

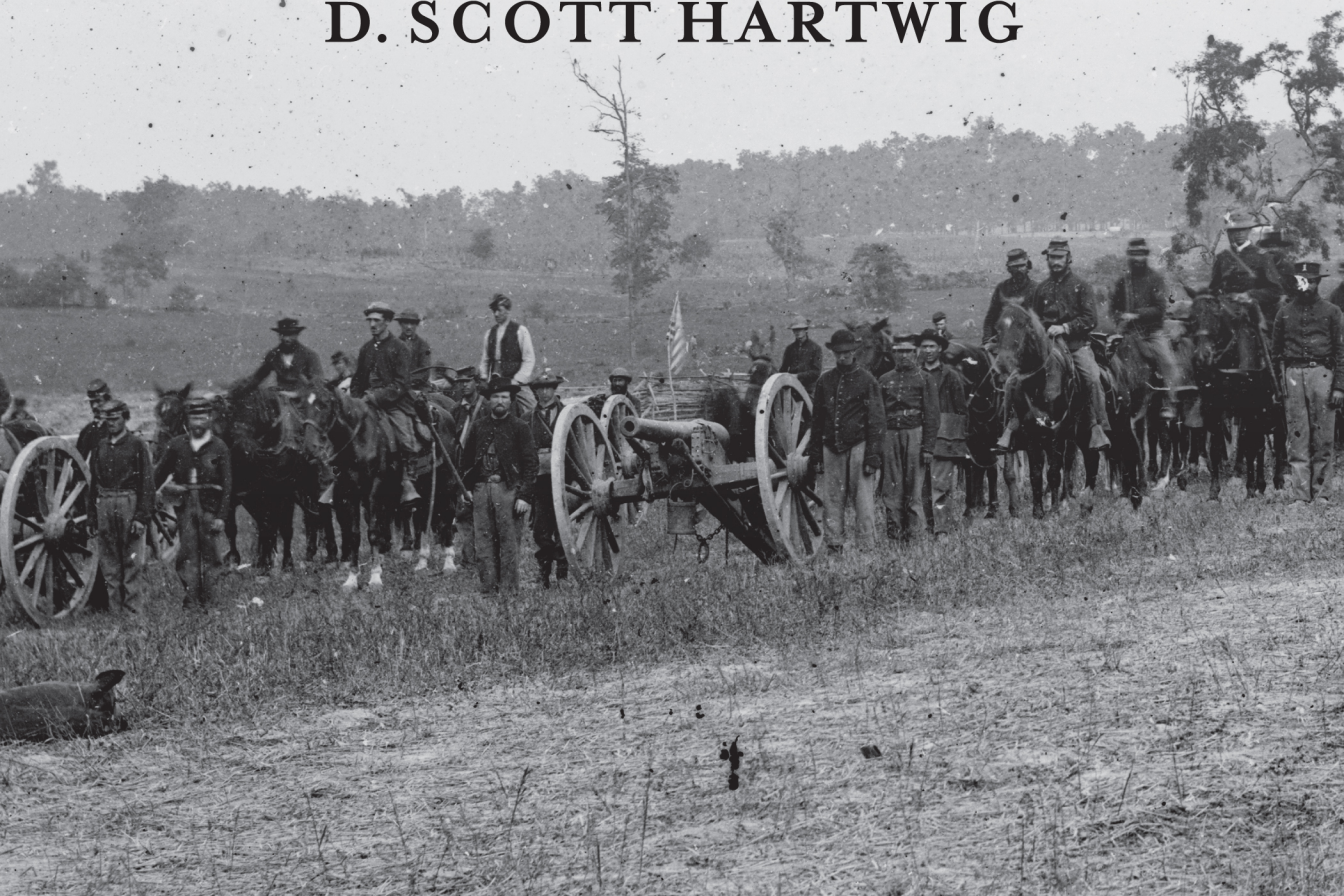
# I DREAD THE THOUGHT OF THE PLACE

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*The* **BATTLE** *of* **ANTIETAM**  
*and the* **END** *of the*  
**MARYLAND**  
**CAMPAIGN**

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## APPENDIX C

### Strengths and Losses at the Battle of Antietam and the Battle of Shepherdstown

In his final report on the Maryland Campaign, George McClellan gave the strength of the Army of the Potomac at Antietam as 87,164. This figure is its aggregate strength—in other words, every man in uniform in the army. Approximately 17% of this number were detailed to non-combat duties, such as teamsters, cooks, hospital stewards, stretcher bearers, and the like. As the accompanying table shows, its fighting strength was approximately 72,199 men. The losses of the Union army at Antietam and Shepherdstown, as published in volume 19 of *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, are generally quite accurate. There was one anomaly: the 16th Connecticut, whose officially reported losses at Antietam were 42 killed, 143 wounded, and 0 missing or captured. Subsequent research revealed that their actual number of casualties was 43 killed, 164 wounded, 20 captured, and 19 missing (who were deserters). There may be other discrepancies that continuing research will reveal, but in general, the Union army maintained reliable records of their battle losses.

The same cannot be said for the Army of Northern Virginia, either for their losses or their strengths. Record keeping was quite poor, partly due to high attrition among company and field officers. Arriving at accurate numbers for Confederate troops or casualties for the Battle of Sharpsburg, as they called this conflict, is a maddening exercise. The following table should be considered simply as a starting point. We will never know with any precision precisely how many men Robert E. Lee had that day. Some units had stragglers trickling in throughout the day, so their strength fluctuated. This was particularly true for A. P. Hill's division. Nevertheless, the numbers for the Confederate army, as shown in the table, are close to Lee's engaged strength.

The official casualty figures the Confederates released, which are published in the *War of the Rebellion* records, volume 19, part 1, pages 810–813, are so inaccurate that they are of limited value. For example, the 6th Georgia was reported to have had 10 killed and 13 wounded, when their actual loss was 81 killed, 115 wounded, and 30 missing or captured. Figures for the 5th Florida, which sustained 159 casualties, were not reported at all. No missing or captured men were included for any unit in the entire army, even though there were hundreds. The records also included losses at the Battles of South Mountain and Shepherdstown in this tabulation. Ezra Car-

man, the colonel in the 13th New Jersey and, later, the historian for the Antietam National Battlefield, did yeoman work in assembling strength and loss figures for the Army of Northern Virginia, and my efforts build off his. In most instances I have accepted Carman's numbers for total losses for brigades, divisions, and wings, unless I felt that the contrary evidence I had discovered was solid. This can lead to some odd situations, such as my acceptance of Carman's figures for D. H. Hill's wounded and missing men, but not for those killed. This was because the numbers I found for those in the division who were killed, while still slightly low in relation to its actual loss, are higher than what Carman listed, and I have confidence in these amounts. I had less assurance in my figures for the wounded and missing in the division, however, since we have no casualty records for some regiments. Here I used Carman's numbers, since his information always came from veterans. It should also be noted that the "Total" columns for brigades, divisions, and wings will sometimes not agree with the figures that exist for individual regiments. I used the best sources available, but their cumulative totals might differ from Carman's amounts. An example is Drayton's brigade. Carman's figure—142—is 4 higher than the total of the regimental losses in the table. Unfortunately, we do not always know where Carman's information came from, but a rule of thumb for the Army of Northern Virginia is that the highest casualty totals from a reliable source are usually correct, since that army consistently undercounted its losses. The figures in the accompanying table should be considered the *minimum* number of casualties for the Confederates. They may have been as high as 11,000.

A good online source to consult for the strengths and losses in both armies, as well as for personnel known to have been present in the battle, is Brian Downey's Antietam on the Web, at <https://antietam.aotw.org>, which is continually updated.

## Strength and Casualties—Army of the Potomac

	Sept. 17 strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
1st Corps—Hooker	9,582	417	2,051	122	2,590 (27%)
1st Division—Doubleday	3,403	140	638	34	812 (24%)
1st Brigade—Phelps Jr.	407 <sup>2</sup>	30	120	4	154
84th NY (14th Brooklyn)	80 <sup>3</sup>	6	21	0	27
22nd NY	67	2	28	0	30
24th NY	57	3	15	1	19
30th NY	53	6	5	1	12
2nd U.S. Sharpshooters	150 <sup>4</sup>	13	51	2	66
2nd Brigade—Hoffman	750	0	9	1	10
7th IN		0	4	0	4
76th NY		0	3	1	4
95th NY		0	1	0	1
56th PA		0	1	0	0
3rd Brigade—Patrick	825	30	187	17	234
20th NY State Militia	132 <sup>5</sup>	6	40	8	54
23rd NY	238 <sup>6</sup>	4	35	3	42
21st NY	225 <sup>7</sup>	12	57	2	71
35th NY	230 <sup>8</sup>	8	55	4	67
4th Brigade—Gibbon	971	68	275	5	348
2nd WI	150 <sup>9</sup>	19	67	0	86
6th WI	314 <sup>10</sup>	26	126	0	152
7th WI	190 <sup>11</sup>	10	23	5	38
19th IN	317 <sup>12</sup>	12	57	0	69
Artillery—Monroe	450	12	46	8	66
1st Battery, NH Light		0	3	0	3
Battery D, 1st RI Light		3	7	8	18
Battery L, 1st NY Light		0	5	0	5
Battery B, 4th U.S.		9	31	0	40
2nd Division—Ricketts	3,331	172	946	86	1,204 (36%)
1st Brigade—Duryée	1,100	59	233	35	327
107th PA	190 <sup>13</sup>	19	45	0	64
97th NY	203 <sup>14</sup>	24	74	9	107
104th NY		7	60	15	82
105th NY		9	54	11	74
2nd Brigade—Christian	1,000 <sup>15</sup>	28	197	29	254
88th PA	350 <sup>16</sup>	10	62	5	77
90th PA	264 <sup>17</sup>	13	82	3	98
26th NY		5	41	20	66
94th NY		0	12	1	13
3rd Brigade—Hartsuff	1,110 <sup>18</sup>	82	497	20	599
12th MA	334 <sup>19</sup>	49	165	10	224
13th MA	301 <sup>20</sup>	14	119	3	136
83rd NY (9th Militia)	240 est.	6	105	3	114
11th PA	235 <sup>21</sup>	13	107	4	124

