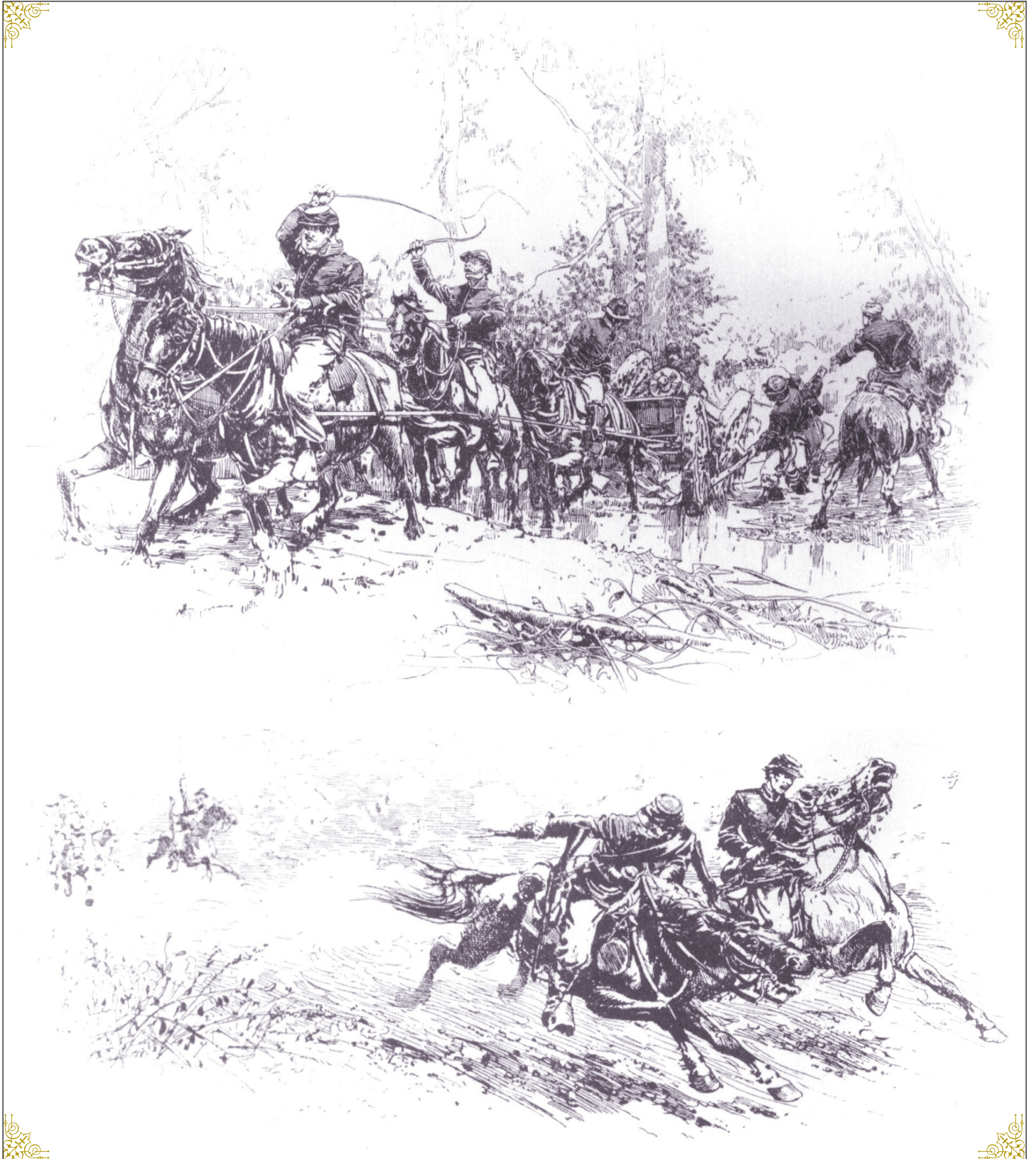


Master Plan for  
*Brown's Mill Battlefield Historic Site*

Coweta County, Georgia

New South Associates  
6150 East Ponce de Leon Avenue  
Stone Mountain, Georgia 30083

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL INTERPRETIVE STUDY



# **Master Plan for Brown's Mill Battlefield Historic Site, Coweta County, Georgia**

## Cultural and Historic Interpretive Study

Report submitted to:

The Jaeger Company  
119 Washington Street  
Gainesville, Georgia 30501

Report submitted by:

New South Associates  
6150 East Ponce de Leon Avenue  
Stone Mountain, Georgia 30083

---

Dr. J. W. Joseph, RPA – Principal Investigator

Authors: Dr. David Evans, Mark Swanson and Dr. J. W. Joseph, RPA

New South Associates Technical Report 1100

November 10, 2003

## Table of Contents

Introduction .....	1
Synopsis of the Campaign and Battle .....	1
Development of Coweta County, 1825-1828.....	3
Land Use in the Project Area, 1827-1861 .....	7
Lots 51 and 52 (104-Acre Tract) .....	7
Brown's Mill (Lot 76, etc.).....	8
The Battle of Browns Mill .....	11
The Meaning of the Battle of Brown's Mill to the Atlanta Campaign .....	21
Postwar History of Brown's Mill .....	24
The Location of Ricketyback Road .....	24
Later History and Birth of the Battlefield Historic Site .....	28
Collectors' Artifact Information.....	29
The Battle of Brown's Mill Within the Brown's Mill Battlefield Historic Site.....	30
The Relationship of the Brown's Mill Battlefield as a Historic Site in the Atlanta Campaign ....	31
Sources .....	33
References Cited.....	33

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Project Location Map.....	2
Figure 2. Brown's Mill Battlefield Area (from Evans 1996).....	4
Figure 3. Project Area Showing Land Lots Laid Out in the 1820s .....	6
Figure 4. 1919 Map of Project Area Showing Millard Farmer Road and What Was Possibly the Older East half of Ricketyback Road.....	26
Figure 5. Rural Delivery Routes Map, Based on 1919 U.S. Soil Conservation Service Map .....	27
Figure 6. Jim Cabaniss's Map of Collectors Finds from the Brown's Mill Battlefield, ca. 1985. (Foldout in Pocket – Not for Public Distribution). .....	37
Figure 7. Generalized Map of the Brown's Mill Battlefield Area, Showing Artifact Locations Revealed by Collectors and Historic Features (Foldout in Pocket – Not for Public Distribution).....	38

## Introduction

This Cultural and Historic Interpretive Study was developed in support of a master plan for the Brown's Mill Battlefield Historic Site, located in Coweta County, Georgia. The Master Plan is being developed by the Jaeger Company of Gainesville, Georgia for the Coweta County Planning Department and New South Associates is assisting The Jaeger Company with the development of this Cultural and Historic Interpretive Study.

The Battle of Browns Mill is a significant Civil War Battle which occurred in Coweta County during the Atlanta Campaign. Coweta County recently purchased a 104-acre tract that covers the area of the battle's most intense fighting. This purchase was made possible by funding through the Georgia Community Greenspace Program. The 104-acre tract, located two miles southwest of the Coweta County seat of Newnan, is slated for development as a public passive-recreation area (Figure 1).

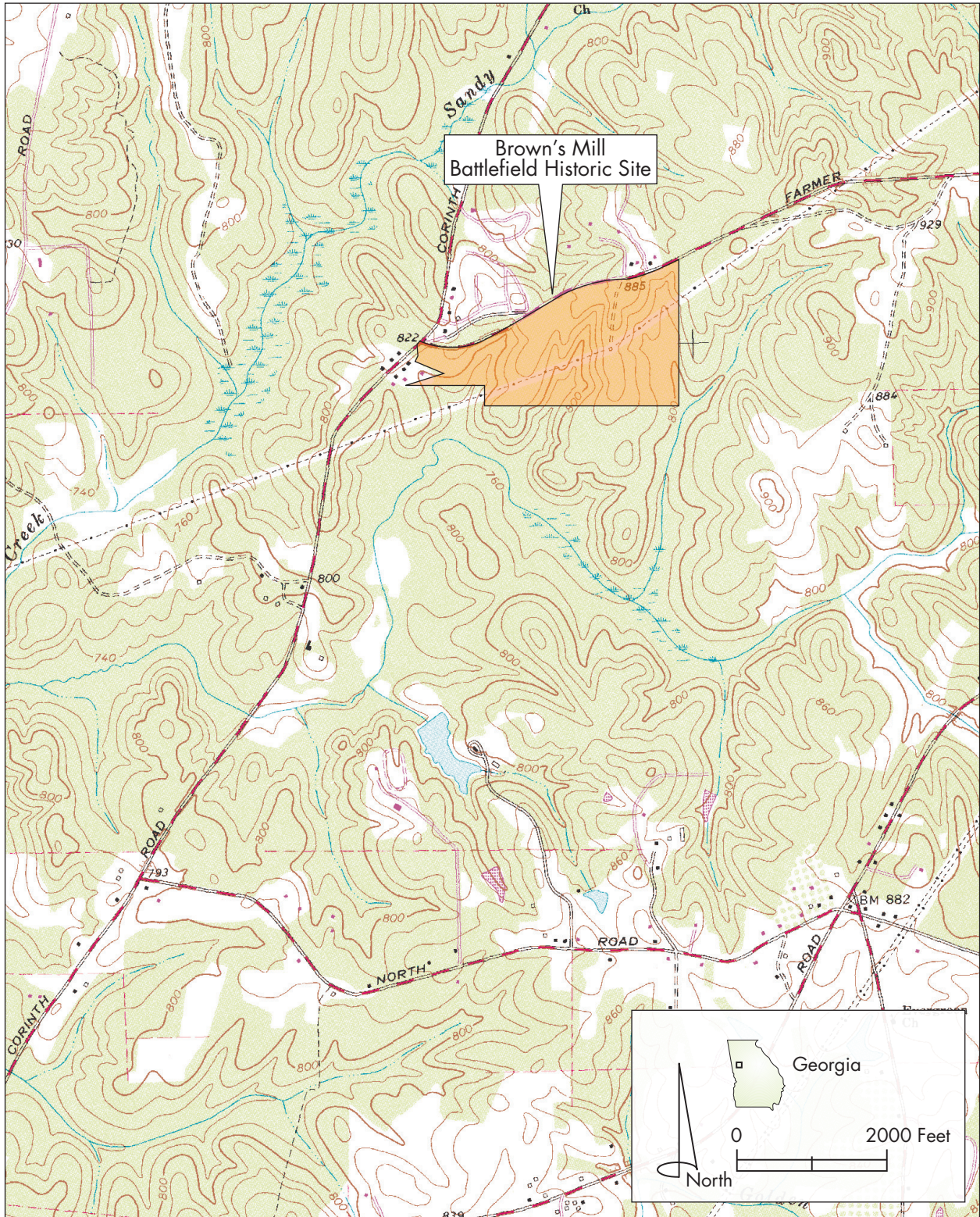
New South Associates was fortunate to secure the expertise of Dr. David Evans in the research of the Brown's Mill battlefield site. The author of *Sherman's Horsemen: Union Cavalry Operations in the Atlanta Campaign* (1996), Evans is a native of Atlanta area whose family was from Coweta County. His knowledge of the battle and the battlefield is unparalleled. Below is a brief synopsis of McCook's Raid and the battle of Brown's Mill. This is presented to set the stage for the battle and determine the parameters of the entire battlefield, which is much larger than the 104-acre tract itself. Evans' more detailed treatment of the battle will be presented later in this report.

## Synopsis of the Campaign and Battle

The Battle of Brown's Mill, also known as the Battle of Newnan, occurred on July 30, 1864, between Union cavalry under the command of Brigadier General Edward Moody McCook, and pursuing Confederate cavalry units under the command of General Joseph Wheeler. The battle has significance as one of the few Confederate victories in the course of the Atlanta Campaign, which had begun in early May and which ended with the surrender of Atlanta to General Sherman in early September of 1864. McCook's expedition was also one of Sherman's attempts to use his cavalry to sever the rail connections between Atlanta and the rest of the Confederacy, a shift in tactics that occurred in July of 1864. The overall failure of Union cavalry to achieve this goal led Sherman to lay siege to the city. Atlanta fell only when Sherman used his infantry to cut the rail connections, which was finally completed after the Battle of Jonesboro in late August, 1864.

McCook's Raid, just one of many Union cavalry raids unleashed by Sherman that July, crossed the Chattahoochee River at Turner's Ferry on July 27. Traveling east to Palmetto, McCook tore up track along the Atlanta and West Point Railroad before continuing to Fayetteville, where the Union cavalrymen captured a large Rebel wagon trail. Continuing on to the vicinity of Lovejoy Station, the Federals tore up track along the Macon and Western Railroad, before crossing the Flint River toward Newnan. Repulsed from Newnan in the vicinity of the Atlanta and West

Figure 1  
Project Location Map



Source: USGS Topographic Quadrangle; Newnan South, Georgia; 1981

Point railroad depot on the east side of town, McCook's troopers swung south of town on their way back to the Chattahoochee (Evans 1996:217-240). By now the Federal cavalymen were in retreat and worried about Confederate forces gathering in their rear. These were headed by General Joseph Wheeler, arguably the Army of Tennessee's best cavalry commander. With a portion of his 3,800 troopers, he laid a trap for McCook at the juncture of Corinth Road and what was then Ricketyback Road, now known as Millard Farmer Road. This ambush site is what is now marked with a 1908 Civil War monument. It is also the location of the 104-acre tract obtained by Coweta County for the battlefield historic site.

