

TENNESSEE HISTORICAL QUARTERLY
CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION ARTICLES
1982-1996

Spring 1982

Nashville's Fort Negley: A Symbol of Blacks Involvement with the Union Army (pp 3-22)
By Bobby Lovett

“To tell the history of Fort Negley, the historian must relate the story of the Union Army’s occupation of Nashville, the building of numerous fortifications and the involvement of local blacks in the building of the forts and filling of vital positions in the Union Army.” Lovett traces the fall of Nashville, Andrew Johnson’s pressure to get forts built, the creation of contraband camps, the role of local blacks first as forced labor and then as army recruits, the Battle of Nashville, and what happened to Fort Negley after the war.

Valiant Chaplain of the Bloody Tenth (pp 37-47)
By Peter J. Meany, O.S.B.

Father Emmeran Bliemel (1831-1864) was pastor of Assumption Church in Nashville at the start of the Civil War and became the only Catholic Confederate chaplain to lose his life in the war. Born in Bavaria and a Benedictine monk, Bliemel came to the U.S. in 1851 and to the Diocese of Nashville in 1860. During the first half of the war, Bliemel served Nashville parishes and ministered to Union soldiers, although he was suspected of smuggling drugs and other contraband to Confederate troops, when he was allowed to cross the lines. In Fall 1863, the priest finally received permission from the bishop to join the Tenth Tennessee Infantry, CSA , as chaplain and he joined them at Chattanooga. He served in the Atlanta campaign, and was killed at the Battle of Jonesborough on September 1, 1864, while giving last rites to a wounded soldier.

Summer 1982 None

Fall 1982

Major-General Benjamin Franklin Cheatham and the Battle of Stones River (pp 279-292)
By Christopher Losson

Losson details the role of Cheatham and his division at Stones River on December 30, 1862-January 4, 1863. His troops first faced U.S. generals George Cook and Alexander McCook near the Franklin and Triune roads. Some of the Confederate officers did not follow the battle plan, and “Cheatham’s performance was extremely suspect.” When Cheatham’s men renewed the attack, there was confusion and he had heavy losses, “a stupendous 36% casualty rate.” After the battle, William Hardee claimed Cheatham was drunk, although this account is countered by Samuel Watkins. Although Braxton Bragg succeeded in tarnishing Cheatham’s leadership at Murfreesboro, Cheatham remained close to his men in the spring of 1863.

Winter 1982

The Nashville Institute and Roger Williams University: Benevolence, Paternalism, and Black Consciousness, 1867-1910 (pp 360-379)

By Eugene TeSelle

The first portion of this article covers the establishment by Daniel W. Phillips of the Nashville Institute, for African American students, in 1866 near Fort Gillem. Phillips was Welsh, educated as a Baptist minister in Massachusetts, and had moved to Nashville in 1864. A competitor of Fisk University, established nearby, the school purchased property on the Hillsboro Pike in 1874-1875. In 1882 the school incorporated as Roger Williams University. The school operated with difficulty until 1905, and in 1910 the campus was purchased for George Peabody College for Teachers.

Spring 1983

Albert Roberts, Journalist of the New South, Part I (pp 18-38)

By James Summerville

Humorist and journalist Albert Roberts was born in Nashville in 1835 and worked on his father's newspapers, the *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* and *The South-Western Monthly*. In April 186 he joined the Hickory Guards, later Co. A, Twentieth Tennessee Infantry, CSA. Roberts wrote dispatches from the front as "John Happy," fighting at Fishing Creek and Shiloh. He term of service ended in May 1862, but he then volunteered with John Morgan through the fall of 1862. Roberts then worked on the *Chattanooga Rebel* and in 1863 moved on to Atlanta newspapers, including the relocated *Memphis Appeal Confederacy*. After the war, Roberts returned to Nashville and published the *Republican Banner* from September 1865. His paper's postwar political stances into the 1870s are detailed in the latter portion of this article.

How Say You, Senator Fowler? (pp 39-57)

By Walter T. Durham

Joseph Smith Fowler (1820-1902) was U.S. senator from Tennessee during the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson. A native of Ohio, Fowler came to Nashville in 1844 to teach at Franklin College. He later became a lawyer. As early as December 1860, the Unionist Fowler corresponded with Andrew Johnson seeking to keep Tennessee from seceding. When the war began, Fowler moved his family to Illinois but he returned in May 1862 to become Johnson's state comptroller – his office was located in the Capitol, where he also guarded the State Library [and THS collections]. A leader of the Union cause in Tennessee, Fowler campaigned for the Lincoln-Johnson ticket in 1864, and, in July 1866, he became the first senator-elect from a Confederate state to be admitted to the U.S. Senate. His actions in the impeachment trial are also detailed. Fowler voted to acquit Johnson in 1868 and was credited with determining Johnson's fate. In 1869, Fowler was "read out" of the Republican Party for his vote, and after his term ended in 1871 practiced law in Washington.

