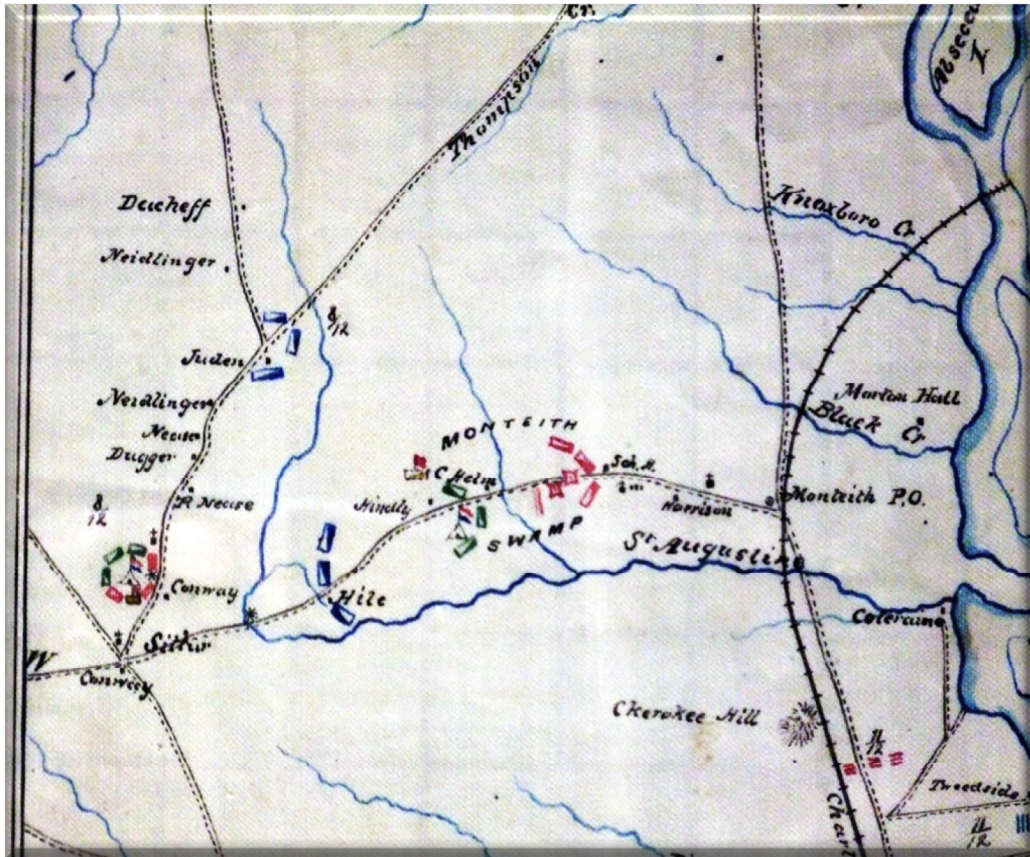


The Battle of Monteith Swamp



The LAMAR Institute, Inc.

Savannah, Georgia

The Battle of Monteith Swamp

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The LAMAR Institute, Inc.
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Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	i
Table of Contents	ii
List of Figures	iv
List of Tables	vii
I. Introduction	1
Environmental Setting	2
Report Organization	5
II. Research Methods	7
Research Design	7
Historical Research	8
Field Survey	10
Laboratory Analysis	16
Reporting and Outreach	18
Curation Statement	19
III. Defining Battlefield Features	21
Landscape Features	21
Water Features	21
Roads	21
Charleston & Savannah Railroad	22
Defensive Features	22
Plantations	23
IV. Union Forces	25
1st Division	26
1st Brigade	26
2nd Brigade	27
3rd Brigade	28
2nd Division	31
1st Brigade	31
2nd Brigade	31
3rd Brigade	32
Seventeenth Corps	33
Other Union Troops	34
V. Confederate Forces	36
27th Battalion Georgia Volunteer Infantry	37
C.W. Howard's Battalion	39
Battalion of Guards	39

	Hardy’s Detachment--North Carolina Battalion	39
	11th Texas Cavalry Regiment	45
	Captain Henry F. Abell’s Florida Light Battery	46
VI.	Union Battle Accounts	47
VII.	Confederate Battle Accounts	68
VIII.	Battle Evidence	73
	Archeological Findings	74
	GPR Survey	74
	Shovel Testing	75
	Metal Detector Survey	77
	Defining Battlefield Features	114
	Associated Historic Properties	117
IX.	Summary	119
	Union Casualties	122
	Confederate Casualties	123
	Military Significance	123
	Other Threatened Civil War Resources in Savannah	125
X.	References Cited	127

List of Figures

1	View from Southeastern Corner of Harrison's Field, Facing North, November 2009.	3
2.	View of Western Study Tracts, Facing North, November 2009.	3
3.	View of Eastern Study Area, Regenerating Forest, March 2010.	3
4.	View of Drier Portions of Monteith Swamp, March 2010	3
5.	More Typical View of Monteith Swamp Showing Wet Conditions, March 2010.	3
6.	Portion of 1911 Soil Map of Chatham County Showing Battlefield Vicinity Encircled (Latimer and Bucher 1911).	4
7.	Portion of Meldrim Topographic Map Showing Battlefield Vicinity Encircled (USGS 1912, Revised 1920).	4
8.	Portion of Meldrim Topographic Map Showing Battlefield Vicinity Encircled (USGS 1950).	4
9.	October 27, 1938 Aerial Photograph of Monteith Swamp Locale (USDA 1938).	5
10.	Study Area Superimposed on 1938 Aerial (USDA 1938).	6
11.	Initial Study Area, 2009.	8
12.	Monteith Swamp Battlefield Survey Coverage.	11
13.	Shovel Test Locations, Harrison's Field.	12
14.	Early Metal Detecting Equipment.	13
15.	Project Volunteer Metal Detectorists Michael Thompson and David Bean Flanking Author at Monteith Swamp.	13
16.	Archeologist Daniel Battle Detects Metal on the Eastern Study Tract.	14
17.	GPR Survey Radargram Plan of Block A, Harrison's Field.	16
18.	View of GPR Data Collection in Progress, Block A, Monteith Swamp.	16
19.	Eastern View of Section of East Salem Baptist Church Cemetery, Showing Early Grave Markers.	23
20.	Major General Henry Warner Slocum, U.S.A.	25
21.	Brigadier General Alpheus Starkey Williams, U.S.A. (Brady 1865).	25
22.	Brigadier General Nathan James Jackson, U.S.A.	25
23.	Lieutenant Colonel James C. Rogers, 123rd New York Infantry (New York State Military Museum 2006).	26
24.	Captain Richard Towle, Company H, 141st New York Infantry (New York State Military Museum 2010).	27
25.	Colonel Ezra Ayers Carman, U.S.A. (Brady ca. 1862).	27
26.	Private John D.M. VanVleet, Company H & A, 107th New York Infantry (New York State Military Museum 2010).	28
27.	Captain Joseph H. Cogswell, Company A, 150th New York Infantry Regiment (New York State Military Museum 2010).	28
28.	Officers of the 82nd Illinois Infantry Regiment, October 1864 (Courtesy: Chicago Historical Society).	29
29.	Private Anton Buechle, Company E, 82nd Illinois Infantry, Killed on March 25, 1865 (Courtesy of Gregory Schuller).	30
30.	Officers of the 143rd New York Infantry (New York State Military Museum 2010).	31
31.	Photograph of Captain Knap's Independent Battery E, Pennsylvania Light Artillery at Antietam, 1862 (Knap's Independent Battery 'E' 2011).	33
32.	Major General Gustavus Woodson Smith, C.S.A.	36

33.	Colonel Washington M. Hardy, 1865 (Cowan Auctions 2008)	40
34.	Lieutenant Colonel John C. Vanhook, Company A, 50th Regiment North Carolina Troops.	43
35.	1st Lieutenant William A. Blalock, Company A, 50th Regiment North Carolina Troops.	44
36.	1st Lieutenant Jesse Thompson Ellington, Company C., 50th Regiment, North Carolina Troops.	44
37.	2nd Lieutenant Joseph Crittenden Ellington, Company C, 50th Regiment North Carolina Troops.	44
38.	Map of Movements of the Twentieth Corps, December 8-11, 1864 (Asmussen 1864).	52
39.	Figure 39. Detail of Movements of the Twentieth Corps, December 8-11, 1864, Highlighting Monteith Swamp (Asmussen 1864).	53
40.	Figure 40. Edited Version of Troop Positions at Monteith Swamp, as Published in the Civil War Atlas (Cowle 1893).	53
41.	Sheehy's Interpretation of the Battle of Monteith Swamp (Sheehy 2005).	73
42.	Plan Views at Increasing Depths of GPR Block A, Time Slices 3-11, Harrison's Field.	75
43.	Isometric View of GPR Block A, Harrison's Field.	76
44.	GPR Plan Overlay View of Block A, Harrison's Field (North is up).	76
45.	Lead Plug, Three Views, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	78
46.	Lead and Iron Canister Shot, Monteith Swamp Battlefield Survey.	79
47.	Scatterplot by Weight (g) of Iron Canister Shot, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	80
48.	Artillery Ordnance from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).	80
49.	Artillery Ordnance from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).	81
50.	Distribution of Iron Canister Shot (shown as red dots) in Harrison's Field.	82
51.	Assorted Metal Items from the Survey.	83
52.	Examples of Civil War Bullets Recovered by the Monteith Swamp Battlefield Survey.	85
53.	Distribution Map of All Bullets, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	88
54.	Distribution Map of Union Bullets, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	89
55.	Distribution Map of Confederate Bullets, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	90
56.	Distribution Map of Round Lead Balls, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	91
57.	Distribution of Small Lead Shot, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	92
58.	Distribution Map of Percussion Caps, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	93
59.	French Pin-fire 16 Gauge Shell Casing from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).	94
60.	Examples of Various Bullets from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).	94
61.	Distribution Map of Gun Hardware, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	96
62.	Springfield Butt Plate, Monteith Swamp.	97
63.	Springfield Musket Find (iron gun fragments marked by pin flags), Facing Southwest, Monteith Swamp.	97
64.	Model 1861 Springfield Musket from Monteith Swamp After Conservation.	98
65.	Plan of Springfield Musket Find, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	98
66.	Parts Diagram for the 1861 Springfield Musket (The Winchester Sutlers 2010).	99
67.	Sharps Rifle from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).	99
68.	Pistol from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).	100
69.	Distribution of Edged-blades, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	101
70.	Examples of Metal Buttons from the Survey.	103
71.	Distribution of Metal Buttons, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	105
72.	Union Cartridge Box Plates Attributed to Monteith Swamp in Dotson Collection.	106
73.	Epaulettes, Buckles, Shoe Tap and Other Metal Items from Monteith Swamp in the Dotson Collection.	106

74.	Buttons from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).	107
75.	Distribution of Lead Debris, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	108
76.	Distribution of Animal Tack, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	109
77.	Distribution of Cast Iron Cookware Sherds, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	110
78.	Post-Civil War Railroad Spike with Wooden Cross-tie Remnants, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	111
79.	Distribution of Map of Railroad Spikes, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	112
80.	Distribution Map of Nails and Spikes, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	113
81.	Lead Seals from Harrison's Field, Monteith Swamp.	114
82.	View of Berm (possible rice dike) in Monteith Swamp.	118
83.	Identified Battle Events at Monteith Swamp.	121
84.	Schematic Diagram of the Battle of Monteith Swamp.	122
85.	Landowner Jerry Dotson Interviewed by Videographer Michael Jordan, 2011.	126

List of Tables

1.	Survey Coverage, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	15
2.	Commissioned Officers in the 27th Battalion Georgia Volunteer Infantry, 1864.	38
3.	Bullet Attributes, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.	86

I. Introduction

In 2010, the LAMAR Institute was awarded a research grant by the American Battlefield Protection Program of the National Park Service to study the battle of Monteith Swamp in Chatham and Effingham counties, Georgia. This report details the background, methods and findings of this study.

This investigation addresses the topic of the western defense of Savannah, Georgia by the Confederate States of America (C.S.A.) from the advance of the United States Army in December 1864. Lieutenant Colonel Charles Colcock Jones, Jr., C.S.A., summed up the situation for the Confederacy in Savannah, Georgia at that time:

The united and strenuous efforts of Generals Wheeler, Cobb, Smith and McLaws, aided by Generals Beauregard and Hardee, were powerless to arrest the devastating march of General Sherman's columns through the heart of Georgia; and the Federal army, nearly sixty thousand strong, exclusive of an ample complement of field artillery and cavalry, on the 10th of December 1864, came into position before the Confederate works recently erected to cover the land approaches to the city of Savannah (Jones 1889:63).

Jones described the state of defenses surrounding the city:

Prior to the development of General Sherman's plans, the likelihood of an attack from the interior seemed so remote that little attention had been bestowed upon any defense in that quarter. So soon, however, as it became apparent that the Federal army was seeking communication with the coast by way of Savannah every available resource was utilized in occluding the western approaches to the city.

An advanced line was selected by the Confederate engineers, which contemplated the retention of such portions of the Charleston and Savannah railroad as lay

within the limits of Georgia, and the protection of its bridge across the Savannah river. Extending southwardly, and having Monteith swamp in its front, its left was guarded by the Great Ogeechee swamp.

Detached field works were quickly prepared at important points, and some light artillery and infantry hastened into position. The principal roads leading to Savannah, and the main avenues of approach were blocked by felling timber across them, and it was hoped that these obstructions would induce the Federal general to turn aside and seek some objective on the coast other than Savannah.

The paucity of the Confederate forces, the overwhelming strength of the enemy, the length and insecurity of the line, later and more careful surveys proving localities to be practicable which were deemed impassable, the Federal ability by means of well appointed pioneer corps in a short time to remove all hindrances to an advance, and the facility with which detached earthworks, constituting the principal defenses, could be flanked, induced the evacuation of this line shortly after a serious demonstration was made against it by the enemy (Jones 1889:68).

On the day prior to the arrival of the Union army on the outskirts of Savannah, Georgia, approximately 12,000 U.S. Army troops under command of Major General William Tecumseh Sherman met a tiny contingent of Confederates, between 400-800 men backed up by 1-2 howitzers, at a place then known by several names, including Monteith Swamp, Turkey Roost Swamp, and Harrison's Field. In a skirmish that lasted no more than five hours, the Federal troops took the field and routed the Confederates, who fell back to join their comrades at Monteith Station. This investigation examines the history and battlefield archaeology of the military engagement at Monteith Swamp.

This project was funded by the American Battlefield Protection Program of the United States Department of Interior, National Park

Service through a 2010 Research Grant. Additional funding came from the LAMAR Institute, Inc., Savannah, Georgia. The project funds were supplemented by volunteer labor and donated resources by members of the project team and interested supporters.

General Sherman's goal in his March to the Sea campaign, in addition to his desire to, "make Georgia howl", was to reach the Atlantic Ocean, where his men could be resupplied by the U.S. Navy. Major General Pierre Gustave Toutant (P.T.G.) Beauregard's goal for the Confederate forces in the Savannah theatre was to preserve Major General William Hardee's army (Roman 1884:313). The defense of Savannah was a secondary concern and on the morning of December 9, General Beauregard directed Hardee to evacuate his men, if Savannah could not be defended without keeping the troops from capture. Minutes after penning those orders, General Beauregard caught the Charleston and Western railroad and escaped the doomed city of Savannah.

The two tiny Confederate redoubts at Monteith Swamp were the first dominoes to fall in the action at Savannah. The next major domino was the capture of Fort McAllister by Sherman's Right Wing on the afternoon of December 13. Major General Sherman personally observed that action from a nearby perch, for he knew that with the capture of McAllister, the taking of Savannah was a foregone conclusion. It took another seven days for General Hardee to prepare for the evacuation and in that interim, combat took place along the battle lines several miles west of Savannah. In the dark hours of December 20, General Hardee's army quietly crossed the Savannah River into South Carolina. The evacuation was effected without significant obstruction by the Federal troops. The Confederate exit

handed control of Savannah to the U.S. without significant bloodshed or property destruction.

This project explores the falling of the first domino in the military match at Savannah in December 1864. As battles go, the casualties at Monteith Swamp were quite few, but this event was significant as a milestone for many of those involved in the long march from Atlanta that began on November 15. For the Confederates, it was a temporary stalling action that prolonged the inevitable.

ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

The Monteith Swamp Battlefield is located within and on the margins of Monteith Swamp in Chatham and Effingham counties, Georgia. This portion of Georgia's interior coastal plain contains remnant Pleistocene dune formations that are manifested today by low ridges and swales (Wharton 1978; Hodler and Schretter 1986). Drainage in this area is by small streams and swamps.

Representative views of the project area are shown in Figures 1-5. Areas include cultivated field (in pasture), wooded swamp, wooded uplands, roads, and urbanized and developed areas. Harrison's Field covers approximately 20 acres of the study area. The survey areas included property owned by A.J. Dotson (52.44 acres in the core area of the battlefield), A.J. Dotson, Jr. (11.5 acres on the north side of Monteith Swamp), the Come Along Hunt Club (109.5 acres in Effingham and Chatham counties, east of Hodgeville Road), Herman C. Woods (16.85 acres on the west side of Monteith Swamp) and the Church of the Living Faith (34.46 acres on the south side of Monteith Swamp and extending into the swamp).



Figure 1. View from Southeastern Corner of Harrison's Field, Facing North, November 2009.



Figure 4. View of Drier Portions of Monteith Swamp, March 2010.



Figure 2. View of Western Study Tracts, Facing North, November 2009.



Figure 5. More Typical View of Monteith Swamp Showing Wet Conditions, March 2010.



Figure 3. View of Eastern Study Area, Regenerating Forest, March 2010.

Monteith Swamp is one of the larger swamps in the inter-riverine drainage system between the Ogeechee and Savannah Rivers. Water from Monteith Swamp feeds Black Creek. It flows northeast, east and southeasterly into the Savannah River. The swamps flanking St. Augustine Creek form the southern boundary of the battlefield study area. St. Augustine Creek flows northeast and then southeastwardly into the Savannah River. Elevations in the study area range from 10-30 feet (3-9 m) above mean sea level (Wilkes et al. 1974:69, Figure 15).

At the time of the Civil War, the stream drainage in this region of Georgia was altered extensively for a system of rice dikes. Vestiges of these dikes are visible on aerial photographs, particularly in the area of St. Augustine Creek, immediately south of the battlefield. Remnants of rice dikes also are present in Monteith Swamp, but these are less evident from aerial imagery. Soils in the study area are sand, sandy loam, sandy clay loam, and swamp (Latimer and Bucher 1911; NRCS 2012; Wilkes et al. 1974; Sowell 2012).

Aerial photographs of the study area, taken on October 27, 1938, offer additional insight into the earlier environmental conditions and land use. The rice dike system along St. Augustine Creek, south of the battlefield, is relatively well defined by vegetation patterns. Harrison's Field is larger on its east and west margins than its current size. A large tract of additional cultivated land is indicated immediately northwest and another large tract of pasture or cultivated field is shown further north of Harrison's Field. Far fewer dwellings are located in the general vicinity than at present. Forests, harvested forests and pastures are located north of Harrison's Field. Today these two areas contained numerous residences. The Monteith Road follows the approximate route of Georgia Highway 30. Hodgeville and Keller roads also are shown in their current positions. A large area of cultivated land is located just west and northwest of the battlefield. That area today is almost entirely high-density residential housing. The area south of St. Augustine Creek is shown as woodlands in 1938 and that area today is largely developed for low-density residential, golf course, and light industrial use.

Early 20th century maps and aerial photographs of the study vicinity provide

information on the topography, road networks, and communities (Figures 6-9).



Figure 6. Portion of 1911 Soil Map of Chatham County Showing Battlefield Vicinity Encircled (Latimer and Bucher 1911).

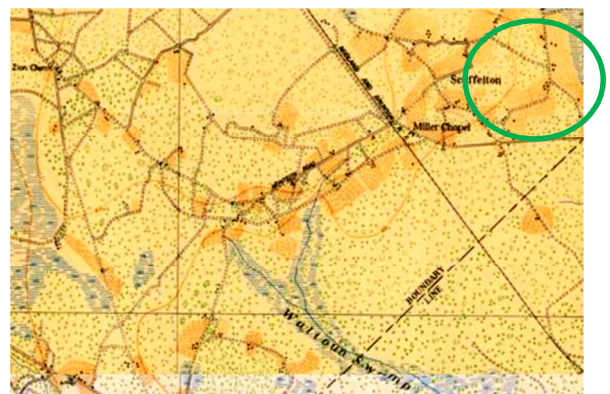


Figure 7. Portion of Meldrim Topographic Map Showing Battlefield Vicinity Encircled (USGS 1912, Revised 1920).

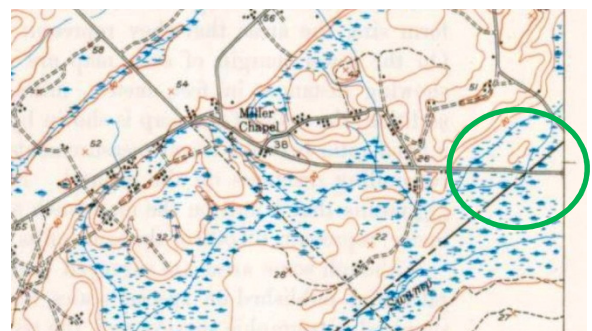


Figure 8. Portion of Meldrim Topographic Map Showing Battlefield Vicinity Encircled (USGS 1950).

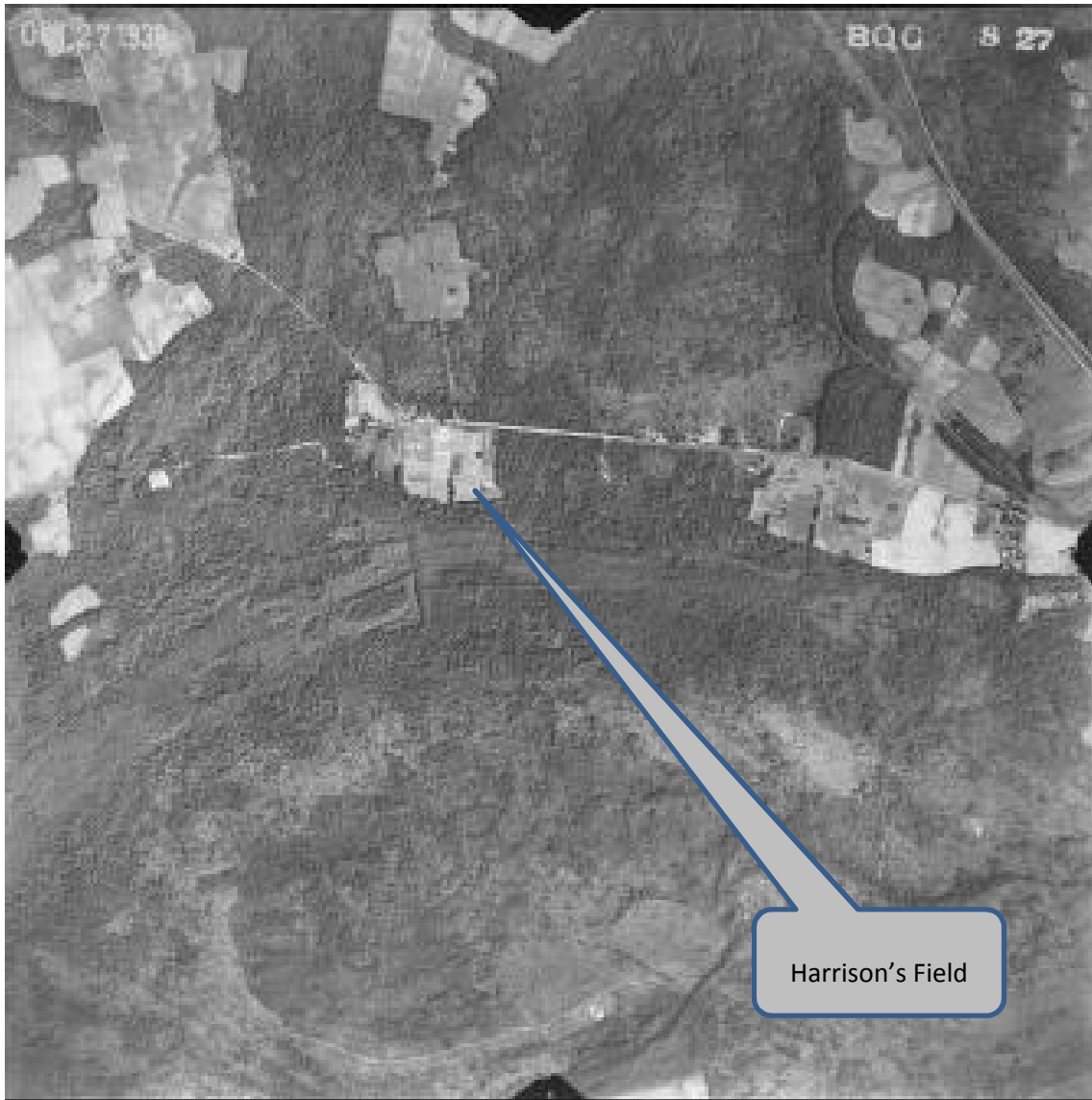


Figure 9. October 27, 1938 Aerial Photograph of Monteith Swamp Locale (USDA 1938).

REPORT ORGANIZATION

Chapter 2 details the methods employed in the research project, including the historical research, fieldwork, laboratory analysis, reporting and public outreach efforts, and curation of collections. Chapter 3 contains a discussion of the defining battlefield

features that were expected and investigated in the project study area. Chapter 4 presents a summary of the United States Army order of battle at Monteith Swamp and Chapter 5 presents the same for the Confederate States Army. Chapter 6 contains an overview of surviving battle accounts from the Union perspective and Chapter 7 presents the same from the Confederates' view. Sadly, the

former greatly outnumber the latter. Chapter 8 includes an analysis of the battle and a description of the engagement. Chapter 9 contains a summary of the battle and a discussion of its historic preservation prospects. The report is followed by a complete bibliography of references cited or consulted for the project. The report includes Appendix I, which contains an

artifact summary table for the survey project, and Appendix II, which is a digital photograph library of the survey artifacts (as well as objects from the Dotson collection). The report also is supplemented by a short video documentary by Michael Jordan and Cosmos Mariner Productions, entitled, *The Battle of Monteith Swamp (December 9, 1864)* (Jordan 2011).

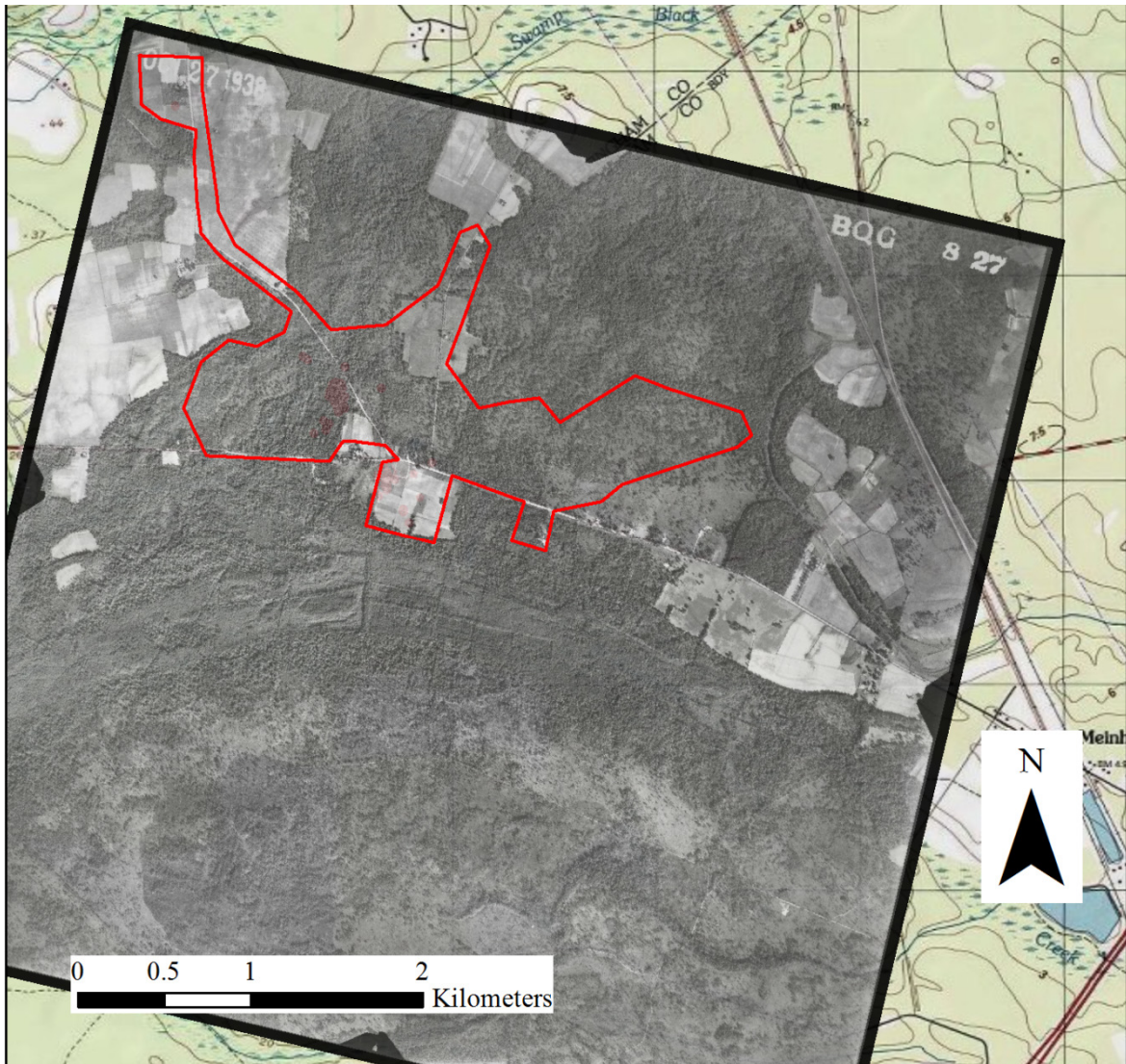


Figure 10. Study Area Superimposed on 1938 Aerial (USDA 1938).

II. Research Methods

RESEARCH DESIGN

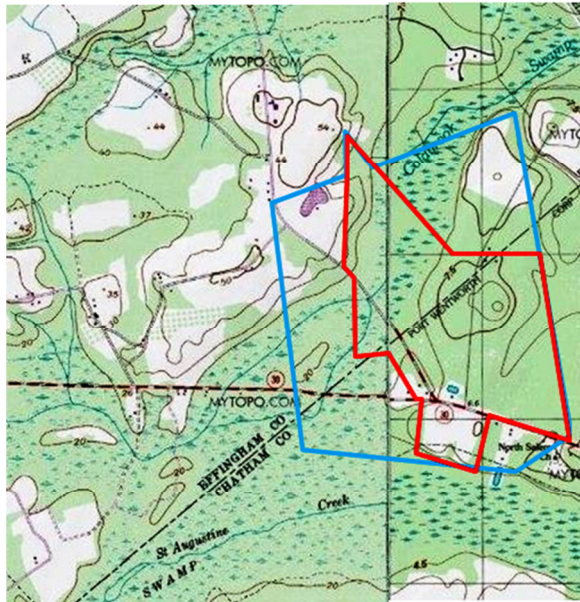
Savannah, Georgia was to be Major General William T. Sherman's Christmas gift to President Lincoln in 1864 but before that was accomplished Sherman's army faced a gauntlet of desperate Confederates on Savannah's western perimeter. The western defenses of Savannah were located several miles from town and they stretched from the Savannah River to the Ogeechee River. These defenses were rapidly constructed when the Confederates realized that Savannah was Sherman's ultimate target. The study focused on one area of engagement west of Savannah at Monteith Swamp, where an important battle took place on December 9, 1864. About 350 Confederate infantry and artillerymen were positioned along the road south of the swamp with orders to repulse the advancing Union forces. They faced about 12,000 men of the Twentieth Corps. Vastly outnumbered the Confederates held their position for about four hours before being forced to withdraw. This event was the first serious test of Savannah's western defenses and for the next 10 days, the two armies faced off at various points along this defensive line. On the evening of December 20, the Confederate army quietly evacuated Savannah and retreated to South Carolina. The evacuation saved downtown Savannah from any bombardment and massive destruction. The failure of the western defenses effectively signaled the end of the Confederacy in Georgia.

Not one of the military engagements along this defensive line has been preserved as parklands, nor has this story of the American Civil War been adequately interpreted to the public. The urgent need for historic

preservation of the resources associated with Savannah's defenses was recognized by the Civil War Preservation Trust in 2008, when these were included on its most endangered battlefield list. Vestiges of the Monteith Swamp battlefield are extant and visible (Figure 11). Local landowners have gathered many Civil War relics from the area. The landscape at Monteith Swamp is in relatively good shape, compared to other segments of the western defenses, but this is rapidly changing. Modern land use threatens the battlefield as Savannah and the region experience major growth. Land that was formerly timberland and agricultural land is being quickly transformed into housing subdivisions and commercial and industrial sites. By 2008, the Civil War Preservation Trust and the Georgia Battlefields Association both recognized Savannah's western defenses among the most threatened Civil War battlefields in America.

The project strategy was to document events at Monteith Swamp with a multi-disciplinary, "battlefield archeology" approach. This included conducting archeological, historical, geographical, biographical, and genealogical research to record the story of this battle. The LAMAR Institute research team employed archeological techniques to search the battlefield landscape to locate, delineate, and establish baseline information on the battlefield site, associated features and its archeological remains. The archeological data were merged with the other lines of evidence to reconstruct battle events. The project results have been (and will continue to be) disseminated to the general public through a variety of venues, including public lectures and an exhibit in conjunction with the 2011 Georgia Archaeology Month. The final redacted report is available for free public download via The LAMAR Institute's website (<http://thelamarinstitute.org>). The research strategy is consistent with U.S.

Secretary of Interior and State of Georgia standards for similar studies.



Project Area, Monteith Swamp (Outlined in Blue) and Study Tracts (Outlined in Red).

Figure 11. Initial Study Area, 2009.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Historical research for this project was conducted at numerous research facilities, the author's personal library, and in online resources via the internet. The present LAMAR Institute study is solidly founded on principles of battlefield archaeology and Civil War archaeology (Geier and Winter 1994; Geier and Potter 2000; Geier et al. 2006; Scott and Fox 1987; Lowe 2000; NPS 1992; ABPP 2008, 2010).

Official records contain most of the information that was learned about the battle of Monteith Swamp (Davis et al. 1893; Sherman 1866; United States Congress Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War 1866; United States House of Representatives 1895; United States War Department 1893, 1900; Ehistory.com 2011; Georgia Adjutant-General's Office 1865; Beers 1986).

Battlefield maps are a vital source of information and several published and unpublished sources were consulted in this study (Asmussen 1864; Cowles 1895; Poe ca. 1864; Suter 1865; NARA 1986; McElfresh 1999; Library of Congress, Manuscript Division 2010a-b). Map research was conducted at the Cartographic Unit, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland; Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Chatham County Engineering Department, Savannah, Georgia; Effingham County Probate Court, Springfield, Georgia; Georgia Department of Archives, Morrow, Georgia; Georgia Historical Society, Savannah; North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; City of Savannah Research Library and Municipal Archives, Savannah; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia; and the University of Georgia Libraries, Athens. Internet research also provided numerous historical maps pertinent to the study.

Later maps also offer important geographical clues about the battle. These include highway maps, soil maps, and topographic maps of the area (Georgia State Highway Board 1940a-b, 1953a-b; Latimer and Bucher 1911; U.S. Geological Survey 1920, 1950). Other maps from Savannah and surrounding areas provided variable information about the battlefield setting (National Society Colonial Dames of America in the State of Georgia 1942).

The Civil War was documented by photography and many pertinent photographs were examined for the present study. Unfortunately, none show the actual battlefield, but many depict soldiers and their gear from the time of Sherman's Georgia campaigns (Brady 1862, 1863, 1865; Miller 1911).

Newspapers throughout the eastern seaboard followed closely the movement of General Sherman and his troops. The link with the outside world grew dimmer the further his army marched southward from Atlanta. No specific newspaper accounts of the Monteith Swamp battle were located, although many mention events before and after the battle. Newspaper illustrators also provided important information about the campaign, although none were found for the specific project area (*Albany Evening News* 1864; *New York Times* 1864).

Regimental histories and primary accounts by soldiers in the conflict proved invaluable in the present research for identifying participants in the combat at Monteith Swamp (Anders 1968; Aten 1901; Bates 1871, 1876; Benjaminson 2001; Blair and Wiley 1995; Boyle 1905; Bradley 1865; Bragg 2007; Bryan 1891; Clark 1901; Cook and Benton 1907; Crute 1987; Drake 1878; Dunkelman and Winey 1981; Dyer 1908; Estes 1912; Foster 1868; Fox 1974; Gibson 2010; Illionis Adjutant General 1866; McAdams 1884; McBride 1900; Maczuga 2010; Manarin 1988; Moore 1882; Ohio Roster Commission 1887; Phisterer 1912; Rusk and Chapman 1886; Scaife and Bragg 2004; SeCheverell 1883; Sheldon 1865; Sifakis 2005, 2007a-c, 2009a-b; Spencer 1864; Stevens 2004; The Union Army 1908). Dyer's compendium also provided important information about regiments that participated in the engagement at Monteith Swamp (Dyer 1908). The National Park Service's "Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System" provided summaries on regiments, as well as limited biographical information on soldiers in the engagement (NPS 2010).

The most focused historical treatment of the battle at Monteith Swamp is summarized by Sheehy (2005). His persistence in bringing Civil War Savannah to the public's attention is admirable. Sheehy's ongoing scholarship

on the scholarship on the subject fills a void in the Nation's recognition of Savannah's role in the American Civil War (Sheehy 2011; Sheehy and Wallace 2011). The project also benefitted from unpublished field research by archeologist Joel C. Jones and Southeastern Archeological Services, Inc., Athens, Georgia. Jones conducted extensive reconnaissance survey along the western defenses of Savannah for the Georgia Department of Transportation in advance of borrow pit activity. In some areas, Sheehy and Jones mapped some of the same Civil War resources, but their datasets each include unique military features. Jones' reconnaissance did not extend far enough to the east to include the Monteith Swamp vicinity. Unpublished Civil War research on Savannah's military sites gathered by the LAMAR Institute and based on field reconnaissance and archival research (ca. 1986-2009), was used in this study.

General histories of the Civil War were consulted for information about the action at Monteith Swamp (Drake 1878; Glazier 1869; Johnson and Buell 1888; Jones 2002; Moore 1866; Sparks 1883; Heidler et al. 2002). Confederate perspectives on the events in Savannah in December 1864 provide some insight into the Monteith Swamp battle, most notably the writings of Charles C. Jones, Jr. (Dodson 1899; Evans 1899; Jones 1874, 1889, 1890; Jones 1909; Roman 1884). General histories of coastal Georgia also provided important background information about the battlefield (Candler and Evans 1972; Granger 1947; Harden 1969; Knight 1917; Walter Charlton Hartridge, Jr. collection various dates; Brown and Elwell 2010). Several authors have written about General Sherman's advance, capture and occupation of Savannah (Bailey 2003; Bowman and Irwin 1865; Brown 2004; Conyngham 1865; Glatthaar 1985; King 2009; Miles 1989;

Smith 1997; Slocum 1913; Stone 2008; Trudeau 2009).

One important grammatical note deserves mention, which pertains to the conventions in spelling of the word, “Monteith”. The name appears in historical documents from the Civil War period in two forms, “Monteith” and Montieth”. The namesake is likely derived from Menteith, which is a place in Perthshire, Scotland. Various authors chose different spellings, so it is difficult to tell which is more appropriate in regards to the battlefield. Major General Henry W. Slocum chose the “ie” spelling, as did Frederick Dyer. The Official Records of the Civil War use the “ei” spelling. More recently, historians Sheehy (2005) chose the “ei” spelling. For the present work, the spelling “Monteith” is the preferred, except in specific quotations where the “Montieth” spelling was used.

FIELD SURVEY

Fieldwork began on September 24, 2010 and was completed on January 21, 2011. Field explorations began in earnest with a general reconnaissance over the study area (Figure 12). This included tours with landowner Jerry Dotson and battle historian Barry Sheehy in September 2010. Reconnaissance continued throughout the field project as new areas were made available for survey. Portions of the study area were covered by reconnaissance survey, which included visual inspection for any signs of earthworks or trenches and “spot-checking” selected areas with the metal detector. This level of effort was necessary to obtain maximum information over large portions of the study area that otherwise could not be covered by more intensive survey due to limited project resources.

The survey employed a field crew with a wide variety of skill sets, experience and technical expertise. Volunteer members of the field crew were directly supervised by professional archaeologists. The diverse environments in the battlefield also presented challenges for maintaining a consistent research focus. Despite these issues, the survey accomplished its intended goal-to locate and define key areas of the battlefield

Topographic mapping was done at Harrison’s Field. This was accomplished using a Sokkia total station and TDS Recon data collector. Site datum points were established at several locations on the edge of the field. These data were located using Garmin GPS receivers. The GPS data sets and the TDS Recon data sets were later merged in the laboratory. Geographic coordinates were recorded as UTM’s (Zone 17, NAD 27) during the fieldwork. The site grid numbers in Harrison’s Field were an abbreviated version of the UTM coordinate comprised of the last four digits of the easting and northing coordinates (Example, UTM coordinate 3561880 Northing, 476660 Easting was shortened to 1880 North, 6660 East).

The survey team excavated 15 shovel tests in the northwestern section of Harrison’s Field. These were located along a small section of Harrison’s Field in the vicinity of ground penetrating radar survey, which is described below. These shovel tests were identified by their grid coordinate and were numbered 1-15. Their locations are shown in Figure 13. Soil contents of all tests were screened through ¼ inch mesh and all artifacts were collected. Shovel tests measured 30 cm in diameter and were excavated to sterile strata..

The metal detector survey formed the majority of the fieldwork effort. Metal

detecting has a long history on America's Civil War battlefields. For most of its history, it has not involved professional archeologists. Amateur metal detecting dates to late 1930s (*Popular Mechanics Magazine* 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1961; Fore 1940, 1946). Interest in metal detectors and their use on Civil War sites in Georgia grew in the 1950s and 1960s (Dickey and George 1993). Metal detecting technology has drastically improved in terms of equipment, detector sensitivity and ferrous-nonferrous discrimination, extended battery life and overall compactness, since the 1930s. An

example of an early detector is shown in Figure 14. Many early relic hunters used war surplus mine detectors. Tom Dickey was one detectorist in Georgia who specialized in locating artillery pieces. Dickey was active in the Savannah area and his collection is housed at the Atlanta History Center.

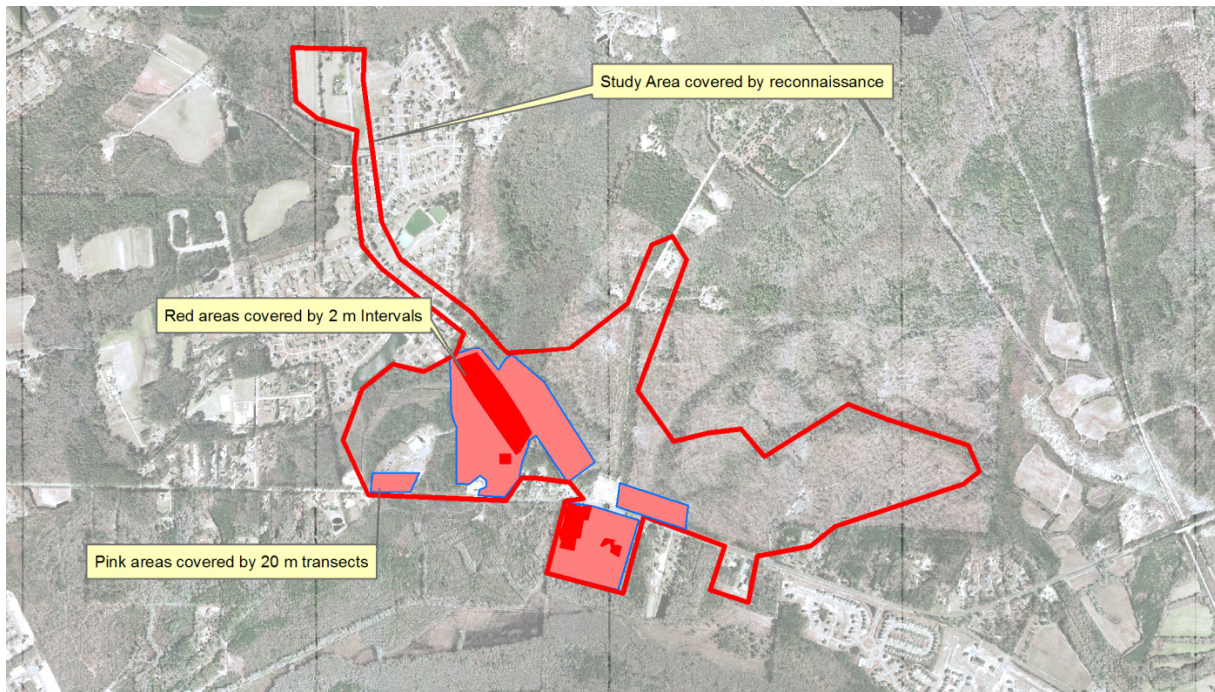


Figure 12. Monteith Swamp Battlefield Survey Coverage.

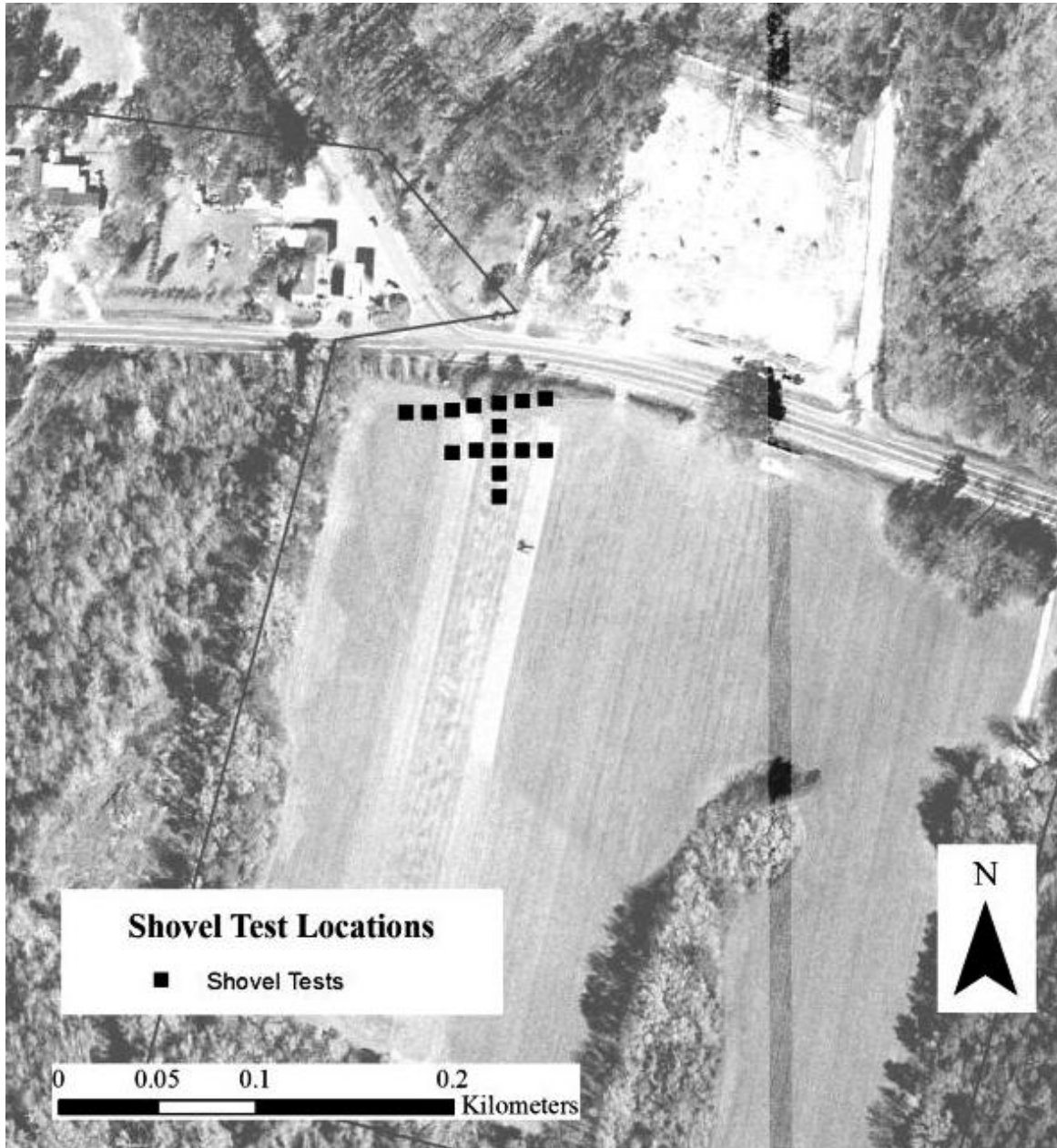


Figure 13. Shovel Test Locations, Harrison's Field.



