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9 IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
10 FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
11 CIVIL DIVISION

12
13 **VIRGINIA DUNCAN, RICHARD**
14 **LEWIS, PATRICK LOVETTE,**
15 **DAVID MARGUGLIO,**
16 **CHRISTOPHER WADDELL, and**
CALIFORNIA RIFLE & PISTOL
ASSOCIATION, INC., a California
corporation,

17 Plaintiffs,

18 v.

19 **ROB BONTA, in his official capacity**
20 **as Attorney General of the State of**
21 **California; and DOES 1-10,**

22 Defendants

Case No. 3:17-cv-01017-BEN-JLB

**COMPENDIUM OF WORKS
CITED IN DECLARATION OF
MICHAEL VORENBERG**

VOLUME 7 OF 11

Courtroom: 5A
Judge: Hon. Roger T. Benitez
Action Filed: May 17, 2017

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neighboring affiliates held a clandestine meeting in Nashville. There, the Klan formally organized as a counterforce to the State Guard and the Union Leagues. Sometime in May, the Klan elected Nathan B. Forrest its Grand Wizard. Never more than a titular leader, Forrest always maintained that the Klan was a defensive organization. Its only overt act of defiance during the campaign of 1867 took place in Pulaski (Giles) on June 5, when seventy-five members held a parade in full costume. Nevertheless, Governor Brownlow regarded the Klan as a "secret guerrilla army," and dens did exist in several counties occupied by militia: Bedford, Davidson, Franklin, Giles, Maury, and Williamson in Middle Tennessee, and Dyer, Hardin, Haywood, and McNairy in the west.⁶

In the midst of all this political and militaristic posturing, a violent clash between white anti-Radicals and black Union Leaguers occurred in Franklin in Williamson County. The Union League of Franklin was one of the more active chapters in the state and was largely run by black Civil War veterans. Local Conservatives denounced its public activities, especially its daily parades through the town during the week of July 4. On July 6, Joseph Williams, the black Conservative stump speaker, arrived and tried to address a Radical party rally. The Union Leaguers, however, disrupted much of his impromptu speech with catcalls. In response, an ex-Confederate officer appeared at the head of a group of armed whites and began insulting the black Leaguers. Sensing the hostility of a gathering crowd of white Conservatives, Radical leaders persuaded their black friends to leave the area, but the Leaguers, also well armed, staged a defiant exit. Moments later, several whites attacked the departing black procession and shooting soon erupted from both sides. By the time the riot was over, twenty-seven black Leaguers and fourteen whites had been wounded; one of the whites later died.⁷

Recriminations followed. The *Daily Press and Times* declared that the Franklin "outrage" had instilled the Radical party with "fresh zeal" in its fight against the "treachery and malignity of the Conservative faction." William Mills and Horace H. Thomas, Tennessee delegates to a July meeting in New York City of the Union League of America, exploited the occasion to garner financial support for their party's campaign. Emphasizing the seemingly incessant anti-Radical violence in their state, Mills and Thomas defended the mobilization of the Guard: "Were it not for the militia there could be no election. The 50,000 black men who have been enfranchised would be shot down by rebels if they

dared to vote." To the Brownlow administration, the riot, combined with the Gaut circular, the Conservatives' strategy for Middle Tennessee, and Pike's exhortations from the west (dubbed a "bastard rebellion" by the Radicals), was proof that a counterrevolution of some sort was underway. Consequently, for the rest of July, the anti-Radicals would feel the "full blast" of the Tennessee State Guard.⁸

General Cooper identified Middle Tennessee as the principal battleground. Thirteen companies of the State Guard would eventually be deployed there before the August election. Two of them, Capt. Joseph H. Blackburn's Company A and Capt. William S. Stuart's Company K, were already actively engaged. The Conservative party's aggressive stance in early July threatened the Radical control these two units had helped establish in June. Warren County continued to prove especially troublesome. There, W. J. Clift, a former colonel in the Union army and a Conservative candidate for the Tennessee General Assembly, spearheaded a strong effort to defeat Radicalism. For weeks, Clift had been lambasting the Brownlow administration, urging local Conservatives to permit ex-Confederates access to the ballot. When McMinnville's Conservative civil authorities, emboldened by the Gaut circular, attempted to halt Registrar William Baker's activities, Clift eagerly joined the battle. Accusing Baker of various improprieties, Clift obtained an injunction against the registrar, which effectively halted voter registration while Baker defended himself in court. Lt. William Cravens, who had arrived with a squad of militia at the end of June, warned Clift and his fellow Conservatives that they had no authority to interfere with registration. At Clift's prompting, the chairman of the county court replied that "the restraint of the military would not be regarded." With the county sheriff providing armed support, the Conservative court fined Baker \$150 and dared Cravens to intervene.⁹

Captain Blackburn was quick to aid his lieutenant. With orders to "watch Cliffe," Blackburn arrived at McMinnville on July 12 with twenty men (bringing the State Guard forces in that town to thirty-five soldiers) and took command. The adjutant general certainly wanted to quell the political defiance in Warren, but he cautioned Blackburn to handle Clift with care in order to avoid charges of military despotism: "Have him arrested by civil process under the Sedition law not by the military." Blackburn's presence appears to have broken the Conservatives' resolve: Clift backed down without being arrested, registration resumed, and

Warren County remained relatively quiet for the duration of the campaign. This outcome prompted the Radical *McMinnville Enterprise* to exclaim that the militia was "the best prescription for disloyalty ever yet discovered."¹⁰

As Blackburn neutralized Conservative opposition in Warren County, Capt. William S. Stuart encountered renewed troubles in White. On July 1, an ex-Confederate approached the perimeter of Stuart's command at "Camp Stokes" (named after Radical congressman William B. Stokes) near Yankeetown. From a distance, the Rebel unleashed a fusillade of profanity, calling the men of Company K "d—d horse thieves" and swearing that the "white men was going to bust up the d—d militia and . . . whip out the D—d negro." Pickets apprehended the man and Stuart confined him under guard until the following day. As this incident transpired, three ex-Confederates attacked the farm of a white Radical named Rigsby. The assailants fired their pistols at Rigsby's house, insulted the females inside with language so shocking that one reportedly "fainted," and, before riding off, threatened to kill Rigsby himself. Stuart sent a detachment in pursuit, but he doubted whether the civil authorities would prosecute the perpetrators if he caught them. Exasperated by ex-Confederate harassment, Stuart exploded to General Cooper: "If we have to take such abuse as they have been giving us we are going to quit & git to killing them catch us if they can for I had rather die and go to hell as to be run over by a set of rebels."¹¹

A short time after submitting this fiery report, Captain Stuart carried out his threatened violence in an unexpected way. On the night of July 15, an intoxicated Pvt. W. B. Davis surprised his comrades by cursing the State Guard as "the d—d militia." Davis then entered Stuart's tent and provoked a fight with the captain. Stuart, however, twice knocked his assailant to the ground before placing him under arrest. As the company soon learned, Davis had been a bounty jumper during the Civil War, deserting from several regiments, Confederate and Union. In Stuart's view, Davis was a Confederate who "swore a lie" when he took the oath to join the State Guard. In any event, Davis escaped from the stockade later that night, but was shot through the bowels by pursuing sentries. According to the *Union and Dispatch*, Stuart then staked his wounded captive to the ground leaving him to bleed to death. Stuart's report, however, indicates that Davis received medical attention, despite his protests and incessant cursing, but died the following day. Anti-Radicals branded

Davis's death "a Fiendish Murder," but Stuart placed the blame and outcome squarely on the disloyalty of the deceased militia private.¹²

In addition to combating these various anti-Radical challenges, both internal as well as external, Captains Blackburn and Stuart continued to provide security for William B. Stokes's congressional campaign. Blackburn's men typically served as escort in the southern half of the Third Congressional District, Stuart's men in the northern half. General Cooper never forbade this overtly partisan duty provided it did not interfere with the primary mission of protecting voter registration. When ex-Confederates killed the brother of Fentress registrar Perry O. Dowdy on June 15, Cooper ordered Stuart to investigate. Evidently, the situation required the deployment of militia. On July 9, a forty-man detachment from Company K set up camp in neighboring Overton County and remained there for the duration of the campaign.¹³

Traveling with Stokes produced additional controversies for the State Guard. Running against Stokes was Eli G. Fleming, a former captain in Stokes's Civil War regiment (W. J. Clift served as Fleming's unofficial campaign manager). Bad blood existed between the two opponents. Stokes had been instrumental in getting Fleming dishonorably discharged for disobedience and incompetence at the battle of Murfreesboro. During the campaign of 1867, Stokes accused Fleming of trying to assassinate him at a Van Buren County rally, and attributed his survival to the presence of Blackburn's militia. Fleming, in turn, accused the militia of trying to kill him on at least two occasions. On July 5, "five ruffians" waylaid the Conservative candidate's buggy. Furious at not finding Fleming, but rather his black servant, they vandalized the buggy and chased the driver into the woods. Fleming claimed that Lt. William L. Hathaway, who had described Fleming as a "liar, scoundrel and coward," commanded the assailants. On July 15, Conservatives in McMinnville persuaded Fleming not to make a speech there as Captain Blackburn had supposedly declared that he would not tolerate Fleming's presence. To counter Stokes's militia escort, Fleming petitioned the federal garrison for a bodyguard of U.S. troops, but his request was denied.¹⁴

The *Republican Banner* sympathized with Fleming. In the final weeks of July, it described a scene of almost daily militia atrocities in the state's Third District. Without identifying specific State Guard officers or companies (which this newspaper usually did), the *Banner* charged that the militia "rob, burn, threaten and even kill their enemies with impunity. . . .