(continued)

	Sept. 17 strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
Artillery	121	3	19	2	24
Battery F, 1st PA Light		3	8	0	11
Battery C, PA Light		0	11	2	13
3rd Division—Meade	2,848	105	466	2	573 (20%)
1st Brigade—Seymour	1,000 est.	24	131	0	155
1st PA Reserves		5	22	0	27
2nd PA Reserves		3	21	0	24
5th PA Reserves		3	7	0	10
6th PA Reserves		8	61	0	69
13th PA Reserves		5	20	0	25
2nd Brigade—Magilton	800 est.	41	181	0	222
3rd PA Reserves		12	34	0	46
4th PA Reserves		5	43	0	48
7th PA Reserves	180 <sup>22</sup>	12	60	0	72
8th PA Reserves		12	44	0	56
3rd Brigade—Anderson	800 est.	37	136	2	173
9th PA Reserves	260 <sup>23</sup>	17	66	0	83
10th PA Reserves		0	9	0	9
11th PA Reserves		7	15	0	22
12th PA Reserves		13	46	2	61
Artillery	248	3	18	0	21
Battery A, 1st PA Light		1	3	0	4
Battery B, 1st PA Light		0	2	0	2
Battery C, 5th U.S.		2	13	0	15
2nd Corps—Sumner	16,475	883	3,856	396	5,135 (31%)
1st Division—Richardson	4,305	210	939	16	1,165 (27%)
Staff		0	2	0	2
1st Brigade—Caldwell	1,343 est.	44	268	2	314
5th NH	321 <sup>24</sup>	8	46	1	55
61st NY	228 <sup>25</sup>	6	34	1	41
64th NY	214 <sup>26</sup>	8	42	0	50
81st PA		7	44	0	51
7th NY		15	46	0	61
2nd Brigade—Meagher	1,340	113	422	5	540
Staff		0	1	0	1
63rd NY	341 <sup>27</sup>	35	165	2	202
69th NY	317	44	152	0	196
88th NY	302 <sup>28</sup>	27	75	0	102
29th MA	380 <sup>29</sup>	7	29	3	39
3rd Brigade—Brooke	1,376	52	244	9	305
52nd NY	119 <sup>30</sup>	4	12	2	18
57th NY	309 <sup>31</sup>	19	79	3	101
2nd DE	350 <sup>32</sup>	12	44	2	58
66th NY	310 <sup>33</sup>	11	91	1	103
53rd PA	288 <sup>34</sup>	6	18	1	25

(continued)

Strength and Casualties—Army of the Potomac (*continued*)

	Sept. 17 strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
Artillery	246	1	3	0	4
Battery B, 1st NY Light		1	0	0	1
Batteries A & C, 4th U.S.		0	3	0	3
2nd Division—Sedgwick	6,050	373	1,593	244	2,210 (37%)
1st Brigade—Gorman	1,691	134	539	67	740
15th MA	606 <sup>35</sup>	57	238	23	318
1st MN	435 <sup>36</sup>	15	60	15	90
34th NY	311	33	111	10	154
82nd NY	339	21	92	15	128
1st Co., MA Sharpshooters <sup>37</sup>		8	17	1	26
2nd Co., MN Sharpshooters <sup>38</sup>		0	21	3	24
2nd Brigade—Howard	2,169	93	379	73	545
69th PA	486 <sup>39</sup>	19	58	15	92
71st PA	510	26	95	18	139
72nd PA	681	38	163	36	237
106th PA	492	10	63	4	77
3rd Brigade—Dana	1,946	142	652	104	898
7th MI	402 <sup>40</sup>	39	178	4	221
19th MA	418 <sup>41</sup>	8	108	30	146
20th MA	400	12	84	28	124
42nd NY	345	35	127	19	181
59th NY	381	48	153	23	224
Artillery	244	4	21	0	25
Battery A, 1st RI Light	109	4	15	0	19
Battery I, 1st U.S.		0	6	0	6
3rd Division—French	6,120	300	1,324	136	1,760 (29%)
1st Brigade—Kimball	1,751	121	510	8	639
132nd PA	750 <sup>42</sup>	30	114	8	152
14th IN	320 <sup>43</sup>	30	150	0	180
8th OH	341 <sup>44</sup>	32	129	0	161
7th [W]V	340 <sup>45</sup>	29	116	0	145
2nd Brigade—Morris	2,240	78	356	95	529
130th PA	690 <sup>46</sup>	32	146	0	178
108th NY	750 <sup>47</sup>	26	122	47	195
14th CT	800 <sup>48</sup>	20	88	48	156
3rd Brigade—Weber	1,740	100	449	33	582
1st DE	650 <sup>49</sup>	31	182	17	230
5th MD	550 <sup>50</sup>	25	123	15	163
4th NY	540 <sup>51</sup>	44	142	1	187
Artillery	389	1	9	0	10
Battery G, 1st NY Light	123	1	4	0	5
Battery G, 1st RI Light	135	0	5	0	5
Battery B, 1st RI Light	131	0	0	0	0

(continued)



	Sept. 17 strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
4th Corps	7,219 <sup>52</sup>				
1st Division—Couch		0	9	0	9
1st Brigade—Devens Jr.		0	0	0	0
2nd Brigade—Howe		0	0	0	0
3rd Brigade—Cochrane		0	9	0	9
65th NY		0	1	0	1
67th NY		0	1	0	1
122nd NY		0	0	0	0
61st PA		0	5	0	5
82nd PA		0	2	0	2
Artillery		0	0	0	0
5th Corps—Porter	9,476 <sup>53</sup>	17	90	2	109 (0.01%)
1st Division—Morell	5,607 <sup>54</sup>	0	0	0	0
1st U.S. Sharpshooters	234 <sup>55</sup>				
1st Brigade—J. Barnes	1,711 <sup>56</sup>				
118th PA	737				
1st MI	153 <sup>57</sup>				
22nd MA	166				
2nd ME	173				
18th MA	282				
13th NY	160				
25th NY	153				
2nd Co., MA Sharpshooters					
2nd Brigade—Griffin	2,017 <sup>58</sup>				
4th MI	288				
14th NY	300				
9th MA	379				
62nd PA	435				
32nd MA	315				
2nd DC <sup>59</sup>					
3rd Brigade—Stockton	1,300 est. <sup>60</sup>				
12th NY	159				
17th NY	115				
16th MI	112				
83rd PA	101				
44th NY	95				
20th ME					
MI Sharpshooters					
Artillery	345				
2nd Division—Sykes	3,846	12	85	1	98 (0.03%)
1st Brigade—Buchanan	1,748	4	35	0	39
3rd U.S.	290 <sup>61</sup>	0	0	0	0
4th U.S.	318 <sup>62</sup>	3	29	0	32
1/12th U.S.	250 <sup>63</sup>	1	3	0	4
2/12th U.S.	250	0	0	0	0

(continued)



Strength and Casualties—Army of the Potomac (*continued*)

	Sept. 17 strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
1/14th U.S.	320 <sup>64</sup>	0	2	0	2
2/14th U.S.	320	0	1	0	1
2nd Brigade—Lovell	1,288	8	47	1	56
1st & 6th U.S.					
2nd & 10th U.S.	402	8	46	1	55
11th U.S.		0	1	0	1
17th U.S.					
3rd Brigade—Warren	523				
Artillery	287	0	3	0	3
Battery I, 5th U.S.		0	3	0	3
3rd Division—Humphreys <sup>65</sup>	7,000				
1st Brigade—Tyler	3,500				
2nd Brigade—Allabach	3,500				
Artillery Reserve—Hays	973	5	5	1	11
1st Battery, NY Light		1	0	1	2
Battery K, 1st U.S.		4	5	0	9
6th Corps—Franklin	11,862 <sup>66</sup>	70	335	33	438 (0.04%)
1st Division—Slocum	5,915	5	58	2	65
1st Brigade—Torbert	1,300	2	17	0	19
1st NJ		0	6	0	6
2nd NJ		2	7	0	9
3rd NJ		0	1	0	1
4th NJ		0	3	0	3
2nd Brigade—Bartlett	2,500	1	8	0	9
5th ME		0	5	0	5
16th NY	300 <sup>67</sup>	0	2	0	2
27th NY		0	0	0	0
121st NY		0	0	0	0
96th PA		1	1	0	2
3rd Brigade—Newton	1,600	1	20	0	21
18th NY		0	4	0	4
31st NY		0	3	0	3
32nd NY		0	4	0	4
95th PA		1	9	0	10
Artillery—Upton <sup>68</sup>	515	1	13	2	16
Battery A, MD Light		1	11	2	14
Battery D, 2nd U.S.		0	2	0	2
2nd Division—Smith	6,670 <sup>69</sup>	65	277	31	373
1st Brigade—Hancock	2,500	0	6	0	6
6th ME		0	2	0	2
49th PA		0	4	0	4
2nd Brigade—Brooks	2,100	1	24	0	25
2nd VT		0	5	0	5
3rd VT		1	3	0	4

(continued)

	Sept. 17 strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
4th VT		0	6	0	6
5th VT		0	2	0	2
6th VT		0	8	0	8
3rd Brigade—Irwin	1,684	64	247	31	342
7th ME	181 <sup>70</sup>	12	63	20	95
20th NY	680 <sup>71</sup>	38	96	11	145
33rd NY	380	6	41	0	47
49th NY	268	2	21	0	23
77th NY	175 <sup>72</sup>	6	26	0	32
Artillery—Ayres	386				
9th Corps—Cox	12,241	439	1,816	154	2,409 (20%)
1st Division—Willcox	3,264	46	285	7	338 (10%)
1st Brigade—Christ	1,395	43	198	3	244
28th MA	200 <sup>73</sup>	12	36	0	48
17th MI	525	18	89	0	107
79th NY	300	5	27	0	32
50th PA	370	8	46	3	57
2nd Brigade—Welsh	1,623	3	86	4	93
8th MI	435 <sup>74</sup>	0	29	2	31
46th NY	278	2	14	0	16
45th PA	560	1	36	1	38
100th PA	350	0	7	1	8
Artillery	246	0	1	0	1
8th Battery, MA Light		0	1	0	1
Battery E, 2nd U.S.		0	0	0	0
2nd Division—Sturgis	2,909	136	532	11	679 (23%)
1st Brigade—Nagle	1,126	39	160	5	204
2nd MD	162 <sup>75</sup>	17	47	3	67
6th NH	104 <sup>76</sup>	4	13	1	18
9th NH	710 <sup>77</sup>	10	49	0	59
48th PA	150	8	51	1	60
2nd Brigade—Ferrero	1,601	95	368	6	469
21st MA	150 <sup>78</sup>	7	41	0	48
35th MA	780	48	160	6	214
51st NY	335	19	68	0	87
51st PA	336	21	99	0	120
Artillery	182 <sup>79</sup>	2	4	0	6
Battery D, PA Light	123	0	3	0	3
Battery E, 4th U.S.	59	2	1	0	3
3rd Division—Rodman	2,914	221	807	109	1,137 (39%)
1st Brigade—Fairchild	943	87	321	47	455
9th NY	373 <sup>80</sup>	45	176	14	235
89th NY	370	18	77	8	103
103rd NY	200	24	68	25	117

