road to the west meandered along at the foot of spurs of Missionary Ridge and led to McFarland's Gap, approaching within a mile of the Lafayette Road at one point. If Bragg could get his army astride the Lafayette Road, at least, to the north of the Federals, he would force them either to attack him or to retreat back across the Tennessee River. Bragg's attempts to cut off the Union army and turn its left brought on the Battle of Chickamauga.³

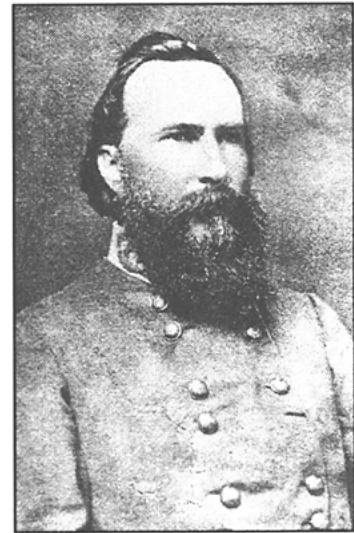


Figure 3. Lt. Gen. James Longstreet

Some knowledge of the chronic command problems in the Confederate Army of Tennessee is critical to an understanding of the events of September 1863. Gen. Bragg had a long-standing habit of blaming his subordinates for the failures that his army experienced as well as a practice of issuing vague and tentative orders. Not surprisingly, these two factors made his corps commanders cautious and generally reluctant to take the initiative or to interpret orders expansively. Dissatisfaction with Bragg and poor communication were endemic among the army's senior officers. Further complicating matters, Bragg often failed to use his cavalry to effectively gather intelligence of the enemy's position and movements. Throughout the Chickamauga campaign, Bragg acted on assumptions about Federal deployments rather than on scouting reports.⁴

THE BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA

The Battle of Chickamauga unfolded in an area of about 20 square miles, from Lee and Gordon's Mill north almost to Rossville along the Lafayette Road and within two miles of the road on either side (Figure 4). East of Lafayette Road, the terrain is fairly level, while to the west, in the direction of the 500-foot-high, northeast to southwest trending Missionary Ridge, hills and ridges begin to appear. In 1863, the entire area was heavily wooded, consisting mostly of hickory and oak with interspersed stands of cedar and pine. In some places, a dense understory of shrubs and vines impeded movement and made for limited visibility. Here and there, a log or clapboard farmhouse and a cleared field interrupted the forest scene. The banks of Chickamauga Creek were steep, allowing troops to cross only at fords or bridges. Important roads for the Confederate advance were the Reed's Bridge Road and Alexander's Bridge Road, which ran northwest from bridge crossings of Chickamauga Creek to the Lafayette Road. Also running east from the Lafayette Road into the woods were the Brotherton Road and the Viniard-Alexander Road. The Jay's Mill Road ran north-south about a mile and one-half east of the Lafayette Road and was an important route for

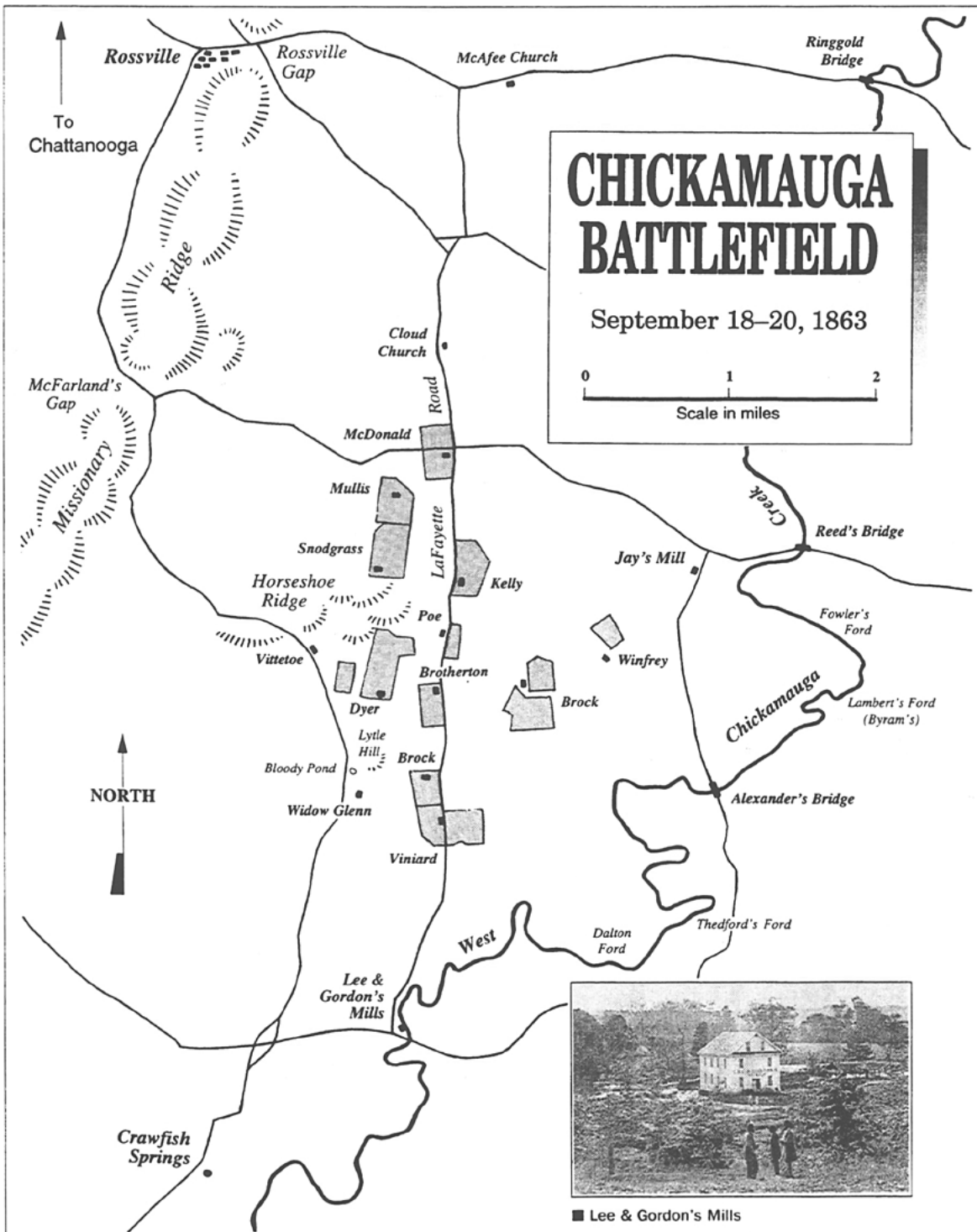


Figure 4. Chickamauga Battlefield, September 18-20, 1863

Confederate couriers and troop movements during the battle. In shifting to the left (north) to counter the Confederate threat, the Federal Army relied on the Lafayette Road, the Dry Valley Road, and the Glenn-Kelly Road, a cut-off route between the two main roads that ran in a basically north-south direction. Near what would become the Union center was an east-west road, the Dyer Road, on which Federal troops moving to and from the front traveled. The few scattered farmhouses and fields, such as the Kelly, Brock, Brotherton, Snodgrass, and Viniard places, were the only landmarks for assembling and rallying units as the battle ebbed and flowed.⁵