They spare no one.” This newspaper alleged that the militia plundered the home of a “poor widow” in Van Buren County. It reported that the militia whipped several ex-Confederates in White County and prevented them from tending to their crops. Finally, it claimed that the militia vowed to “kill every man who put his pen” to a Warren County petition calling for relief from “Brownlow’s terrible carnivorous militia.” How General Cooper managed to “terrorize” an eighteen-county district with a total force of 180 men, the *Banner* did not explain.¹⁵

As Captains Blackburn and Stuart worked to preserve Radical control in their respective areas of operation, Capt. William O. Rickman brought his maligned brand of law enforcement to Marshall County. He and his Company H arrived in Lewisburg in Marshall County on June 22, after a forty-two-mile march from Franklin County, and set up camp on the local fairgrounds. Two days later, he dispatched Lt. John J. Mankin and twenty-five men to neighboring Giles County to facilitate registration there. Marshall’s Radicals welcomed Company H “with glad hearts.” Registrar Robert Wiley, in particular, was thankful for the militia’s presence, for according to Rickman, “the colored men were afraid to register until we came to this place.” Perhaps cognizant of Rickman’s treatment of Franklin’s white populace, Marshall whites accorded the militia captain noticeable respect. In a county that had voted for secession by more than 90 percent, Rickman reported that even “the Rebels meet us friendly,” and he predicted that he would “get a long smoothly.”¹⁶

All did go well for Captain Rickman throughout the final month of the campaign. Although Conservatives protested the “partisan” registration of voters, they commended Rickman’s unexpected professionalism. After watching the militiamen for a few days, a correspondent for the *Union and Dispatch* noted that “the troops are very quiet and orderly, and in justice of Capt. R., he has so far, disavowed any intention of interfering in the election.” Rather than prowling the countryside for ex-Confederate renegades, as he did in Franklin, Rickman devoted his energies to providing security for the political canvass. In one instance, a squad of twelve men stood silent watch over a joint debate between Radical James Mullins and Conservative Edmund Cooper at Cornersville. The only notable incident involving Rickman’s command occurred during a Fourth of July celebration in neighboring Lincoln County. General Cooper had ordered Company H to oversee Radical rallies in four counties—Marshall, Lincoln, Giles, and Lawrence. At Rickman’s

request, a black Radical named Dr. Wood addressed large black audiences in Lewisburg and Fayetteville in Lincoln County. During the Fayetteville rally, an ex-Confederate broke through the crowd and threatened “the nigger speaker” with a pistol. Rickman’s militiamen quickly “seized the ruffian and quieted him in a very summary manner.” The celebrations in Giles and Lawrence, for which Lieutenant Mankin was responsible, passed off without any disturbances. In contrast to its reprehensible conduct in Franklin County, Company H was a model of restraint in Marshall and Giles, and the Radical party prospered in those counties as a result. Captain Rickman later gloated to headquarters, “I won the confidence of all Loyal men and the Rebels say that we have Conducted our selfs well.”¹⁷

Replacing Rickman in Franklin County was Capt. George W. Kirk, whose Company A, Second Regiment, arrived toward the end of June. Franklin whites greeted their new militia commander with scorn. Kirk was told that “he had better watch out.” Some of the locals even threatened to poison any well used by the State Guard. Adding to the hostile reception was the murder of two Franklin blacks during Company A’s first two weeks in the county. Undaunted, Kirk carried out his mission with aplomb, picking up a few local whites as recruits in the process. He established his headquarters at Tullahoma with his company in bivouac on the grounds of the town’s private academy. When white residents insisted that he move his camp elsewhere, Kirk refused, whereupon the school closed in protest. On June 21, Kirk moved half of his men to Winchester under Lt. Francis Kirk.¹⁸

Captain Kirk devoted much of his time to revitalizing the county’s Radical party. On July 1, acting on the governor’s condemnation of the Gaut circular, Kirk ordered Conservative leaders in Winchester to halt their efforts to appoint election judges. The Conservatives reluctantly complied, and Registrar D. E. Davenport completed his duties without further interference. On July 4, a detachment of militia provided security for a Radical rally in Winchester attended by some eight hundred blacks. At the request of the black leaders, Captain Kirk personally hoisted an American flag with appropriate pomp and ceremony. After castigating some ex-Confederate hecklers, Kirk headed a parade of “loyal colored men,” under a militia escort, through the streets and out of the town toward Decherd. En route, several hundred more supporters joined the throngs, including some black women who carried a large portrait of

Abraham Lincoln. The procession, now more than thirteen hundred, halted at intervals to listen to impromptu speeches by Radical office seekers. A rain shower eventually dispersed the crowd, but Jacob W. Brown, a Radical candidate for the general assembly, was so delighted by the event, and by Kirk's performance, that he boasted to the governor that troublesome Franklin had become "the Banner County of the State."¹⁹

The killing of one of Kirk's men only a couple of days later abruptly shattered the Radicals' newfound mood of confidence. On July 6, Pvt. Martin Jones and a comrade entered the Tullahoma general store of ex-Confederate DeWitt Bennett in search of tobacco. When Bennett handed them a package, the two men, who apparently had no money, pretended to make off with the tobacco "in a sort of playful manner." Bennett was not amused, and after grabbing the package from the two pranksters, he ushered them out of his store and locked the door. For some reason, Private Jones, accompanied by Sgt. John Hughes, returned. An apprehensive Bennett then fired a pistol at the men, killing Jones instantly with a shot to the head. According to Conservative accounts, the two militiamen were "tipsy" and tried to batter their way into the store. According to the Radicals, Bennett was a vindictive, splenetic man who opened fire after the militiamen merely "knocked" on his door. A coroner's jury ruled that the death of the twenty-four-year-old Jones was the result of a "malicious shooting."²⁰

In the furor that followed, Captain Kirk remained calm, and he restrained his outraged men from exacting revenge. The Conservative press depicted Jones's death as the consequence of a policy that permitted the State Guard to "plunder 'rebels' at will." The Radical press intimated that the killing of Jones was retribution for the death of the ex-Confederate Brown a month before. Kirk, however, avoided making accusations and concentrated on defusing the situation. Militia efforts to arrest Bennett failed, he having apparently found refuge with local ex-Confederates. He later notified the public via the *Republican Banner* that he would surrender himself only to civilian authorities. Kirk suspected that the *Banner's* correspondent knew of Bennett's whereabouts and demanded, in vain, that that organ's editors cooperate with his efforts to uphold the law. As late as November 1867, Bennett was still at large, while his lawyer negotiated terms for surrender. Significantly, Kirk arrested Sergeant Hughes for his role in the tragedy and remanded him to the state penitentiary. A court-martial later found Hughes guilty of

intoxication while on duty and of illegal entrance into Bennett's store. Hughes was reduced in rank with forfeiture of two months' wages.²¹

Kirk's impartiality appears to have mitigated Franklin's anti-Radical antipathy. In mid-July, Kirk reported that "all is going smooth here," a painful, personal bout with diarrhea notwithstanding. However, Edmund Cooper, Conservative candidate for Congress, frowned on Kirk's public advocacy of the Radicals and his increasing proclivity to attend joint debates with his men standing near the speakers. At a joint debate in Salem, for instance, anti-Radicals claimed that Kirk surrounded the platform with one hundred militiamen. Fearful that General Cooper had plans to reassign Kirk's command, the formerly optimistic Jacob Brown begged the general to keep the entire company in Franklin to ensure "the fair expression of the *Public Voice*." Company A remained, and the county was relatively quiet in the final weeks of the campaign.²²

Following Kirk to Middle Tennessee was Capt. James R. Evans and his Company I, fresh from its encounter with Etheridge in Morristown. Leaving a detachment of forty men under Lt. John N. Ellis in Claiborne County, Evans reached Humphreys County on June 28. Humphreys's whites had voted unanimously for secession in 1861 and Registrar William Welch wanted to ensure that these "persons" did not go to the polls in 1867. To aid Welch, Evans stationed twenty-nine men under Lt. James A. England at Johnsonville, while he commanded thirty men at the county seat of Waverly. On July 13, Evans concentrated his forces at Johnsonville, where Registrar Welch was completing his duties. With the militia at his disposal, Welch brushed aside a timid Conservative effort to execute the Gaut circular, registered over three hundred blacks and whites, and a fortnight before the election confidently informed the governor that Humphreys, "Rebel as it is," would vote the Radical ticket.²³

Only one incident disturbed Company I's occupation of Humphreys. The day after his arrival in Johnsonville, Lieutenant England provided security for a Radical rally, one that featured General Cooper as a guest speaker. In the crowd was a "fool drunk" ex-Confederate named Thomas J. Warren. Bored by the "Radical harangue," Warren staggered off toward a dry goods store babbling that he wanted to kill a "d—d Yankee." When storekeeper Dan Rice tried to calm Warren down, the inebriated Rebel brandished a pistol and shot Rice through the chest. England and his men rushed to the scene and arrested Warren. Newspapers roundly condemned the shooting—even the *Republican*

Banner, which had only that morning denounced the militia's presence in Humphreys, presciently quipping that "a few murders of unoffending 'Rebels' are needed to fire the Radical Party." The Radicals were fired up, but not by murder, rather by Lieutenant England's swift law enforcement.²⁴

Due to logistical problems, Company F, First Regiment, under Capt. Shadrick T. Harris marked time in Jefferson County for nearly a month after its muster. Not until July 3 did the unit finally get into the action. General Cooper decided to split the oversized company (113 men) into three detachments in order to cover more territory. Harris proceeded to West Tennessee with over 50 men, while his first lieutenant, Edwin R. Hall, went to Cheatham County with 30 men and his second lieutenant, John W. Roberts, went to Stewart County with about 20. Stewart was heavily ex-Confederate, but with the exception of an episode back in April, involving the desecration of some Union graves, nothing controversial had occurred there, and after Roberts's arrival the county remained "tolerby quiete," as he reported. Roberts developed a good working relationship with Registrar R. A. Salisbury and the registration of voters proceeded speedily.²⁵