Successful inductive electrical apparatus that indicates buried metallic materials

Figure 14. Early Metal Detecting Equipment.

Professional archeologists began to incorporate metal detectors in their tool kits to study Civil War sites in Georgia in the mid-1970s (Dickens and Worthy 1984). Most archeologists avoided (or failed to embrace) their use. It was not until the 1980s, however, that archeologists began in earnest using metal detectors in systematic surveys of battlefields in Georgia (Braley 1987; Wood and Wood 1990). In recent years metal detector surveys have become more commonplace in Georgia and archeologists, including the present author, have fostered greater cooperation with amateur metal detecting groups (c.f., Elliott and Dean 2007; Powis et al. 2007). The present battlefield study by the LAMAR Institute is its fifth such undertaking in the southeastern United States.

The survey field crew consisted of Dan Elliott, Rita Elliott, Daniel Battle, and Joel Jones. They were assisted by a number of volunteers throughout the project, including P.T. Ashlock, II, David Bean, Michael Benton, Jeff Kirkland, Talley Kirkland, Matt Luke, Mike Meeks, Barbara Orsolits, Alex

Sanders, Robert Sebek, Michael Thompson, and Adrienne Birge Wilson. Additional useful input during the field project was provided by David Anderson (Chatham County GIS), Jerry Dotson, Michael Jordan, and Barry Sheehy (Figure 15 and 16).

Systematic metal detecting was completed in several sections of the Monteith Swamp battlefield project area. A three-tiered sampling strategy was employed for the metal detection survey. It included opportunistic reconnaissance, sample transects, and intensively surveyed blocks. Approximately 253 ha (2,533,355 m²) of the study area was examined. Of this, 199 ha was examined solely by reconnaissance, 44.4 ha was covered by 20 m transects, and 9.6 ha was investigated by 2 m transects. The survey tracts are summarized in Table 1. The greatest investment of labor and time was at Harrison's Field. The second-most intensive investment of time and energy was in the wooded area, north and west of Jerry Dotson's home.



Figure 15. Project Volunteer Metal Detectorists Michael Thompson and David Bean flanking Author at Monteith Swamp.



Figure 16. Archeologist Daniel Battle Detects Metal on the Eastern Study Tract.

Harrison's Field was covered by a series of transects spaced at 20 m intervals across the field. Approximately 17 ha (147,526 m²) of Harrison's Field was surveyed by this method. These transects were oriented along the plow rows, or approximately 20 m East of Magnetic North. Surveyors detected a single swath, covering approximately two meters width, along these transects. Metal finds were marked using pin flags for later mapping by laser transit.

The survey of Harrison's Field then concentrated on the western half of the field where a series of 20 m grid blocks were established. Within these blocks the surveyors covered the area with a series of transects spaced two meters apart. A total of 2 ha (22,015 m²) was covered by 2 m spacing on the west side of Harrison's Field. Another section of Harrison's Field, which surrounded a springhead near the center of the field, was intensively sampled with 20 m grid blocks. It comprised approximately 0.36 ha (3256 m²).

Since Harrison's Field is documented as the overnight campsite for the Twentieth Corps, archeologists anticipated encountering a broad deposit of camp debris that was not directly related to the military engagement of December 9. Oral information provided

by Jerry Dotson also helped to set expectations of what archeologists might locate in Harrison's Field. Artifact finds in Harrison's Field were mapped using a Sokkia Total Station.

The wooded margins of Harrison's Field were carefully examined by reconnaissance level survey. Since the vegetation in these areas was very thick, the sampling was constrained by the available space for successful metal detector operation. Metal finds in this portion of the battlefield were located using Garmin GPS handheld receivers.

A wooded area north of the Dotson house, designated hereafter as, "Dotson's Woods", was covered by an intensive coverage (23 ha at 20 m transects and 7.24 ha at 2 m transects). Surveyors attempted to blanket this area with transects spaced at two meter intervals but numerous obstacles of the forest environment prohibited even, linear coverage. Submerged areas were located within this sample block where metal detector survey proved ineffective. These areas were covered by sole surveyors and by teams of surveyors. Metal finds were recorded using Garmin GPS handheld receivers.

A 40 m by 40 m block, located within a secondary bullet cluster that was southwest of the main cluster, was systematically surveyed at two meter intervals in Dotson's Woods. It was designated Dotson's Woods, Lower Sample. The southwestern corner of this survey block was located at [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] This block served to define this secondary cluster as spatially distinct from the primary bullet cluster in Dotson's Woods.

Two areas of the Come Along Hunt Club property (comprising 15 ha) were sampled by 20 m transects. One of these sample

blocks (11 ha) was located adjacent to Dotson's Woods on the east side of Hodgeville Road and the other sample (4 ha) was located east of Keller Road and north of Georgia Highway 30. Each of these areas yielded only minor Civil War evidence.

A small tract on the west side of the study area, immediately north of Georgia Highway 30, which was offered for sale at the time of survey, was covered by 20 m transects. This small, elevated island was flanked on its east and west by wetlands. It contained 2 ha (22,569 m²) and it yielded no Civil War evidence.

Other wooded parts of the study area north of Georgia Highway 30 were traversed by reconnaissance. The surveyors covered these areas as a preliminary sample that was designed to discover any engagement areas or campsites. That effort served to define the eastern and northern extent of related Civil War resources, mostly by providing negative evidence.

Ground Penetrating Radar

Ground penetrating radar (GPR) was employed in Harrison's Field to determine its applicability for mapping subsurface cultural features. GPR has matured as an archeological tool over the past several decades (Conyers and Goodman 1997; Goodman 2010). The LAMAR Institute has employed GPR in its toolkit since 2002. To date, the LAMAR Institute has completed over 50 GPR surveys on archeological sites in Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, and Saipan. These include several previous GPR surveys on historic sites in Chatham and Effingham counties (see for example, Elliott 2003). Several other researchers have also used GPR to examine military sites in Chatham County, particularly the Coastal Heritage Society and the National Park Service (Fort Pulaski National Monument).

Other wooded areas north of Georgia Highway 30 were traversed by a low-level reconnaissance. The surveyors covered these areas as a preliminary sample that was designed to discover any engagement areas or campsites.

Table 1. Survey Coverage, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

		Area
Location	Coverage type	Hectares
Dotson's Woods	20 m transects	23
Dotson's Woods	2 m transects	7.24
Harrison's Field	20 m transects	14
Harrison's Field West	2 m transects	2
Harrison's Field East	2 m transects	0.36
Come Along West	20 m transects	11
Come Along East	20 m transects	4
Woods Tract-for Sale	20 m transects	2
Subtotal	Reconnaissance	199
Subtotal	20 m Transects	44.4
Subtotal	2 m Transects	9.6
STUDY AREA	ALL	253

The GPR survey at Monteith Swamp sampled a 2,040 square meter area of Harrison's Field. This was a rectangular area that measured 51 m east-west by 40 m north-south. The approximate southwest corner of the GPR Block was located at

[REDACTED]. The GPR grid covered an area from about 1840-1880 North and 6660-6730 East. The GPR sample was placed within a concentration of Civil War-related artifacts in the northwestern portion of Harrison's Field. The survey was accomplished using a RAMAC X3M radar unit mounted on a wheeled cart with a 500 Mhz shielded antenna. Samples were collect from south to north and progress along the sample grid was from west to east, beginning at the southwestern corner of the block. The survey was conducted on a cloudless day during a period of protracted

drought (on November 20, 2010). Machine operators were Dan Elliott and Joel Jones. A time window of 80.7 nanoseconds (ns) was chosen for the survey sample. A total of 103 radargrams, spaced 50 cm apart, was collected in this grid (Figures 17 and 18). The survey covered 4,120 linear meters. Ground conditions for the sampled area were a hayfield with remnant plow rows visible as a linear pattern on the landscape. The general topography within the block, except for the artificial highs and lows created by plowing, was essentially flat. The plow rows were oriented off the GPR grid and were easily distinguished in the GPR output for the uppermost radar returns. GPR data was stored in a computer monitor and later downloaded for post-processing. Post-processing was done by Dan Elliott using GroundVision and GPR-Slice software.



Figure 18. View of GPR Data Collection in Progress, Block A, Monteith Swamp.

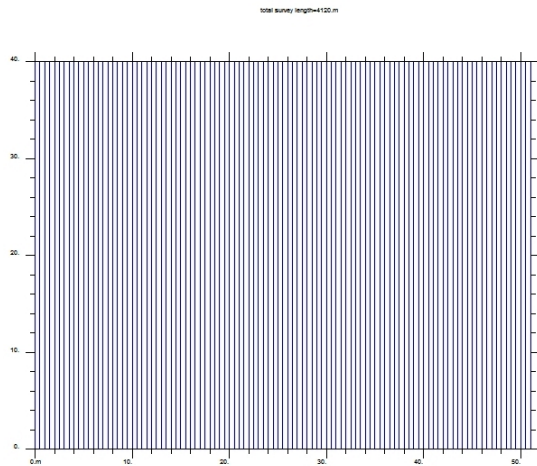


Figure 17. GPR Survey Radargram Plan of Block A, Harrison's Field.

LABORATORY ANALYSIS

Laboratory analysis began in February 2011 and was completed in August, 2012. The laboratory crew consisted of Dan Elliott, P.T. Ashlock, II, Rita Elliott and Dawn Chapman. Artifacts were transported to the laboratory from the field where they were washed, catalogued, analyzed, photographed, measured, stabilized and prepared for permanent curation.

An extensive list of sources was consulted for artifact identification, which included: (Albaugh 1993a-b; Albert 1976; Bilby 2005; Coates and Thomas 1990; Crouch 2003, 2004; Dickey and George 1993; Flayderman 1980; Harris 1987; Hazlett et al. 1988; Jones 2001; Kerksis and Dickey 1968; Knopp 2002; Lord 1963, 1965; Lutz 1991; McAulay 1997; McKee et al. 1980; Melton and Pawl 1994; Naisawald 1960; Morrow 1989; Reilly 1990; Ripley 1984; South 1964,

1977; Thillmann 2001; Thomas 1989, 1997; Tice 1997; Wycoff 1984).

Analysts grouped artifacts into functional categories, following South (1977). These categories were: Architecture, Arms, Clothing, Furniture, Kitchen, Miscellaneous, Personal, Tobacco and Activities. Military items were included in the arms and clothing group. Possible military-related artifacts cross-over to other categories, including personal and activities.

Architecture-related artifacts were classified by functional type, raw material type, and specific manufacture technique (where possible). Certain classes of architectural artifacts, including brick, masonry, and window glass, are under-represented by the battlefield survey. Metal architecture hardware was well-represented across the study area, however, and included nails, spikes, hinges and other items. Nails were grouped by functional/age categories: wrought, machine cut square nails, cut or wrought nails, wire nails, or unidentified nails. Spikes were grouped into two categories, wrought or machine stamped. The abundance of nails in Harrison's Field attests to the former presence of multiple buildings. The metal clusters cover many areas of the field but tended to occur along the field edges fence lines, and former fence lines, leaving the middle portion of the fields for agricultural use. These buildings may represent enslaved persons quarters, freedmen or tenant farmers' quarters, or non-domestic structures, such as barns, cribs, sheds or pens. Some of the nails also may be associated with campfires, where boards containing nails were burned.

Arms artifacts offer the best artifact category in reconstructing the battle. Bullets were weighed to the nearest tenth of a gram. Bullet measurements were taken to the nearest millimeter, including total length,

maximum width, and on some examples, depth of concavity. Physical attributes of each bullet were noted, including evidence of firing (rifling marks or impact deformation), worming, or lack of any firing evidence (dropped). The general type of bullet manufacture was noted (2-ring, 3-ring, Enfield, Williams Cleaners, round balls). All bullets were photographed. Brass shell casings were identified by type, where possible, and weight, length and width attributes were recorded. Any firing marks or other surface clues were noted. Metallic rim fire cartridges were in use as early as 1835 but they were not widely used until after 1863. In cases where bullets or shell casings were positively identified as modern, they were generally discarded or left *in situ*.

Percussion caps were weighed and their diameters measured. If possible, analysts distinguished between fired and unfired percussion caps. Percussion cap weapon technology was invented by Joshua Shaw about 1814 but Shaw kept his invention secret until 1822 when he was issued a patent. Shaw obtained another patent in 1828 but by 1826 the percussion cap was widely used for personal weapons. Military service use of percussion cap technology lagged behind by nearly two decades. The British adopted it for their service weapons at Woolwich in 1843 (Researchpress.co.uk 2003).

Clothing artifacts were recovered in low frequencies in the study area. Buttons were identified by established types, where possible. Raw material was noted. Metric measurements included width and weight. Decorations were described. Military buttons were identified by specific types whenever possible. Manufacturing styles were noted when applicable.

Kitchen artifacts were widespread at Harrison's Field but rare in other parts of the study area. Kitchen artifacts were grouped by raw material (ceramics, glass, metal, or faunal or floral residue). Ceramics were further subdivided by ware class (stoneware, porcelain, earthenware, redware), decoration type, type classification (age, manufacturing technique), and vessel form. Kitchen glass included bottle glass and tableware glass.

Since most kitchen-related artifacts from early historic sites were made of ceramics or glass, this category is significantly under-represented by the battlefield survey. The survey did locate numerous metal kitchen artifacts, however, as well as a few stray ceramic and glass items that were discovered in the process of exploring metal detected objects.

Personal artifacts were a minority type. Coins were identified by raw material, weight and maximum width. Depending on the surface conditions, analysts identified the coins by denomination, date, and country of origin.

Tobacco artifacts were a minority type in the study area. As with other non-metal items, tobacco artifacts are mostly made of clay and are not located by metal detector. A few accidental examples were unearthed by the survey team. These did not constitute a sizeable sample for research.

Activities artifacts were common across the study area. These objects cover a wide range of activities, as would be expected on a plantation complex or a series of small farmsteads. A number of these items may be Civil War related, although this could not be demonstrated definitively. Many artifacts in the activity group relate to transportation, either by animal drawn wagons or carriages. Some of these may be debris from agriculture or timber harvests. A few transportation-related items post-date the

Civil Period, including automobile parts and logging tram spikes. Some horseshoes, riding tack and wagon hardware likely are residue from the brief occupation of Harrison's Field by the U.S. Twentieth Corps.

A number of curious small lead seals were metal detected from Harrison's Field. Lead seals were weighed and measured by width. Any identifiable mold marks, stamp impressions or incisions were noted. Several previously undocumented varieties of lead seals were located by the survey team. When these bale seals were first located, the field crew speculated as to their age and function, tentatively concluding that these were associated with the Union encampment at Harrison's Field. An in-depth discussion of these artifacts is presented in Chapter 8.

REPORTING AND OUTREACH

The Monteith Swamp Battlefield survey project is documented in the present technical report. The report complies with reporting standards for State and Federal cultural resource surveys, as well as standards set by the ABPP, National Park Service. Printed copies of this report are placed on file with the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division; the Georgia Archaeological Site File, Department of Anthropology, Georgia Museum of Natural History; ABPP, National Park Service, Washington, and The LAMAR Institute, Inc. Digital copies of the report were filed with the Georgia Civil War Commission; Georgia Historical Society, Savannah; Live Oak Library, Savannah and Georgia Battlefield Association, Atlanta.

A redacted version of the report is available for free public download at The LAMAR Institute's internet website (<http://thelamarinstitute.org/Reports.htm/>).

The Monteith Swamp Battlefield survey project also was summarized by a short DVD documentary film by noted Savannah videographer Michael Jordan of Cosmos Mariner Productions (Jordan 2011). This film was intended to convey information about the project and its findings to a general audience. Jordan's 14-minute film utilized video footage from the fieldwork, laboratory analysis, Civil War reenactments, and oral interviews to weave an interesting tale of the Civil War battle and its rediscovery. The 22nd Georgia Artillery (reenactor group) and the Savannah Ogeechee Canal Society contributed to the success of this undertaking. The ABPP (Kristen McMasters) and the LAMAR Institute reviewed and made corrective comments on early versions of the film, and Jordan incorporated these revisions into his final product. The completed video made its public debut on April 12, 2012 in an outdoor showing in the Fort Pulaski parade ground at the National Park Service's Fort Pulaski National Monument, Cockspur Island, Georgia. This venue was one contribution to a series of public offerings by Fort Pulaski as part of the 150th Anniversary Celebration of the American Civil War. A full-length companion film by Michael Jordan, entitled, *Savannah in the Civil War*, was the main feature for this event. The historical setting and double-billing were a decided hit and a credit to Mr. Jordan's skills and professionalism. Approximately 125 people attended the film's debut. An online version of the film is posted for free public download at the LAMAR Institute's website (<http://thelamarinstitute.org>) and on Jordan's Youtube (<http://youtube.com>) website. The Battle of Monteith Swamp video serves as the main public outreach component for the project.

Other public digital venues for presenting the Monteith Swamp Battlefield Survey ABPP project to the public included a

television news story by reporter/anchor Alice Massimi (WSAV-TV3, Savannah) and press coverage prior to the project on WSAV-TV's "Community Report" (August 24, 2010); four interviews for the online blog, "The Civil War Picket", which is maintained by journalist Phil Gast (2010a-b, 2012a-b). Gast's blog also included several photographs from the fieldwork and laboratory phases. The Civil War Picket is a very popular blog among Civil War enthusiasts worldwide.

The Monteith Swamp Battlefield Survey project team also interacted with the public via a unique format. Dan Elliott was the guest speaker on two editions of an online interview relic collector-oriented one-hour show called *Relic Roundup*, which is hosted by Craig Anderson and Butch Holcombe (September 19, 2010 and March 26, 2012). Both Anderson and Holcombe are long-time Civil War relic collectors from the Atlanta area. The primary audience for *Relic Roundup* is relic collectors. These radio interviews are stored on the internet as podcasts that are freely available to the public. The 2010 show had 241 listeners for the live version and an undetermined number of follow-up listeners who were able to access the show by podcast. The audience reached through this particular venue was different from traditional archeological dialogue.

CURATION STATEMENT

Artifacts, notes, photographs, maps and other records from the Monteith Swamp battlefield survey (Official Georgia Archeological Site 9CH1349) are permanently curated at the University of Georgia, Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Department, in Athens, Georgia. Copies of the report and video were filed with the American Battlefield

Protection Program, National Park Service, Washington; Georgia Department of Natural Resources; Georgia Archaeological Site File, Athens, Georgia; Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia; Georgia Department of Archives, Morrow, Georgia; Georgia Battlefield Association, Atlanta, Georgia; and Civil War Preservation Trust, Washington, D.C.

III. Defining Battlefield Features

LANDSCAPE FEATURES

1. Water Features

The Ogeechee River is located several miles west of Monteith Swamp. A large upland swamp is located on the former Monteith plantation, north of St. Augustine Creek at the Chatham-Effingham County line. This swamp is fed by Black Creek on the north side. In Civil War times it was known by two names, Turkey Roost Swamp and Monteith Swamp. The latter name became the better known, and it was this name that was most commonly recorded in the official military service records. This wetland feature is also identified as Walthour Swamp on some maps.

Ogeechee River—The Ogeechee River marked the path of Sherman's Right Wing on its march to Savannah. While the bulk of the Right Wing, which included the Seventeenth Corps, was positioned well to the west of Monteith Swamp, several regiments in the Seventeenth Corps claimed participation in the battle.

Savannah River—The Savannah River is a major freshwater river that separates Georgia and South Carolina. It served both as a transportation artery and a geographical obstacle for Sherman's military campaign. The Savannah River is located several miles east of Monteith Swamp. Monteith Swamp is entirely within the Savannah River watershed.

2. Roads

Monteith Road followed a narrow causeway through Monteith Swamp. The road led

from Zion Church, off of the Louisville-Savannah Road to Monteith. Monteith, or Monteith Station, was also known as Ten Mile Station, indicating its distance from Savannah by railroad (United States. House of Representatives 1895:329). Trees flanking the causeway on the Monteith Road were felled by the Confederates to serve as road obstructions to both slow and channel the Union troops along a single causeway. These obstructions were removed by the Pioneers, the workers whose role in the battle is woefully understated. Confederate Major General Pierre G.T. Beauregard had issued orders to block the roads several days before the battle (OR 1893).

Keller Road was a minor road or avenue that north led from the Monteith Road to Coldbrook Plantation (The owners of Coldbrook plantation during Civil War times were the Ulmers. The plantation was also owned by the Keller family). Coldbrook plantation was mostly north and east of the military action at Monteith Swamp, although the plantation road may have been used in the battle by the flanking Union regiments.

The Low Ground Road, portions of which remain in existence, was the route traveled by the Twentieth Corps on its march from Springfield to Zion Church (near Marlow, Georgia) on December 8. This route was not the closest route to Savannah but it was taken because Major General Slocum was to confer with Major General Sherman at Sherman's headquarters near Zion Church. Low Ground Road is located several miles northwest of Monteith Swamp.

The Middle Ground Road, portions of which remain in existence, was a major upland road that followed the divide between the Ogeechee and Savannah River watersheds. This road converged with the Augusta Road at Cuyler's plantation, several miles east of Monteith Swamp. While this route would

have been a logical one for the Twentieth Corps, it was not taken because of the meeting with Sherman at Zion Church. Middle Ground Road is located several miles east of Monteith Swamp.

The Augusta Road followed a course just west of the Savannah River. It was the route followed by U.S. Fourteenth Corps. The Middle Ground Road and the Augusta Road merge at the Chatham-Effingham County line, in the vicinity of Dr. Cuyler's plantation [a current landmark for this location is Randall's Liquor Store]. The Augusta Road is located several miles east of Monteith Swamp.

On the day of the battle, Major General Sherman traveled down the Louisville Road towards Savannah. It was there that Sherman first encountered the nasty effects of Confederates mine fields or land torpedoes. Sherman remarked in his memoirs about the use of torpedoes on his journey from Zion Church to Pooler vicinity, where they were encountered by a soldier in the Seventeenth Corps. No historical evidence was found for the existence of any Confederate land mines on the Monteith Road. Land mines were an infamous innovation by the Confederates in late 1864 in their desperation to halt Sherman's movements. These mines were supplied from the Armory at Augusta, Georgia. The Louisville Road is located several miles west of the Monteith Swamp battlefield.

3. Charleston & Savannah Railroad

The Charleston & Savannah Railroad was a vital link between Savannah and South Carolina. The route headed upstream from Savannah, paralleling the Augusta Road before veering east at Monteith Station to cross the Savannah River (Stone 2008). The other main railroad route heading north from

Savannah was the Central of Georgia Railroad, which ran parallel and east of the Ogeechee River. That railroad, however, was already under U.S. Army control north of the city. On December 9 the Savannah and Gulf Railroad, which connected Savannah to the south, was severed by Sherman's army (Draper 1870:332). By the nightfall on December 9 the Charleston & Savannah Railroad was the only supply line to Savannah. General Hardee's purpose for the Confederate defense at Monteith Swamp and at Cuyler's Plantation was to delay attacks on the railroad by the Twentieth Corps or the Fourteenth Corps, respectively. By December 10, however, the Charleston & Savannah Railroad was effectively severed near Monteith Station and Savannah was under siege.

4. Defensive Features

The advancing Union troops make no mention in battle reports of their constructing any defenses against the Confederates. The sheer size of the wagon train, which stretched from west of Monteith Swamp back to nearly Zion Church presented a formidable, mobile defense.

The Confederates built one or two redoubts to guard the passage on the Monteith Road. Historical accounts differ on the number of redoubts that existed. No visible trace of either redoubt remains today. The redoubts were defended by one or two pieces of light artillery.

Confederate infantry manned a line of rifle trenches and built an abatis of brush to further defend against the Union advance.

The Confederates made use of pre-existing rice dikes or other raised embankments on Monteith plantation. These low earthworks provided cover from enemy fire. One berm was in the location of an archaeologically

documented bullet concentration, which attests to its use for defensive cover in the battle.

During the archeological survey, evidence was discovered indicating that a railroad tramway crossed portions of the battlefield. This railroad was likely used in late 19th century or early 20th century for timber harvesting activity and post-dates the 1864 battle. It was identified archeologically by a linear distribution of railroad spikes.

PLANTATIONS

Monteith Plantation and Harrison's Field are improved agricultural areas of the Monteith Swamp battlefield that were defining features in the battle. Monteith was the name of Confederate Brigadier General George Paul Harrison, Sr.'s plantation. The Monteith plantation has some antiquity, as Granger (1947:68) noted, it was one of several plantations owned by the Loyalist John Graham in the 1770s. The manor home of Monteith plantation was several miles west of the Monteith railroad stop and south of St. Augustine Creek and the battlefield (Barry Sheehy personal communication 2009). Following the Civil War Monteith Station became a Freedman settlement.

Harrison's Field is a large agricultural field that was also a field in December 1864. Harrison's Field has remained a field to the present day, although the extent of the field is smaller now than in 1864. It is also smaller now than in 1938, when it was captured in an aerial photograph of neighboring Effingham County. It was named Harrison's Field for its owner in the 1860s, Brigadier General George Paul Harrison, Sr. His field likely was used for military encampments after, and before, the battle.

As noted earlier, Coldbrook plantation was situated north and east of Monteith plantation. The North Salem Baptist Church is a landmark on the eastern side of battlefield that has survived to the present. North Salem Baptist Church was constituted April 13, 1823 on one acre of land donated by John A. Keller. In 1887 the original sanctuary building, which was present at the time of the 1864 battle, was replaced by a larger building, which was built to accommodate the growing congregation (Leech 1986; Helmey 2010). The Confederate's exit from the battlefield passed by this church. Its cemetery remains as a landmark dating to the battle period (Figure 19). This church appears on several contemporary maps, including maps shown in the Civil War Atlas (Cowles 1895).



Figure 19. Eastern View of Section of East Salem Baptist Church Cemetery, Showing Early Grave Markers.

Dr. Cuyler's plantation is another Civil War-era rice plantation located east of Monteith. This plantation is well to the east of the Monteith Swamp battlefield but it is relevant to the battle because the Confederates were required to split their forces to guard both locations. The greater number of troops was placed at Cuyler's plantation, where they faced the advance of the U.S. Fourteenth Corps. Candler and Evans (1972:551) provide this entry for the skirmish at Dr. Cuyler's plantation:

Cuyler's Plantation, (Skirmish at).—On the morning of Dec. 9, 1864 in the Federal advance upon Savannah, the Fourteenth army corps broke camp at Ebenezer Church and began the march with Morgan's division in front. At Dr. Cuyler's plantation, about fourteen miles from Savannah a Confederate battery was found formidably entrenched across the road at a point where there were swamps close by on either side. Col. James W. Langley, commanding the Third brigade, was ordered to send the 125th Illinois infantry to develop the enemy's position. The regiment moved up to within one hundred yards of the Confederate works without a shot being fired. The 86th Illinois

was then ordered to the support of the other regiment, with instructions to endeavor to gain the Confederate rear. Owing to the mass of vines, etc., in the swamp the progress of the regiment was slow, and it was dark before the movement could be executed. During the night the Confederates withdrew, saving their cannon, and took up a position nearer the city. The Federals went into camp, General Morgan's headquarters being at Doctor Cuyler's house, which was plundered, a Doctor Watson being mentioned in the reports of the campaign as having found an old deed, bearing date of Dec. 5, 1758 (Candler and Evans 1972:551).

IV. Union Forces

Sherman's Left Wing was commanded by Major General Henry Warner Slocum (Figure 20). The Left Wing was comprised of the Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps (Conyngham 1865:383). The Twentieth Corps was commanded by Brigadier General Alpheus Starkey Williams (Figure 21). Returns of December 20, 1864 gave the number of troops in the Twentieth Corps as: 631 infantry officers, 12,910 infantry enlisted men, 24 artillery officers and 526 artillery enlisted men (OR 1893:16). The 1st Division, Twentieth Corps was commanded by Brigadier General Nathaniel James Jackson (Figure 22).

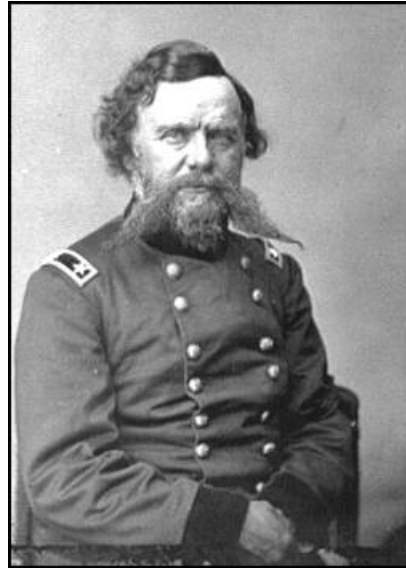


Figure 21. Brigadier General Alpheus Starkey Williams, U.S.A. (Brady 1865).



Figure 20. Major General Henry Warner Slocum, U.S.A.



Figure 22. Brigadier General Nathan James Jackson, U.S.A.

1ST DIVISION

1. 1st Brigade

The 1st Brigade, 1st Division, Twentieth Corps was commanded by Colonel James L. Selfridge. Regiments in the 1st Brigade that were involved in the action at Monteith Swamp included the 5th Connecticut Infantry, 123rd New York Infantry, 141st New York Infantry and 46th Pennsylvania Infantry.

The 5th Connecticut Infantry Regiment was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Henry W. Daboll in the battle of Monteith Swamp. The regimental service record includes the battle of Monteith Swamp on December 9, 1864 (Dyer 1908; NPS 2010; Niepert 2010). The 5th Connecticut Infantry also had a regimental mascot who accompanied the regiment on its march.

The service record for the 123rd New York Infantry lists action at Monteith Swamp [spelling, Montieth] (NPS 2010). Colonel James C. Rogers commanded the 123rd New York Infantry Regiment in the Monteith Swamp engagement (Figure 23). Colonel Rogers attests to its involvement in the action in his regimental report. Casualty reports for New York regiments in the war list one enlisted man in the 123rd New York Infantry as missing in action sometime between November 15 to December 21, 1864, which included that regiment's participation in the battle of Monteith Swamp (Phisterer 1912; Morhous 1879).

Captain William Merrell commanded the 141st New York Infantry Regiment in the action at Monteith Swamp. The service record for the 141st New York Infantry does not include any mention of Monteith Swamp. The regimental report of Captain Merrell, however, attests to its involvement in the battle. Phisterer also notes the

participation of the 141st New York in the battle of Monteith Swamp and he records that the regiment lost one enlisted man killed between November 15 and December 21, 1864 (Phisterer 1912). A photograph of Captain Richard Towle, Company H, is shown in Figure 24 (New York State Military Museum 2010).

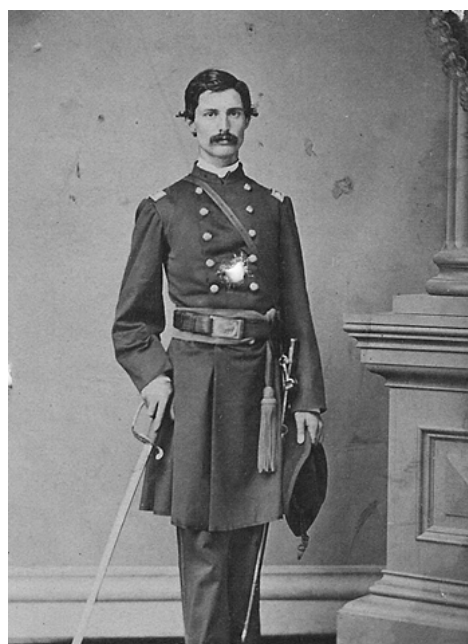


Figure 23. Lieutenant Colonel James C. Rogers, 123rd New York Infantry (New York State Military Museum 2006).

Major Patrick Griffith commanded the 46th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment at Monteith Swamp. The battle of Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] appears in the service record for the 46th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment (NPS 2010). Its participation is further substantiated by the regimental report of Major Griffith and by the casualty report of 1st Sergeant Reese B. Thompson, Company E, who was wounded at Monteith Swamp on December 9. Thompson died from his wounds in February 1865 in Savannah (Maczuga 2010; Bates 1871).



Figure 24. Captain Richard Towle, Company H, 141st New York Infantry (New York State Military Museum 2010).

2. 2nd Brigade

Colonel Ezra Ayers Carman commanded the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, Twentieth Corps (Figure 25). Regiments under Colonel Carman's command reporting involvement at Monteith Swamp included the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry, 13th New Jersey Infantry, 107th New York Infantry, 150th New York Infantry and 3rd Wisconsin Infantry.

Colonel William Cogswell commanded the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry Regiment at Monteith Swamp. Its regimental service record includes the battle of Monteith Swamp on December 9, 1864 (NPS 2010; Dyer 1908).

Major Frederick H. Harris commanded the 13th New Jersey Infantry Regiment at Monteith Swamp. The regimental service record includes the battle of Monteith

Swamp [spelling Montieth] on December 9, 1864 (NPS 2010).

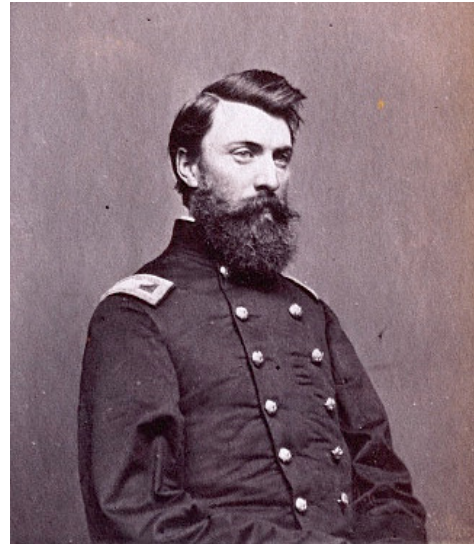


Figure 25. Colonel Ezra Ayers Carman, U.S.A. (Brady ca. 1862).

Lieutenant Colonel Allen N. Sill was in command of the 107th New York Infantry Regiment. The regimental service record includes the battle of Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] on December 9, 1864 (NPS 2010). The regiment suffered 59 battle casualties between November 15 and December 21, 1864, including six enlisted men wounded, one officer and 52 enlisted men missing (Phisterer 1912). John D.M. VanVleet was a private in Companies A and H of the 197th and he likely participated in the battle (Figure 25).

Major Alfred B. Smith commanded the 150th New York Infantry Regiment at Monteith Swamp. The regimental service record includes the battle of Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] on December 9, 1864. The regiment reported no losses at Monteith Swamp. The regiment recorded 20 battle casualties from December 10- 21, 1864, including one officer wounded, one enlisted man killed, six enlisted men wounded, and 12 enlisted men missing (Phisterer 1912). Captain Joseph H. Cogswell commanded a

company in the 150th and was likely at the battle (Figure 27).

Colonel William Hawley was in command of the 3rd Wisconsin Infantry Regiment at Monteith Swamp. The regimental service record includes the battle of Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] on December 9, 1864 (NPS 2010; Dyer 1908; Bryant 1891:389).

3. 3rd Brigade

The 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, Twentieth Corps was commanded by Colonel Francis H. West. Regiments under command of Colonel West who reported involvement at Monteith Swamp included the 82nd Illinois Infantry, 101st Illinois Infantry, 143rd New York Infantry, 61st Ohio Infantry, 82nd Ohio Infantry and 31st Wisconsin Infantry. The 3rd Brigade bore the brunt of the Confederate fire at Monteith Swamp.



Figure 26. Private John D.M. VanVleet, Company H & A, 107th New York Infantry (New York State Military Museum 2010).



Figure 27. Captain Joseph H. Cogswell, Company A, 150th New York Infantry Regiment (New York State Military Museum 2010).

Major Ferdinand H. Rolshausen commanded the 82nd Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment at Monteith Swamp (Moore 1866:79-80). Its regimental service record includes the battle of Monteith Swamp on December 9, 1864. The regiment served as the “advanced guard of the Division Corps” (Illinois Adjutant General 1866). The 82nd Illinois was almost exclusively composed of German members and a Chicago organization, Company C was “an Israelite”, or Jewish company and Company I was Scandinavian (Benjaminson 2001). The Regiment was composed of about 325 men in December 1864. The following officers commanded the regiment in April 1865: Colonel Edward S. Salomon, Brevet Brigadier General; Lieutenant Colonel Ferdinand Rolshausen; Adjutant, Otto Balke; Quartermaster, Hermann Panse; Surgeon, Charles E. Boerner; Assistant Surgeon, Hermann Detzel. Company A: Captain Anton Bruhn; First Lieutenant Charles E. Stueven. Company B: Captain George Heinzmann; First Lieutenant Eugene

Hepp. Company C: Captain Frank Kirchner; First Lieutenant, William Loeb. Company D: Captain Rudolph Mueller. Company E: First Lieutenant, Moses O. Lindbergh. Company F: Captain Eugene F. Weigel; First Lieutenant Frederick Thomas. Company G: First Lieutenant Carl Lotz. Company H: Captain Emil Frey, First Lieutenant Joseph Riegert. Company I: Captain Joseph Gottlob; First Lieutenant Christian Erickson. Company K: Second Lieutenant George Bauer.

A photograph of the officers in the 82nd Illinois Infantry regiment taken in Atlanta is preserved by the Chicago Historical Society (Figure 28). Seated in the center holding a sword is Colonel Edward Selig Salomon. To

the right of Colonel Salomon is Regimental Surgeon Charles E. Boerner and to the left is Major Ferdinand Rolshausen. The young officer wearing the light-colored sash is Captain Eugene Weigel. Lieutenant William Loeb of Company C is second from the right in the rear row. The officer with the dark moustache standing with his hand on his sword between Salomon and Boerner is Lieutenant Joseph Riegert. The officer to Weigel's right with his hand on his hip is Captain Rudolph Mueller.

Anton Buechle was a private in Company E, 82nd Illinois Infantry Regiment. Anton posed for a photographic portrait in his battle uniform sometime prior to his death in March 1865 (Figure 29).



Figure 28. Officers of the 82nd Illinois Infantry Regiment, October 1864 (Courtesy: Chicago Historical Society).



Figure 29. Private Anton Buechle, Company E, 82nd Illinois Infantry, Killed on March 25, 1865 (Courtesy of Gregory Schuller).

Lieutenant Colonel John B. Le Sage was in command of the 101st Illinois Infantry Regiment at Monteith Swamp. His official report of the action is presented later in this report. The regimental service record includes the battle of Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] on December 9, 1864 (NPS 2010; OR 1893:261-263; Dyer 1908).

Lieutenant Colonel Hezikiah Watkins commanded the 143rd New York Infantry Regiment at Monteith Swamp, whose regimental service record includes the battle of Monteith Swamp on December 9, 1864 (NPS 2010; Dyer 1908). The regiment reported no battle casualties during the entire March to the Sea and Savannah campaign. A portrait of the officers in the 143rd Infantry is shown in Figure 30.

Captain John Garrett commanded the 61st Ohio Infantry Regiment at Monteith Swamp (Ohio Roster Commission 1887; Wallace 1902; Carroon 1998). The regimental service record includes the battle of Monteith Swamp on December 9, 1864. This regiment played an important role in the battle, as documented in Captain Garrett's regimental report.

Lieutenant Colonel David Thompson was in command of the 82nd Ohio Infantry Regiment at Monteith Swamp (Ohio Roster Commission 1887). The regimental service record includes Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] on December 9, 1864 (NPS 2010). This regiment played an important role in the battle, as documented by Lieutenant Colonel Thompson's regimental report.

Colonel Francis H. West commanded the 31st Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, although he also commanded the brigade. The 31st Wisconsin was the victorious regiment of the battle. The regiment was first to arrive and raise their colors in the Confederate's redoubt. Colonel West's account of the action, which he detailed in his regimental report, is probably the best single description of the engagement. West's report is presented later in this volume. The regimental service record includes the battle of Harrison's Field and Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] on December 9, 1864 (NPS 2010). The roster for the 31st Infantry Regiment lists 1,097 men (Rusk and Chapman 1886). One junior officer in the 31st Wisconsin, Corporal Peter T. Anderson, a Norwegian, later distinguished himself at Bentonville, North Carolina for which he received the Congressional Medal of Honor (Rodenbough 1886:121-125).



Figure 30. Officers of the 143rd New York Infantry (New York State Military Museum 2010).

2ND DIVISION

Brigadier General John White Geary commanded the 2nd Division of the Twentieth Army Corps. Colonel Ario Pardee Jr. commanded the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, Twentieth Army Corps. Regiments under Colonel Pardee's command that reported being at Monteith Swamp included the 29 Ohio Infantry. Colonel Patrick H. Jones commanded the 2nd Brigade, Twentieth Army Corps. Three regiments under his command, the 33rd New Jersey Infantry, 13th New Jersey Infantry, and 134th New York Infantry, reported involvement in the action at Monteith Swamp.

4. 1st Brigade

The 29 Ohio Infantry Regiment, 1st Brigade, was commanded by Major Myron T. Wright in December 1864. Major Wright noted in his regimental report that the regiment arrived and camped there after the battle. There is no record of engagement at Monteith Swamp in the service record for this regiment (NPS 2010; SeCheverell 1883).

5. 2nd Brigade

The 33rd New Jersey Infantry Regiment, 2nd Brigade, was commanded by Colonel George W. Mindill in December 1864. The regiment, known as Mindill's Zouaves, lists the battle of Monteith Swamp [spelling,

Monteith] on December 9, 1864 in its service record, although Colonel Mindill noted in the regimental report that they arrived after the battle was over (NPS 2010; Dyer 1908, volume 3:1364; McAfee 1991:112-113).

The 13th New Jersey Infantry Regiment was organized at Camp Frelinghuysen, Newark, N.J., and mustered in August 25, 1862. In December 1864 it was part of the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, Twentieth Corps, Army of Georgia. The regiment lists the battle of Monteith Swamp on December 9, 1864 in its service record (Dyer 1908; NPS 2010).

The 134th New York Infantry Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Allan H. Jackson in December 1864, listed Monteith Swamp in its service record, although its involvement was probably after the main period of fighting. Major Hoyt noted that the regiment performed picket duty there the night of the battle. The regiment is also listed as participating at Monteith Swamp by Phisterer (1912). The regiment suffered 17 battle casualties in the siege of Savannah, including two officers killed, seven enlisted men wounded and eight missing.

Major Lewis D. Warner commanded the 154th New York Infantry Regiment in December 1864. This New York regiment claims to have fought in the battle of Monteith Swamp. Major Warner provides useful information in his regimental report. The regiment suffered seven battle casualties over the period from November 15 to December 21, 1864, including one enlisted man killed, three wounded and three missing (Phisterer 1912; Dunkelman and Winey 1981).

6. 3rd Brigade

Major Nicholas Grumbach commanded the 149th New York Infantry Regiment, 3rd Brigade in December 1864. Although this New York regiment did not list Monteith Swamp in its service record, the battle was described by Major Grumbach in his regimental report. The regiment suffered three battle casualties from November 15 to December 21, 1864, which were one enlisted man killed and two mortally wounded (Phisterer 1912).

Lieutenant Colonel Samuel M. Zulich commanded the 29th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment, 3rd Brigade, in December 1864. Monteith Swamp is not listed in the service record for this regiment, however, the regiment did camp on the battlefield after the battle, as noted in its regimental report (OR 1893).

Several artillery batteries were attached to the Twentieth Corps. Among them was Independent Battery E, Pennsylvania Light Artillery. Battery E, also known as Knap's Battery, was formed in 1861 and it spent three years in the northern theatre (Figure 31). Knap's Battery later accompanied General Sherman's army throughout its march through Georgia and the Carolinas. The battery saw significant action in the Atlanta campaign but it reported only two casualties in the Savannah Campaign. The battery was armed with three or more Rodman guns when it began the Georgia campaign. At Monteith Swamp the battery was commanded by Captain Thomas S. Sloane (Bates 1876; Brady 1992; Thomas 1866:351-317). Its regimental history contains no mention of service at Monteith Swamp.



Figure 31. Photograph of Captain Knap's Independent Battery E, Pennsylvania Light Artillery at Antietam, 1862 (Knap's Independent Battery 'E' 2011).

SEVENTEENTH CORPS

Major General Oliver Otis Howard commanded Sherman's Right Wing. These troops included the Seventeenth Corps, commanded by Major General Preston Blair, Jr. Major General Joseph Anthony Mower commanded the 1st Division and Brigadier John W. Fuller commanded the 1st Brigade. The vast majority of the Seventeenth Corps was positioned several miles west of Monteith Swamp on December 9, although several units in that corps were apparently involved in the action at Monteith Swamp. These include in the 1st Division, 1st Brigade, 64th Illinois Infantry, 18th Missouri Infantry, 27th Ohio Infantry and 39th Ohio Infantry regiments. In the 2nd Brigade, it included the 43rd Ohio Infantry, 63rd Ohio Infantry and 25th Wisconsin Infantry regiments and, in the 3rd Brigade, the 10th Illinois Infantry, 25th Indiana Infantry and 32nd Wisconsin Infantry regiments.

Major Joseph S. Reynolds commanded the 64th Illinois Infantry Regiment in December 1864. This regiment, also known as Yate's

Sharpshooters, claimed participation at Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] on December 9, 1864 (NPS 2010).

Lieutenant Colonel Charles S. Sheldon commanded the 18th Missouri Infantry Regiment in December 1864. This regiment was organized at Laclede, Missouri in 1861. In December 1864, it was part of the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, Seventeenth Army Corps. The regiment includes Monteith Swamp on December 9 in its service record (Dyer 1908:79-80; Anders 1968; NPS 2010).

Captain James Morgan commanded the 27th Ohio Infantry Regiment in December 1864. This Ohio regiment claimed participation at Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] (NPS 2010; Stevens 2004).

The 39th Ohio Infantry Regiment was commanded by Colonel John Groesbeck, although in December 1864 the regiment was led by Captain Daniel Weber. This Ohio regiment lists Monteith Swamp in its service record (NPS 2010; Stevens 2004). In Smith's history of Fuller's Ohio Brigade, however, the 39 Ohio Infantry Regiment is placed several miles west of Monteith Swamp on December 9, which sheds doubt

on its involvement in the action there (Smith 1908:350).

Brigadier General John Wilson Sprague commanded the 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, Seventeenth Army Corps. Regiments in the 2nd Brigade that were at Monteith Swamp included the 43rd Ohio Infantry, 63rd Ohio Infantry, and 25th Wisconsin Infantry.