Summer 1983

Beersheba Springs and L. Virginia French: The Novelist as Historian (pp 115-137)

By Herschel Gower

After a brief introduction regarding the writing of Lucy Virginia Smith French and her time at Beersheba Springs during the Civil War, a long excerpt from her novel *Darlingtonia; The Eaters*

and the Eaten is provided. The 1879 novel appeared in serial form and was taken almost directly from French's wartime diary. She describes the resort, the refugees there, Forrest's own account of his raid on Murfreesboro, the aftermath of Stone's River, and an attack by plundering Union guerillas.

The Old Anderson Road: Lifeline to Chattanooga (pp 165-178)
By Patricia L. Hudson

A farm/toll road that climbed Walden's Ridge, the Anderson Road was used by the Union to get supplies while under siege at Chattanooga in fall 1863. CSA General Braxton Bragg chose to besiege the Union troops rather than follow up on the Battle of Chickamauga, creating "the worst food crisis in the history of the Union Army." The Union attempted to bring supplies from Bridgeport, Alabama, via the Sequatchie Valley to the Anderson Road, but the supply train intercepted and destroyed by Gen. Joseph Wheeler's cavalry. Later wagons managed to bring in some food along the road, a steep and crooked climb. The Union need for the road ended in late October 1863 with the arrival of U.S. Grant, who regained river access from the Confederates. In the 1930s, the road was abandoned by local users when a new highway was constructed.

Fall 1983

Benjamin Franklin Cheatham: The Early Years (pp 266-280)
By Timothy D. Johnson

This article gives background on the future Confederate general Cheatham, focusing on his service in the Mexican War and his sometimes failed efforts to establish a career in politics in the 1850s.

From Reconciliation to Reconstruction: Lincoln, Johnson, and Tennessee, Part I (pp 281-298)
By Peter Maslowski

The issue of reconciliation and reconstruction bedeviled Lincoln from the time most of Tennessee was captured in 1862. Lincoln's approach to restoration in Tennessee and the other Southern states partially occupied that year differed according to each situation. In the case of Tennessee, Lincoln had expected to begin reconstruction in Union East Tennessee, nor the Confederate Middle and West. He reacted quickly by appointing Andrew Johnson as military governor, but they then had to deal with the hostile civilian population, made more difficult by the novelty of the situation. Military governance was "a radical extension of federal authority into the internal affairs of states." Johnson had a three part policy in 1862: repress conscious disloyalty, welcome those who renounced past errors, and initiate political action. He had to negotiate with Lincoln for power to enforce these policies. Meanwhile, in late 1862 Lincoln still sought to regain East Tennessee as Congress criticized his military governments.

Winter 1983

Military Hospitals in Memphis, 1861-1865 (pp 325-342)
By Patricia M. LaPointe

Memphis's geographic location made it important for military medical care to both the

Confederacy and the Union. The Confederates organized 1,200 hospital beds, and after it occupied Memphis in 1862, the Union expanded to over 5,000 hospital beds by 1863. Disease was a greater enemy than ammunition, accounting for an estimated 66% of Union deaths and 75% of Confederate. The few existing hospitals were requisitioned, as well as churches, hotels, and mercantile buildings. The challenges for organizing the hospitals, arranging equipment and supplies, breakthroughs in hygiene, and reaction to battles and the sinking of the *Sultana* are discussed, along with key doctors, nurses, and officials.

From Reconciliation to Reconstruction: Lincoln, Johnson, and Tennessee, Part II (pp 343-361)
By Peter Maslowski

Maslowski continues his analysis Lincoln's reconstruction efforts in Tennessee, largely affected by his military governor Andrew Johnson. Johnson was initially magnanimous toward his fellow Tennesseans but by late 1862 he adopted a sterner attitude. Johnson's change in policy split the Unionist ranks into radical and conservative factions, with "momentous consequences" on Tennessee's reconstruction. The actions of these factions and their leaders are discussed as they attempted to influence Lincoln and Johnson. Lincoln's Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction in December 1863 provoked heated debate. Johnson himself was displeased with Lincoln's oath of amnesty – Johnson's oath denied suffrage to ex-Confederates who had taken Lincoln's. Lincoln also refused to interfere in Tennessee elections, including the presidential election of 1864 that made Johnson vice-president. With Lincoln's assassination, it would be Johnson's vision that prevailed in forming a new Tennessee government in 1865.

Spring 1984

William Gannaway Brownlow, Part I (pp 25-43)
By James C. Kelly

The first installment of a profile of Brownlow (born 1805) details his early life as a Methodist circuit rider until his marriage at age 31. He then worked at his father-in-law's ironworks for a few years before becoming editor of the *Tennessee Whig* in 1839. Brownlow became increasingly involved in politics and religious disputes and ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1845. He was outspoken in his defense of slavery in the 1840s and 1850s. He supported John Bell and the Constitutional Party in 1860, and much as he disliked abolition, he could not follow Tennessee into secession: "I am for the Union, though every other institution in the Country perish." His views began to bring him into alliance with an old antagonist, Andrew Johnson.