In contrast to Roberts's experience, Lieutenant Hall's assignment in Cheatham was marked by tension. The county had cast its lot with the Confederacy by over 90 percent in 1861. In 1867, Cheatham's whites were no less united in their opposition to Radical rule. Earlier in June, local Radicals beseeched the governor for protection following the rancorous disruption of a party meeting in Ashland City. According to their petition, a group of ex-Confederates rejected an offer to divide time "politely" and instead cursed "the Brownlow *clique* and nigger Leagues" of the county. Registrar E. B. Harris, in particular, endured scathing verbal abuse. Later that night, these Rebels "prominated the streets, hurrahing for Davis and the Confederacy and . . . discharging their pieces." These aggressive displays succeeded in cowing Cheatham's freedmen, who, although organized into a Union League of 150 members, made it clear that they would rather "yield and remain neutral . . . than . . . be murdered and bushwhacked by rebels for supporting a party that [was] either unable or unwilling to afford them the promised protection."²⁶

Two days before Lieutenant Hall arrived with the "promised protection," Registrar Harris took matters into his own hands with tragic consequences. According to the *Daily Press and Times*, after rebuking

county Conservatives for trying to appoint election officials in violation of the Franchise Act of 1867, Harris encountered an armed and angry Hardy Brinkley, one of the "ruffians" involved in the Ashland City fracas. "In self-defense," Harris drew his own pistol and shot Brinkley dead. According to the Conservatives, however, Brinkley's death was the culmination of a daylong rampage by Harris and his friend, Stephen Martin, a white member of the Union League. After supposedly disrupting a Conservative meeting, the two men ambushed Brinkley with shotgun fire.²⁷

Harris and Martin were arrested and arraigned in Ashland City on July 6 before a bipartisan court. Lieutenant Hall spent the next couple of weeks providing security for the trial, worrying all the while that he might have to combat an ex-Confederate lynch mob. Whether in jail, in court, or traveling in between, the two defendants received round-the-clock protection from a squad of militia. Radicals publicly lamented Brinkley's death, while Conservatives exploited it. Dubbing the killing "another Brownlow murder," the *Republican Banner* tried to implicate the militia, claiming that Stephen Martin was a commissioned officer in the State Guard. (Martin was not in the militia, and no record exists of any application by him for a commission.) Other Conservative newspapers argued that Brinkley's death was part of a growing pattern of Radical vigilantism, one emboldened by the activation of a partisan militia under a "fiend-like Governor." Predicting more atrocities, the *Union and Dispatch* bellowed, "How long will the God of Heaven look down upon such crimes and withhold His terrible vengeance?" In mid-July, the Harris-Martin trial was moved, for reasons of safety, to Nashville, where both defendants were released on August 2, the judge ruling that the men had acted in the "heat of passion." For the rest of the campaign, Lieutenant Hall avoided further publicity, provoking Conservative ire on only one occasion. On July 27, his men caused a "disturbance" when they marched past a Conservative rally en route to their camp.²⁸

In the weeks prior to the election, four all-black companies and two racially mixed companies also made their presence felt in Middle Tennessee. Their deployment was undoubtedly the most "radical" feature of the Radical campaign. If white militiamen elicited bitter complaints from the anti-Radicals, then black militiamen were sure to send them into paroxysms of protest. Nevertheless, General Cooper made full use of the militia forces at his disposal, regardless of their race. After all, he could

point to the solid performance of Capt. George E. Grisham's mixed company in Sullivan County, the *Republican Banner's* racial caricatures notwithstanding, as an indication of how uniformed blacks behaved.

Capt. Thompson McKinley's Company B, Second Regiment, operated throughout the campaign in Sumner County, where it had mustered. From the perspective of the county's whites, this "colored militia" wasted no time before making a nuisance of itself. According to the anti-Radical press (from which comes most of the information on this company's activities), one of McKinley's "very first acts of lawlessness" was his selection of an abandoned lot near Gallatin's Female Academy to set up camp. Given contemporary phobias about black men and white women, the site was a poor choice. There is, however, no record of any contact between the black militiamen and the students. There was contact between black militiamen and the white male residents of Gallatin. According to Conservative accounts, on June 14 a militia private "insolently pushed" a Dr. Tompkins off a sidewalk. Tompkins, in turn, "knocked the black rascal down." The doctor fled the scene when more militiamen arrived, but black rage had apparently been aroused. The militiamen reportedly gathered at a black saloon, where "liquor began to circulate freely and the fear of a riot became general." Conservative newspapers claimed that only the timely intervention of U.S. troops averted a disaster, but not before some of "Brownlow's pets" exchanged blows with the regulars. Army captain Edwin H. Leib vehemently denied that his men brawled with the militia and expressed no knowledge of any threatened riot. In a remarkable instance of editorial contrition, a chastened *Republican Banner* apologized to Leib and admitted that "our details were imperfect. . . . Our informant had got them second hand."²⁹

By the end of June, Company B was ready for active duty. Captain McKinley, Sumner's Radical candidate for the state legislature and its voting registrar, made good use of his militia command to canvass the county. On one occasion, his men went about the countryside posting campaign signs and promoting the Radical party. On another, the men of Company B stood by in formation during their captain's address to a black crowd in Saundersville. Whites objected not only to McKinley's abuse of power but also to his troops' behavior. Those in Gallatin complained that black troopers "have a practice of firing their guns near the turnpike . . . to the great terror of passersby."³⁰

On July 1, General Cooper ordered the unit to Hartsville, a town along the Sumner-Smith county line. The ex-Confederate guerrilla leader

Ellis Harper was reportedly in the vicinity, and Cooper wanted McKinley's militia to stand watch. (Cooper may also have wanted to remove Company B from Gallatin prior to Emerson Etheridge's scheduled July 2 speech in that town.) Although he later stumped the eastern part of the county, McKinley did not accompany his unit to Hartsville "being busily engaged in filling out certificates for colored voters." Instead, Lt. I. N. Phillips commanded the company on its first genuine mission.³¹

Described by Conservatives as "a little upstart," Phillips displayed zealous leadership. On completing a sixteen-mile road march, Phillips rested the company on the outskirts of Hartsville. He then reminded his men that they were in "the enemies' country" and ordered them to keep a sharp lookout for Harper and his "blood-thirsty gang." After ostensibly avoiding the Etheridge cavalcade as it passed through Hartsville on July 3, Phillips scouted the surrounding area. He made several attempts to question the locals, presumably about Harper's whereabouts, but received mostly cold silence. The *Republican Banner* later claimed that Phillips was really going around looking for room and board so that he would not have to share outdoor quarters with his "dusky warriors." Fearful of a clash with Harper's ex-Confederates, Phillips ordered his sentinels to shoot without hesitation if they suspected intruders. Unfortunately, these instructions contributed to the killing of seventeen-year-old Pvt. John Apples. On the night of July 6, Apples, who was absent without leave at the time, tried to "force the guard" and was shot dead. The *Republican Banner* smugly noted that the incident had resulted in "a dead negro—one less of the Brownlow's State Guard." Shortly after this tragedy, Company B returned to Gallatin (and to Captain McKinley), where the men constructed a makeshift "fort" on a hill near the town's railroad station and then awaited election day.³²

Arguably the most controversial militia unit deployed during the campaign of 1867, and the one most detested by the anti-Radicals, was Company G, Second Regiment. This company was all black, including its captain, James H. Sumner. In the first week of July, General Cooper planned to send Sumner to Williamson County in response to Registrar D. M. Cliffe's request for protection against alleged ex-Confederate "proscription" of local Radicals. Before Company G was ready to depart, however, the Franklin race riot erupted and Adjutant General Samuel Hunt called on the federal garrison to restore order "for the time being." Gen. Thomas Duncan, post commander in Nashville, complied, and on July 7 a company of federal troops arrived in Franklin and began an

investigation into the violence. Duncan, however, apparently failed to understand that Hunt's request was for temporary assistance only, and he was unaware that militia was en route. Despite the potential for a conflict over authority, General Cooper dispatched Company G as scheduled. Captain Sumner's orders reflected awareness of the racial hostility his unit was likely to encounter. He was to "preserve strict order and military discipline among his men and see that they offer insults to no one."³³

For the next several weeks, the anti-Radical press maintained a steady barrage of vituperation against Captain Sumner. The *Republican Banner* professed incredulity over General Cooper's decision to send "an infuriate negro," commanding a company of "irresponsible and excited negroes," to the site of a "negro riot." Prior to his unit's departure by rail, Sumner had marched his newly outfitted command through the streets of Nashville, pausing outside of a saloon (possibly his own) to address his men. Radical observers noted the captain's gratitude for the chance to serve his state and commended his exhortation to his men to "never dishonor the flag." Conservative witnesses, however, claimed that the speech was inflammatory and that the militiamen were thoroughly drunk. Sumner supposedly reminded his men of the Fort Pillow massacre, and declared that if the ex-Confederates of Franklin defied his authority, "he would order his company to shoot them down like dogs." Nashville mayor Matt Brown proclaimed Sumner's conduct "coarse, violent, seditious and menacing." The *Daily Press and Times*, however, refuted the mayor's charge, stating that the militiamen's only "crime is that they march under the Stars and Stripes."³⁴

Company G arrived at Franklin on the evening of July 8, like "a conquering army," according to local whites. Etheridge was scheduled to speak in the town on the tenth, and many Conservatives feared that "the sable" Sumner would exploit the occasion to "clean out the secesh." Although Captain Sumner marched his company through the streets of Franklin on July 9 as a demonstration of State Guard power, he kept his men in camp on the outskirts of town during the Conservative rally the following day. Federal troops under Capt. Dan M. Burke provide security for the event. The Etheridge visit passed off without incident and Radicals applauded Sumner's leadership: "There has been no intoxication, no insubordination, no outrages, nothing of the sort."³⁵

The dual command structure in Franklin afforded the Conservatives an opportunity to depict discord between the State Guard and the U.S.