Bragg began tentatively moving his forces across Chickamauga Creek on Friday, September 18, at Reed's Bridge, Alexander's Bridge, and Thedford's Ford. The northernmost of the crossings, at Reed's Bridge, was just four miles north of the presumed location of the Federal left at Lee and Gordon's Mill. In fact, small Federal forces were already deployed north of the mill and were covering the two bridge crossings. These troops held up the Confederates until late afternoon. Confederate units continued to cross to the west bank of the creek during the night. Alerted to Bragg's intention to turn his left flank, Rosecrans ordered Gen. Thomas to leapfrog his corps around Crittenden's at Lee and Gordon's Mill, thus extending the Federal left farther north along the Lafayette Road. Thomas's men made a night march along the Dry Valley and Glenn-Kelly Roads and began moving east of the Lafayette Road in the vicinity of the Kelly Farm. Rosecrans moved his headquarters to the Widow Glenn house about one-half mile west of the Lafayette Road. Fighting began around 7 a.m. on the 19th near Jay's Mill (located near the junction of the Brotherton and Jay's Mill Roads) and continued all day as fresh units continued to reach the field. Most of the action occurred east of the Lafayette Road. Because of the poor visibility, general confusion, and piecemeal commitment of troops, the day was marked by a series of intense, but uncoordinated fights at the brigade and division levels. Confederate attacks in the afternoon reached the west side of Lafayette Road, threatening to sever the Federal line, but they were unsupported by reserves and could not be exploited.⁶

While hundreds of wounded men braved a cold night on the battlefield, the Federals prepared for an expected renewal of the Confederate assault the next day. The Union line bulged around the Kelly farm, east of Lafayette Road from Alexander's Bridge Road on the north to a point just north of the Brotherton Road. Hastily built breastworks were thrown up around the Kelly farm salient. South of the Kelly farm, the line lay a bit west of the Lafayette Road. Overall, the battle line was about three miles long. Intermixed units from Thomas's, McCook's, and Crittenden's corps held the left, while McCook's corps was on the right. Major General Gordon Granger's reserve corps was positioned beyond the Union left, near the Rossville Gap in Missionary Ridge, where it could support the Federal left. The Confederate line roughly paralleled the Union position. Stubbornly sticking to his original plan of turning the Federal left, Bragg ordered a dawn attack for the 20th, to begin on the extreme Confederate right and proceed brigade by brigade, *en echelon*, from north to south. Bragg also reorganized his army during the night. Longstreet having just arrived from Virginia with one-half of his detached force, Bragg gave him command of the left wing of the army and placed Lieutenant General Leonidas Polk at the head of the right wing. Because of poor

coordination and follow-up, Bragg's orders for the dawn attack miscarried, and the advance of the Confederate right did not occur until around 10 a.m. After showing initial promise, it resolved into sporadic firefights and stalled.⁷

Meanwhile, on the Confederate left, Longstreet massed 11,000 men just to the east of the Brotherton Farm (Figure 5). Receiving permission from Bragg to attack, Longstreet ordered his men forward a bit after 11 a.m. At almost precisely that moment, Brigadier General Thomas J. Wood removed his division from the Federal line of battle, on orders