Colonel Wager Swayne commanded the 43rd Ohio Infantry Regiment in December 1864. This regiment claimed participation at Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] (Smith 1909; NPS 2010; Stevens 2004).

Major John W. Fouts commanded the 63rd Ohio Infantry Regiment in December 1864. This regiment claimed participation at Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] (NPS 2010; Stevens 2004).

Lieutenant Colonel Jeremiah M. Rush commanded the 25th Wisconsin Infantry Regiment in December 1864. This regiment claimed participation at Monteith Swamp [spelling Montieth] (NPS 2010; Dyer 1908).

Colonel John Tillson commanded the 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, 17th Army Corps. Regiments in the 3rd Brigade that were at Monteith Swamp included the 10th Illinois, 25th Indiana and 32nd Wisconsin.

Lieutenant Colonel McLain F. Wood commanded the 10th Illinois Infantry Regiment in December 1864. This Illinois regiment claimed participation at Monteith Swamp (NPS 2010; Dyer 1908).

Lieutenant Colonel James S. Wright commanded the 25th Indiana Infantry Regiment in December 1864. The regiment claimed participation at Monteith Swamp (NPS 2010; Learning 1864).

Colonel Charles H. De Groat commanded the 32nd Wisconsin Infantry Regiment. It lists action at Harrison's Field and Montieth

Swamp [spelling Montieth] in its service record (NPS 2010).

OTHER UNION TROOPS

The Pioneers were charged with clearing the Monteith Road so that the Twentieth Corps could proceed on its march. Colonel George P. Buell, a civilian appointee and former soldier in the 58th Indiana Infantry, commanded the Pioneer Brigade, Army of Georgia, who served General Sherman's army throughout the Georgia and Carolina campaigns (Henry 1873:263). Captain John W. Elam, 87th Indiana Infantry, was detached in command of the 1st Battalion, Pioneer Brigade of Army of the Cumberland, composed of 10 companies (Goodspeed Brothers 1894). Captain Carrell Smith was in command of the 2nd Battalion and Captain William Clark commanded the 3rd Battalion. In 1863, Colonel Buell's Pioneer Brigade contained 41 officers and 924 men (d'Orléans Paris et al. 1888:652; Whipple 1865; Society of the Army of the Cumberland 1886:224-229). In the Georgia campaign, Colonel Buell accompanied the 14th Corps and was not present at Monteith Swamp. His second in command, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Moore, 58th Indiana Infantry, led pioneers with the Twentieth Corps. It was Lieutenant Colonel Moore's 58th Indiana Pioneers that encountered the obstacles on the Monteith Road. Moore's command consisted of, "four companies of the Fifty-eighth Indiana Volunteers, effective force 220 men exclusive of teamsters, and a train of forty-one wagons, including baggage and supply train, and hauled about 440 feet of pontoon bridge" (ehistory.com 2011). In his official report filed in Savannah, Lieutenant Colonel Moore made no mention of the events at Monteith Swamp. Hight's (1895) history of the 58th Indiana Infantry Regiment also

makes no mention of events at Monteith Swamp.

Michigan supplied its 1st Michigan Engineers and Mechanics, who were also instrumental in road work during Sherman's March to the Sea campaign (Michigan Historical Center 1999). The 1st Michigan was commanded by Major John B. Yates (ehistory.com 2012). The 1st Michigan was not present at Monteith Swamp but was attached to the Fourteenth Corps.

Other U.S. Army troops passed by Monteith Swamp in December 1864, although they were not necessarily present for the December 9 action. These include several dozen regiments in the Twentieth Corps who made no mention of Monteith Swamp in its battle reports or post-war histories.

Cavalrymen in Brigadier General Judson Kilpatrick's 3rd Cavalry Division probably was not in the battle at Monteith Swamp on December 9 since the 3rd Cavalry was several miles to the north at the time. Jones (1889:73) noted, however, that, "After crossing Ebenezer creek on the 8th of December General Kilpatrick concentrated his cavalry on the Monteith road, ten miles south of Springfield; and, until the 13th, moved in rear of the 17th army corps, with detachments covering the rear of the other army corps". Thus, U.S. Cavalry camps and undocumented skirmishes attributable to Kilpatrick's 3rd Cavalry Division may exist within the Monteith Swamp study area.

V. Confederate Forces

Major General William Hardee's right was commanded by Major General Gustavus Woodson Smith (Smith 1888:667-669; Scaife and Bragg 2004) (Figure 32). The estimated strength of Confederate troops at Monteith Swamp was fewer than 300 men. Union accounts overestimate the number of Confederate defenders as high as 1,000. Lieutenant Major Alfred Lamar Hartridge was assigned command of the Confederate forces (approximately 800 men) from the Charleston & Savannah Railroad to General Harrison's place (Sheehy 2005:140; Jones 1909:49).



Figure 32. Major General Gustavus Woodson Smith, C.S.A.

Documentary evidence for the association of Major Hartridge's command is found in the Confederate accounts of the engagement at Ball's Ferry on the Oconee River in late November 1864. Confederate Major General Henry C. Wayne described the battle:

Friday, 25th, at 1 a. m., General Hardee arrived with a portion of his staff. At daybreak the enemy opened heavily at the ferry on Talbot with two pieces of artillery and small-arms. Trestle-work burning slowly toward the bridge, enemy covering its progress. At 9 a. m. General Hardee returned to Numbers 13. Enemy reported moving in large force on Sandersville and Numbers 13. At 11 a. m. Lieutenant Colonel Young, Thirtieth Georgia Battalion, sent to the ferry with a portion of Gaines' command to re-enforce Talbot, who was hard pressed, but well covered and confident, the Fourth Kentucky detachment patrolling the roads to our right. During the afternoon, the fire having approached the bridge, the enemy withdrew from our front, moving to our left. In the evening Major Capers, assuring himself that the enemy had entirely left our front, extinguished the flames which had reached the bridge, but only charred a few feet of it. The attempt to destroy the bridge by a direct attack in front had failed. At 9.15 p.m. Colonel Young, commanding at Ball's Ferry, reported that the enemy were preparing to cross above and below him; that his men and ammunition were nearly exhausted, and if held in his position until daylight his command would be sacrificed. On telegraphing this report to General Hardee at Numbers 13, for which point the enemy were also making, I received orders to withdraw all my forces and fall back on Numbers 13. ...Monday, 28th, at 2 a. m. received information from General Wheeler that Kilpatrick, with his command, with between 4,000 and 5,000 men, had left Waynesborough for Millen. My scouts on that gave us no notice of the enemy. At 8.15 a. m. Major Black, inspector-general to General Hardee, arrived from up the road with the same information. As Kilpatrick was, on good authority, reported to have left Waynesborough for Millen, and as my scouts on the direct road between the two places gave me no hint of his approach, I concluded that his march was to cut me off at Numbers 5, below, and that the safety of my command required me to fall back to or near that point. Major Black concurring, the command was moved back to Numbers 4 1/2, behind the Little Ogeechee bridge, arriving there at 3,30 p.m.

Tuesday, 29, occupied in preparing defenses. Sent Major Hartridge with his company of the Twenty-seventh Battalion to Savannah, as ordered by General Hardee. Rumors vague as to the movements and force of the enemy above. Command reduced to the Cadets and Milledgeville battalion of infantry, Pruden's battery, and the Washington County militia-in all, 350 men. Emanuel militia, mounted, numbering about thirty men, reported for duty under Captain Clifton (OR 1893:34-35).

Major Hartridge's 1867 reference to a Major Black at Monteith Swamp presents an enigma as to this officer's exact identification. C.C. Jones, Jr. (1874:87) also refers to Major Black, as discussed the Confederate's organization in Savannah during the December 1864 siege, "By assignment of the general commanding [Major General Gustavus Smith], Major Black of his staff was designated as inspector on Major general Smith's front". Major General Henry C. Wayne, Georgia militia, also refers to "Major Black, inspector-general to General Hardee" at Ball's Ferry in a letter to Georgia Governor Joe Brown in late November 1864. Elsewhere in the official records a Colonel J. L. Black is identified by a letter written from a fortification in coastal South Carolina in August 1864. Colonel J.L. Black is also included in correspondence to the Headquarters of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, dated September 3, 1864, and at Royall's House [Charleston vicinity, South Carolina] on September 9, 1864 (OR 1893:620-621). It would appear that Major Black and Colonel J.L. Black were one in the same. No officer in the North Carolina units that were at Savannah have the name "Black", nor were any officers of the Georgia militia under Major General Smith's command by that name.

We conclude that the Confederate officer in command at Monteith Swamp was an officer named Black, possibly a Colonel, who served as Inspector for Major General Gustavus W. Smith's forces. Colonel Black's first name is undetermined but his initials were probably "J. L.". Colonel Black filed no post battle reports from the defense of Savannah operations, nor was any correspondence located pertaining to the same.

The next highest ranking Confederate officer was likely Major Wilton Young, commanding the 10th Battalion North Carolina Heavy Artillery.

27TH BATTALION GEORGIA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY

The 27th Battalion was commanded by Major Alfred Lamar Hartridge and Major William B. Stubbs (Jones 1909:46). The battalion was first assigned to McLaw's Division, Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. It was later assigned to J.C. Fiser's Brigade, Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. In December 1864, the 27th Georgia Battalion was organized into six companies (A-F) when it reported 447 officers and men present for duty. Table 2 contains a list of the commissioned officers in the battalion in 1864. The 27th Georgia Battalion was stationed at the Augusta Road on Cuyler's plantation with a battery of two Napoleons (NPS 2010). Some portion of the 27th Battalion also may have been engaged at Monteith Swamp.

Table 2. Commissioned Officers in the 27th Battalion Georgia Volunteer Infantry, 1864.

Name	Company
Major Alfred L. Hartridge	F&S
Major Thacker B. Howard, Jr.	
Major William B. Stubbs, Co. A	
Lieutenant/Adjutant Thomas S. Wayne	F&S
Assistant Surgeon J.T. West	F&S
Captain Benjamin F. Johnson	A
First Lieutenant Joseph B. Beall/Bean	A
Second Lieutenant Clark M. Davis	A
Captain Joseph H. King	A/B
Junior Second Lieutenant Nathan C. Sayre	A/E
Junior Second Lieutenant William B. Latimer/Latmer	A/B
First Lieutenant Irby Hudson Adams	B
Second Lieutenant Newton A. Mason	B
Captain A.E. Andrews	C
Lieutenant John F. Alford	C
First Lieutenant K.A. McKenney/McKinney/McKinnie/McKinny	C
Second Lieutenant O. G. Campbell	C
Second Lieutenant Hal Cotter	C
Second Lieutenant James Walter Gray	C/D
Captain Edward T. Miller	D
First Lieutenant Justin L. Heath	D
Second Lieutenant John C. Brigham	D
Captain M.C. Daugherty	E
First Lieutenant W.G. Robbins/Robertson	E
Second Lieutenant T.M. Green	E
Captain William T. Reid	F
First Lieutenant Charles C. Burney	F
Second Lieutenant W.A. Reed	F
Second Lieutenant A.H. Smith	F

(Source: NPS 2010).

C.C. Jones, Jr. noted in his biography of Alfred Lamar Hartridge,

On November 30, 1864, he [Hartridge] was placed in command of that portion of the outer line of the defenses around Savannah

at Monteith, extending from the Charleston and Savannah Railroad bridge over the Savannah River to the Central Railroad, just to the southwest of Harrison's place.

The troops under his command consisting of six companies of the Twenty-seventh

Georgia Battalion, Howard's Battalion, a North Carolina Battalion, two Cavalry companies and Captain Abell's Light Battery of four pieces. On December 6th the advance of the Federals appeared in front of this line, and on the day following a general attack was made by skirmishers, and in the afternoon by heavy columns. By order of the general commanding, the troops were withdrawn from this, line on the night of December 7th, and Major Hartridge was placed in command of that portion of the inner line resting on the Williamson place on the river (Jones 1890:566-567).

Major Hartridge commanded a contingent of two companies of Cobb Guards in October and December 1864 (OR 1893:985). Most of the Cobb Guards were engaged in the Virginia theatre in 1864 (NPS 2010). In August 1864, two companies of the Cobb Guards, stationed at Rose Dhu Island battery, numbered 135 men (Evans 1899, Volume 6:287). The Cobb Guards fought under Major Hartridge in the battle of Balls Ferry on the Oconee River in late November 1864. It is unclear whether any of the Cobb Guards participated in the action at Monteith Swamp.

C.W. HOWARD'S BATTALION

C.W. Howard's Battalion consisted of 150 men (Jones 1909:46). The battalion was initially stationed on the Middleground Road with one howitzer. As events of December 9 unfolded, however, the battery on the Middleground Road was redeployed, possibly to the redoubts at Harrison's Field, after the Confederate command feared their position was untenable and they were likely to be flanked. The later arrival of a second howitzer in the Confederate defenses in Monteith Swamp may account for the discrepancies as to whether the place was defended by one or two pieces of Confederate artillery. The correct answer may be both. As to the disposition of the

position of the balance of troops in C.W. Howard's Battalion on December 9 this is unclear. They may have been split between the defenses at Monteith Swamp and Jones' battery on Cuyler's plantation, which was at the junction of the Middleground and Augusta roads (NPS 2010).

BATTALION OF GUARDS

The Georgia Augusta Arsenal Infantry Battalion, also known as the Battalion of Guards, is another Georgia unit that may have fought at Monteith Swamp. It was organized with six companies around January 1864. It was composed of underage soldiers (non-conscripts, or young men under the age of conscription) and its first command was at the Augusta arsenal. Its first commander was Major Isadore Girardey (Sifakis 2007:280). In April, 1864, the battalion was assigned to field service in Savannah, but its commander Major Isadore Girardey did not accompany his troops (Jones 2002:570). The likely commander of the battalion in the Savannah area was Lieutenant Colonel Reuben B. Nisbett (Bragg 2007:221-222).

HARDY'S DETACHMENT--NORTH CAROLINA BATTALION

As noted by Major Hartridge and Lieutenant Colonel C.C. Jones, Jr. a North Carolina battalion formed part of Major Hartridge's command north of Savannah. Union post-war accounts identify these North Carolina units as possibly present at Monteith Swamp: the 10th Battalion Heavy Artillery and the 36th Infantry [2nd Artillery], 40th Infantry [3rd Artillery], 50th Infantry, and 77th Infantry [7th North Carolina Senior Reserves). These soldiers were known collectively as Hardy's Detachment, named for their commander, Colonel Washington

“Wash” M. Hardy. At the time of the Monteith Swamp engagement, however, the North Carolina battalion was likely commanded by Colonel Laurence S. Baker. Baker resigned on December 26th and Colonel Washington assumed command (Hunter 2012; Crabb 2010:70-72). Figure 33 is a photograph of Colonel Hardy taken in Raleigh, North Carolina, immediately after the war (Cowan Auctions 2008). It remains unclear, however, whether either Colonels Hardy or Baker actually were present at Monteith Swamp on December 9.

Baker’s North Carolina Brigade was assigned to Major General Lafayette McLaw’s Division in December 1864. The brigade was composed of the 10th North Carolina Battalion, commanded by Major Wilton L. Young; the 36th North Carolina, commanded by Major James M. Stevenson; the 40th North Carolina, commanded by Major William A. Holland; the 50th North Carolina, commanded by Lieutenant Joseph C. Ellington and the 77th North Carolina, also known as the 7th North Carolina Senior Reserves, who were commanded by Colonel Washington Hardy (Trudeau 2009: 560; Bradley 1996; Clark 1901; Crabb 2010; Albright 1901; Ellington 1901; Hilderman 2005; Hughes 2006; Hunter 2012; Weymouth 1990; Williams 1955).

The 10th Battalion North Carolina Heavy Artillery consisted of 350 men. At Monteith Swamp the battalion was armed with only one howitzer, which was in position at Harrison’s place. The 10th Battalion was commanded by Major Wilton L. Young, which was active in the defense of Savannah in November and December 1864 (NPS 2010; Frazier 1901; Powell 1901; Wheeler 1901; Manarin 1988). Major Young had commanded two companies of the 10th Battalion in North Carolina in September 1864. In Savannah in early December 1864, three companies of the battalion were

present, including Company C and two other unidentified companies (A, B or D) (OR 1893, Volume 42(2): 1227). Manarin (1988:531-533) summarized the 10th Battalion and its service in coastal Georgia:



Figure 33. Colonel Washington M. Hardy, 1865 (Cowan Auctions 2008)

On 24 November 1864 the whole 10th Battalion was ordered to Georgia to reinforce Lieutenant General William J. Hardee’s command, then trying to prevent General William T. Sherman from completing his famous march from Atlanta to the Sea. Young’s Battalion arrived in Augusta, GA on 27 November and immediately assumed a position in the defensive works protecting the western approaches to the city. On the 29 these orders were countermanded and the 10th was ordered to move to Savannah by way of Charleston, SC. On 2 December the 10th reached Savannah where it joined General Hardee’s force located about forty-five miles from the city. Sherman’s advance forced Hardee to retreat closer to Savannah where on 8 December the 10th found itself

in the defensive perimeter of the city. At this time, Young's Battalion became part of a temporary brigade commanded by Colonel Washington M. Hardy, of the 60th Regiment of NC Troops. They remained in these lines until 20 December when they were evacuated, withdrawing through Savannah to Hardeeville, SC and continuing to serve as part of Hardy's regiment.

Powell provides this history of the 10th Battalion's service in Savannah:

In November 1864, news reached that region that something had "broke loose in Georgia." We bid those old Barrette carriages and Columbiads, so grimly pointing at those old black hulks on the ocean, good-bye. Same at dear old Wilmington. We did not have a band, but the boys sang as they boarded the train "The Girl I Left Behind Me," and in due time we landed at Augusta, Ga., and at once commenced entrenching on the western suburbs, but were soon ordered to Savannah as Sherman and his bummers were steering, stealing and burning on a line for that city. We went via Charleston, S. C., and somewhere between there and Savannah, either at Coosawhatchie, Salkehatchie, Pocotaligo, Honey Hill (or some other hill), we were taken off the train and in about twenty minutes beat the stuffing out of a small force of Yankees (negroes, I think), that had landed and were approaching the railroad. They re-embarked and were soon in the dim distance. Our casualties were slight and theirs unknown. They were surprised and awfully frightened. This being our first cartridge biting, I saw a few 'Goo-Goo' eyes among our boys.

On our arrival at Savannah we were sent up the Central Railroad to the 45-mile post, and there deployed as skirmishers across the railroad and the county road leading to the Ogeechee river bridge, made temporary rifle pits and in two days, the dark, blue lines showed up and the business proceeded. We were soon brushed away by a line of battle, not, however, until that said crooked finger got in some work. What their loss was we never knew. We lost several, among them Sergeant-Major Daniel Young, a brother of the Major.

Captain McCauley was in command of the skirmishers and afterwards remarked that according to tactics he took position eighty paces in rear and got behind a big stump (as the tactics said cover when convenient), when the firing commenced he looked out on one side and zip ! came a ball ; pretty soon he looked on the other side and zip! came another, as the firing increased he thought he would look over and see what the boys were doing and he thinks there came three or four baskets full of bullets all around and over him. About that time he saw the boys coming back right lively and not desiring to go contrary to the tactics, maintained his distance pretty well. The Yanks did not push fast, but just came gradually and moved us a little every day clear back to near Savannah, which was nicely entrenched on an old canal... We were here brigaded with the Fiftieth North Carolina Regiment, a part of the Thirty-sixth or Fortieth (they also were heavy artillery from Wilmington), some Georgia Reserves and the Seventh Regiment North Carolina Senior Reserves (or Seventy -seventh North Carolina), and commanded by Colonel Wash. [Washington] Hardy, of the Sixtieth North Carolina, who had been (I think) captured in some of the up Georgia battles and exchanged (Powell 1901:333-334).

Captain Woodbury Wheeler, Company D, and Lieutenant F.C. Frazier, both left post-war accounts of the battalion. Captain Wheeler was not present in Georgia. Lieutenant Frazier's account noted that the 10th Battalion was engaged with Sherman's troops at the Ogeechee River at Jencks Bridge. That battle took place on December 6th and 7th. It is unclear if the 10th Battalion had any involvement in the action at Monteith Swamp three days later (Wheeler 1901: 315-324; Frazier 1901: 325-328; Georgia Historical Commission 1963).

Powell (1901:329-330) provided a list of the companies and their captains for the 10th North Carolina:

- Company A---H.J. Harriss
- Company B—H.M. Barnes

- Company C—C.M.T. McCauley
- Company D—Woodbury Wheeler (in hospital in December, 1864), Lieutenants E.B. Goelet, J.M. Terrell and Calvin Dickinson.

Powell's description of the service of the 10th North Carolina in Georgia makes no specific mention of Monteith Swamp. He notes that, after its arrival in Savannah via railroad from Charleston, South Carolina, the 10th North Carolina was "sent up the Central Railroad to the 45-mile post, near Oliver, Georgia, and there deployed as skirmishers across the railroad and the county road leading to the Ogeechee river bridge and in two days, the dark, blue lines showed up and the business proceeded", and he further noted, "the Yanks did not push fast, but just came gradually and moved us a little every day clear back to near Savannah, which was nicely entrenched on an old canal" (Powell 1901:333-334; Georgia Historical Commission 1958).

The National Park Service's Soldiers and Sailor's System lists a detachment from the 36th North Carolina Infantry Regiment involved in the defense of Savannah (NPS 2010). The regimental commanders included: Colonel William Lamb, Lieutenant Colonels John A. Richardson and John D. Taylor, and Major James M. Stevenson. Major W.A. Holland was in command of the 36th North Carolina Infantry in January 1865, when they formed part of Brigadier General Thomas Lanier Clingman's Brigade in Major General Robert Frederick Hoke's Division, Hardee's Corps. Powell, however, noted that the 36th North Carolina was an artillery regiment and the NPS database also lists it as the 2nd Artillery (Powell 1901). It remains unclear if any soldiers from the 36th North Carolina fought at Monteith Swamp on December 9th.

Researchers found no official records directly linking the 40th North Carolina Infantry Regiment to Monteith Swamp. Cunyngham, a war correspondent for the *New York Herald*, noted that the 40th North Carolina, commanded by Major Stevenson, was engaged at Monteith Swamp (Cunyngham 1865:279). Cunyngham was not present at Monteith Swamp, however, so his account may be based on bad information. In January 1865, the 40th North Carolina Infantry also formed part of Brigadier General Thomas Lanier Clingman's Brigade in Major General Robert Frederick Hoke's Division, Hardee's Corps. Powell (1901) noted that the 40th North Carolina was present in the Savannah area in December 1864 but that it was an artillery regiment. The NPS database also lists it as the 3rd Artillery (NPS 2012). The involvement of the 40th North Carolina at Monteith Swamp remains unconfirmed.

The 50th North Carolina was sent to Savannah, arrived north of the city around December 1. On December 7, it was at the Ogeechee River where it was involved in rear guard action, returning to Savannah on December 9. Captain John B. Eaves, Company I, 1st Lieutenant Jesse T. Ellington, Company C; 1st Lieutenant William M. Corbett, Company I; 1st Lieutenant William T. Gardner, Company E, and one other unidentified lieutenant commanded about 900 men of the 50th North Carolina, which was originally organized in 1862 into eight companies (A-H) but reduced to four companies while in the Savannah theater. Company I was composed of 59 volunteers and 31 conscripts (soldiers under compulsory military service) (Clark 1901:188-189; Hilderman 2005:176). By December 28, however, the regiment reported only 550 men present for duty (OR I v.44:999). The NPS Soldiers and Sailors System lists 17 officers in the 50th North Carolina Infantry

who held the rank of Captain at war's end, and these likely represent 14 distinct persons. These were captains:

- Company A--James A. Burch, replaced John C. Van Hook (Figure 34) who was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the 50th Regiment
- Company B--Emcoin C. [same as E.C. Adkinsons] Atkinson,
- Company C--Robert Darius [same as R.D. Lunsford] Lunceford, replaced by Thomas Rice Youngblood, T. R. Roundlry, then by 1st Lieutenant Jesse T. Ellington
- Company D--H.J. Ryals, replaced by William B. Best
- Company E--John B. Griswold, replaced by Philip L. Burwell
- Company F--James O.A. [or A.O.] Kelly
- Company G--George W. Andrews
- Company H--Joseph H. Atkinson
- Company I--John B. Eaves [John B. Evans, likely same as John B. Eaves]
- Company K--George B. Ford, Samuel Wilkins (NPS 2012; Ellington 1901:201-205).

Other ranking officers in the 50th North Carolina in early 1865, who likely served in the Savannah area in December 1864 included 1st Lieutenant William Blalock, Company A (Figure 35), 2nd Lieutenant Albert O'Briant, and 3rd Lieutenant Robert Ramsey NPS 2012). Jesse W. Edmundson served as Adjutant of the 50th Regiment North Carolina Troops (Hughes 2006:275).

Two members of the Ellington family, both in Company C in the 50th North Carolina Infantry, were present at Monteith Swamp—1st Lieutenant Jesse Thompson Ellington, (1842-1910), and youngest brother, 2nd Lieutenant Joseph Crittenden Ellington (1843-1905) (Ancestry.com 2012; NPS 2012; Clark 1901, Volume 1). Joseph C.

Ellington provided an important post-war account in 1901 of their engagement north of Savannah in December 1864, which is discussed later in this report (Ellington 1901). Photographic images of the Ellington brothers, Jesse and Joseph, are reproduced in Figures 36 and 37.



Figure 34. Lieutenant Colonel John C. Vanhook, Company A, 50th Regiment North Carolina Troops.



Figure 35. 1st Lieutenant William A. Blalock, Company A, 50th Regiment North Carolina Troops.



Figure 37. 2nd Lieutenant Joseph Crittenden Ellington, Company C, 50th Regiment North Carolina Troops.



Figure 36. 1st Lieutenant Jesse Thompson Ellington, Company C, 50th Regiment, North Carolina Troops.

The 50th North Carolina was armed with Belgium rifles, Enfield rifles, Richmond rifles and .69 caliber smoothbore muskets, when its arms were inventoried in the Spring of 1865. The Richmond rifle and the .69 caliber musket were most common. These were likely the weapons carried by the 50th North Carolina at Monteith Swamp. The 50th's uniform button included the Confederate Block I and Script I types.

The 7th Regiment, North Carolina Senior Reserves was also known as the 77th North Carolina. The Soldiers and Sailors database lists 944 entries for this regiment but no details of the regiment's service record or its troop strength in December, 1864 are recorded (NPS 2012). One officer in the 77th North Carolina regiment, 1st Lieutenant John G. Albright, Company A, left a postwar account in 1874 of the regiment's service record but Albright's writings were focused on the regiment's action in the Carolinas in 1865 (Clark 1901, Volume 4:99-104).

Albright (1901:99-105) noted that the commander of the 77th Regiment in December, 1864 was Colonel Charles E. Shoher. The regiment was organized into 10 companies. Company commanders for eight of the companies were as follows:

- Company A—W.S. Bradshaw
- Company B—Jacob Boon
- Company C—W.B. Johnston
- Company D—R.S. Davis
- Company E—W.H. Watts
- Company F—A.A. Mitchell
- Company G—E.E. Holland
- Company H—William Clinard

Major James R. McLean noted that the 77th Regiment was engaged in action at Coosawhatchie on December 9, under the command of General Beverly H. Robinson (Albright 1901:101-103). The regiment's presence at Coosawhatchie on December 9 is confirmed by Albright's account. Therefore, it is unlikely that any soldiers in the 77th Regiment were at Monteith Swamp.

11TH TEXAS CAVALRY REGIMENT

One other Confederate unit claimed participation in action at Monteith Swamp. The 11th Texas Cavalry Regiment was organized in May 1861 with 855 men but by April, 1865 that number had dwindled to 105 (Gibson 2010). The 11th Texas Cavalry Regiment recorded participation in engagements north of Savannah from December 7-10, 1864, including:

Dec 7 Skirmishes at Eden Station, Jenk's Bridge, And the Ogeechee River, GA.

Dec 8 Skirmishes at Ebenezer Church, Bryan's Courthouse, Monteith Swamp, and saw action in Harrison's Field, GA.

Dec 9 Skirmish at Cuyler's Plantation, GA.

Dec 10-21 The Siege on Savannah.

Dec 10 Skirmish near Springfield, GA.

The factual correctness of the aforementioned sequence of actions is problematic however, as the action at Monteith Swamp and Harrison's Field is attributed to December 8, which is a day earlier than the actual event (Cobb 1999). The 11th Texas Cavalry Regiment may have been one of the two cavalry "companies" listed by C.C. Jones, Jr. as under the command of Major Hartridge in early December 1864 (Jones 1890:567).

Confederate Cavalry were present on Monteith plantation around the time of the battle. U.S. Major General Slocum reported that a detachment of Joseph Wheeler's Confederate Cavalry, along with Brigadier General George Paul Harrison, Sr. (retired) was captured by troops from the Twentieth Corps at Monteith plantation (*Albany Evening News* 1864: 2; OR, Ser. 1, Vol. 44: 688). Harrison's Monteith plantation home was located south of St. Augustine Creek and south of Harrison's Field.

Brigadier General George Paul Harrison, Sr., was the owner of the Monteith Plantation, which was the property where the battle of Monteith Swamp occurred. General Harrison was not serving in command of any of the Confederates who were engaged in the battle. Knight (1917, Volume 5:2299) provides this brief biography of the general:

General Harrison was born in Savannah, in 1814; died in that city in 1887, and rests in Laurel Grove Cemetery. He was a prominent citizen of the state prior to the war between the states, and engaged in rice planting on the Savannah River, owning what is known as "the Monteith Plantation." He represented Chatham County several times in the General Assembly, took an

active interest in military affairs, and had risen to be a major-general in the Georgia militia prior to the war. During that struggle, under commission from the governor, he commanded a brigade of Georgia state troops, which served in and around Savannah. While on a visit to his plantation at Monteith he was captured by the Federals and held a prisoner until near the close of the war. After the war he served as a member of the first constitutional convention of Georgia, and was for a long time clerk of the Superior Court of Chatham County, serving also for a number of years as a member of the Inferior Court of Chatham County.

General Harrison's role in the battle is that of a would-be bystander who was captured at his manor home on December 9 (United States War Department 1900:402; *Albany Evening News* 1864:2; OR, Ser. 1, Vol. 44: 688). Brigadier General Harrison's capture is considered the final hostile action in the Monteith Swamp battle. His home was located south of St. Augustine Creek and

was several hundred yards from the primary action. No casualties were reported in Harrison's capture. The Harrison home site has not been studied archeologically.

CAPTAIN HENRY F. ABELL'S FLORIDA LIGHT BATTERY

Jones (1890:567) listed "Captain Abell's Light Battery of four pieces" as among the troops under command of Major Hartridge north of Savannah in early December 1864. Captain Henry F. Abell commanded the Florida Battery, which were unattached troops that were organized into an Artillery Battalion in January 1865. The Florida artillery may have been stationed at Dr. Cuyler's plantation, rather than at Monteith Swamp. Major Hartridge's 1867 account suggests that Abell's Light Battery was not at Monteith Swamp.

VI. Union Battle Accounts

Major General William T. Sherman's report on the March to the Sea campaign, dated January 1, contained a few notes about the action on the days before the siege of Savannah was formally in place. He noted,

As we approached Savannah the country became more marshy and difficult, and more obstructions were met, in the way of felled trees, where the roads crossed the creek, swamps, or narrow causeways; but our pioneer companies were well organized, and removed the obstruction in an incredibly short time. No opposition from the enemy worth speaking of was encountered until the heads of columns were within fifteen miles of Savannah, where all the roads leading to the city were obstructed more or less by felled timber, with earthworks and artillery. But these were easily turned and the enemy driven away, so that by 10th of December the enemy was driven within his lines at Savannah...In approaching Savannah, General Slocum struck the Charleston railroad near the bridge, and occupied the river bank as his left flank (Sherman 1866:1182-1183).

General Sherman made no direct mention of the battle or skirmish at Monteith Swamp. Although Generals Sherman and Slocum had both started the day on December 9 from their temporary headquarters at Zion Church, Sherman followed the River Road route towards Pooler, whereas Slocum's Twentieth Corps moved from Zion towards Monteith Station along the Monteith Road. L.M. Dayton, Major General Sherman's Aide-de-Camp wrote to Major General Howard from Zion Church at 7 p.m. on December 8,

General Slocum is but a short distance from us, and will move, to-morrow, on a road which branches off from this road and comes into the Augusta road ten (10) miles north of Savannah, where he will effect a junction with General Davis, destroy that railroad, drive the enemy within his intrenchments, and then work to the right

and form a junction with us on this road as near Savannah as we may get. General Blair will move on this road by Pooler's, and so on until we drive the enemy within the intrenchments of Savannah, wherever they may be (Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War 1866, Volume I:275).

Aide-de-Camp Dayton sent this dispatch to Major General Slocum from Sherman's headquarters, "In the fields Pooler's, No.1", on the evening of the battle at Monteith Swamp,

As yet we have heard nothing from you to-day except your guns, nearly due north from us, at three to five p.m. General Howard has reported, and is in possession of the Gulf railroad; captured one piece of artillery and some prisoners and a train of cars. Both corps have met opposition, but have overcome it, and Howard will move the 15th *via* the plank road, and the 17th *via* this, the main road, on Savannah, in the morning. The general wishes you to continue along the Savannah river in your movement on the city, making as much progress as you can, until the enemy's main line is developed. I am, general, very respectfully, yours, &c (Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War 1866, Volume I:276-277).

L.M. Dayton noted in another dispatch from General Sherman's headquarters "In the field, Pooler's No. 1" to General Howard on December 9, "We have not heard from General Slocum direct, but the sound of his guns would place him at Cherokee Hill or near there; we heard them at sundown" (United States. House of Representatives 1895:276).

Major General Slocum wrote to L.M. Dayton, Sherman's Aide-de-Camp early on December 10,

Headquarters Left Wing, Army Op Georgia,

Four Miles from Savannah and Charleston Railroad,

December 10, 1864—4.30 a. m.

Capt. L. M. Dayton,

Aide-de-Camp:

Captain: At this point my column found our road very badly obstructed and the enemy on opposite side with two small works. We drove him from the works, and have removed all obstructions, and I do not anticipate much difficulty between here and the railroad. We move at daylight. Davis is moving, but his road is a difficult one. I think I shall meet him near Cherokee Hill today. Very respectfully, &c.,

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General (OR, Ser. 1, Vol. 44:680).

Major General Slocum's biographer, Charles Elihu Slocum, described the engagement at Monteith Swamp:

The direction of the march was changed December 9, more to the eastward and along the road from Edon [sic, Eden] to Monteith Post office on the Charleston Railway. In the large Monteith Swamp the enemy had cut trees to fall across the road, and had built two small earthworks beyond, which were manned by about 400 infantrymen with a cannon. Plans were at once made for capturing all of the enemy at this place but, before the obstructing trees could be cut and moved away, all of the at first pretentious opposing forces excepted, and hurriedly, before the Union small arms at long range. They left a considerable quantity of new clothing and accouterments [sic, accoutrements]. They killed one and wounded four of Slocum's men. They carried away their killed and wounded comrades (Slocum 1913:235).

Brigadier General Alpheus S. Williams commanded the Twentieth Corps and filed his report on January 9, 1865. He provided few details of the action at Monteith Swamp but did contain statements of the organization and movements of the Twentieth Corps on December 8 and 9:

December 8.—Order of march: Cavalry, Second, First, Third Divisions, and train. Weather fine. Road good until the troops struck the Eden Cross-Road, which was very swampy. Supplies plenty. Distance, ten miles.

December 9.—Order of march: Cavalry, First, Second, and Third Divisions. The First Division repulsed the enemy near Monteith. Weather cloudy. Road, good pike. Supplies plenty. Distance, nine miles (United States House of Representatives 1895:215).

Another summary report of the Twentieth Corps recorded:

December 9.—Marched to Monteith plantation. The Third Division and trains closed up. The enemy at this place, having obstructed the road across a wide swamp and having infantry and artillery in intrenchments on the opposite side, disputed the crossing. They were driven away by a portion of the First Division and their works occupied by us (OR 1893:44).

A summary report of the 1st Division, Twentieth Corps provides additional details:

December 9.—Came upon a force of the enemy occupying two redoubts with one piece of artillery commanding the road. While Colonel Selfridge (commanding the First Brigade) occupied the attention of the enemy in front, the Second Brigade (Colonel Carman's) was sent to the enemy's left to get to his rear, if possible, and the Third Brigade (Colonel Robinson's) to his right. Owing to the difficult nature of the ground the Second Brigade did not succeed in reaching the desired position before the movement of the Third Brigade compelled the enemy to evacuate his position (OR 1893:45-46).

A summary report of 1st Brigade, 1st Division, Twentieth Corps noted:

December 9.—Nothing of note occurred up to this date. When about thirteen miles northwest of Savannah, this brigade having the lead, we came to a portion of the road which was completely obstructed by slashed timber, at the end of which the enemy was

fortified. The Fifth Connecticut Veteran Volunteers was deployed as skirmishers, supported by the remaining three regiments of this brigade, and, in conjunction with the Second and Third Brigades of this division, drove the enemy from their works, capturing a few prisoners. Three men of the Forty-sixth Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers were wounded (OR 1893:46).

One regiment in the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, the 123rd New York Infantry, was the lead regiment in the Twentieth Corps' train. That regiment experienced the opening volley of Confederate artillery fire as the Twentieth Corps approached Monteith Swamp. Regimental historian Morhous recalled:

December 9 the Regiment did not move until eight o'clock in the morning. The boys were marching along, joking, laughing and singing as usual, when all at once a shell exploded directly over their heads. If ever soldiers were surprised it was the boys of the 123d Regiment, about noon on the 9 of December 1864. The Regiment led the Corps on this day's march, and they had no warning that the Rebels were in front. They halted without the word of command for once. Several shells were thrown over, but no one was injured. Soon Gen. Williams and staff came dashing up. The 2d Brigade was sent to the right and the 3d Brigade to the left, and the 1st Brigade formed in line of battle in front. Soon after the order was given to advance. The cheering from the other brigades could be heard as they moved forward on the flanks. On either side of the road in front, the position occupied by the 1st Brigade, it was swampy and as the brigade advanced the 123d Regiment had to wade in water, the Rebels in the meantime firing shell and pouring in Minie balls at a terrific rate. In the advance, a soldier by the name of Barrett, belonging to the Whitehall company, was hit by a bullet in the head, the ball just grazing the skull. When hit he was standing in water nearly up to his knees. The bullet knocked his hat off. He remained quiet for a moment or two, and then commenced swearing, saying he, "could lick the Rebel that fired that bullet." His companions yelled to him to come on, but he did not stir, and kept shaking his fist in the direction of the Rebels, daring them to

come and tackle him. Some of the boys took him by the arm and he went along, swearing vengeance on the Rebel who fired that shot. The hit on the head seemed to make him crazy for a little while. Pushing on through the swamp the Regiment soon came to the fort, but the birds had flown, as usual. The Rebels had built two small forts on the edge of a swamp, and blockaded the road with fallen trees, but in about one hour from the time the first shell came hissing over the Regiment, the Rebels were fleeing to Savannah. Hats, guns, etc., were scattered along the road, a sure indication that there was not much order about their leaving. Two or three caissons containing considerable ammunition were left in the forts. The Regiment bivouacked on the Rebel Gen. Harrison's plantation (Morhous 1879:145-146).

Lieutenant Colonel Le Sage, 101st Illinois Infantry Regiment, 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, reported on December 25, 1864:

On the 9 we marched toward Monteith Station, on the Savannah and Charleston Railroad. About 2 p.m. we reached a swamp where the rebels had obstructed the road with felled timber, and commanded the road with artillery placed in a couple of redoubts on the other side. The Sixty-first Ohio Veteran Volunteers and Thirty-first Wisconsin Volunteers of our brigade were sent to the left to wade the swamp and flank the rebel position. This they did splendidly. At the first fire, which they opened, the rest of the brigade rushed forward to their assistance, but they had completed the task and held the forts, the rebels, unfortunately, making good their retreat. We camped for the night around the forts, having marched about eight miles (OR 1893:263).

A report of the 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, Twentieth Corps noted: "December 9—Marched at 8.30 a.m. on the road to Monteith; skirmishing and artillery firing soon began at the front; found the enemy in position with artillery at Monteith Swamp at 3.15 p.m. Two regiments of the brigade—the Thirty-first Wisconsin and Sixty-first Ohio Veteran Volunteers—sent to the left to

cross the swamp and turn the enemy's right; movement was successful, compelling the enemy to hastily withdraw, evacuating two fine redoubts. Brigade encamped near the captured redoubts at 7p.m. Distance marched, nine miles" (OR 1893:49).

A report of 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, Twentieth Corps noted, "December 9.—Moved at 8 a.m. in the direction of Monteith, where the advance of the corps had considerable skirmishing with the enemy, but dislodged them from their fortified position a short time before dark, when the whole corps went into camp for the night" (OR 1893:52).

Other units in the Twentieth Corps made little or no mention of the events at Monteith Swamp. A report of 2nd Brigade, 1st Division mentions only that they marched through Monteith and on "December 10.—Arrived in front of the enemy's works" (OR 1893:47). A report of 2nd Division, Twentieth Corps noted, "December 9—Marched to Monteith Swamp; distance, six miles" (OR 1893:51). A report of 3rd Brigade, 2nd Division mentioned only that it marched to Monteith (OR 1893:53). A report of Kilpatrick's 3rd Cavalry Division notes it was not in the vicinity of Monteith Swamp on December 9 but was in the rear of the 17th Army Corps near Pooler Station (OR 1893:55).

The field report of Brigadier General Nathaniel J. Jackson, commanding 1st Division, Twentieth Corps dated December 31, 1864 stated:

December 9, my command moved in advance, coming into the main Savannah Road shortly after leaving camp. On arriving at Monteith Swamp, about noon, the road was found very much obstructed by felled trees. Beyond the portion of the road obstructed the enemy had thrown up two redoubts, and in the more advanced one had posted a piece of artillery, which

commanded the road and prevented the removal of the obstructions. Having ordered Colonel Selfridge (commanding First Brigade) to occupy the attention of the enemy in front, I sent the Second Brigade (Colonel Carman commanding) to the right of the road with instructions to advance well around the enemy's left and endeavor to get in his rear. At the same time I ordered Colonel Robinson (commanding Third Brigade) to send three regiments to the left of the road to come up on the right flank of the enemy. Owing to the nature of the ground (a rice swamp), Carman's brigade was unable to reach the desired position before the regiments of the Third Brigade had debouched from the woods on the right of the enemy's works. The enemy fled, after firing one volley, leaving their knapsacks and camp equipage, but succeeded in removing the piece of artillery. Four prisoners were captured. My loss was one man killed and seven wounded. The distance marched was nine miles (OR 1893:218).

Asmussen (1864) maintained a series of maps showing the daily movements of the Twentieth Corps from Atlanta to the Sea. The map for the period from December 8-11, 1864 pertains to the battle of Monteith Swamp (Figure 38). Figure 39 shows a detail from this map for Monteith Swamp. An edited, published version appeared in the Civil War Atlas and a portion of that map is reproduced in Figure 40 (Davis et al. 1891).

Brigadier General John W. Geary, who commanded the Second Division, Twentieth Corps, filed his report on January 6, 1865 and it contained these entries pertinent to the Monteith Swamp engagement:

December 8, received orders to march in advance of the corps toward Monteith, leaving my trains under guard of the Third Division. Moved at 6 a. m. on a road running south by east from Springfield. After following this road six miles was ordered to take a small road branching off to the right, with a view of finding some middle road to Monteith. Followed this road, general direction west by south, for seven miles, and encamped in the woods about one

mile and a half from the Louisville road, on which the Seventeenth Corps was then moving. The looked-for middle road was not found to-day. The roads were generally fair, although we crossed several small swamps. In them we found timber felled across the road. This was removed by our pioneers, without delaying the march more than thirty minutes at any one time. Most of our route to-day was through pine forests. We passed a number of plantation houses in these forests, and quite a large supply of potatoes, sugar cane, fodder, mutton, and poultry was obtained. It is worthy of note that the swamp water through this region is excellent for drinking purposes, being much superior to the well water. Weather to-day pleasant. Distance, thirteen miles.

December 9, moved at 8.30 a.m., following the First Division. At Zion Church we struck the Louisville road, and there turned to the left on the main road running due east to Monteith Station. At Monteith Swamp, five miles west of the station, we found the most extensive obstructions yet met with. The swamp is a very large one, about two miles wide, where the road crosses it. Throughout this two miles of crossing the enemy had felled great quantities of timber, and at the eastern side of the swamp had erected two small redoubts with flanking rifle-pits. In these works they had two pieces of light artillery, supported by a small force of infantry. The artillery was so posted as to rake the road running through the swamp. While the division preceding me was engaged in movements for the dispersion or capture of the force opposing us, my command was halted and massed at the western side of the swamp. Receiving orders to that effect, I sent Jones' brigade rapidly forward to support Carman's brigade, of the First Division, which was working its way through to our right of the enemy's position. The services of this brigade were afterward found not to be required. At dusk my command was encamped on good, dry ground between the two portions of Monteith Swamp. Weather today was fine; roads were excellent. Distance, six miles.

December 10, order of march in the corps to-day: First, Third, and Second Divisions, the trains of the entire corps being guarded by my troops. My command moved at 10

a.m. on the direct road to Monteith Station. This road is broad, solid, and perfectly level. We passed the two redoubts captured last evening, and reached Monteith Station, on the Charleston railroad, ten miles from Savannah, at noon (United States. House of Representatives 1895:274-279).

Surgeon Henry Z. Gill, U.S. Army, Surgeon-in-Chief, Twentieth Corps, filed a report on December 31, which contained this brief remark: "The battle of Monteith Swamp occurred on December 9, at which the division captured two forts, with a loss of 1 killed and 5 wounded" (United States. House of Representatives 1895: 221).

Captain Henry M. Whittlesey, Acting Chief Quartermaster, Twentieth Army Corps filed a "Report of movements of trains Twentieth Army Corps, Left Wing, Army of Georgia, on the march from Atlanta to Savannah, Ga., November 15 to December 31, 1864" was filed on January 19, 1865 in Savannah (United States War Department 1900, Series III-Vol. 5: 400-402), which contained these entries relevant to Monteith Swamp:

Thursday, December 8.—Left camp 9 a.m.; arrived at Springfield 12 m.; distance, 0.93 mile; roads swampy; weather fine.

Thursday, December 8.—Left camp 3 p.m.; arrived at Saint Augustine's Creek 7 p.m.; distance, 5.55 miles; roads swampy; weather fine. Not much forage or subsistence stores found in the country passed over in the last two days—it is all rice fields and swamps.

Friday, December 9.—Left camp 9.30 a.m.; arrived near Monteith 5.45 p.m.; distance, 14.15 miles; roads good—turnpike; weather cloudy. Found forts in front and the roads barricaded; attacked the forts—rebels evacuated.

Saturday, December 10.—Left camp 10 a.m.; arrived 5 miles from Savannah 4.30 p.m.; distance, 10.53 miles; roads good—turnpike; weather cloudy. Captured General Harrison, commandant at forts, yesterday.

Sunday, December 11.—Weather fine until the 21st. First day's siege of Savannah.