Army. According to them, both Captain Burke and General Duncan were unhappy with Sumner's presence in Franklin. The *Union and Dispatch* claimed that Duncan wanted the black militiamen arrested for their "mischiefs." One such instance apparently occurred on July 14, when Company G marched double-time through the streets in response to a call from Registrar Cliffe. Army sergeant M. V. B. Hazen intercepted the militia column and ordered the men back to their camp. The militiamen, again described as drunk, complied only after learning that the whole commotion was a false alarm. Incidents like this supposedly undermined the army's respect for the black militia. White enlisted regulars refused to salute Captain Sumner and his lieutenants. The *Republican Banner* printed a crude, and likely apocryphal, anecdote that illustrated the army's contempt for the "bold Othello." One day, so the story began, Sumner approached an army sergeant on the streets of Franklin and declared, "I out rank you." "Yes," replied the sergeant, "in smell."³⁶

To the *Daily Press and Times*, stories depicting rancor between Company G and the federal garrison were part of a Conservative effort to divert attention from the real problem—the anti-Radical animus that provoked the Franklin riot. This newspaper countered its rivals' allegations with articles that described a harmonious relationship between generals Cooper and Duncan. It quoted a black militiaman, who insisted that a "perfect good feeling" existed between the regulars and the militia. Nevertheless, General Cooper disapproved of the redundant assignment of forces in Franklin. On more than one occasion, he was compelled to go in person to Franklin to sort out jurisdictional confusion. Toward the end of the month, he employed detachments from Company G in more useful tasks. On July 22, one of Sumner's lieutenants embarked with fifty men on a three-day patrol through the countryside around Triune in Williamson County. It was hoped that this show of force would encourage the area's eligible blacks to register and vote. Similarly, on July 29, 1st Lt. George Sumner headed with half of Company G to Columbia in Maury County in response to various registration difficulties and to provide security on election day. All the while, Captain Sumner remained in Franklin, as much for the sake of Radical pride at that point as to enforce the laws. To the dismay of local whites, he and his half-strength company participated in a Union League parade on July 29 and later forced a white employer to compensate a black worker who took time off to attend the

political festivities. Such actions prompted the *Daily Press and Times* to declare that “the spirit of riot . . . has been most effectually quenched in Franklin.” Cooper, however, ultimately conceded full authority to the army; he placed Sumner (and elements of the recently mustered black Company K, Second Regiment) under Captain Burke’s command for the day of the election. The *Republican Banner* rejoiced at this final development: “So the black man will be taught subordination for the future.”³⁷

If racial slurs and professional humiliation were not enough, Captain Sumner also endured some aggravating complications with logistical support. Only a few days before the election, many of his men still lacked a complete set of uniforms, among other basic issue items. “One third of the men are preatty in need,” he informed the quartermaster, “they are hard laying over the ground at night in the dew,—I want Blankets Coats Tents Drawers and Shirts.” Perhaps Sumner found solace in the fact that at least it was summertime.³⁸

While his all-black companies pressed on under an implacable propaganda assault, General Cooper deployed the rest of the State Guard. Over the final two weeks of the campaign, he stationed three additional companies in Middle Tennessee. As far as the Brownlow administration was concerned, there were plenty of “rebellious” counties in need of State Guard pacification. Moreover, Cooper decided that Captains Blackburn and Rickman were overextended, both being responsible for four or more counties, and in need of some relief. Enter the racially mixed units of George E. Grisham (Company B, First Regiment) and John L. Kirk (Company C, Second Regiment) and the all-white command of Robert L. Hall (Company C, First Regiment), all from East Tennessee.³⁹

Grisham and Hall arrived together in Nashville on July 18–19. City Radicals were jubilant at the presence of over two hundred loyal militiamen. They described Grisham as mentally “whole-souled” and physically in “fine trim,” affectionately referred to Hall as “Friend Bob,” and praised the enlisted men on their disciplined military bearing. Conservatives were less impressed. The *Union and Dispatch* conceded that Hall’s all-white company, decked out in distinctive Burnside hats, “made a better show” than any other militia unit it had thus far observed, but declared that Grisham’s mixed command was “as ragged and dirty a set of green looking bumpkins as ever went barefoot.” Company B’s flag, inscribed with “Tennessee Vol’s,” was ridiculed as “bogus.” Unfortunately for the

Radicals, at some point during these companies’ stay, three or four militiamen wandered into a saloon, got drunk, and started a row. After knocking down the barkeep, they stumbled onto the street and fired a gunshot into a neighboring building. A passing constable sounded the alarm, but the militiamen fled the scene. Civilian witnesses magnified the incident into a street riot, but no arrests were made and the militia companies soon headed for their final destinations, leaving in their wake yet another “outrage” for the anti-Radical press to exploit.⁴⁰

Captain Hall moved his men to nearby Buena Vista Springs, where they would act as a State Guard reserve. Captain Grisham’s company, however, was split into two forces. 1st Lt. Nelson McLaughlin commanded one of them, a forty-man detachment, which he marched to Lebanon in Wilson County on July 20 to protect the Radical minority there. Previously, Wilson had been part of Captain Blackburn’s rather large militia bailiwick. In early July, however, new priorities compelled Blackburn to withdraw his squad from Lebanon. As a result, Wilson Conservatives renewed their challenge to Registrar W. H. Goodwin’s control over the election. Simultaneously, ex-Confederate landlords threatened their black field hands that they would “be turned out of employment if they vote the Brownlow ticket.” After setting up camp, McLaughlin publicly warned the Conservatives that he would not permit them to interfere with Goodwin’s duties. He tempered his address, however, by assuring them that his men would remain quietly in camp “unless a conflict is forced.” The Conservatives did not challenge McLaughlin.⁴¹

Captain Grisham took the rest of his Company B to Fayetteville in Lincoln County. Captain Rickman had temporarily occupied that town during the Fourth of July celebration. Registrar John Carey, however, desired a full-time militia force. “I have been cursed and threatened,” he complained to Governor Brownlow, adding that ex-Confederate harassment inhibited Radical efforts to organize blacks into a Union League. A militant speech by Emerson Etheridge on July 8 exacerbated Carey’s plight. Along with his typical denunciations of the governor, Etheridge declared the militia a violation of the Bill of Rights and insinuated that the “Caries” of Tennessee were thieves deserving to be overthrown. Grisham was sent to the rescue. Before he departed Nashville, however, Grisham paid a surprise visit to the office of the anti-Radical *Republican Banner*, where he told the staff that he felt “no spirit of hostility to the people” of Lincoln County. Grisham, an editor himself, believed that this



Nelson McLaughlin, 1864-65. Courtesy of Tennessee State Museum Collection.

face-to-face meeting might change the *Banner's* opinion of the State Guard. The editors did, indeed, acknowledge Grisham's sincerity and deemed the unusual dialogue "a cheering indication" that some of the militia units could actually be respectable. From that point on, the *Banner* spared Company B negative press coverage.⁴²

From Grisham's perspective, his deployment to Lincoln was a resounding success. After arriving in Tullahoma by rail on July 22 and drawing additional equipment, he commenced a march to Fayetteville on the evening of the twenty-fifth. As a hot summer sun rose on the morning of the twenty-sixth, Grisham and his men beheld a beautiful rolling countryside laced in fields of cotton and corn. Throughout the trek, Grisham rode up and down his column conversing with the men and dispelling rumors that three thousand armed ex-Confederates awaited them to give battle. When the company entered Fayetteville, Mayor Robert Farquharson, a former Confederate colonel, commended its orderly deportment. Grisham thereupon proclaimed, "our whole mission among you is peace, quiet and the enforcement of the laws." After paying a friendly visit on the local newspaper editor, Grisham helped his men establish a "good & healthy camp." Conservatives were generally impressed by Grisham, whose militiamen were described as "delightful electioneering wheelhorses."⁴³

Although Grisham apparently enjoyed his Guard duty in Fayetteville, there was cause for concern in the last few days before the election. The Lincoln County sheriff was an ex-Confederate. Moreover, he was dubious of Grisham's goodwill and pointedly warned the militia captain that if the Radicals tried to attend the polls in procession, he would call out some five hundred armed "police" to disperse them. Grisham informed General Cooper that he would not hesitate to meet force with force: "I will fight them with ball cartridges and bayonets until ammunition and men are exhausted." Determined to protect the polls and the county's five hundred registered black voters, Grisham ordered all saloons closed on election day. Furthermore, on the advice of the registrar, he stationed ten men under Lt. Joseph February at one of the county's more remote polling sites.⁴⁴