(continued)

Strength and Casualties—Army of the Potomac (*continued*)

	Sept. 17 strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
2nd Brigade—Harland	1,848	134	483	62	679
8th CT	421 <sup>81</sup>	34	139	21	194
11th CT	430 <sup>82</sup>	36	103	0	139
16th CT	750	43	164	39	246 <sup>83</sup>
4th RI	247	21	77	2	100
Artillery					
Battery A, 5th U.S.	123	0	3	0	3
Kanawha Division—Scammon	3,154	36	192	27	255 (8%)
1st Brigade—Ewing	903	28	134	20	182
12th OH	200 <sup>84</sup>	7	26	0	33
23rd OH	360 <sup>85</sup>	8	59	2	69
30th OH	343 <sup>86</sup>	13	49	18	80
2nd Brigade—Crook	2,005	8	58	7	73
11th OH	430 <sup>87</sup>	4	12	5	21
28th OH	775	2	19	0	21
36th OH	800	2	21	2	25
Artillery	246	0	6	0	6
1st Battery, OH Light		0	0	0	0
Simmonds's Battery, KY Light		0	6	0	6
12th Corps—Mansfield	8,020	275	1,386	85	1,746 (22%)
1st Division—Williams	4,735	159	864	54	1,077 (23%)
1st Brigade—Crawford	2,525	88	315	27	430
10th ME	297 <sup>88</sup>	21	50	1	72
28th NY	68	2	9	1	12
46th PA	150	6	13	0	19
124th PA	700	5	42	17	64
125th PA	700	28	115	2	145
128th PA	700	26	86	6	118
3rd Brigade—Gordon	2,210	71	548	27	646
27th IN	443 <sup>89</sup>	18	191	0	209
3rd WI	345 <sup>90</sup>	27	173	0	200
2nd MA	220 <sup>91</sup>	12	58	3	73 <sup>92</sup>
13th NJ	600 <sup>93</sup>	7	75	19	101
107th NY	600	7	51	5	63
2nd Division—Greene	2,577	114	507	30	651 (25%)
1st Brigade—Tyndale	1,213	61	308	7	376
5th OH	171 <sup>94</sup>	11	35	2	48
7th OH	156 <sup>95</sup>	5	33	0	38
66th OH	120 <sup>96</sup>	1	23	0	24
28th PA	766 <sup>97</sup>	44	217	5	266
2nd Brigade—Stainrook	587	32	128	16	176
3rd MD	148 <sup>98</sup>	1	25	3	29
102nd NY	196 <sup>99</sup>	5	27	5	37
111th PA	243 <sup>100</sup>	26	76	8	110

(continued)

	Sept. 17 strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
3rd Brigade—Goodrich	777	21	71	7	99
60th NY	231 <sup>101</sup>	4	18	0	22
78th NY	221 <sup>102</sup>	8	19	7	34
3rd DE	120 <sup>103</sup>	6	11	0	17
Purnell Legion	205 <sup>104</sup>	3	23	0	26
Artillery—Best	708 <sup>105</sup>	1	15	1	17
Battery M, 1st NY Light	124	0	6	0	6
Battery F, 4th U.S.	98	0	0	0	0
4th Battery, ME Light	104	0	0	0	0
6th Battery, ME Light	85	0	0	0	0
10th Battery, NY Light	117	0	0	0	0
Battery E, PA Light	101	1	6	1	8
Battery F, PA Light	79	0	3	0	3
Cavalry Division—Pleasanton	4,543 <sup>106</sup>	6	23	0	29
1st Brigade—Whiting					
5th U.S.		0	1	0	1
2nd Brigade—Farnsworth		0	6	0	6
8th IL		0	1	0	1
3rd IN		0	5	0	5
3rd Brigade—Rush		3	10	0	13
4th PA		3	7	0	10
6th PA		0	3	0	3
Horse Artillery	451	3	6	0	9
Battery A, 2nd U.S.		1	3	0	4
Battery M, 2nd U.S.		2	3	0	5
Independent—15th PA Cavalry		1	0	0	1
<b>Sept. 17 strength and losses</b>	72,199	2,108	9,549	753	12,410 (17%)
<b>Sept. 18 reinforcements</b>	14,219				

Note: Where cells are blank, no data could be found.

1. These figures are for the numbers of men carried into action. To arrive at an estimate of the aggregate amount present, add 17%.

2. *OR* 19, 1:234.

3. All strengths for Phelps's brigade, except the 2nd U.S. Sharpshooters, are from the New York State Military Museum and Veterans Research Center website, <https://museum.dmna.ny.gov/unit-history/conflict/us-civil-war-1861-1865/> [accessed Oct. 2017].

4. Edwin H. Chadwick to Dear Friends, Sept. 25, 1862, ANBL.

5. "From the XXth Regiment," in *Kingston (NY) Democratic Journal*, Oct. 1, 1862. In his after-action report, Lt. Col. Theodore Gates estimated his strength at about 150. See *OR* 19, 1:246.

6. Carman's notes on a letter from John Borleau, 23rd NY, AS.

7. Carman, 572.

8. Carman, 572.

9. Letter from Capt. George B. Ely, in Quiner, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, 307.

10. Dawes, *Service*, 92.

11. *OR* 19, 1:258.

12. The strength has been derived by subtracting the known strength of the 2nd, 6th, and 7th WI from Carman's reported strength for the brigade.

13. *OR* 19, 1:262.

14. Lt. Rush P. Cady to Uncle Gustavus, Sept. 25, 1862, Rush Cady letters, Hamilton College Library digital collections, <http://elib.hamilton.edu/cady/> [accessed Nov. 2017].

15. The strength is an estimate from Ricketts's report that he carried 3,158 men into action, after deducting the strengths of Hartsuff's and Duryée's brigades.

16. 88th PA, AS.

17. 90th PA, AS.

18. Carman gave their strength as 1,100. See Carman, 64.

19. Carman, 83.

20. Warren H. Freeman to Father, Sept. 21, 1862, in Warren H. Freeman, *Letters from Two Brothers Serving in the War for the Union to Their Family at Home in West Cambridge, Mass.* (Cambridge, MA: H. O. Houghton, 1871), 52.

21. Locke, *Story*, 130.

22. Griffin Baldwin gave the regiment's strength as 167 muskets. Adding an estimate of 13 officers raises the regiment's strength to 180. See Griffin L. Baldwin to Gould, Nov. 5, 1893, GP.

23. Alexander Murdoch to Gould, Dec. 30, 1892, GP.

24. Carman, 573.

(continued)