Tennesseans at the Confederate Constitutional Convention (pp 44-48)
By Roger D. Hardaway

The three Tennessee delegates to the February-March 1862 CSA constitutional convention are profiled. James Patton Anderson (1822-1872) was from Franklin County, later moved to Mississippi and Washington Territory, and lived in Florida at the time of secession. He raised a volunteer company and became a CSA major general, fighting in Tennessee at Shiloh, Stone's River, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga. He settled in Memphis after the war. William Simpson Oldham (1813-1868) was also from Franklin County. He moved to Arkansas in the 1830s, serving in the legislature and on the state supreme court. In the late 1840s, he went to Texas,

which he represented in Montgomery. Later a Confederate senator, Oldham went to Mexico at war's end, but then returned to Texas. John Henniger Reagan (1818-1905) was born in Sevier County, moving to Mississippi in the late 1830s as an overseer and then on to Texas. He was a Texas congressman from 1857-1861 and became postmaster general of the Confederacy. He returned to Texas after the war, advocated swift reconciliation, and returned to U.S. Congress in 1875, where he served as representative and senator until retiring in 1891.

Summer 1984

Deaths and Disabilities in the Provisional Army of Tennessee (pp 132-154)

By *Harris D. Riley, Jr., and Amos Christie*

Although there is little recorded material on the Confederate army – the records were burned in Richmond in April 1865 – the authors had access to records on the Provisional Army of Tennessee. These included a roster of 100 men discharged by certificate of disability from July 1-August 20, 1861, and a roster of 55 men who died from May 26-September 27, 1861. None of the medical conditions were combat-related. The most frequent cause of dismissal was respiratory illnesses, especially tuberculosis. Gastrointestinal, eye disorders, skeletal problems, nerve disorders, and infections came next in order. Only four were dismissed for injuries. The deaths occurred at camps and hospitals across the state from Bristol to Memphis. Typhoid fever was the most frequent cause, followed by measles and pneumonia, which can be a complication from measles. Gunshot wounds (two instances) and malaria were other causes. The authors discuss the causes behind the fact that the overwhelming majority of deaths in the Civil War came from disease and previously contracted disabilities. Poor camp hygiene and nutrition contributed to this. Soldiers from rural areas suffered more than urban residents – they had not been previously exposed to diseases such as typhoid and the “eruptive fevers,” such as measles. The Confederate army would suffer in a similar way.

William Gannaway Brownlow, Part II (pp 155-172)

By *James C. Kelly*

In part two of his profile, Kelly traces Brownlow's Civil War and post-war political career. Brownlow's *Whig* called for a Union convention in May and June 1861, which petitioned for separate statehood for East Tennessee. After his arrest for treason in December 1861 and his release in March, Brownlow toured the North, returning to Tennessee in 1863. He resumed publication that November in Knoxville, with the *Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator*, and was appointed U.S. Treasury Agent. In January 1865, Brownlow was elected governor. When moderates were subsequently elected to Congress in August, Brownlow threw out the election, and to gain additional support for his positions he pursued the enfranchisement of freedmen. He was plagued by the Ku Klux Klan and appealed for federal troops to restore order. In 1869, he was selected as U.S. Senator and by 1870 moderates prevailed. After leaving office in 1875, Brownlow returned to Knoxville, where he died in 1877. Ultimately to Brownlow, opposition was an end in itself.

Fall 1984

Born Again in the Trenches: Revivals in the Army of Tennessee (pp 250-272)

By *G. Clinton Prim, Jr.*

Revivals took place throughout the history of the Army of Tennessee, but the pinnacle of activity occurred in the winter 1863 through spring 1864. Revivals happened most often while the army was in winter quarters, with the first in late 1862. Camp meetings also assisted the revivals. Chaplains were usually in short supply in the army, scarcely averaging one to a brigade, so they organized to better able preach to the troops. Commanding officers also sometimes helped lead the revivals. Letters and memoirs related to the revivals are quoted. While the army was in Dalton, Georgia, in February 1864, chaplains T.H. Davenport and John B. Chapman held a revival so popular that a chapel holding more than 1,000 was erected. It lasted nearly three months. Revivals continued into the spring, but the battles around Atlanta led to a decline in gatherings, but revivalism continued in the Army of Tennessee until the close of the war in 1865.

Winter 1984

E.O. Tade, Freedmen=s Education, and the Failure of Reconstruction in Tennessee (pp 376-389)
By C. Stuart McGehee

Rev. Ewing Ogden Tade (1828-1919) worked in Tennessee from 1865-1875, establishing the first public school in Chattanooga. The American Missionary Association sent the missionary and teacher to Chattanooga from Memphis, where he preached to freedmen while his wife taught in a freedmen's school. Tade arrived in Chattanooga in December 1866, organizing rudimentary schools. He hoped to build religious, economic, and educational instruction. He established Howard School – the city's first public educational institution -- and in 1867 became the city school commissioner. He also organized a branch of the National Freedmen's Savings & Trust Bank in 1868. Tade's successes and the defeat of some of his work are discussed. After 1870, local whites worked against his interest in schools, and in 1871 the bank branch closed. In 1873, Tade left Chattanooga for Tusculum College. In 1875, he and his family left for Reno, Nevada. However, Tade was confident he had laid a firm base in Chattanooga for institutions in the black community.