Upon leaving Atlanta in November Colonel James L. Selfridge, 46th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment, took command of the 1st Brigade and he served in that capacity at Monteith Swamp. Bates (1876:803) noted, "On leaving Atlanta Colonel Selfridge took

command of the brigade, and during the March to the Sea was chiefly occupied in destroying railroads, though having part in the engagement at Monteith Swamp, and the siege of Savannah, soon after which he was promoted to Brevet Brigadier-General". Colonel Selfridge filed his brigade report on December 26 and it contained this summary of the battle:

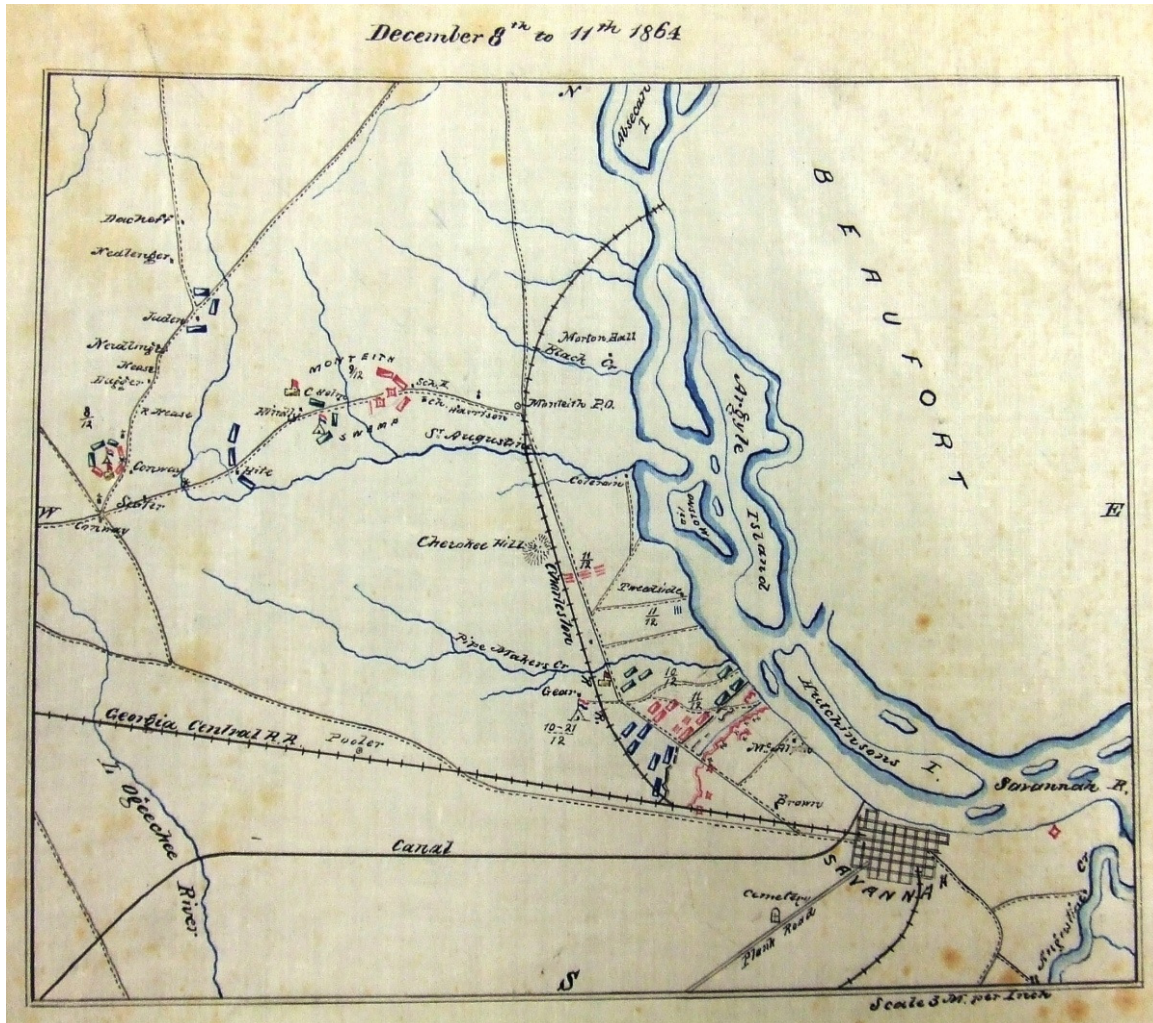


Figure 38. Map of Movements of the Twentieth Corps, December 8-11, 1864 (Asmussen 1864).

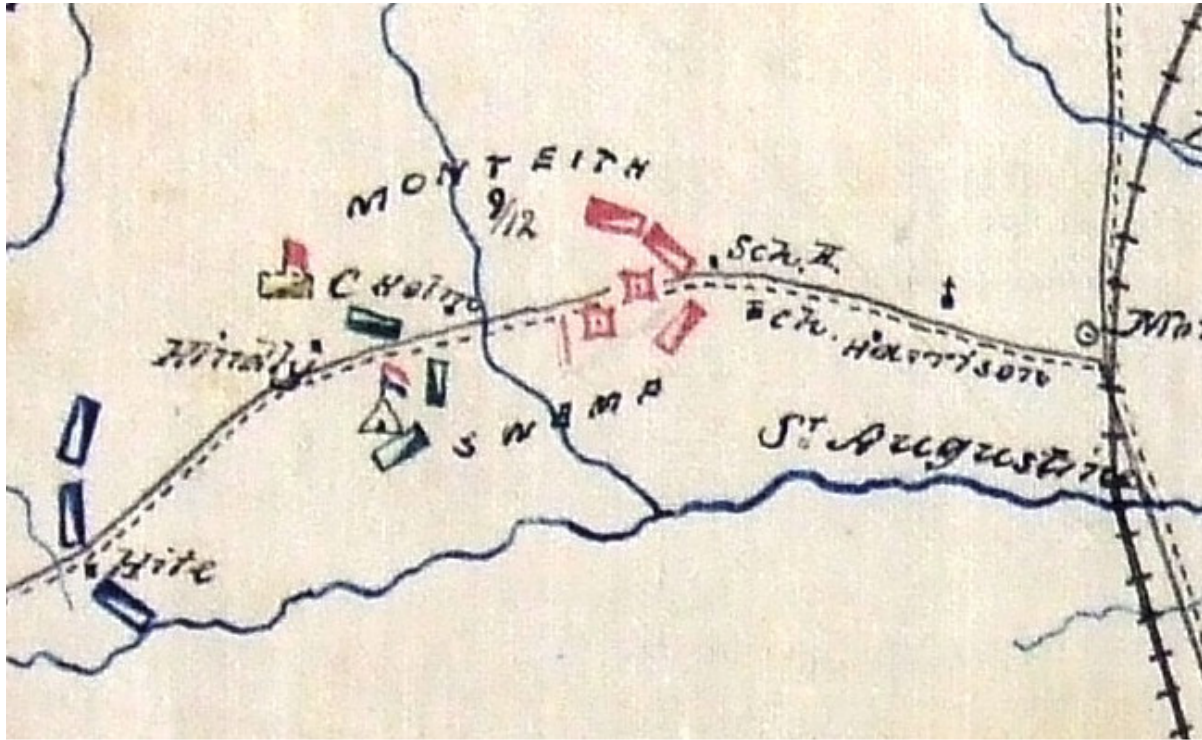


Figure 39. Detail of Movements of the Twentieth Corps, December 8-11, 1864, Highlighting Monteith Swamp (Asmussen 1864).



Figure 40. Edited Version of Troop Positions at Monteith Swamp, as Published in the Civil War Atlas (Cowle 1893).

December 8, resumed our march at 7 a.m., and after marching twelve miles through a flat, swampy country, encamped at dark about twenty miles northwest of Savannah. December 9, brigade moved at 7 a.m. in advance of the corps; after traveling about seven miles we came to a portion of the road which had been most effectually obstructed

by slashed timber which extended about 200 yards, at the end of which was an open field, and in the field, completely commanding the road, were two forts occupied by the enemy, and from which position they prevented our pioneers from clearing the road of the obstructions referred to. In accordance with orders from division headquarters I sent forward the Fifth Regiment Connecticut Veteran Volunteers, Lieut. Col. H. W. Daboll commanding, as skirmishers, and shortly afterward sent the Forty-sixth Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, One hundred and twenty third New York Volunteers, and One hundred and forty-first New York Volunteers, all that remained of my brigade, to support the Fifth Connecticut Veteran Volunteers. In a short time they opened fire, and in conjunction with the Second and Third Brigades, which had been sent around on their flanks, drove the enemy in great confusion from both forts and captured two prisoners. Lieutenant Colonel Daboll, commanding the Fifth Connecticut Veteran Volunteers, is entitled to much credit for the gallant manner in which he

charged and drove the enemy from their works, as he was directly under fire of their guns and exposed to much danger. He is a brave officer and worthy of promotion. I moved on beyond the forts in line of battle for a distance of about one mile and a half, when I was ordered to return, and encamped for the night. In this little affair I only lost 3 men in my brigade, all from the Forty-sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers—1 man wounded in the leg (afterward amputated), 1 man wounded severely in the head, and 1 other slightly in the shoulder. There was supposed to be about 1,000 of the enemy in the forts, with two pieces of artillery.

December 10, traveled about nine miles, and encamped four miles from Savannah (United States. House of Representatives 1895:224-225).

Colonel Ario Pardee, Jr., who commanded the 1st Brigade of Geary's Division, made no mention of the skirmish at Monteith Swamp in his report, dated December 25, "December 8th.—The command moved at daylight, crossing Jack's Creek, and passing through Springfield, in the direction of Monteith. December 9 and 10th.—These two days were occupied in marching to a point on the Augusta road, five miles from Savannah, Georgia" (Moore 1866:92).

Lieutenant Colonel Henry W. Daboll commanded the 5th Connecticut Veteran Volunteer Infantry Regiment. His regimental report, written on December 26, contained this battle account:

Nothing of importance occurred until December 9; the regiment, having the advance of the corps, came upon a small body of rebel infantry with one piece of artillery intrenched on the road near Monteith. The regiment was quickly deployed, and advancing through a deep marsh soon developed the force of the enemy. The First Division, Twentieth Corps, making a concentrated movement on them, they retreated at double-quick. Some portion of this regiment, being the first to enter the rebel fort, captured two prisoners. Our

casualties were none. December 10, the regiment moved at an early hour, with four wagons belonging to First Brigade commissary department, to General Harrison's plantation; loaded the wagons with sweet potatoes and meat, and obtained some three days' rations besides (United States. House of Representatives 1895:228).

Lieutenant Colonel J. C. Roger commanded the 123rd New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment. His report was filed on December 24 and it contained this description of the engagement:

Pushing southeasterly we passed through Springfield on the 8th of December. The march was much impeded near this place by the marshy nature of the ground, rendering it very difficult to move the trains of wagons and artillery.

On the 9 day of December the First Brigade, First Division, being in advance, at a point near Harrison's plantation, about four miles from the Savannah and Charleston Railroad and fourteen miles from Savannah, where the road passed through a difficult marsh, the road was found blockaded by felled trees and a redoubt with a piece of artillery planted to command the defile. The regiment, with the rest of the brigade, forced its way through a dense jungle and marshy ground to the left of the road, and as soon as it could be formed on solid ground the brigade advanced in line upon the enemy's works. Alarmed by our near approach, or that of the cooperating forces, the enemy fled and we encamped for the night. On the 10th of December we moved upon Savannah, and meeting the enemy, we went into position about four miles and a half from the city, between the Savannah and Augusta pike and the river, having a flooded rice swamp and canal in our front, with a narrow belt of timber intervening (United States. House of Representatives 1895:229).

The report of Captain William Merrell, 141st New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment, dated December 26, contained these battle details:

Nothing of importance occurred until the 9 of December when the road was found to be obstructed by fallen timber, rendering it impossible to advance. The pioneers were ordered forward, but as soon as the work began the rebels opened a piece of artillery upon the advance, which had halted in the road. After a short time the balance of our brigade were ordered to advance and support the Fifth Connecticut Volunteers, which were on the skirmish line, while two brigades were sent on the flanks. The First Brigade advanced as fast as the nature of the ground would permit, and after getting within range the Fifth Connecticut Volunteers opened a terrific fire on the enemy's battery, driving them in great confusion from their works, which we soon occupied; here we halted for the night. 10th, marched at 7.30 a.m., striking the Charleston and Savannah Railroad at 10 a.m. (United States. House of Representatives 1895).

Major Patrick Griffith commanded the 46th Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteer Infantry, which was Colonel Selfridge's regiment. His report was written on December 26 and contained this description of the battle:

December 7, left camp near Sylvania at 10 a.m.; rain all night; passed through the worst kind of swamps; on the road until daylight. December 8, resumed the march at 8.30 a.m.; weather good; camped at dark. December 9, left camp at 8 a.m.; advance engaged with the enemy; First Division in advance; found the enemy strongly posted in earth-works at Cypress Swamp; First Brigade moved forward in the center, Second Brigade on the right, and Third Brigade on the left; charged and took the enemy's works in line style; loss in regiment, three wounded; camped on the captured ground at dark. December 10, left camp at 8 a.m.; came on the enemy's works four miles from Savannah (United States. House of Representatives 1895:232).

Colonel Ezra A. Carman, 13th New Jersey Infantry, commanded the Second Brigade. His brigade report was written on December 27 and contained this account of the action:

December 8, camped near Eden. December 9, moved out to the Monteith road, reaching the Monteith Swamp about noon, where the enemy had erected two earth-works across the road and felled the timber for some distance in front. Received orders to move up on the right of the road and endeavor to flank these works. I moved through the wood about three-quarters of a mile, where I found a rice field extending up to the left of their battery (our right). I formed the brigade in two lines across this field, advanced skirmishers, and moved forward. The enemy opened one piece of artillery on my skirmishers, but soon ceased and evacuated their fort. The ground being a rice swamp my progress was necessarily very slow, and they escaped, with the exception of three men captured by the Third Wisconsin Volunteers; encamped for the night. December 10, moved down to the Charleston and Savannah Railroad (United States. House of Representatives 1895:235).

Colonel William Cogswell, commanding the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, filed his report on December 25 and mentioned the battle: "December 7, crossed Turkey Branch; camped near Springfield. December 8, marched about ten miles. December 9, marched to about fifteen miles from Savannah; encountered a small force of the enemy in a small work with two guns; got on their flank and they left. December 10, marched across the Charleston and Savannah Railroad" (United States. House of Representatives 1895:240).

Major Frederick H. Harris commanded the 13th New Jersey Volunteer Infantry Regiment. His report, dated December 24, contained this description:

December 8, marched twelve miles southwest to near Eden; passed through Springfield. December 9, marched three miles south to the Monteith road, thence along this road southeast to the Monteith Swamp, which the road crosses fourteen miles from Savannah. Here we found the rebels had built two forts across the road, which was also obstructed by felled timber. Our brigade was sent to the right of the

forts; formed in two lines in a rice swamp. The rebels opened on us with one piece of artillery. A charge was then made upon the fort, which the rebels evacuated before we reached; encamped near it for the night, having marched nine miles. December 10, marched on the Monteith pike about five miles; struck the Charleston and Savannah Railroad (U.S. House of Representatives 1895:241-242).

The December 24 report of Captain Allen X. Sill, 107th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment, contained this account:

December 8, resumed the march at 7 a.m.; passed through Springfield at 10 a.m.; marched nine miles and camped. December 9, broke camp at 9 a.m. and marched at 10; at 2 p.m. reached Monteith Swamp, where we found the First Brigade skirmishing with the enemy; halted for dinner. At 3 p.m. moved to the right of the road and formed line of battle in a swamp where the water was knee deep. This regiment went into position on the left of the Third Wisconsin Volunteers and on the right of the One hundred and fiftieth New York Volunteers. Moved forward and soon our skirmishers were engaged and uncovered a redoubt, when the enemy opened on us with artillery. The line halted, when soon after the First Brigade opened on the redoubt from the opposite side and the enemy left their works and retreated in haste, taking with them, however, their artillery. Our line moved forward and halted near the redoubt and camped for the night. December 10, resumed the march at 6.30 a.m.; crossed the Savannah and Charleston Railroad at Monteith Station (United States. House of Representatives 1895).

Major Alfred B. Smith commanded the 150th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment. His report was written on December 24 and contained this discussion:

December 8, marched at 7 a.m., leaving wagons and pack-mules at Springfield; made ten miles southwest and southeast, gaining but little; regiment procured plenty of sweet potatoes, 40 bushels, and 200 pounds of pork; men had all to march with wet feet; roads bad, swamps Hooding them.

December 9, marched at 8 a.m.; halted at 10 a.m.; road obstructed by fallen trees and a rebel gun playing down the road through the swamp; passed with the brigade around to the right of the road, through a bad swamp. The One hundred and fiftieth was at first ordered and deployed in third line of battle, in a rice swamp covered with water from one to three feet deep, then ordered to the left of the first line, adjoining the Third Wisconsin, then ordered further to the left, through an almost impenetrable swamp and thicket, to give room between the One hundred and fiftieth and Third Wisconsin for the One hundred and seventh Regiment New York Volunteers. This regiment halted on this line, but seeing the other regiments advancing and the rebels running away, advanced to the fort. The men and officers executed all orders on this difficult maneuver with most commendable alacrity and promptness. Marched about eight miles. December 10, marched at 6 a.m., the One hundred and fiftieth Regiment in advance of the corps; advanced three miles to the Savannah and Charleston Railroad, and at 8 a.m. commenced tearing up the railroad (United States. House of Representatives 1895:246).

Colonel William Hawley commanded the 3rd Regiment Wisconsin Veteran Volunteer Infantry Regiment. His report, dated December 25, contained these details:

December 7, marched eleven miles, and went into camp one mile southeast of Springfield. December 8, marched ten miles, and went into camp. December 9, changed the direction of our march, and took the direct Savannah road. After marching about four miles the enemy were found, strongly intrenched and occupying two small forts directly in our front, entirely covering the road over which we had to pass. At this point the First Division, being in the advance, was halted and formed for the attack in the folio wing order: Second Brigade, Col. E. A. Carman, on the right; First Brigade, Colonel Selfridge, in the center; Third Brigade, Colonel Robinson, on the left. The Second Brigade, in order to gain the rear of the enemy, if possible, made a detour to the right, moving by the flank a distance of one mile, gaining a position in a

rice swamp, through which the rear of the forts could be reached. My regiment, with the Second Massachusetts Infantry on its right, was formed in line of battle in the rice swamp; the balance of the brigade was formed on the left, in the woods. An advance was then made, in the above order, for nearly one mile, when the skirmish line became engaged, and the brigade was halted. I remained in this position without orders to advance until the enemy, being hard pressed by the Third Brigade, who had gained the right flank of his position, began to retreat. I then moved on rapidly without orders, but the swamp was so deep, and the enemy having a good road at his command, it was impossible for us to overtake him. After following him a distance of two miles, I returned, by your order, and went into camp near the enemy's deserted works. The only casualty on this day was one officer, Captain Buck, wounded. Three of the enemy were captured by my skirmish line. Distance marched this day, six miles. December 10, marched at daylight; reached the Charleston and Savannah Railroad (United States. House of Representatives 1895:249-250).

A veteran member of the 3rd Wisconsin, Edwin Bryant (1891:389) remembered the 3rd Wisconsin at Monteith Swamp in a post-war tribute to Colonel Hawley,

Do you remember Monteith swamp? When our brigade waded through the woods and swamp knee deep in water around on the right, and when abreast of the viaduct a round shot was fired. Then the brigade commander gave orders to Col. Hawley and myself to lie down. Hawley turned to me and said: 'Major. Lie down in a foot of water! H-ll. If you will give orders to go ahead, I will. We both sang out together, 'Forward, double-quick,' and did not lose a man.

Colonel James S. Robinson, 82nd Ohio Infantry, commanded the Third Brigade. His brigade report was filed on December 28 and contained this battle account:

At 8 a. m. on the morning of the 8th [December] my brigade crossed Jack's Creek and arrived at Springfield. My

command was now unencumbered and marched in advance of the division, following the Second Division. Our course followed the Monteith road about nine miles, then turned to the right and pursued a southwesterly direction for a distance of six miles, which brought us to our encampment, having marched in the aggregate fifteen miles.

The march was resumed at 8.30 a.m. on the 9. My brigade followed the Second, the First being in the advance. At 10 a.m. the column struck the main road leading to Savannah. Cannonading and musketry were now occasionally heard in the advance. It began to be evident that a considerable force of the enemy had gathered in our front and meant to oppose our onward march to Savannah. At 3 p.m. my brigade reached Monteith Swamp, where the First and Second Brigades had already encountered a considerable force of the enemy. The rebel forces were so disposed as to completely command the only practicable passage of the swamp, which was by the main road. Their artillery, which they were disposed to use freely, was so posted as to completely sweep the road, and was covered by earth-works. The advance of the First Brigade against the enemy's front, together with that of the Second Brigade against his left flank, having failed to dislodge him, I was instructed by the general commanding division to send two regiments around the left, with directions to push through the swamp if possible and turn the enemy's right. I immediately dispatched the Thirty-first Wisconsin and Sixty-first Ohio Veteran Volunteers, the whole commanded by Colonel West, of the Thirty-first Wisconsin Volunteers, to whom I gave the instructions above repeated. Making a detour of about one mile to the left Colonel West formed his command in line of battle and plunged into the almost impenetrable swamp. It was found impossible to get a horse over the miry surface, and officers and men were alike compelled to go on foot. The swamp, which was about 400 yards in width, was finally passed and the troops emerged into an open field skirted on the farther side by timber, in which the enemy lay concealed. The point at which he was struck was far in the rear of his main position, which was completely turned, yet he was not wholly

unprepared to meet Colonel West's forces, upon whom lie opened fire at their first appearance. The fire was returned with a good will, but only three volleys were needed to complete the overthrow and effect the precipitate retreat of the enemy. Colonel West now cautiously advanced his line, fearing an ambush. He soon discovered that the rebel forces were all gone, and quietly occupied two fine redoubts, containing eighty abandoned knapsacks, well packed with clothing, &c. The remainder of my brigade, except the Eighty-second Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry, which had been sent to the support of Colonel West, now crossed the swamp by the main road, and the whole encamped near the rebel redoubts. This little affair, in my judgment, reflects great credit upon those concerned in it, and I take this occasion to express my appreciation of the skill and promptitude with which Colonel West handled his troops. I regret to say, however, that this affair cost us one man killed and four wounded.

My brigade marched again at 7 a.m. on the 10th, in the center of the division, the Second Brigade leading. The road was excellent, and devoid of all obstructions. My brigade struck the Charleston and Savannah Railroad, at Monteith Station at 10 a.m. (United States. House of Representatives 1895:257-258; OR, Ser. I, Vol 44:111-73).

Lieutenant Colonel David Thomson, commanding the 82nd Ohio Infantry, in his report written on December 27, mentioned the engagement at Monteith Swamp:

On the 9 we found the enemy in considerable force in our front. They were in a strong position, had fortifications with two pieces of artillery, and their front and right was protected by a swamp. The Thirty-first Wisconsin and Sixty-first Ohio were thrown forward, and succeeded in passing through this swamp and attacked the enemy from the rear and right. The Eighty-second Ohio was thrown forward as a support, but before my regiment succeeded in passing through this swamp the Thirty-first Wisconsin and Sixty-first Ohio had attacked and routed the enemy. On the 10th, having reached Monteith, a station on the Savannah and

Charleston Railroad (United States. House of Representatives 1895:265-266).

Colonel Francis H. West commanded the 31st Wisconsin Infantry and his report, dated December 25, contained one of the most detailed descriptions of the engagement:

Great attempts were made by the enemy to impede our progress by destroying bridges, felling timber in the road, &c., but this caused but little delay, as our efficient pioneer corps soon cleared away all obstructions and rebuilt the bridges. We met with no resistance in force until we arrived at Turkey Roost [or Monteith] Swamp, fifteen miles from Savannah. This is an almost impenetrable morass, many miles in extent, densely covered with brush and vines, interspersed with deep sloughs. Across this the road has been built. On a little elevation on the opposite side, at a place known as Harrison's field, and immediately commanding' the road across the morass, which is about 500 yards wide, and which had been very heavily obstructed, the enemy had built two strong redoubts, which were defended by artillery and about 500 infantry, with which they resolutely disputed our further progress. The First and Second Brigades of our division had been sent a-round to the right (which seemed the most feasible way of crossing the morass), with instructions if possible to flank the enemy and dislodge or capture them. Finding that they were not likely to be immediately successful, I was directed by Colonel Robinson, commanding brigade, to take my regiment, numbering 500 present (the immediate command of which devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Rogers), and the Sixty-First Ohio, numbering about 100 men, under command of Captain Garrett, and make a similar attempt by way of the left. Quickly moving around about half a mile to the left and on to the border of the morass, the line was formed for attack by placing the Sixty-first Ohio on the right and the Thirty-first Wisconsin on the left, with instructions to dash through the swamp by the right of companies, coming into line the moment they emerged on the open ground in vicinity of the fort. This the men did with great spirit and determination, struggling through to within about 300 yards of the forts where an

open swamp extended down to within fifty yards of the forts, the last fifty yards being heavily covered with abatis. Emerging into this opening they formed instantly under a heavy fire from the enemy, and, delivering a steady volley upon the enemy, they dashed upon the works with such impetuosity that the enemy, becoming panic-stricken, fled in great confusion, abandoning much of their camp and garrison equipage and clothing. The colors of the Thirty-first Wisconsin were almost instantly flying from the parapets of the fort. Shortly after the brigades that had gone to the right succeeded in passing the morass and came up; also the balance of our brigade, which Colonel Robinson promptly sent to my support on hearing the firing. The loss of my regiment in this affair was 1 killed and 3 wounded. We escaped with so small a loss on account of the enemy firing too high. Loss of the enemy unknown—said to have been 14.

Through me the regiment, together with the Sixty-first Ohio, received the public thanks of Major-General Slocum, commanding Left Wing, Army of Georgia, General Williams, commanding Twentieth Army Corps, and of Colonel Robinson, commanding brigade, for the handsome manner in which they executed the affair.

As all in the command behaved equally well I can mention no names. I, however, here wish to make mention of the gallant conduct and efficient service rendered on this occasion by Captains Wallace and HERRICK, of Colonel Robinson's staff, who were detailed to assist me in the enterprise (United States. House of Representatives 1895:268-269; Moore 1866:75-76).

Sergeant John V. Richards, commanding the 31st Wisconsin Infantry, wrote a series of letters of his regiment's march to Savannah, which includes mention of Monteith Swamp (Rattenbury 1986:79, cited in Trudeau 2009:378).

Captain John Garrett, commanding the 61st Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry Regiment, reported on December 26 of his regiment's involvement at Monteith Swamp:

No incident of importance transpired till December ninth, when I was ordered to assist Colonel West, Thirty-first Wisconsin volunteers, to capture two small forts of the enemy, erected to command the road at a point where it passed through a dense swamp fourteen miles from Savannah. We penetrated the swamp to the left of the road, and when within a hundred yards of the enemy, they opened upon us with musketry. A charge was ordered, and we pushed forward over a formidable abatis, and entered one of the forts; and at the same moment the colors of the Thirty-first Wisconsin were planted upon the other. The enemy escaped with his artillery. I had one man severely wounded in the engagement. December tenth, advanced and took position before Savannah (Moore 1866:80).

Major F.H. Rolshausen, commanding the 82nd Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment, barely mentioned the action at Monteith Swamp:

On December ninth, marched two miles, and had to reconnoitre the surrounding country and flank a small body of the enemy hovering round our front; arrived in camp at six o'clock P.M. On the tenth, we struck the Savannah and Charleston Railroad, destroyed and burned it up, near the bridge over the Savannah River, and encamped four and a half miles from Savannah (Moore 1866:80).

Other U.S. Army regiments in the Twentieth Corps did not participate in the fighting at Monteith Swamp but they arrived on the scene after the battle. The many regiments of the Twentieth Corps bivouacked for the night of December 9 on the battlefield and most left early the following morning. Their march took them east along the road to Monteith Station.

Major Myron T. Wright, commanding the 29th Ohio Infantry Regiment, reported on December 28 about camping on the battlefield, when his regiment arrived after the action. Wright's comments indicate that Harrison's Field at Monteith Swamp

continued to be used by a U.S. Army campsite on December 10. Major Wright wrote: “[December] 9, marched at 9 a. m; took dinner near Eden; went into camp for the night at Walthour [Wallhower Swamp, Monteith Swamp]. 10th, received orders to report to Colonel Jones, Second Brigade; joined Second Brigade and marched back to the train” (United States. House of Representatives 1895:289). He further noted that on December 10, the “Twenty-ninth [29 Ohio Infantry Regiment] took position on the same ground where we got dinner on the ninth”, which places these two regiments in Harrison’s field on December 10 (Moore 1866:99).

Although his regiment did not take part in the battle, Colonel Patrick H. Jones, 154th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment, reported on December 31 about the battlefield:

On that day [December 9] the First Division, having the advance of the corps, encountered a force of the enemy entrenched behind a swamp about thirteen miles north of Savannah, when this brigade was ordered to the support of Colonel Carman's brigade, of the First Division, then preparing to attack the enemy. I reported with the brigade at the place indicated, but the enemy in the meantime abandoned the position, and I was directed to return and rejoin the division, which I did at night-fall of that day (United States. House of Representatives 1895:296).

Arriving after the battle had ended, Colonel George W. Mindil, commanding the 33rd New Jersey Infantry, remarked on the regiment’s march through the battlefield:

December 8, passed Springfield and marched twelve miles and camped near Zion Church. December 9, moved at 10 a.m. and struck Savannah road. First Division, Twentieth Army Corps, on our front: skirmished with the enemy, who had a battery in position covering the road; camped for the night sixteen miles from Savannah. December 10, pushing on, passed

Harrison's plantation and Fourteenth Army Corps, struck Savannah and Charleston Railroad nine miles and a half from the city, and camped five miles and a half from it that night (U.S. House of Representatives 1895: 299).

Colonel John T. Lockman, commanding the 119th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment, reported a few relevant details on December 23 concerning their march through the battlefield:

December 8, moved at 7 a.m. and crossed Ebenezer Creek, and bivouacked for the night near Eden. December 9, moved at 8 a.m., First Division leading; at 2 p.m. rebels opened with artillery on the advance; the enemy was soon driven; our brigade sent to support Colonel Carman's brigade, of the First Division; the enemy retreated and we were not needed; bivouacked for the night fourteen miles from Savannah. December 10, moved at 2.30 p.m. and bivouacked four miles from Savannah (United States. House of Representatives 1895:299-300).

Major William H. Hoyt, commanding the 134th New York Infantry Regiment, wrote shortly after December 21 that his regiment performed picket duty at the battlefield:

December 9, advanced, with skirmishing in front; First Division met the enemy; One hundred and thirty-fourth New York Volunteers, leading the Second Brigade, were ordered to support the First Division; advanced splendidly on the double-quick; the enemy retreated; regiment went on picket. December 10, regiment remained on picket until 1 p.m. (United States. House of Representatives 1895:301).

The December 26 report of Major Lewis D. Warner, 154th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment, stated that his regiment was in the area but did not participate in the action: “December 8, marched at 6.30 a.m., passing through Springfield. December 9, marched at 7.30 a.m.; course, toward Savannah; some skirmishing in our front; regiment not engaged. December 10, Second Brigade

marched back about two miles and took position in rear of the train, which we were to guard this day; moved forward at 12 m” (U.S. House of Representatives 1895: 304).

The December 26 report of Colonel Henry A. Barnum, 149th New York Infantry, commanding 3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, Twentieth Corps gives these details of the movements of the 3rd Brigade:

December 8, marched at 5.30, division being unencumbered with wheels; somewhat detained by the roads being blockaded; bivouacked at 5 p.m. near Wadley's Mills. Day's travel, ten miles. December 9, marched at 7:30; at 4 p. m. the brigade was massed in support of First Division, which was confronted by the enemy in works across the road; the enemy was soon routed and the command encamped at about 5 p. m. Day's travel, nine miles. December 10, marched at 10 a.m., this command guarding train; crossed the Charleston railroad at 12 m.; moved down the Augusta road to within six miles of Savannah and encamped at 3 p. m. Day's travel, ten miles.

December 11, ordered to penetrate to the Savannah River and develop the enemy's line between the Augusta road and the river; marched at 7 a.m.; moved down the Augusta road to within about 1,200 yards of a battery of the enemy covering the road; filed left and marched toward the river and parallel to the enemy's line, the One hundred and thirty-seventh New York Volunteers in advance as skirmishers, who engaged those of the enemy's at 10 a.m. The skirmish line was extended to the left by the deployment of the One hundred and second New York Veteran Volunteers, until they reached the river (United States. House of Representatives 1895:307-308).

Lieutenant Colonel Harvey S. Chatfield, commanding the 102nd New York Infantry, noted on December 21 that the regiment encamped at the battlefield the evening of the battle:

December 8, started at 6.30 a.m.; marched about nine miles [from Springfield] and

bivouacked about 4 p.m. at Wadley's Mill. December 9, started at 7 a.m.; marched about six miles and bivouacked about 6 p. m. near Monteith. December 10, started at 9.30 a.m.; shortly after starting the regiment was placed in rear of the first 200 wagons of the corps train as guard for the 100 wagons immediately preceding it; marched about nine miles and bivouacked about 4 p.m. five miles and a half from Savannah, Ga. (United States. House of Representatives 1895:314).

Major Nicholas Grumbach, 149th New York Volunteer Infantry, wrote about the battle on December 26:

December 8, pickets recalled at 7 a.m. and regiment in rear of division. Marched to near Middleton's Mills and bivouacked at 4.30 p.m. December 9, marched at 7.30 a. m. Cannonading heard most of the day. At 3 p.m. our regiment, brigade, and division were formed in line of battle on the west side of a swamp, four miles from Monteith. The road through the swamp was blockaded by the rebels and was commanded also by a fort. The rebel force was flanked by two regiments crossing the swamp, one on each side of the road, and the rebels were thereby forced to retreat. At 4 p.m. we advanced and bivouacked in the swamp until December 10; marched at 8.30 a.m., regiment and brigade guarding wagon train. Passed the fort and obstructions in the road, crossed the Charleston and Savannah Railroad, and moved down on the main road between the railroad and Savannah River to within five miles of Savannah and bivouacked (United States. House of Representatives 1895:320-321).

Lieutenant Colonel Samuel M. Zulich, 29th Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteer Infantry, report dated December 21, traced the movements of his regiment:

[December] 8th, took up line of march at 7 a.m.; passed through Springfield; encamped at 4 p.m., having marched fourteen miles. 9, marched at 8 a.m.; halted at Monteith Swamp for dinner. At this point a brigade of the First Division encountered the enemy. After handsomely repulsing them the Second Division was ordered to encamp about 5 p.m. 10th, moved at 9 a.m.; crossed

the Savannah and Charleston Railroad, which had been destroyed by the First Division; bivouacked on the main road to and within five miles of Savannah (United States. House of Representatives 1895:323).

Lieutenant Colonel James E. Burton, commanding the 33rd Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment, noted on December 26:

December 8, 1864, we lay in camp until afternoon. The regiment was again deployed. The Third Division detailed to guard the whole corps train. Marched in single file. We passed through Springfield, county seat of Effingham County: the road runs through very bad swamps, and it was with much difficulty that we got the train along; went into camp about. 11:30 p.m. December 9, started on the march early; the road was almost impassable. The Eighty-fifth Indiana, the advance regiment, was detailed to repair roads. The Thirty-third Indiana was pushed forward on double-quick to a cross-road about one mile in advance to guard against any surprise or attack by the enemy. We came up as the rear of the Seventeenth Corps passed. Company F was stationed on the road leading in from the right about 100 yards from the crossing, and Companies G and B, under Major Niederauer, were advanced across the main road leading to Savannah about 150 yards. We were soon relieved by the Nineteenth Michigan, of the Second Brigade. We moved on the Savannah road about one mile and halted for dinner. After dinner we moved about eight miles, and went into camp for the night, camping in line of battle. The road was blockaded to day most of the way; the enemy planted artillery on commanding points. They kept up heavy firing during the day. December 10, 1864, moved out early, Thirty-third in advance (United States. House of Representatives 1895:340-341).

The history of the 33rd Indiana Infantry, Second Brigade, Third Division, Twentieth Army Corps, contained brief reference to its actions from December 5 to 10 and encampment at Monteith Swamp. It noted that the Pioneer Corps “removed the blockade and repaired the road for the

passage of the train”, in reference to the Confederate road obstructions at Monteith Swamp. Their regimental service record does not include any mention of involvement at Monteith Swamp. John Randolph McBride, 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, noted:

On December 5 the Eighty-fifth Indiana moved out in advance of brigade and engaged in roadbuilding. The Thirty-third was pushed forward on "double-quick" time to a cross-roads to guard the flanks, where it arrived just as the rear of the Seventeenth Corps was passing. Company F was stationed on one road, and Companies G and B, under the command of Major Niederauer, on the other, about one hundred yards from the crossing. The regiment was soon relieved by the Nineteenth Michigan, when subsequently the brigade advanced about eight miles nearer Savannah, and went into camp on the edge of a swamp which had been blockaded. The brigade camped in line of battle and the Pioneer Corps removed the blockade and repaired the road for the passage of the train.

On December 10 the Thirty-third marched in advance, with Company F as a vanguard and Company D as flankers on the right and Company I on the left. The march was rapid. The enemy fired some shells at the troops, but without effect. About 10 o'clock a. m. the Third division reached the railroad, which was being destroyed by the First division, and finally went into camp in column of division (McBride 1900:158).

Colonel Francis H. West commander of the 31st Wisconsin Infantry Regiment in December 1864, provided this post-war history of the regiment:

This regiment was organized at Prairie du Chien in Aug. 1862, when six companies were recruited...It left the state March 1, 1863, for Columbus, Ky., and was assigned to the 6th division 16th corps. It remained there on picket, provost and reconnaissance duty during the spring and summer and was ordered to Murfreesboro in October. Cos. B G and K were detached and stationed at

Stone's River in guard and fortification work until April, 1864....The regiment was assigned to the 4th division, 20th corps, and divided into detachments for patrolling the Nashville & Chattanooga railroad, one detachment being mounted for dashes into the interior. The regiment was ordered to Nashville in June for provost guard duty, remaining there until July 3 when it was transferred to the 3d brigade, 1st division, 20th corps, joining the brigade on the 21st before Atlanta and remaining in the siege until Aug. 25....It participated in the grand review at Washington. Cos. A, B, C, D, E and F. were mustered out at Louisville June 20, 1865, and the remaining companies on July 15....The original strength of the regiment was 878. It gained by recruits, 200; total, 1,078. Loss by death, 114; missing, 2; desertion, 52; transfer, 33; discharge, 176; mustered out, 710 (The Union Army 1908, vol. 4:64).

Adjutant and 1st Lieutenant Edwin Eustace Bryant, 3rd Wisconsin Regiment, discussed the regiment's action at Monteith Swamp decades later:

On the 8th [December], the regiment marched through Springfield, a village of two dozen houses and a rickety court house. The rebels had felled great pine trees across the track, having a great deal of labor for their pains, as the lusty black pioneers cut them out, hardly delaying the column. The march led into the night, over corduroy roads and bridges, lighted by blazing pine torches. The swamp on which the march led was as dense and dark as gloom itself...The direction of the movement was now southeastward and unmistakably bearing towards Savannah. It was no surprise, therefore, to find the enemy soon athwart the path. At a place called Harrison's Plantation, or Monteith Swamp, a large rice plantation, some fifteen miles from Savannah, the division came up against two small forts and a considerable force of the enemy. General Jackson, the division commander—Williams now commanded the corps — at once deployed. The First brigade, Col. Selfridge, was put in the center, the Second, Col. Carman — in which was the Third regiment — was ordered to swing around and envelop the right. The Third brigade,

Col. Robinson, was put in motion to reach around the left, thus surrounding the fort completely, and, as Gen. Pope would say, "bag the whole crowd." The enemy kept blazing away with his gun from the fort, as valorous in his effort as he was poor in his shooting.

The Third brigade was put in motion to wheel around the right, through some woods, and close in from that flank. These movements were soon executed; but the Third found it unpleasant marching through the rice swamps and canals waist-deep in mud. Leading his regiment by the flank, Col. Hawley sent out Lieut. Kleven with Company H as skirmishers. Finding the Confederates in confusion and attempting to escape with their artillery, the skirmishers pushed forward. Sergeant Haughawout, of Company H, a tall, active, brave soldier, distanced his comrades and captured three prisoners in one of the forts. Just at this time the Third brigade came into the fort from the other side to claim the honor of the capture; but on the matter being disputed the prisoners themselves, at division headquarters, acknowledged Sergt. Haughawout to be the first man in the fort and the one who took them prisoners. The Thirty-first Wisconsin and Sixty-first Ohio were the disputants for this capture; and they no doubt hastened the flight of the rebels as they charged in on the right, losing several in killed and wounded. Captain Wilson S. Buck, of the Third, here received a severe wound in the foot from a random shot fired by our First brigade.

The rebels ran for dear life, and the Third regiment chased them as well as it could, somewhat clogged with muddy shoes and wet clothing. It was a comical sight to see; but the ousted garrison of that little fort could beat our boys on a foot race under such circumstances; and somewhat blown with the chase the latter were obliged to give it up after a run of two miles. The force thus put to flight was Col. Stevenson and his Fortieth North Carolina regiment and some men of the Tenth and Thirty-sixth North Carolina. They had the swamps to thank for their escape. The "left wing" then pushed toward Savannah, marched ten miles, and the Third tore up the track of the railroad for some distance (Bryant 1891:289-291).

Private Israel P. Spencer, Company A, 136th New York Infantry Regiment, was a 20 year-old soldier in the Twentieth Corps. His unit advanced on the northwestern outskirts of Savannah on December 9, 1864, where they engaged the Confederates at Monteith Swamp. While Private Spencer makes no specific mention of the battlefield, his regiment likely camped there after the battle, as did the other regiments in the 3rd Brigade, 3rd Division of the Twentieth Corps. The following excerpt from memoirs of Israel P. Spencer, written in 1910, provides details about his regiment and their march to Savannah. Spencer noted, "On the 10th of December 1864 we closed in on the city of Savannah and formed line of battle and began to advance on the works" (Spencer 1864, Footnote.com 2010).

George H. Williams, commanding the 150th New York Infantry, 3rd Brigade, 3rd Division, Twentieth Corps recollected the regiment's action at Monteith Swamp:

When we reached Monteith Swamp, a few miles from Savannah, we found that the rebels had fortified the road, and had a battery or two in position to command it. Our division was halted and deployed to make the attack, as we were in front that day (our regiment being on the right of the line), and we turned out of the road and made our way through the swamp; the men jumping from one bog to another, and often falling in the mud and water up to their hips; the enemy searching the swamp with shells at the time. So between mud, water, shells, and skirmishing, we had a very unpleasant advance, but just before we were ready to make the assault the 3rd Brigade of our division (which had advanced over better ground) charged forward and captured the position, and when we emerged from the swamp we saw the flags of the 61st Ohio, and 31st Wisconsin of the brigade, waving over the redoubt.

We encamped for the night near at hand, and the next morning resumed the march toward Savannah, arriving in front of the city, being

halted there by its defenses; the artillery of which opened a vigorous shell fire (Cook and Benton 1907: 144-145).

In their biography of Sherman and his campaigns, published just after the war, Bowman and Irwin (1865:284) provide this summary of the movements of the Twentieth Corps in early December:

Williams' twentieth corps marched from Louisville on the 1st of December. From that time to the 8th, its line of march was down the Peninsula between the Ogeechee and Savannah rivers, following the Louisville and Savannah road, encamping on the 1st on Baker's Creek; on the 2d at Buckhead Church, on the 3d at Horse Creek; on the 4th at Little Ogeechee; on the 5th at Sylvania Cross-roads; on the 6th near Cowpens Creek ; on the 7th on Jack's Branch, near Springfield; and on the 8th near Eden Cross-roads. As the coast neared, the surface of the country became flat and swampy. Large ponds or pools were met every mile or so, and the creeks spread out into several miry branches. The roads between the creeks and ponds, though apparently of sand, and of substantial character, proved to be upon a thin crust, which was soon cut through by the long trains into the deep quicksand, thus requiring miles of corduroy. At several of the swamps, the enemy had attempted to obstruct the march by felling timber.

On the 9 the direction of march was changed to the east, taking the road from Eden to Monteith Post-office, on the Charleston railway. At the large Monteith swamp, the enemy, besides obstructing the road for nearly a mile by felling trees, had built two small earthworks, and with a single gun and about four hundred infantry made a show of stopping the march of the corps. Jackson's division being in advance, was ordered to throw out several regiments on each flank, while a brigade in the centre should make a feint, to engage attention and enable the pioneers to clear the obstructions. As soon as a portion of Robinson's brigade, under Colonel West, Thirtyfirst Wisconsin Volunteers, could cross the swamp the enemy fled, leaving behind a considerable quantity of new clothing and accoutrements.

Jackson's loss was one man killed and, four wounded.

On the morning of the 10th, the corps moved down to Monteith Station, on the Charleston railway, and after destroying some miles of the road, marched to a point near the five-mile post, on the Augusta and Savannah railway (Bowman and Irwin 1865:284).

One post-battle report that may relate to Monteith Swamp was filed by Lieutenant Colonel Sheldon, 18th Missouri Infantry, 1st Brigade, 1st Division, Seventeenth Corps. Sheldon noted,

At Station Four-and-a-Half the enemy made some show of resistance, throwing up a rude line of rifle pits covering the crossing of the Little Ogeechee. The 1st Division was here deployed but before they could be brought into action the enemy gave way and retreated to a point thirteen miles from Savannah. Here we found them on the morning of the 9 of December behind a line of earthworks, with a seemingly impassable swamp in front. The 1st Division being in advance, was quickly formed in line, and moved through the swamp, the water frequently waist deep, driving the enemy from their works, and keeping them, in despite their efforts to check our progress with artillery, until they were safely inside their main works, three and a half miles from Savannah. On the 10th we moved up in front of these works, and found them everywhere covered by an impassable swamp, in which the water had been deepened by cutting the canal between the Ogeechee and Savannah rivers (Sheldon 1865:278).

One private soldier's account from the 32nd Wisconsin Infantry, 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, Seventeenth Corps, provided details of the Monteith Swamp environment. George F. Waite, a soldier in Company D of the 32nd Wisconsin, wrote on December 9, 1864:

Up and ready for another move on Savannah. Drew rations last night. Skirmishing is lively with cannon firing

occasionally Guess the Johnnies are busy today. A cannon ball struck our division quartermaster in the breast and killed him instantly. Got to stay here with no meat and potatoes tonight. But we shall get coffee for supper. We're only 8 miles from Savannah now and gues the Johnnies have left. Three in our regiment were wounded today. The rebs buried some torpedoes in the road and one exploded wounding 3 in the 1st cavalry, one very badly. Can hear the heavy guns while the 14th and 15 corps are off there some place (Waite 1864).

On December 10th, Private Waite wrote:

Started at 8 AM and come 3 and one half miles, forming in line of battle. The Johnnies have already sent us their complements three times. Expect we will have to march in a line the rest of the way. I just saw one reb we captured and he told us that there were 50,000 men in Savannah. I think he lied. We don't believe they have 15,000 men....Have been laying by the canal for 4 hours and looks as though we will be through the night. There is canal on one side and swamp on the other. The rebs have cut the levy to flood the swamp so we could not march through. Have only quarter hard tack left and don't expect to draw any for two days. Haven't had any chance to forage (Waite 1864).

Eddy (1866) describes the movement of U.S. troops from Eden, Georgia:

From Eden the march was eastward inward Montieth Post-office, on the Charleston Railway. The Montieth Swamp, one of formidable extent, was to be crossed, and obstructions were anticipated, and found in the form of felled trees, two limited earthworks, one gun and a small infantry force, which soon gave way- The corps reached Montieth Station on the 10th, destroyed several miles of the railway, and marched to a point near the five-mile post on the Augusta and Savannah Railroad (Eddy 1866:27).