25. Carman, 574.
26. Carman, 574.
27. For both the 63rd and 69th NY, see Carman, 573.
28. *OR* 19, 1:298.
29. Carman, 574.
30. *OR* 19, 1:301.
31. *OR* 19, 1:303. Capt. Charles B. Curtis, Company A, gave the strength as 325. See Curtis to Friend Cleveland, Sept. 17, 1862, in *Yates County Chronicle* (Penn-Yan, NY), Oct. 2, 1862.
32. *Delaware State Journal and Statesman* (Wilmington), Sept. 26, 1862. Carman gave the strength as 310. See Carman, 574. The *Delaware Republican* (Wilmington), Sept. 25, 1862, listed the strength of the 2nd DE as approximately 400.
33. Carman, 574.
34. Carman, 574.
35. Attached to the 15th MA.
36. Attached to the 1st MN.
37. Carman, 574. Edward Chapin gave the strength as 574, but this probably did not include officers. See Edward Chapin diary, quoted in Olney, "Chapin," 450.
38. Return Ira Holcombe, *History of the First Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, 1861–1864* (Stillwater, MN: Easton & Masterman, 1916), 221.
39. The strengths for all of Howard's regiments are from ANBL regimental files for the 69th, 71st, 72nd, and 106th PA.
40. Frederick Oesterle, in Jack Dempsey and Brian James Egan, *Michigan at Antietam* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2015), 98, gave the strength as 636. "7th Michigan at Antietam," *Detroit Free Press*, Sept. 27, 1862, 3, listed the strength as 363.
41. Waitt, *History*, 147, gave the strength as 347.
42. Edward T. Henry [Company K] letter, Oct. 2, 1862, 132nd PA file, ANBL.
43. *Western Sun* (Vincennes, IN), Sept. 26, 1862.
44. *OR* 19, 1:330.
45. Carman, 575. Sgt. Calvin Bell gave the strength of the regiment as "only about two hundred and fifty." See Bell to Father and Mother, Oct. 13, 1862, in Calvin Bell's widow's file, Case Files of Approved Pension Applications of Widows and Other Veterans of the Army and Navy, RG 15, NA.
46. 130th PA file, ANBL.
47. Carman, 576.
48. H. Goddard, *Good Fight*, 58.
49. Seville, *History*, 51.
50. 5th MD file, ANBL.
51. 4th NY file, ANBL.
52. This is the aggregate of those present from the Sept. 20 return. To arrive at a combat strength, deduct 17% for non-combat and detached personnel. See *OR* 19, 2:336.
53. GBM gave Porter's strength as 12,930 on Sept. 17, but this was an aggregate. With Humphreys's 3rd Division, Porter's strength was about 16,000 on Sept. 18.
54. Morell's fighting strength was probably slightly less than this, since some strength figures are from the Sept. 1 return.
55. This is the strength of the 2nd U.S. Sharpshooters on Sept. 1. It was probably slightly smaller on Sept. 17 and during the operations near Shepherdstown on Sept. 19 and 20. See *OR* 12, 3:795.
56. *OR* 12, 3:795. The 2nd Company MA Sharpshooters probably only numbered about 20 to 30 men.
57. All the strengths for Barnes's regiments, except the 118th PA, are from a Sept. 1 strength report. Based on Barnes's report of a strength of 1,711 men on Sept. 20, we know that all the numbers for veteran regiments were slightly less than those given here. See *OR* 12, 3:795.
58. This regiment was added to the brigade after the Sept. 1 strength return was compiled. Its strength is unknown, but the 2nd DC probably was similar in size to the other regiments in the brigade.
59. Griffin's numbers are from his Sept. 1 strength report and were almost certainly slightly less on Sept. 17 and during the operations at Shepherdstown on Sept. 19 and 20. See *OR* 12, 3:795. The 2nd DC was not attached to the brigade when this report was made, and their strength is estimated at 300.
60. An estimate for the 20th ME would be 800, and 20 to 30 for the MI Sharpshooter company.
61. This is an estimate, based on the average for the other five regiments.
62. Carman, 577.
63. On Sept. 21, Sgt. Charles T. Bowen wrote that the two battalions of the 1/12th U.S. Infantry would not number over 500 men. See C. Bowen, *Dear Friends*, 150.
64. The strengths for the 14th and 4th U.S. are from Carman, 577.
65. Arrived Sept. 18. Not engaged at Antietam.
66. *OR* 19, 2:336.
67. [Lt. Col.] Frank Palmer to Carman, Oct. 19, 1899, stated that the 16th NY lost heavily at Crampton's Gap, but their strength had been greatly recovered by a large number of recruits who reached the regiment on Sept. 15.
68. Carman gave the strength of the 6th Corps' artillery at 21 officers and 880 enlisted men. This amounts to an average of 129 men per battery.
69. The strengths for Hancock's and Brooks's brigades are estimates, after deducting for casualties at Crampton's Gap.
70. Thomas Hyde to Gen. Hodson, Sept. 22, 1862, 7th ME Correspondence, Adjutant General Records, MNSA.
71. The strengths for the 20th, 33rd, and 49th NY are all from Carman, 578.
72. Robert F. Morrow Jr., *77th New York Volunteers* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Books, 2004), 60.
73. All figures for Christ's brigade are from Carman, 579.
74. All strengths for Welch's brigade are from Carman, 579, except for the 46th NY, which is from *OR* 19, 1:442.
75. Carman, 580.
76. *Peterborough (NH) Transcript*, Sept. 27, 1862. The source is Capt. J. A. Cummings. Carman gave their strength at 150, but this is almost certainly too high.
77. Figures for both the 9th NH and the 21st MA are from Carman, 580.
78. All figures for Ferrero's brigade are from Carman, 580.
79. Carman gave the strength as 241 for the two batteries, but C. Johnson and Anderson, in *Artillery Hell*, 77–78, show that their strength on the Sept. 22 muster was 5 officers and 177 men. They incurred only 3 casualties in battle.
80. Fairchild's regimental strengths are from Carman, 581.
81. The strengths for the 8th and 16th CT and the 4th RI are from Carman, 581.
82. This is Carman's strength for the regiment. The *Morning Bulletin* (Norwich, CT), Sept. 27, 1862, listed the regiment's strength as 440 on the morning of Sept. 14. Lt. George W. Davis, the regiment's quartermaster, gave it as 550 on Sept. 17, however. See "The Statement of an Eyewitness of the Late Battles," *New York Tribune*, Sept. 22, 1862.
83. L. Gordon, "All Who Went," 177. Deserters made up 19 of the missing, and the balance were captured. The officially reported losses of the 16th CT were 42 killed, 143 wounded, and 0 missing.
84. *OR* 19, 1:466.
85. Carman, 582.
86. Carman, 581.

(continued)

87. All figures for Crook's brigade are from Carman, 582.

88. All strengths are from Carman, 583. He estimated those of the 124th, 125th, and 128th PA at 670 each. I have rounded this number up to 700.

89. "3rd WI Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=102/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=102/) [accessed Nov. 2017]. This website maintains a database of known participants in the battle.

90. Quiner, *Correspondence*, vol. 3, 61.

91. C. Mills, *Trough Blood and Fire*, 32.

92. Estimate for the 13th NJ and the 107th NY have been arrived at by subtracting the strength of three veteran regiments from Gordon's stated strength for the brigade.

93. This includes the Zouaves d'Afrique, a Pennsylvania independent company attached to the 2nd MA. This company had 2 wounded and 1 missing.

94. Carman gave the combined strength for these three regiments as 425. The strength of the 5th OH has been derived by subtracting the known strength of the 7th and 66th OH from this figure. Daniel McCloud in Company D wrote that the regimental strength was 270. See McCloud [5th OH] to Gould, n.d., GP. Sgt. Martin Barringer, Company I, noted that the regiment only had about 100 men reporting for duty. See Barringer to Gould, Mar. 10, 1892, GP.

95. *Jefferson (OH) Democrat*, n.d., ANBL.

96. John A. Purinton to Mr. Saxton, Sept. 18, 1862, in *Urbana (OH) Citizen and Gazette*, Oct. 2, 1862. Purinton was a commissary sergeant.

Also see Eugene Powell to Gould, Nov. 18, 1893, who gave the strength as 98.

97. The strength has been arrived at by subtracting the strengths of the Ohio regiments from Carman's stated brigade strength.

98. *OR* 19, 1:511.

99. Capt. Aaron P. Bates to Gould, Mar. 18, 1892. Bates wrote that the regiment mustered 1 field officer, 10 line officers, and 148 enlisted men on Sept. 18, with 5 killed, 27 wounded, and 5 missing, which gives a Sept. 17 strength of 196.

100. John R. Boyle, *Soldiers True*, 61. Private Lemuel H. Hitchcock, in a Sept. 22 letter to his father, gave the regiment's engaged strength as 215. See *Windham (NY) Journal*, Oct. 9, 1862.

101. The strength has been arrived at by subtracting the known strength of the other three regiments in the brigade from Carman's stated brigade strength.

102. "78th NY Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=422/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=422/) [accessed Nov. 2017].

103. "78th NY Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=422/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=422/) [accessed Nov. 2017].

104. Carman, 158.

105. The strengths for all of the 12th Corps' batteries are from C. Johnson and Anderson, *Artillery Hell*, 81–82.

106. This strength is from the September 20 return. See *OR* 19, 2:336.

## Strength and Casualties—Army of Northern Virginia

Command/division/brigade	Strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
T. J. "Stonewall" Jackson	9,365	427	1,942	109	2,478 (26%)
Lawton	3,723	196	1,096	69	1,361 (37%)
Douglass	1,150 <sup>2</sup>	106	438 <sup>3</sup>	21	565
13th GA	330 <sup>4</sup>	48	166	2	216
26th GA		6	49	6	61
31st GA		6	42	5	53
38th GA		18	52	1	71
60th GA		12	48	0	60
61st GA	350 <sup>5</sup>	16	81	7	104
Early	1,100	18	167	9	194
13th VA		0	5	0	5
25th VA		3	20	0	23
31st VA		1	7	0	8
44th VA		2	32	0	34
49th VA		8	69	8	85
52nd VA		4	24	1	29
58th VA		0	10	0	10
Hays	550 <sup>6</sup>	44	281	31	356
5th LA	100 <sup>7</sup>	9	40	5 <sup>8</sup>	54
6th LA		11	41	6 <sup>9</sup>	58
7th LA		11	56	9 <sup>10</sup>	76
8th LA		7	96	11 <sup>11</sup>	114
14th LA		6	47	0	53
J. A. Walker	700	26	192	8	226
15th AL		8	65	6	79
12th GA		13	45	1	59
21st GA		3	64	0	67
21st NC		2	16	1	19
Lawton Artillery (Courtney)	223	2	20	0	22
D'Aquin		1	8	0	9
J. R. Johnson		1	10	0	11
Garber		0	2	0	2
Latimer		0	0	0	0
Dement		0	0	0	0
J. R. Jones	2,435 <sup>12</sup>	162	492	33	687 (28%)
Grigsby	400 <sup>13</sup>	20	119	0	139
4th VA		3	21	0	24
5th VA	230 <sup>14</sup>	11	77	0	88
27th VA		3	5	0	8
33rd VA		3	16	0	19
Penn	300 <sup>15</sup>	18 <sup>16</sup>	15	2	35
21st VA		9	8	2	19
42nd VA	120 <sup>17</sup>	5	4	0	9
48th VA		3	1	0	4
1st VA Battalion		1	2	0	3

(continued)



Command/division/brigade	Strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
J. W. Jackson	500	41 <sup>18</sup>	132	0	173
47th AL	115 <sup>19</sup>	10	53	0	63
48th AL		10	32	0	42
23rd VA	120 <sup>20</sup>	9	29	0	38
37th VA		12	36	0	48
10th VA <sup>21</sup>					
Starke	925 <sup>22</sup>	81	189	30 <sup>23</sup>	300
1st LA	250 <sup>24</sup>	16	45	10	71
2nd LA	120 <sup>25</sup>	21	41	3 <sup>26</sup>	65
9th LA		25	57	7 <sup>27</sup>	89
10th LA	218 <sup>28</sup>	16	34	7	57
15th LA		3	12	3 <sup>29</sup>	18
1st LA Battalion <sup>30</sup>	12				
Jones Artillery (Shumaker)	310	2	37	1	40 <sup>31</sup>
Carpenter		1	5	0	6
J. B. Brockenbrough		0	8	0	8
Wooding		1	13	1	15
Raine		0	5	0	5
Poague		0	6	0	6
A. P. Hill	3,207 <sup>32</sup>	69	354	7	430 <sup>33</sup> (13%)
Pender	410	2	28	0	30
16th NC					
22nd NC					
34th NC					
38th NC					
Archer	350 <sup>34</sup>	15	90	0	105 <sup>35</sup>
19th GA					
1st TN	400 <sup>36</sup>				
7th TN	150 <sup>37</sup>				
14th TN	300 <sup>38</sup>				
5th AL Battalion <sup>39</sup>					
J. M. Brockenbrough	410	0	0	0	0
40th VA					
47th VA					
55th VA					
22nd VA Battalion					
Gregg	800 <sup>40</sup>	28 <sup>41</sup>	135	2	165
1st SC Provisional Army	140 <sup>42</sup>	4	30	0	34
1st SC Rifles	194 <sup>43</sup>	3	9	0	12
12th SC	162 <sup>44</sup>	20	82	2	104
13th SC		1	14	0	15
14th SC		0	0	0	0
Thomas					
14th GA					
35th GA					