The 104-acre tract does not encompass the entire battlefield. After McCook's vanguard was struck at the junction of Corinth and Ricketyback roads, Wheeler led the rest of his force south from Newnan to strike McCook's flank east of the ambush site, somewhere along the eastern half of what was then Ricketyback Road. After these blows to the head of his column and then the north flank, McCook's position began to crumble. Spread thin along Ricketyback Road, McCook's cavalry force held off the Confederate attacks for a while, but finally fell back from the road to the south, before fleeing south and east during the evening hours of July 30-31, 1864 (Evans 1996:256-277). The entire area of the Brown's Mill battlefield takes in a trapezoidal area roughly encompassed by Ricketyback Road (now basically Millard Farmer Road) to the north, Corinth Road to the west, Grantville Road (now Old Corinth Road) to the east, and North Road to the south (Figure 2).

Coincidentally, this trapezoidal area also happens to be the drainage basin of an unnamed branch of Sandy Creek. The headwaters of this drainage begin along the east half of Millard Farmer Road and adjacent parts of Old Corinth Road, at the east end of the trapezoid. The stream then flows south and west until it passes underneath Corinth Road at the west end of the trapezoid. Near the center of this area, along the branch of Sandy Creek, is the site of Brown's Mill, constructed in the 1830s and largely destroyed by flood in the 1880s. Even though the mill itself played virtually no role in the battle, it gave its name to the battlefield site. The mill site is located six-tenths of a mile south-southeast of the 104-acre tract acquired for the Brown's Mill Battlefield Historic Site.

To provide a better understanding of the 104-acre tract that preserves the core of the battlefield, as well as the battlefield as a whole, research was conducted on the early settlers that lived in the area at the time of the battle. In particular, attention was paid to the development of Brown's Mill, which was the focal point of the area, and the namesake of the battle itself. This research began with the cession of Creek lands to the state of Georgia in 1825, the creation of Coweta County in 1826, and the land lottery that peopled the new county.

## Development of Coweta County, 1825-1828

For almost a century after the founding of Savannah, European settlement in Georgia was limited to the coastal plain and the lower Savannah River Valley. Up until the early 1800s, the area encompassed by modern Coweta County belonged to the Creek Confederation. During the early 1800s, it was increasingly clear that white encroachment would result in the removal of the local Creek, which was legitimized by the Indian Springs Treaty of February 12, 1825 (Coweta



County Genealogical Society Magazine 1983). On that date, General William McIntosh, the half Scots-half Creek chief of the Cowetas, ceded most of the Lower Creek lands to the state of Georgia. He was later killed by a group of Upper Creeks opposed to the land cession (Male Academy Museum 1994).

The legality of the 1825 treaty was long disputed between the Federal government and the state of Georgia, but the issue was moot. Coweta County and other neighboring counties were created by the state legislature the following year. Pruned back from its original size to form additional counties, Coweta was eventually bounded by Campbell (now part of Fulton) County to the north, Fayette County to the east, Meriwether County to the south, and Heard County to the west. Forming the northwest border was the Chattahoochee River (Male Academy Museum 1994; Coweta County Genealogical Society 1986:i).

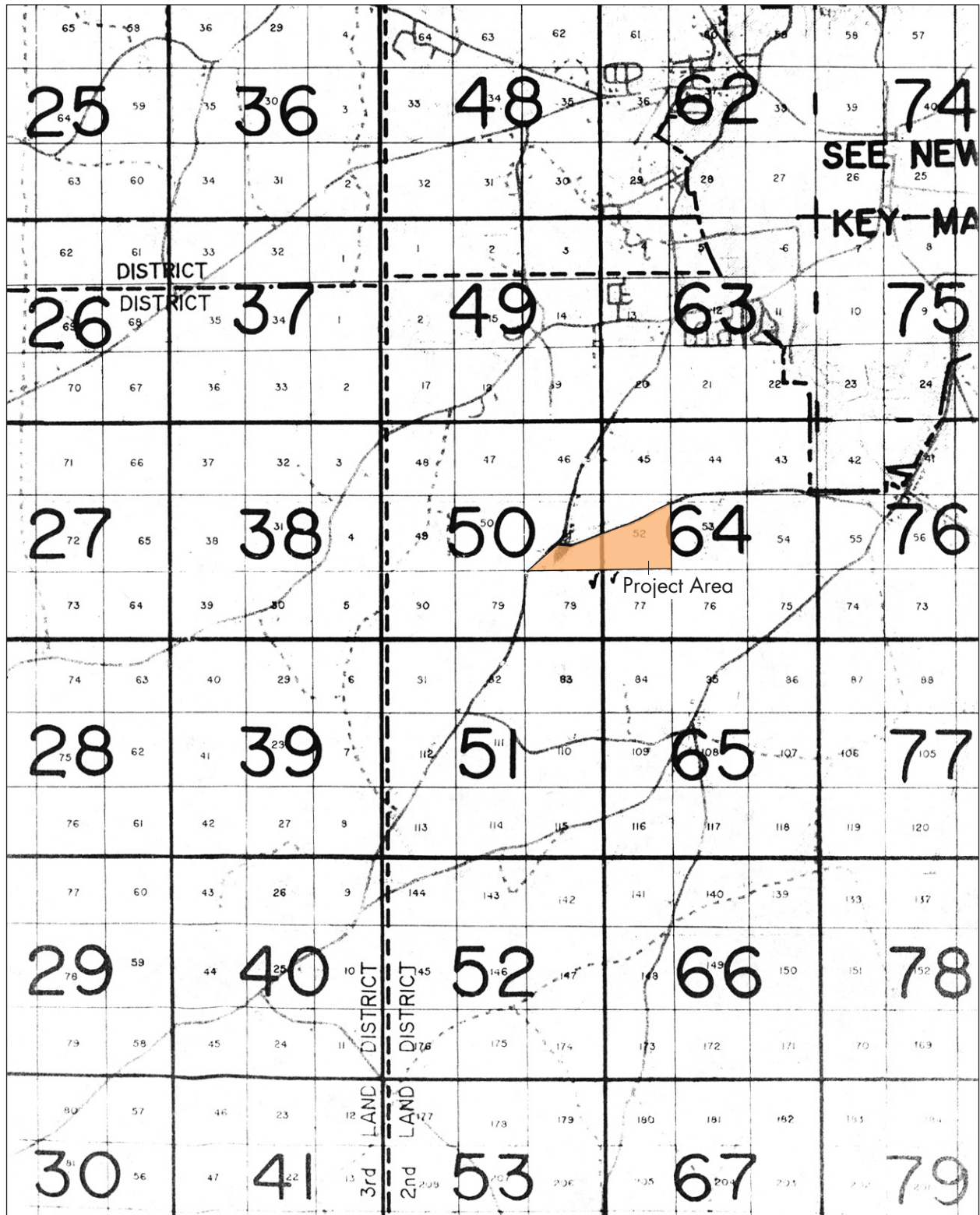
The new county was populated by means of a land lottery. Authorized by the legislative act of June 9, 1825, passed just months after the Indian Springs Treaty, the lottery was originally made eligible to residents who had been in the state for at least three years. Later, the rules were revised to include more recent arrivals. The county was divided into districts, which in turn were divided up into lots, laid out in a grid pattern. The lottery winners won the right to buy individual lots, each of which measured 202.5 acres. The drawings for the lots were held from March to May of 1827, just months after the establishment of Coweta County. Some winners almost immediately sold their land and never journeyed to the county; others sold quickly and moved on. Relatively few of the original winners resided for any length of time on their holdings (Coweta County Genealogical Society Magazine 1983:57).

As originally formulated, Coweta County was laid out into nine districts. Most of Districts 7 through 9 were later cut off for Campbell County, now part of Fulton County (Anderson 1977:15-20). The project area, located immediately south of Newnan, was situated in District 2, wholly within the bounds of modern Coweta County. Named for General Daniel Newnan, who fought in the Revolutionary War and later with Andrew Jackson in the War of 1812, the town of Newnan was founded in February of 1828 (Anderson 1977:14). Soon established as the county seat, Newnan became a thriving community with the arrival of the railroad, the Atlanta and La Grange, constructed in the late 1840s and early 1850s. The name was changed in 1857 to the Atlanta and West Point Railroad, the name it kept until around 1960 (Newnan-Coweta Historical Society 1988:11).

The battlefield site, roughly bounded by Corinth Road, Millard Farmer Road, Old Corinth Road, and North Road, is wholly situated within District 2, located immediately south and southwest of Newnan (Figure 3). The lots that cover this area are numbered in zig-zag fashion, beginning with Lot 51 in the northwest corner. The lots that more or less cover this area are 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 108, 109, 110, and 111. The 104-acre tract is wholly contained within the south halves of Lots 51 and 52. Other areas worthy of note from the outset are Lot 76, which was the site of Brown's Mill; and Lot 108, where the Brown residence was located at the northwest corner of Old Corinth and North roads (Kerry Elliott, personal communication, April 29, 2003).



Figure 3  
Project Area Showing Land Lots Laid Out in the 1820s



Source: Coweta County Key Map, 1990

The original 1827 lot owners for this area are listed below, together with their place of residence at the time of the drawing, and their status if that had bearing on their eligibility for the drawing (Coweta County Genealogical Society Magazine 1983):

Lot 51	Alexander Sledge	Monroe	soldier
Lot 52	Ripley Moate	Walton	
Lot 53	Jonathan Snyder	Effingham	Revolutionary soldier
Lot 54	James Wright's orphans	Columbia	
Lot 55	David Forehand	Washington	
Lot 75	Elizabeth Mims	Upson	widow of Revolutionary soldier
Lot 76	Agnes McConnell	Gwinnett	widow
Lot 77	Ambrose Edwards	Monroe	
Lot 78	Greene B. Holland	Richmond	
Lot 83	Silas Teasley	Elbert	Revolutionary soldier
Lot 84	John Roper	Gwinnett	Revolutionary soldier
Lot 85	Samuel Cook	Hancock	
Lot 108	Mathew Jourdan Baldwin	(error in grant: "granted as in Carroll" [sic])	
Lot 109	William Sanders	Upson	
Lot 110	Thomas Raden	Ogelthorpe	
Lot 111	Hester Maquire (sic)	McIntosh	widow

## Land Use in the Project Area, 1827-1861

Rather than trace the chain of title for each of these lots, it was decided to concentrate on the two areas considered most important to our understanding of the battlefield site. The first of these is the 104-acre tract, located within Lots 51 and 52. The second is the area around Brown's Mill, specifically located in Lot 76, but also associated with a number of other adjoining lots owned by Robert Y. Brown and his predecessors. Lots 51 and 52 may have been the area of most intense fighting on the battlefield, but Brown was one of the wealthiest landowners in the area. His property is one of the few mentioned by name in the official accounts of the battle, which eventually took its very name from the saw mill that Brown operated along Sandy Creek.

### Lots 51 and 52 (104-Acre Tract)

The first owner of Lot 51, Alexander Sledge, bought the land through the 1827 Land Lottery. He held on to the property for almost a decade, selling it on January 25, 1836 for \$300 to Richard Carlton, a deed transaction recorded the following day. There is no mention of any improvements to the 202.5 acres, and Sledge, who resided in Monroe County at the time of the lottery, was still living there at the time of the deed transaction. Alternatively, Carlton resided in Coweta County (Coweta County Deed Book D, p. 338).

Before the year was out, Coweta County Sheriff Richard B. Wooten seized Lot 51 and a few other adjacent lots north of the battlefield site as a result of a court judgment made against Richard Carlton. On September 6, 1836, the sheriff awarded this land to Willis Randle for the sum of \$2,210, raised at what appeared to be a newspaper auction (Coweta County Deed Book E, p. 93). Randle held on to this land for a number of years, finally selling Lot 51 to James Darris (or Dorris) for \$300 in a transaction dated to July 23, 1842, and recorded on October 6, 1842 (Coweta County Deed Book G, p. 191). There is no record that Darris sold this land before the Civil War; in fact, there is no indication in the grantor-grantee index that this property was sold by Darris at all, at least up until 1932, the cut-off date for that volume of the index. There is also no indication that Darris lived on Lot 51. The extant tax records suggest that Darris lived on Lot 57 in District 3, but even this is not certain (Coweta County Tax Digest 1845-1846).