Cuyler's Plantation

Another military engagement took place on December 9 that is inextricably bound to the

story of the battle of Monteith Swamp. This skirmish occurred on Cuyler's plantation, near the junction of the Augusta and Middle Ground roads. There Lieutenant Colonel Charles C. Jones, Jr. had placed a portion of his forces, reinforced by two Napoleon guns, in a battery to receive the advancing Fourteenth Corps. As in the Confederate's dilemma at Monteith Swamp, the Rebels faced overwhelming odds and their best hope was to delay the Yankees to allow Major General Hardee to prepare for the inevitable siege of Savannah. Lieutenant Colonel Jones was the commander of the Confederate's position.

The study of Civil War events at Cuyler's plantation is not within the proposed research for the present study of the Monteith Swamp battle. Nevertheless, one cannot be adequately discussed without addressing the other because the two events were part of a single Confederate strategy. The events of December 9 were delaying tactics; the Confederates retreated from both locations after a several hour firefight. Thus, the Confederates achieved their immediate goal, although the U.S. Army claims these as Union victories. Both events are described variously as skirmishes or battles, and when compared to other engagements faced by Sherman's Army in Georgia and South Carolina, the human loss at both places was minor.

The Fourteenth Corps left its camp at Ebenezer, Georgia on the morning of December 9 and continued down the Augusta Road. It met with little resistance until their arrival at Cuyler's plantation. The journal of the 2nd Division, Fourteenth Corps, recorded the action:

December 8.—Division moved at 10 a. m.; crossed Large Ebenezer and waited till 3 p.m. for Colonel Buell to pontoon Little Ebenezer; then crossed and marched four miles; at dark were ordered back to Little

Ebenezer; Second and Third Brigades encamped north and First Brigade and battery south of creek. Colonel Buell was all night and till 10 a. m. making a bridge over Large Ebenezer; marched twelve miles.

December 9.—Division moved at 7 a. m. from Little Ebenezer; marched eight miles, building two bridges; struck rebel works fourteen miles from Savannah; Lieutenant [Alonzo W.] Coe, commanding battery, killed. Went into camp at dark, one mile from rebel works; headquarters at Cuyler's plantation. Many old papers found in the house; Doctor Watson got a deed dated December 5, 1758; heavy cannonading toward Savannah.

December 10.—Division moved at 7 a. m.; marched four miles, camping at the Ten-Mile house. Rebels left our front last night; Twentieth Corps passed on toward town, road joining at this point. Heavy cannonading most of the day toward Savannah.

December 11.—Received orders at 7.30 a. m. for the division to move to the right of Twentieth Corps. Marched five miles to the front, then passed to the right, crossing Macon railroad, and a mile to the front on Milledgeville road, where we relieved a division of the Seventeenth Corps with First and Second Brigades; Third Brigade, in reserve, save one regiment taken by Captain Munson on picket; Seventeenth Corps moved round to the right (United States War Department 1893:184).

Troops moved at 6 1/2 a.m. and went into position on the right of the 20th Corps. Trains following. Ordered to the rear of the corps by a swamp road. Had to corduroy it. Head of 1st Div. train stopped halfway over and remained till morning. Other trains parked near main road. Ours on a rice plantation near the river. 4 miles. Fair. (Orr 1960).

Captain David P. Cunyngham, a *New York Herald* correspondent, marched with the Fourteenth Army Corps and provided this concise summary of events at Monteith Swamp:

The rebels had thrown up works at the head of an impenetrable swamp, near Monteith Station, on the Charleston Railroad. Here they opposed the advance of the 20th corps. Jackson's division had the advance; Colonel Robinson's brigade was sent to the left, and Carman's to the right, while Selfridge's advanced directly down the road.

The flanking brigades waded through the swamp for over a mile, until they reached solid ground. They at once formed and dashed on the enemy, who soon made long tracks for Savannah with his guns. It was defended by the 40th North Carolina, under a Major Stevenson (Cunyngham 1865:279).

VII. Confederate Battle Accounts

Unlike the documentary record left by the Union officers, the Confederate officers engaged at Monteith Swamp left no post-battle reports. Reports may have been filed, but none are included in the official records (OR 1893). Post-war accounts of the action at Monteith Swamp from the Confederate perspective also are rare. Major Alfred L. Hartridge, Confederate commander of the defensive line at Monteith, provided Charles Colcock Jones, Jr. with a written account in 1867 of his military actions around the time of the battle of Monteith Swamp:

On the 29 [November] I received orders from Genl. Hardee to proceed to Savannah with the 27th Battalion, and arriving there on the 30th, was ordered to take command of the line at Monteith, extending from Charleston and Savannah rail road bridge to Harrison's place.

Three important roads crossed my line, the Augusta road, the Middle-ground, and the road through Harrison's place. The swamp in front of my line had been reported impracticable by the engineer in charge, Capt. Grant, but upon careful examination I found I could ride through it in many places. I reported this fact to Maj. Black of Genl. Hardee's staff next day, and convinced him of the weakness of the position, as the engineer had erected earth works only at the intersections of the three roads mentioned. But, as I received orders to hold the line as long as possible, I made the best of it. I had about 800 troops under my command consisting of the 27th Battalion Georgia Volunteers 250 strong, a North Carolina battalion of about 350 men, Howard's local battalion of about 150 men, and Capt. Abel's battery of 2 Napoleons and 2 howitzers. I placed the 27th battalion, with Abel's 2 Napoleons, to defend the Augusta road, thinking it the most important, the North Carolina battalion on the right, 4 miles off at Harrison's place, and Howard's battalion in the center, each with a howitzer.

About this time Capt. Geo. S. Owens, and a Mr. McLeod, rendered me much assistance,

with a force of negroes, in obstructing the roads and destroying the bridges in my front.

"On the 5th December scouts reported the enemy advancing on the Augusta road, and at the same time I learned that Gen. Baker of North Carolina, commanding on my left, was attacked. The next day my advanced guard on the Augusta road was driven in, the enemy capturing the lieutenant in command and five men.

The next day I was joined by Major Black, and at my suggestion he agreed to take charge of my left, leaving me with the right. About ten o'clock that morning the enemy's skirmishers opened on my line, and soon afterwards they commenced a rapid fire from a small Parrott gun. Capt. Abel with his two Napoleons succeeded in silencing this piece after an exchange of about 14 shots, but they kept up a scattering fire of musketry until about 2 o'clock, when they made a charge along my whole line. On the left, where Major Black had charge, they forced back the North Carolina battalion, and also caused Howard to fall back, as he feared being flanked. Maj. Black continued to retreat until he reached the rail road at Monteith Station and there formed another line, the enemy having stopped at Genl. Harrison's house. In the mean time I was pressed hard, but managed to hold my position on the Augusta road.

About 4 o'clock I received orders from Genl. Hardee to fall back to the Charleston and Savannah rail road bridge over the Savannah river, where he would have boats to convey my troops to the city. But as this necessitated the abandonment of the section of artillery with me (which had by the gallant conduct of its commander and men enabled me to hold my position) I telegraphed the general asking permission to hold my present position until after night fall, when I felt that I could withdraw without serious loss. I would here remark that during the time I was in front of the Federals in Georgia, and afterwards in the two Carolinas, I never knew them to make an attack, or inaugurate an offensive movement during the night time.

My request being granted, I held my position until 8 o'clock, when I withdrew to

the station, joining Maj. Black with the balance of the command. Here I received orders to hold the rail road until a train which was to convey Genl. Beauregard to Charleston should pass. At 10 o'clock I was instructed to fall back to the inner line of defenses 4 miles from Savannah. The next day I was placed under Genl. Gustavus Smith's command on the right of the line, where I remained for several days (Jones 1874:50-52).

Lieutenant Colonel Jones, Jr. provides the best historical insight from the Confederate's perspective of the action along the western edge of Savannah in December 1864. Jones, an officer in the Chatham Artillery and Chief of Artillery for the State of Georgia, was actively involved at Savannah's western lines (Jones 1889:63, 68). Jones noted that the entire Confederate troop strength at Savannah in December 1864 was, "only about ten thousand men fit for duty", and that "more than a third of these consisted of Reserves and Georgia State troops". Many of these men were pre-occupied with the river defenses and the threat posed by the U.S. Navy vessels that were gathering in the Savannah vicinity. The Confederate troops that were assigned to defend Savannah's western perimeter were stretched very thin. The number of defenders was recognized as inadequate by the Confederates, but they saw no alternative. Artillery emplacements were built at key points along the perimeter and these were further reinforced by infantry in rifle trenches. Many of the heavy artillery, however, remained in the eastern defenses of Savannah, where they proved useless in the ensuing events. Jones provides this summation of the defense north of the main lines outside of Savannah:

Prior to the development of General Sherman's plans, the likelihood of an attack from the interior seemed so remote that little attention had been bestowed upon any defense in that quarter. So soon, however, as it became apparent that the Federal army

was seeking communication with the coast by way of Savannah every available resource was utilized in occluding the western approaches to the city.

An advanced line was selected by the Confederate engineers, which contemplated the retention of such portion of the Charleston and Savannah railroad as lay within the limits of Georgia, and the protection of its bridge across the Savannah river. Extending southwardly, and having Monteith swamp in its front, its left was guarded by the Great Ogeechee swamp.

Detached field works were quickly prepared at important points, and some light artillery and infantry hastened into position. The principal roads leading to Savannah, and the main avenues of approach were blocked by felling timber across them, and it was hoped that these obstructions would induce the Federal general to turn aside and seek some objective on the coast other than Savannah.

The paucity of the Confederate forces, the overwhelming strength of the enemy, the length and insecurity of the line, later and more careful surveys proving localities to be practicable which were deemed impassable, the Federal ability by means of well appointed pioneer corps in a short time to remove all hindrances to an advance, and the facility with which detached earthworks, constituting the principal defenses, could be flanked, induced the evacuation of this line shortly after a serious demonstration was made against it by the enemy (Jones 1889:68).

Jones described the main western defenses of Savannah, in terms of its strategic positioning:

The interior line, and that persistently held by the Confederates during the siege, commenced at Williamson's plantation on the Savannah river. Thence, having the rice fields in its front and trending southwardly along the crest of the high ground, it crossed the Central railroad, followed the western slope of Daly's farm, passed through Lawton's plantation, confronted the Silk-Hope rice fields, and, pursuing the left shore of Salt-Creek marshes and the Little

Ogeechee, rested near the Atlantic and Gulf railway bridge across that river. This line was well located, and was rendered formidable by the succession of marsh lands and well-nigh impassable swamps in its front. To increase these physical obstructions and add to the impracticability of these low grounds, the river dam at Williamson's plantation was cut so as to allow the water at high tide to flow freely into and submerge the rice fields. This supply, when fully obtained, was securely held. The water from the Savannah and Ogeechee canal, from Gould's swamp, and from the reserves on Shaw's and Lawton's plantations were made to contribute to the overflow. The rice fields on Owens' plantation were flooded from the Silk-Hope back-water, and Salt creek was dammed at the bridge on the Savannah and Darien road to retain the water in case the enemy should cut the banks. All means were utilized which could contribute to swell the inundation, and thus the entire front of the Confederate line from the Savannah river to Salt creek was submerged to a depth varying from three to six feet. Below the bridge on the Savannah and Darien road the marshes of Salt creek and of Little Ogeechee river afforded substantial protection (1889:68-69).

The role of the cavalry in the December 9 skirmishes north of Savannah is difficult to establish. Major General Joseph Wheeler commanded Confederate cavalry troops, most of whom were north or east of Monteith Swamp at the time of the battle. While most of his cavalry did not directly participate in the engagement, its actions influenced Major General Slocum's situation. Dodson (1899:301-302) summarized Wheeler's cavalry activities in the days before the battle, which are extracted below:

FIGHT NEAR EBENEZER CREEK.

At dark Wheeler examined the Federal works, and finding their infantry and cavalry huddled together, he brought up a battery of twelve-pound guns, and began a terrific shelling of their position. The affrighted Federals so suddenly awaked from their

slumbers, and not knowing the force which assailed them, hurried to the overcrowded crossing, leaving arms, horses, knapsacks and over two thousand negroes, who, though desiring to cross, the enemy, in their panic, refused to delay the destruction of the bridge. These negroes Wheeler sent back to their owners, from whom they had been stolen.

We also captured the following dispatch, which Wheeler promptly sent to General Hardee, and which correctly developed Sherman's dispositions:

Army of Georgia, Headquarters Left Wing,

Springfield, Dec. 8, 1864, 7 A. M.

General Jeff. C. Davis:

General Sherman has information that the line of defence around Savannah is about four miles from the city. He desires to take the road extending from Cherokee Hill through Isle of Hope to Litchfield on our first position. Your corps should be at or near Cherokee Hill. The 20th will be to the left of Pooler; 17th on right of 20th, and 15th near Litchfield. The 20th Corps will be at Monteith to-night. Yours very respectfully,

H. A. SLOCUM, Major-General.

On the 9th General Wheeler fought the enemy and captured prisoners on the Middle Ground road. On the 10th he pressed their rear, capturing prisoners, horses, etc., pushing on to within ten miles of Savannah.

Private Robert C. Caldwell, Company C, 10th Battalion, North Carolina Heavy Artillery provides this rare account from a Confederate enlisted man's perspective of the action in a letter to his wife, dated December 8, 1864, Savannah, Georgia. Private Caldwell was off by two days in his calendar but the event that he described most likely was the battle of Monteith Swamp. He began with, "Dear Wife,"

I am Stil Spared By the Blesing of a kind father Well Mag I was in a powerful Storm

of barrls yesterday I fot the yanks all day there was a bout one hundred of us faced 3 or 4 thous yanks we fot and fell Back throu Swamps and fields to we got to the R rode then got on the train to Savannah this took place 24 miles from Savannah on the rode to Macons out of the hundred men wee lost forty 3/43 [43 strikethrough] the 10 btt was all that was in it apart of 3 Co of it 25 of Co C was in the fite Cornlis Alex Bob Query BM Ingram and my self we all come of safe but Bob Query I Dont no wether he was kild of taken prisner out of 25 men we lost 6 I am in the war now Mag But the Lord has Brot me Safe throw So far I fee like I am safe unde his han I am sory for Query no noes how will stan or fall in war I dont no whether wee will stay here or no I think we will be in it in a few days a gin Sherman is comen on (Caldwell 1864:1).

[Translation] I am still spared by the blessing of a kind father. Well, Mag, I was in a powerful storm of barrels yesterday I fought the yanks all day. There was about one hundred of us who faced 3 or 4 thousand yanks. We fought and fell back through swamps and field until we got to the railroad, then got on the train to Savannah. This took place 24 miles from Savannah on the road to Macon. Out of the hundred men we lost forty-three (43). The 10th Battalion was all that was in it--part of three companies of it. 25 of Company C were in the fight. Cornelius Alexander, Bob Query, Byron M. Ingram and myself, we all come off safe but Bob Query, I don't know whether he was killed or taken prisoner. Out of 25 men we lost 6. I am in the war now Mag But the Lord has brought me safe through so far, I feel like I am safe under his hand. I am sorry for Query. No one knows how will stand or fall in war. I don't know whether we will stay here or not. I think we will be in it in a few days again. Sherman is coming on (Ellington 1901:161-204).

Cornelius Alexander, Robert S. Query, and Byron M. Ingram, mentioned in Caldwell's letter, also were privates in Company C, 10th Battalion (NPS 2010).

Perhaps the best first-hand account of the action at Monteith Swamp by a Confederate comes from the post-war reminiscence of

2nd Lieutenant Jesse Calvin Ellington, Company C, 50th Regiment North Carolina Troops, detailed the action of the regiment on December 9:

On the 7th we commenced to skirmish with the vanguard, and on the 9th, having fallen back some distance to a strong position, the skirmishing became general and very heavy. The main body of the regiment had fortified a naturally strong position on the right of the road, and [3rd] Lieut. Jesse T. Ellington of Company C, was sent with a strong skirmish line to an open savanna on the left to protect that flank. The advance of the enemy was checked and the firing soon became extremely heavy at the point occupied by the regiment, but they stubbornly resisted the repeated attacks and held their position. After awhile there was a sudden lull in the firing on that side of the road which attracted Lieutenant Ellington's attention, and seeking a point where he could get a view of the breastworks discovered that they were occupied by the enemy in force. They had succeeded in flanking the position on the right and thus forcing the regiment to hastily retire across a bridge which was held by some of Wheeler's men for this purpose. Lieutenant Ellington had been instructed to hold his position until he received orders to withdraw, and now found himself entirely cut off, the enemy considerably to the rear of his position and a strong skirmish line deployed immediately in rear of his own lines. He quietly faced his men about and commenced to move forward in regular order, and passing along the line whispered instructions to each man. Noticing a dense swamp some distance in front and to the right of the line of march, he had instructed the men to watch him as they neared the swamp, at a given signal from him, to stoop as low as possible and run for the swamp. They had been moving all the while between the skirmish lines, the original one which was now in their rear and the new one which was thrown out after capturing our works, which was now in front. When they reached what seemed the most favorable position, the signal was given and promptly obeyed by every man. As they made the break it was discovered for the first time that they were Confederates, and fired upon. Three of his men were shot dead; but all the others,

though fired at repeatedly, succeeded in reaching the swamp, which was quickly surrounded, but not a single one was captured. During the night they quietly left the swamp and attempted to make their way through the lines. As the night was dark they were guided in their course by the guns at Fort McAllister, but after swimming the Ogeechee river and proceeding for some distance, the firing at the fort ceased and about the same time a battery of heavy guns opened in an entirely different direction, causing them to lose their course. This brought them again to the Ogeechee river, which they recrossed and after travelling all night, found themselves at daybreak next morning on the same ground they had left the evening before, and again in the rear of the enemy (Ellington 1901:181-182).

Ellington's almost certainly describes Monteith Swamp. 3rd Lieutenant Jesse T. Ellington, possibly close relative of Jesse Calvin Ellington, held a unique position in the battle as commander of the skirmish line. Finding themselves behind enemy lines at the end of the battle, Ellington managed to lead his skirmishers to the Confederate lines safely on December 10 (Ellington 1901: 182).

VIII. Battle Evidence

Historian Barry Sheehy (2005:135-156) brought the battle of Monteith Swamp to the recent attention of Georgians when he included it in an article on two “Forgotten Battles” that happened near Savannah in December 1864. Sheehy’s research was a great boon to the present study and his knowledge and expertise was tapped for this

research effort. Sheehy did an excellent job in drawing attention to this battlefield. Monteith Swamp was seen as an “entry point” for battlefield archeology of the December 1864 attack on the western defenses of Savannah.

Sheehy’s interpretation of the action in battle of Monteith Swamp is reproduced in Figure 41.

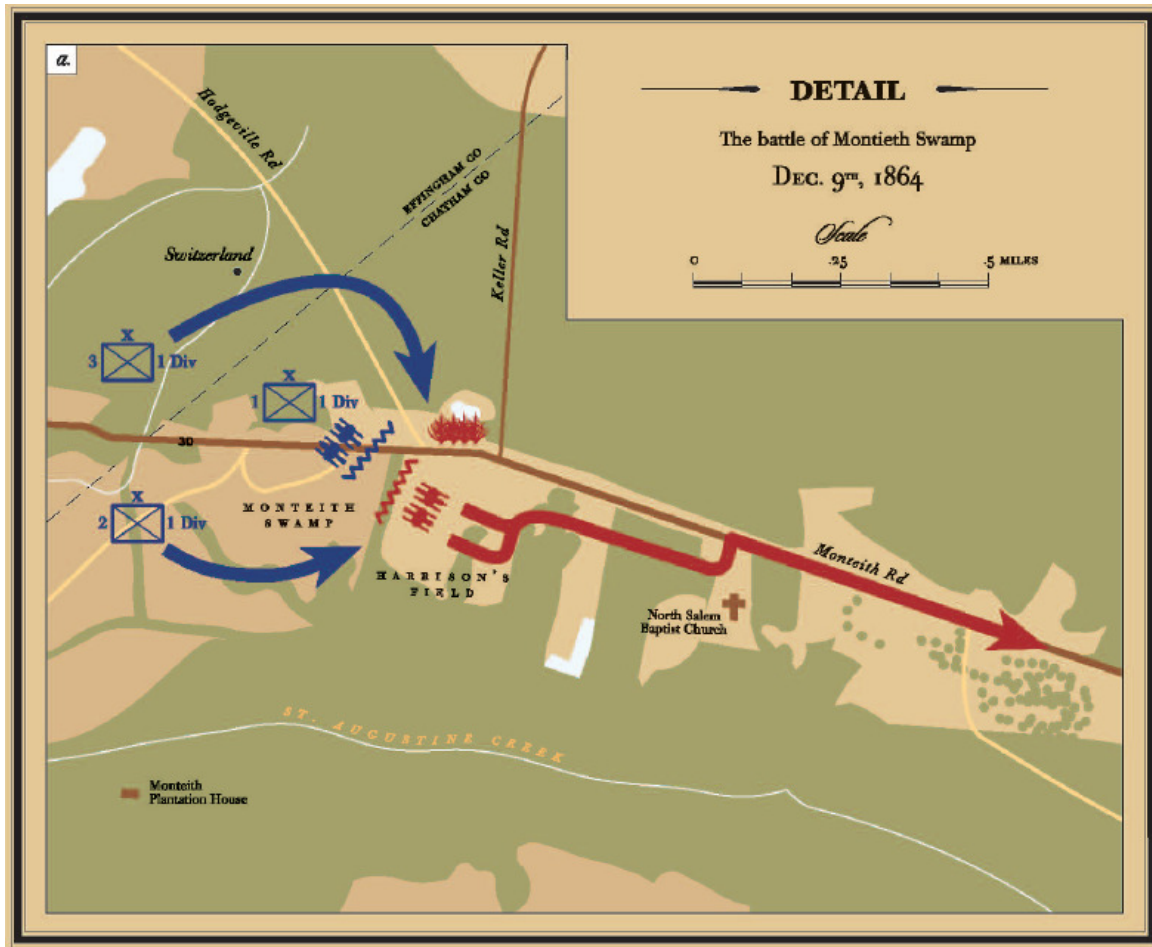


Figure 41. Sheehy’s Interpretation of the Battle of Monteith Swamp (Sheehy 2005).

Another recent historical study on the Charleston & Savannah Railroad by Stone (2008:239) discussed the action at Monteith Swamp:

On the eastern side of Turkey Roost Swamp, Hartridge’s troops had constructed two redoubts with flanking rifle pits. The forward work contained a single howitzer that commanded the road and prevented removal of the fallen timber. When the Confederates opened fire, the Federals threw

out several regiments on each flank while the First Brigade under Colonel James Selfridge held the center. To the right of the road was an expansive rice field, which extended to the left of the enemy works. The Rebels' gun completely swept the road, blocking the most practical passage of the swamp.

While Selfridge's brigade demonstrated in front, General Jackson deployed Colonel Ezra Carman's Second Brigade to the right of the road and ordered the Third Brigade under Colonel James S. Robinson to the left. While Carman had difficulty finding suitable ground, Colonel Robinson had better luck on the other flank. Feeling his way on the left, he found a point about a mile from the main road where the swamp was only a quarter mile wide, and decided to cross there.

The Thirty-first Wisconsin and Sixty-first Ohio Volunteers led the way, commanded by Colonel Francis H. West of the Wisconsin regiment. As they entered the swamp, the officers were forced to dismount because their horses could not maneuver in the bog. They negotiated the four hundred yards of marsh slowly but peacefully until they came within the range of the Rebel howitzer. As they [sic, the] shells came crashing through the trees, the Federals had one of two choices—to move forward or to lie down in two feet of slimy, cold water. Choosing the former option, the Union commanders ordered their men forward on the double-quick, out of the swamp, and into an open field bordered by woods in which the Confederates took cover.

To the right of the road Carman's brigade had trouble finding a point from which to launch an assault. He had formed the Third Wisconsin and 115th New York in two lines and prepared to send them out as skirmishers when Colonel West's troops emerged from the woods on the far left. They watched with surprise as their comrades, after an exchange of only two or three volleys, drove the Rebels from their position in frantic retreat. The Confederates in that area were commanded by Major Samuel L. Black, who had been detached from General Hardee's staff to aid Major Hartridge. The Federals struck his line in the

right and rear, driving back the North Carolina Battalion and Howard's battalion. In their hasty withdrawal, the Southern troops left behind clothing, arms, and other supplies but were able to carry off their artillery pieces. Major Black fell back until he reached the railroad at Monteith Station while the Federals halted and went into camp near the redoubts at Harrison's plantation (Stone 2008:239).

ARCHEOLOGICAL FINDINGS

1. GPR Survey

GPR Survey was completed on a sample of Harrison's Field. This survey sample, designated Block A, covered an area of the battlefield measuring 40 meter north-south by 51 meters east-west, or 2,040 m². A total length of 4120 meters of radargrams was collected in this sample. The vicinity where the GPR grid was placed yielded a mix of historic metal artifacts and prehistoric artifacts. Figure 42 presents a series of nine time-slice plan views of the GPR data at increasing time depths. Although many anomalies are visible in these maps, as indicated by dark gray and black shapes, no linear patterning is discerned. Linear anomalies would be expected if military ditches were present in this area. Linear patterning also is produced by roads, house foundations and other historic constructions. The abundant round, oval and irregular anomalies probably represent a mix of cultural features (pits or large posts) and trees or natural disturbances. Figure 36 shows an isometric view of the GPR data in Block A. Figures 43 and 44 show an isometric view and an overlay (composite) view of the GPR information in Block A. Both views also show a lack of linear patterning that would be indicative of trenches.

2. Shovel Testing

Fifteen shovel tests were excavated on a 10 m-interval grid as a part of the archeological investigations at Harrison's Field. These tests explored areas from 1834-1854 North and 6705-6795 East on the site grid. The purpose of these tests was to make a preliminary assessment of artifact density, component and artifact class distribution and soil stratification in the northwestern corner of Harrison's Field. The shovel tests also provided feedback for the GPR and metal detecting results in this portion of Harrison's Field. The research design did not require excavation, so a complete grid of shovel

tests was not attempted and no test units were dug.

Shovel Test 5 (1874N, 6715E) contained one coastal plain chert thinning flake in the upper 25 cm. This test was excavated to 50 cm depth revealing the following soil profile: 0-23 cm, dark gray brown (10YR4/2) coarse sandy loam and 23-50 cm, pale brown (2.5Y7/4) coarse sand.

Shovel Test 6 (1874N, 6725E) intersected a possible cultural feature, based on organic soil anomalies, although this test contained no artifacts. Soils were: 0-23 cm, dark gray brown (10YR4/2) coarse sandy loam and 23-40 cm, mottled brown (7.5YR4/3) and strong brown (7.5YR4/6) sandy clay.

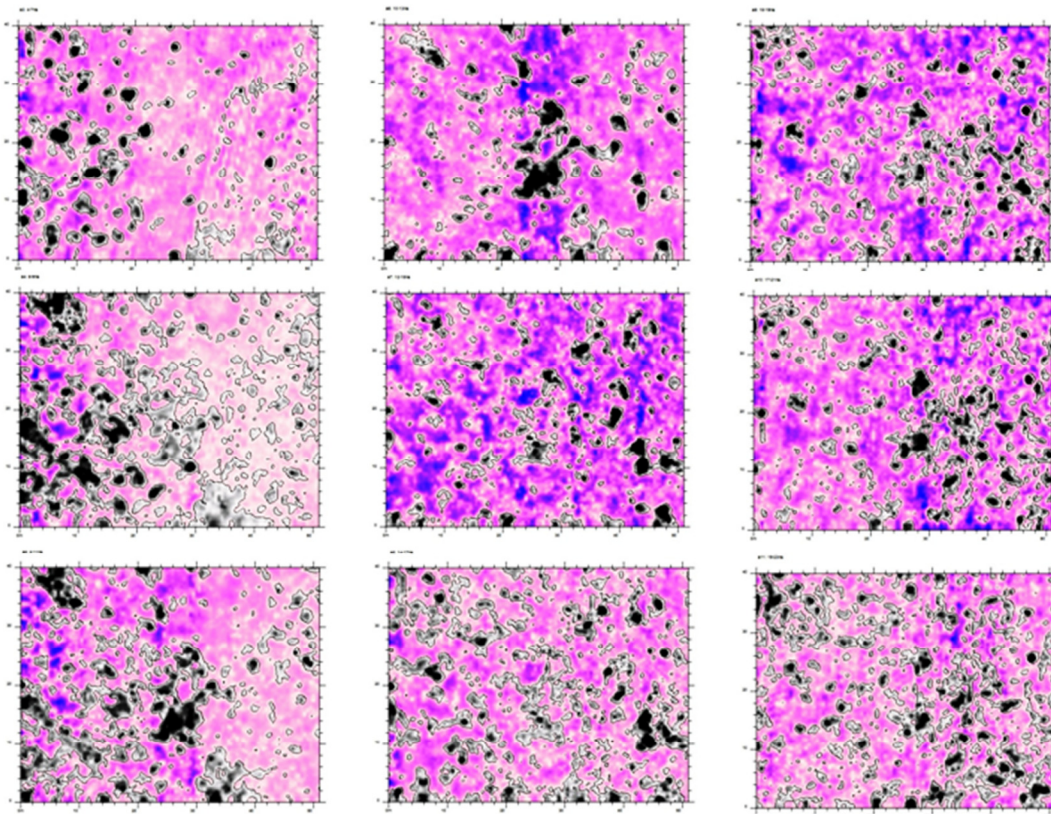


Figure 42. Plan Views at Increasing Depths of GPR Block A, Time Slices 3-11, Harrison's Field.

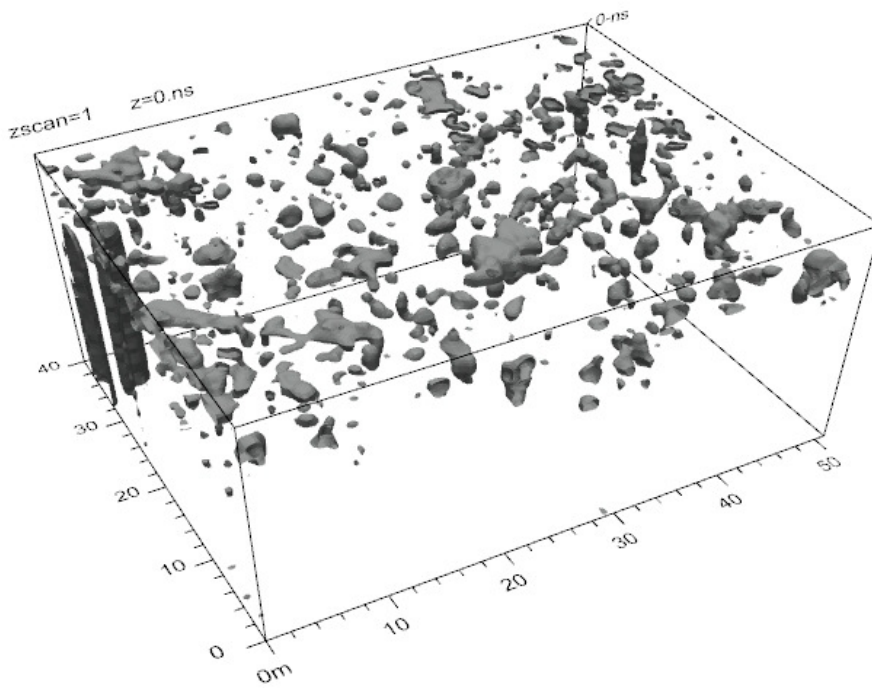


Figure 43. Isometric View of GPR Block A, Harrison's Field.

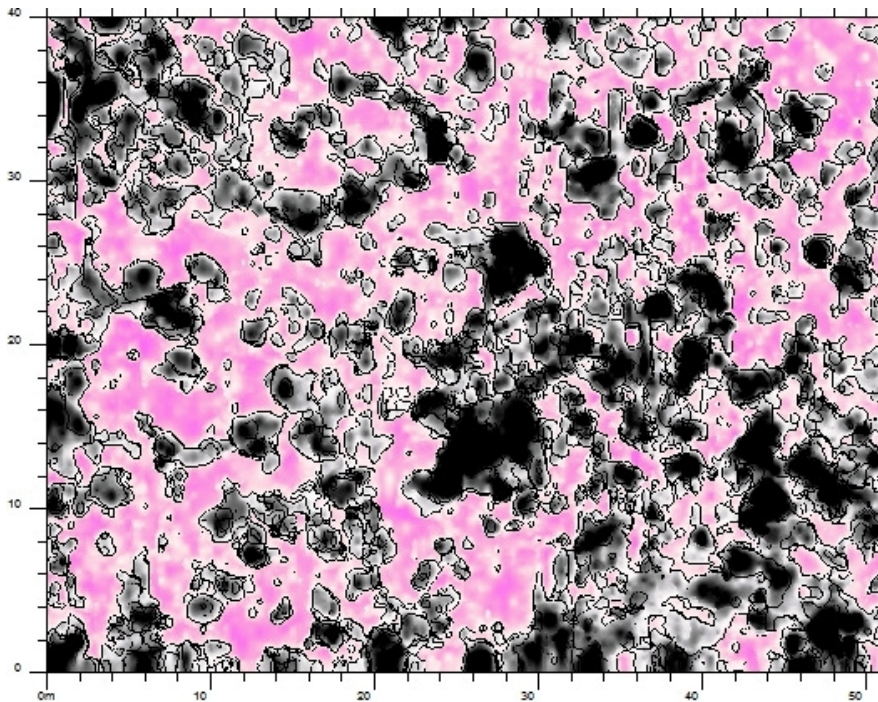


Figure 44. GPR Plan Overlay View of Block A, Harrison's Field (North is up).

Shovel Test 6 (1874N, 6725E) intersected a possible cultural feature, based on organic soil anomalies, although this test contained no artifacts. Soils were: 0-23 cm, dark gray brown (10YR4/2) coarse sandy loam and 23-40 cm, mottled brown (7.5YR4/3) sandy clay and strong brown (7.5YR4/6) sandy clay. Shovel Test 7 (1874N, 6735E) contained one undecorated aboriginal sand tempered sherd in the upper 25 cm. Soils were similar to Shovel Test 5, although the soil was more compacted. It was excavated to 50 cm below ground. Shovel Test 8 (1864N, 6715E) contained one fragment of coal in the upper 25 cm soil zone. Soils were: 0-25 cm, dark gray brown (10YR4/2) coarse sandy loam, 25-55 cm, pale brown (2.5Y7/4) sandy loam and below 55 cm yellow brown (10YR5/8) sandy clay. This test was located in the vicinity of many metal detector finds. Shovel Test 9 (1854N, 6715E) contained one coastal plain chert thinning flake and one iron wire fragment in the upper 25 cm soil zone and one coastal plain thinning flake from 25-55 cm depth. Soils were: 0-25 cm, dark gray brown (10YR4/2) sandy loam, 25-58 cm, pale brown (2.5Y7/4) sandy loam, and below 58 cm, yellow brown (10YR5/8) sandy clay. Shovel Test 11 (1834N, 6715E) contained one Deptford Linear Check Stamped pottery sherd and one coastal plain chert flake in the upper 25 cm. The test was excavated to 40 cm below ground and the soils were similar to that observed in Shovel Test 9. Shovel Test 12 (1854N, 6705E) yielded one coastal plain chert thinning flake in the upper 25 cm soil zone. It was excavated to 65 cm below ground and soils were: 0-25 cm, dark gray brown (10YR4/2) sandy loam and 25-65 cm, very pale brown (10YR7/3) sandy loam. Shovel Test 13 (1854N, 6725E) contained one undecorated aboriginal pottery sand tempered sherd in the upper 25 cm soil zone. The test was excavated to 50 cm and soils were similar to that observed in Shovel Test

12. Shovel Test 14 (1854N, 6725E) contained two coastal plain chert flakes in the upper 25 cm. Other attributes were similar to Shovel Test 13. Shovel Tests 1, 2, 3, 4, 10 and 15 yielded no artifacts. All of these tests were excavated to at least 50 cm below ground. These tests explored grid locations at 1874N, 6665E; 1874N, 6675E; 1874N, 6685E; 1874N, 6695E; 1844N, 6715E, and 1854N, 6735E. The shovel test results were surprising in terms of the infrequency of historic period artifacts. As will be noted from the following discussion of the metal detector findings, the shovel test grid was placed within the highest density area for metal finds, yet historic period artifacts were located in only two of 15 shovel tests. Neither artifact was particularly diagnostic; both may be unrelated to Civil War activity. The soil anomaly encountered in Shovel Test 6 may indicate that this area has potential for subsurface features, although the age and extent of any features remains undetermined. Artifacts were generally contained to the upper plow zone (25 cm or less) and the potential for deeper strata in this portion of Harrison's Field appears slight.

3. Metal Detector Survey

The LAMAR Institute survey team recovered a modest amount of battle-related artifacts from the Monteith Swamp study area. This small sample, however, speaks volumes as to the precise location of military action at Monteith Swamp. The presentation of the findings begins with descriptions of the battlefield artifacts, as well as artifacts not directly related to the battle.

Artillery Ordnance

Two iron artillery shell fragments were located in Harrison's Field. Both iron fragments were quite small and non-

diagnostic. It is not known with which army these objects are associated. A large lead plug was interpreted as a possible artillery fuse plug for a piece of ordnance. Three views of this object are provided in Figure 45.



Figure 45. Lead Plug, Three Views, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

Metal detectorists located 36 examples of iron canister shot and one lead example in Harrison's Field and its wooded margin. A cluster of these artifacts was defined in the northwestern corner of the field. This may represent more than one discharge of anti-personnel ordnance. While it is nearly impossible to distinguish between Union and Confederate association based on iron shot attributes, the context where these objects were located is meaningful. These shot are interpreted as Confederate rounds that were fired at the Union soldiers who had managed to flank the Confederate line.

A few stray iron shot were located elsewhere in Harrison's Field. These may represent objects dragged by plowing or items discarded by Union soldiers in their December 1864 encampment. Their paucity does not indicate any concentrated artillery fire in these areas.

The iron canister shot specimens included 35 whole and one fragment. The complete examples ranged in diameter from 12-30 mm and weighed from 6.9-82.3 grams. These objects were sorted by weight, which revealed two clusters. One cluster represents the larger shot type, which ranged from 65-82.3 g, and the other cluster is a smaller iron shot that weighed from 2.4-12 g. A single specimen, weighing 45.3 g, falls between these two clusters and may represent a third type of shot. Examples of canister shot from the Monteith Swamp battlefield survey are shown in Figure 46. A scatterplot of shot diameter illustrates the two size clusters (Figure 47).

Historical records note the presence of one or two small Confederate artillery pieces in the battle, but surprisingly no mention of any use of Union artillery in the engagement. That Union artillery was brought into play is almost certain, based on artifacts collected previously from the battlefield by landowner Jerry Dotson. Dotson's collection includes several varieties of unexploded artillery ordnance, including round shot, Parrott and Schenkl rounds. Dotson noted that at least one of the unexploded artillery shells that he discovered (Hotchkiss 3 inch) came from the vicinity of his swimming pool in his back yard. Examples from Dotson's collection are shown in Figures 48 and 49. Figure 50 shows the spatial distribution of canister shot in Harrison's Field.

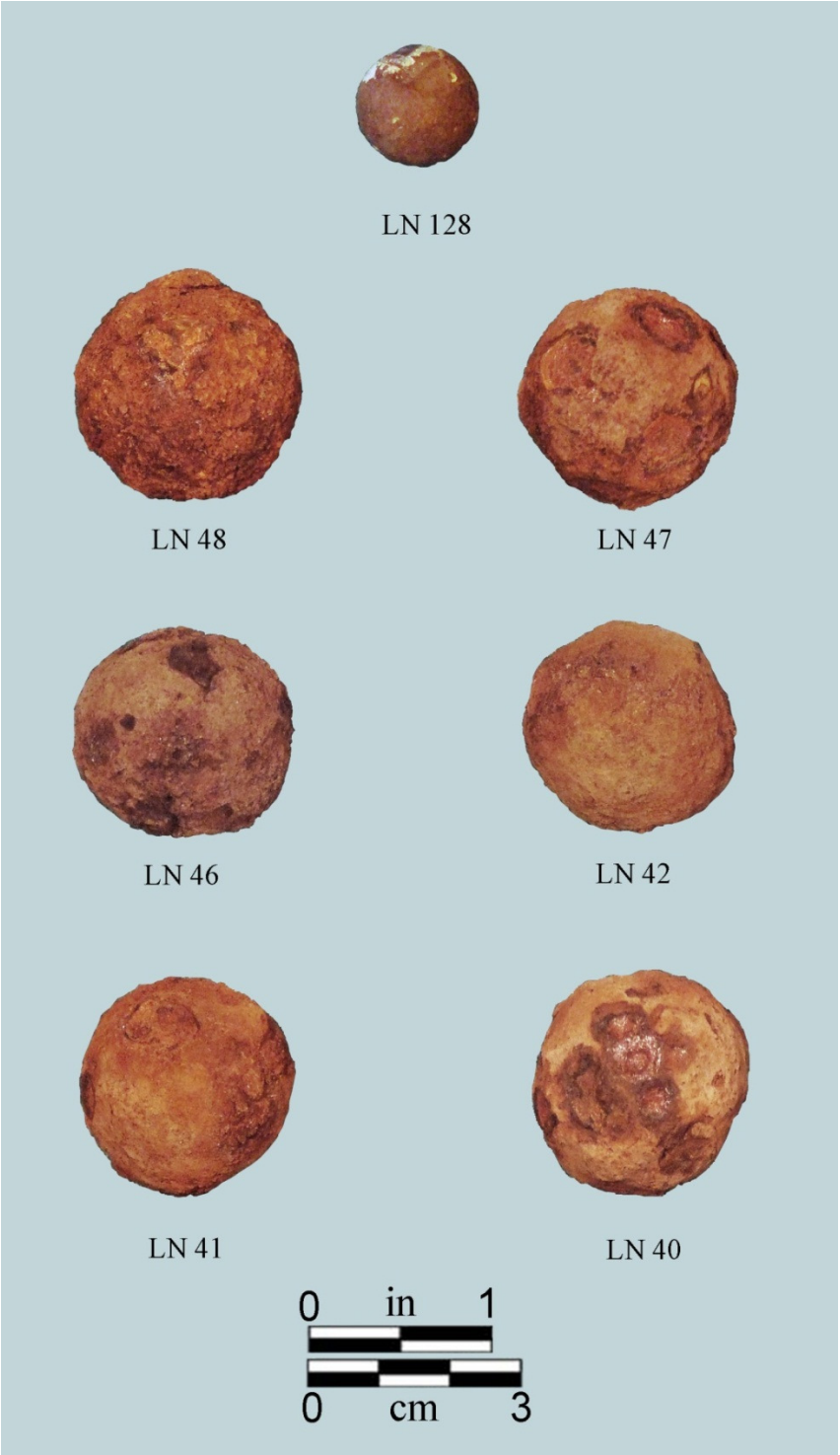


Figure 46. Lead and Iron Canister Shot, Monteith Swamp Battlefield Survey.

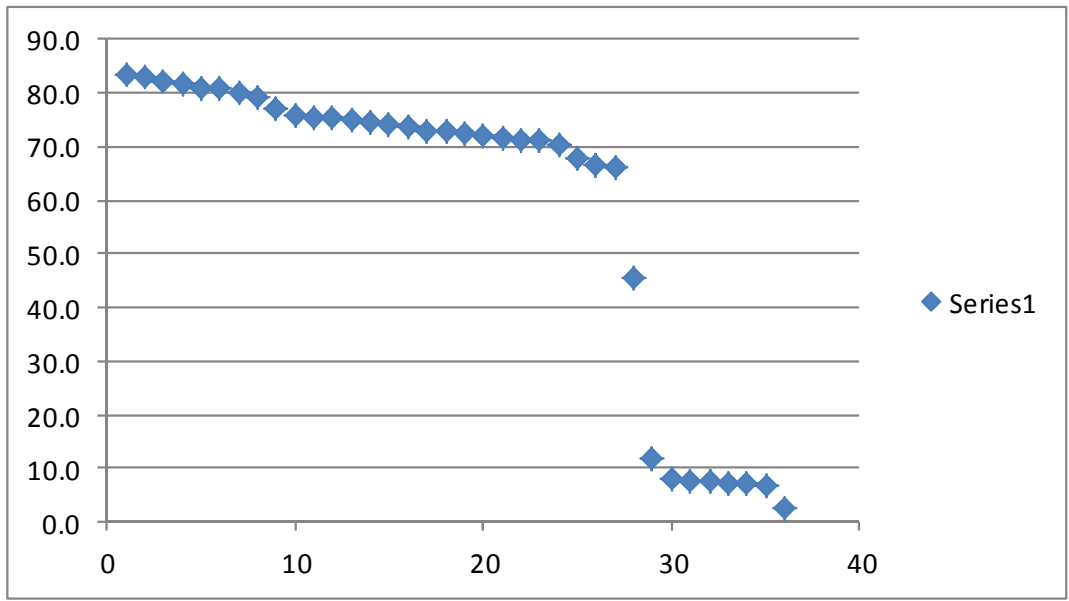


Figure 47. Scatterplot by Weight (g) of Iron Canister Shot, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.



Figure 48. Artillery Ordnance from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).



Figure 49. Artillery Ordnance from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).

The survey team recovered the only cannon friction primer the northwestern corner of Harrison's Field. It is illustrated in Figure 51 (LN 360). Friction primers were small copper tubes filled with fine-grained gunpowder that were used to ignite cannons in the Civil War era. Their presence on the landscape is a reliable indicator for the

presence of a piece of ordnance at that location, since expended friction primers had little value once they were spent and were discarded at the firing position. Union and Confederate friction primers are virtually indistinguishable.

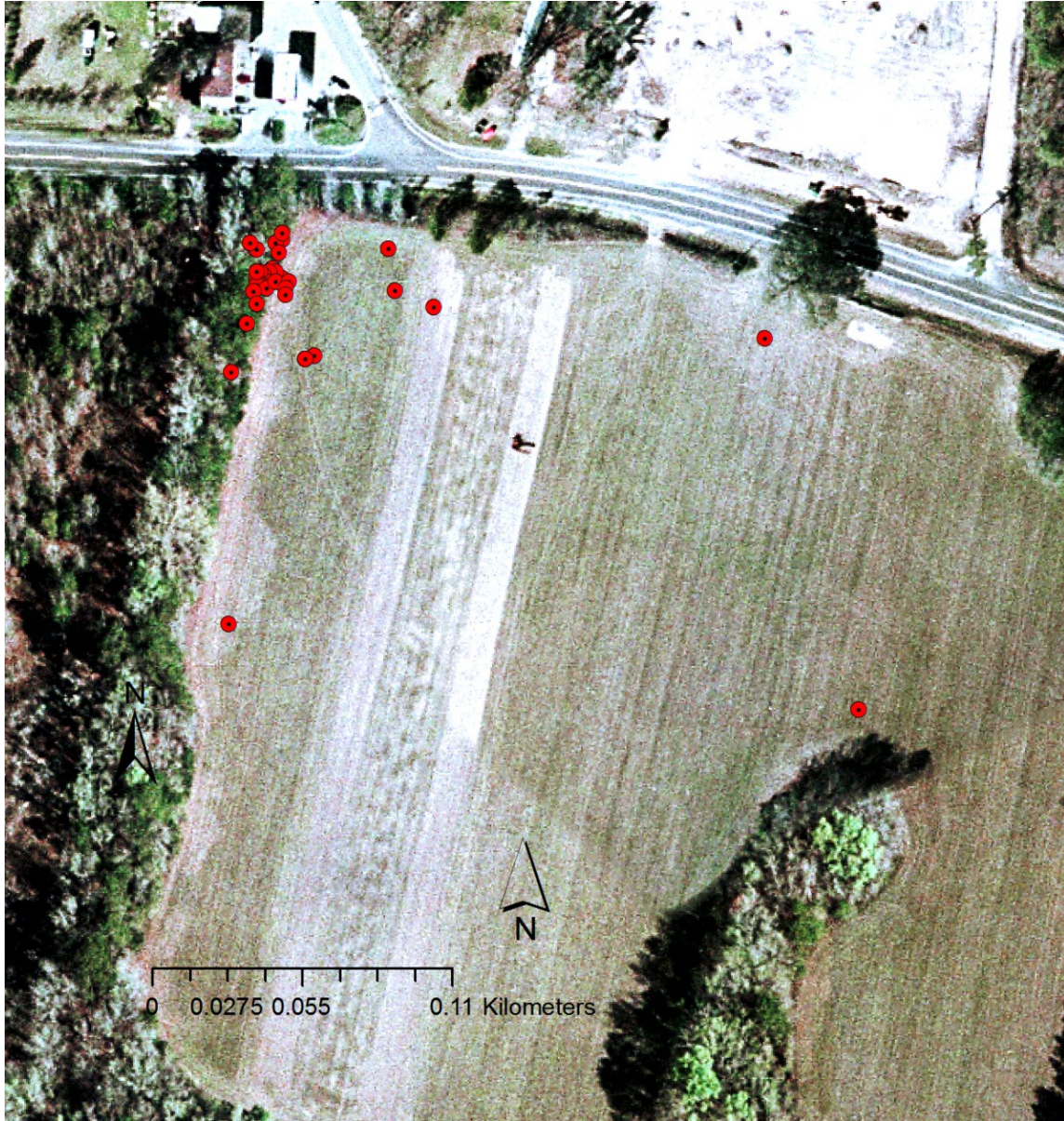


Figure 50. Distribution of Iron Canister Shot (shown as red dots) in Harrison's Field.