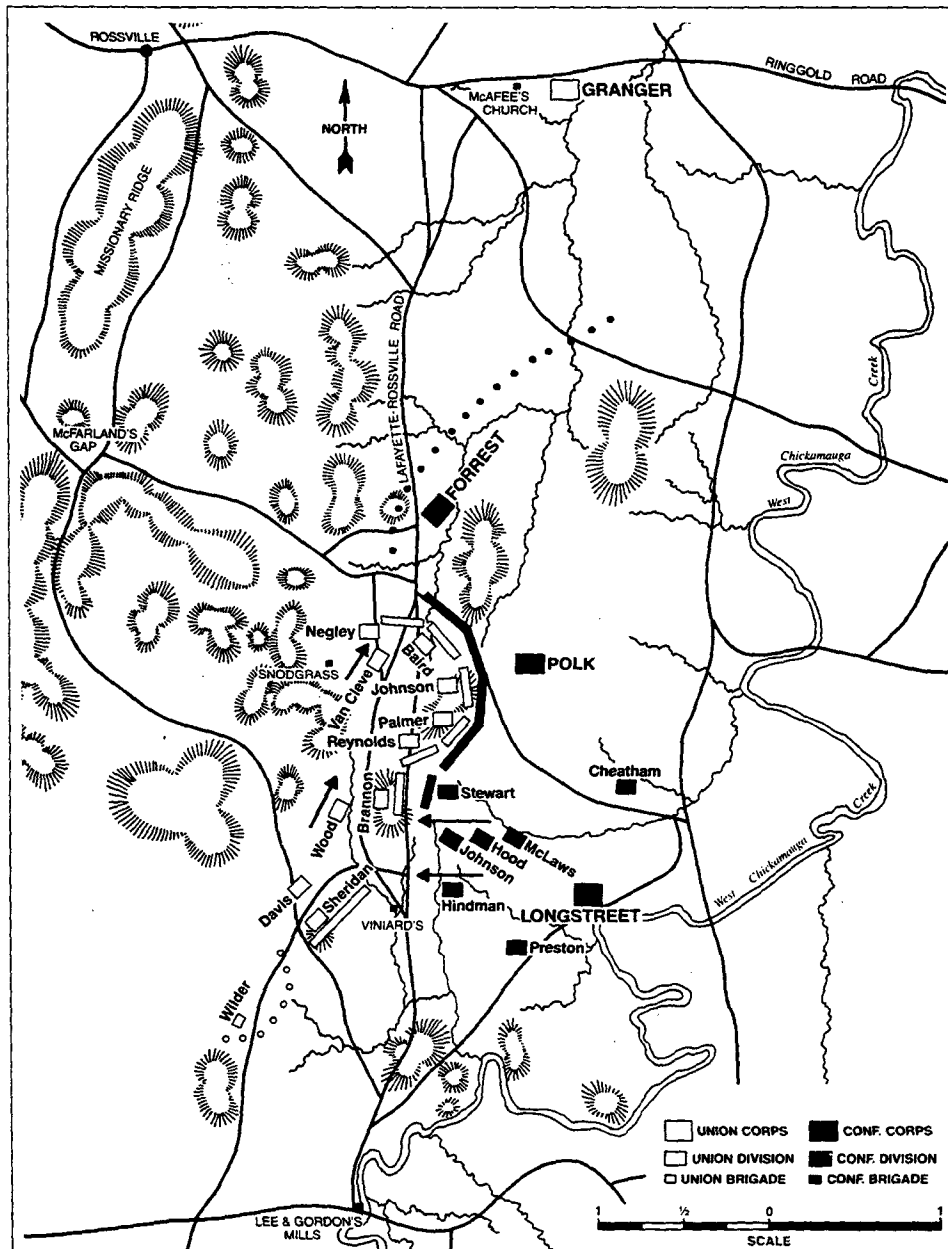


Figure 5. Longstreet's attack at Chickamauga, September 20, 1863

from Rosecrans. Having been told that Brannan's division had vacated the line between Reynolds' division and Wood's, Rosecrans ordered Wood to "close up on Reynolds." When Wood complied, he created a quarter-mile gap where none had actually existed. The Confederate left wing, with Brigadier General Bushrod R. Johnson's division in the van, poured through the gap, overwhelming the Union right. Within an hour or so, one-third of the Federal force, including five of McCook's brigades and two of Crittenden's, were in headlong flight up the Dry Valley Road toward the gaps in Missionary Ridge. The Confederates quickly threatened to overrun Rosecrans's temporary battle headquarters, and the Federal commander joined the flight back to Chattanooga, leaving Gen. Thomas as the senior Union commander on the field.⁸

After breaching the Federal line, Longstreet's men wheeled right (north) toward the remaining portion of the Union Army. Under Thomas's leadership, the Federals improvised a defensive position on Horseshoe Ridge, a group of hills near the Snodgrass house, often referred to collectively as Snodgrass Hill.

Thomas's decisive action saved the Union army from destruction that September afternoon and earned him the sobriquet of "The Rock of Chickamauga (Figure 6)."⁹ Acting on his own initiative, Granger moved his reserves to the sound of the guns, arriving on Snodgrass Hill at a critical moment. Aided by Bragg's refusal to reinforce Longstreet, the Federals were able to hold out on Snodgrass Hill and in their strong position around the Kelly Farm until about 5 p.m., when Thomas circulated the order to retreat. Under the cover of darkness, Thomas's troops withdrew in relatively good order, although most of the men in the last three regiments covering the withdrawal from Snodgrass Hill were captured. Exhausted by their exertions and heavy casualties, the Confederates did not pursue the fleeing Union army, strung out on the roads to Chattanooga that night.¹⁰

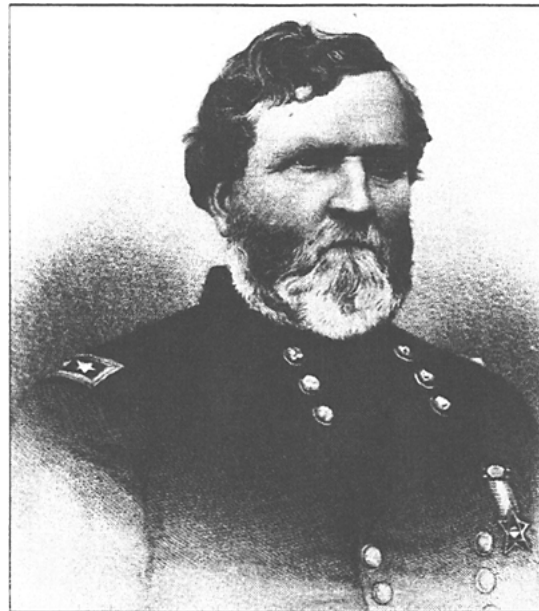


Figure 6. Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas

On the morning of September 21, Brigadier General Nathan Bedford Forrest and others urged Bragg to order a pursuit of the Federals, but Bragg declined. The Confederate commander's hesitation gave Rosecrans the opportunity to safely concentrate his routed army behind the fortifications of Chattanooga, and the Confederates settled down to a siege of the city. In Bragg's defense, his army had suffered between eighteen and twenty thousand casualties. Casualties in the Army of the Cumberland were 16,000, making Chickamauga the costliest battle of the Western Theater, and the second costliest of the entire war.¹¹

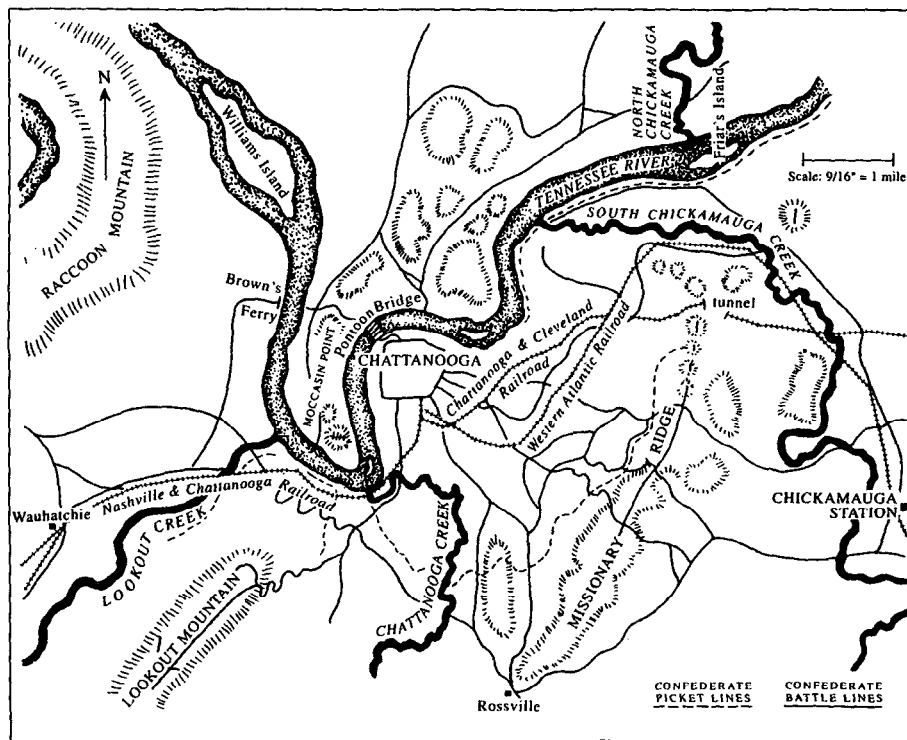


Figure 7. Siege of Chattanooga, October to November 1863

THE SIEGE OF CHATTANOOGA

For a time, the Union situation in Chattanooga was desperate, and the Confederate investment seemed to have a chance of success. Although Bragg lacked sufficient force to completely surround the city, the area's geography made it possible for him to command most of the supply routes into Chattanooga. The city lies within a bend of the Tennessee River on the south bank. Just west of the city, the river makes a loop to the south, forming a peninsula known as Moccasin Point, named for its resemblance to a deerskin moccasin (Figure 7). Across the river, south of Moccasin Point, rises the 1800-foot eminence of Lookout Mountain, in actuality the nose of a long, northeast-to-southwest-running ridge stretching deep into Alabama. East of Chattanooga, another ridge, 500-foot-high Missionary Ridge, extends south from the river for thirty miles. Between Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge lies the valley of Chattanooga Creek, averaging four miles in width. On the north side of the Tennessee River, opposite Chattanooga, a number of rugged ridges extend south from the Cumberland Plateau.