Lot 52, located immediately east of Lot 51, was purchased by Ripley Moate of Walton County in the 1827 Lottery. He held on to the land for over two decades, before finally selling the 202.5 acres to William W. Anderson for \$200. The deed, dated to April 18, 1849 (recorded June 9, 1851), makes no mention of specific improvements; the “appertenances” mentioned is probably legal boilerplate. The price of the transaction alone suggests a limited range of improvements. Moate certainly did not live on the property. In the 1849 deed transaction, he is identified as a resident of Stewart County (Coweta County Deed Book I, p. 356). In addition, there is no mention of Moate in the early tax records for Coweta County (Coweta County Tax Digest 1845-1846).

That same 1849 deed identifies the new owner of Lot 52, William Anderson, as a resident of Coweta County. Anderson clearly purchased a number of other lots in the 1850s. Most of these holdings were located north of the project area, but were adjacent to Lot 52. Anderson sold these lands, a total of 510 acres, to Edward N. Story (or Storey) for \$4,000 in a deed dated to November 24, 1856. At that time, Anderson was a resident of Wakulla County, Florida. Story was identified as a resident of Coweta County. This acreage covered by the 1856 deed consisted of Lots 52, 45, the west half of Lot 20, and part of Lot 46. Even though the irregular boundary of this last parcel of land was identified in some detail, there is no mention of any improvements to the land (Coweta County Deed Book L, p. 320). There appears to be no mention of Story relinquishing Lot 52 in the grantor/grantee index, at least up until 1932.

### Brown’s Mill (Lot 76, etc.)

While it seems likely that there were only minimal improvements, if any, to Lots 51 and 52 before the time of the Civil War, this was not the case with Lot 76, the site of Brown’s Mill. It was, however, several years after the lottery before the mill was constructed. The original land owner, Agnes McConnell, resident of Gwinnett County at the time of the lottery, sold the lot to John McConnell for \$100 in a deed dated to August 23, 1833 (and recorded March 17, 1840). At the time of the deed transaction, both parties resided in Cherokee County (Coweta County Deed Book F, p. 361). This information, the price of the land, plus the lack of mention of any improvements, suggests that Agnes McConnell never resided on the property or made improvements.

On September 3, 1833, just days after purchasing the property, John McConnell sold Lot 76 to Henry Henderson of Coweta County for \$150 (Coweta County Deed Book F, p. 362). Henderson held the property for almost a year. On July 9, 1834, he sold Lot 76 to Reuben Phillips, John C. Phillips, and James A. T. Phillips, all of Meriwether County, for the sum of \$1,000. The increase in the price alone suggests that there were improvements made to the property by this time, but the deed between Henderson and the Phillips's makes no mention of a mill (Coweta County Deed Book D, p. 170).

On July 9, 1834, the same day that the Phillips's purchased Lot 76, they also purchased Lots 85 and 108, the two lots directly to the south. Lot 85 was bought from John P. Fry for \$800 (Coweta County Deed Book D, p. 169). Lot 108 was purchased for \$150 from John Henderson (Coweta County Deed Book D, p. 169). This last purchase was particularly crucial, since Lot 108 encompassed the intersection of the Grantville Road (now the Old Corinth Road) with North Road. These three lots would form the core of the land holdings of the Phillips's, and would later form the core of the holdings of Robert Y. Brown, a subsequent owner of the land and the mill. Included on these holdings would be Brown's Mill, located near the west edge of Lot 76, a residence at the northwest corner of Grantville and North roads (northwest corner of Lot 108), and an access road that connected the mill and the house. Brown may have built the house that was once located at Grantville and North, but it is clear that he did not build the mill that bears his name. This was apparently done by the Phillips family, as indicated by the next deed.

On January 1, 1836, Reuben Philips (sic) of Coweta County sold seven lots to Augustus H. Stokes of Morgan County, for \$3500. These included Lot 116, "whereon I now live, it being the lot which the mineral springs is on," as well as Lots 115, 141, 109, 85, 76, 108, and some other lands, containing a total of 1429.5 acres. It also contained the first mention of the mill: "I also give up my carry log wheels and cast (?) hooks and crowbars and all apparatuses belonging to the saw mill" (Coweta County Deed Book D, p. 410).

Two years later to the day, on January 1, 1838, Stokes sold 810 acres of this holding to James Miller for \$1500. This sum was paid for several lots of land, which included "Lot No. 76 being the one on which the saw mill is situated." The other lots included 85, 108, and 109, all located in the Second District. Miller was also allowed access to timber for the saw mill "out of the pine timber growing on Lot No. 115, 2<sup>nd</sup> District." Repeating the previous deed, Stokes also relinquished the "carry log wheels and cast hooks and crowbars and all apparatus belonging to the saw mill" (Coweta County Deed Book E, p. 390).

On October 2, 1838, these same four lots (Lots Nos. 76, 85, 108, and 109) comprising 810 acres, the timber rights to Lot 115, and all saw mill equipment, were sold by James Miller of Coweta County, to Robert Y. Brown of Coweta County. The transaction was made for the sum of \$1,700 (Coweta County Deed Book F, p. 232). After years of selling and re-selling, this property would remain in the possession of Robert Brown and his family for at least the next six decades. By the time of the Civil War, "Brown's Mill" would be prominent enough to be mentioned in the official documents pertinent to the battle, eventually becoming the name of the battlefield itself. This was not a coincidence. In the years leading up to the Civil War, Robert Y. Brown became a prominent local citizen, perhaps the wealthiest in the immediate area.

Robert Young Brown (January 24, 1811 - November 3, 1872) was born in Newberry District of South Carolina, the son of Robert Brown and Nancy Young of Prosperity, South Carolina. His first wife, who must have died young, was Rhoda Shunpert. His older brother, James Brown (July 3, 1806 - January 24, 1883), also became a local landowner (Coweta County Genealogical Society 1986:122, 52). Both brothers immigrated to Coweta County in 1830 (Jones and Reynolds 1928:65). Several years later, in 1838, Robert Brown purchased the lots that would comprise "Brown's Mill." A year later, in 1839, he married Margaret A. Russell (Newnan-Coweta Historical Society 1980:22). The two of them, both aged between 20 and 30 and then without children, were counted together in the 1840 census (Coweta County Genealogical Society 1981:102). The 1850 census does not appear to record Robert Y. Brown, even though it does list his brother, James, who by now had land immediately west of Robert's holdings, along the western edge of the battlefield site.

Robert Brown may not have been counted in 1850, but he was still in the area. He is listed on the earliest tax assessment records on file at the Coweta County Tax Commissioner's Office, dated to 1845. In that year, Brown was taxed for nine slaves, 405 acres of "category-three land," and 607.5 acres of pine. Even though he is listed as residing in Lot 107 of District 3, this appears to have been a persistent error that should have been recorded as District 2. In other entries in later years, he is also listed in District 2, and there is no reason to think that he moved back and forth between the two districts. The following year, 1846, he is listed as having nine slaves, 400 acres of oak and hickory upland, and 612.5 acres of pine. He was also taxed for carriages. Now his residence is given as Lot 108, District 2 (Coweta County Tax Digest 1845-1846). By this time, if not before, Robert Brown and his family resided at the corner of Grantville and North roads.

By 1854, the year of the next surviving tax book, Brown is clearly a prosperous man. The number of his slaves had jumped to 21, valued at \$9,450. His second-quality acreage was given as 1,113 acres, and his residence was still located on Lot 108 of District 2. His land was valued at \$6,350, with the total value of all property pegged at \$18,108 (Coweta County Tax Digest 1854). Two years later, the slave number had risen to 23, valued at \$10,350, and the total value of his property was put at \$33,950. On this occasion, he is listed as living on Lot 108 of District 3, rather than District 2, almost surely a clerical error (Coweta County Tax Digest 1856).

The 1860 census listed the Robert Y. Broun (sic) household, No. 1275, as consisting of son Robert (19 year old farmer), wife Margaret (45), and six other children: Nancy (10), Roda (17), George (13), Rasmus (7), Mary (8), and Robert (1). Robert Y. Brown himself must have been away from home, since he was not counted within his own household (Steinback 1991:98). Brown continued to amass land and slaves. By 1861, the first year of the Civil War, he had 29 slaves, valued at over \$22,000. The value of the kitchen furniture alone was estimated to be around \$500, the first time this category was assessed at the Brown household. The total acreage was listed as 1,112, with a value of \$9,000. The total value of all property was pegged at \$33,750. The residence is listed as Lot 109, District 3, but again, there is no reason to believe that Brown's residence was not still at Lot 108 of District 2 (Coweta County Tax Digest 1861).

During this period, Brown was not just an owner of property and slaves, he was also an elected judge of the local Inferior Courts, first serving in this capacity in 1841, and again periodically in

the years to follow, up until at least 1861 (Anderson 1977:44, 47). Brown's residence during this period, and even after the war, was at the northwest corner of Grantville Road and North Road, located in the northwest quadrant of Lot 108. The access road that connected the residence and the mill was lined by oaks, some of which can still be seen from Old Corinth Road today (Kerry Elliott, personal communication, 29 April 2003). On the eve of the Civil War, Brown was a prosperous miller and property owner whose name was about to enter the historical record as a result of the battle which would occur around his property.

## The Battle of Browns Mill

It was a season of hope. It was a season of despair. It was the spring of 1864. The bloody civil war between North and South, that no one had believed would last more than a few months, was about to begin its fourth year. Both sides longed for an end to the carnage; neither was willing to yield. Convinced their cause was just, they each prayed fervently for the elusive victory, the great battle, that would finally win the war. But victory would come with a terrible price. The soft April breezes, scented with dogwood and daffodil, would soon reek with the stench of death and destruction, and the armies of blue and gray waited grimly for the orders to march.

President Abraham Lincoln had pinned the North's hopes and the three stars of a lieutenant general on the stooped shoulders of Ulysses S. Grant. "The particulars of your plans I neither know or seek to know," he informed the newly appointed commander of all the Union armies, but his message was clear. He wanted a general who could win battles. Grant had enjoyed an unbroken string of successes in the west, at Forts Henry and Donelson, at Shiloh, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga. Now he came east, knowing exactly what must be done.

Determined to bring the full weight of the North's superior numbers to bear, he began planning four coordinated offensives that would confront the beleaguered South on all sides. In Virginia, a small Union army would move up the James River to threaten the Confederate capital at Richmond. At the same time, another small force would ravage the fertile Shenandoah Valley, while Grant himself directed operations against Confederate General Robert E. Lee's vaunted Army of Northern Virginia. To keep Lee from getting reinforcements, Grant gave 45-year old William Tecumseh Sherman command of all the Union troops between the Mississippi River and the Appalachian Mountains and ordered him to move against the Confederate army defending northern Georgia, "to break it up and get into the interior of the enemy's country as far as you can, inflicting all the damage you can against their war resources."

By the first week of May, 1864, Sherman had marshaled three veteran armies, numbering almost 100,000 men. He was opposed by roughly 60,000 Confederate troops, commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston. Sherman's strategy was simple. He was going to destroy Joe Johnston's army, as Grant had ordered, and he believed he could do that in less than a month. He tried at Snake Creek Gap, near Dalton, and failed. He tried again at Resaca, and failed. He tried at New Hope Church, and again at Kennesaw Mountain, but each time the wily Confederate commander somehow managed to slip through his grasp.

By the time Sherman finally reached the north bank of the Chattahoochee River, it was the first week of July. Despite two months of constant combat, Joe Johnston's army was still intact and still a potent fighting force, ready to defend every bridge, ford, and ferry. Sherman realized even if he could get his own troops across the river, the Confederates would find ready refuge a half-day's march to the south, inside the formidable earthworks that already ringed the city of Atlanta.

"I have no idea of besieging Atlanta . . .," he wrote. Sieges took time, and for personal as well as military reasons, Sherman was still eager to win a quick victory. So that first week of July witnessed a subtle change in his strategy. Instead of continuing his efforts to destroy the Confederate army defending Atlanta, he suddenly turned his attention to the city's railroads.

There were four railroads radiating out from Atlanta during the summer of 1864, like the spokes of a giant wheel. The line connecting the city with Chattanooga had already been commandeered by the advancing Union armies, and now served as Sherman's sole source of supply. The Confederate troops defending Atlanta had to rely on the three lines running east to Augusta, south to Macon, and westward to Montgomery, Alabama. Cut those railroads, and the Confederates would have to come out of their trenches and retreat farther south, or risk everything on the outcome of a pitched battle.

With that in mind, Sherman mounted six of the most daring and most important cavalry raids of the Civil War. On July 10, he sent Major General Lovell H. Rousseau and 2,500 troopers marching south from Decatur, Alabama. Riding from sunup to sundown and far into the night by the light of a waxing moon, they averaged 34 miles a day, crossing the rugged Sand Mountain range, fording two broad rivers, and shouldering aside all opposition until they reached the Montgomery & West Point Railroad on July 17. During the next 42 hours, Rousseau's men completely destroyed 25 miles of track before climbing back into the saddle to join Sherman near Atlanta.