Figure 51. Assorted Metal Items from the Survey.

Small Arms

Metal detectors located a variety of ammunition across the battlefield. This evidence included lead projectiles (round balls, bullets, and smaller round shot), brass shell casings, and brass percussion caps. Examples of bullets recovered by the survey are shown in Figure 52. A summary table of

bullet attributes is provided in Table 3. A series of spatial distribution map of bullets are shown in Figures 53-57.

Relic collectors have removed an unknown quantity of artifacts, including bullets, from the Monteith Swamp battlefield. Most were taken from Harrison's Field where conditions for their discovery were easier. The wooded areas of Monteith Swamp are

less depleted. The present landowner has recovered hundreds of items from Harrison's Field and the wooded areas adjacent to Monteith Swamp. Figures 58 and 59 show examples of bullets from these two areas in the Dotson collection. These include a variety of Union and Confederate bullets, although Union bullets dominate the collection. This collection is comparable to that recovered by the LAMAR Institute team.

The battlefield survey located a variety of bullets. These included round balls, 2-ring and 3-ring minie balls, Wilson cleaner rounds, Enfield bullets, and smaller caliber bullets-some possibly pistol balls. Bullet characteristics were noted in the laboratory, including their condition (impacted, fired or dropped), style or type, weight (in grams), length (in mm), and diameter (in mm and caliber). By far the most common bullet type was the 3-ring minie ball. This bullet was intended for use in the Springfield Arsenal-type weapons. While both armies used these bullets, they are more often associated with the Union army. The assemblage from Monteith Swamp was degraded by impacts and erosion, which hampered further identification within this category. The next most common bullet type was the cleaner round, or Williams Cleaner (Type III). This was a composite bullet with a zinc base that was intended to clear the gun barrel of residue that accumulated during frequent firing. Williams Cleaners are quite common on Georgia's Civil War battlefields and they are strongly associated with the Union army. One distinctive 2-ring bullet was identified in the collection (Figure 52, LN540). This bullet type was used by North Carolina troops and manufactured in Raleigh, North Carolina in 1861. Daniel Battle noted that this bullet variety was commonly used by Confederates in the Peninsular Campaign (Daniel Battle, personal communication April 1, 2012). The presence of North

Carolina troops at Monteith Swamp may account for its existence on the battlefield. Enfield bullets were recovered from the wooded skirmish area within Monteith Swamp. None were recovered from Harrison's Field. Enfield bullets were commonly associated with Confederate troops. One impacted example from Monteith Swamp still contained the rosewood plug at its base. Most Enfield bullets were manufactured in England, particularly those containing the rosewood plug. In addition to these lozenge-shaped bullets, the survey recovered a sizeable sample of small lead shot. Some of these may have been buckshot from buck and ball loads. Small lead shot was not an effective payload in a heated Civil War engagement.

Percussion caps were a vital item in the Union and Confederate arsenals. These were small brass containers filled with fulminated mercury and were indispensable components of the percussion-fired rifles. Eleven examples were recovered from the battlefield. With one exception the caps measured 6 mm in diameter. One smaller example, which may have been for a pistol, measured 3.5 mm in diameter. Five of the caps appeared to be unfired, or dropped, while the other six were expended. The caps are not readily distinguishable between Union or Confederate varieties. The distribution of percussion caps at the Monteith Swamp was restricted to the northwestern section of Harrison's Field. These artifacts are telling because they reveal likely firing positions of the shooters. From their spatial distribution in the field, percussion caps form a crude arc that would suggest a target northwest of this location. Given the battle accounts, these caps likely were used by the advancing Union troops upon achieving the Confederate's flank.



Figure 52. Examples of Civil War Bullets Recovered by the Monteith Swamp Battlefield Survey.

Table 3. Bullet Attributes, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

Description	Diameter (mm)	Weight(g)	Length (mm)	Caliber
Ball, lead	10.0	4.2		39
Ball, lead, dropped	9.5	5.4		37
Ball, lead, fired	13.0	11.4		51
Ball, lead, impacted	10.0	5.0		
Ball, lead, impacted	16.0	25.0		
Ball, lead, impacted	14.0	11.9		
Ball, lead, impacted	11.5	6.8		
Ball, lead, impacted		21.3		
Ball, lead, impacted	13.5	12.0		
Ball, lead, wormed and corroded	13.0	11.2		
Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	29.6		
Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	23.6		
Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	15.0	26.8		
Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	15.0	27.8		
Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	14.5	22.3		
Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	23.9		
Bullet, 1 ring, impacted		6.4	16.5	
Bullet, 3-ring, impacted	15.0	31.3	25	
Bullet, brass casing	11.0	1.6		43
Bullet, brass casing	7.0	1.9		28
Bullet, brass casing	11.0	1.6		43
Bullet, Enfield, impacted	13.5	25.0		
Bullet, Enfield, lead with wood plug, impacted	15.0	29.9	20	
Bullet, lead & zinc, Williams' Cleaner, dropped		13.5	19	
Bullet, lead (pistol)	8.0	4.9	14	31
Bullet, lead, 2 ring, dropped	13.0	22.0	21	51
Bullet, lead, 2 ring, dropped	13.0	19.3	20.5	51
Bullet, lead, 2 ring, dropped	14.5	20.8	20	57
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, deteriorated	13.5	19.8	20.5	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	13.0	20	20	51
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	23.5	23	55
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	26.3	25	55
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	26.5	21	55
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	29.5	25	55
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.5	27.7	24.5	57
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	26.5	25.5	55
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	15.0	26.2	23	59
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	24.7	23	55
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	13.0	22.0	23	51
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		24.0		
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		23.0	25	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		24.0		
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		23.0	22	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	26.8	25	

Description	Diameter (mm)	Weight(g)	Length (mm)	Caliber
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	23.5	22	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		21.8	17	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		26.4	25	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	15.0	24.2	22	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		20.0	21	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	19.0	26.6	16	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		21.7		
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	21.8	18	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	12.5	18.3	24	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	19.0	21.5	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	28.5	23.5	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		29.7		
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	19.0	25	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	16.5		
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	24.2	22	
Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	13.0	20.4	20.5	
Bullet, lead, 3-ring, impacted	14.0	24.3	24	
Bullet, lead, 3-ring, impacted		23.5	20	
Bullet, lead, 3-ring, impacted		23.0		
Bullet, lead, deteriorated	12.5	15.3	18.5	
Bullet, lead, deteriorated	11.0	12.5	18.5	
Bullet, lead, Enfield, dropped	14.0	27.3	26.5	55
Bullet, lead, Enfield, dropped	13.0	28.2	27	51
Bullet, lead, fragment	10.0	7.2	23	
Bullet, lead, impacted	9.0	8.9	16	
Bullet, lead, impacted	12.0	17.0	22	
Bullet, lead, impacted	11.0	8.5	10.5	
Bullet, lead, impacted with wood particles	8.0	2.6	5	
Bullet, lead, Williams' Cleaner, wormed	13.5	21.7	18	
Bullet, lead, Williams'sCleaner, corroded	15.0	22.7	20	
Bullet, lead, Williams'sCleaner, impacted	14.0	22.7		
Bullet, lead, Williams'sCleaner, impacted		20.0	25	
Bullet, Williams cleaner, impacted	16.0	21.5		
Bullet, Williams cleaner, dropped	14.5	28.3	22.5	57
Bullet, Williams cleaner, zinc base	14.0	4.3		55
Bullet, Williams cleaner, zinc base	14.0	4.0		55
Bullet, Williams cleaner, zinc base	14.0	3.5		55
TOTAL BULLETS=81				

Table 3. Bullet Attributes, Monteith Swamp Battlefield (Continued).

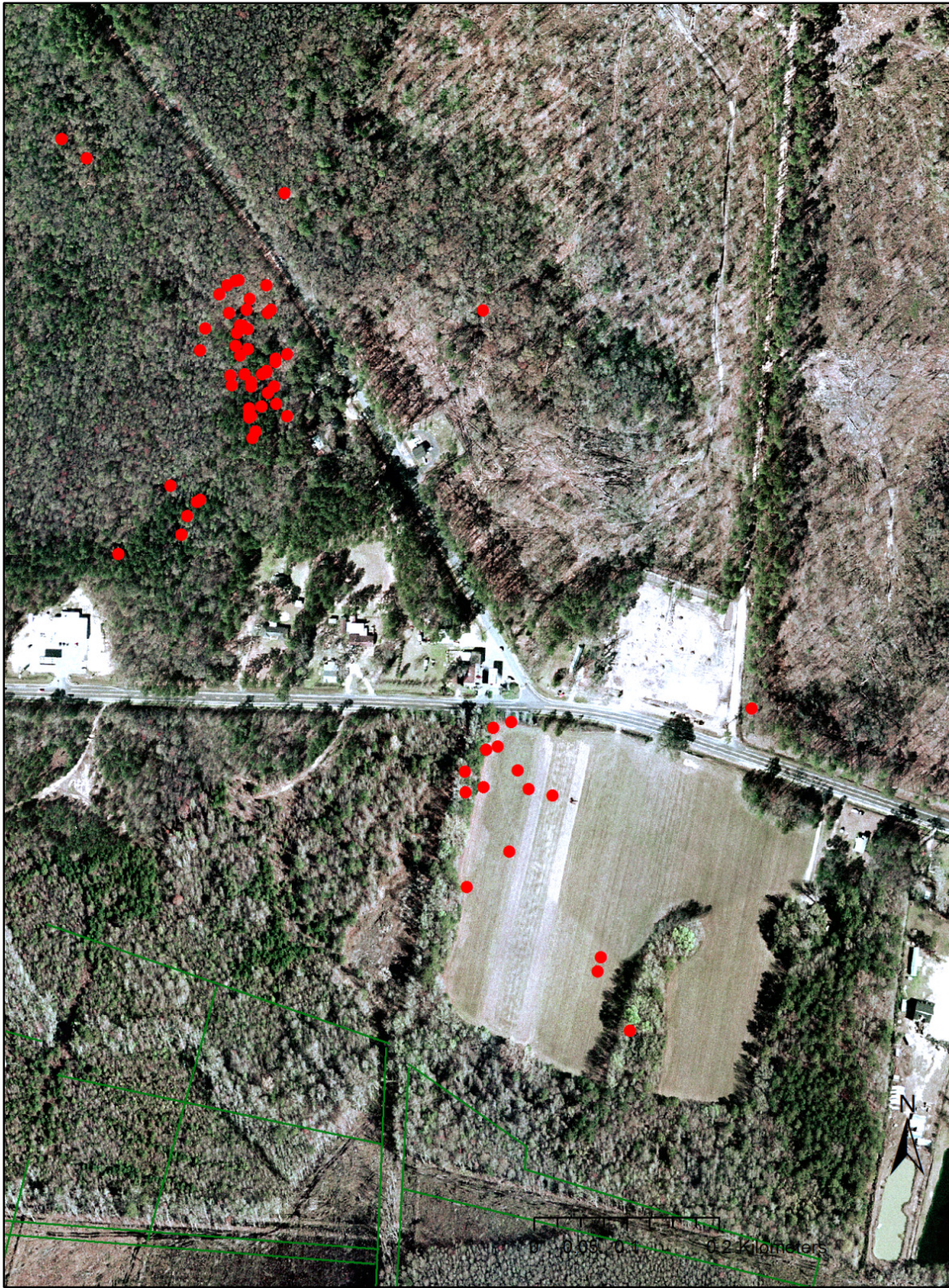


Figure 53. Distribution Map of All Bullets, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

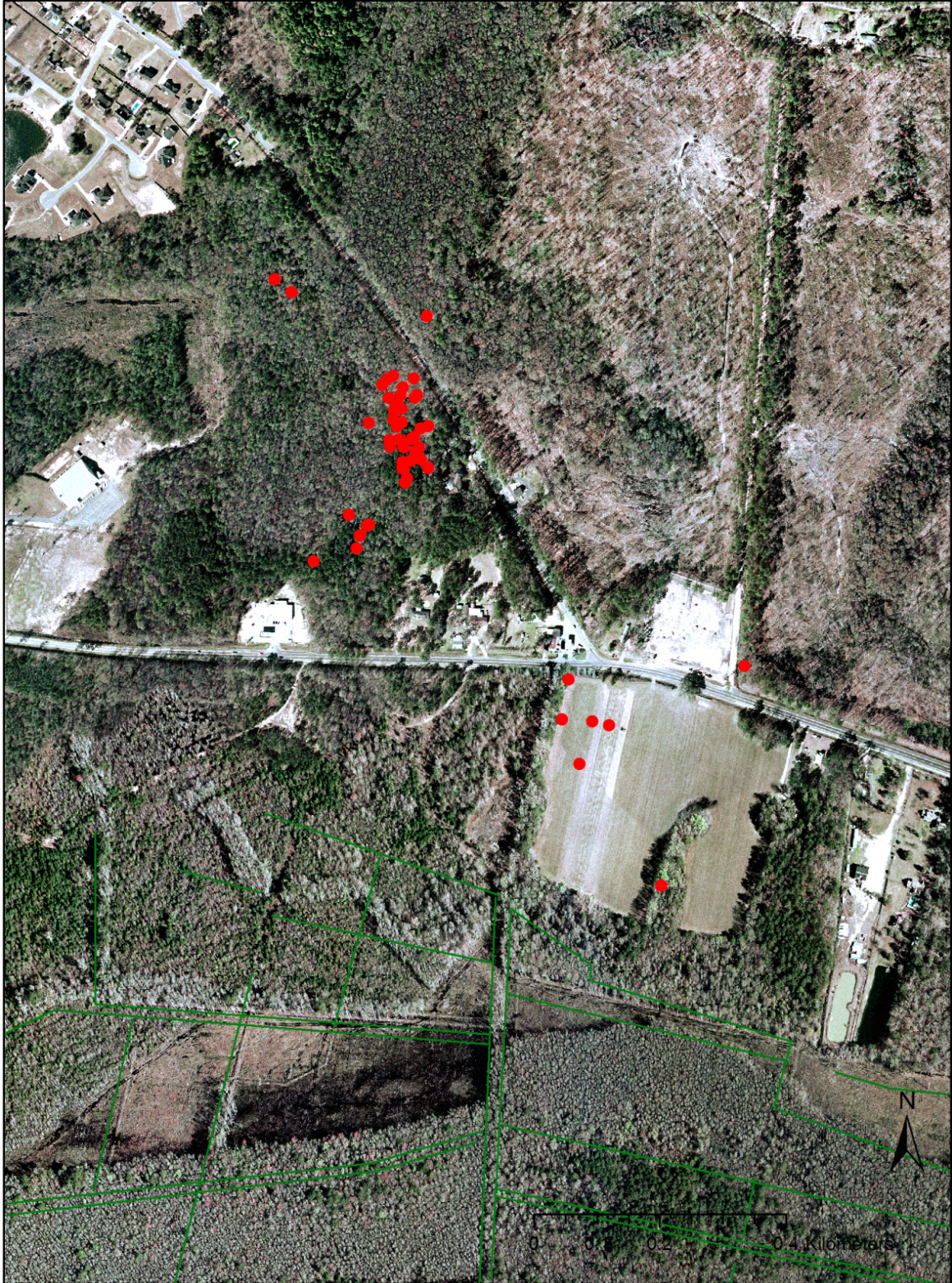


Figure 54. Distribution Map of Union Bullets, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

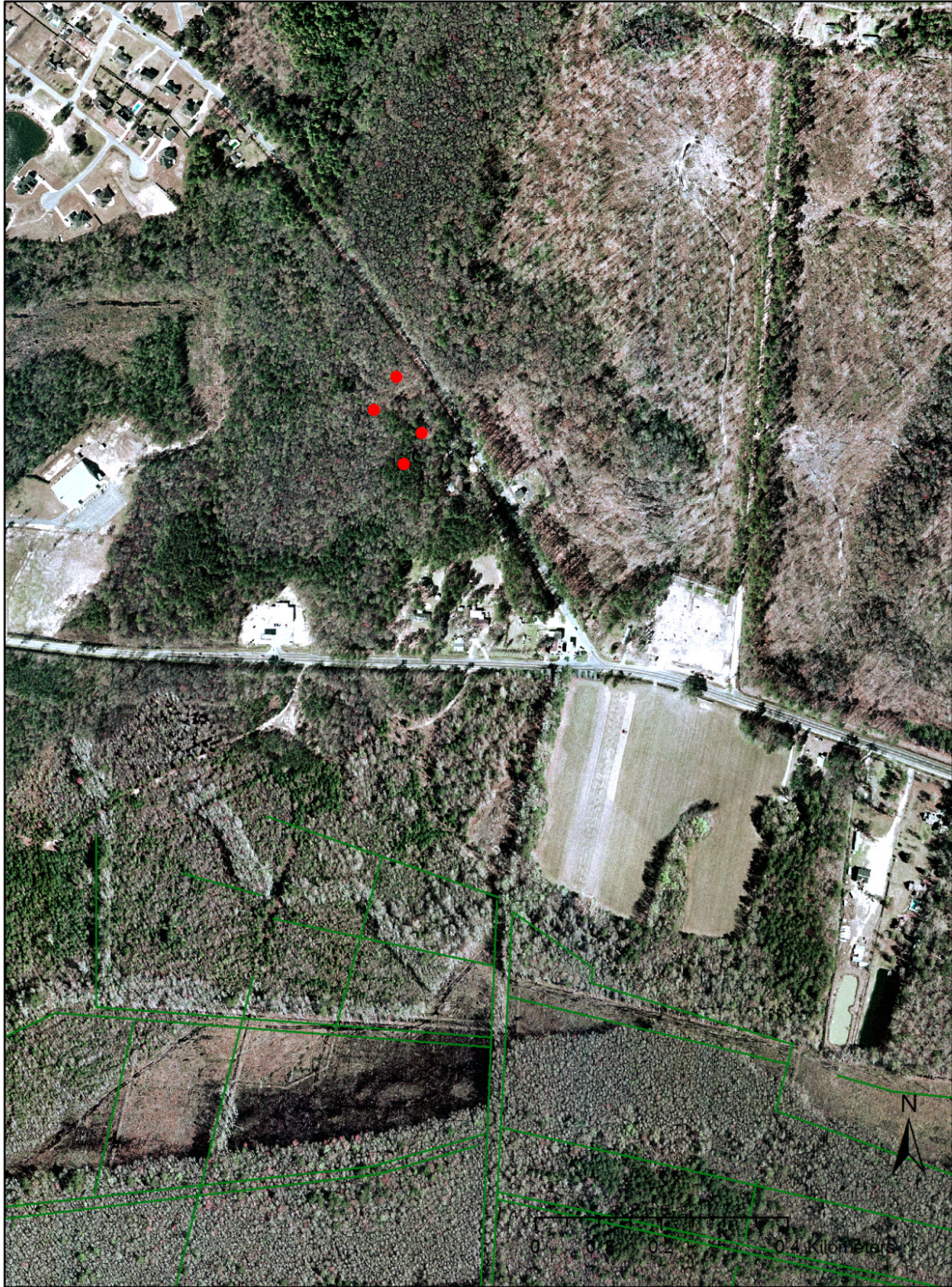


Figure 55. Distribution Map of Confederate Bullets, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.



Figure 56. Distribution Map of Round Lead Balls, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

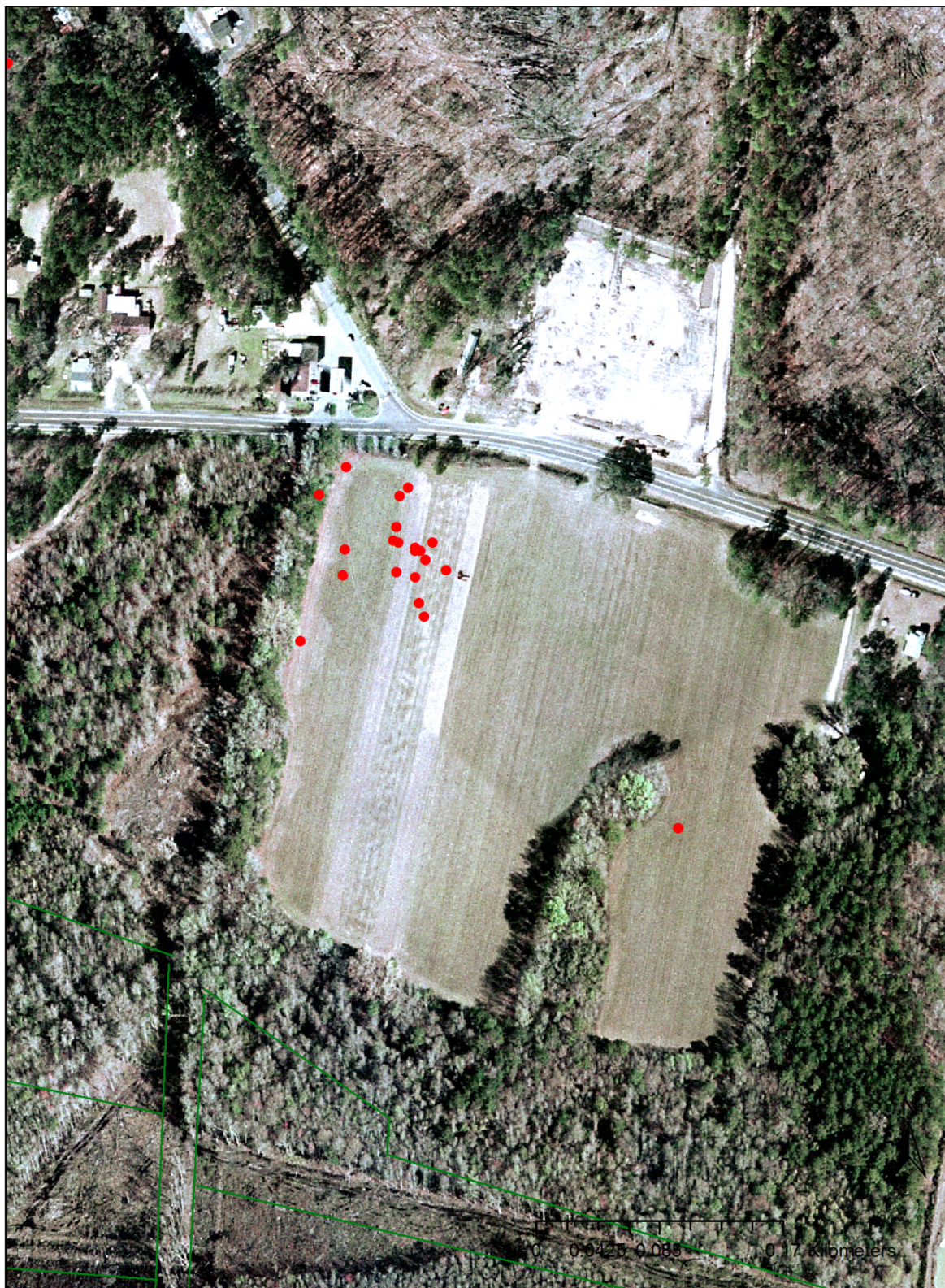


Figure 57. Distribution of Small Lead Shot, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.



Figure 58. Distribution Map of Percussion Caps, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.



Figure 59. French Pin-fire 16 Gauge Shell Casing from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).



Figure 60. Examples of Various Bullets from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).

Gun hardware was rare on the battlefield but several specimens were recovered from Monteith Swamp and Harrison's Field. The distribution of gun hardware is shown in Figure 60. The standard issue weapon for the Union was the 1861 Springfield musket (.58 caliber). For the Confederates, it was the British-made Pattern 1853 Enfield musket (.577 caliber). Confederates also had many 1861 Springfield muskets in their arsenals. Both armies utilized a variety of other long-arm and smaller weapons of various calibers. The 1861 Springfield rifled musket was a muzzle-loader that was effective to 370 m (400 yards) and had a maximum range of 910 m (1,000 yards). It measured 1,400 mm (56 in) in length and weight 4.1 kg (9 lbs). The barrel was 40 inches in length. It was equipped with a triangular socket bayonet. This weapon was produced from 1860 to 1872 and approximately 1,000,000 were manufactured (Coates and Thomas 1990; The Winchester Sutlers 2010).

The most noteworthy battlefield find was a disarticulated Springfield musket that was discovered in the wooded swamp, on the northeastern edge of the battlefield. Given its geographic context within the northern part of Monteith Swamp, this gun was likely carried by a Union infantryman in the advance. All recovered pieces of this weapon were made of iron or steel. Figure 62 shows the iron butt plate of the Springfield musket *in situ*. Figure 63 shows the find location with pin flags marking object locations. Figure 64 shows the main portion of the musket after metal conservation. Figure 65 shows a plan map of the musket find. The artifacts were recovered from the ground surface and from

the upper 15 cm soil zone. The gun's barrel was broken into multiple parts and, one of these segments was bent. The breakage and contortions may have resulted from the battle action, or possibly was post-depositional damage from timbering or other modern land use. Judging from the proximity of the gun hardware fragments, however, the weapon parts formed a tight cluster that suggested only minor post-depositional disturbance. Figure 66 illustrates the various hardware parts of Springfield musket.

An iron frizzen from Harrison's Field was part of a flintlock weapon. Many Confederates used outdated flintlocks in the war out of necessity. This frizzen specimen is more likely associated with an earlier occupation at this site. Most flintlocks were converted for use with percussion caps by the Civil War period. An exploded rifle barrel section was recovered from Harrison's Field. This damage was probably cause by overloading the weapon with too much powder. Civil War soldiers in the heat of battle often loaded multiple loads in their weapons without realizing it, which had unpleasant consequences.

Other Civil War-era weapons collected from the battlefield are contained in the Dotson collection. These include a complete Sharps rifle, which was recovered from the Monteith Swamp by Jerry Dotson's grandfather, and a single shot percussion pistol, which Dotson recovered from Harrison's Field (Figures 67 and 68). Sharps rifles were used primarily by the Union. This breech-loading weapon was invented in 1848 and manufactured by the Sharps Rifle Manufacturing Company in Hartford, Connecticut. It fired a .52 caliber bullet.



Figure 61. Distribution Map of Gun Hardware, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.



Figure 62. Springfield Butt Plate, Monteith Swamp.



Figure 63. Springfield Musket Find (iron gun fragments marked by pin flags), Facing Southwest, Monteith Swamp.



Figure 64. Model 1861 Springfield Musket from Monteith Swamp After Conservation.

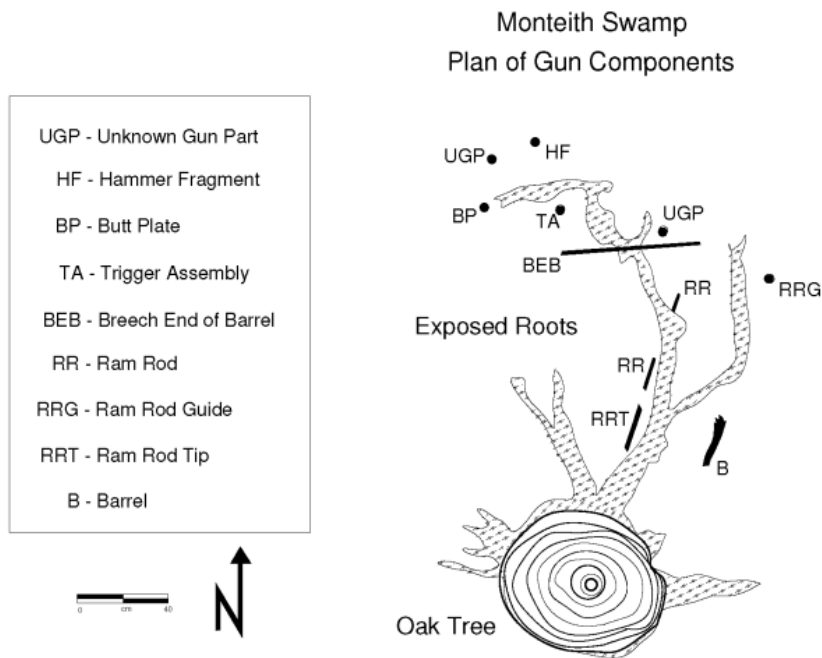


Figure 65. Plan of Springfield Musket Find, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

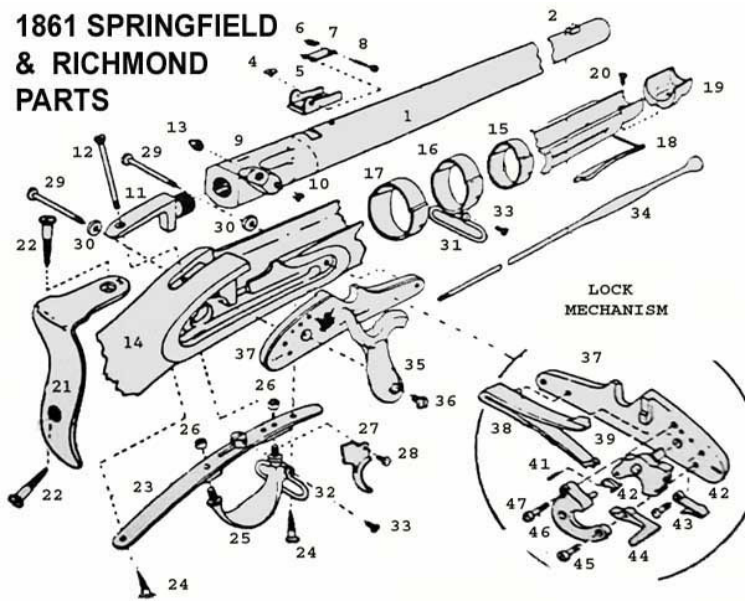


Figure 66. Parts Diagram for the 1861 Springfield Musket (The Winchester Sutlers 2010).



Figure 67. Sharps Rifle from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).



Figure 59. Pistol from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).

Edged Blades

Metal detectors located several bladed weapons. One was a brass scabbard tip in the wooded margin southwest of Harrison's Field. This specimen is crudely fashioned and likely carried by a Confederate soldier (Figure 50, LN 366). Numerous knife blade

fragments were recovered by metal detector survey of Harrison's Field. Figure 69 shows the spatial distribution of this artifact category. Most of these likely represent non-combat weapons, such as clasp knives and kitchen knives. With their fragmented condition, however, a firm functional assessment was not possible. Interestingly, their spatial distribution corresponds with the distribution of several other battle-related artifact types in Harrison's Field. It is unlikely that the smaller knives were used in hand-to-hand combat. The Dotson collection also includes two nearly complete edged weapons from the Monteith Swamp battlefield or the area near the battle. Dotson noted that one or two of these objects were recovered by sharecroppers from abandoned buildings near the battlefield. Consequently, some of these items may not be directly associated with the battle.

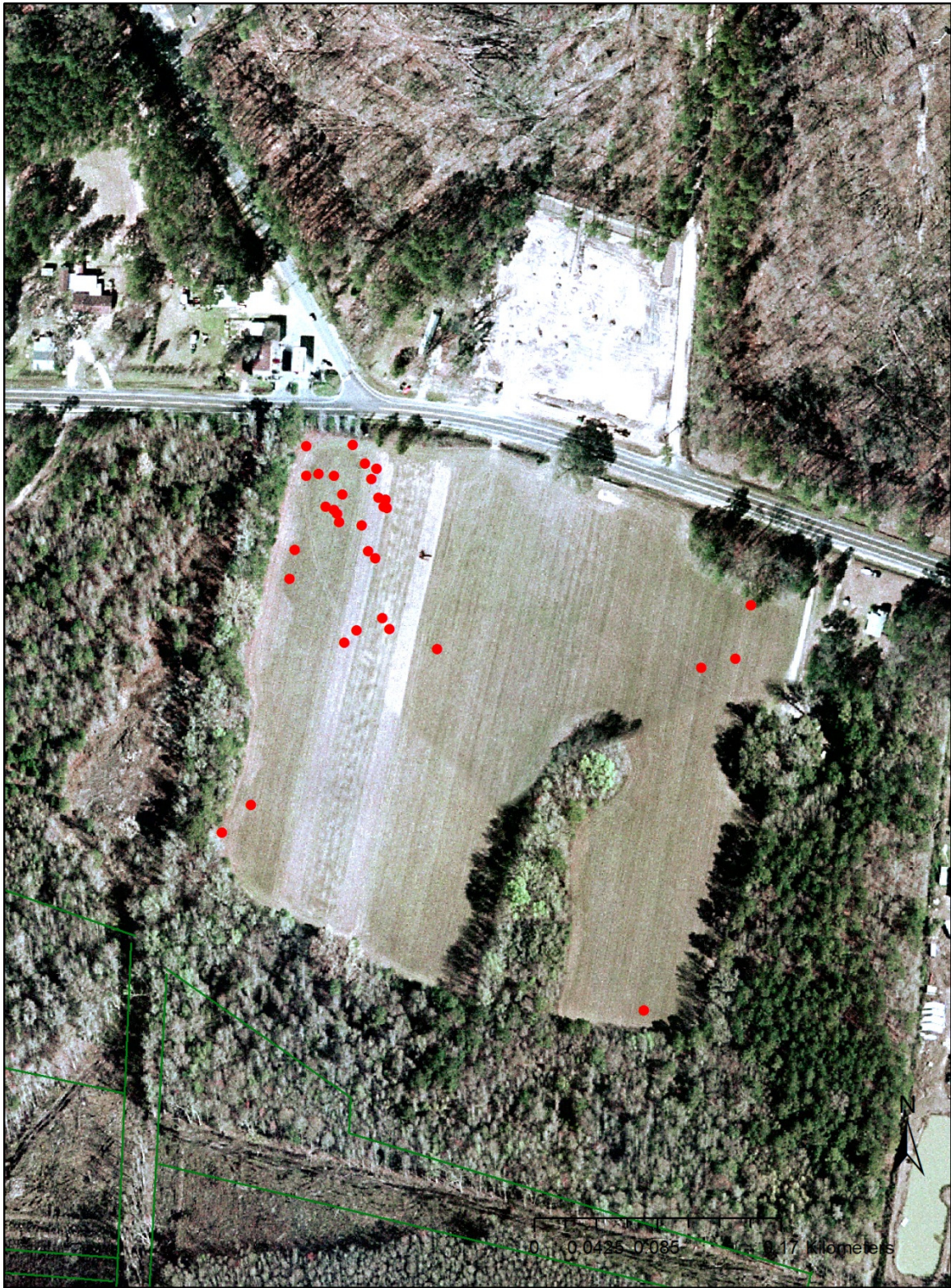


Figure 69. Distribution of Edged-blades, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

Clothing

These included brass, iron and white metal buttons. Most of these were non-diagnostic. Two military buttons were recovered. These include a U.S. Army artillery button, dating several decades prior to the Civil War, and one general issue U.S. Army button. The latter button was likely lost by a Union soldier in December 1864, either during the battle or in the ensuing encampment. It was recovered from the area of battle action in Harrison's Field, which indicates it is likely a battle relic. Metal clothing artifacts were recovered by the survey from Harrison's Field. Three examples from the metal detector survey are shown (Figure 70).

Buttons were concentrated in the northwestern part of the field, which also contains the most artifacts related to the battle action (Figure 71). These include one pre-Civil War U.S. Army military button and one U.S. Army General Service button (type commonly worn by U.S. infantry in the Civil War). The third example is a white metal underwear button, typical of those worn by soldiers and civilians in the 1800s. Button types at Harrison's Field included:

- Brass button with stamped basket weave motifs (South Type 8, 2 examples)
- U.S. Army brass button (Albert Type G172)
- Domed brass button, U.S. Eagle with American shield (General Service)
- Plain brass button with iron back (South Type 8)

- Plain brass button with "GILT" on reverse (South Type 31)
- Plain brass button with "HERRINGHAM GILT" on reverse
- Plain brass buttons (South Type 6/26, two examples)
- Plain brass button (South Type 7/3)
- 4-hole brass button
- Other plain brass buttons (indeterminate types)

The Dotson collection from Monteith Swamp includes many examples of military buttons, uniform parts, ammunition and other metal clothing items. Examples are shown in Figures 72-74. This sample includes several pre-Civil war button types, including Chatham Artillery and other early U.S. Army artillery buttons. It also includes general issue U.S. Army uniform buttons, Confederate infantry Block "I" and Script "I" buttons, and North Carolina and Georgia state seal buttons.

Many civilian and other non-diagnostic buttons also are represented in Dotson's collection. Dotson stated that one North Carolina button in his collection came from the springhead area in Harrison's Field. Its presence at that location may indicate a Confederate encampment from the days prior to the December 9 action, when the North Carolina Battalion was stationed in the vicinity (Jerry Dotson personal communication, March 15, 2010).



Figure 70. Examples of Metal Buttons from the Survey.

Other Metal Items

Many other metal objects recovered by the Monteith Swamp Battlefield Survey team cannot be firmly connected to the battle or to the U.S.A. or C.S.A. military. These included lead, other bullets, cookware, lead seals, and other metal objects. They are detailed below.

Lead debris littered a large section of Harrison's Field, as shown in Figure 75. This included globules of melted lead, small cut lead pieces, and flattened lead pieces. This widespread distribution of lead does not equate 100 percent with military activity, since lead had many uses on the plantation. Many of these lead items may be U.S. Army camp residue that was deposited after the battle. Archeological studies of Civil War encampments have demonstrated an affinity for soldiers and lead. Lead, probably in the form of musket balls, was chewed, carved, melted, flattened and

otherwise modified by the soldiers. Melted lead is frequently associated with the soldier's campfires. The purpose of melting lead is subject to speculation. It may have been an activity to ease the boredom, or it may have been residue from a fireside industry of casting new bullets. Most Union troops were provided with industrially stamped bullets, which lessened their need to make their own bullets in the field. Confederate ammunition includes many "field-cast" bullets, which may have been made on-site. Casting seams and bubble impurities are clues to field casting versus stamping manufacturing bullet techniques.

Modified bullets are widely recognized as a Civil War artifact type by relic collectors and battlefield archeologists. Bullets were carved into a variety of forms, some recognizable and some less so. Bullets served as gaming pieces, ornaments or trinkets, and fetishes. Many bullets were split into sections. Flattened lead pieces also may have multiple functions. They may have served as gaming pieces, such as

checkers or poker chips. They often served as patches to secure gunflints in flintlock muskets.

Animal Tack and Wagon Hardware

Horse tack and various wagon hardware is ubiquitous on southern plantations and do not necessarily have a military association. Nevertheless, the Twentieth Corps marched with a massive wagon train that included hundreds of mules and horses. The Union occupation at Monteith Swamp was limited to only a few days. The magnitude of the encamped U.S. troops, however, probably resulted in significant discard of broken animal and wagon-related hardware. For most common artifact types made of iron, we cannot distinguish civilian from military items. The Union Army traveled with a cadre of blacksmiths and these men made necessary repairs and fashioned new

hardware when the troops were encamped. The army train included traveling forges. These were mobile blacksmith shops that provided the necessary metalwork to an army on the move. Illustrated examples of U.S. Army blacksmiths and traveling forges have been compiled in a study on Civil War blacksmithing (Einhorn 2010). Figure 76 shows the distribution of animal tack and wagon hardware at Monteith Swamp.

Cast Iron Cookware

Cast iron cookware fragments were common at the Monteith Swamp battlefield. These objects were widespread in Harrison's Field, as shown in the spatial distribution map (Figure 77). Metal cookware was commonly used in the 19 and early 20th century by the military and civilians, so these objects cannot be definitively associated with Civil War events.

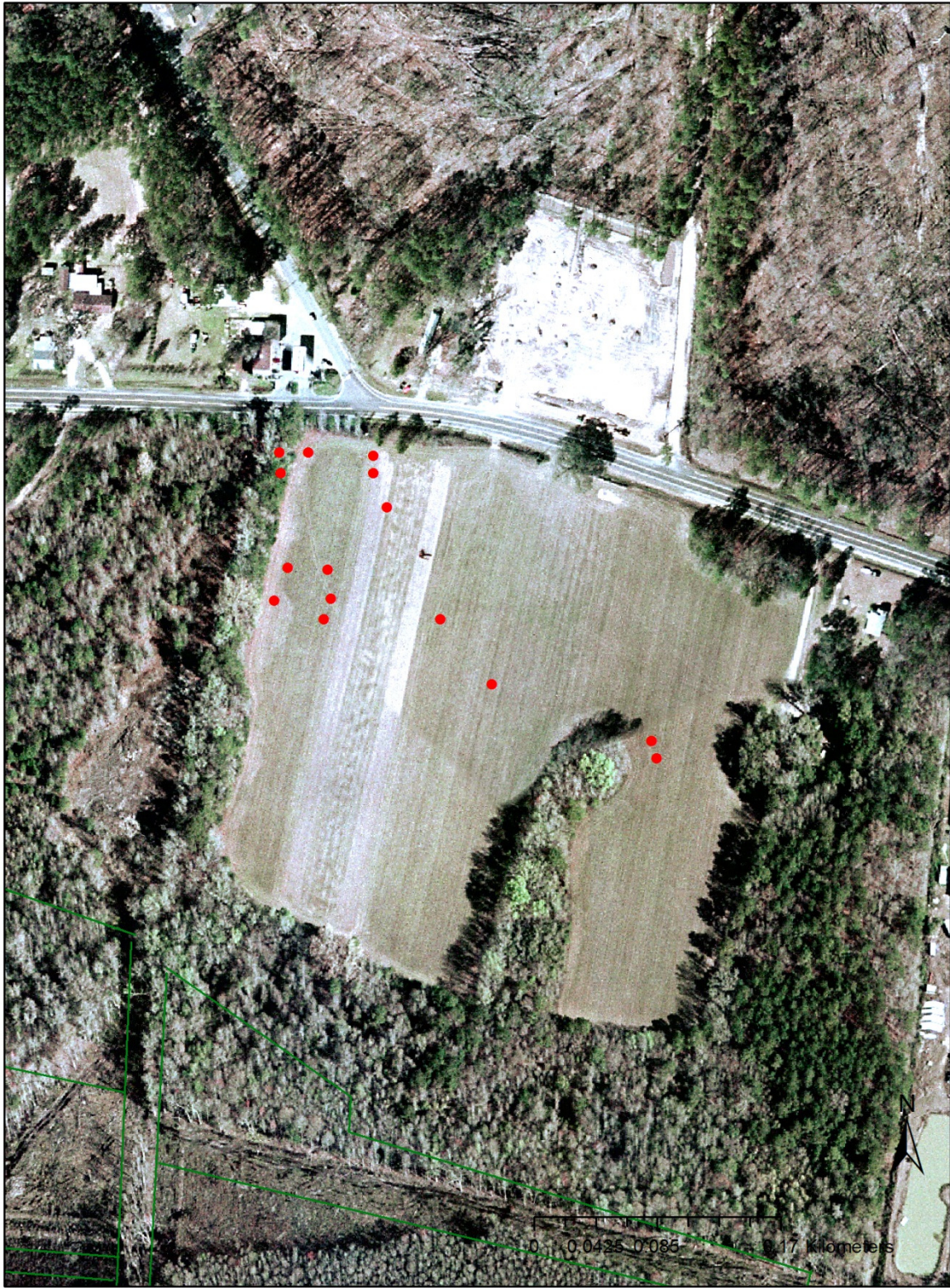


Figure 71. Distribution of Metal Buttons, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.



Figure 72. Union Cartridge Box Plates Attributed to Monteith Swamp in Dotson Collection.



Figure 73. Epaulettes, Buckles, Shoe Tap and Other Metal Items from Monteith Swamp in the Dotson Collection.



Figure 74. Buttons from Monteith Swamp (Dotson Collection).



Figure 75. Distribution of Lead Debris, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.



Figure 76. Distribution of Animal Tack, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

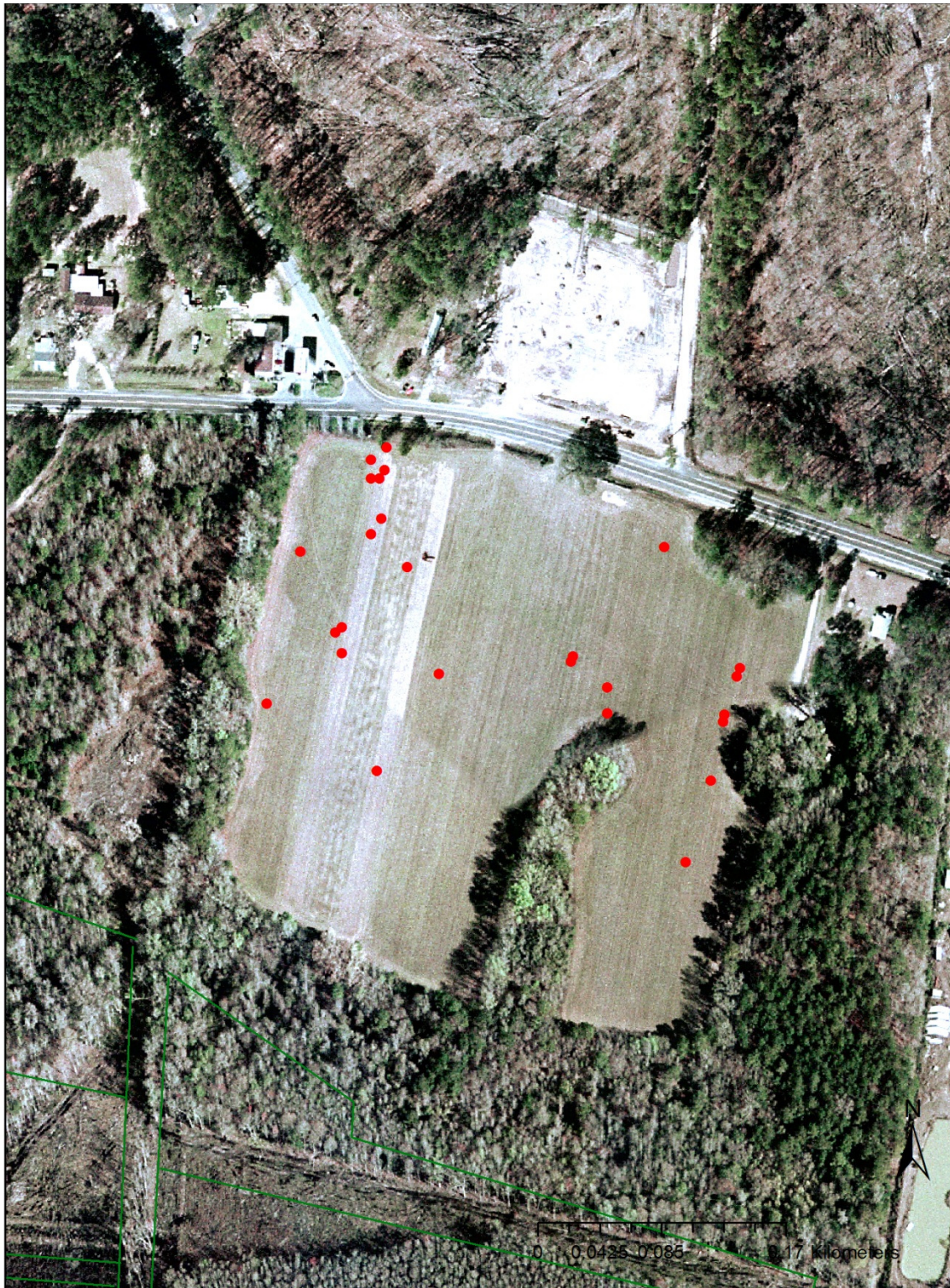


Figure 77. Distribution of Cast Iron Cookware Sherds, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

Nails and spikes were common at the Monteith Swamp battlefield. The greatest concentration of nails was observed at Harrison's Field. Nails included wrought and machine cut varieties. Wire nails, which were not very common, were not recorded by the survey. Not all nails, or metal detector signals thought to be nails, were excavated by the survey team. This was particularly true in areas of Harrison's Field where nails were quite dense. Spikes in the Monteith Swamp assemblage consist of two different types.