The final addition to the State Guard presence in Middle Tennessee came on July 24, when Capt. John L. Kirk and his racially mixed command arrived in Nashville en route for Montgomery and Robertson, counties with strong Confederate sympathies. Montgomery whites had

recently petitioned the federal garrison for some soldiers to maintain order on the day of the election. The request may have been a compromise between local Radicals who wanted militia and local Conservatives who wanted no troops at all. General Duncan, however, referred the matter to General Cooper, who ordered Kirk to fulfill the task. On July 25, Kirk entered the county seat of Clarksville with forty men, whom the *Republican Banner* characterized as “colored warriors . . . panting for military glory.” Their presence was like a surge of electricity through the ranks of the Radicals. “The Negroes are jubilant [and] the Reb citizens are more fearful,” noted Registrar John L. Roberts. Many county blacks volunteered to join Kirk’s company and over the next several days he mustered in over sixty additional recruits, bringing his force in Clarksville to about one hundred militiamen.⁴⁵

While Kirk headed for Clarksville, his first lieutenant, David E. Burchfield, took a thirty-man detachment to Springfield in Robertson County. Given that Kirk’s force was predominately black, most of Burchfield’s men were probably white. The distinction was significant, for Robertson County was a hotbed of ex-Confederate outlawry. Registrar H. D. Featherston was undoubtedly relieved when Burchfield’s contingent arrived, but his prediction that all would thenceforth be “peaceable and quiet” proved wrong. On the night of July 30, unidentified raiders fired rifle shots into the militia camp. Burchfield reacted decisively: “My men raleied and gave a furius voley in the same direction.” For the next ten minutes the militiamen anxiously stared into the darkness. Then, another shot rang out from the woods, followed by a shotgun blast. None of the troops was hit, however, and Burchfield was content merely to return fire until the attackers withdrew. The *Union and Dispatch* dismissed the State Guard’s official report of the incident. According to this newspaper, one of Burchfield’s few “colored” militiamen accidentally fired his weapon, “creating a temporary stampede, and setting the musketry to popping in all directions.”⁴⁶

Although General Cooper distributed most of his units in Middle Tennessee, the west was not neglected. Five militia companies plus one detachment would see action in West Tennessee. One of Cooper’s main priorities was reinforcing Capt. John T. Robeson’s hard-pressed forces in the northwest corner. For over a month, Robeson had been trying single-handedly to regulate political affairs in Obion, Weakley, Dyer, and Gibson counties. During a tour through several western counties in early

July, Secretary of State Andrew J. Fletcher observed that in spite of potential militia reprisals, “the rebels are brow-beating and threatening the negroes with all manner of punishment.” He concluded that “the strong arm of military power is needed to keep them in check.” Accordingly, on June 21, Cooper ordered Company G, First Regiment, under Capt. Silas L. Chambers, into the region. When the unit passed through Nashville, the anti-Radical press mocked it with typical venom: “The ‘volunteers’ [were] . . . armed to the teeth with rusty old shooting irons of uncouth finish and ancient make . . . some of them barefooted, and all of them notoriously ugly.” The *Daily Press and Times* contradicted its rivals, describing the militiamen as “entirely worthy of the uniform” and promising that Chambers would “neither oppress or insult any man.”⁴⁷

The anti-Radicals were closer to the mark in their assessment; Company G’s performance proved embarrassingly “ugly.” While Lt. James W. Newport went to Dresden (Weakley County) with forty men, Captain Chambers headed for Trenton (Gibson County) with forty-five. Chambers arrived on June 28 and found everything “all rite.” But the leadership and morale problems that marred his company’s muster soon reemerged. Sometime during the first week of July, Chambers took one too many shots of whiskey and proceeded to make a jackass of himself before the citizens of Trenton. According to witnesses, the intoxicated Chambers “made some very Severe Threats to Burn the Town.” All the while, the militia captain “flourished his pistol, Threatened to Shoot any one who interfered with him and used very obscene language.” 1st Lt. Larken B. Gamble, the state’s investigating officer and a member of the Knoxville Sons of Temperance, corroborated the charges. On Larken’s recommendation, General Cooper, himself a teetotaler, punished the “disgraceful” company commander. Chambers was arrested and dishonorably discharged. Calling on the governor for clemency, Chambers meekly confessed, “It is true that I drink a little whiskey.” He begged in vain for a second chance. The *Republican Banner* snickered at the episode: “He must be a wretch indeed who is not deemed worthy to hold a commission in Brownlow’s militia.”⁴⁸

Captain Chambers’s dismissal did not prevent the decline of Company G as a reliable militia unit. General Cooper placed Lieutenant Newport in command, but this officer evidently lacked what the general was looking for. Some time in the middle of July, Cooper promoted Pryor Adkins, one of the company’s noncommissioned officers, to the

captaincy. Adkins was a twenty-five-year-old Scott County farmer and a Civil War veteran. Under his direction, Company G provided protection for Gibson County registrar Robert E. Bogle, who added 350 blacks to his voting roster. At the end of July, however, Company G suffered another humiliation. For several days, local whites had been spreading rumors that a large ex-Confederate force was massing for an attack. When a group of boys fired off some skyrockets on the night of July 28 and then screeched an imitation of the Rebel yell, a jumpy Captain Adkins reportedly telegraphed for help, while his men "set to work with desperate energy to dig a ditch." The *Republican Banner* exaggerated many of the facts surrounding this "terrible scare," but Adkins's overreaction earned him the sobriquet "Captain Shirttail." Adkins appears to have lost the respect of some of his men as well, for he was forced to reduce three corporals to the rank of private for "mutinous conduct." An exasperated General Cooper authorized Adkins to use any means necessary to instill better discipline.⁴⁹

Company G failed to provide Captain Robeson much relief. Fortunately for the Radicals, Robeson was one of the most able officers in the State Guard. In the first half of July, he led patrols through Obion, Dyer, and Weakley counties in his ongoing effort to establish Radical control. He was pleased "to find the Freedmen all for Brownlow," but he also reported that "the Rebels are verry bitter." Wherever he went, ex-Confederates vowed their intention to "vote or die." While scouting in Weakley County (where Lieutenant Newport was ostensibly in charge) on July 13, Robeson captured Martin Vowell, "a verry bad man." Vowell was part of an ex-Confederate band that boasted that it could "whip the State Troops." The prospect of clashing with Rebel vigilantes evidently excited Robeson. "I think I will have some fun," he confided to the adjutant general.⁵⁰

The difficulty of bringing law and order to four large counties eventually discouraged even the doughty Robeson. Try as he did, he could not be everywhere all of the time. Leaving his foot soldiers in Obion County, Robeson kept his mounted section in motion. Beginning on July 19, he embarked on an ambitious eight-day patrol through Dyer, Gibson, and Lauderdale counties, the last one an extension of his already vast area of operations. Ex-Confederates in Dyer County took advantage of his absence to try to roll back Radicalism. On July 24, they disrupted a Union League meeting in Dyersburg with brickbats and pistol shots.

As a result, many blacks opted not to register. Only twenty-eight blacks received voting certificates from Registrar James McCoy during Robeson's excursion. On his return to Dyersburg, Robeson arrested several whites accused of perpetrating the attack. Nevertheless, he realized that he did not have enough men to garrison Dyer effectively. Moreover, he determined from his patrol that Lauderdale County needed militia and that Trenton, though occupied by a detachment from Company G, was essentially "controlled by the Rebels." General Cooper did augment Robeson's forces by attaching Capt. William C. Holt's thirty volunteers to Company E, but given the political challenges elsewhere in West and Middle Tennessee, no substantial reinforcements were available.⁵¹

As Robeson orchestrated State Guard activities in four counties, Capt. Judge K. Clingan had his hands full in one—Madison. Having ostensibly secured Haywood County for the Radicals, Clingan arrived at the town of Jackson in Madison in the last week of June. More than 99 percent of Madison's white electorate had voted for secession in 1861. In 1867, the county's whites were in no mood for the presence of a company of "Melish." Two years after the Civil War, Jackson still showed the effects of wartime devastation; entire blocks were little more than charred ruins. Local whites complained that business was poor and that many freedmen seemed to hang around doing nothing. Into this dismal setting came Company D, First Regiment, "without the slightest provocation," according to Conservatives.⁵²

Clingan found the anti-Radicals of Madison far more truculent than those of Haywood. Shortly after his arrival, he earned the locals' ire when he forbade the carrying of firearms in public. Whether all complied or merely concealed their weapons is unclear, but the white townspeople did not hide their contempt for the militia. "They . . . scorn us as we pass," Clingan noted, and appear to have closed their shops to his men compelling the militia captain to rely exclusively on the quartermaster for supplies. On one occasion, a group of ex-Confederates confronted Clingan personally, cursing the captain and his "god damned Yankey and Brownlow militia." Toward the middle of July, Clingan reported that "there is something misterious going on in this place." For weeks, Madison whites had been creating a climate of fear, "doing all in their power to demoralize" Clingan's men. During the night, sporadic gunfire kept militia sentries on edge, while false alarms of murder had militia details chasing phantoms. During the day, Jackson residents tempted the

militiamen to leave their posts with offers of clean clothes and home-cooked meals. Company D's morale suffered: sixteen men deserted during one ten-day period. While riding a man on a rail had quelled the harassment of his men in Haywood, Clingan proved reluctant to employ similar tactics in Madison. Instead, he appears to have holed up with his entire command in an encampment on the outskirts of town, leaving the countryside to the Rebels, except for an occasional mounted patrol.⁵³

Clingan's defensiveness was a wise precaution. His scouts discovered the existence of several caches of regular army rifles (some stored in one of Jackson's banks). Additionally, they reported that a group of some five hundred ex-Confederates, whose "looks shows vengeance," had standing orders to assemble quickly should conflict with the militia arise. Clingan told General Cooper that "if it was not fear of more soldiers, the citizens would not allow us to remain here." Further complicating Clingan's task was a political circular distributed by county Conservatives urging ex-Confederates to participate in the election and chastising them for not trying to register. Evidently, the Conservatives hoped that a swarm of illegal certificate seekers would overwhelm Registrar Robert Medlin and inhibit his registration of blacks. One of Clingan's lieutenants overheard a Rebel exclaim that if whites were not allowed to vote, then "no d—d nigger should vote." Clingan concluded that Madison was "the worst place without any doubt in West Tennessee."⁵⁴

As unnerving as all of this anti-Radical opposition must have been, Captain Clingan persevered in his duty. He requested permission from General Cooper to confiscate all weapons until after the election. He also maintained order, albeit with difficulty, during a mid-July Radical rally, one attended by several Rebels who mercilessly insulted the speakers. Finally, he remonstrated against the racial "hatred" of Madison's whites, particularly their maltreatment of a mentally and physically handicapped black man. Apparently, this former slave had recently become a ward of the county, costing the residents about twenty-five dollars for three months of care. Sometime in the first week of July, city officials cast the man into the streets outside the courthouse, where he lay virtually naked for over an hour. When Clingan demanded an explanation for this appalling act, one Conservative retorted that since "Brownlows malitia was the friend of the negro . . . let them take care of him." Clingan helped some locals blacks get the man into shelter, giving them five dollars out of his own pocket for food and clothes. Unfortunately, the man later died.