Pursuing Confederates, converging from all points of the compass, forced Rousseau to push his tired men and horses to the limits of their endurance. Anticipating this might happen, the far-seeing Sherman sent Major General George Stoneman's cavalry division down the west bank of the Chattahoochee River to divert attention from Rousseau's column by striking the Atlanta & West Point Railroad near Newnan. Stoneman resolutely rode downstream and seized Moore's Bridge on the main road between Carrollton and Newnan (now Highway 16) on the afternoon of July 13. But when it came time to cross the river, he hesitated, just nine miles short of the railroad. This allowed Confederate cavalry to effectively block the road to Newnan. After burning Moore's Bridge behind him, Stoneman rejoined Sherman without accomplishing anything.

His failure was quickly forgotten when Rousseau's raiders finally reached the Union lines at Marietta on July 22. In 12 days, they had ridden through the very heart of the Confederacy, suffering only 62 casualties, while destroying 25 million dollars' worth of supplies, and crippling the railroad that brought the Rebel army defending Atlanta most of its food and forage. Their spectacular success shaped Sherman's tactical thinking for the rest of the campaign.

A few days earlier, on July 16, Sherman had received a telegram from Washington, warning that as many as 25,000 Southern soldiers might already be on their way from Virginia by rail to reinforce the Confederate army defending Atlanta. Three days later, Sherman learned from a captured Atlanta newspaper that Johnston had been relieved of his command and replaced by the combative General John Bell Hood. On July 20, Hood lived up to his blood-red reputation, lashing out at the Union lines at Peachtree Creek. Blue-coated foot soldiers beat back the fierce assault, but it was a costly victory, and the prospect of what Hood might do with several thousand battle-tested veterans from Virginia clearly worried Sherman. That night, he ordered Brigadier General Kenner Garrard to destroy the trestles that carried the Georgia Railroad over the Yellow and Alcovy rivers, 30 miles east of Atlanta. "It is a matter of vital importance and must be attempted with great vigor," Sherman admonished. "The importance of it will justify the loss of [a] quarter of your command."

Garrard's division burned the railroad and wagon bridges over the Alcovy and Yellow rivers, tore up five or six miles of track, and returned on July 24 with the loss of only three troopers killed, one wounded, and one taken prisoner. Sherman was jubilant. At a cost of less than a hundred casualties, his cavalry had crippled two of Atlanta's three remaining railroads. Confident that one more such blow would bring the city to its knees, Sherman issued orders on July 25 for what even his enemies acknowledged was "the most stupendous cavalry operation of the war."

His plan called for Brigadier General Edward M. McCook to take the 1st Cavalry Division of the Army of the Cumberland and Rousseau's tired troopers, now commanded by Colonel Thomas J. Harrison, down the west bank of the Chattahoochee. Using the river to shield his flank until he was well south of Atlanta, McCook was to cross the Chattahoochee and strike eastward until his column reached the Macon & Western Railroad, Atlanta's last tenuous link with the rest of the Confederacy. There he would rendezvous with Generals Stoneman and Garrard at Lovejoy's Station, 23 miles below Atlanta. Numbering some 9,400 officers and men, these four cavalry divisions would begin tearing up track, while Sherman's infantry moved around the west side of Atlanta to threaten the vital junction at East Point, where the Macon & Western merged with the already crippled Montgomery road. With their supply lines cut, the Confederates would have to come out of their trenches and face Sherman's superior numbers in the open, or risk retreating farther south.

The day before the raid was scheduled to begin, Stoneman wrote to Sherman, asking for permission, once the work at Lovejoy's Station was done, to make a dash down to Macon and the infamous Rebel prison at Andersonville to liberate 30,000 Union prisoners of war being held there. While Sherman foresaw "many difficulties," he admitted there was something "captivating" about the idea, and gave the scheme his blessing, telling Stoneman, "if you can bring back to the army any or all those prisoners of war it will be an achievement that will entitle you and the men of your command to the love and admiration of the whole country."

McCook was unaware of this last minute change in plans when his two brigades broke camp near Mayson's Church, on the west side of Atlanta, shortly before dawn on July 27. Carrying five days' rations, one hundred rounds of ammunition, and two extra horseshoes per man, his troopers filed past the church and turned right on the Turner's Ferry Road (now known as



Bankhead Highway). A short march brought them to the ferry, where they dismounted and led their horses across a pontoon bridge army engineers had strung across the river the previous afternoon. Once across, they halted and ate breakfast while pontoniers dismantled the bridge and ferried the last of McCook's pickets across the river.

McCook had expected to find Colonel Tom Harrison's 1,400 officers and men waiting for him at the ferry, but difficulties in drawing rations, forage, and horseshoes delayed Harrison's arrival until well after daylight. It was 9:00 AM before the combined commands, eleven regiments of cavalry and mounted infantry, and one six-gun battery of artillery, headed northwest on the Old Alabama Road (now Bankhead Highway), 2,700 to 3,000 strong.

This route took them across the bridge at Sweetwater Creek to Salt Springs (now Lithia Springs), where the column turned south, intending to recross the Chattahoochee at Campbellton. McCook's advance guard diligently scouted all the roads leading toward the river, and early that afternoon they discovered Rebel pickets guarding the approaches to Gorman's Ferry (now the site of the bridge that carries the Fairburn Road across the Chattahoochee River). Moving another three miles downstream, they reached Campbellton Ferry (now the site of the Highway 92 bridge across the Chattahoochee), where a volley of Rebel rifle-fire from the far shore quickly warned them away.

While McCook paused to ponder how he was going to get across the river, his column was strung out for miles on the road behind him. The mules pulling the heavily-laden pontoon wagons suffered terribly in the summer heat, and it was 2:00 AM, July 28, before they finally reached Campbellton Ferry.

Eager to resume the march at once, McCook had the pontoniers double-team their mules and take only enough material for a small bridge, leaving behind the 2nd battalion of the 9th Ohio Cavalry and the 3rd section of the 18th Indiana Battery to guard the excess equipment and distract the attention of the watching Rebel pickets. Scouts had already located a little-used crossing at Smith's Ferry, six miles below Campbellton, and at 3:00 AM, Colonel John T. Croxton's 1st Brigade started downstream (along what is now Highway 166). Croxton's advance guard reached the ferry at daylight, and McCook hurried one of the canvas pontoon boats forward to begin shuttling troopers across the river, four men at a time.

It was nearly noon before the rest of the pontoon train arrived. While the pontoniers hurried to assemble and launch their frail canvas and frame craft, McCook ordered his officers to winnow the ranks one more time before crossing the river. Any men or horses deemed unlikely to withstand the hardships of the march were to be left behind, along with the rest of the 9th Ohio Cavalry and the 2nd section of the 18th Indiana Battery. McCook directed these troops to guard the pontoon bridge for twenty-four hours, to create the illusion his column intended to return that way. Then the pontoniers were to dismantle the bridge and move back upstream.

About 2:00 PM, Lieutenant Colonel William H. Torrey's 2nd Brigade thundered across the bridge in "a grand rush" and up the winding road to the top of the bluff overlooking the river. Already a day behind schedule and convinced Rebel scouts had surely spotted his column by now, McCook decided he needed a diversion. He ordered Major Nathan Paine and the 1st

Wisconsin Cavalry to march up the east bank of the Chattahoochee, toward Campbellton, hoping this would throw the Confederates off his trail while the rest of the command marched straight for the Atlanta & West Point Railroad at Palmetto.

With his arm still cradled in a sling after a fall from his horse at the outset of the campaign, Paine led his little regiment northward (along part of the present-day Browns Road) under a slate-gray sky. Rebel rifles began banging away almost as soon as Paine left the river, and the crackle of gunfire continued as his troopers pressed through Campbellton early that evening. Two miles east of town (on present-day Highway 92), Paine halted long enough for the men to close ranks and rest their horses. Resuming the march, they had only gone about a half mile when the advance guard collided with an entire brigade of Confederate cavalry. Hurrying to the head of the column, Paine drew his saber with his good arm and ordered his men to charge. A moment later, a Rebel bullet struck the Yankee major squarely in the chest. Paine slid from his saddle. "I'm shot, he gasped, "I'm shot dead." Turning to his men he raised his saber. "Forward!" he yelled as he fell dying into the dirt. His men eddied in confusion for a moment, then hurriedly retreated toward Smith's Ferry, but Paine's sacrifice had served its purpose. He had confused the Confederate cavalry long enough for McCook to get a good head start.

Unaware of the calamity that had befallen Paine, McCook hurried his column eastward along two parallel roads (probably a combination of the present-day Hobgood and Petersburg roads, and the Cochran Mill and Hutcheson Ferry roads). Opposed by only a few Confederate scouts, Torrey's 2nd Brigade dashed into Palmetto, a little town on the Atlanta & West Point Railroad, about 6:00 PM. Dismounting, his troopers quickly went to work. While some cut the telegraph wire, others lined up shoulder to shoulder along the railroad track. Grabbing the near rails with both hands, they uprooted long sections of track and sent them tumbling down the embankment like giant writhing serpents. Then they wrenched the cross-ties loose, piled them up, laid the rails across the top of the heap, and set it on fire. Soon they had dozens of bonfires blazing where the track had been. Troopers also set fire to the depot and nearby warehouses filled with cotton, corn, and flour, and looted John Carleton's grocery store.

Leaving Palmetto silhouetted by "a scene of fire, of ruin, and devastation," the raiders rode out of town shortly before dark. A brief shower doused the horses and riders, but soon the stars came out, and the column steadily plodded southeast on the Fayetteville Road (the present-day Palmetto-Tyrone Road).

Shortly after midnight, the advance guard encountered the first of hundreds of canvas-topped Confederate supply wagons parked tongue to tailboard and hub to hub on both sides of the road west of Fayetteville (roughly the same track as present-day Highway 54). Quietly dismounting, troopers from the 2nd and 4th Indiana regiments of Torrey's brigade swiftly and silently swarmed over them, capturing scores of sleeping teamsters, clerks, quartermasters, and commissary officers without firing a shot. While the rear guard took charge of these bewildered prisoners and began the brutal work of sabering mules and burning wagons, Torrey's men remounted and rode on to Fayetteville. No alarms announced their approach, and the raiders rudely awakened several Rebel officers from their comfortable beds. They also captured the mail and were helping themselves to tobacco and several barrels of captured whisky when John Croxton's 1st Brigade led the rest of the column into town. Still anxious to make up for lost

time, McCook allowed his men only a brief halt before ordering Croxton's brigade back into the saddle at 5:00 AM to take the advance.

Colonel James P. Brownlow's 1st Tennessee Cavalry led the way. Just east of Fayetteville, they found another five hundred wagons parked along the roadside. Remarkably, the Rebels still had no warning of their approach. After taking more prisoners and filling their pockets with thousands of dollars in Confederate money that spilled from the trunks of Rebel paymasters, the Tennesseans hurried on, leaving the wagons and teams at the mercy of the rear guard. A few officers, clerks, and teamsters managed to escape and fled across the Flint River, where they tried to set fire to Dickson's Bridge, four miles east of Fayetteville, but Brownlow led a bold charge, scattering the defenders, and quickly put out the blaze.

The rest of Croxton's brigade followed close behind, striking the Macon & Western Railroad a half mile north of Lovejoy's Station at 7:00 AM, July 29. While some troopers set fire to the depot, water tank, woodshed, and two trains loaded with tobacco, bacon, lard, salt, and ammunition, others began pulling down the telegraph wires and wrecking the track. By early afternoon, the raiders had torn up a mile and a half of the railroad at intervals extending for five miles, and carried off four miles of wire.

While this work continued, McCook and his staff nooned at Judge Stephen G. Dorsey's house, a mile east of the railroad on the McDonough Road. Already a day late reaching Lovejoy's, McCook expected to find an impatient George Stoneman waiting for him, but there was no sign of the crusty old cavalryman. Puzzled, McCook sent scouts ranging to the north and east. His scouts soon returned and reported a column of cavalry was approaching the railroad, but it was not Stoneman. It was Confederate Major General Joseph Wheeler.

Stunned by this news, McCook called a meeting of his senior officers and asked for advice. Thus far, their raid had been a splendid success. They had cut the two remaining railroads that supplied Atlanta, burned 1,100 Rebel wagons, and captured over 400 prisoners. But there was no sign of Stoneman, and now the question was what to do next.

William Torrey wanted to turn back, arguing that if they kept going they would lose what had been gained and probably sacrifice the command. But Croxton, Brownlow, and others objected. They urged McCook to press ahead, to ride all the way around the Confederate army if necessary, to keep the rendezvous with Stoneman. McCook listened to their arguments and then made his decision. He ordered the column to retreat toward the Chattahoochee.

Knowing his pontoniers had probably already begun dismantling the bridge at Smith's Ferry, and the Rebels had undoubtedly discovered the smoldering trail of ruin and wreckage that stretched all the way back to Palmetto, McCook planned to march south of Fayetteville and recross the Chattahoochee at Moore's Bridge. Led by the 5th Iowa Cavalry of Tom Harrison's command, the column turned left on the Panhandle Road, a mile and a half west of the railroad, but McCook lingered at Lovejoy's, hoping to catch a glimpse of Stoneman's guidons fluttering against the sky. It was 3:00 PM before he finally gave up and joined the column, unaware that Stoneman had destroyed Moore's Bridge two weeks earlier, during his abortive attempt to cut the railroad at Newnan.