The Confederates' siege lines ran in a broad arc along the western base of Missionary Ridge, across Chattanooga Valley, and onto Lookout Mountain. The railroad and the shortest wagon roads from the Federal supply depot in Bridgeport, Alabama, ran along a narrow ledge between the Tennessee River and the foot of Lookout Mountain. With possession of Lookout Mountain, the Confederates stopped all traffic on the river, the railroad, and the south bank wagon roads. Soon after the siege began, all food and forage for the Federal forces in Chattanooga (35,000 men and thousands of horses and mules) had to

travel a circuitous 60-mile route over often miserable roads north of the river. Even moderate rainfall made these roads all but impassable. Within three weeks, troops in Chattanooga were on half or quarter rations, and horses and mules were dying by the scores daily. The Confederate army was in better shape, but it too was ill-fed and suffered much from disease.¹²

General Rosecrans, although thoroughly demoralized by his defeat at Chickamauga, summoned enough energy to order a comprehensive strengthening of Chattanooga's defenses (Figure 8). The Federals also had the advantage of a much more compact line than the besieging Confederates. Federal guns on Moccasin Bend prevented the Confederates from placing more than a token force in Lookout Valley and on Raccoon Mountain, just to the west of their position on Lookout Mountain. Aware of the strategic importance of Chattanooga and the potentially precarious situation of Gen. Burnside's Army of the Ohio at Knoxville, the Lincoln Administration wasted no time in reinforcing Rosecrans's beleaguered army. Major General Joseph Hooker and 15,000 men of the XI and XII Corps were detached from the Army of the Potomac and ordered west. Of perhaps greater importance, Lincoln also ordered a command shake-up. Major General Ulysses S. Grant was put at the head of the newly created Military Division of the Mississippi, with authority over virtually all Union forces west of the Appalachians. Grant then replaced Rosecrans with Thomas as

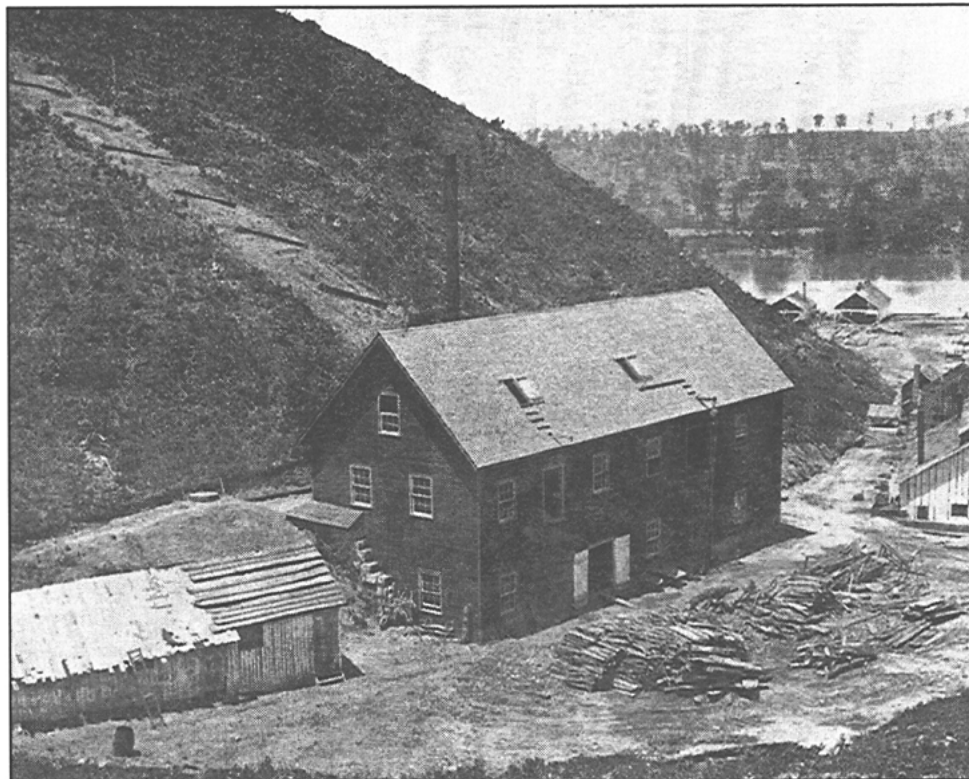


Figure 8. U.S. Army waterworks, Cameron Hill, Chattanooga, c. 1863

commander of the Army of the Cumberland and placed his trusted subordinate William T. Sherman in command of the Army of the Tennessee. Sherman was already on the move from Mississippi to Chattanooga with 17,000 veterans of the Vicksburg campaign.¹³



Figure 9. Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant

THE BATTLES FOR CHATTANOOGA

Grant arrived in Chattanooga on October 23 and moved rapidly to put into operation plans that Rosecrans had considered but had not implemented (Figure 9). Using forces from within the city and elements of Hooker's force moving in from Alabama' the Federals gained control of the Tennessee River at Brown's Ferry, on the left bank west of Moccasin Point, and of Lookout Valley. A Confederate counterattack at Wauhatchie in Lookout Valley in the early morning hours of October 29 failed. With the wagon road (dubbed the "cracker line") on the south side of the Tennessee River through Lookout Valley opened and the river itself cleared from Kelly's Ferry and Brown's Ferry to the supply depots in Alabama' the supply crisis of the Federal army began to ease. Grant now turned his attention to lifting the siege entirely. Distrustful of the easterners in