Clingan was disgusted by Madison's attitude toward the freedmen: "This is the feeling of the flower of the lost cause."⁵⁵

Capt. Shadrack T. Harris of Company F, First Regiment, joined his militia compatriots in the west on July 4. Half of the company was on detached service in Middle Tennessee, but General Cooper assigned Harris and his remaining fifty men to Henry County. The unit's trip by rail was uncomfortable from start to finish. Through a scheduling miscommunication with the Edgefield & Kentucky, the company left Nashville in boxcars instead of passenger cars. An apologetic superintendent later installed some couches for the militiamen, but Captain Harris arrived at his destination in an irascible mood. Henry County had supported secession by nearly 85 percent in 1861, and its "rebellious" mindset had not diminished much by 1867. Registrar James B. Guthrie, whom local whites branded "an unfeeling brute, a faithless cur," had so far failed to register any blacks. Harris's arrival in the county seat of Paris on American independence day elicited a grim comment from the county newspaper: "Despotism fastened one of its armed heels on this quiet community. . . . We are overawed by the surveillance of an irresponsible body of armed men." Conservatives feared the worst from Harris, the man who had languished in a Confederate prison for over two years. White residents scrutinized every move by his men for signs of "drunken, indecent and lawless conduct." The *Republican Banner* even claimed that Harris had given his men orders to "burn the town and kill every rebel in it" if the election went against the Radicals. Harris hardly deserved the abuse. His occupation proved relatively uneventful and, in some respects, ineffective. Perhaps unable to act more forcefully because of his crippled condition, Harris submitted his letter of resignation one day before the election, citing "private business." Leaving the company first sergeant in charge in Cheatham, Lt. E. R. Hall rushed to Paris to take over, only to discover that Guthrie had managed to register just a few dozen voters.⁵⁶

In contrast to Harris's, Capt. George Hamilton's experience in McNairy County was nerve-wracking. After mustering in his racially mixed Company E, Second Regiment, in mid-June, Hamilton established his base at Purdy, the county seat, and remained there for the duration of the campaign, the men possibly enjoying the comforts of wooden barracks constructed from lumber purchased by the quartermaster. For about a month, all was calm in the county, which had voted

for secession by just under 70 percent. Hamilton and Registrar Levi Hurst appear to have quietly prepared the loyal voters for the upcoming election. In July, however, ex-Confederates mounted a serious challenge to Radical authority. On the night of the fifteenth, a small group of "bushwhackers" fired several gunshots into the militia encampment and then galloped off before the militiamen could return the fire. Having few horsemen, Captain Hamilton could undertake no pursuit. The *Daily Press and Times* condemned the sneak attack, proclaiming that "the Purdy guerrillas . . . richly deserve to dangle on the gallows."⁵⁷

Less than two weeks later, a much larger group of ex-Confederates attacked. On the night of July 26, some fifteen to twenty men, heavily armed and with blackened faces, commenced firing on the militia encampment. This time, the assailants did not flee but instead made sporadic attacks throughout the night. The militiamen fired back as best they could from their position. With the light of dawn, however, Captain Hamilton went on the offensive. Placing his company in assault formation, he "charged the guerrillas and drove them pell-mell through the town to the woods." Three Rebels were reportedly wounded, while Company E miraculously suffered no casualties. Conservatives downplayed the incident as a "desultory skirmish."⁵⁸

The following day, black Union Leaguers held a flag-raising rally in Purdy with Company E providing security. Several speeches were made, some apparently in honor of the militia's nighttime heroics, before three "pestiferous rebels" interrupted the proceedings with loud insults. When militia Sgt. James Hardin attempted to silence the men, he was shot through the shoulder. More shots were fired and more injuries were sustained before the militia restored order. Ex-Confederate Samuel Lewis was among the wounded. When he died two days later, McNairy's Conservative authorities tried to indict Captain Hamilton's black militiamen for murder. It is not clear what became of this legal action nor whether Sergeant Hardin recovered from his own wound. What is clear is that Hamilton faced a determined enemy in McNairy County. Few other militia companies expended as much ammunition as Company E appears to have discharged. Still, Hamilton held the field, and the anti-Radicals knew that he would not give up without a hard fight.⁵⁹

Hamilton's lack of cavalry horses was a common deficiency in the State Guard. The militia act permitted a twenty-five-man mounted section for each company, but militiamen apparently had to provide their

own steeds. With good quality horses often costing more than one hundred dollars, few volunteers owned one. As a result, many companies failed to field a complete complement of horsemen. This loss in mobility hindered the performance of some units, such as Hamilton's. Some companies appear to have pooled their horses for joint use. Captains Grisham and G. W. Kirk, for example, occasionally borrowed extra mounts from Rickman's unit during the last half of July. (Much later in the deployment, General Cooper would implement an equitable redistribution of horses.) For those militiamen who did join with their own horse, the state compensated them forty cents per day for feed and grooming, but it is unclear if it reimbursed soldiers for horses that died in the line of duty. There is no indication, for instance, that the quartermaster ever settled a claim entered by Pvt. Joseph Law (Company I, First Regiment), who lost his mount, valued at one hundred dollars, while on patrol. For better or worse, the Brownlow administration avoided most of the costs that horses added to nineteenth-century military operations.⁶⁰

The last State Guard unit to deploy to West Tennessee was Company F, Second Regiment, 1st Lt. Joseph M. Alexander commanding. In the second week of July, while waiting for orders, Alexander imposed quasi-martial law on the town of Loudon (Roane County). Claiming that the town was controlled by a "rebel dynasty" (although the county had voted against secession by over 70 percent), Alexander issued some strict decrees, such as nighttime curfews, restrictions on the sale of liquor, and a requirement that certain individuals (i.e., ex-Confederates) carry travel passes while in town. The anti-Radical populace vehemently protested these infringements on their civil liberties. Referring to Alexander as "the great Mogul," residents called for his dismissal. The militia lieutenant ignored all remonstrance.⁶¹

Infuriated by Alexander's "officious" conduct, ex-Confederate S. "Bob" Viars tried to stir up trouble. Denouncing the militiamen as "low-flung," he called for volunteers to help him "run the State Guards out of Loudon." On July 15, he stormed alone into the militia encampment, hurled insults at Alexander, and threatened to tear down the American flag. The men of Company F pounced on him. Alexander later commented that "it was with much difficulty [that] I could restrain the men from putting him through." Alexander then held a drum-head court where the battered Viars was charged with insurrection and treason, and reportedly "sentenced to *eat grass* or go hungry." Though

coerced with bayonets, Viars "refused to nibble." After a few more indignities, the "malignant scoundrel" was released.⁶²

Civil authorities brought a lawsuit against Alexander and his men, but it never reached court, for Company F headed for West Tennessee on July 22. Probably influenced by Captain Robeson's report on conditions in Lauderdale County, General Cooper ordered Lieutenant Alexander to set up camp in the county seat of Ripley. The unit's cross-state journey was quite eventful. Its passage through Nashville was something like a Roman triumph. "With colors flying, a clanging snare drum sounding, and the bayonet of every musket fixed," Company F proceeded toward its rail connection. The *Union and Dispatch* described the march through the city as one of "glistening intimidation."⁶³

On July 25, Company F briefly halted at Humboldt (Gibson County). From the Radicals' standpoint, Gibson was in political disarray, the presence of a detachment from Company G, First Regiment, notwithstanding. While Lieutenant Alexander went to Trenton, presumably to consult with Captain Adkins, 2nd Lt. E. R. Brown remained in Humboldt with the main body. Brown observed firsthand the ex-Confederates' domination of the county. According to the lieutenant, the "Rebs" brazenly congregated near his bivouac and taunted his men. One ex-Confederate sneered that the Radicals "had better send more men . . . if they expect the *d—d nigger* to *Vote*." Another ridiculed the militiamen as dupes of "Brownlow's Bogus *State Govt.*" and vowed to send the "*Ignorant niggers*" back to slavery regardless of the outcome of the election. Brown ordered his men to ignore the catcalls. Several freedmen braved the gauntlet of ex-Confederate loiterers and informed the lieutenant that barely half of the eligible black voters had been registered. Moreover, they intimated that the militia detachment in Trenton had done very little to suppress ex-Confederate lawlessness. Some Gibson blacks had actually formed their own vigilante groups, inflicting three casualties on a band of ex-Confederates in one clash. Brown requested permission from General Cooper to stay and register the freedmen personally, but a couple of days later Alexander returned from Trenton and Company F proceeded to Ripley. Arriving on July 31, Alexander reported that the blacks in that region turned out in large numbers to welcome his command.⁶⁴