Elizabeth Avery Meriwether, AAn Advocate for Her Sex @: Feminism and Conservatism in the Post-Civil War South (pp 390-407)
By Kathleen Christine Berkeley

Elizabeth Avery Meriwether (1824-1917) “not only believed she was an observer of history, but also an actor.” Born in Bolivar, she was the daughter of a doctor and a mother raised on a large plantation. The family moved to Memphis in 1835, but after her parents death in 1847-1848, Elizabeth and her sisters opened a school in their home to meet expenses. She married Minor Meriwether in 1852, a civil engineer with the Memphis and Tennessee Railroad. The Meriwethers supported Southern independence and Minor joined the Confederate army, rising to colonel in rank. Elizabeth left Memphis in late 1862, banished by Sherman on 24 hours notice, and her property was confiscated. For 2½ years she and her children lived as refugees. At war's end, they returned to Memphis and helped form a Ku Klux Klan chapter – Elizabeth advocated giving women the right to vote to offset the franchise for freedmen. She began her reform career for temperance and woman's rights in the late 1860s; in part she was inspired by the “overplus of women” left by the war's carnage. Starting in the 1870s, she wrote novels romanticizing antebellum plantation culture and helped shape Lost Cause ideology. Her memoirs were

published after her death in 1917.

Spring 1985

Dr. Fitch's Report on the Fort Pillow Massacre (pp 27-39)

By John Cimprich and Robert C. Mainfort

Dr. Charles Fitch (1825-1890), a contract surgeon for the Federal army to the Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry, was wounded at the April 12, 1864, battle at Fort Pillow. He prepared a report on the attack in Iowa on April 30, 1864, as part of his monthly report, which is reproduced in its entirety in this article after a brief introduction. (The report was discovered in 1982 in government archives.) Fitch notes about 700 men at the fort, 96 ill or excused from duty and 20 deserting on April 11, making an active force of less than 600 Union soldiers, mostly African Americans. About fifty contraband women and children were also at the fort, but they were evacuated when fighting began about daybreak. Wounded in the thigh before 9 am, Fitch went down the bluff to the river where he tended the wounded; at 3 pm the Rebels sent a request for unconditional surrender under flag of truce – no more than 25-30 Union men had been killed or wounded at that time. When the fort's troops refused to surrender, the Confederates charged "with overwhelming numbers," and the Union troops rushed down the bluff, many throwing down their arms. All but two officers had been killed or wounded, one of these cried he surrendered but was still shot at while he ran. As soldiers pled for quarter, they were shot. Fitch found Gen. Forrest manning a Parrott gun on a gunboat, asked him for the protection due a prisoner and was escorted to the south of the breastworks protecting the Rebels. "I saw them kill every negro that made his appearance dressed in a Federal uniform." They also fired on prisoners. About 5 pm, the Confederates buried the Union dead. Fitch was among 101 prisoners, twenty of whom were wounded, and he asked Major Bradford why he did not surrender when first asked. Bradford replied he was not like Col. Hawkins who had been criticized for surrendering to Forrest at Union City. Fitch and the prisoners were paroled on April 13.

Summer 1985

Landscape and Genre Painting in Tennessee, 1810-1985

Pages 34-62 include views of Nashville, Rogersville, and Chattanooga on the eve of the Civil War, and slaves working a cornfield in 1861. War images include Fort Donelson, the Battle of Memphis and Union troops in West Tennessee and Chattanooga.

Fall 1985

None

Winter 1985

Lieutenant Thompson Reports on Chickamauga: A Comparison of Immediate and Historical Perspectives of the Battle (pp 417-438)

By Robert W. Ikard

Ikard presents the Battle of Chickamauga using the October 8, 1863, letter of James Turner Sanford Thompson, an assistant surgeon in the Third Volunteer Infantry Regiment of the Army

of Tennessee, from Spring Hill, Tennessee. This long letter describes Thompson's arrival at Chattanooga from Georgia, sighting the enemy, treatment of the wounded during the battle, going to the front line to see who was killed or wounded, the aftermath of the battle, and his doubts that Rosecrans can hold Chattanooga long. Between sections of the letter Ikard gives the context of the battle activities and strategy.