Hooker's contingent and of the Chickamauga-tainted Army of the Cumberland, Grant intended to give Sherman's force the leading role in the impending battle. Sherman was to march his men from Bridgeport, Alabama, down Lookout Valley and across the Tennessee River to the north bank. Taking advantage of screening ridges, Sherman would move in an arc around Chattanooga to a point opposite the north end of Missionary Ridge. He was then to quickly cross back to the south bank of the river and roll up the Confederate right wing. Simultaneously, Hooker would be attacking the Confederates' left flank and Thomas would be moving against the Confederate center along Missionary Ridge.¹⁴

The energy manifested by the Federal forces was not matched on the Confederate side. Bragg advanced no plan other than to continue to try to starve out his foe, an increasingly dubious proposition given the Federal activity and reinforcements. The victory at Chickamauga had done nothing to improve the command problems in the Army of Tennessee, and a visit by President Jefferson Davis in early October had in at least one respect made matters worse. Following Davis's suggestion, Bragg in early November detached Longstreet with 15,000 troops to attempt to oust Burnside from east Tennessee. The other result of Davis's trip was the replacement of Gen. Polk by Lieutenant General William J. Hardee as a corps commander. By mid-November, following the departure of Longstreet's force, Bragg had fewer than 40,000 men to face the more than 80,000 arrayed against him.¹⁵

Weather-related delays experienced by Sherman's force then resulted in some changes to Grant's grand scheme. On November 23, Grant ordered a probe of the Confederate picket line in Chattanooga Valley, anchored by a 100-foot hill called Orchard Knob. Elements of the & my of the Cumberland easily overran the Confederate positions, giving

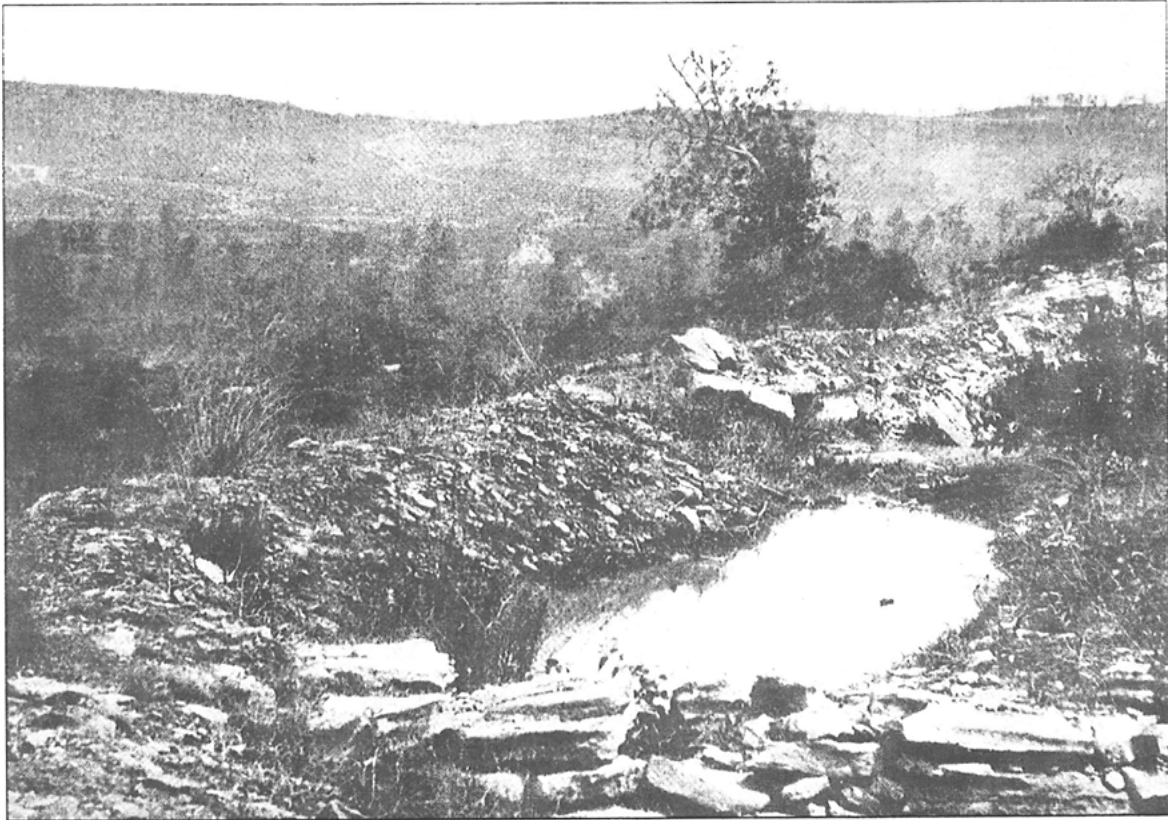


Figure 10. Orchard Knob looking towards Missionary Ridge, 1863, earthworks in foreground

the Federals a better jumping off point for the ultimate effort against Missionary Ridge (Figure 10). Surviving earthworks on Orchard Knob were erected or improved by Federal troops after they took the position. The Federal action led Bragg to conclude that the brunt of the Union attack would be directed at the north end of Missionary Ridge, and he accordingly ordered a reinforcement of that portion of his line. Bragg's two corps were arrayed at this point with Gen. Hardee commanding the right along most of Missionary Ridge and Major General John C. Breckinridge commanding the southern sector of Missionary Ridge and the positions in Chattanooga Valley. The detachment of Longstreet had left only scattered brigades from Hardee's Corps to defend Lookout Mountain. Expecting that Sherman would be ready to attack at the north end of Missionary Ridge on November 24, Grant ordered Hooker to move simultaneously against the Confederate positions around the nose of Lookout Mountain, looking down upon the river and Chattanooga.¹⁶

Sherman's attack was delayed until the afternoon, and when it went forward, he discovered to his embarrassment that what maps had indicated was the northern extremity of Missionary Ridge was in fact a separate hill. Faced with the prospect of crossing a ravine in the waning daylight to get to his actual objective, Sherman chose to dig in for the night. Hooker had better luck on Lookout Mountain. The key to the Confederate position on the mountain was a fairly level bench or ledge on the steep northern face, a few hundred feet below the crest of the ridge. On this bench was the Cravens farm, with its white frame

farmhouse clearly visible to the Federal troops in Chattanooga. Hooker's 10,000 men moved up the west and north faces of the mountain, confronting steep and rugged terrain at every step. Rifle pits with parapets of piled-up limestone used by Confederates of the 29th and 30th Mississippi infantry are still present on Lookout Mountain. For much of the day, dense fog and low clouds shrouded the fighting, giving rise to post-war rhapsodies about the "Battle Above the Clouds." Outnumbered four-to-one, the Confederate defenders were pushed back, and Bragg ordered the complete evacuation of the mountain late in the afternoon. The "Battle" of Lookout Mountain had amounted to little more than a skirmish.¹⁷