McCook's decision to recross the river would bear bitter fruit. After routing Major Paine and the 1st Wisconsin the previous evening, Confederate Brigadier William H. Jackson had waited until daylight before beginning the pursuit. Leaving Campbellton well to his right, he marched two of his cavalry brigades southward through Fairburn and then followed the Atlanta & West Point Railroad down to Palmetto. Turning east, he and his men soon saw the consequences of the previous night's delay – hundreds of burned-out wagons and bloating mule carcasses lined both sides of the road. Spurred by this sickening scene of carnage, they hurried on through Fayetteville and reached the intersection of the Panhandle and McDonough roads just as the rearmost brigade of McCook's column approached from the opposite direction.

Seeing the Rebel riders in front of him, Colonel John Croxton immediately ordered the 1st battalion of the 8th Iowa Cavalry forward. Charge those Rebels, Croxton ordered Colonel Joseph Dorr. Hold the road open for the rest of the brigade.

Dorr took his place in the front rank. Draw pistols, he ordered. At a trot, forward. The battalion surged after him just as Jackson sent Brigadier General Lawrence S. "Sul" Ross and the 9th Texas Cavalry crowding down the road in a compact column of fours. Headlong, the two forces hurtled into each other. Colonel Dorr slumped in the saddle, shot through his right side. Charge met counter-charge as the wild melee seesawed back and forth, with heavy casualties on both sides. The rest of Croxton's brigade hurried forward on foot and soon fought their way through the Rebel roadblock. Remounting their horses, they caught up with McCook and the rest of the Yankee column at sunset, near Glass Bridge on the Flint River.

Here the raiders halted while McCook sorted out his next move. Far behind Confederate lines, and unfamiliar with the welter of rutted roads, he accepted the help of a knowledgeable Negro who volunteered to act as a guide. As daylight dwindled into dusk, the black man pointed the way west on a little-used byroad (probably a combination of the present-day Hampton Road and others that have fallen into disuse and disappeared). McCook ordered the column forward, leaving Croxton's battered brigade to bring up the rear.

By this time, "Red" Jackson had seen enough to convince him the Yankees were trying to recross the Chattahoochee. Determined to head them off, he hurried his two brigades back through Fayetteville on the McDonough Road. Early that evening, a staff officer brought him a message from Major General Joseph Wheeler, commanding all the cavalry of the Confederate Army of Tennessee.

Wheeler had begun shadowing Stoneman and Garrard almost as soon as they left Decatur on July 27. After skirmishing with Garrard at Flat Shoals on South River (near the present crossing of the Panola Road), and sending three brigades riding eastward to overtake Stoneman, he had learned another Yankee column, McCook's, was moving toward the Macon railroad from the west. With two of his remaining three brigades, Wheeler hurried south on July 29.

That evening, shortly before dark, he reached the scene of the fighting on the Panhandle Road. Learning that the raiders had burned Glass Bridge over the Flint River, Wheeler followed in "Red" Jackson's wake as far as Fayetteville before turning to the southwest (apparently on the

present-day Redwine Road). About 2:00 AM, July 30, his hard-riding Rebel troopers overtook the Yankee rear guard where the Lower Fayetteville Road (now Davis Road) crossed Whitewater Creek.

Gunfire blazed in the darkness. Wheeler's men recoiled from the blast, rallied, and advanced again, flanking the Yankee troopers and forcing them to fall back. Again and again during that dark night, at Whitewater Creek and Shake Rag, Wheeler attacked the Yankee rearguard as the raiders toiled westward along the Lower Fayetteville Road.

Sleepless and exhausted after three days and nights in the saddle, the head of McCook's column, Companies D and E of the 8th Indiana Cavalry, approached Newnan about 8:00 AM on July 30. The Chattahoochee River and safety lay just nine miles away. Then they saw the train parked next to the depot at the bottom of the hill. It was filled with Confederate soldiers.

The train, carrying Brigadier General Philip D. Roddey and 550 dismounted Alabama cavalymen, had stopped at Newnan during the night due to the damage done to the tracks at Palmetto. Roddey had posted pickets on all the approaches into town, but upon receiving a report the Yankees were miles away, he had the engineer sound the train whistle to recall his troops.

At that instant, the two Indiana companies of McCook's advance guard came charging over the hill on the Lower Fayetteville Road (now East Broad Street). Roddey's startled troopers grabbed their guns and opened fire, forcing the Hoosiers to beat a hasty retreat.

Late that morning, while McCook sent Torrey's brigade to find a road that would carry the column around the south side of Newnan, Joe Wheeler galloped into town with 720 men. In 24 hours, he had ridden 55 miles, but with scarcely a pause he divided his small force. He hurried Colonel Henry M. Ashby and 200 Tennessee troopers down LaGrange Street and out on the Corinth Road to intercept the head of the Yankee column. The rest of his command he led down the Grantville Road (now Old Corinth Road), hoping to strike the raiders' flank.

By this time, McCook's column had left the Lower Fayetteville Road and detoured southward along a road that led to Robert W. Hendrix's farm near Turkey Creek on lot 38 in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Land District. Just beyond the creek, the road forked. The raiders followed the right-hand branch until they reached what is now the present-day Gordon Road on land lot 58. Turning left, they soon came to the Griffin Road (now Highway 16) and followed it a short distance to the main road south of Newnan (now Highway 29). They marched south on this road for about three-quarters of a mile until they reached Wright's Crossing (later known as Old 43 Crossing) at land lot 90. Here they tore up a few rails on the Atlanta & West Point Railroad and cut the telegraph wires before turning westward on what is now Emmett Young Road. About a mile beyond the railroad, the raiders may have zigzagged north and then west on present-day Potts Road and the Ricketyback Road (now Millard Farmer Road). However, some evidence seems to suggest they continued westward on the Emmett Young Road for another three-quarters of a mile and then turned right on an unnamed road (now abandoned) that ran directly northwest to Brown's Mill and the Ricketyback Road.

The noon hour found McCook's advance guard at the western end of the Ricketyback Road, three miles southwest of Newnan, approaching the intersection with the Corinth Road. Bone tired and battle weary, they had been in the saddle almost constantly for four days and three nights when the high-pitched keen of the Rebel yell suddenly echoed from the surrounding thickets. Then a rattling volley of gunshots erupted as Ashby's men sprang a perfect ambush, taking the blue-coated column completely by surprise. Frightened troopers in the front ranks turned and bolted to the rear. Desperately trying to rally these fugitives, Lieutenant Colonel Torrey fell mortally wounded. Major George Purdy took command and soon fled from the field with most of Torrey's brigade.

At the opposite end of the Ricketyback Road, Joe Wheeler and the rest of his command dismounted and struck the Yankee column's flank. Immediately, McCook ordered Croxton's and Harrison's brigades to dismount and form a line facing to the right. A swarm of Rebel bullets clipping through the dense underbrush initially drove the men on Harrison's right flank back about a hundred yards, but the raiders soon rallied and quickly regained the lost ground. Their success allowed McCook to recall Croxton's brigade to face a new threat. The Rebel ambush had cut off Torrey's men at the head of the column, he explained. He directed Croxton to send a regiment to reopen the road at once. Croxton sent an aide to find Colonel Joseph Dorr. Riding in an ambulance after being painfully wounded the previous day, Dorr had the aide carry the order to his second in command, Major Richard Root.

As Major Root and the 8th Iowa formed for the charge, Wheeler renewed the assault on McCook's right. "Follow me! My brave men!" he commanded. A wild Rebel yell answered the little general as he led his Texans and Tennesseans back into the fight. At the same time, "Sul" Ross's Texas brigade came up on their right, dismounted, and joined the fight.

The onslaught simply overwhelmed McCook's right flank, threatening to get between Tom Harrison's men and their horses. As troopers began falling back, Harrison sent an orderly to bring up his mount. While he waited, the fighting swirled around him, separating him from his command. Then a severe cramp in his right leg hobbled his efforts to retreat. Surrounded, and on foot, he reluctantly surrendered.

Sweeping past the captured Yankee colonel, Wheeler's men drove the rest of Harrison's hard pressed troopers across the Ricketyback Road, through a patch of timber, and into a hundred-acre field. In forty minutes of furious fighting, the Confederates had captured 250 prisoners, including Tom Harrison and a badly wounded William Torrey. As Wheeler halted to realign the disarrayed Rebel ranks, he heard heavy firing to his right and rear.

It was the 8th Iowa. Major Root had formed the regiment in a column of fours and charged down the Ricketyback Road, knifing through the right side of the Rebel line and capturing "Sul" Ross. Almost immediately, Ross's 3rd Texas Cavalry about-faced and charged on foot, recapturing Ross and driving the Iowans back. The rest of Wheeler's men also hurried toward the sound of the guns. Three times they surrounded Major Root's embattled regiment. Three times the Iowans cut their way out. It was, said one Rebel cavalryman, "a Kilkenny cat fight for nearly an hour."

The woods echoed with the roar of McCook's two pieces of artillery, which had unlimbered just south of the Ricketyback Road on a little rise in the yard of a log house of a retired Presbyterian minister named Cook. For half an hour, the artillerymen fought alone, hurling shells and canister into the Rebel ranks. In the midst of this chaos and confusion, McCook simply lost his nerve. Believing he was "completely surrounded" by "an overwhelming force," he stood first on one foot, then on the other, rubbing his hands together as he turned around and around. "What shall we do? What shall we do?" he implored over the thunder of the guns. "What shall we do?" Turning to John Croxton, he directed the colonel to "Take command and do the best you can."

As the fighting raged back and forth through the tangled woods and gullies, McCook suffered heavy casualties, while Wheeler received substantial reinforcements. Brigadier General Robert H. Anderson arrived with about 400 Confederate cavalymen who had followed Wheeler all the way from Flat Shoals. They went into the fight about the same time General Roddey marched up with about 1,000 dismounted cavalymen, convalescent soldiers, and medical personnel from Newnan's four military hospitals. Fighting on foot alongside Wheeler's men, these troops repeatedly charged the thin Yankee lines, steadily crowding them back.

By late afternoon, two of McCook's brigade commanders were missing in action; his men were running out of ammunition. Calling his subordinate officers together, McCook declared the situation was hopeless. He was going to surrender.

"Gentlemen," replied Colonel Jim Brownlow of the 1st Tennessee Cavalry, "you can all surrender and be damned. I'm going out with my regiment." When other officers echoed these sentiments, McCook relented and agreed to let Colonels Brownlow and Croxton try to cut their way through the Confederate lines.

Abandoning dozens of dead and wounded, and all their artillery and ambulances, McCook's men mounted their horses and headed south. As they crossed Sandy Creek near the Brown's Mill dam (now part of the Walker Moody property on land lot 76), McCook mustered up enough mettle to issue a final command. "This retreat must be protected," he ordered Colonel Dorr, who had gotten out of an ambulance to lead his men. While McCook's column disappeared in the distance, Dorr's 8th Iowa remained behind and continued fighting until the Confederates cut off their escape, compelling the entire regiment to surrender.

Wheeler followed the fleeing Federals until dark. Leaving "Red" Jackson to gather up the captured cannon, ambulances, and several hundred prisoners, he sent several detachments toward the Chattahoochee to continue the pursuit and then started back to Newnan. On the edge of town, he and his staff stopped in front of Hugh Buchanan's white-columned house, Buena Vista, on LaGrange Street. Invited inside, Wheeler sat down at a desk in the parlor, spread out his maps, and promptly fell fast asleep.

But there was no sleep for the three large groups of frightened, hungry, Yankee troopers who fled toward the Chattahoochee that night. About 9:00 PM, Major George Purdy and the remnants of Torrey's brigade reached Williams' (later Bowen's) Ferry, 15 miles above Franklin. Using three old canoes and swimming their horses alongside, they worked all night and escaped to the far shore.

A few miles downstream, a column led by Colonel Jim Brownlow reached the river at Hollingsworth Ferry. Finding neither ferryboat nor ford, many of the men urged their horses into the water and tried to swim across. Scores of others were still crowded on the riverbank when Wheeler's 5th Tennessee and 3rd Arkansas Cavalry swooped down on them at daylight on July 31st and captured over 100 prisoners after a brief skirmish.

The largest Yankee column, McCook and about 1,200 of his men, galloped down the road to Corinth and then turned toward Philpott's Ferry. They reached the Chattahoochee, eight and a half miles below Franklin, about 11:00 PM. The ferryboat was gone, but a slave obligingly showed one of McCook's officers where it had been sunk at the mouth of New River, a few hundred yards upstream. Yankee troopers hastily refloated the frail craft and began shuttling men and horses across the river. They were still plying back and forth when Wheeler's 5th Georgia Cavalry suddenly appeared on the hills above the landing just after dawn. Shots rang out, starting a wild stampede down to the water's edge. Within minutes, the Confederates captured all the raiders stranded on the riverbank, along with several hundred horses and mules.

McCook led those who escaped on a roundabout retreat through eastern Alabama and western Georgia. He eventually reached the Union lines near Marietta, but the raid had cost him almost half his command.