Spring 1986

None

Summer 1986

ANot Heard From Since April 12, 1864": The Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry, U.S.A. (pp 133-151)

By Charles L. Lufkin

To understand the Fort Pillow controversy and the motives some have had for disparaging the Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry, Lufkin describes the series of events in the spring campaign of 1864 that culminated in Nathan Bedford Forrest's attack on Fort Pillow. Forrest's force entered West Tennessee in March to gather recruits, mounts, and supplies. On March 24, a Federal regiment in Union City surrendered to Forrest without a fight after receiving typical demands to surrender or face dire consequences otherwise. Not finding volunteers, Forrest began to conscript men. Since some fled to Fort Pillow rather than join Forrest and the fort was also manned by resented black troops, Forrest decided to take the fort. Late in the afternoon of the April 12 attack, Forrest sent his surrender demands, which were refused by Major William F. Bradford. A subsequent U.S. Congressional hearing concluded that the Confederates then massacred the Union troops. Other historians have concluded the excessive casualties resulted from frenzied actions by the Federals. But why was the Thirteenth maligned? Unionists in Tennessee were seen as traitors and lower class, and the Thirteenth was also seen as filled with Confederate deserters who looted and robbed citizens in the area. The unit had been sent to Fort Pillow to scout and recruit. Bradford was also told to support his command off the country. Gen. Stephen Hurlbut sent four colored artillery companies to Fort Pillow to help defend against Forrest's raids. The blacks garrisoned at Fort Pillow were only there two weeks before the attack and the Thirteenth six, little time to develop a reputation for looting and violence. Bradford was later murdered by his Confederate captors, and some Forrest officers blamed him for the excessive losses for not surrendering. Later witnesses also claimed the Union garrison was drunk and that the black troops failed to take effective cover. These causes helped to defend Forrest. But an examination of the soldiers in the Thirteenth shows no significant differences between them their adversaries.

Tennessee=s Confederate Marines: Memphis Detachment (pp 152-168)

By David M. Sullivan

The clash of the ironclads *CSS Virginia* and *USS Monitor* in March 1862 changed the tenets of naval strategy, ending the epoch of wooden ships. Fourteen Tennesseans served on the *Virginia*, two from the CSA Navy and twelve from the CSA Marine Corps. The marines were part of a group of 31 men recruited in Memphis in the summer of 1861. Their service in the war is outlined and those who became officers are profiled. These include Robert McGready Ramsey, son of J.G.M. Ramsey of Knoxville; Henry Melville Doak, also of Knoxville; and Eugene Robinette Smith, Nashville. All three officers served in the Confederate army before and/or after

the Marines, changing service branches for better opportunities for advancement.

Fall 1986

Sharks in an Angry Sea: Civilian Resistance and Guerrilla Warfare in Occupied Middle Tennessee, 1862-1865 (pp 217-229)

By Stephen V. Ash

Union troops in Middle Tennessee faced two types of Confederate foes: the regular Confederate army on the field of battle and irregular bands of guerillas who almost overwhelmed the Union army of occupation. The Yankees had to learn some hard lessons about guerilla warfare and civilian resistance before they could curb and ultimately crush the threat. Social ostracism was the main way townspeople in Middle Tennessee let Union sympathizers know their disapproval, as occupying forces kept the towns secure from violence. In rural areas, some declared personal war on the invaders, with ambushes and bridge-burnings. Unionists and collaborators were also attacked, as were slaves attempting to escape to freedom. The Union underestimated the level of local resistance in early 1862, but Military Governor Andrew Johnson enacted harsh measures later that year. Arrests of prominent citizens were ordered as reprisal for attacks and many offenders were banished. Later in the war, Union troops sometimes destroyed the property of resisters, and sometimes killed family members. Using harsh and even brutal countermeasures against not only the guerillas but unarmed civilians who sustained them, bushwhacking was no longer a threat after 1864. In wartime Middle Tennessee, “every man and woman was a combatant, every neighborhood a battleground.”

T.M. Schleier, Photographer (pp 230-243)

By James A. Hoobler

T.M. Schleier was a private photographer in Nashville in 1864-1865. Thirteen of his photographs documenting Nashville between August 1863 and July 1864 are reproduced. These include a self-portrait, the railroad bridge over the Cumberland, the Morgan Park spring house, State Capitol, state penitentiary, city market and town hall, Planters Hotel and Heiman House, Adelphi Theater, New Theater, James K. Polk’s tomb, Christ Church Episcopal, University of Nashville, and Elm Street Methodist.

Winter 1986

Class Contrasts in Old South Tennessee: An Analysis of the Non-Combatant Responses to the Civil War Veterans Questionnaire (pp 273-286)

By Fred A. Bailey

Bailey analyzes the responses of 21 non-combatants among the 1650+ Civil War questionnaires gathered by the Tennessee State Library and Archives in the early 1900s. A table on the yeoman and planters is included. (Half were born in 1850 or later; the median age at the time of the war was 16.) Three respondents came from the planter class, seven were children of professionals (placed here as patricians), and ten came from homes of small farmers, six of whom were slave owners. The 21st respondent was a non-combatant slave and his responses are not included here. The responses reinforce information in the soldier’s questionnaires on significant class differences and conflict. Housing was the most visible distinction between elites and yeoman and

yeoman were more likely to engage in subsistence rather than market farming. Elites were more involved in politics due to their “freedom from daily toil” through having slaves. Aristocratic women “understood social class divisions,” and their work differed somewhat from nonslaveowners. Yeoman children worked in the field and home at an earlier age, while wealthy youths got more education. Occasional expressions of class discontent are found more often where slave ownership was common, mostly that that rich associated only with each other.