The Federals were now ready to make an attempt on the main Confederate position. Moving his headquarters to Orchard Knob where he had a panoramic view of the field, Grant ordered Sherman to renew his attack on the northern end of Missionary Ridge at dawn on the 25th. Hooker was ordered to move across Chattanooga Valley toward Rossville Gap at the south end of Missionary Ridge, where he was to attack the Confederate left (Figure 11). Thomas's men in the center were held in readiness to exploit any breakthrough on either flank. Sherman was late in getting underway, permitting the Confederates to further reinforce their right. As a result, Sherman's men were repeatedly repulsed by Major General Patrick R. Cleburne's division. Hooker, meanwhile, was delayed in crossing the flooded Chattanooga Creek by a burned bridge, and by late afternoon was just getting into position to assault the southern portion of Missionary Ridge. In order to relieve the pressure on Sherman, Grant ordered a limited assault by the Army of the Cumberland against the main Confederate works at Missionary Ridge.¹⁸

Although seemingly formidable, the Confederate position on Missionary Ridge was in fact poorly conceived and executed. The defending force was divided between a line of trenches and rifle pits some few hundred yards in advance of the base of the ridge and positions higher up on the ridge. Relying too much on the natural strength of the position, the Confederates made no serious attempt to entrench their ridgetop line until the night of November 23. Further, for most of their length, the upper entrenchments followed the topographic crest of the ridge, failing to provide the defenders a clear field of fire all the way down the slope and affording the attacking Federals shelter in many spots. The Confederates were spread thin along the ridge, and Bragg had no reserve available to plug any breach in his line. Even with all this, the Federal assault columns would have to cross several hundred yards of open ground to reach even the first Confederate line.¹⁹

Grant's orders to attack and hold the lower trenches only were either not fully understood or not believed by many brigade commanders. Consequently some units believed they had orders to take the ridge itself if they could, while others initially contemplated no advance beyond the first line. In one of the grand tableaux of the war, 20,000 men of the Army of the Cumberland along a two-mile front arrayed themselves in battle formation and moved east across the valley at about 3:45 p.m., in full sight of the commanders of both armies. Taking the lower entrenchments with surprising ease, the Federals found themselves exposed to a galling fire from above. To retreat would have been ignominious for these survivors of the debacle at Chickamauga and to remain where they were was suicidal. Without clear orders, soldiers made their own decisions, and unit after unit moved up the ridge toward the upper entrenchments. Grant for one was incredulous and muttered that

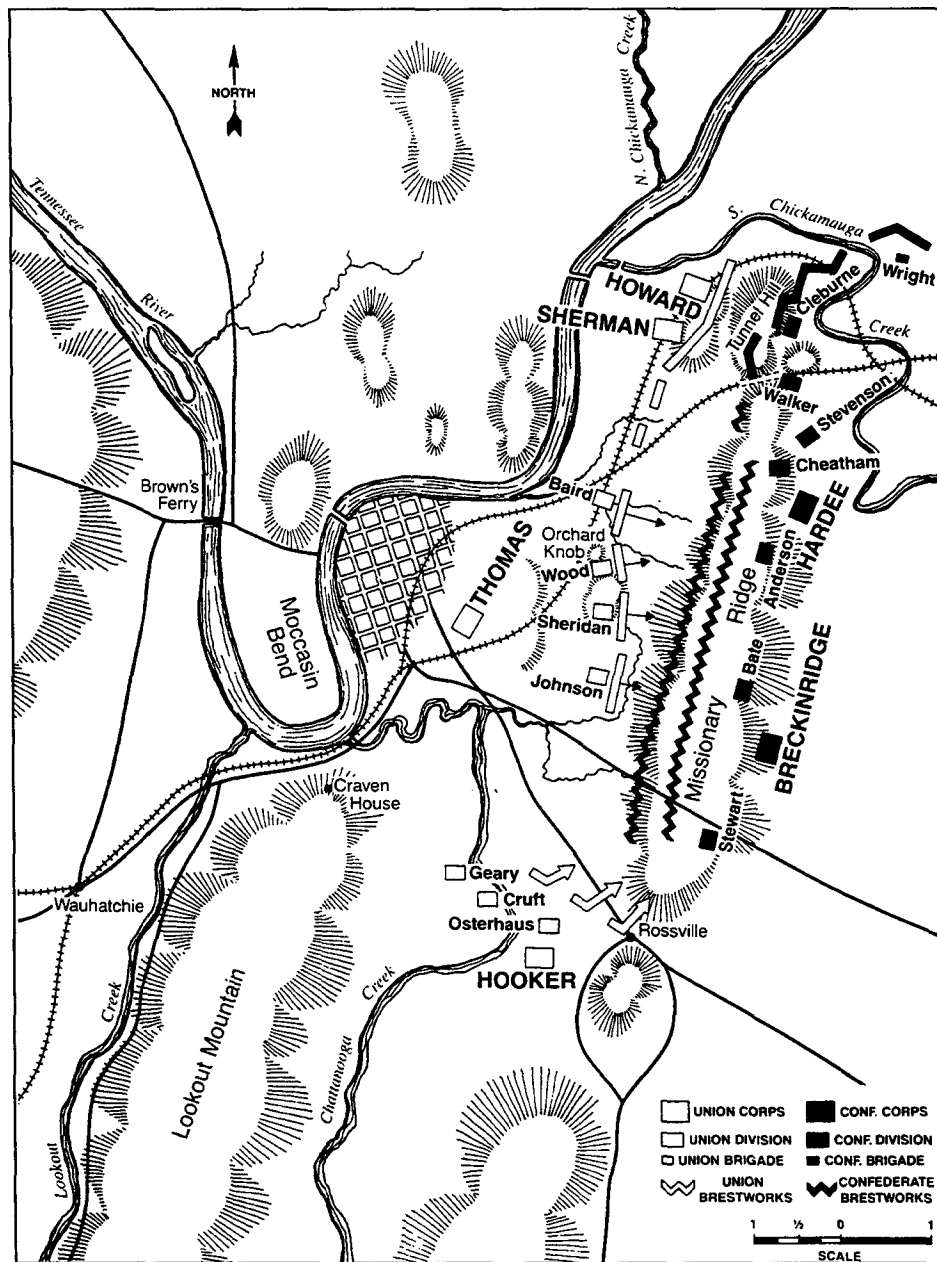


Figure 11. Assault on the Confederate center at Missionary Ridge, November 25., 1863