In Newnan, during the days after the battle, Wheeler's cavalry herded about 1,200 captured Yankees into town and confined them in a two-story cotton warehouse on Perry Street, midway between the courthouse and the railroad depot. As soon as section gangs repaired the damage to the railroad at Palmetto, trains arrived to carry the captured raiders to Confederate prisoner of war camps at Macon and Andersonville.

The fighting at Brown's Mill cost McCook about 100 killed and wounded, while Wheeler's casualties probably numbered less than 50. Newnan's military hospitals treated injured Rebels and Yanks alike, and buried those who died of their wounds at Oak Hill Cemetery on the north side of town. Three years later, in June and July of 1867, the United States Army removed the remains of approximately 34 raiders from the Brown's Mill battlefield and Oak Hill for reburial at the Marietta National Cemetery.

Four decades later, another solemn ceremony took place. On June 17, 1908, members of the Newnan chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy gathered at the corner of the Corinth and Millard Farmer roads, on the ground where the battle of Brown's Mill began. There they dedicated a simple marble monument which still stands today. It honors General "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler and the courage, sacrifice, and skill that overcame fearful odds to win an incredible victory.

## The Meaning of the Battle of Brown's Mill to the Atlanta Campaign

Brown's Mill was not the biggest battle of the Atlanta campaign. It was not the bloodiest. Out of roughly 2,000 Union troops and 2,500 Confederates who fought there, fewer than 150 were



killed or wounded. But these grim statistics fail to convey the significance of what happened at Brown's Mill on that hot summer day in July of 1864. This seemingly small battle had an enormous effect on the course of the Atlanta campaign, and several notable individuals figured prominently in the fighting.

On the Confederate side, Private James L. Pierpont served as a company clerk in the 5th Georgia Cavalry. Military records do not confirm he was actually with his regiment when it rode up to reinforce the Confederate lines on July 30, but there is no question about his musical talents. In 1857 he had composed a little song that has become a Christmas favorite - "Jingle Bells."

In the Union ranks, Private George W. Healey, of the 5th Iowa Cavalry, captured and disarmed five Confederate soldiers during the confused fighting in the woods south of the Ricketyback Road and then marched them back into the Union lines. This remarkable feat earned him America's highest award for valor, the Medal of Honor.

Private Healey's heroics contrasted sharply with the conduct of his commander, Brigadier General Edward M. McCook. One of Ohio's famous "Fighting McCooks," he performed poorly at Brown's Mill, but still rose to the rank of major general before the war ended. He later became the United States minister to the Hawaiian Islands and twice served as governor of the Colorado Territory before charges of corruption forced him to resign.

One of McCook's senior subordinates, Colonel John T. Croxton, narrowly escaped capture during the hurried retreat from the battlefield. After a harrowing two-week journey on foot with his fourteen-year-old orderly, he finally reached the safety of the Union lines around Atlanta and learned of his promotion to brigadier general. After the war, he served briefly as America's ambassador to Bolivia.

Croxton's Confederate opponent during much of the fighting at Brown's Mill, Brigadier General Lawrence S. "Sul" Ross, returned from the war penniless. Elected governor of Texas in 1887, and again in 1891, he later became the president of Texas A & M University.

Brigadier General William H. "Red" Jackson also commanded Confederate troops at the battle of Brown's Mill. After the war, he acquired Belle Meade plantation, near Nashville, and earned a reputation as one of the South's most renowned breeders of Thoroughbred race horses.

But of all the Rebels and Yanks who fought at Brown's Mill, undoubtedly the most famous was Major General Joseph Wheeler. By the time the war ended, he had fought in 200 battles and 800 skirmishes. Settling in Alabama, he served nine terms in the United States Congress. During the Spanish-American War he became the symbol of a reunited North and South, joining the United States Army as a major general of volunteers.

He saw action in Cuba and the Philippines, but "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler's finest hour as a soldier came at the battle of Brown's Mill. Outnumbered, outgunned, and hopelessly outdistanced, he rode down and routed McCook's column. His relentless pursuit of the raiders saved the railroads that kept Atlanta's beleaguered defenders fed and supplied, but more than that, his triumph in the

face of overwhelming odds was one of the most remarkable displays of generalship during the Civil War.

Wheeler's stunning victory at Brown's Mill on July 30, coupled with the crushing defeat of George Stoneman's column at Sunshine Church on July 31, crippled Sherman's cavalry corps. The capture of so many men and horses soon forced Sherman to change his tactics. Instead of continuing efforts to use his cavalry to cut Atlanta's railroads, he reluctantly resigned himself to laying siege to the city, the very thing these raids were supposed to help him avoid.

While Sherman's cannon began an around-the-clock bombardment, Confederate General John Bell Hood decided to mount a raid of his own. Convinced the twin defeats the Yankee horsemen had suffered at Brown's Mill and Sunshine Church would finally give his cavalry free rein in Georgia, he sent Joe Wheeler northward on August 10 to strike at Sherman's supply line, the single-tracked Atlantic & Western Railroad.

Wheeler's troopers destroyed several long sections of track, but heavily fortified blockhouses guarded all the important bridges, and well-trained section gangs stood ready to quickly repair any damage. Instead of seeing the Rebel raid as a threat, Sherman saw it as an opportunity. Believing Wheeler's absence must have left the Macon railroad lightly defended, he sent Brigadier General Judson Kilpatrick and what was left of his cavalry riding south on August 18 with orders to succeed where McCook and Stoneman had failed.

Kilpatrick's men tore up four miles of track at Jonesboro, but did not inflict any lasting injury. By the time they got back to the Union lines, Rebel supply trains were already rolling into Atlanta again.

Convinced "that cavalry could not or would not work hard enough to disable a railroad properly," Sherman lifted the siege of Atlanta on the night of August 25 and marched his infantry around the west side of the city. After pausing long enough to thoroughly wreck the Atlanta & West Point Railroad, his troops continued eastward, toward the vital Macon & Western route.

Realizing the threat this maneuver posed to his supply line, Hood ordered his infantry out of the trenches and sent them down to Jonesboro on August 31 to defend Atlanta's last rail connection with the rest of the Confederacy. Two days of bloody fighting followed. Defeated and dispirited, Hood's army abandoned Atlanta on the night of September 1, and the next morning the city surrendered to Sherman. The news of this important victory revitalized a war-weary North and helped ensure President Lincoln's reelection in November of 1864.

The little battle at Brown's Mill played a subtle, but significant role in shaping the course of these events. Wheeler's victory forced Sherman to adopt new tactics, changing the way the Atlanta campaign was fought. While this did not affect the ultimate outcome of the contest, it did prolong a pivotal struggle in the war that redefined America's destiny.

## Postwar History of Brown's Mill

Robert Y. Brown died in 1872, just a few years after the Civil War, at the age of 61 years and 9 months (Anderson 1977:64). His land eventually passed to his grandson, Robert A. Brown (1859-1898), who was counted as one-year old at the time of the 1860 census. In 1879, Robert A. Brown married Ella Barnett (1860-1945), who long outlived him (Newnan-Coweta Historical Society 1980:22; Coweta County Genealogical Society 1986). By around 1880, Robert Brown was assessed for 485 acres and appeared to reside on Lot No. 108, now listed as being in the Third District (Anderson 1977:90). In 1882, Brown's Mill was washed away in a flood (Jones and Reynolds 1928:250). It may have been at least partially re-built in subsequent years, but it appears clear that the mill went into decline in the late 1800s (David Evans, personal communication, April 28, 2003).

The mill is mentioned by name in a deed between Robert Brown and I. J. Jackson, both of Coweta County, dated December 1, 1886. Here, for the sum of \$860, Brown sold "one-third interest in the mill known as Brown's Mill in the 3<sup>rd</sup> District of said county. Together with one-third interest in 260 Acres of land, being parts of Lots 85 and 86 in the original 2<sup>nd</sup> District, new 3<sup>rd</sup> District of said county. The same being a one-third interest in the estate of Miss N. J. Brown, now deceased." Interestingly enough, even though the deed was dated to 1886, it was not recorded until January 14, 1896 (Coweta County Deed Book V, p. 345).

By 1896, Robert Brown had shed much of his grandfather's old holdings. On December 12, 1894, Brown sold the west half of Lot 109, "a tract of land in the original 2<sup>nd</sup>, now 3<sup>rd</sup> District," to Mrs. E. J. Stacy, for \$1,000 (Coweta County Deed Book U, p. 677). Just days later, on December 21, 1894, Brown received \$500 from Charles C. Parrott for the north half of Lot 108 in the 2<sup>nd</sup> District, "except 25 acres of even width off the east end of said north half, the same being the place whereon the said Robert A. Brown now resides (present 3<sup>rd</sup> District) and being the tract of land whereon is located the dwelling house and other improvements of said Robert A. Brown" (Coweta County Deed Book V, p. 228). Between 1894 and 1896, Brown sold off a number of other small parcels in Lots 108 and 109, adjacent to the Grantville and North roads.

Even though Robert Brown was beginning the process of selling his land in the years before his death, the site of "Brown's Mill" was clearly a fixture in the neighborhood. It was also the name given to the cavalry battle between McCook and Wheeler on July 30, 1864. This battle was commemorated by a stone marker placed at the southeast corner of the intersections of Corinth Road and Ricketyback (now Millard Farmer) Road in 1908 by Newnan Chapter No. 599 of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, chartered in 1902.

## The Location of Ricketyback Road

The 1908 marker, which still stands today, was placed at the southeast corner of Corinth Road and Millard Farmer Road. This is now part of the 104-acre tract acquired by Coweta County for the Brown's Mill battlefield site. This tract is also known to be the main area of the fighting during that battle, a fact recalled by local residents who remembered the battle and were still

alive in 1908. This area, however, was not the entire battlefield, as is suggested by the use of the name of “Brown’s Mill,” the site of which is some distance from the fighting along the west end of Millard Farmer Road. Wheeler’s flank attack from the north hit McCook’s cavalry while it was stretched out two miles or so along Ricketyback Road, east of the junction with Corinth Road. There is some question whether the east half of Ricketyback Road and modern Millard Farmer Road are one and the same.

There seems to be little doubt that the west half of Millard Farmer Road is in basically the same location as the west half of Ricketyback Road at the time of the Civil War. It is not at all certain that this is the case with the east half of Millard Farmer Road, which might be a much more recent roadbed. It now seems likely that the east half of the original Ricketyback Road was located further to the south, where it would have provided access to Brown’s Mill itself, something that modern Millard Farmer Road does not do.

This alternative southern route for the original Ricketyback Road is now thought feasible by David Evans, although at the time of *Sherman’s Horsemen* it was assumed that Ricketyback Road and modern Millard Farmer Road were basically identical. In the years that followed, Evans noted the growing evidence that the east half of Millard Farmer was a later roadbed and that the original Ricketyback Road was located further south, closer to Brown’s Mill. For one, Evans’s own father, who was familiar with the area, thought the east half of Millard Farmer Road was relatively recent. He remembered an older, more southern route, as evidenced today by sunken traces found south of Millard Farmer, adjacent to Old Corinth Road (the old Grantville Road). If this southern route provided access to Brown’s Mill, it might have fallen into disuse shortly after the mill itself was destroyed or was abandoned (David Evans, personal communication, April 28, 2003).

This is the sort of question that could be answered by historic maps, but unfortunately, there are no detailed maps of the project area until the early 1900s. No land plats from the 1800s have been found for Coweta County, and it appears that few were ever done at that time, perhaps because most of the original land lots were not yet subdivided. The existing land lot maps do not provide sufficient evidence to determine this issue. Surprisingly, there are no Civil War era maps that show the Newnan area in that sort of detail. Even the first U.S. Geological Survey maps of north Georgia, compiled in the late 1800s, skipped a number of counties, Coweta among them (David Evans, personal communication, April 28, 2003).

The first detailed maps of the battlefield area were compiled in the early 1900s. The first was a U.S. Soil Conservation Service map, dated to 1919 (Figure 4). This was followed by a Rural Delivery Routes map, with details clearly taken from the Soil Service map (Figure 5). This in turn is followed by another map, printed by the *Newnan Herald* in 1921 (Newnan Herald 1921). It too was copied from the Soil Service map. All three show modern Millard Farmer Road, as well as a very convoluted southern route that was probably already being phased out by the time the maps were compiled. It is quite possible that this southern route, together with the western half of Millard Farmer Road, was the original Ricketyback Road at the time of the Civil War.