(continued)

Strength and Casualties—Army of Northern Virginia (*continued*)

Command/division/brigade	Strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
35th GA					
49th GA					
L. O. Branch	900 <sup>45</sup>	20	79	4	103 <sup>46</sup>
7th NC					
18th NC	50 <sup>47</sup>				
28th NC	300 <sup>48</sup>				
33rd NC					
37th NC					
Artillery (R. L. Walker)	337	4	22	1	27 <sup>49</sup>
Crenshaw		1	4	0	5
Braxton		1	2	1	4
McIntosh		1	2	0	3
Pegram		1	13	0	14
Longstreet	10,069	512	2,448	313	3,273 (33%)
D. R. Jones	3,457	103	656	48	807 (23%)
Kemper	434	11	88	10	109 <sup>50</sup>
1st VA	45 <sup>51</sup>	0	8	0	8
7th VA	117 <sup>52</sup>	2	10	0	12
11th VA	111	3	38	0	41
17th VA	55 <sup>53</sup>	8	23	10 <sup>54</sup>	41
24th VA	106	0	2	0	2
Drayton	710 <sup>55</sup>	32	106	4	142 <sup>56</sup>
15th SC	270	13	43	0	56
3rd SC Battalion	37	0	1	1	2
50th GA	98	2	22	3	27 <sup>57</sup>
51st GA	99				18
Phillips (GA) Legion	206				35
Garnett	242 <sup>58</sup>	9	69	0	78 <sup>59</sup>
8th VA	22 <sup>60</sup>				11 <sup>61</sup>
18th VA	75 <sup>62</sup>	4	27	0	31
19th VA	50 <sup>63</sup>				8
28th VA	55 <sup>64</sup>	2	18	0	20 <sup>65</sup>
56th VA	40 <sup>66</sup>	0	8	0	8
Toombs	641	16	117	25	158
2nd GA	120 <sup>67</sup>	6	28	8	42 <sup>68</sup>
20th GA	250	4	47	17	68 <sup>69</sup>
15th GA	115 <sup>70</sup>	6	30	0	36
17th GA	156 <sup>71</sup>	0	12	0	12
G. T. Anderson	597 <sup>72</sup>	8	77	2	87
1st GA Regulars					
7th GA					
8th GA					
9th GA					
11th GA					

(continued)

Command/division/brigade	Strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
Jenkins (J. Walker)	755 <sup>73</sup>	26	195	6	227 <sup>74</sup>
Palmetto Sharpshooters	189	9	55	0	64
5th SC	108	5	28	0	33
6th SC	145	8	56	0	64
2nd SC Rifles	106	2	39	0	41
1st SC	106	2	16	0	18
Artillery					
Brown	81	1	4	1	6
Hood	2,304	174	747	87 <sup>75</sup>	1,008 (44%)
Law	1,146	50	379	25	454 <sup>76</sup> (40%)
4th AL	270 <sup>77</sup>				
6th NC		8	105	0	113 <sup>78</sup>
11th MS					
2nd MS					
Wofford	854 <sup>79</sup>	118	357	32	562 <sup>80</sup> (66%)
18th GA	176	27	64	3	94 <sup>81</sup>
Hampton (SC) Legion	77				55 <sup>82</sup>
1st TX	226	50	132	4	186 <sup>83</sup>
4th TX	200	25	86	20	131 <sup>84</sup>
5th TX	175	16	75	5	96 <sup>85</sup>
Artillery (Frobel)	304	6	11	0	17
Garden		1	10	0	11 <sup>86</sup>
Reilly		3	0	0	3 <sup>87</sup>
Bachman	115	2	1	0	3
Evans	365 <sup>88</sup>	13	60	11	84 <sup>89</sup>
17th SC	59 <sup>90</sup>	4	12	3	19 <sup>91</sup>
18th SC	50 <sup>92</sup>	1	13	5	19 <sup>93</sup>
22nd SC	50	0	4	2	6 <sup>94</sup>
23rd SC	50	6	6	1	13
Holcombe Legion	41 <sup>95</sup>	0	6	0	6
Boyce	115	2	17	0	19 <sup>96</sup>
R. H. Anderson	3,712	210	896	165	1,271 (34%)
Cumming	500–550 est.	34+	191+	29+	272 <sup>97</sup>
8th AL					78 <sup>98</sup>
9th AL	120 <sup>99</sup>	8	42	9	59 <sup>100</sup>
10th AL	130 <sup>101</sup>				100 <sup>102</sup>
11th AL	200 <sup>103</sup>				35 <sup>104</sup>
Wright	466	47	200	33	280 <sup>105</sup>
3rd GA	138 <sup>106</sup>	23	68	5	96 <sup>107</sup>
22nd GA	72 <sup>108</sup>	2	25	8	35 <sup>109</sup>
48th GA	118 <sup>110</sup>	9	43	14	66 <sup>111</sup>
44th AL	138 <sup>112</sup>	13	64	6	83 <sup>113</sup>
Parham	82	3	18	3	24
6th VA					

(continued)

Strength and Casualties—Army of Northern Virginia (*continued*)

Command/division/brigade	Strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
12th VA					
16th VA					
41st VA					
Posey	700	45	224	28	297
12th MS	170 <sup>114</sup>	6	39	6	51 <sup>115</sup>
16th MS	228 <sup>116</sup>	27	100	20	147 <sup>117</sup>
19th MS		7	30	2	39 <sup>118</sup>
2nd MS Battalion		5	55	0	60 <sup>119</sup>
Pryor	855	71	223	70	365
2nd FL	240 <sup>120</sup>	14	29	19	62 <sup>121</sup>
5th FL	240	30	93	36	159 <sup>122</sup>
8th FL	125	19	53	10	82 <sup>123</sup>
3rd VA	50	4	9	0	13 <sup>124</sup>
14th AL	200	8	41	0	49 <sup>125</sup>
Armistead	735 <sup>126</sup>	5	29	1	35
9th VA					
14th VA					
38th VA					
53rd VA					
57th VA					
Artillery (Saunders)	328	5	11	0	16 <sup>127</sup>
Maurin		0	0	0	0
Huger		1	2	0	3
Moorman		1	7	0	8
Grimes		3	2	0	5
Reserve Artillery	596	12+	89+	2	103+
Washington (LA) Artillery	278	4	27	2	33
Squires		1	12	0	13
Richardson		1	5	0	6
Miller		2	10	2	14
Eshleman		0	0	0	0
S. D. Lee's Battalion	318	8+	62+	0	70+ <sup>128</sup>
Woolfolk					
Jordan		1	2	0	3
Elliot		0	18	0	18
Eubank					
Moody		4	24	0	28
Parker		3	18	0	21
Army Reserve					
McLaws	3,264	161	934	26	1,121 (34%)
Semmes	787	53	251	6	310 <sup>129</sup>
10th GA	148 <sup>130</sup>	16	67	0	83
32nd VA	158 <sup>131</sup>	15	57	0	72
15th VA	128 <sup>132</sup>	11	64	0	75
53rd GA	276 <sup>133</sup>	11	63	6	80

(continued)

Command/division/brigade	Strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
Kershaw	936 <sup>134</sup>	53	282	6	341
2nd SC	253	17	77	0	94 <sup>135</sup>
3rd SC	266	11	71	2	84
7th SC	268	23	117	0	140
8th SC	71	2	17	4	23
Barksdale	891 <sup>136</sup>	32	256	4	292
13th MS	202	6	54	2	62
17th MS	270	9	77	2	88
18th MS	186	11	69	0	80
21st MS	200	6	56	0	61
Cobb (Sanders)	400	16	121	10	147
16th GA		5	21	0	26
24th GA		4	39	2	45
Cobb's (GA) Legion		4	9	0	13
15th NC		3	52	8	63
Artillery (Cabell)	250 <sup>137</sup>	7	24	0	31
Read	78	4	10	0	14
Manly		0	4	0	4
Macon		1	1	0	2
Carlton	27	1	8	0	9
McCarthy	33	1	1	0	2
J. G. Walker	3,946	184	839	97 <sup>138</sup>	1,120 (28%)
Ransom	1,600	41	141	4	186 <sup>139</sup>
24th NC		20	44	0	64
25th NC		2	13	0	15
35th NC		3	23	0	26
49th NC		16	61	0	77
Walker (Manning)	2,164	140	684	93	917 <sup>140</sup>
27th NC	325 <sup>141</sup>	31	168	3	202 <sup>142</sup>
46th NC	320	5	60	0	65 <sup>143</sup>
48th NC	907	31	186	0	217 <sup>144</sup>
30th VA	262	39	121	0	160
3rd AR	350 <sup>145</sup>	27	155	33	215 <sup>146</sup>
Artillery	230	3	14	0	17 <sup>147</sup>
T. B. French		1	1	0	2
J. Branch		2	13	0	15
D. H. Hill	5,845	368+	1,439 <sup>148</sup>	519 <sup>149</sup>	2,326 (40%)
Garland (McRae)	756	9	42	32	84 <sup>150</sup>
5th NC					
12th NC					
13th NC					
20th NC					
23rd NC					
G. B. Anderson	1,174	102	218	205	525
2nd NC	255 <sup>151</sup>	29	32	53	114 <sup>152</sup>
4th NC	194	5	23	29	57 <sup>153</sup>

(continued)

Strength and Casualties—Army of Northern Virginia (*continued*)