“somebody will suffer if they don’t stay there.” He need not have worried; within minutes, the center of the Confederate position on Missionary Ridge collapsed. Hooker by this time had gained a lodgement on the southern portion of the ridge, adding to the Confederates’ woes. Only the stubborn resistance of the divisions of Cleburne and Major General Frank Cheatham at the north end of the ridge prevented complete disaster. That evening, the Army

of Tennessee retreated in disarray toward Chickamauga Station, east of Missionary Ridge. Some of Sherman's men dug in at the north end of Missionary Ridge, improving a line of Confederate earthworks already there; a segment of these breastworks survives at the Sherman Reservation.²⁰

In a mirror image of the situation after the Battle of Chickamauga, the caution of the Federal commanders, notably Sherman, prevented a more complete victory for the North following the breakthrough at Missionary Ridge. The Confederates continued to withdraw into north Georgia, where Cleburne held off the Federal pursuit at Ringgold Gap on November 27. Grant then broke off the pursuit, largely in response to the Lincoln Administration's insistent urging that he send reinforcements to Burnside at Knoxville. By the time a force under Sherman reached Knoxville in early December, Burnside was out of danger and Longstreet's men were on their way into upper East Tennessee. Both armies then went into winter quarters.²¹

The effects of the Union victory in the Battles for Chattanooga were far-reaching. The brief resurgence of hope in the South that had followed Chickamauga died away. That costly victory ended up gaining nothing for the Confederacy. Never again would the South mount a serious threat in the West. Chattanooga and Tennessee were lost forever, and the way to Atlanta stood open. For the third time in his tenure as commander of the Army of Tennessee, General Bragg submitted his resignation. This time, Jefferson Davis accepted it and soon placed General Joseph. Johnston in command of the Army of Tennessee. In the spring of 1864, the Atlanta Campaign unfolded, with Johnston and Sherman as the adversaries.

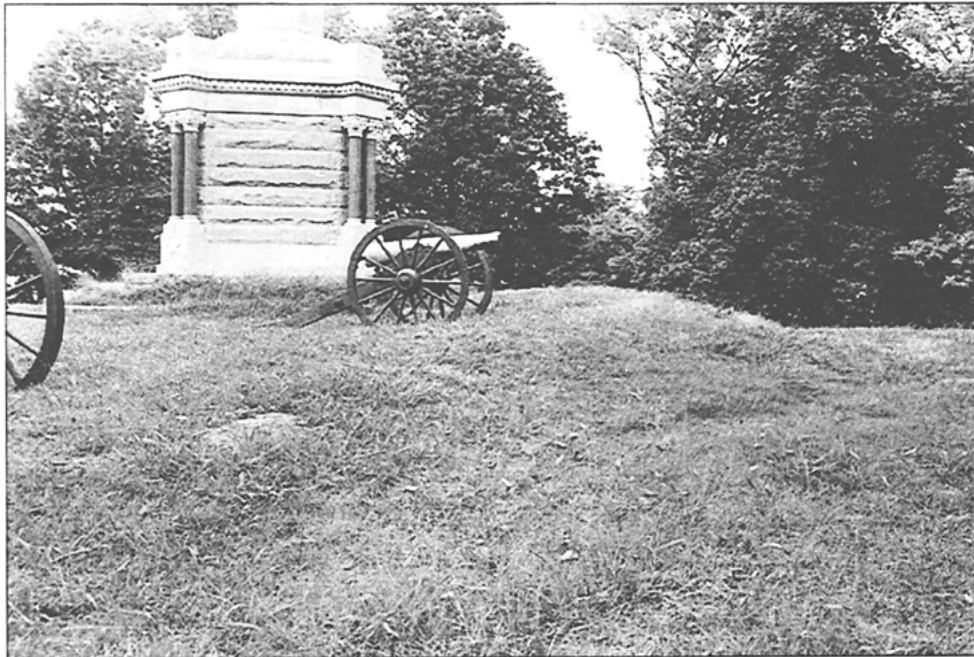


Figure 12. Remains of earthworks at Orchard Knob, 1996

Associated Resources

The park itself, registered as a discontinuous district, is the primary property associated with this context. It was on this turf that major portions of the important battles for control of Chattanooga and north Georgia took place in 1863. At Orchard Knob and the Sherman Reservation, original earthworks from the battle period survive (Figure 12). On Lookout Mountain near the Cravens house are the remains of rifle pits constructed by Confederate defenders. Other individual properties associated with this context are park roads present at the time of the Battle of Chickamauga that were used for troop movements or were important supply routes for the opposing armies. One stone outbuilding at the Cravens homestead on Lookout Mountain-the kitchen/dairy-survived the battle and is the only building within the park that can with certainty be dated to the battle period. The vegetation-covered Cravens spring house probably dates to the last third of the nineteenth century and will be considered under the commemoration/park development context that follows. The significance of other buildings-the Cravens house, and the Kelly, Snodgrass, and Brotherton cabins on the Chickamauga battlefield-that were reconstructed in whole or in part following the battles will also be assessed under that context. The roads of the Chickamauga battlefield are critical to an understanding of why the battle unfolded where and as it did. They constitute a powerful link between the events of the battle and the current state of the battlefield. The Cravens kitchen dependency on Lookout Mountain was present at the time of the battles and helps establish a setting similar to that of the fall of 1863.

Significance

The various individual parcels that make up the National Register historic district-the Chickamauga battlefield, Lookout Mountain battlefield, Signal Point, Orchard Knob, and the various reservations on Missionary Ridge-are all nationally significant under criterion A for the important events that occurred on them. They also possess national significance under criterion B for their associations with the important military leaders on both sides (Grant, Sherman, Rosecrans, Thomas, Bragg, Longstreet) who directed the troops. These are the portions of the battlefields in and around Chattanooga that Congress chose to protect in a national military park. The surviving earthworks at Orchard Knob and Sherman Reservation, the Lookout Mountain rifle pits, and the roads at the Chickamauga battlefield contribute to the national significance of the district. The earthworks were erected by troops for protection in fighting. The Lafayette, Glenn-Kelly, Glenn-Viniard, Brotherton, Alexander Bridge, Viniard-Alexander, Reed's Bridge, Jay's Mill, Vittetoe, Mullis, Dalton Ford, Kelly, Sawmill Fork, Dyer, and Poe Roads all were used for significant troop movements prior to and during the Battle of Chickamauga. The Lafayette Road was the main route between Chattanooga and points to the south; the Battle of Chickamauga occurred largely because of the Confederates' attempt to get astride Lafayette Road and block the Union Army's access to Chattanooga. The roads, earthworks, and rifle pits are significant under National Register Criterion A for their close association with either the Battle of Chickamauga, the largest and bloodiest battle of the Western Theater, or the Battles for Chattanooga.