The Fort Pillow Massacre: Fact or Fiction (pp 287-315)
By Lonnie E. Manness

Manness looks at the contention that Forrest’s capture of Fort Pillow in April 1864 was a massacre. Several accounts support the charge, such as the report from the Federal Select Committee on the Conduct of the War shortly after the event, Albert Castel’s 1958 study, and Cimprich and Mainfort’s 1985 *THQ* article. All cite six documents written a few days after the battle, five by Confederates and one Union, and discount “the scores of sworn statements by Confederates who participated in the battle” denying a massacre “because they were made after the war.” Manness examines the six documents, using the definition of “massacre” as “the killing of those defenseless or unresisting, as in barbarous warfare...” He also details the events of the battle using the *Official Record*, committee report, and memoirs. He concludes that Forrest captured Fort Pillow due to “superior strength and tactics” and that “there was no ‘massacre’ of large number of troops who were unresisting and defenseless.”

Spring 1987

The First Missouri Brigade at the Battle of Franklin (pp 21-32)
By Phillip Thomas Tucker

The First Missouri Brigade, 700 men commanded by Brig. Gen. Francis Marion Cockrell, was part of John Bell Hood’s Army of Tennessee march toward Nashville and the Battle of Franklin. Their part in the battle is vividly detailed, beginning with their placement on the slopes near the Columbia Pike. The First Missouri was decimated by Union artillery fire but still charged downhill toward the enemy’s earthworks. The collapse of the Union skirmish led the Missourians into the fire of the main line and almost all were wounded, if not killed, including Cockrell and all his staff. Those who survived surged through a gap in the Union line created by Cheatham’s Divisions near Carter’s cotton gin. Crossing Union parapets, they were shot, bayoneted, or made prisoner. At the end of the battle, the First had suffered a 62% loss, 419 casualties and of those 130 killed.

West Tennessee Unionists in the Civil War: A Hawkins Family Letter (pp 33-42)
By Charles L. Lufkin

The lengthy October 11, 1864, letter from U.S. Col. Isaac R. Hawkins (1818-1880) to his cousin and future governor Alvin Hawkins is published in full here. The two men were law partners in Huntingdon in Carroll County at the start of the war. Isaac was commanding the Seventh Tennessee Cavalry, mostly men from Carroll and Henderson counties, at Union City on March 24, 1864, when he surrendered to Nathan Bedford Forrest. During his captivity as a prisoner, Hawkins was unaware that Gen. Stephen Hurlbut accused him of “pure cowardice.” (See

reference to Hawkins in Cimprich and Mainfort, *Dr. Fitch's Report*.) In his letter, Isaac first comments at length on the 1864 presidential election and then goes on to deny Hurlbut's allegations and relates his detailed version of events at Union City – Union authorities failed to send troops to his aid despite his requests. In the second half of the letter he describes his experience as Forrest's captive and in Confederate prisons, including at Charleston where he was exchanged under fire. Isaac Hawkins served three terms in Congress after the war.

Summer 1987

Garrisoning the Cumberland Gap: The Third Brigade, Second Division, Ninth Corps, 1863-1864 (pp 86-97)

By Roderick C. Johnson

U.S. Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside raised recruits for the Army of the Ohio in mid-1863 and provided support in taking northeast Tennessee. After capturing Knoxville and the Cumberland Gap, a portion of his army was tasked with holding the gap for the remainder of the war. This article details actions in the East Tennessee campaign and the subsequent experiences of the Third Brigade at Cumberland Gap, including defending against Longstreet.

Education of Blacks in Tennessee during Reconstruction, 1865-1870 (pp 98-109)

By Paul David Phillips

Blacks emerging from slavery “placed their faith in education as an essential key to freedom.” Abolitionist-inspired Northern teachers flocked to the South to provide that education. John Eaton, Jr., a chaplain under U.S. Grant, was first charged in 1862 with organizing contraband camps in Tennessee, which came to include schools. The contraband schools in the state during the war are described. The Freedmen's Bureau took over at the war's end, with Clinton B. Fisk in charge of Tennessee and Kentucky. His direction to establish plantation schools in the counties did not succeed, but schools in cities fared better. The struggle for support of the schools is detailed, including the experience of teachers and the early days of Fisk. Despite the ultimate failures of the freedmen's schools, “a significant beginning was made in primary and higher education for blacks.”

Fall 1987

An Antebellum Boyhood: The School Days of Samuel E. Tillman (pp 148-156)

By Dwight L. Smith

Tillman (1847-1942) grew up on his family's Bedford County plantation and went to school at Dick River Male Academy. The first part of his memoir is printed here. The last portion describes the impact of the war on the family's slaves in 1861-1862, including runaways.