Modern (factory-produced) railroad spikes were found at several locations in the survey area. These are probably associated with late 19 century or early 20th century logging operations in the area. Nineteen examples were recovered by the survey team. One example is shown in Figure 78. These came from five different locations within the study area, as shown in Figure 79. One cluster of railroad spikes in the western, wooded portion of the study formed a linear pattern and one of these had wooden remnants of a cross-tie adhering to the metal. These represented a relatively intact section of railroad track. No railroads are documented in this area but small, temporary logging rail operations were common in Georgia's interior coastal plain during this period. These railroad spikes are not likely associated with the Civil War action.

Nine wrought iron spikes, which may be contemporary or possibly predate the Civil War, were recovered from several locations in Harrison's Field. Figure 80 shows a distribution map of the nails and spikes that were recovered in Harrison's Field. These

generally represent areas of nail concentrations indicative of early dwellings or outbuildings.

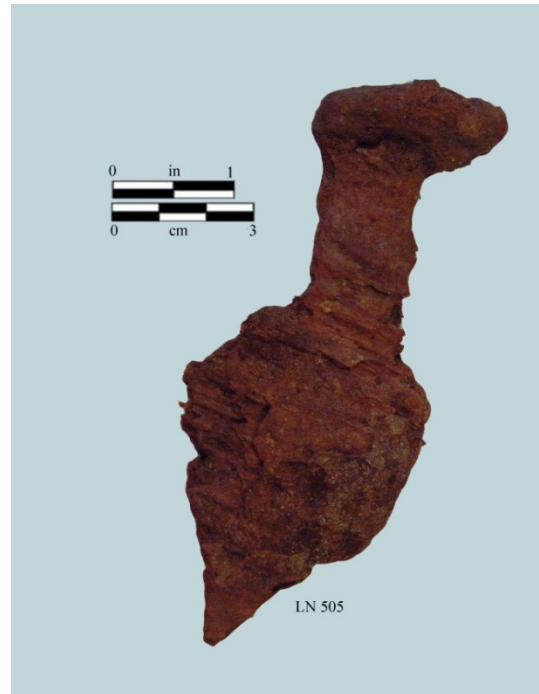


Figure 78. Post-Civil War Railroad Spike with Wooden Cross-tie Remnants, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

Archeologists recovered 11 unusual lead seals from Harrison's Field. Two decorated examples are illustrated in Figure 81. These seals were used to safeguard agricultural-related products during shipment. The lead seals ranged in diameter from 7-21 mm and in weight from 1.9-27.6 g. One was decorated with a geometric design. Three contained marks, "8/3 6", "CO", and "WER[?]E [?]CO". The other examples were undecorated. Initially, researchers thought these may have been seals for cloth or other supplies carried by the Twentieth Corps. Upon further discovery, however, they were determined to be agriculturally related and not likely associated with military events at Monteith Swamp.



Figure 79. Distribution of Map of Railroad Spikes, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

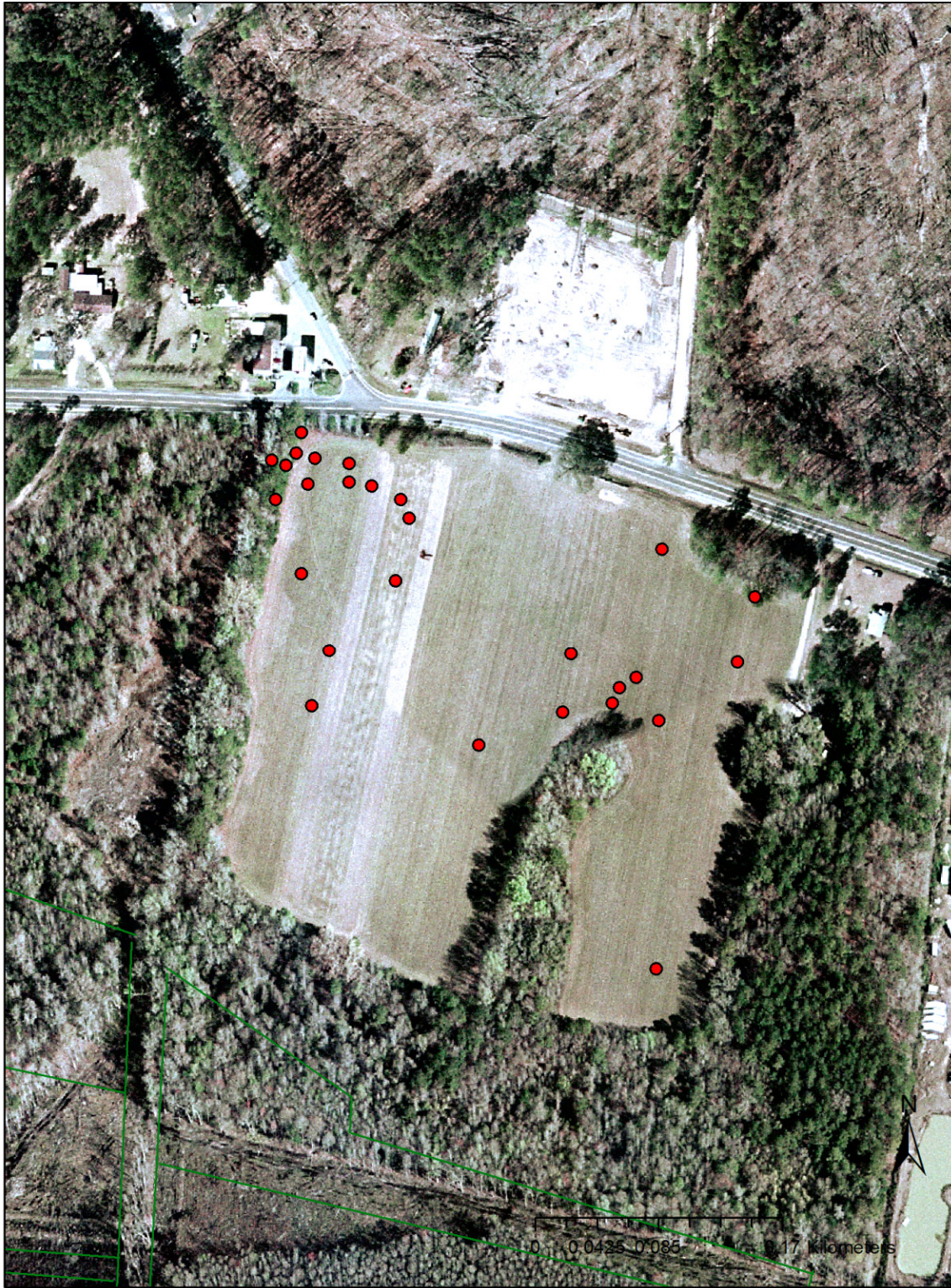


Figure 80. Distribution Map of Nails and Spikes, Monteith Swamp Battlefield.

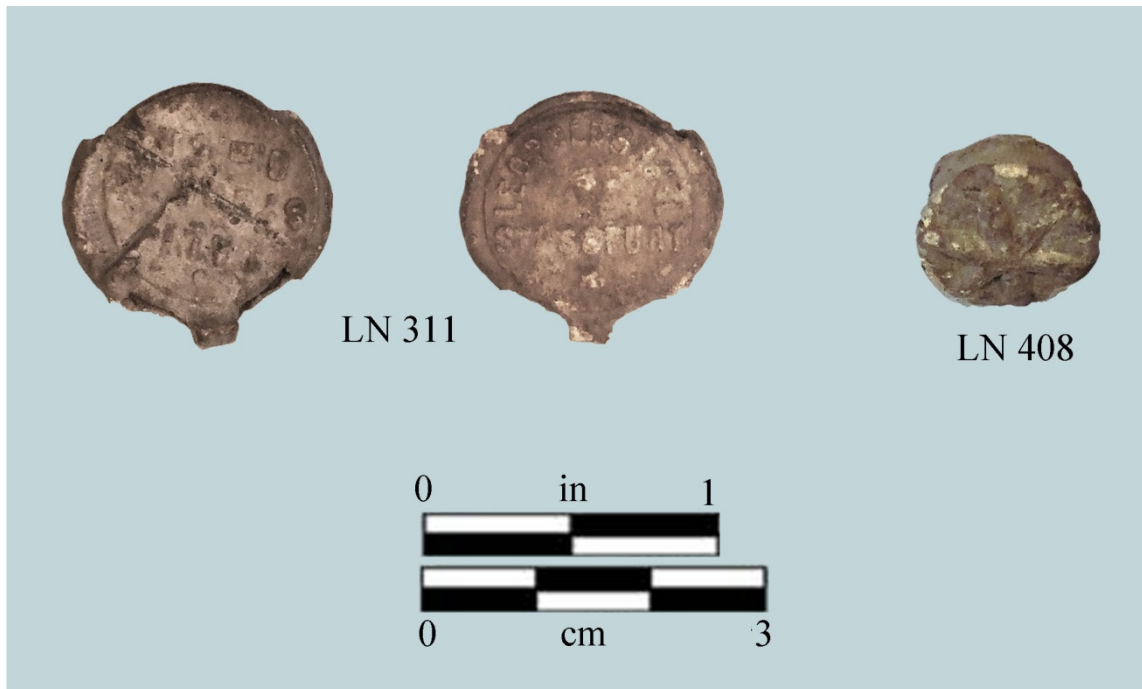


Figure 81. Lead Seals from Harrison's Field, Monteith Swamp.

4. Defining Battlefield Features

The National Park Service encourages KOCOA analysis of the battlefield environment. This analytical approach offers consistent format for organization battlefield data. It enables scholars to envision the interplay between the battlefield environment and the combatants. The KOCOA system categories include the following:

K –key terrain. Ground (usually high ground) that gives its possessor an advantage.

O –obstacles. Features that prevented, restricted, or delayed troop movements.

C –cover and concealment. Cover is protection from enemy fire and concealment means hidden from

observation, such as being hidden by a hill or dense vegetation.

O –observation and fields of fire. This includes higher ground that allowed visual access to the enemy and clear sight lines for weapons.

A –avenues of approach and retreat. This is the transportation network used by troops to advance and retreat.

The key terrain at Monteith Swamp was the slightly higher ground on the eastern side of the swamp. The high ground extends for some distance east of the Monteith Swamp but the most advantageous ground, in terms of Confederate defense, was on the western side, nearest to the swamp.

Harrison's Field is a defining battlefield feature that retains a good portion of its Civil War appearance. Harrison's Field is mentioned in several Union officer reports, which suggests that it was a sizeable field in

1864. The field has shrunk in size since 1938 and presumably, it was even larger prior to that. Given the low, swampy character of much of the landscape from Zion Church to Monteith Station, Harrison's Field, with its relatively good drainage and open spaces, presented an attractive option for an encampment of the Twentieth Corps. During the battle Harrison's Field was important because of its lack of cover and concealment for the flanking Union troops. Harrison's Field provided a clear field of fire for the Confederates.

Obvious obstacles on the battlefield were the swampy terrain in Monteith Swamp and the surrounding drainages, particularly St. Augustine Creek, south of the battlefield. Another obstacle was the obstructions (trees and brush) that the Confederates placed on the Monteith Road prior to the battle. Both obstacles impacted the movement of Union troops and served to the Confederate's advantage.

Cover and concealment was important to both sides of the conflict at Monteith Swamp. The Confederates had the advantage of the built earthworks and ditches, which had been strategically located to defend against an enemy advancing from the west along the Monteith Road. Historical accounts differ on the number of Confederate earthworks, or redoubts that existed on the battlefield. It was either one or two. Asmussen (1864) depicts two in the official map of the march of the Twentieth Corps. Union accounts suggest that the Confederates had placed thick brush along the swamp margin on the Confederate's right flank to further slow any Union advance or flanking maneuver.

The present survey located no traces of the two earthen redoubts that Confederates built to guard the Monteith Road. Reports by Union officers are in conflict as to the

existence of one or two redoubts. They also have conflicting information on the number of Confederate artillery pieces engaged in the battle (again, one or two field pieces). A likely location for one of these redoubts is at a residence on Georgia Highway 30. The project team was unable to secure permission to access that particular property. In the early 20th century the dwelling on this property was the childhood home of Jerry Dotson, which was built by his grandfather. Dotson speculates that one Confederate redoubt existed on the property prior to the construction of his family's home.

Another possible location for one of the Confederate redoubts, if indeed two existed, would have been on property south of the aforementioned location. The survey team attempted to gain access to survey that land tract but was rejected by the current landowner. Jerry Dotson recalled that numerous Civil War relics had been recovered from that property in the past. It should be noted, however, that the surface soils on the northern end of this tract, which are clearly visible from the road, have been graded down nearly a meter from the original grade. Consequently, the archeological potential on the northern portion of this tract appear slim.

Union battle reports note the existence of Confederate entrenchments manned by riflemen. The present survey did not locate any obvious trenches. One small section of suspected entrenchment was observed by the author in the pre-planning stage of this study but that potential remnant was destroyed as part of a convenience store construction project, several months before the fieldwork began. This potential segment was located in the northeastern corner of the intersection of Hodgeville Road and Georgia Highway 30.

The Union troops had fewer options for cover and concealment. For most of the

thousands of men in Twentieth Corps, the solution was to hold back a safe distance from the conflict, where they were out of firing range. Those regiments who were sent to engage the enemy had even fewer options. The swamp forest provided some concealment although it is bottomland hardwoods and cypress and most of the leaves were off the trees at the time of the battle. Also, we do not have a complete understanding of the extent of rice agriculture that was ongoing in this section of swamp. If the area was cultivated, then the trees, which are abundant today, would not have existed. The historical accounts suggest that there were woods. Several combatants noted that Monteith Swamp was wooded and the U.S. troops emerged from these woods into an open area, where they became visible to the Confederates and were then fired upon.

Earthen dikes built by slave labor were a vital part of rice cultivation. Extensive remnants of rice dikes are present in the area, particularly in the floodplain of St. Augustine Creek. These dikes were used by the Confederates for concealment during the battle. One earthen dike in Monteith Swamp was associated with the primary bullet cluster. This berm is shown in Figure 82.

The Union forces were in motion along the Monteith Road and their battle reports contain no mention of any Union earthworks, entrenchments or rifle pits. The Union battle reports also are mute as to the employment of any Union artillery in the action. Artifact evidence, primarily in the Dotson collection, attests to the usage of several types of Union artillery. The firing position of any Union artillery pieces remains undetermined. We speculate that these artillery positions would have been located west of the Monteith Swamp. The archeological survey failed to locate any Civil War evidence in that locale.

The Union troops in the engagement lacked any superior observation point or field of fire. They had a clear disadvantage. As they felt for the Confederate's right flank, they were likely traveling blind. The expanse of swamp that they crossed was an unfamiliar environment for them and one made more inconvenient by the elevated water levels and freezing temperatures. At least one officer implied that the order to lie prone was ignored by many, since their bodies would have been submerged. For most of their transit around and through the swamp, the Union troops likely refrained from firing their weapons. This would have served to promote their concealment from the Confederates. When the Union did engage the enemy it was as Union forces reached the eastern side of the swamp and prepared to emerge onto the high ground. Two locations fitting this description were documented by the archeological finds.

The avenue of approach and retreat from the battlefield was the Monteith Road. The Monteith Road follows the same general route through the battlefield as it did in December 1864. A secondary field road, which paralleled Monteith Road on the south, passed through Harrison's Field. Traces of this road remain. A dirt road following this approximate route is clearly visible on the 1938 aerial photograph. The Confederates may have used the secondary field road to escape the battlefield once the Union soldiers had outflanked them. The Union troops made no retreat from the battlefield on December 9th, but opted instead to establish their camp there in Harrison's Field. Some Union soldiers may have made a half-hearted attempt to pursue the routed Confederates, but none of this action is documented. The archeological record also provides no support for any major pursuit by the Union.

5. Associated Historic Properties

Maps and other documents detail the cultural landscape during the Civil War. The general project area surroundings contained several plantations, other dwellings, a church, and agricultural fields. The Monteith plantation of Brigadier General George Paul Harrison, Sr. (Retired) was the scene of the Monteith Swamp battle. Sheehy suspects that Harrison's residence was located on the south side of St. Augustine Creek, beyond the battle study area (Barry Sheehy personal communication 2009). The map of the march of the Twentieth Corps shows a Harrison residence on the south side of the Monteith Road several miles east of the battlefield but north of St. Augustine Creek (Asmussen 1864). Coldbrook was another large plantation situated north of the battle study area. The main house at Coldbrook was accessed from the south off Monteith Road by a long avenue. This avenue remains as a county-maintained dirt road. The Coldbrook manor house was moved to McIntosh County in the 1980s. The former manor house location was briefly visited by the author with Sheehy in 2009 but no archeological investigations were attempted there. Three dwellings in the vicinity of the battlefield area are identified by resident in Asmussen (1864). These include, from west to east, "Hite", "Hindly" and "Helm". These variations may represent misspellings of three common surnames in Effingham and Chatham counties, "Heidt, Hinley, and Helmy/Helmly. All of these are associated with the early settlers of Ebenezer in St. Matthews Parish (present-day Effingham County). Interestingly, no Harrisons are shown living in the area on Asmussen's map. These three dwellings may have played a role in the action at Monteith Swamp but none are mentioned in the historical record.

Archeological evidence from Harrison's Field gathered by the present study suggests that multiple dwellings were once located within Harrison's Field. Probably the best single indicator of these dwellings is seen in the distribution of nails. The exact ages of these dwellings cannot be determined from the present data, although artifacts suggest that they date both before and after (and quite possibly during) the Civil War. The conditions for metal detecting were degraded in the southwestern one-third of Harrison's Field. The reason for this may be that metal artifacts are covered by overbank deposition from St. Augustine Creek. A potential for buried cultural materials may exist in this vicinity. The present study did not include test unit excavation, so an assessment of the subsurface potential in Harrison's Field must await future studies.

The North Salem Baptist Church is a historical landmark located east of the battle study area. It most likely stood at its present location at the time of the battle (Leech 1986). The Confederates would have passed by the church as they retreated from the battlefield. None of the historical accounts; however, refers to any action in the vicinity of the church. The pursuing Union troops may have stopped short of the church, preferring to encamp at Harrison's Field and have dinner. This church and cemetery was briefly visited by the survey team but conducted no metal detector investigations or excavations. Project archeologists did photograph early grave markers in the cemetery. While Asmussen's (1864) map shows a school and church east of the battlefield, none of the located battle accounts mention either one.



Figure 82. View of Berm (possible rice dike) in Monteith Swamp.

IX. Summary

In terms of battle casualties, the engagement at Monteith Swamp produced few casualties. Compared to most battles in the war, one would think it should rank as a minor skirmish, yet more than two dozen U.S. Army regiments considered it a significant enough conflict to warrant listing it in the regimental service records. The action at Monteith Swamp was the first point of organized resistance encountered by the Twentieth Corps over the entire march from Atlanta, which also made it an notable milestone in that Corps journey across Georgia. Clearly, the military significance of this battle cannot be measured by casualty statistics alone but should also consider other factors that made it seem significant to those involved. The significance of the battle of Monteith Swamp was that it delayed the Union forces, which enabled Confederate troops in Savannah to better prepare their defenses.

This tiny battle pitted the entire Twentieth Corps and portions of the Seventeenth Corps against a hastily assembled very small Confederate force from Hardee's Corps. At least 30 Union infantry regiments claim participation in the engagement. In the Twentieth Corps these include: 5th Connecticut, 82nd and 101st Illinois, 2nd Massachusetts, 13th and 33rd New Jersey, 107th, 123rd, 134th, 141st 143rd and 154th New York, 61st and 82nd Ohio, 46th Pennsylvania and 3rd and 33rd Wisconsin. In the Seventeenth Corps infantry regiments claiming participation in the engagement were: 10th and 64th Illinois, 25th Indiana, 18th Missouri, 27th, 39th and 63rd Ohio, 25th and 32nd Wisconsin. Of these 29 regiments, definitive support of their involvement was located for the 61st and 82nd Ohio, 46th Pennsylvania, and 31st Wisconsin. The 3rd Wisconsin suffered one casualty, apparently the result of friendly fire. Soldiers from the

85th Indiana Infantry Regiment, who served as part of Colonel Buell's Pioneer Brigade, were tasked with clearing the Monteith Road of the obstacles placed by the Confederates. They probably found themselves in heated action but reports by their commander, Major John P. Yates, included no mention of that action. Union artillerymen played an undetermined role in the battle. Despite the lack of any official reports of action, artifact evidence in the Dotson collection attests to the likely firing of several types of Union artillery. One unit that may have been involved was Independent Battery E, Pennsylvania Light Artillery, who marched with the Twentieth Corps throughout the Georgia campaign. Had the battle lasted longer the Twentieth Corps had thousands of additional troops who could have been brought to bear on the Confederates but that proved unnecessary.

On the Confederate side, the order of battle remains hazy. This confusion and lack of record keeping is symptomatic of the breakdown in the Confederate military in late 1864. The Confederate infantry at Monteith Swamp included troops in the North Carolina battalion, the 27th Georgia battalion (fewer than six companies), C.W. Howard's battalion (150 men or less), the Georgia Augusta Arsenal's Battalion of Guards, and two companies of Cobb's Guards. Artillery support was provided by Captain Abell's Florida Light Artillery battery and possibly by a single howitzer in C.W. Howard's battalion. The 10th North Carolina Heavy Artillery formed part of the North Carolina battalion but no heavy artillery was employed by the Confederates at Monteith Swamp. Two Confederate cavalry companies assisted in the defense at Monteith Swamp. One of these was possibly the 11th Texas Cavalry and the other remains unknown. The total number of Confederate troops that were present remains vague. Our best estimate is that it ranged between 300

and 500 men. The problem with establishing firm troop numbers is that the troops were stationed at several different transportation arteries, including the Middleground and the Augusta roads and the historical record is not specific in their distribution. The commanding officer of the Confederate forces at Monteith Swamp was Major Black, a staff officer in Major General Smith's command. Major Hartridge commanded the Confederates at the various stations on the western outskirts of Savannah, although he was not likely present at Monteith Swamp at the time of the battle.

Figure 83 shows the location of significant battle events that were identified at Monteith Swamp by the LAMAR Institute. This view shows an aerial perspective of the battlefield as defined by archeological survey and historical research. It shows the suspected location of Union artillery positions (unconfirmed by archeological findings), the suspected location of one of the Confederate redoubts (unconfirmed by archeological findings), and the fields of fire (identified as 1st Clash, 2nd Clash, and 3rd Clash).

Figure 84 presents a schematic diagram of the major events and locations in the Battle of Monteith Swamp on December 9, 1864. Location A represents the halt of the Twentieth Corps on its southeastward march on Monteith Road from Zion Church. The Corps encountered obstacles in the road and were receiving Confederate artillery fire from Location E. The locations of A and E remain speculative and have not been confirmed archeologically.

From Location A, regiments of Union troops from the 3rd Brigade, 1st Division were deployed to the north and south to oppose this threat. Union artillery positions were likely established in the vicinity of Location A. Those troops from the 3rd Brigade sent to the south became lost in the swamp and

never engaged the enemy. Those regiments that went north followed the northern perimeter of Monteith Swamp for some distance without any enemy resistance until reaching Location B.

In the vicinity of Location B, the expanse of swampland narrows relative to areas to the south, and it was at this constriction in the swamp that the Union soldiers made their final approach. Location B is where the advancing Union troops first met Confederate resistance in the form of small arms fire. The Union troops returned fire at the Confederates who were positioned at Location C.

The Union troops continued forward to Location C (or possibly further east and then southeast in an attempt to flank the Confederates).

At Location D, the Union soldiers completed their flanking maneuver and again engaged the Confederates with small arms fire. The Confederates at Location E responded with a few volleys of case shot and then quickly retreated with their artillery piece(s) south and then east towards Monteith Station. The Union soldiers, 31st Wisconsin and 61st Ohio infantries, captured the abandoned Confederate defenses at Location E and soldiers from those units terminated their pursuit of the Confederates. Those two regiments erected their battle flags on the captured Confederate earthworks.

The Confederates escaped the battlefield unharmed, linking up with their compatriots who had engaged the Union troops on the Augusta Road in a similar stalling effort by retreating to the south and then east. The retreating Confederates probably took a farm road, which paralleled the Monteith Road and lay just north of the St. Augustine Creek swamp. At some point, they rejoined the Monteith Road.

The Twentieth Corps continued its march across Monteith Swamp and then it camped

for the night in Harrison's Field (Location H). The encampment of the Twentieth

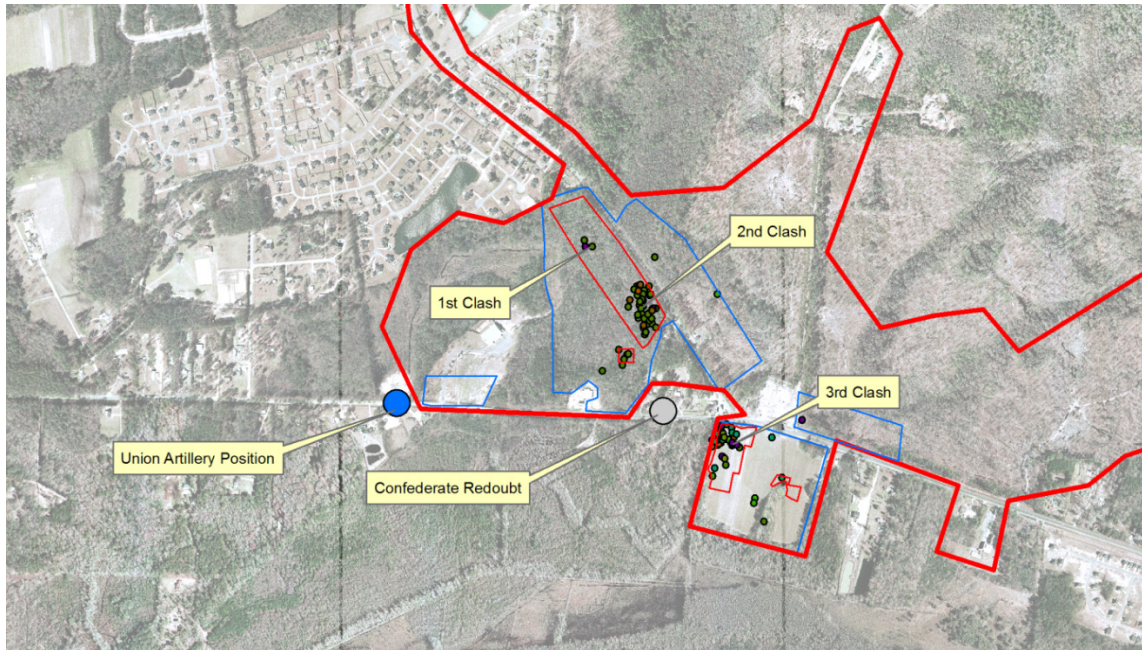


Figure 83. Identified Battle Events at Monteith Swamp.

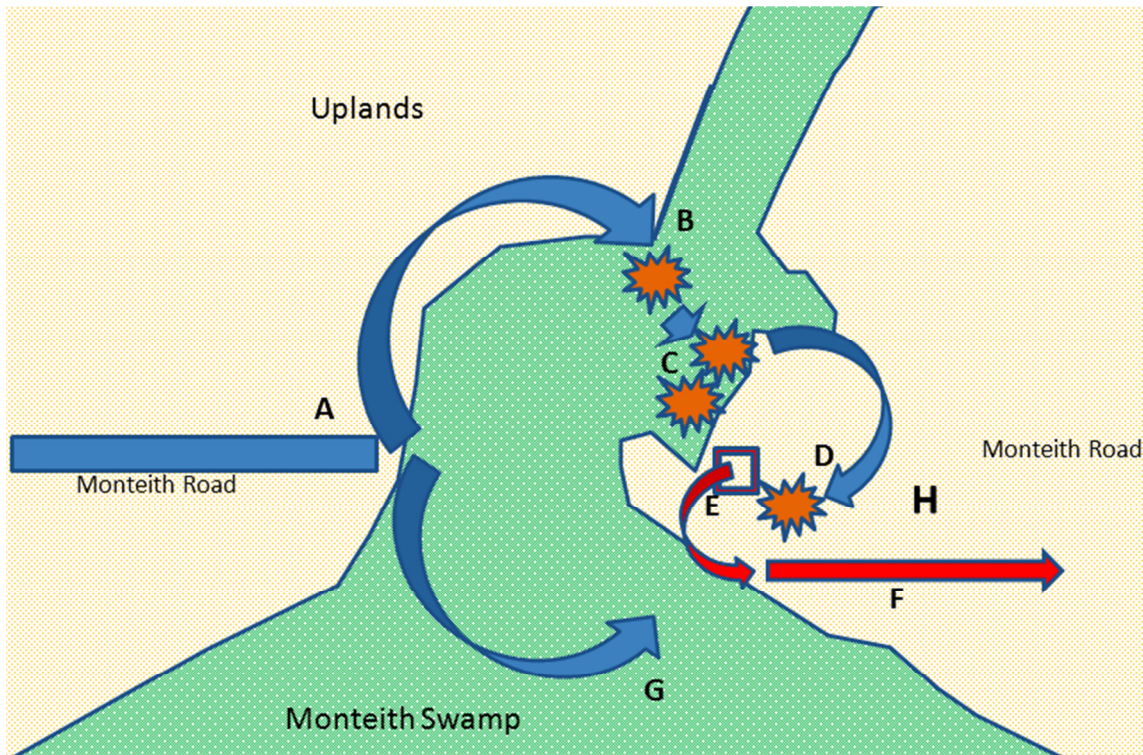


Figure 84. Schematic Diagram of the Battle of Monteith Swamp.

UNION CASUALTIES

Monteith Swamp was not a particularly bloody affair. Civil War historian Drake listed two Union troops killed and 11 wounded in the combined actions of December 9 at Monteith Swamp and Cuyler's plantation (Drake 1878:62-63). W. H. Hamrick, Company K, undetermined regiment, and Buck Wilson S., Captain, Company B or W, 3rd Wisconsin Infantry, were listed as killed in the battle of Monteith Swamp. Captain Wilson received his mortal wound in the foot, a victim of friendly fire, apparently a stray bullet fired by a soldier in the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, Twentieth Corps (Dyer 1908; Bryant 1891:292). Reese B. Thompson, 1st Sergeant, Company E, 46th Pennsylvania Infantry, was wounded at Monteith Swamp on December 9, 1864.

Corps was massive and it covered the high ground in Harrison's Field and its periphery. Thompson died from his wounds at Savannah on February 18, 1865 (Maczuga 2010). The 46th Pennsylvania was in the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, Twentieth Corps. That regiment was not engaged in the flanking action where most of the fire fight occurred. One soldier in the 31st Wisconsin Infantry, which was engaged in the most severe fighting, was reported killed in the battle, although he was not identified.

The fate and identity of the wounded Union soldiers remain undetermined. They included three soldiers from the 31st Wisconsin Infantry Regiment (United States. House of Representatives 1895:268-269). From historical records it appears that no more than 14 U.S. soldiers were killed or wounded in the action at Monteith Swamp.

CONFEDERATE CASUALTIES

Drake listed four Confederates missing in the combined actions of December 9 at Monteith Swamp and Cuyler's plantation (Drake 1878:62-63). One Union officer estimated 14 Confederate casualties. Another remarked that the Confederates were able to remove their killed and wounded from the battlefield during their retreat. A list of rebel prisoners captured by Colonel Carman's Brigade at Monteith Swamp on December 9 lists three enlisted men and no officers captured (OR 1893:238, Appendix B). None of the Confederates that were killed, wounded or captured at Monteith Swamp were identified by name or regiment. Since official records of Confederate casualties in this engagement are lacking and former Confederates are mute on the subject, the final tally of Confederate casualties at Monteith Swamp remains a mystery.

MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE

By all accounts the fighting at Monteith Swamp on December 9, 1864 was a lopsided engagement. At least 29 U.S. Army regiments claimed participation in the battle. These included 20 regiments in the Twentieth Corps and 10 in the Seventeenth Corps. By most official accounts, the Seventeenth Corps was not in the Monteith Swamp vicinity on December 9 but marched on the Ogeechee River road several kilometers to the west. Almost certainly not all of the U.S. Army regiments that claimed participation in the action at Monteith Swamp were active participants. Many regiments in the Twentieth Corps arrived on the battle scene hours after the fighting had ended. The extent of their participation was that they were "stuck in traffic" on the Zion Church to Monteith Swamp road as stray bullets or artillery fire passed overhead. The

troop train of the Twentieth Corps stretched for miles and movement through the swampy countryside was quite restricted.

The regiments in the Seventeenth Corps that claimed involvement in the action are even more of an enigma. At least one of these regiments, the 39th Ohio Infantry, probably was not involved in the action despite records to the contrary. As the Army of Georgia marched towards Savannah, however, some units in the Seventeenth Corps likely became disjointed and followed other routes than the rest of its corps. Some of the regiments in the Seventeenth Corps may have wandered east where they were entangled with the movements of the Twentieth Corps. If this was the case, the commanding officer's reports make no mention of it.

In terms of casualties, the battle was essentially a draw. Since the Confederates retreated from the field abandoning their redoubts and defensive line, military historians list it as a Union victory. The battle did serve the purpose, however, of delaying the movement of the Twentieth Corps on their intended march to Monteith Station. Rather than arrive there on December 9, as General Sherman had ordered, the Twentieth Corps arrived on December 10.

The Monteith Swamp Battlefield Survey Project accomplished its primary goal—to locate, delineate and document the Civil War battlefield. Physical evidence for the battle was located, a sample was retrieved, historical documents were compiled, and portions of the Monteith Swamp battle story are now established on the modern landscape.

The cultural landscape in the battlefield vicinity is in a state of rapid transition. Since fieldwork ended in March 2010, several commercial developments have been

constructed and are now open for business in the heart of the battlefield. These include a self-storage facility and a convenience store, located directly north of Harrison's Field, and a Dollar General Store, located on the western edge of Monteith Swamp, north of the Monteith Road (Georgia Highway 30). Residential house growth, which slowed following the 2008 recession, is picking up again in Chatham and Effingham counties. Renewed growth of medium density residential subdivisions promise to degrade the archeological and cultural landscape aspects of the battlefield and areas nearby.

The present battlefield survey identified two loci on the Monteith Swamp battlefield, collectively recorded as site 9CH1349. One loci is Harrison's Field, where battle evidence, Union encampment evidence, and unrelated (antebellum and post bellum) rural settlements were located. The other locus is a wooded area of swamp and swamp margin where a musket skirmish took place. Both areas are located on property owned by one family. The second loci extended slightly onto additional landholdings.

One of the main landowners of the battlefield core area, Jerry Dotson, has hopes of maintaining the land in its present state as agricultural field and wooded swamps and scattered residential housing (Figure 85). As land values and property tax rates increase, however, keeping the status quo may not be feasible for this area. The portion of the battlefield that consists of swamps, as wetlands, will likely be preserved as greenspace, since zoning regulations and state and Federal laws protect these areas. Chatham County, where the majority of the battlefield is located, has a program to acquire and protect historic property and the Monteith Swamp battlefield was presented to them as a possible candidate by this report author. The Country's wish list is long,

however, and Monteith Swamp is currently not included. Effingham County, which contains a minor portion of the battlefield, has no similar program for acquisition of historical properties.

The present survey did not obtain archeological evidence for the Confederate redoubts, nor did battlefield surveyors find any physical evidence for the position of the halted Twentieth Corps on the western side of Monteith Swamp. Some evidence for the Confederate redoubt may exist on the north side of Georgia Highway 30 but this suspected location was not accessible in the present study. Perhaps this land can be examined at a future date to determine if important battle deposits or features are present.

A large land parcel, located immediately west of Harrison's Field, is currently offered for sale. This tract has been prepared for commercial development. LAMAR Institute researchers were denied access to this tract by the landowner. Sheehy had suspected that vestiges of the Confederate redoubts were located on that property. Landform evidence, visible from Georgia Highway 30, however, indicates that the surface soils have been heavily modified and extensive portions of the original landscape removed. The suspected earthen berm observed by Sheehy was determined by the LAMAR Institute team to be a modern bulldozer push pile. This ground disturbance may have been undertaken to obtain borrow dirt, or possibly to prepare the property for development. Nearby resident Jerry Dotson confirmed that extensive ground disturbance and soil removal had taken place on this tract, although he noted that many battle artifacts had been collected from this area in previous decades.

A large wooded tract, east and north of the Dotson property, currently operated as a

private hunting club was surveyed by the LAMAR Institute team. This land afforded excellent conditions for archeological survey and artifact discovery. That land contained very little evidence of Civil War activity and it only peripherally relates to the Monteith Swamp battle.

OTHER THREATENED CIVIL WAR RESOURCES IN SAVANNAH

A recent tour of Savannah-area battlefields in March 2012, spearheaded by the Georgia Battlefield Association, pointed out the important confirmed places of conflict at Monteith Swamp, as well as, parts of the battlefield already lost to modern development. Hopefully, those who took the tour came away with a greater appreciation of the rapidly increasing threat to Savannah's Civil War heritage, which is epitomized at Monteith Swamp.

Monteith Swamp is only one of several dozen locations on the outskirts of Savannah

that deserve our care and attention and whose preservation is threatened. The eastern continuation of the December 9th defense of Savannah, at the junction of the Augusta and Middleground roads, may suffer a similar fate to Monteith Swamp, in terms of urban sprawl and destruction by a thousand small cuts. A battlefield, known as the "Battle of Cuyler's Plantation", lies equally unprotected and even less well-known archeologically. A portion of the battlefield is already covered by commercial developments and another 400 acres is currently advertised for sale as small lots. Local historians, including Norman Turner and Barry Sheehy, lament the imminent loss of this battle site—unless its safety and preservation can be secured. Hopefully, resources and scholarship can be directed to sites, such as Cuyler's Plantation, before they are so reduced that historical interpretation of the battle sites is impossible, or the battlefields are completely erased.



Figure 85. Landowner Jerry Dotson Interviewed by Videographer Michael Jordan, 2011.

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Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
1	1	1	/ Ball, lead, fired	13.0	11.4	
2	2	1	/ Modern shotgun shell (DISCARDED)			
3	3	1	/ Button, brass, South Type 6/26	18.0	0.9	
7	4	1	/ UID cast iron			
8	5	1	/ Door lever, iron	6.5	24.0	69
9	6	1	/ Buckle, iron, fragment	0.0	7.2	37
12	7	1	/ Pintle, wrought iron		52.5	
14	8	1	/ Hook/clasp, iron	8.0	24.0	72
15	9	1	/ Horseshoe, 1/2		35.0	
16	10	1	/ Pot, cast iron		68.0	
18	11	1	/ Chain, iron			
285	12	1	/ Nail, wrought iron		11.3	49
19	12	1	/ Horseshoe fragment			
25	13	1	/ Sheet brass		1.2	18
28	15	1	/ Pot, cast iron			50
29	16	1	/ Wheel tread, wrought iron			
30	17	1	/ Sheet brass	8.5	1.6	26
31	18	1	/ Spoon, iron, large handle			
33	20	1	/ Spike, wrought iron		60.0	
34	21	1	/ Ball, lead	10.0	4.2	
35	22	1	/ Ball, lead, dropped	9.5	5.4	
40	23	1	/ UID iron	26.0	50.2	
42	24	1	/ Ring, iron	77.0	43.0	
45	25	1	/ Pot, cast iron		100.5	
46	26	1	/ Bolt, iron with eyelet			95
48	28	1	/ Lead, cut	16.0	14.3	36
49	29	1	/ Button, brass, plain	16.0	0.8	
50	30	1	/ Pearlware sherd, small fragment	10.0	0.6	
51	31	1	/ Bit, iron fragment	97.5	67.2	84
19	32	1	/ Button, brass, 4-hole	17.0	2.0	
52	32	1	/ Ball, iron	28.0	75.5	

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
53	33	1	Ball, iron	30.0	75.0	
54	34	1	Ball, iron	30.0	82.2	
55	35	1	Nail, wrought iron			
539	36	1	Spike, iron (RR)			
56	36	1	Ball, iron	28.0	45.3	
57	37	1	Handle, iron		17.2	75
58	38	1	Ball, iron	29.5	73.0	
59	39	1	Ball, iron	30.0	66.4	
61	41	1	Ball, iron	29.0	77.0	
62	42	1	Ball, iron	28.1	74.5	
63	43	1	Ball, iron	30.0	83.2	
64	44	1	Ball, iron	27.0	67.7	
65	45	1	Nail, cut			
66	46	1	Ball, iron	29.0	81.0	
67	47	1	Ball, iron	28.9	72.0	
68	48	1	Ball, iron	28.7	83.0	
69	49	1	Ball, iron	28.0	76.0	
70	50	1	Ball, lead, impacted	10.0	5.0	
71	51	1	Button, snap, brass	11.0	0.7	
72	52	1	Stirrup, iron		23.0	
73	53	1	Ball, iron, fragment	12.0	2.4	15
74	54	1	Wheel, iron	43.0	59.0	
75	55	1	Knife blade, iron	18.0	7.2	45.5
76	56	1	Band, brass		15.0	
77	57	1	Ball, iron	29.0	70.5	
79	59	1	Percussion cap, brass, dropped	6.0	0.4	
60	60	1	Ball, iron	28.5	81.5	
80	60	1	UID iron			
81	61	1	Bullet, possibly modern, impacted	8.0	5.5	
82	62	1	Nail, wire			
83	63	1	UID iron	11.0	5.0	32

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
84	64	1	Percussion cap, brass, fired	6.0	0.5	
85	65	1	Iron scrap		5.0	
87	66	1	Ball, iron	12.0	7.7	
89	67	1	Bullet, lead, fragment	10.0	7.2	23
91	68	1	Ball, iron	29.0	80.0	
93	69	1	Horseshoe, fragment		24.0	
95	70	1	Shot, lead, impacted	11.0	3.7	
71	71	1	Ball, iron	28.5	74.0	
97	72	1	Button, brass, South Type 6/26	13.0	0.6	
98	73	1	Bolt, iron, plow			48
99	74	1	Nut, iron			
1029	75	1	Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	15.0	26.8	
100	75	1	Nail, wrought iron			53
102	76	1	Padlock, iron clasp	53.0	39.3	
103	77	1	UID iron			
106	78	1	Knife blade, iron	22.0		
107	79	1	UID iron		6.0	
110	80	1	Ball, iron	30.0	71.5	
112	81	1	Bolt, iron			65
115	82	1	UID iron			
114	83	1	Ball, iron	27.0	66.3	
117	84	1	UID iron	11.0	6.0	35
118	85	1	Artillery shell fragment, iron	34.0	36.5	
119	86	1	UID iron			
121	87	1	Buckle, brass roller	5.0	4.5	
123	88	1	Ball, iron	13.0	7.4	
122	89	1	Ball, iron	12.0	6.9	
125	90	1	UID iron	46.0	86.3	93
126	91	1	Escutcheon, iron	50.0	59.0	
127	92	1	Percussion cap, brass, dropped	6.0	0.5	
128	93	1	Percussion cap, brass, dropped	6.0	0.9	

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
129	94	1	Shot, lead, impacted	9.0	2.7	
130	95	1	UID iron			31
131	96	1	Percussion cap, brass, dropped	6.0	0.5	
132	97	1	Percussion cap, brass, dropped	6.0	0.6	
133	98	1	Bullet, Williams cleaner, impacted	16.0	21.5	
134	99	1	Knife blade, iron			35
137	100	1	Pot, cast iron	31.5		94
138	101	1	UID iron	10.0	15.4	
139	102	1	Knife, blade, iron, small			
140	103	1	Shot, lead		2.4	
141	104	1	Melted lead	11.0	2.5	
142	105	1	UID iron		16.0	
144	106	1	Fork, iron, fragment			83
145	107	1	Ball, iron	28.0	73.9	
143	108	1	Knife, clasp, iron and brass fragment	11.0	7.6	25
148	109	1	Melted lead		65.1	
147	110	1	Thimble, silver, floral pattern	14.0	1.4	43
146	111	1	Button, brass, basket weave motif	13.0	1.7	
149	112	1	Percussion cap, brass, fired	6.0	0.7	
150	113	1	Artillery shell fragment, iron	2.5	37.5	34.5
151	114	1	Melted lead		0.9	
157	115	1	UID iron			
158	116	1	UID iron			
159	117	1	Picture frame, gold-plated white metal, ornate		3.5	
160	118	1	UID iron		6.0	
161	119	1	UID iron	13.0	6.0	
162	120	1	Pintle, wrought iron			
165	121	1	Ring, iron	41.0		
167	122	1	UID iron		5.0	5
168	123	1	Lead, melted		10.2	
169	124	1	Screwdriver, iron	11.0	9.0	50

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
170	125	1	Buckle, iron fragment		3.5	
171	126	1	White metal, UID		4.0	
174	127	1	Lead, melted		28.5	
175	128	1	Ball, lead, impacted	16.0	25.0	
176	129	1	Lead, melted		5.0	
178	130	1	Lead, melted		7.0	
179	131	1	Lead, melted		3.5	
180	132	1	UID iron			
182	133	1	Percussion cap, brass	6.0	0.5	
185	134	1	Lead, melted		1.3	
187	135	1	Knife, blade, iron, small			
191	137	1	Padlock, iron fragment		26.5	
192	138	1	Brass, scrap sheet		0.6	
193	139	1	Tin can (DISCARDED)			
195	141	1	Modern bullet (DISCARDED)			
199	142	1	Button, brass, domed, U.S. Eagle w/American shield	19.0	2.5	
200	143	1	UID iron		25.5	
202	144	1	Lead plug, artillery fuse	24.0	145.0	46
203	145	1	Percussion cap, brass, fired	6.0	6.0	
204	146	1	Pipe, iron (or gun barrel?)	21.0		39
205	147	1	Buckle, brass, roller	27.0	1.9	
208	148	1	UID iron	11.0	5.5	
209	149	1	Strip, lead		12.5	
212	150	1	Spike, wrought iron		42.0	
213	151	1	Wire, brass	3.0	5.0	
215	152	1	Aluminum, sheet (Post-CW)			
216	153	1	Button, brass, plain cast w/brass eye	14.0	1.0	
217	154	1	White metal, UID, thin			
218	155	1	Bolt, iron			
220	156	1	Fireplace grate, cast iron			
222	157	1	Utensil handle, iron, large			