Figure 13. Cravens house, 1863

The Cravens kitchen/dairy contributes to the national significance of the park under National Register Criterion A because it is the only building known to have survived from the battle period. The Cravens house was wholly rebuilt following the war (Figure 13). The Brotherton, Kelly, and Snodgrass cabins are located on or near the sites of similar cabins known to have existed in 1863, and the Kelly and Snodgrass houses may possess some fabric dating to the battle era. However, all that can be asserted with certainty is that the three cabins maintain an appearance similar to their 1880s appearance, because no earlier photographic or other evidence has been uncovered. The significance of the Cravens, Brotherton, Kelly, and Snodgrass houses will be considered below under the commemorative/park development context.

Integrity

The battlefields of Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge possess integrity as the sites of important Civil War engagements. Although additional layers of commemoration and visitor access have been added, the settings, especially at Chickamauga, are comparable to what they were at the time of the battles. The earthworks at Orchard Knob and the Sherman Reservation are from one to two feet high, having eroded from their original height through natural forces. The limestone rifle pits of the 29th and 30th Mississippi infantry are on Lookout Mountain and extend in a 415-foot-long east-west line along a trail west of the Cravens house. The earthworks are clearly discernable and mark the positions of Union forces engaged in the Battle of Missionary Ridge, while the rifle pits mark the positions of the Confederate defenders of Lookout Mountain. The earthworks and rifle pits exhibit integrity of location, design, materials, feeling, and association. Integrity

of setting is somewhat compromised by the creation of a park-like setting at Orchard Knob and the Sherman Reservation during the period of commemoration. These remnants of the battle action have coexisted with the memorial landscape for almost a century, and the presence of the commemorative layer does not defeat the integrity of the earthworks.

Postwar photographs show that the stone Cravens kitchen building survived the war. In the late 1860s, Robert Cravens rebuilt his house and made repairs to the kitchen dependency. The kitchen was included in a 1956 restoration of the Cravens property under-



Figure 14. Vittetoe Road, 1996

written by the Chattanooga Chapter of the Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities. Restoration work on the kitchen was minor and included removal of a later floor to reveal a historic pine floor.²² The kitchen dependency retains a high degree of integrity, with integrity of materials and workmanship diluted somewhat by the repairs made in the late 1860s and the replacement of some fabric in the 1950s restoration. The core of the kitchen—its stone walls and pattern of window and door openings—is original.

The Chickamauga battlefield roads that are designated as contributing features under this context retain considerable integrity. All follow substantially the same alignment as they did in September 1863. Although all but the Vittetoe Road (Figure 14) have been paved and in some cases regraded in the years following the battle, they are all still two-lane roads, and are little wider than they were in 1863. The surrounding setting of woodlots and mowed fields is relatively unchanged from the battle period. Although improved and somewhat altered to provide visitor access, the surviving network of mostly battle-era roads is of great assistance in helping the visitor to understand the troop movements and the combat that took place on the field of Chickamauga. Although they lack integrity of materials because they have been hard-surfaced since the time of the battle, the roads exhibit integrity of location, feeling, and association and most aspects of integrity of setting and design. Dyer Road, an important route for Union troops on the Chickamauga field, retains its original

alignment except for the portion nearest its junction with the Lafayette Road. The McFarland Gap Road does not retain enough integrity for listing because of a major realignment of the road following the battle. One battle-period road, the Dry Valley Road, has been obliterated.

The roads at Lookout Mountain either postdate the battle period or lack enough integrity to be considered contributing features. Discontinuous segments of two roads built on Lookout Mountain before the Civil War-the Lookout Mountain/Whiteside Turnpike and the Wauhatchie Pike-are visible on park land. The integrity of these segments is compromised by later changes to the road network on the mountain that altered the alignment of the historic roads and left the unconnected portions abandoned and unmaintained. Road segments may have been present along the crest of Missionary Ridge in 1863, but no continuous road existed along the summit until later in the century. Because Crest Road on Missionary Ridge is owned and maintained by the City of Chattanooga, not NPS, its eligibility is not addressed in this study.

Contributing Resources

Orchard Knob Earthworks, constructed 1863

Sherman Reservation Earthworks, constructed 1863

29th and 30th Mississippi Rifle Pits (Lookout Mountain), constructed 1863

Cravens Kitchen/Dairy, constructed c. 1850

Lafayette Road, antebellum

Glenn-Kelly Road, antebellum

Brotherton Road, antebellum

Alexander Bridge Road, antebellum

Viniard-Alexander Road, antebellum

Reed's Bridge Road, antebellum

Jay's Mill Road, antebellum

Vittetoe Road, antebellum

Glenn-Viniard Road, antebellum

Mullis Road, antebellum

Dalton Ford Road, antebellum

Kelly Road, battle-era

Sawmill Fork Road, battle-era

Dyer Road, battle-era

Poe Road, battle-era

Noncontributing Resources

Lookout Mountain/Whiteside Turnpike

Wauhatchie Pike

McFarland Gap Road

NOTES

1. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 669-70; William R. Scaife, *Atlas of Chickamauga and Chattanooga Area Civil War Battles* (Atlanta: William R. Scaife, 1983), 5.
2. McPherson, 671-72; Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee: A Military History* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1941), 248-54.
3. Peter Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound: The Battle of Chickamauga* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 90-91. Cozzens gives by far the best, and most detailed, account of this confusing battle.
4. Thomas L. Connelly, *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 177-200; Horn, 249-50.
5. Cozzens, 90-91; Scaife, 9; Connelly, 193-94.
6. Cozzens, 115-209; Horn, 257-61; Connelly, 197-206.
7. Connelly, 207-22; Scaife, 18-19; Cozzens, 292-98.
8. Cozzens, 359-96; Connelly, 223-24.
9. Thomas is buried at Rosehill Cemetery in Chicago beneath a marker of, what else, solid rock from the battlefield of Chickamauga.
10. McPherson, 274; Horn, 265-67; Scaife, 21.
11. Cozzens, 517-21, 534.
12. Peter Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes: The Battles for Chattanooga* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 8-18.
13. Cozzens, *Shipwreck*, 4-7, 18; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, vol. 3, *The Organized War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), 201-4.
14. Cozzens, *Shipwreck*, 45, 51-100, 112; Nevins, 207.
15. Cozzens, *Shipwreck*, 23-25, 104; McPherson, 676-77.
16. Cozzens, *Shipwreck*, 128-44.
17. Cozzens, *Shipwreck*, 164-92.
18. Cozzens, *Shipwreck* 200-48.
19. Cozzens, *Shipwreck*, 248-58; McPherson, 680-81.
20. Cozzens, *Shipwreck*, 259-346, Grant quote at 282; McPherson, 680.
21. Cozzens, *Shipwreck*, 350-87.
22. J. Eugene Lewis, *Cravens House: Landmark of Lookout Mountain*, reprinted from *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 20 (September 1961), 13-20.