Winter 1987

None

Spring 1988

An Antebellum Boyhood: Samuel E. Tillman on a Middle Tennessee Plantation (pp 3-9)

By Dwight L. Smith

Tillman's memoir continues, with details on building a new brick house for the family from 1860-1864, cooking and food preparation, harvest season, hog killing, Christmas, and youthful diversions.

Summer 1988

The Tennessee State Capitol: An Architectural History (pp 91-97)

By James A. Hoobler

Amid a much longer article, this section on the Capitol during the 1860s discusses the use of the Capitol during the Civil War as seat of the military government and as a fortification and the damages to the building and its repair after the war.

Fall 1988

Through a Mist of Powder and Excitement: A Southern Artist at Shiloh (pp 131-141)

By Ben Basham

Conrad Wise Chapman (1842-1910), who fought for the Third Kentucky Regiment, CSA, at Shiloh, was the South's most important artist of the Civil War era. A portion of his unpublished memoirs are printed here, providing his perspective on the Battle of Shiloh and his recovery from his wounds there. Chapman arrived at Shiloh from Corinth after the battle had started. He passed Negroes fleeing with "spoils of the dead" and past a field hospital with surgeons "lopping off limbs." The evening of the first day of battle, soldiers returned with their loot from the Union camps. He describes action on the second day of battle, fighting with a gun and cartridge box taken from a dead Yankee, led on by Hardee. Badly wounded in the head, he was found by a member of the ambulance corps and taken to the doctors' tent. Chapman managed to take part in the retreat to Corinth in spite of his untreated wound – the musket ball had made a half-circle around his head – and was evacuated to Grand Junction and then Memphis. He convalesced in the Overton Hotel, converted to a hospital. Later he went back to Kentucky to recover.

An Antebellum Boyhood: Samuel Escue Tillman's Fascination with Corn, Bulls, and Deer (pp 142-152)

By Dwight L. Smith

Tillman's memoir continues with more detail of life on his family's Bedford County plantation. He describes the tasks involved with raising corn and plowing, the cycle of farm work through the year, milking and caring for cattle, and the farm's sheep herd. He makes an observation on how the volunteering of older boys for the army disrupted school, but then goes on to describe a deer hunt with hounds in the summer of 1861. One of the hounds was named Brownlow.

Divided Loyalties: Sectionalism in Civil War McNairy County, Tennessee (pp 169-177)

By Charles L. Lufkin

This article, with tables and maps, examines the 1860 presidential and 1861 secession votes in McNairy County district by district. General economic factors about the county are given first –

only 12.9% of the county's population was slaves. John Bell carried the county, winning ten of the sixteen districts. The Unionist vote heavily dominated, but in December 1860 McNairy leaders stated they felt Lincoln's party was a threat to the "rights and interests of the southern people." In the February 1861 secession convention vote, two patterns in the 916 to 811 rejection emerged: the Whig districts opposed the convention while the Democratic districts favored it. In the June 1861 secession vote, 69% in McNairy County voted for separation from the Union. The districts who voted against secession had fewer slaves, less valuable land, and less total assets. The influence of local leaders is also assessed.

Winter 1988

Flags of the Rock City Guards (pp 191-197)

By *Deveraux D. Cannon, Jr.*

The Rock City Guards Military Company was a Nashville militia organization incorporated by state act on March 8, 1860; they fought through the Civil War to its end in 1865. Two weeks after Fort Sumter, the Guards had become a battalion with three companies, each with about 110 men and officers. The first flag the Rock City Guards used was the 33-star flag of the United States. By April 1861, they had the "Stars and Bars" of the Confederacy. Two later versions were presented to them. The first was made by five women of the city and presented to them with great ceremony on April 23, 1861, by Fannie Claiborne. In April 1862, the unit received a new flag designed by the regiment's commander, Leonidas Polk. After the Battle of Perryville (where the Polk flag was captured by the Union), the regiment received another flag patterned on the St. George cross and including waves. This flag was retired in the spring of 1864 and the regiment used a battle flag similar to that of the Army of Northern Virginia. Four of the flags are shown in color and three are in the Tennessee State Museum.

Spring 1989

Blacks in Pre-Civil War Memphis

By Marius Carriere, Jr.

AThe Federal Tyrant at Memphis: @ General Stephen A. Hurlbut and the Union Occupation of West Tennessee, 1862-64

By Jeffrey N. Lash

AWhat Became of General Barrow? @ The Forgotten Story of George Washington Barrow

By John McGlone

Summer 1989

The Ethic of Subsistence and the Origins of Southern Secession

By J. Mills Thornton, III

The East Tennessee Relief Movement of 1864-1865

By William C. Harris

Emerson Etheridge and the Union

By Lonnie E. Manness

Fall 1989

Hostages to Hunger: Nutritional Night Blindness in Confederate Armies
By John K. Stevens

Winter 1989

A Gallant Adopted Son of Tennessee: General John C. Carter, C.S.A.
By Harris D. Riley, Jr.