Alexander's relatively rapid movement from Loudon to Ripley (a distance of about 350 miles) highlights the importance of rail trans-

portation to the militia deployment. Given that most lawless counties were located in Middle and West Tennessee and that most of the militia units came from East Tennessee, trains were indispensable to the politics of force. Shortly after mobilization, the major railroad companies agreed to a "special arrangement" with the Tennessee quartermaster, whereby militia personnel and freight could travel at a 40 percent discount. Moreover, H. H. Thomas persuaded some of these companies to conduct business on credit, assuring them that the state was good for all fees. In return, the State Guard received timely transport and courteous treatment from many superintendents. J. L. Williams of the Mobile & Ohio, for example, intervened in behalf of the quartermaster when one of his conductors refused to accommodate an unscheduled shipment of munitions. Williams ordered the conductor to readjust his plans or face discharge. Captain Harris's bumpy ride to Henry County was an aberration in an otherwise efficient mode of travel. The railroad companies also presumably turned a profit, grossing \$27,347 over the course of their business with the State Guard.⁶⁵

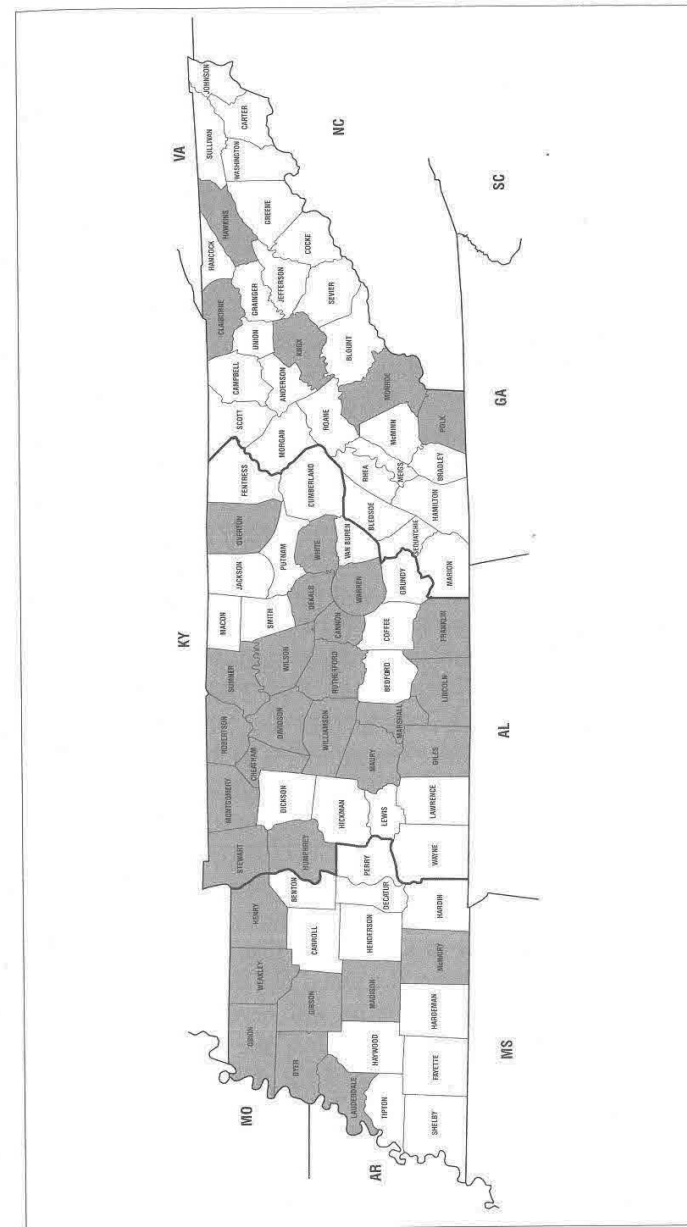
General Cooper might well have deployed the balance of his State Guard, three companies from East Tennessee, to other trouble spots in the middle and western sections had it not been for some unexpected anti-Radical challenges in the mountain counties. On July 23, a political riot broke out in Rogersville (Hawkins County). The Radicals and the Conservatives had staged competing rallies in close proximity, the latter's featuring one of Emerson Etheridge's stump speeches. At some point, shots rang out and a melee ensued, leaving one black Union Leaguer dead and two wounded and one white Conservative dead and another wounded. Radicals blamed the Conservatives for opening fire, while Conservatives accused the Radicals of trying to assassinate Etheridge. The day after this incident, an ex-Confederate shot a black Radical in the face during a Knoxville party rally. This violent turn of events in East Tennessee compelled Governor Brownlow to retain the remaining militia companies in that section. He stationed Capt. Kemp Murphy's Company D, Second Regiment, in Knoxville (probably as a personal bodyguard as well as a law enforcer). Capt. A. M. Clapp's Company H, Second Regiment, went to Hawkins County to restore order there. Clapp may have detached some men to neighboring Sullivan, for Conservatives in that county claimed that his "rabble" made a habit of marching "up and down the country, threatening and terrifying all they

meet.” Finally, 1st Lt. William N. Purdy’s newly mustered Company I, Second Regiment, was ordered to Monroe and Polk, counties that had voted for secession.⁶⁶

Unable to get more men from East Tennessee, General Cooper committed his reserve unit, Captain Hall’s Company C, to Rutherford County on July 30. Radicals there had long insisted that they could handle voter registration and the election itself without militia troops. The Etheridge camp, however, had heated up the political climate and frightened many registered freedmen in the process. Toward the end of July, county Radicals requested militia, and Hall encamped his men in the county seat of Murfreesboro. Cooper replaced Hall’s company as a reserve by hastily mustering in the all-black Company A, Third Regiment, a mere two days before the election. The *Republican Banner*, always on the look out for military despotism, found the general’s abrupt “augmentation of the Brownlow army . . . rather mysterious.” As far as Cooper was concerned, however, even the capital county of Davidson needed some State Guard. One day before the election he ordered the white Capt. Michael J. Houston to deploy his black militiamen throughout the county.⁶⁷

Except for a few last-minute adjustments, the twenty-one companies of the State Guard were all in place by July 31. In looking back at this political campaign, Conservative candidate for Congress Edmund Cooper grumbled, “My district [the Fourth] was, just before the election, flooded with troops—Tennessee militia.” In some respects, “flooded” was not an exaggeration. Six of the eight counties in Cooper’s Middle Tennessee district were occupied by three full companies of militia and detachments from three others. Some 1,210 militiamen (including most of the black volunteers) from thirteen companies had either patrolled or physically occupied at least twenty-four of Middle Tennessee’s thirty-five counties. In West Tennessee, approximately 460 militiamen from six companies occupied at one time or another at least nine of the section’s nineteen counties. And in East Tennessee, some 205 militiamen from four companies exercised authority over six of that section’s thirty counties (see Appendix B). The “full blast” of the Tennessee State Guard was indeed a dramatic display of Radical power.⁶⁸

The conduct of this Radical army was a major issue throughout the campaign. John P. Holsinger spoke for many Conservatives when he complained to President Johnson that “the presence of Brownlow’s



Tennessee State Guard dispositions during the election of 1867.

militia tends more to disorder, than otherwise." In actuality, however, most of the "disorder" during the campaign was a product of anti-Radical agitation, especially in West Tennessee. Most company commanders simply tried to execute their orders and keep the peace. When confrontations occurred, they usually responded with appropriate and reasonable force. Much of the credit for this disciplined behavior rests with General Cooper. His leadership gave the State Guard a more centralized chain of command than had existed prior to his appointment, and his numerous special orders not only directed militia movements but also reiterated the rules of engagement. To be sure, some officers overstepped their authority. Lieutenant Alexander's brief "martial law" in Roane County was certainly an abuse of power. Other officers, however, such as Captain Grisham, exhibited an unexpected human touch in pacifying the opposition. The scope of the State Guard's activities was extensive, but a military despotism it was not. There were no atrocities, at least none for which the militia was responsible. Some ex-Confederates were captured or arrested, but instead of being summarily executed they were usually released after a short incarceration. There was no suppression of the anti-Radical press, which lambasted the militia on virtually every page. There was no interference with the Conservative canvass of the state, in which Etheridge denounced the Brownlow administration at every stop. And there was no official martial law. There were restrictions placed on some activities, such as the sale of liquor, but in most occupied counties life went on as if there was no militia at all. What the State Guard did do was provide protection for Republicans who wanted to meet safely in public and freedmen who wanted to register to vote.⁶⁹

Anti-Radical criticism of the State Guard never abated, but there were several instances where the rhetoric of tyranny lapsed into comic lightheartedness. In May, the *Fayetteville Observer* penned a piece of doggerel titled "Commander-in-Chief, Etc." that mocked Brownlow's employment of force: "He steers the proud old ship of state / And if she sinks, he'll let her—ah / But he will never share her fate, / "Commander-in-Chief, Etcetera." In June, the *Republican Banner* printed a humorous story that portrayed the militiamen as sniveling cowards. As Captain Evans's Company I was moving by rail, the train evidently suffered an accident. According to the *Banner*, as the train screeched to a halt "Brownlow's Bummers" thought they were under attack by Rebels and "screamed like a pack of frightened children or a

flock of scared sheep." One private shrieked, "O, my God!" while another begged, "Don't shoot!" As the panic subsided, one demoralized militiaman sobbed, "I thought the rebs'd got me shure!" In July, several Conservative newspapers parodied Col. David M. Nelson's investigation of the Rogersville riot. As the colonel interrogated the "rebel" perpetrators, he discovered that they were actually all officers of the "melish," at which point he promptly bellowed, "Guards! Release these men at once." A final example of State Guard lampooning involved the black militia. The *Union and Dispatch* related the observations of a Nashville "colored man" who shook his head with disapproval at Capt. J. L. Kirk's black troopers: "Dese nigger melishy goin to fool round here tell they gits us all in trouble. They better go back to the corn field whar they belong and then we'll have peace."⁷⁰