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
224	158		/ Lead, melted		2.5	
227	159		/ Tire valve, brass (Post-CW)	9.0	3.7	
230	160		/ UID iron			
231	161		/ Charcoal (DISCARDED)			
237	162		/ Stove, cast iron			
238	163		/ UID iron			
239	164		/ Stove, cast iron			
240	165		/ Button, brass, plain, reverse: "HERRINGHAM GILT"	14.0	1.5	
243	166		/ Slag, iron		27.0	
244	167		/ Shot, lead	7.0	2.5	
246	168		/ Tack, brass, wrought		1.0	
247	169		/ Tack, brass, wrought		1.0	
248	170		/ Clock gear, brass	44.0	3.0	
250	172		/ Grommet, brass	25.0	6.0	
250	172		/ Pewter, flat fragment		12.0	
251	173		/ Brass strip			
252	174		/ Melted lead		2.3	
253	175		/ Brass hook with iron screw			
254	176		/ UID iron		4.2	
249	177		/ Bullet, 3-ring, impacted	15.0	31.3	25
257	177		/ Pot, cast iron			
258	178		/ Wire, iron		0.5	
259	179		/ Melted lead	8.0	10.2	35
261	180		/ Brass clasp, turnkey tip	12.5	4.3	
262	181		/ Grommet, brass, with wood		0.8	
262	181		/ Grommet, brass			
264	182		/ Sheet brass		1.2	17
265	183		/ Cast iron, "APAHIL.O.C.[?]E."		342.8	
266	184		/ Cast iron, mends with PP265		213.9	
269	185		/ Ball, iron	29.0	72.5	
272	186		/ UID iron	1.1	6.0	35

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
277	187	1	Nut, iron, square	21.0	25.8	
281	188	1	Ball, iron	29.0	75.4	
282	189	1	Shot, lead, impacted	9.0	3.0	13
283	190	1	Seal, lead, "WER[?]E" "[?]CO"	21.0	9.4	
284	191	1	Brass piece with 2 iron studs, decorated	7.5	5.5	
288	193	1	UID iron MODERN		5.2	
290	194	1	Ball, iron	12.0	7.4	
295	195	1	Brass, round with iron pin in cente, decorated		2.4	17
297	196	1	Ball, iron	15.0	12.0	
299	197	1	Plow share, iron		80.2	111
301	198	1	Horseshoe fragment		77.2	119
303	199	1	UID iron			
304	200	2	Sheet brass		1.3	27
305	201	1	Sheet brass		1.0	
305	201	1	Sheet brass		0.1	
306	202	1	Spike, wrought iron			97
309	203	1	Sheet brass with perforation		2.0	
310	204	1	Sheet brass		2.7	
311	205	1	Seal, lead, "8/3 6"	10.5	1.9	
312	206	1	Spike, iron (RR)			10.5
313	207	1	Pot, cast iron	20.0	39.8	55
314	208	1	Ring, iron		30.7	
317	209	1	Nail, machine cut	17.0		
321	210	1	Bullet, modern, discarded	9.0	9.6	18
322	211	1	Pot, cast iron	24.0	58.3	97
323	212	1	Pearlware, brown linear pattern, rim sherd	12.0	0.8	
331	214	1	UID iron			
332	215	1	Shot, lead, impacted	8.5	2.6	
333	216	1	UID iron		7.6	
334	217	1	Lead fragment		1.1	
335	218	1	Bullet, lead, impacted	9.0	8.9	16

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
337	219		/ Melted lead		4.9	
338	220		/ Shot, lead	4.0	0.6	
339	221		/ Bullet, brass shell casing, rimfire	9.0	0.7	14
340	222		/ Nut, iron, square	26.0	32.5	
341	223		/ Frizzen, iron	20.0	22.3	
342	224		/ Shot, lead, impacted	8.0	2.7	
343	225		/ UID iron		4.9	
344	226		/ UID iron			
346	227		/ Pot, cast iron		6.0	
347	228		/ UID iron		30.1	
348	229		/ Bullet, Williams cleaner, dropped	14.5	28.3	22.5
349	230		/ Possible triggerguard, iron	13.0		
350	231		/ Possible triggerguard, iron	14.0		
352	232		/ Melted lead		1.0	
353	233		/ Shot, lead, impacted	7.0	1.8	
354	234		/ Shot, lead	7.0	2.4	
355	235		/ Shot, lead, impacted	10.0	3.7	
357	236		/ Percussion cap, brass, fired	6.0	0.5	
358	237		/ Fish weight, ball, lead	15.1	16.2	
359	238		/ Melted lead	10.0	2.4	15
360	239		/ Melted lead		1.1	
361	240		/ Melted lead		2.2	
361	240		/ Button, brass, plain, reverse: "GILT", South Type 31	18.0	2.5	
362	241		/ Melted lead		18.0	
363	242		/ Pot, cast iron			
364	243		/ Shot, lead	5.0	0.6	
365	244		/ Shot, lead	6.0	1.7	
367	245		/ Doorknob, brass		6.0	
368	246		/ UID iron			
369	247		/ Shotgun shell primer, modern, discarded			
370	248		/ UID iron		28.5	

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
371	249		/ Pot, cast iron		58.8	
372	250		/ Pot, cast iron			
373	251		/ Buckle, brass, D shape, iron tongue	33.0	9.2	
377	252		/ Spike, wrought iron			
375	253		/ Knife/bayonet butt, brass, with 2 iron attachments	29.0	13.0	20
378	254		/ Iron, Modern			
379	255		/ UID iron		22.1	74
382	256		/ Spike, wrought iron			
383	257		/ Pot, cast iron		69.5	
384	258		/ Doorknob, brass	46.0	61.0	
384	258		/ Doorknob, brass	45.0	61.1	38
385	259		/ Bullet, lead, impacted, .22 cal		3.0	
386	260		/ Button, brass, plain	14.0	1.5	
386	260		/ Button, brass, back South Type 9	14.0	1.8	
387	261		/ Coin, U.S. cent, copper, 1908	19.0	2.7	
388	262		/ Shot, lead, impacted	7.0	2.0	
389	263		/ Biface, chert fragment; UID iron			
390	264		/ Spike, iron, wrought			
391	265		/ Melted lead		1.5	
392	266		/ Bullet, modern, impacted	9.0	9.8	
393	268		/ Rod, wrought iron			
394	269		/ Melted lead		5.8	
395	270		/ Sheet brass		1.7	
397	271		/ Pot, cast iron		71.1	
398	272		/ Pearlware, blue hand painted, body sherd			
399	273		/ Pearlware, plain, footring			
401	275		/ Pot, cast iron		20.3	
402	276		/ Pot, cast iron		44.0	
403	277		/ Bit, iron fragment			
404	278		/ Pot, cast iron			
405	279		/ Pot, cast iron		14.4	

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
406	280		/ Spike, wrought iron			
407	281		/ Lead, flattened		2.8	
410	282		/ Melted lead		2.4	
411	283		/ Spike, wrought iron			
413	285		/ Ball, lead, impacted	14.0	11.9	
414	286		/ Pot, cast iron		87.0	
415	287		/ Rivet, brass	9.0		7
416	288		/ Seal, lead	7.0	5.9	28.5
417	289		/ Transfer printed, black, whiteware plate rim			
418	290		/ Seal, lead, geometric design	10.5	2.1	
419	291		/ Hook, iron, wrought			
420	292		/ Melted lead		6.8	
421	293		/ Melted lead		4.8	
423	294		/ Nail, wrought iron			
424	295		/ Ball, iron	28.0	71.0	
426	296		/ UID iron			
427	297		/ Melted lead		14.0	
428	298		/ Pot, cast iron		14.0	
431	299		/ Button, brass, plain, South Type 7/9	8.0	0.5	
432	300		/ Pot, cast iron		35.0	
433	301		/ Chain, iron			
435	302		/ Knife, clasp, handle, brass			
436	303		/ Pot, cast iron		127.9	
439	304		/ Melted lead		3.7	
439	304		/ Melted lead		2.1	
440	305		/ Pot, cast iron		30.0	
441	306		/ Shot, lead, impacted		3.7	
442	307		/ Button, brass, U.S., Albert Type GI72	20.0	4.0	
446	308		/ Pipestem, clay	6.0	0.9	
447	309		/ Pot, cast iron			
448	310		/ Coin, U.S. cent, 1946, copper			

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
450	311	/	Seal, lead	22.0	13.0	
452	312	/	Melted lead		8.0	
453	313	/	Seal, lead	19.0	9.0	
456	314	/	UID iron		5.5	
460	315	/	Horseshoe, iron, 1/2		94.0	
461	316	/	Melted lead		11.7	
462	317	/	UID iron		3.0	
463	318	/	Nail, wrought iron	7.0	5.7	40
464	319	/	Lead fragment	11.0	2.2	19
465	320	/	Melted lead		1.9	
466	321	/	Pot, cast iron		53.6	
467	322	/	UID iron			
468	323	/	Pot, cast iron		50.0	
469	324	/	Horseshoe, iron	100.2	239.0	
469	324	/	Horseshoe, complete			
470	325	/	Ball, iron	13.0	8.0	
471	326	/	Wire, brass	1.5	1.4	
472	327	/	Spike, wrought iron			
473	328	/	Nail, wrought			
474	329	/	Horseshoe, iron, fragment			
475	330	/	UID iron			
476	331	/	UID square nail			
478	333	/	UID iron	13.0	42.5	6.1
478	333	/	UID iron	12.0	17.6	6
479	334	/	Horseshoe, iron fragment			
479	334	/	Horseshoe, fragment			
480	335	/	Strap, iron	35.0	79.0	116
481	336	/	UID cast iron			
482	337	/	Strap, iron			
483	338	/	Seal, lead	11.0	8.5	16.5
484	339	/	Punch, iron		34.6	81

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
485	340	/	Button, brass, plain	20.5	3.9	
486	341	/	Coin, copper or brass	19.5	3.2	
486	341	/	Coin, brass, illegible	20.0	3.5	
487	342	/	Ball, iron	14.0	7.5	
488	343	/	Rivet, brass	12.5	0.8	
489	344	/	Rivet, brass	12.0	3.2	12
490	345	/	Hinge, iron, strap			
491	346	/	Plow share, iron			
492	347	/	Shot, lead	7.5	1.9	
493	348	/	Ball, iron	27.0	71.0	
494	349	/	Ball, iron	29.0	79.0	
495	350	/	Ball, iron	28.0	81.0	
496	351	/	S-hook, iron	43.0		116
497	352	/	Button, brass, gold-plated, obverse: basket motif, reverse: B&Bu	23.0	5.8	
498	353	/	Knife blade	17.0	9.0	
499	354	/	Nail, wrought (horseshoe)			
500	355	/	Knife blade, iron	17.0	26.9	81
501	356	/	Bucket bail, iron			
502	357	/	Gun part, iron	33.0	14.0	48.5
503	358	/	Hoe, iron			
504	359	/	Nail, wrought			
505	360	/	Friction primer, brass, fired	4.3	2.3	45
506	361	/	Chain link, iron	40.0		
507	362	/	S-hook, iron	46.0		115
508	363	/	Ball, iron	28.0	73.0	
508	364	/	Wood with UID iron			
510	365	/	Ball, lead, impacted	11.5	6.8	
511	366	/	Scabbard tip, brass	25.0	15.0	40
512	367	/	UID iron			
513	368	/	Ball, lead, impacted		21.3	
ST5	369	/	Thinning flake, c.p. chert			

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
ST7	370		/ Sand tempered body sherd, plain			
ST8	370		/ Coal			
ST11	372		/ Deptford linear check stamped body sherds, sand t.		7.3	
ST12	373		/ Thinning flake, c.p. chert			
ST13	374		/ Sand tempered body sherd, plain		1.8	
400	374		/ Pot, cast iron		30.0	
ST14	375	2	Thinning flake, c.p. chert			
ST9	376	2	Thinning flake, c.p. chert			
ST9	376	1	UID iron			
574	377		/ Bullet, Williams cleaner, zinc base	14.0	4.0	
514	377		/ Bullet, Williams cleaner, zinc base	14.0	4.3	
515	378		/ Seal, lead		9.0	
516	379		/ Ball, lead, impacted	13.5	12.0	
517	380		/ Snaffle bit, iron, fragment		61.0	
518	381		/ UID square nail			
519	382		/ Padlock, brass escutcheon cover		1.1	
522	383		/ Shot, lead	7.0	1.7	
523	384		/ Iron strip, perforated	45.0		
524	385		/ Ring, iron and chain			
526	386		/ UID iron			
527	387		/ Horseshoe, iron, 1/2		65.5	
530	388		/ Knife, clasp, blade, iron, small			
531	389		/ Shot, lead		2.5	
532	390		/ UID iron			
534	391		/ Strap, iron			
535	392		/ UID iron			
536	393		/ Pot, cast iron		58.0	
537	394		/ Knife blade, iron	13.0	4.5	
538	395		/ Scissors, iron			
540	397		/ Bullet, lead, 3-ring, impacted	14.0	24.3	24
542	398		/ Shot, lead	7.0	2.0	

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
543	399	1	Fish weight, ball, lead	16.0	19.0	
545	401	1	Lead, melted		5.9	
547	402	1	Eye, wrought iron	43.0	106.0	
548	403	1	Padlock, iron fragment	65.0	76.0	
549	404	1	Lead, melted		4.5	
550	405	1	Brass, scrap cast		3.5	
551	406	1	Grommet, brass (with canvas)	27.0	4.0	
552	407	1	Seal, lead	18.0	5.0	
553	408	1	Lead bottle top, decorative	16.0	9.1	
554	409	1	Aluminum, sheet (Post-CW)			
555	410	1	Aluminum, sheet (Post-CW)			
556	411	1	Buckle, brass, cast decorative	41.0	24.5	
557	412	1	Brass, scrap sheet		1.5	
558	413	1	Brass, sheet, rectangular w/ 4 perforations	62.0	21.5	80
559	414	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		24.0	
560	415	1	Brad, brass, domed, decorative	16.0	1.5	
561	416	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		23.0	25
562	417	1	Bullet, lead, Enfield, dropped	14.0	27.3	26.5
563	418	1	Bullet, lead, Williams'sCleaner, corroded	15.0	22.7	20
564	419	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		24.0	
565	420	1	Bullet, lead, Williams'sCleaner, impacted	14.0	22.7	
566	421	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		23.0	22
567	422	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	26.8	25
568	423	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	23.5	22
569	424	1	Lead, melted		12.0	
570	425	1	Bullet, lead, Williams'sCleaner, impacted		20.0	25
571	426	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		21.8	17
586	427	1	Gouge, iron			
587	428	1	Knife blade, iron		5.0	32
589	429	1	Spike, wrought iron		22.7	47
591	430	1	Shot, lead, impacted	8.0	2.4	

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
593	431		/ Wormy finger painted ware	22.0	2.2	
585	432		/ Shot, lead	6.0	1.7	
573	434		/ Buckle, brass	29.5	19.6	46
574	435		/ Washer, lead	13.0	2.0	
575	436		/ Sheet brass		1.0	
576	437		/ Sheet brass, decorated			
576	437		/ Sheet brass, decorated		8.5	
577	438		/ Seal, lead, "CO"	21.0	27.6	
578	439		/ Curry comb, brass		2.6	
579	440		/ Seal, lead		9.4	
580	441		/ Brass, heavy, curved UID		11.0	
581	442		/ Escutcheon, brass	21.0	1.2	
582	443		/ Spoon, brass, bowl	30.0	14.1	55
583	444		/ Seal, lead	8.0	5.0	15
884	445		/ Melted pewter	21.0	5.6	
1000	446		/ Bullet, lead, impacted	12.0	17.0	22
1001	447		/ Bullet, brass casing	11.0	1.6	
1002	448		/ Pliers, iron			
1003	449		/ Spike, iron (RR)			
1004	450		/ Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		26.4	25
1005	451		/ Shot, lead, MODERN discarded	9.0	2.0	
1008	452		/ Bullet, lead, 3-ring, impacted		23.5	20
1006	452		/ Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	13.0	20	20
1007	453		/ Bullet, lead, Williams' Cleaner, wormed	13.5	21.7	18
1009	455		/ Shot, lead, MODERN discarded	12.0	3.2	
1010	456		/ Shot, lead	7.0	2.1	
1011	457		/ Shot, lead	8.0	2.6	
1012	458		/ Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	29.6	
1013	459		/ Shot, lead	9.0	4.1	
1014	460		/ Bullet, lead, 2 ring, dropped	13.0	22.0	21
1015	461		/ Bullet, lead, impacted	11.0	8.5	10.5

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
1016	462	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	23.5	23
1017	463	1	Bullet, lead, impacted with wood particles	8.0	2.6	5
1018	464	1	Bullet, lead, 2 ring, dropped	13.0	19.3	20.5
1019	465	3	UID iron		81.7	
1020	466	1	Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	23.6	
1021	467	3	Spike, iron (RR)		12.5; 12.5; 10.5	
1022	468	1	Bullet, lead & zinc, Williams' Cleaner, dropped		13.5	19
1023	469	1	UID iron			
1024	470	1	Nut, iron modern DISCARDED			
1026	472	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	26.3	25
1027	473	1	Plow share, iron			
1028	474	1	Plowshare, iron			
1030	476	1	Bullet, Enfield, impacted	13.5	25.0	
1031	477	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	15.0	24.2	22
1032	478	1	Nail, UID square		19.1	
1033	479	1	Horseshoe		281.0	
1034	480	1	Shot, lead		2.4	
1035	481	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		20.0	21
1036	482	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	26.5	21
1037	483	1	UID iron			
1040	486	4	Nail, cut			
1041	487	1	Chain, iron (and iron ring)			
1042	488	1	Pot, cast iron			
1042	488	1	Nail, wrought iron			
1042	488	1	Nail, machine cut			
1043	489	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	29.5	25
1043	489	1	Gun tool, iron			67
1044	490	1	UID iron			
2000	491	1	Bullet, brass casing	7.0	1.9	
2001	492	1	Bullet, brass casing	11.0	1.6	
2002	493	1	Ramrod tip, iron	9.0	6.4	37

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
2003	494	1	Bullet, lead, impacted, possibly MODERN	8.0	3.6	
2004	495	1	Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	15.0	27.8	
2005	496	1	Shot, lead		2.0	
2006	497	1	Shot, lead		2.2	
2007	498	1	Barbed wire (Post-CW)			
2008	499	1	Bullet, lead, impacted (.22 cal long?)	6.0	4.7	19
2009	500	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	19.0	26.6	16
2010	501	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		21.7	
2011	502	1	Shot, lead		3.0	
2012	503	1	Spike, iron (RR) in wood			12.5
2013	504	1	Spike, iron (RR)			113
2014	505	1	Spike, iron (RR)			
2015	506	1	Spike, iron (RR)			
2016	507	1	Spike, iron (RR)			
2017	508	1	Spike, iron (RR)			
2018	509	1	Spike, iron (RR)			
2019	510	1	Spike, iron (RR)			
2020	511	1	Spike, iron (RR)			
2021	512	1	Bolt, iron and nut	38.0		94
2025	513	1	Gun barrel, iron, exploded	28.0	398.0	
2031	514	2	Nail, cut			
2032	515	1	Key, iron head		8.0	
2033	516	1	Hoe, iron			
2034	517	1	Nail, cut			
2042	518	1	UID cast iron			
2047	519	2	Nail, cut			
2045	520	1	Punch, iron			207
2046	521	1	Modern automobile brake			
3000	522	1	Shot, lead		1.7	
3001	523	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	21.8	18
3003	525	1	UID iron	26.0	48.8	51

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
3004	526	1	Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	14.5	22.3	
3005(266)	527	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	16.5	
3006(267)	528	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	15.0	26.2	23
3007(268)	529	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	24.2	22
3008(269)	530	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	24.7	23
3009	531	1	Bullet, lead, 3-ring, impacted		23.0	
3010	532	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	12.5	18.3	24
3013 (273)	534	3	Chain, iron		52.1	
3013	535	1	Bullet, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	23.9	
3014	536	1	Bullet, lead, Enfield, dropped	13.0	28.2	27
3016 (277)	538	1	Shot, lead, wood attached	8.0	2.1	
3018	540	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	19.0	21.5
3019	541	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.5	27.7	24.5
3021	543	1	Shot, lead		2.4	
3022	544	1	Percussion cap, brass, fired	3.5	0.4	
3023(284)	545	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	13.0	22.0	23
3024	546	1	Shot, lead	7.0	2.0	
3025	547	1	Shot, lead		3.0	
3026	548	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	28.5	23.5
3027	549	1	Shot, lead	8.0	3.0	
3028	550	1	Shot, lead	7.0	2.5	
3029	551	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, dropped	14.0	26.5	25.5
3030(291)	552	1	Bullet, lead, deteriorated	12.5	15.3	18.5
3031(292)	553	1	Bullet, lead, 2 ring, dropped	14.5	20.8	20
3032 (293)	554	1	Horseshoe fragment			91
3033 (294)	555	1	Knife, clasp, iron and brass fragment	11.0	20.0	27
3034	556	1	Bullet, 1 ring, impacted		6.4	16.5
3035(296)	557	1	Brass sheet, cut		0.9	
3036(297)	558	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, deteriorated	13.5	19.8	20.5
3037	559	1	Springfield musket (see below)		759.0	
3037	559	1	Ramrod, iron fragment	5.0	8.0	

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
3037	559	1	Gun part, iron		2.0	
3037	559	1	Ramrod, iron fragment	3.0	6.0	
3037	559	1	Gun part, iron	14.0	6.0	
3037	559	1	Gun part, iron		118.0	
3037	559	1	Ramrod guide, iron	7.0	25.0	
3037	559	1	Hammer, iron	25.0	23.0	
3037	559	1	Ramrod, iron fragment	5.0	15.0	
3037	559	1	Ramrod, iron fragment	12.0	39.0	
3037	559	1	Gun barrel, iron fragment	18.0	177.0	
3037	559	1	Buttplate, iron	48.0	192.0	
3037	559	1	Gun part, iron		65.0	
3037	559	1	Trigger assembly, iron	14.5	24.0	
3037	559	1	Ramrod, iron fragment	9.0	25.0	
3037	559	1	Ramrod holder	15.5	25.0	
3037	559	1	Hammer fragment	9.0	9.0	
3038	560	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted		29.7	
3039	561	1	Shot, lead	7.0	2.3	
3040	562	1	Shot, lead	7.0	3.0	
3041	563	1	Ball, lead, wormed and corroded	13.0	11.2	
3042(303)	564	1	Bullet, Williams cleaner, zinc base	14.0	3.5	
3043	565	1	Coin, brass, illegible	17.0	2.1	
3004(305)	566	1	Bullet, Enfield, lead with wood plug, impacted	15.0	29.9	20
3045	567	1	Bullet, Modern			
3046	568	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	14.0	19.0	25
3047(308)	569	1	Bullet, lead, deteriorated	11.0	12.5	18.5
3048(309)	570	1	Bullet, lead (pistol)	8.0	4.9	14
3011(272)	5033	1	Bullet, lead, 3 ring, impacted	13.0	20.4	20.5
14*	lost	1	Brass button back			
374	nc	1	Cut nail			
395	nc	1	Cut nail			
371	nc	1	Cut nail			

Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory, Monteith Battlefield Survey.

PP	Lot	Count	Description	Diam (mm)	Wt (g)	Lgth (mm)
520	nc		<i>1</i> Cut nail			
194			<i>1</i> Button, brass, plain w/ Iron back South Type 8	17.0	2.0	
2022	nc		<i>1</i> Spike, iron (RR) [NOT COLLECTED]			
2023	nc		<i>1</i> Spike, iron (RR) [NOT COLLECTED]			
2024	nc		<i>1</i> Hook, iron, large (NOT COLLECTED)			
2025			<i>1</i> Gun barrel, iron, possible			
2026			<i>1</i> Loop, iron (NOT COLLECTED)			
2027	nc		<i>1</i> Spike, iron (RR) [NOT COLLECTED]			
2028	nc		<i>1</i> Spike, iron (RR) [NOT COLLECTED]			
2029	nc		<i>1</i> Spike, iron (RR) [NOT COLLECTED]			
2030	nc		<i>1</i> Spike, iron (RR) [NOT COLLECTED]			



7



20



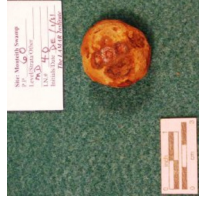
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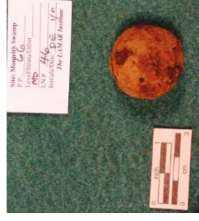
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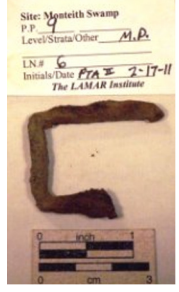
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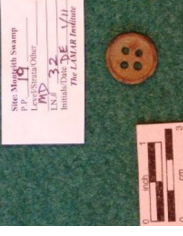
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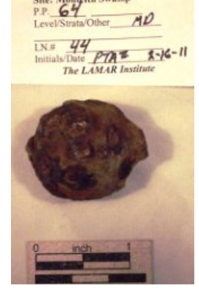
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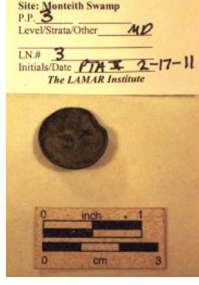
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44



3a



16



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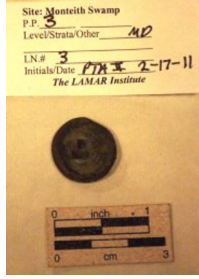
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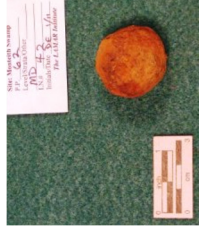
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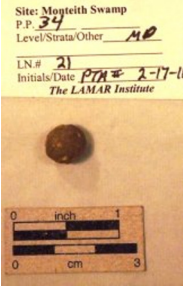
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9



21



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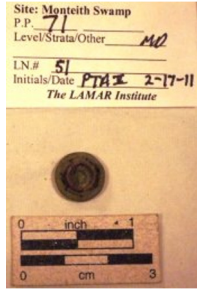
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41



51 (2)



54



59



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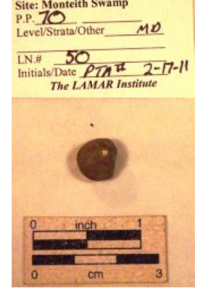
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50



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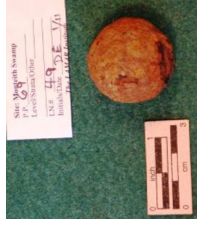
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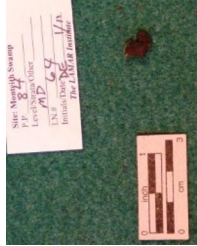
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56b



64



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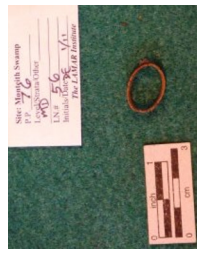
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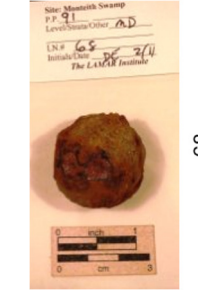
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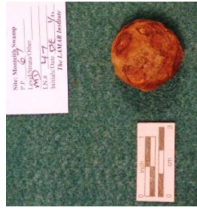
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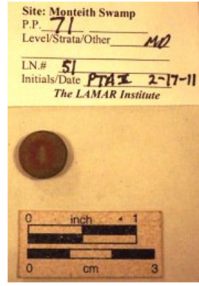
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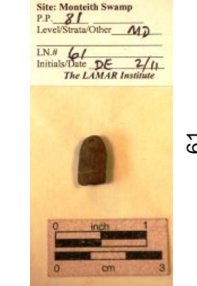
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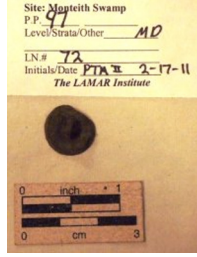
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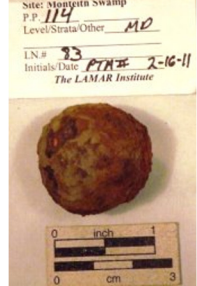
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72a



83



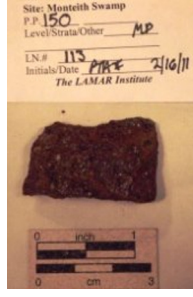
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99



108



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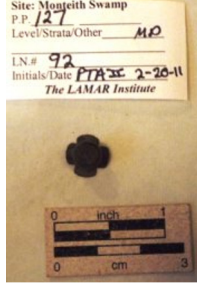
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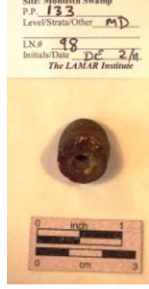
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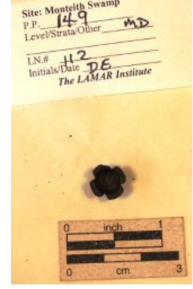
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98a



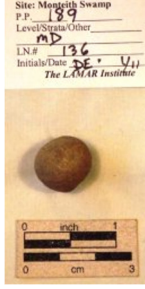
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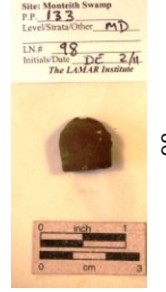
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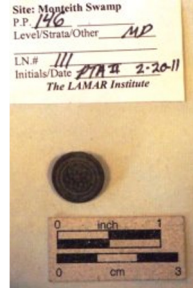
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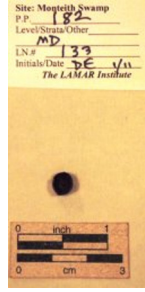
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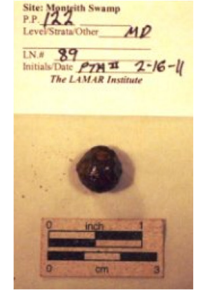
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133



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89



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106



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117a



128



142



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102



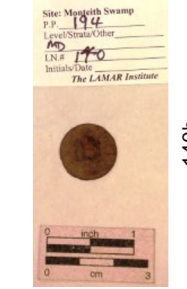
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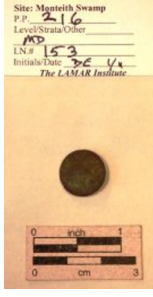
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140b



149



153a



171



172d



185 (2)



191a



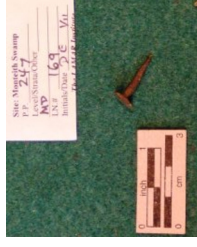
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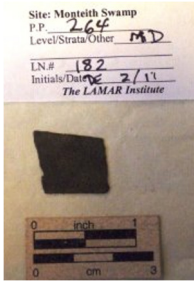
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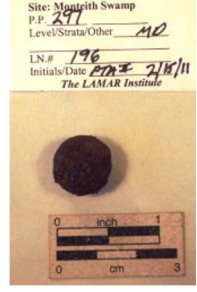
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182 (2)



191



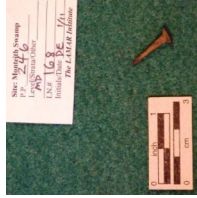
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144d



150b



168



172a



180 (2)



190



195a



144b



150



166



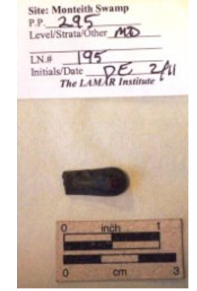
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179 (2)



189



195



144a



149a



155



171a



176 (2)



188



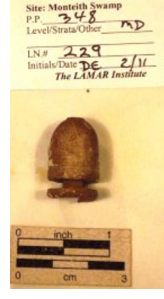
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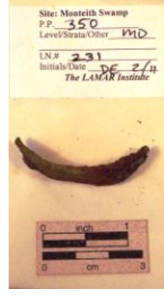
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223a



229



231a



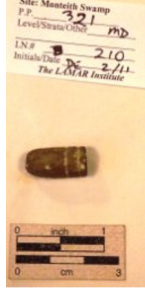
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245



253b



210



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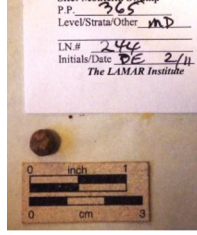
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236



244



253a



205



221



225



230a



235a



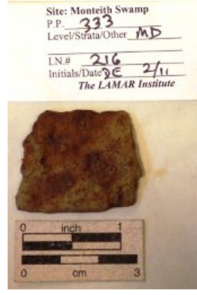
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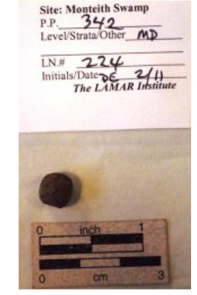
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200



216



224



230



235



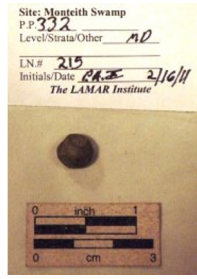
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252



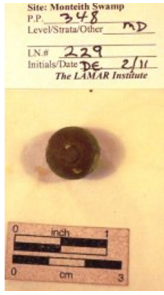
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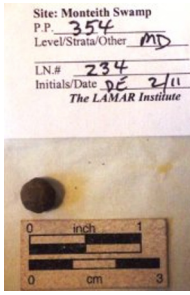
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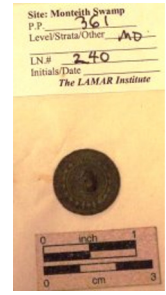
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229a



234



240



251



260



269a



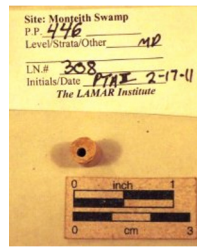
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290



299



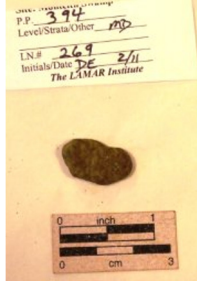
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314



258b



269



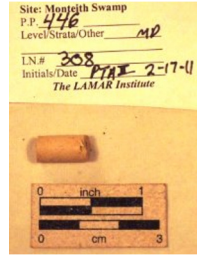
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289



295



308



313a



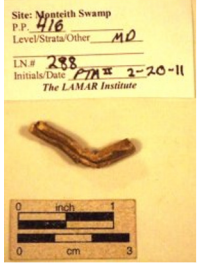
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261a



283



288



291a



307a



313



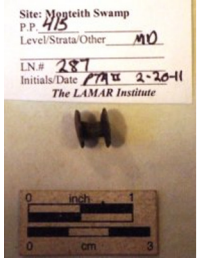
258



261



281



287a



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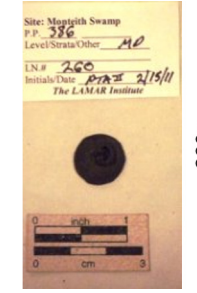
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311a



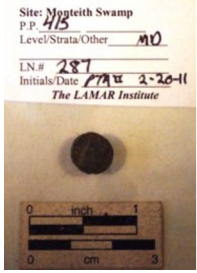
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260a



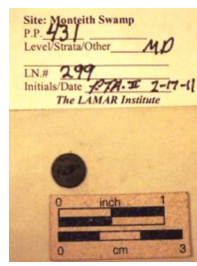
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287



290a



299a



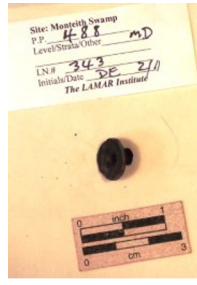
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328



340



343b



350



360b



368



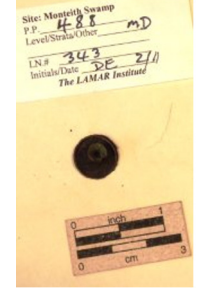
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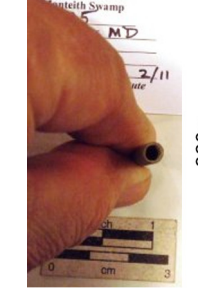
340 (2)



343a



349



360a



366c



379



324



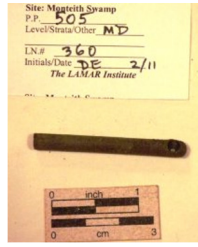
339



343



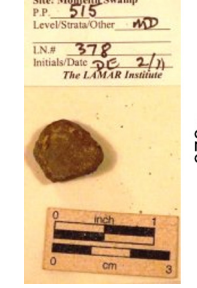
344b



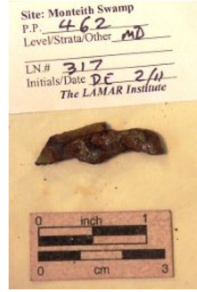
360



366a



378a



317



334



342



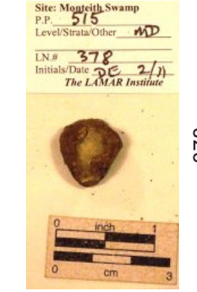
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357a



366



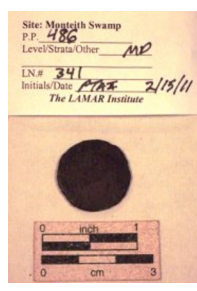
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315



332



341



344



357



363



377



397



399a



406



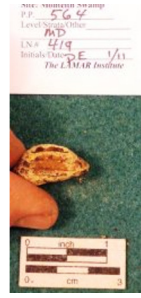
411a



414a



417



419b



395



399



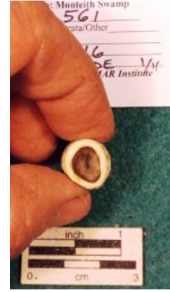
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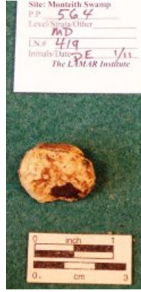
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414



416a



419a



394



397c



402



408a



413a



416



419



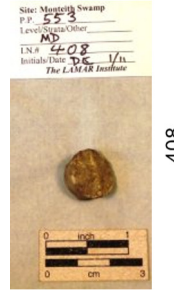
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397b



401



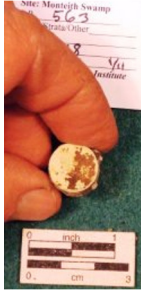
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413



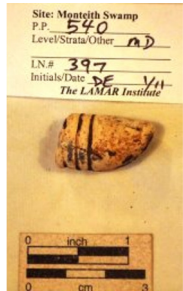
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418a



382



397a



400



407



411b



415



418



422



424



428



437



440a



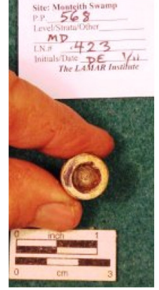
447



452b



421a



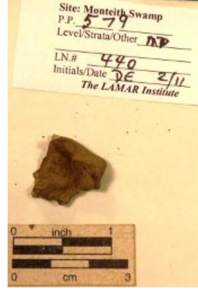
423a



426b



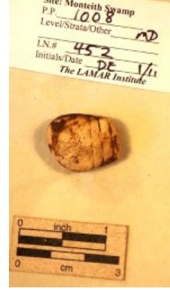
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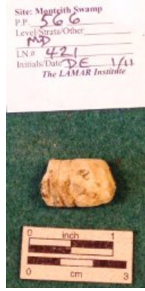
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446



452a



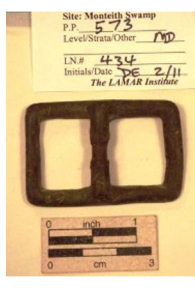
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423



426a



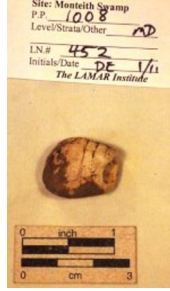
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439



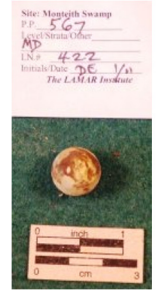
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452



420a



422b



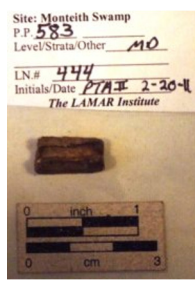
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433



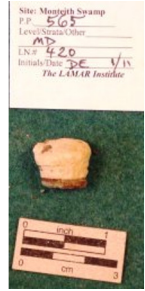
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444



450a



420



422a



425



431



438



443



450



460



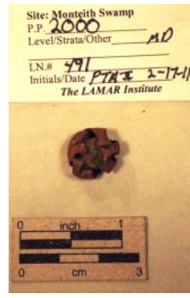
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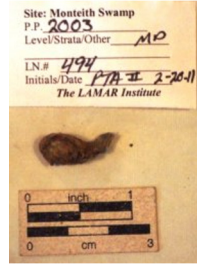
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479



491



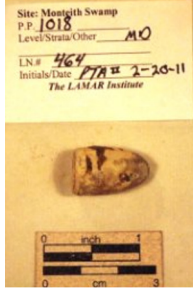
494



505



458b



464



475



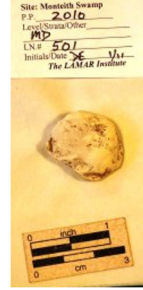
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489



493



501a



458a



463



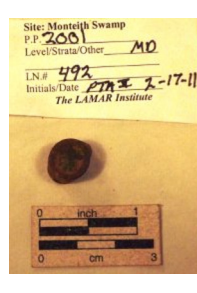
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476a



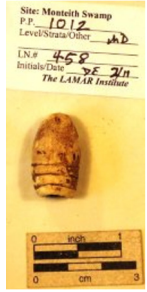
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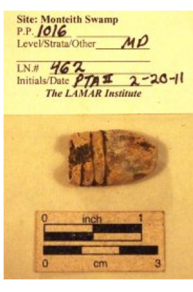
492a



501



458



462



466b



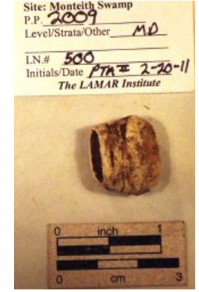
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481a



492



500



457



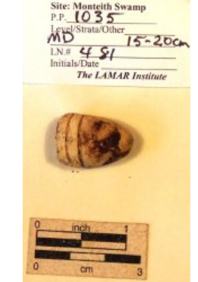
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466a



475b



481



491a



499



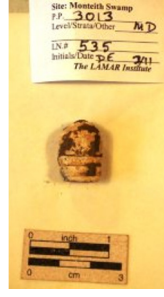
519a



526a



529



535



536b



541a



551



519



526



528



532



536a



541



550



515



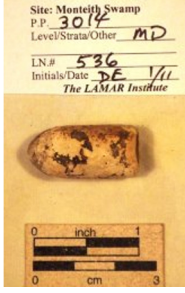
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527



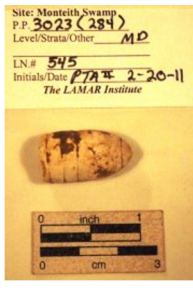
531a



536



540b



545



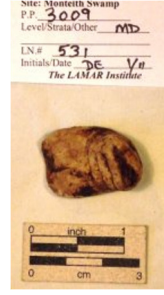
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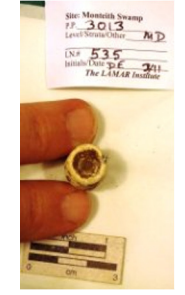
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526c



531



535b



540a



544a



510



519b



526b



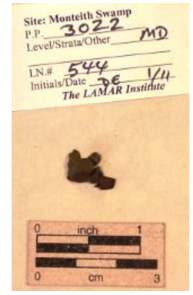
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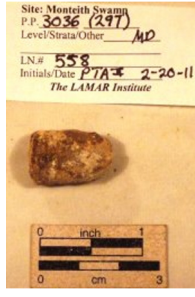
535a



540



544



558



559d



559i



559n



563



566a



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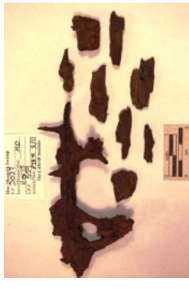
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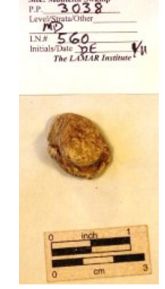
559c



559h



559m



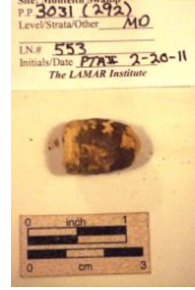
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566



5033



553



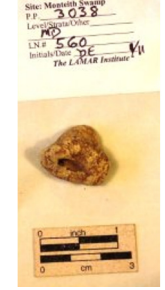
559b



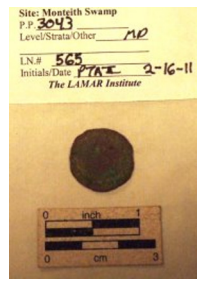
559g



559L



560



565



570



552



559a



559f



559k



559p



565 (2)



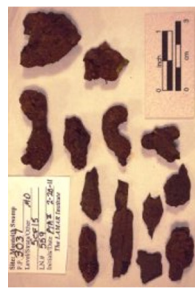
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551a



559



559e



559j



559o



564



566b



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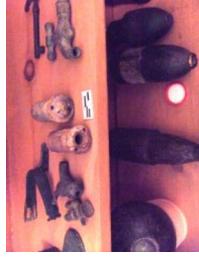
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JerryDotsonCollection- (4)



JerryDotsonCollection- (5)



JerryDotsonCollection- (6)



JerryDotsonCollection- (7)



JerryDotsonCollection- (8)



JerryDotsonCollection- (9)



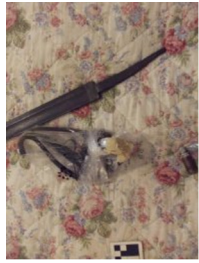
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JerryDotsonCollection- (11)



JerryDotsonCollection- (12)



JerryDotsonCollection- (13)



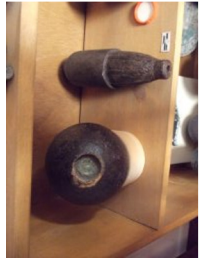
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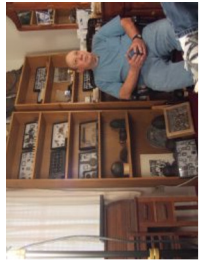
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JerryDotsonCollection- (17)



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JerryDotsonCollection- (23)



JerryDotsonCollection- (24)



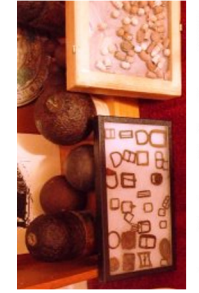
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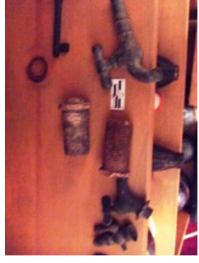
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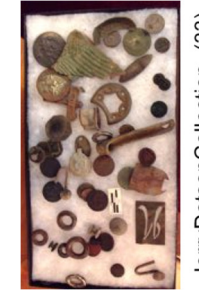
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JerryDotsonCollection- (32)



JerryDotsonCollection- (33)



JerryDotsonCollection- (34)



JerryDotsonCollection- (35)



JerryDotsonCollection- (36)



JerryDotsonCollection- (3)



JerryDotsonCollection- (38)



JerryDotsonCollection- (39)



JerryDotsonCollection- (40)



JerryDotsonCollection- (41)



JerryDotsonCollection- (42)



JerryDotsonCollection- (43)



JerryDotsonCollection- (44)



JerryDotsonCollection- (4)



JerryDotsonCollection- (46)