Command/division/brigade	Strength <sup>1</sup>	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
14th NC	475	52	123	103	278 <sup>154</sup>
30th NC	250	16	40	20	76 <sup>155</sup>
Ripley	1,349 <sup>156</sup>	114+	277+	22	743
1st NC	315	50	75	21	146 <sup>157</sup>
3rd NC	547				330 <sup>158</sup>
4th GA	325 <sup>159</sup>	38	134	0	172 <sup>160</sup>
44th GA	162	26	68	1	95 <sup>161</sup>
Rodes	850	45	150	24	219 <sup>162</sup>
field and staff		0	3	0	3
3rd AL	100 <sup>163</sup>	2	16	2	20
5th AL		4	13	2	19
6th AL	265 <sup>164</sup>	25	60	13	98
12th AL		12	48	6	66
26th AL		2	10	1	13
Colquitt	1,370	95+	179+	30+	718
6th GA	300	81	115	30	226 <sup>165</sup>
23rd GA	150 <sup>166</sup>	14	64	0	78 <sup>167</sup>
27th GA	400 <sup>168</sup>				154 <sup>169</sup>
28th GA	220 <sup>170</sup>				110 <sup>171</sup>
13th AL	300 <sup>172</sup>				150 <sup>173</sup>
Artillery (Pierson)	346	3	45	1	49 <sup>174</sup>
Bondurant		1	8	0	9
W. B. Jones	52	1	25	0	26
Carter		1	3	1	5
Hardaway		0	9	0	9
Stuart	4,500	10	28	11	49
Hampton					
F. Lee					
Munford					
Artillery					
Reserve Artillery (Pendleton)	621	4	47	0	51
Cutts	319	2	32	0	34 <sup>175</sup>
Blackshear		1	7	0	8
Lane		0	2	0	2
Lloyd					
Patterson		1	5	0	6
Ross		0	18	0	18
H. P. Jones	302	2	15	0	17 <sup>176</sup>
Page		2	7	0	9
Peyton		0	8	0	8
Turner					
Wimbish					
<b>Army Total</b>	<b>37,610</b>	<b>1,666</b>	<b>7,677</b>	<b>1,075</b>	<b>10,418 (28%)</b>

(continued)

Note: Where cells are blank, no data could be found.

1. Unless otherwise noted, all strength and loss figures are from Carman, 585–611.
2. *OR* 19, 1:968
3. *Columbus (GA) Enquirer*, Oct. 8, 1862. A writer from the regiment, in a Sept. 22 letter in the *Daily Morning News* (Savannah), Oct. 4, 1862, gave the regiment's strength as 230. He added that just 15 men came out of the battle, and that the brigade numbered only 95 men after the action that morning. He also mentioned that the regiment lost their flag, because "no one was left to bear it away."
4. F. N. Graves to Carman, Feb. 26, 1895, map, AS.
5. Carman gave the number of wounded as 440, which probably included Douglass and a staff officer.
6. *OR* 19, 1:968.
7. *Memphis (TN) Daily Appeal*, Oct. 11, 1862, 2.
8. "15th Louisiana Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=567&from=results/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=567&from=results/) [accessed Feb. 2021], lists 5 unwounded POWs. The official return gave 0 missing.
9. "6th Louisiana Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=710/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=710/) [accessed Feb. 2021], lists 6 unwounded plus 7 wounded POWs. The official return gave 0 missing.
10. "7th Louisiana Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=716/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=716/) [accessed Feb. 2021], lists 9 unwounded POWs. The official return gave 2 missing.
11. "8th Louisiana Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=725/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=725/) [accessed Feb. 2021]. The official return listed 0 missing.
12. Jones gave his strength as 1,600. See *OR* 19, 1:1008. Carman estimated the division's strength, including the artillery, at 2,094. See Carman, 595.
13. This is an estimate. Carman gave Grigsby's and Penn's brigades a combined strength of 450, but based on the two regimental strengths we have data on, this seems low. In the case of Grigsby, if each of the regiments other than the 5th VA averaged only about 50 men—a reasonable number, given how small many of these units were—we would arrive at a strength of approximately 400.
14. H. Williams to Carman, Mar. 2, 1895, AS.
15. The same formula used for Grigsby (see note 13) has been applied to Penn. This would give a strength of 270, and I have rounded this number up to 300. For Carman's estimate of a combined strength of 450 to work, it would mean that the six regiments/battalion in Grigsby's and Penn's brigades that we do not have strength figures for averaged only 16 men each.
16. Fleming Saunders to Mother, Sept. 20, 1862, 42nd VA file, ANBL.
17. Penn's brigade made no casualty report. All known losses are from "Jones' Brigade," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=65&from=results/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=65&from=results/) [accessed Feb. 2021], which maintains a database of known participants in the battle. The only wounded listed for the 42nd and 48th VA and the 1st VA Battalion were those who died of their injuries. The actual losses for the brigade in wounded men and POWs is definitely higher than these numbers.
18. Detached with the 2nd VA at Martinsburg and not present at Sharpsburg. Col. Edward T. H. Warren was detached with his regiment, so Col. Jackson commanded the brigade at Antietam.
19. See 47th AL file, ANBL. The regiment mustered 17 men, commanded by a sergeant, on the morning of Sept. 18.
20. "23rd Virginia Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=617/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=617/) [accessed Feb. 2021].
21. *OR* 19, 1:1009. The brigade probably had some missing or captured men who were not included on the casualty returns.
22. The battalion did not report its losses independently. Because of its size, it was probably attached to one of the other regiments.
23. Carman gave Starke's strength as 650, but based on the strengths we know for three of the regiments and the one battalion, this would have meant that the two remaining regiments, combined, only had about 50 men. Given that the 9th LA incurred 89 casualties, the figure of 650 cannot be correct. Based on the percentage of casualties versus engaged strength, the 9th LA probably had 250 to 300 men, and the 15th LA, around 75. W. E. Moore in the 1st LA wrote to Carman that the brigade had 1,400 to 1,500 men, which is too high. If the 9th LA had 300 men, the brigade's strength would be about 975.
24. Starke's brigade folder, AS. The strength comes from a letter to Carman from W. E. Moore in the 1st LA, in "Starke's Brigade," Starke's brigade folder, AS. Moore said that the 2nd, 10th, and 15th LA were all larger than the 1st LA. W. C. Harris to Carman, in "Starke's Brigade," Starke's brigade folder, AS, said the 2nd LA did not muster over 120 men.
25. Starke's brigade folder, AS.
26. N. Bartlett, *Military Record*, 43.
27. *OR* 19, 1:1015, noted that only 17 men were missing or captured, but personnel database records in "Starke's Brigade," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=111&from=results/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=111&from=results/) [accessed Feb. 2021], fill in some of the POWs for the regiments who reported none. The number of missing or captured men is probably higher than 30.
28. "2nd Louisiana Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=634/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=634/) [accessed Feb. 2021].
29. "2nd Louisiana Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=634/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=634/) [accessed Feb. 2021].
30. "2nd Louisiana Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=634/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=634/) [accessed Feb. 2021].
31. All of Jones's divisional artillery losses are from C. Johnson and Anderson, *Artillery Hell*, 95–96.
32. Carman gave A. P. Hill's engaged strength at Antietam as 2,000 enlisted men, 231 officers, and 337 artillery, but there is no evidence in Hill's report that he deducted officers from his estimate of his infantry strength in the three brigades he engaged. He left Thomas's brigade at Harpers Ferry. The five other brigades, with a total strength of 2,050, thus have an average strength of approximately 410 per brigade. Applying this questionable estimate to Pender's and Brockenbrough's brigades, plus the artillerymen, has produced the number for Hill's approximate total strength.
33. *OR* 19, 1:983. Hill's casualty report tallied 389 men who were either killed or wounded, which does not agree with the statistics his brigades reported and omits his artillery losses. No missing are reported, although there undoubtedly had been a small number.
34. Not present at Sharpsburg. Left at Harpers Ferry.
35. *OR* 19, 1:1000. This was Archer's estimate for his engaged strength. The strength numbers that Turney, Howard, and McComb gave Carman are probably regimental strengths, after stragglers from the march rejoined the brigade. Thus, while Archer was engaged with only 350 men, he may have had nearly 1,000 by nightfall.
36. [Col.] Peter Turney to Carman, Aug. 4, 1898, AS.
37. [Lieut.] George A. Howard, adjut. to Carman, Aug. 12, 1898, AS.
38. William McComb to Carman, Aug. 5, 1898, AS.
39. *OR* 19, 1:1001.
40. Alexander C. Haskell to Carman, June 16, 1896, AS. Haskell was the chief of staff for Gen. Gregg.
41. Sgt. Maj. W. L. Delph to Carman, July 26, 1898, AS. Delph also gave the regiment's casualties as 34 killed or wounded.
42. *OR* 19, 1:995.
43. Maj. W. H. McCorkle to Carman, Mar. 2, 1895, AS.
44. All losses for Gregg are from *OR* 19, 1:989.

(continued)



45. This is an estimate, based on A. P. Hill's statement that his three engaged brigades numbered 2,000 effectives. Gregg had 800, and Archer 350, which gives Branch approximately 900.

46. The strength is from Lt. Iowa M. Royster, quoted in Hardy, *General Lee's Immortals*, 89.

47. Maj. William J. Montgomery to Carman, Oct. 8, 1897, AS. 48. *OR* 19, 1:986.

49. All artillery losses are from C. Johnson and Anderson, *Artillery Hell*, 93–94.

50. Carman, 589. Carman added a ratio of 1 officer to 8½ enlisted men to the “muskets” strength of each regiment in the brigade, in order to arrive at a total strength.

51. David E. Johnston, *The Story of a Confederate Boy in the Civil War* (1914; repr., Ann Arbor: Univ. Microfilms, 1972), 149, a reprinting of D. Johnston, *Four Years*, copy in AS. In David Johnston to Henry Heth, Sept. 18, 1897, AS, Johnston gave the regiment's strength as 113 muskets. The number of officers is unknown. Carman listed the regiment's strength as only 43. See Carman, 589.

52. *OR* 19, 1:905.

53. *Richmond (VA) Enquirer*, Sept. 30, 1862.