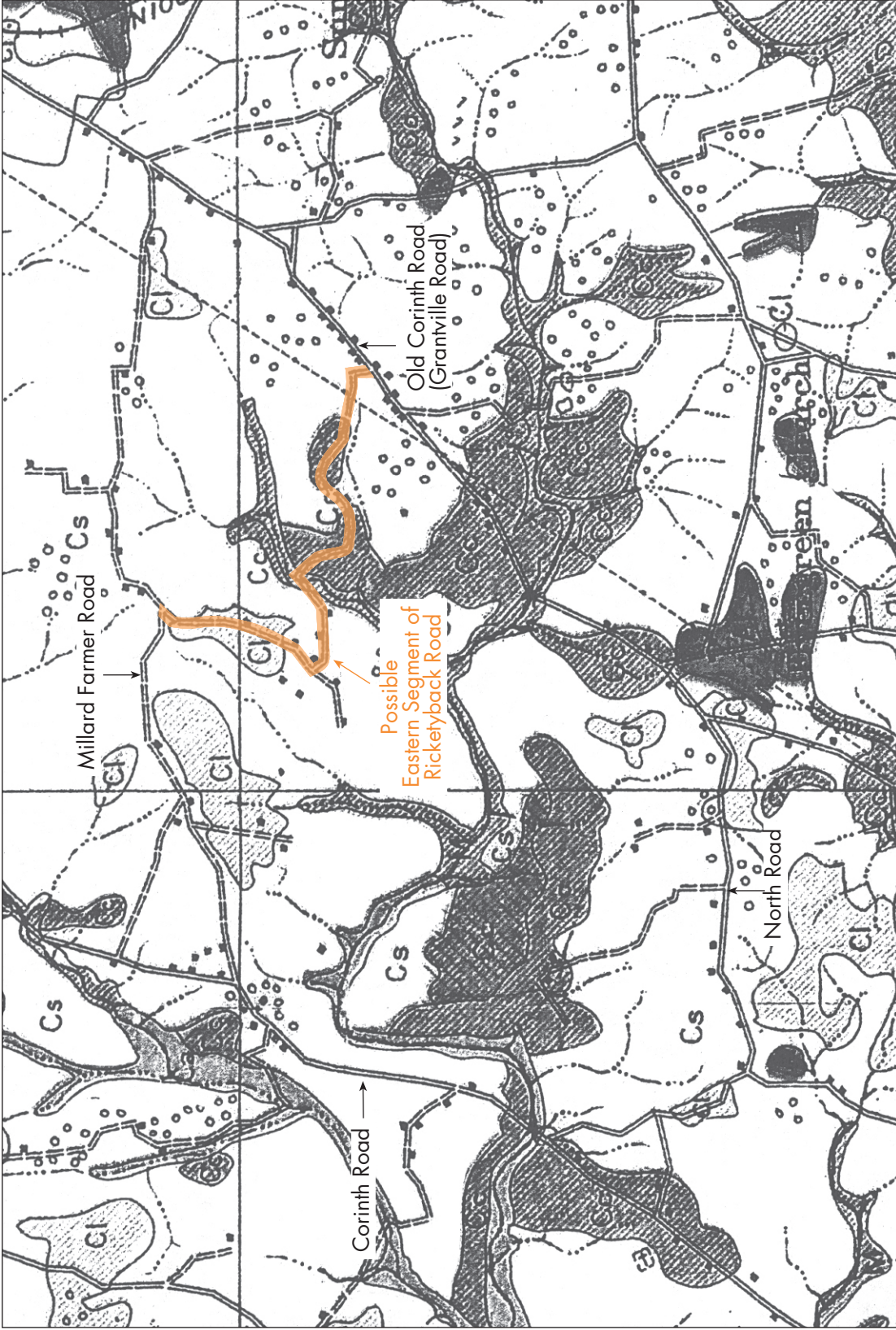
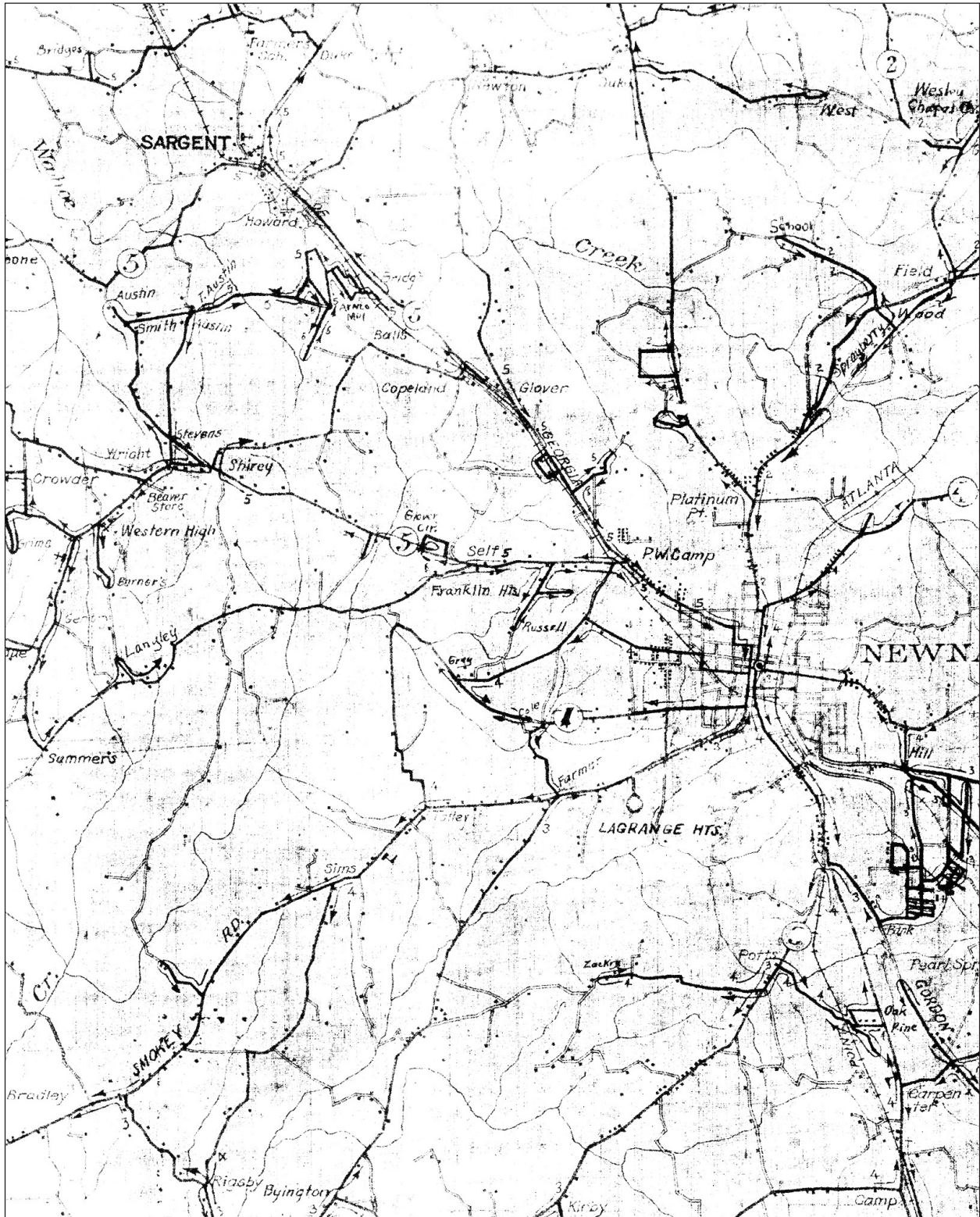


Figure 4  
 1919 Map of Project Area Showing Millard Farmer Road and What Was Possibly the Older East Half of Ricketyback Road

Figure 5  
Rural Delivery Routes Map, Based on 1919 U.S. Soil Conservation Service Map



Source: Rural Delivery Routes, c. 1919

By the time of the first aerial photographs of the project area, taken in 1938 and 1942, remnants of the old southern route are still visible, but it is clear that modern Millard Farmer Road was the main route across the area (U.S. Soil Conservation Service 1942). Huge sections of the project area were now cleared, showing fields that were probably peach orchards (David Evans, personal communication, April 28, 2003). Timber stands were limited to the stream bottoms. By 1965, when the first USGS quads covered the project area, the southern route of what was probably once the Ricketyback Road was already gone (Newnan South, Georgia 1965). The earliest county road maps on file at the University of Georgia, dated to 1963 and 1967, show the same thing (Coweta County General Highway Map 1963; 1967).

## Later History and Birth of the Battlefield Historic Site

By the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, much of the general project area, and certainly the 104-acre tract obtained for the battlefield site, belonged to Temple-Inland Forest, Inc., of Diboll, Texas (Banks 2000). This timber company planted the area in pines. With the exception of various powerline rights-of-way, much of the area today is still covered by rows of planted pines.

By the year 2000, if not before, Temple-Inland was considering Coweta County's request for a recreational lease on 100 acres at the corner of Millard Farmer and Corinth Road. From the beginning, it was expected that this would be a passive park, with vehicular parking and interpretive trails, but without full-time staff. It was also expected that the park would be part of the "greenspace" area for Coweta County (Ehrenhard 2000). That same year, the county began considering outright purchase, based on the availability of funds through the state's Greenspace Program.

The Georgia Community Greenspace Program, signed into law by Governor Roy Barnes in 1999, mandated that 20 percent of a county's total area should be dedicated as "greenspace," which would be free from development and urban sprawl. The state of Georgia was committed to providing individual counties with some of the funding for greenspace, which in the case of Coweta County would be around 80 square miles. In addition to the Brown's Mill battlefield site, other candidates for the greenspace program in Coweta County were the Chattahoochee River corridor, Dunaway Gardens, Wahoo and Line Creeks, and the Lower Fayetteville Road (Banks 2000; Jackson 2000).

In March of 2001, the Georgia Department of Natural Resources recommended that the state purchase 104 acres for the Brown's Mill battlefield site as part of the greenspace program. The site, which would contain nature trails and interpretive displays, would also be part of the Georgia Civil War Heritage Trail (Campbell 2001). On December 5, 2001, the Coweta County Commission voted unanimously to proceed with the purchase of acreage needed to create the Brown's Mill battlefield site, using funds provided to the county from the state's greenspace program and a grant from the Department of Natural Resources (Claybrook 2001).

## Collectors' Artifact Information

Given the scope of this project and the lack of funding available for independent archaeological research, it was decided early on to determine battlefield artifact concentrations based on the findings of local Civil War buffs and collectors, many of whom have canvassed the battlefield site for years. Fortunately, some of the local collectors were diligent about recording the locations of their finds. They even compiled a sketch map showing the locations of the most significant artifacts. State law OCGA 12-3-621 now prohibits anyone from digging on any land (public or private) without the owner's written permission

One of the first local collectors was Judge Byron Henley Mathews, Jr. (1916-1992). Mathews, however, did not limit himself to the Brown's Mill area, but collected artifacts from a number of sites in Georgia and surrounding states. Many of his artifacts have little provenience information (David Evans, personal communication, April 28, 2003). After Mathews' death, his collection of weapons and artifacts, most of which did not come from Brown's Mill, was donated to the Newnan-Coweta Historical Society. Now maintained at the Male Academy Museum, the collection ranges from Enfield muzzle-loaders, Spencer rifles, Springfield rifles, Maynard carbines, and shells and other ordnance, such as minié balls, 10-lbs. Hotchkiss shells and Parrott explosive shells. It is certainly a valuable collection, but not useful for plotting movements or activities at the Brown's Mill battlefield site.

Some of the later collectors compiled information that was much more useful in terms of understanding Brown's Mill. Among these collectors were Jack Greer, Kerry Elliott, and Edward Lanham. Jack Greer, now deceased, was a diligent collector, as was Kerry Elliott in previous years (David Evans, personal communication, April 28, 2003; Kerry Elliott, personal communication, April 29, 2003). In 1985, Greer, Elliott, and Jim Cabaniss (now out of the area) pooled their information to compile a sketch map of artifact finds associated with Brown's Mill (Figure 6). This sketch map basically covers the 104-acre tract purchased by the county. The sketch map, as well as Kerry Elliott's updated information, was also used to help compile our own map of the Brown's Mill area, showing artifact concentrations over the entire area bounded by Corinth Road, Millard Farmer Road, Old Corinth Road, and North Road (Figure 7).

After studying the 1985 sketch map, and after recent discussions with Kerry Elliott, it is clear that most of the material recovered so far from the Brown's Mill battlefield has been recovered from the vicinity of the 104-acre tract purchased by the county. Other artifacts have been recovered from areas south of the 104-acre tract, but not in the same concentration as those found along the west end of Millard Farmer Road.

Based on the Cabaniss map and Kerry Elliott's recollection, a number of generalizations can be made about the locations of certain types of artifacts, and what they might mean for an understanding of the battle. Relatively little has been found north of Millard Farmer Road. Spencer bullets, the most numerous type found by the collectors, have been recovered from the entire area, but most were concentrated along Millard Farmer. Sharps bullets, fewer in number than Spencers, were scattered from Millard Farmer Road to the south. Smooth-sided carbine bullets, used in Cosmopolitan carbines, were found south of Millard Farmer, in an area just south



the 104-acre tract. Only one unit of McCook's cavalry had Cosmopolitan carbines, and this was the 8<sup>th</sup> Iowa, detailed to hold off the Confederates while the rest of McCook's men made their escape south and west. Jack Greer told David Evans about finding a number of Cosmopolitan bullets south of the 104-acre tract, describing the linear pattern of his discovery. However Mr. Greer passed away before having the opportunity to show either David Evans or Kerry Elliott where the bullets were found. This almost surely was the spot where the last rear guard action of the battle took place (David Evans, personal communication, April 28, 2003). Artifacts continued south and southeast of the 104-acre tract, but in those areas, whole bullets were more common than spent shells. This suggests that by that point, McCook's cavalry was not fighting, but was in flight (Kerry Elliott, personal communication, April 29, 2003).