Nostalgia for a Nickel: The Confederate Veteran
By Josephine King Evans

Spring 1990 None

Summer 1990

Secession, Armies, and a Federal Spy: Samuel E. Tillman=s Account of Seesaw Middle Tennessee
By Dwight L. Smith

Unfilled Expectation: The Erosion of Black Political Power in Chattanooga, 1865-1911
By Nancy J. Potts

Fall 1990

Guerilla Warfare in the Lower Cumberland River Valley, 1862-1865
By Richard P. Gildrie

Impressment, Occupation, War=s End, and Emancipation: Samuel E. Tillman=s Account of Seesaw Tennessee
By Dwight L. Smith

Winter 1990 None

Spring 1991

A World Overturned: The Civil War Experience of Dr. William A. Cheatham and His Family
By Kay Baker Gaston

Black-White Relationships on the Belle Meade Plantation
By W. Ridley Wills, II

Summer 1991

James Standifer, Sequatchie Valley Congressman
By Stephen D. Byas

Secession and Coersion in Tennessee, the Spring of 1861
By Charles L. Lufkin

Municipal Vice: The Management of Prostitution in Tennessee=s Urban Experience. Part II: The Examples of Chattanooga and Knoxville, 1838-1917.

By James B. Jones, Jr.

Fall 1991

Fortress Rosecranz: A History, 1865-1990

By Lenard E. Brown

All Our Connections: Kinship, Family Structure, and Dynamics Among White Families in the Mid-Nineteenth Century Central South

By Mary Stovall Richards

Gustavus Adolphus Henry: Champion of Lost Causes

By Lewright B. Sikes

Winter 1991

Southern Unionists: A Socio-Economic Examination of the Third East Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment, U.S. A.

By Walter Lynn Bates

Spring 1992

None

Summer 1992

APrepare Them for My Coming@: General William T. Sherman, Total War, and Pacification in West Tennessee

By Noel C. Fisher

Colonel John M. Hughs: Brigade Commander and Confederate Guerilla

By James T. Siburt

Fall 1992

AMingling Freely@: Tennessee Society on the Eve of the Civil War

By Jennifer K. Boone

Hospital Trains of the Army of the Cumberland

By Ralph C. Gordon

A Union Soldier=s Sketchbook of the Chattanooga Region

By James C. Kelly

Winter 1992

Leaving Home, Former Slaves, and an Ex-President: Samuel E. Tillman=s Transition Years, 1865-1869

By Dwight L. Smith

Spring 1993

The Medical Support System for the Confederate Army of Tennessee During the Georgia Campaign, May-September 1864
By Frank R. Freemon, M.D.

Free Blacks in Antebellum Madison County
By Steve Baker

Summer 1993

Wiping Out AAndy@ Johnson=s Moccasin Tracks; The Canvass of Northern States by Southern Radicals, 1866
By Forrest Conklin

Fall 1993

Lightning and Rain in Middle Tennessee: The Campaign of June-July 1863
By Robert S. Brandt

Civil War and Socioeconomic Change in the Upper South: The Survival of Local Agricultural Elites in Tennessee, 1850-1870
By Robert Tracy McKenzie

Winter 1993

Farm Size and Production Choices: Tennessee, 1850-1860
By Donald L. Winters

Spring 1994 None

Summer 1994

St. John=s Episcopal Churchyard: Material Culture and Antebellum Class Distinction
By Richard D. Betterly

Fall 1994 None

Winter 1994

Unconditional Unionist: Samuel Mayes Arnell and Reconstruction in Tennessee
By Kathleen R. Zebley

AAgainst Such Powerful Odds@: The 83rd Illinois Infantry at the Battle of Dover, Tennessee, February 1863
By Terry Wilson

Spring 1995

Politics and Assassination: The Story of General Levin Hudson Coe
By Carl Robert Coe

Summer 1995

Fort Pillow, Forest, and the United States Colored Troops in 1864

By Kenneth Bancroft Moore

A Crumbling Fortress: The Tennessee Lunatic Asylum, 1837-1865

By Robert Oliver

Fall 1995

Jackson, Polk, and Johnson: Defenders of the Moral Economy

By Wayne Cutler

Tennessee and the Civil War

By James L. McDonough

Winter 1995

None

Spring 1996

Politicians, Parties, and Slavery: The Second Party System and the Decision for Disunion in Tennessee

By Jonathan Atkins

Tennessee's Antebellum Common Folk

By Fred Arthur Bailey

Poor Whites, Slaves, and Free Blacks in Tennessee, 1796-1861

By Elizabeth Fortson Arroyo

Summer 1996

Nashville and the U.S. Christian Commission in the Civil War

By Ralph C. Gordon

A Duty of the Hour: African-American Communities in Memphis, Tennessee, 1862-1923/Race Relations and Tennessee Centennials

By Richard A. Couto

Fall 1996

None

Winter 1996

Tennessee Notes: The Arrest: North to Fort Mackinac

By Walter T. Durham