54. These figures are probably low. A number of prisoners were known to have been taken by Fairchild's brigade.

55. J. Evans Edings diary, Edward Willis Papers, LC. Edings was the AAG for Drayton. All of his strengths figures are considerably higher than Carman's.

56. Kurt Graham shared the figures for losses in all of Drayton's regiments, except the 50th GA, with the author. Carman gave Drayton's losses as 32 killed, 106 wounded, and 3 missing or captured. See Carman, 603. The single difference is the number of missing or captured from the 3rd SC Battalion, which comes from Graham's research.

57. *Savannah Republican*, Oct. 1, 1862, 2. The article listed the regiment's strength as 200, but this probably was their South Mountain strength.

58. Carman estimated the brigade's strength as 261, because he believed the strength figures given by Garnett's regimental officers were for muskets, not officers and men. Carman may have been correct, but there is no evidence that the figures in the various reports and letters he received giving regimental strengths were for enlisted men only. Carman also estimated the 28th VA's strength at 47.

59. Capt. William N. Berkeley to wife, Sept. 25, 1862, 8th VA file, ANBL.

60. *OR* 19, 1:900.

61. *OR* 19, 1:901.

62. Frank E. Fields Jr., “The 28th Virginia Infantry Regiment, C.S.A.,” master's thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State Univ., 1984, 37. Fields estimates the regiment's strength at the Battle of South Mountain, where it had 41 casualties, as 96, giving it an estimated 55 men present at Sharpsburg.

63. *OR* 19, 1:904.

64. Carman gave Garnett's loss as 75. See Carman, 601.

65. All losses for Garnett are from *OR* 19, 1:898, 901, 902, 904.

66. *Lynchburg Virginian*, Oct. 2, 1862, ANBL, gave the losses for the Battles of South Mountain and Sharpsburg as 7 killed, 52 wounded, and 16 missing or captured.

67. Carman's notes on Toombs's brigade, AS. Capt. Abner M. Lewis, in his report, gave the engaged strength of the 2nd GA as 18 officers and 89 enlisted men, for a total of 107. Benning estimated the strength of the 20th GA as “no more than 250” in his official report (*OR* 51, 1:161) and as “about 220 or 230” in “Notes by General H. L. Benning,” 393. He also gave varying strengths for the 2nd GA in his two documents, first as “only 97,” and then as “120 or 130.”

68. *OR* 51, 1:166.

69. Carman, 590.

70. *OR* 51, 1:165.

71. *OR* 51, 1:168.

72. The 11th GA was detached, and their strength was not included in Carman's estimate.

73. *Charleston (SC) Mercury*, Oct. 3, 1862. All strength and casualty figures for the brigade are from this article.

74. The losses are from the *Charleston (SC) Mercury*, Oct. 3, 1862, although it did not report the number of missing. Col. Walker gave his brigade's losses as 26 killed, 184 wounded, and 6 missing. His casualty figures for all regiments were different from those reported in the *Mercury*. He gave the losses for the 1st SC as 4 killed and 36 wounded. Since the report in the *Mercury* almost certainly came from the brigade, it is difficult to discern which casualty report is more accurate. The figures of 0 missing from the *Mercury*'s report, and 6 missing from Walker's, are both suspiciously low, in light of the nature of the brigade's engagement. Walker reported that the 1st SC entered the battle with 106 officers and enlisted men and had 40 of them killed or wounded, yet it only mustered 1 officer and 15 men at the end of the engagement, which means that 50 were missing. These individuals may have rejoined the brigade before it recrossed the Potomac River, but Walker did not indicate that they did so.

75. Carman gave the numbers of missing or captured as 62 for Wofford and 25 for Law. See Carman, 605.

76. William Robbins to John Gould, Mar. 25, 1891, Law's brigade folder, AS.

77. *OR* 19, 1:925

78. *Hillsborough (NC) Recorder*, Oct. 8, 1862.

79. Wofford's brigade strength, and the strengths for all regiments except the 5th TX, are from *OR* 19, 1:929–935.

80. Hood gave the total loss for Wofford as 548, which would have included artillery. This broke down into 69 dead, 417 wounded, and 62 missing or captured. See *OR* 19, 1:925. Carman also gave the same figures for these losses. See Carman, 605.

81. “18th Georgia Infantry,” Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=580/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=580/) [accessed Feb. 2021]. The website's personnel database for the 18th GA shows 3 captured on Sept. 17.

82. Carman, 109.

83. Work, “1st Texas Regiment,” ANBL.

84. “4th Texas Infantry,” Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=685/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=685/) [accessed Feb. 2021]. I have counted “missing or wounded in action” as “wounded” for this calculation, in order to be consistent with how other units initially reported their casualties. Carman gave the 4th TX losses as 107. See Carman, 109.

85. “5th Texas Infantry,” Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=703/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=703/) [accessed Feb. 2021]. J. M. Smither to Gould, Feb. 26 and Mar. 24, 1891, GP, gave the losses as 86.

86. C. Johnson and Anderson, *Artillery Hell*, 89.

87. The figures for Reilly's and Bachman's casualties are those verified in “Hood's Division Artillery,” Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=187/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=187/) [accessed Feb. 2021]. They were probably higher than these numbers, however.

88. Carman gave the brigade's infantry strength as 284, but Col. McMaster in the 17th SC wrote that his regiment was the largest in the brigade, which would mean that, at best, the other regiments each had no more than 50 officers and men. See McMaster to D. H. Hill, July 11, 1888, D. H. Hill Papers, LV.

89. *OR* 19, 1:946.

90. The strengths for the 18th, 22nd, and 23rd SC are all estimates. See note 88.

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91. Col. F. W. McMaster gave the strength of his regiment as 59 and reported that his regiment and the Holcombe Legion numbered "about 100 men." See *OR* 19, 1:945.
92. Carman, 605. Carman's figures for the wounded, by regiment, were 2 less than what he recorded for the brigade.
93. *OR* 19, 1:946, 950. "17th South Carolina Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=577/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=577/) [accessed Feb. 2021], lists 8 killed for Sept. 16 and 17.
94. Carman, 605n19. This is an estimate that Carman arrived at by taking one-third of the losses reported for the regiment in the Maryland Campaign. His calculation seems logical, since Evans's regiments suffered most of their losses at the Battle of South Mountain. "18th South Carolina Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=583/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=583/) [accessed Feb. 2021], lists 4 killed on Sept. 17.
95. Carman, 605n19. Maj. Miel Hilton's after-action report, Oct. 15, 1862, ANBL, gave the total losses for three companies—A, B, and C—as 1 wounded. The final page of the report is missing. Based on the losses in these three companies, Carman's estimate appears to be correct. The roster for the "22nd South Carolina Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=612/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=612/) [accessed Feb. 2021], lists 4 killed for Sept. 17.
96. Carman, 605n19. This number may be low, particularly in the category for missing men.
97. H. Herbert, "History," 84.
98. *Richmond (VA) Whig*, Sept. 24, 1862.
99. H. L. Stevenson to R. D. Parker, Dec. 9, 1899, R. Parker Papers, CPL.
100. H. Herbert, "History," 84. Herbert gave the losses for the brigade as 215, but this figure is low, based on sources for each regiment. The minimum loss for the brigade should be 272. The figures shown in the table for those who were killed, wounded, and missing are from Carman, 602. They actually total 254.
101. H. Herbert, "History," 84.
102. *Richmond (VA) Whig*, Sept. 24, 1862.
103. "Tenth Alabama Infantry Regiment," ADAH, <http://www.archives.alabama.gov/referenc/alamilor/10thinf.html> [accessed Dec. 2017; internal web page link discontinued]. The losses were over 50%, but no specific percentage is given. "10th Alabama Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=537/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=537/) [accessed Feb. 2021], has an incomplete personnel database for the 10th AL, with 15 killed.
104. "Eleventh Alabama Infantry Regiment," ADAH, <http://www.archives.alabama.gov/referenc/alamilor/11thinf.html> [accessed Dec. 2017; internal web page link discontinued].
105. *Daily Constitutional* (Augusta, GA), Friday morning, [date missing but probably Oct. 17 or 24, 1862], ANBL; C to *Daily Constitutional* (Augusta, GA), Oct. 18, 1862, ANBL, listed the strength as 108.
106. *Daily Constitutional* (Augusta, GA), Friday morning, [date missing but probably Oct. 17 or 24, 1862], ANBL. *Rome (GA) Tri-Weekly Courier*, Oct. 14, 1862, listed the strength as 60.
107. *Daily Constitutional* (Augusta, GA), Friday morning, [date missing but probably Oct. 17 or 24, 1862], ANBL.
108. *Daily Constitutional* (Augusta, GA), Friday morning, [date missing but probably Oct. 17 or 24, 1862], ANBL.
109. Carman gave the brigade losses as 32 killed, 192 wounded, and 34 missing, for a total of 258. See Carman, 603. The Confederate official returns recorded these losses as 16 killed, 187 wounded, and 0 missing, for a total of 203 casualties.
110. American Civil War Research Database, <http://civilwardata.com> [requires a subscription; accessed Sept. 2020]. The *Daily Constitutional* (Augusta, GA), Friday morning, [date missing but probably Oct. 17 or 24, 1862], ANBL, gave the losses as 9 killed, 58 wounded, and 5 missing. With Confederate casualty figures, typically the highest reported loss is the most accurate.
111. *Daily Constitutional* (Augusta, GA), Friday morning, [date missing but probably Oct. 17 or 24, 1862], ANBL.
112. *Daily Constitutional* (Augusta, GA) Friday morning, [date missing but probably Oct. 17 or 24, 1862], ANBL. The American Civil War Research Database, <http://civilwardata.com> [requires a subscription; accessed Feb. 2021], gives the losses as 18 killed, 34 wounded, and 4 missing.
113. *Daily Constitutional* (Augusta, GA), Friday morning, [date missing but probably Oct. 17 or 24, 1862], ANBL. "44th Alabama Infantry Regiment," Civil War in the East, <http://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/alabama/44th-alabama-infantry/> [accessed Dec. 2017], gives the losses as 11 killed and 65 wounded, but it does not include the number of missing. The colors were captured by the 61st NY.
114. This is an estimate. The strength of the regiment on Sept. 18 was 100 effectives. Calculating the loss of roughly 65 men on Sept. 17 results in an approximate strength of 170. See "So Reduced: The 12th Mississippi Infantry after the Battle of Sharpsburg," Mississippians in the Confederate Army, June 7, 2013, <https://mississippiconfederates.wordpress.com/2013/06/07/so-reduced-the-12th-mississippi-infantry-after-the-battle-of-sharpsburg/> [accessed Feb. 2018].
115. *OR* 19, 1:885.
116. The losses for this regiment are also given as 6 killed and 53 wounded. The colonel of the regiment reported 12 killed on Sept. 17, so it is possible that the losses were 12 killed, 53 wounded, and an unknown number missing. See "So Reduced."
117. *Richmond (VA) Enquirer*, Oct. 7, 1862. Carman gave the number of wounded as 117.
118. *Richmond (VA) Enquirer*, Oct. 7, 1862.
119. "Mississippi in the Civil War," Research OnLine, <http://www.researchonline.net/mscw/unit38.htm> [accessed Dec. 2017; internal web page link discontinued].
120. All strengths for Pryor are from Carman's notes on Pryor's brigade, Wright's brigade folder, ANBL. The estimate for the 5th FL is an average of the strengths for the 2nd and 8th FL.
121. The American Civil War Database, <http://civilwardata.com> [requires a subscription; accessed Dec. 2017], gives the losses as 15 killed, 44 wounded, and 11 missing. A list of casualties from the Consolidated Service Records, ANBL, however, recorded the losses as 19 killed and 53 wounded, noting that 10 of the wounded died of their injuries.
122. Lt. Col. C. A. Bryan wrote that the regiment lost two-thirds of their men at Sharpsburg, which means that the regiment was approximately 240 strong. See *Florida Sentinel* (Tallahassee), Oct. 7, 1862.
123. "Men in the 8th Florida Regiment killed, wounded, or captured at the Battle of Sharpsburg, Sept. 17, 1862, from Compiled Service Records and Other Sources," 8th FL file, ANBL.
124. American Civil War Research Database, <http://civilwardata.com> [requires a subscription; accessed Dec. 2017].
125. "14th Alabama Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=559/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=559/) [accessed Aug. 2022].
126. See Carman, 588. The average strength, which has been derived from known regimental strengths, is 147. This formula was also used to estimate Armistead's strength.
127. C. Johnson and Anderson, *Artillery Hell*, 87.
128. C. Johnson and Anderson, *Artillery Hell*, 91–92. It is known that Woolfolk had substantial losses, but there is no record of them. There is no record for Eubank, either. The losses for Elliot have been derived from the database for the battery, in "2nd Battalion, Longstreet's Corps Artillery," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=75&from=results/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=75&from=results/) [accessed Feb. 2021].