Little is known about McCook's artillery placement. McCook had two small cannon that were probably in the middle of the Federal cavalry train as it traveled along Ricketyback Road. Three prominent knobs just south of the middle of Millard Farmer Road would have been ideal positions for artillery, but it is not known if these knobs were used to set up the guns. Wire friction primers, which would indicate the spots where artillery were fired, have not yet been recovered (David Evans, personal communication, April 28, 2003). Alternatively, shell fragments have been reported east and southeast of the 104-acre tract. If this is accurate, it would certainly suggest that artillery was present in that area (Kerry Elliott, personal communication, April 29, 2003).

The one consistent observation from all of the local collectors is that no battlefield artifacts have ever been found along the east half of modern Millard Farmer Road. This was true for Kerry Elliott, who found very little east of the 1985 sketch map, and it was true for Edward Lanham, who has searched the power line rights-of-way in that area and failed to find any artifacts (Edward Lanham, personal communication, May 12, 2003). This is not to say that the battle was necessarily limited to the 104-acre tract, but it does suggest that Wheeler's flank attack did not occur along the east half of Millard Farmer Road. This is another reason to believe that the original location of Ricketyback Road was further south than the modern location of the east half of Millard Farmer Road.

## The Battle of Brown's Mill Within the Brown's Mill Battlefield Historic Site

Both historical research and the survey of collectors' findings indicate that the Battle of Brown's Mill was broad ranging and covered a large area south of the western end of Millard Farmer Road. The collectors' surveys and historical research also indicate that the most intensive fighting occurred within the historic site's boundaries. The historic site encompasses the area where the Confederate ambush took place, where Colonel Henry M. Ashby and his forces surprised the head of McCook's column with a blistering volley of gunfire. It likely contains the location where Union Lieutenant Colonel Torrey was mortally wounded during this ambush. It is also possibly the location where Union Private George W. Healey captured five Confederate soldiers during the fighting, which earned him America's highest award for valor, the Medal of Honor. While not known for certain, the historic site area likely contained McCook's field

headquarters where the Union General discussed surrendering and where his officers convinced him to retreat instead. While the battle ranged beyond the limits of the historic site, there is no question that the historic site represents and contains the heart of this conflict.

The Brown's Mill Battle site has been heavily collected. Fortunately, several of the collectors have been good stewards of the site's history and have mapped and recorded the general locations of their findings. As discussed above, their information helps to locate some battle actions and positions, while also raising questions about the locations of others. It is uncertain how much material still remains within the limits of the park and whether there is sufficient ammunition and other artifacts still in place to allow a more accurate mapping of the battle actions within the park's boundaries to be made. The park site has been logged over time and collector's would have had excellent visibility for collecting the site after logging had exposed the ground surface. However, since each of McCook's 2,700 cavalymen carried one hundred rounds of carbine ammunition on the raid, and Wheeler's troopers were similarly equipped, tens of thousands of rounds must have been fired during the battle. Each of McCook's regiments carried a different kind of carbine, which required a unique type of ammunition. Locating these spent bullets and cartridge cases, like a similar survey that drew world-wide attention to the Little Big Horn battle site in Montana, could allow a more accurate mapping of the action within the park's boundaries to be made, as well as providing artifacts for display in a future museum or interpretive site. However, it should be remembered that the battle was described as "a Kilkenny cat fight," with both Confederate and Union forces charging, retreating, and countercharging in a heavily wooded landscape. While it is uncertain how much "pattern" would exist for this type of battle, an archaeological survey employing metal detectors and GPS should be conducted in the near future to gauge the quantity and quality Civil War artifacts remaining on the site. This survey should specifically focus on those locations scheduled to receive the greatest degree of ground disturbance in the park's construction. If friction primers were found, this would prove conclusively that the Union artillery positions were established within the park's boundaries. Both the anthropology department at the University of West Georgia and the GIS program at the Georgia Institute of Technology have expressed interest in such a project, in consultation with Dr. David Evans.

## The Relationship of the Brown's Mill Battlefield as a Historic Site in the Atlanta Campaign

The Brown's Mill Battlefield Historic Site will be the only Civil War park south of Atlanta as well as one of only two Civil War parks in the nation featuring a cavalry battle. Most of the Atlanta Campaign park sites are located on the north side of the city, including the National Park Service's Kennesaw Mountain Park in Cobb County and the State of Georgia's Pickett's Mill Site in Paulding County. The State of Georgia is also developing a park for the Battle of Resaca, farther to the north. In the City of Atlanta, the Cyclorama in Grant Park presents the history of the Battle of Atlanta, while nearby are the ruins of Fort Walker. The only cavalry battle site which is interpreted nationally is Brices Crossroads, in Mississippi. The land containing the remains of Brandy Station in Virginia, another Civil War cavalry battle site, has been purchased for preservation but has not been developed as a park.

The Brown's Mill Battlefield Historic Site will be the only Civil War battlefield devoted to interpreting an cavalry raid. The entire 250-mile route will be laid out in miniature on the ground where the Union and Confederate cavalymen fought, a unique approach for which there are no competitors. The challenge to the historic site will be drawing Civil War tourists to the south side of Atlanta. Opportunities exist in drawing tourists who are traveling to Atlanta from the west; in enhancing Newnan as a heritage tourism destination, with Browns Mill offering another attraction for heritage tourism in town; and in playing-up the unique aspects of this battle and park.

## Sources

Coweta County Records Library; 200 Court Square; Newnan, GA 30263; telephone (770) 254-2696.

Coweta County Superior Court Clerk's Office; 200 Court Square; Newnan, GA 30263; telephone (770) 254-2690.

Coweta County Tax Commissioner's Office; Property Tax Section; County Administration Building; 22 East Broad Street; Newnan, GA 30263; telephone (770) 254-2670.

Elliott, Kerry; P.O. Box 224; Newnan, GA 30264; telephone (770) 253-2073/251-3743.

Evans, David; 229 Oak Grove Road; Athens, GA; telephone (706) 543-8919.

Georgia Archives; 5800 Jonesboro Road; Morrow, GA 30260; telephone (678) 364-3710.

History Center at the Old A & WP Railroad Depot; 60 East Broad Street; Newnan, GA 30263; Curator, Elizabeth Beers; telephone (home) (770) 253-0500.

Lanham, Edward Jordan; Historical Research and Preservation; 200 Carrington Lane; Brooks, GA 30205; telephone (770) 719-8583/716-8880.

Map Collection, Science Library; University of Georgia; Athens, GA 30602; telephone (706) 542-0690

Newnan-Coweta Historical Society; P.O. Box 1001; Newnan, GA 30264; telephone (770) 251-0207.

## References Cited

Anderson, W. U.

1977 *A History of Coweta County from 1825 to 1880*. Republished in 1977 by Newnan-Coweta Historical Society. On file, Georgia Archives.

Banks, Bill

2000 "Development Threatens Intact Battlefield," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, June 15, 2000. On file, Newnan-Coweta Historical Society.

Cabaniss, Jim

1985 Battle of Brown's Mill, July 30, 1864. Sketch map drawn by Jim Cabaniss. Geographical features as of January 11, 1985. Depicted are locations of artifacts collected by Jim Cabaniss, Jack Greer, and Kerry Elliott. On file, David Evans.

Campbell, Sarah Fay

2001 "State Pushes Battlefield Site," *The Times Herald* (Newnan, Georgia), March 2, 2001. On file, Newnan-Coweta Historical Society.

Claybrook, Clint

2001 "County Buys Brown's Mill Battle Site," *The Times-Herald* (Newnan, Georgia), December 5, 2001. On file, Newnan-Coweta Historical Society.

Coweta County Genealogical Society

1981 *Coweta County, Georgia, Pioneers from the 1827 Land Lottery, 1830 Census and 1840 Census*. Coweta County Genealogical Society. On file, Georgia Archives.

Coweta County Genealogical Society

1986 *Coweta County, Georgia, Cemeteries*. Coweta County Genealogical Society, W. H. Wolfe Associates, Roswell, Georgia. On file, Georgia Archives.

Coweta County Genealogical Society Magazine

1983 *Coweta County Genealogical Society Magazine, Commemorative Edition, Volume 2, Issue 3, Spring 1983*. On file, Coweta County Superior Court Clerk's Office.

Coweta County General Highway Map

1963 Coweta County General Highway Map. State Highway Department of Georgia, Division of Highway Planning, in cooperation with U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Public Roads. On file, Map Collection, Science Library, University of Georgia.

Coweta County General Highway Map

1967 Coweta County General Highway Map. State Highway Department of Georgia, Division of Highway Planning, in cooperation with U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Public Roads. On file, Map Collection, Science Library, University of Georgia.

Coweta County Key Map

1990 Coweta County Key Map. Southeastern Reprographics, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, January 1990. On file, Newnan-Coweta Historical Society.

Coweta County Tax Digest

1845-1846 Coweta County Tax Digest. On file, Coweta County Tax Commissioner's Office.

1854 Coweta County Tax Digest. On file, Coweta County Tax Commissioner's Office.

1855-1857 Coweta County Tax Digest. On file, Coweta County Tax Commissioner's Office.

1861 Coweta County Tax Digest. On file, Coweta County Tax Commissioner's Office.

## Ehrenhard, Ellen

2000 Letter from Ellen Ehrenhard, Executive Director, Newnan-Coweta Historical Society, to Tracey Dickerson, Temple-Inland, Cedartown, Georgia, November 2, 2000. On file, Newnan-Coweta Historical Society.

## Elliott, W. Kerry

c.1985 Letter from W. Kerry Elliott, Civil War Memorabilia Collector, to David Evans. On file, David Evans.

## Evans, William David

1976 McCook's Raid, July 27-August 3, 1864. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Georgia, Athens. On file, David Evans.

1996 *Sherman's Horsemen: Union Cavalry Operations in the Atlanta Campaign*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

## Georgia Heritage Magazine

2001 "A Confederate Hospital Town," *Georgia Heritage Magazine*, Summer 2001. On file, Newnan-Coweta Historical Society.

## Jackson, Dean

2000 "Coweta Considers Sites for Purchase with State Money," *The Times-Herald* (Newnan, Georgia), 26 September 2000. On file, Newnan-Coweta Historical Society.

## Jones, Mary G., and Lily Reynolds

1928 *Coweta County Chronicles for One Hundred Years*. Stein Printing Co., Atlanta, Georgia. On file, Georgia Archives.

## Male Academy Museum

1994 Male Academy Museum, 1883, Newnan, Georgia. Pamphlet on file, Newnan-Coweta Historical Society.

## Newnan Herald

1921 The Newnan Herald Map, History, and Directory of Coweta County, Georgia. The Newnan Herald. On file, David Evans.

## Newnan-Coweta Historical Society

1980 *Coweta County, Georgia, Marriages, 1827-1979*. Newnan-Coweta Historical Society. On file, Georgia Archives.

## Newnan-Coweta Historical Society

1988 *A History of Coweta County, Georgia*. Compiled and written by Newnan-Coweta Historical Society. On file, Georgia Archives.

## Newnan South, Georgia

1965 Newnan South, Georgia, USGS 7.5-Minute Topographic Map. Topography from aerial photographs taken 1962. Field checked 1965.

## Newnan South, Georgia

1981 Newnan South, Georgia, USGS 7.5-Minute Topographic Map. Topography from aerial photographs taken 1962. Field checked 1965. Photorevised 1973; photo-inspected 1981.

## Rural Delivery Routes

c.1919 Rural Delivery Routes, Coweta County, Georgia. On file, David Evans.

## Steinback, Shirley Pitts

1991 *The 1860 Census of Coweta County, Georgia*. Compiled for Coweta County Genealogical Society. On file, Georgia Archives.

## U.S. Soil Conservation Service

1919 Soil Map of Coweta County. U.S. Soil Conservation Service. On file, David Evans.

## U.S. Soil Conservation Service

1938 Aerial Photographs of Coweta County. U.S. Department of Agriculture, U.S. Soil Conservation Service. JQ-2-64, 66, 87, and 89. On file, Map Collection, Science Library, University of Georgia.

1942 Aerial Photographs of Coweta County. U.S. Department of Agriculture, U.S. Soil Conservation Service. JQ-2C-9 and JQ-2C-32. On file, Map Collection, Science Library, University of Georgia.

**Figure 6. Jim Cabaniss's Map of Collectors Finds from the Brown's Mill Battlefield, ca. 1985. (Foldout in Pocket – Not for Public Distribution).**



**Figure 7. Generalized Map of the Brown's Mill Battlefield Area, Showing Artifact Locations Revealed by Collectors and Historic Features (Foldout in Pocket – Not for Public Distribution).**