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129. *OR* 19, 1:862. Capt. Charles Kibbee wrote that they carried only 120 into action and had 86 killed or wounded. See Charles C. Kibbee letter, Sept. 21, 1862, in *Macon (GA) Weekly*, Oct. 1862, 10th GA file, ANBL.
130. *OR* 19, 1:862.
131. *OR* 19, 1:862.
132. *OR* 19, 1:862.
133. All losses for McLaws's division are from *OR* 19, 1:861–862.
134. *OR* 19, 1:861–862.
135. Wyckoff, *History*, 49. Wyckoff gives the losses for the 2nd SC as 20 killed and 60 wounded. The discrepancy between his figures, which are from the muster rolls, and the official tabulation is probably due to 3 of the injured who died of their wounds and some of the lightly wounded who were counted on the casualty return but whose injuries did not appear in their service records.
136. *OR* 19, 1:861.
137. Part of Carlton's and McCarthy's batteries were left behind at Leesburg, accounting for their small manpower numbers. Two of Macon's guns were on detached duty at Bolivar Heights.
138. Carman, 611.
139. *OR* 19, 1:811. Carman listed 4 as missing. See Carman, 604.
140. *Hillsborough (NC) Recorder*, Oct. 8, 1862.
141. *Richmond (VA) Enquirer*, Oct. 14, 1862.
142. The official returns listed 134 killed, 700 wounded, and 0 missing or captured. See *OR* 19, 1:811.
143. "27th North Carolina Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=626/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=626/) [accessed Feb. 2021], shows that 3 of the captured men were unwounded.
144. According to the *Greensboro (NC) Patriot*, Oct. 23, 1862, the regiment had 72 casualties.
145. Capt. W. H. H. Lawton, in "48th North Carolina," 48th NC file, ANBL, stated that the regiment lost "about one-half of our men," which would mean close to 400 casualties. This is probably an exaggeration, but the losses in the regiment most likely are still higher than those officially reported.
146. *Richmond (VA) Enquirer*, Oct. 14, 1862. The official returns listed 0 missing or captured, but the *Enquirer's* total was 33.
147. Carman, 604nn15–16.
148. Carman, 611.
149. Carman, 611.
150. Carman, 607. Carman's numbers add up to 83, but he gave 84 as the total.
151. Carman, 597–598.
152. Mast, *State Troops and Volunteers*, vol. 1, 330, 359–360. Mast is the source for the 30th NC casualties, as well.
153. American Civil War Research Database, <http://civilwardata.com> [requires a subscription; accessed Apr. 2018].
154. Mast, *State Troops and Volunteers*, 360n5, 4.30.
155. R. K. Krick, "It Appeared," 257n57.
156. Ripley's regimental strengths are all from Carman, 595.
157. The *Savannah Republican*, Oct. 8, 1862, 1, gave the engaged strength as 278.
158. R. Williams, "I Longed for Night," 26.
159. DeRosset, "Third North Carolina," AS. DeRosset did not break down the losses by the numbers of men killed, wounded, and missing.
160. *Savannah Republican*, Oct. 8, 1862, 1.
161. "44th Georgia Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=669/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=669/) [accessed May 2019]. The mortally wounded are included in the wounded count.
162. Sgt. Gordon Sharpe, "Letter from the Potomac," in *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, Oct. 4, 1862. Sharpe wrote that they had "less than 100" in the fight. Carman gave the strength of this regiment as around 300. See Carman's notes on Rodes's brigade, Wright's brigade folder, ANBL.
163. R. K. Krick, "It Appeared," 228.
164. All of the losses for Rodes's regiments are from the *Selma (AL) Daily Reporter*, Oct. 8, 1862.
165. Carman stated that their loss was 50%, which would give the regiment about 150 effectives. See Carman, 145.
166. C. T. Zachry to Gould, Dec. 14, 1897, GP.
167. Carman, 145.
168. Carman, 145.
169. Ben Witcher to Gould, May 25 and June 22, 1891, and Thomas Marshall to Gould, Feb. 23, 1892, GP. The number killed might have been as high as 84.
170. "23rd Georgia Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=614/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=614/) [accessed May 2019]. Carman gave the total loss as 75 killed, wounded, and missing. See Carman, 145.
171. Folsom, *Heroes and Martyrs*, 66. "27th Georgia Infantry," Antietam on the Web, [https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit\\_id=625/](https://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?unit_id=625/) [accessed May 2019], gives the losses as 15 killed and 89 wounded. If this is true, then the regiment had 50 men who were captured.
172. Carman, 145.
173. This is an estimate, based on the losses in the 28th GA, which was adjacent to the 13th AL. Carman merely stated that the regiment lost a large percentage of its 300 men. See Carman, 145.
174. All artillery losses for Hill's batteries are from C. Johnson and Anderson, *Artillery Hell*, 96–97.
175. C. Johnson and Anderson, *Artillery Hell*, 98–99.
176. C. Johnson and Anderson, *Artillery Hell*, 99–100.

Casualties at the Battle of Shepherdstown, September 19–20, 1862

	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
Army of the Potomac	71	161	131	363
5th Corps	70	156	130	356
1st Division—Morell	69	147	130	346
1st U.S. Sharpshooters	2	5	0	7
1st Brigade—J. Barnes	66	125	130	321
118th PA	63	101	105	269
1st MI	1	1	2	4
22nd MA	0	2	0	2
2nd ME	0	2	0	2
18th MA	2	10	2	14
13th NY	0	6	12	18
25th NY	0	3	9	12
2nd Company, MA Sharpshooters				
2nd Brigade—Griffin	1	10	0	11
4th MI	1	6	0	7
32nd MA	0	2	0	2
2nd DC	0	2	0	2
3rd Brigade—Stockton	0	7	0	7
12th NY	0	1	0	1
83rd PA	0	1	0	1
44th NY	0	2	0	2
20th ME	0	3	0	3
2nd Division—Sykes	1	9	0	10
2nd Brigade—Lovell	1	8	0	9
1st & 6th U.S.	0	2	0	2
2nd & 10th U.S.	1	2	0	3
11th U.S.	0	3	0	3
17th U.S.	0	1	0	1
3rd Brigade—Warren	0	1	0	1
5th NY	0	1	0	1
Artillery	1	4	1	6
5th U.S.	0	1	0	1
Army of Northern Virginia	36	256	2	306 <sup>†</sup>
Lawton	0	7	0	7
13th GA	0	2	0	2
26th GA	0	0	0	0
31st GA	0	1	0	1
38th GA	0	1	0	1
60th GA	0	0	0	0
61st GA	0	3	0	3
LA Guard Battery	2	0	0	2
A. P. Hill	32	245	1	292
Pender	8	55	0	63
Archer	6	49	0	55

(continued)

Casualties at the Battle of Shepherdstown, September 19–20, 1862 (*continued*)

	Killed	Wounded	Missing & captured	Total
Brockenbrough	2	5	0	7
Gregg	10	54	0	64
Thomas	2	9	0	25 <sup>2</sup>
L. O. Branch	3	71	0	74
Artillery (Walker)	1	2	1	4
Longstreet				
Artillery	1	3	1	5
Reserve Artillery (Pendleton)				
Nelson	1	1	0	2

*Note:* Where cells are blank, no data could be found.

1. The total Confederate losses include the uncategorized 14 casualties in Thomas's brigade.
2. The categories for the other 14 casualties in Thomas's brigade are unknown.