Comic stories notwithstanding, the contending sides did despise one another. As General Cooper completed his deployment, the anti-Radicals continued to issue challenges to Radical authority. In the closing weeks of the campaign, the *Union and Dispatch* ran its own version of the Gaut circular that urged "three freeholders" in any county "to qualify themselves . . . and proceed to hold the election and certify the returns to the sheriff." The *Republican Banner* called on "the moral power of the people" to safeguard the ballot box from "Brownlow bullies." To this end it declared that every white man "should consider himself a special policeman authorized to keep the peace." The State Guard now had one final task: to protect the polls and ensure that only "loyal" men cast a ballot. All Tennesseans anxiously awaited the dawn of August 1.⁷¹

Chapter 5



THE RADICAL ARMY WINS AN ELECTION

MOST TENNESSEANS ANTICIPATED CIVIL DISTURBANCES ON THE DAY OF the election. Radicals were certain that one or more of the many bands of ex-Confederate vigilantes would attack the polling sites, while Conservatives fully expected at least one of the militia companies to fire on the citizenry. No one was more concerned about potential violence than Gen. Joseph A. Cooper. As the commander of nearly nineteen hundred militiamen distributed in more than thirty counties, Cooper bore direct responsibility for ensuring public safety and preserving electoral integrity. He did not shrink from this important duty. In the final week of the campaign, besides completing the deployment of the State Guard, Cooper issued specific election-day instructions to all of his company commanders. He ordered them to work closely with “their Union friends,” to position their men in “the best possible advantage to protect the loyal voters,” and to “use Every means to preserve the peace.”¹

General Cooper was also worried about the well being of the militiamen themselves, in light of the death of Private Jones and the night attacks against the State Guard in McNairy and Robertson, among other confrontations. In a general order issued the day before the election, Cooper denounced the “armed mobs and outlaws, who . . . persist in keeping the country in a reign of terror by their outrageous conduct.” He warned that anyone caught interfering with the State Guard would

5. James Welch Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1934), 83-123; E. Merton Coulter, *William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1937), 262-374; Thomas B. Alexander, *Political Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Nashville: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1950), 163-75.
6. U.S. Congress, both houses, *Ku Klux Conspiracy, Report of the Joint Select Committee into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States*, 13 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1872), 1:454, 458; Ira P. Jones, "Reconstruction in Tennessee," in *Why the Solid South? Or Reconstruction and Its Results*, ed. Hilary A. Herbert (Baltimore: R. H. Woodward, 1890), 191-98.
7. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction*, 176-77, 235; Coulter, *Brownlow*, 332.
8. Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 149-50, 167.
9. Robert H. White, Stephen V. Ash, and Wayne C. Moore, eds., *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee*, 11 vols. to date (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1952-), 5:552-53; Sefton, *United States Army and Reconstruction*, 236.
10. Otis A. Singletary, *Negro Militia and Reconstruction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957), 4, 13, 145. For an excellent state study on law enforcement during Reconstruction see Ann Patton Baenziger, "The Texas State Police During Reconstruction: A Reexamination," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 72 (1969): 470-91.
11. Trelease, *White Terror*, 9, 18, 182. While deferring to Trelease's findings, Eric Foner credits the State Guard with a "drastic curtailment" of Klan activities in the early months of 1869. See Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 439-40.
12. John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction After the Civil War* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961), 121, 161-62.
2. Tennessee General Assembly, *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 34th General Assembly, 2nd adjourned sess. (1867), Resolution No. 58; Samuel Mayes Arnell, "The Southern Unionist," unpublished manuscript, Special Collections, Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville, n.d., 313; White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:550-51.
3. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction*, 3-25; Paul H. Bergeron, Stephen V. Ash, and Jeanette Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1999), 132-39.
4. David Madden, "Unionist Resistance to Confederate Occupation: The Bridge Burners of East Tennessee," *East Tennessee Historical Society Publications* 52-53 (1980-81): 22-39; Bergeron, Ash, and Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History*, 139-57; James M. McPherson, *What They Fought For, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1994), 38; *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Tennessee of the Military Forces in the State, from 1861-1866* (Nashville, 1866); Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1988), 84-106, 143-74; Noel C. Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerrilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1997).
5. Verton M. Queener, "The Origins of the Republican Party in East Tennessee," *East Tennessee Historical Society Publications* 13 (1941): 77-84; Baggett, *Scalawags*, 125-26; Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 18-32; Coulter, *Brownlow*, 235-93.
6. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:456; Arnell, "Southern Unionist," 272-74; Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 87, 104-5; Jones, "Reconstruction in Tennessee," 182-83.
7. Queener, "Origin of the Republican Party," 86-87; White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:488-500.
8. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:443.
9. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:445, 462, 546-48; Bobby L. Lovett, "Memphis Riots: White Reactions to Blacks in Memphis, May 1865-July 1866," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 38 (1979): 9-33; Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 99-10, 123-24.
10. Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 88-89, 127-29; *Ku Klux Conspiracy* 1:455-56. Several times in July 1865, Etheridge declared Brownlow's governorship a tyranny, urged Tennesseans to disregard the franchise laws, and countenanced violence against blacks.
11. Thomas B. Alexander, "Political Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1865-1870," in *Radicalism, Racism, and Party Realignment: The Border*

CHAPTER I

1. Charles L. Lufkin, "A Forgotten Controversy: The Assassination of Senator Almon Case of Tennessee," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers* 39 (1985): 37-50; Tennessee General Assembly, *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 34th General Assembly, 2nd adjourned sess. (Nashville, 1867), Resolution No. 68.

- States During Reconstruction*, ed. Richard O. Curry (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969), 59–61; LeRoy P. Graf, Ralph W. Haskins, and Paul H. Bergeron, eds., *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, 16 vols. (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1967–2000), 10:512–14; Horace Maynard to Governor Brownlow, May 26, 1866, Box 1, Folder 9, W. G. Brownlow Papers, MS 1940, Special Collections, Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville (hereafter cited as Brownlow Papers); Governor Brownlow to W. E. Kelley, Mar. 8, 1866, E. E. Patton Papers, Calvin M. McClung Historical Collection, East Tennessee History Center, Knoxville (hereafter cited as Patton Papers).
12. Eugene G. Feistman, “Radical Disfranchisement and the Restoration of Tennessee, 1865–1866,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 12 (1953): 145–47; Brooks D. Simpson, *Let Us Have Peace: Ulysses S. Grant and the Politics of War and Reconstruction, 1861–1868* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1991), 140; William J. Ulrich, “The Northern Military Mind in Regard to Reconstruction, 1865–1872: The Attitudes of Ten Leading Union Generals” (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State Univ., 1959), 233–35; Tennessee General Assembly, *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 34th General Assembly, extra sess. (1866), chaps. 2–3; Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 110–11.
13. Governor Brownlow to W. D. Kelley, Mar. 8, 1866, Patton Papers; Robert Ramsey to Governor Brownlow, Mar. 5, 1866, Box 1, Folder 9, Brownlow Papers; Feistman, “Radical Disfranchisement,” 148; U.S. Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War*, 40th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1867), 182–83.
14. Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 177–79; Trelease, *White Terror*, 8–10. An army investigation into the Klan, conducted in the fall of 1866, concluded that there was no evidence of any “military organizations” in the state, but the officer in charge does not seem to have looked much beyond the environs of Nashville. Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 11:344–45; Simpson, *Let Us Have Peace*, 153.
15. J. Noah to Governor Brownlow, Aug. 20, 1866, Patton Papers; J. Noah to Governor Brownlow, Aug. 24, 1866, Reel 1, Box 1, Folder 8, William G. Brownlow, Papers of the Governors, GP 21, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville (hereafter cited as Governor Brownlow Papers); Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 183.
16. Arnell, “Southern Unionist,” 289; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Sept. 16, Nov. 9, 1866.
17. Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 183, 199–202; Paul D. Phillips, “A History of the Freedmen’s Bureau in Tennessee” (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt Univ., 1964), 275–76.
18. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:527; Sefton, *United States Army and Reconstruction*, 261.
19. Petition to Leonidas C. Houk, Aug. 8, 1866, Houk Papers, Calvin M. McClung Historical Collection, East Tennessee History Center, Knoxville (hereafter cited as Houk Papers); Coulter, *Brownlow*, 318–19; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Oct. 9, 1866; Forrest Conklin, “Wiping Out ‘Andy’ Johnson’s Moccasin Tracks: The Canvass of Northern States by Southern Radicals, 1866,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 52 (1993): 125–27.
20. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:534–35.
21. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:555. “Iron-glove regime” is a typical example of White’s negative attitude toward the Brownlow administration.
22. James W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction*, 86, 93; White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:413–14; Tennessee General Assembly, *Senate Journal*, 34th General Assembly, 1st sess. (1865), 54, 58, 61; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Apr. 25, 26, May 6, 1865.
23. Tennessee General Assembly, *House Journal*, 34th General Assembly, 1st sess. (1865), 36, 80, 104, 132, 176–77, 186, 194, 230, 260; Robert M. McBride and Dan M. Robison, *Biographical Directory of the Tennessee General Assembly*, 6 vols. to date (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1975–), 2:844–45; William Jay Smith, “Autobiographical Sketch (1823–1913),” Special Collections, Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville; Janet B. Hewett, ed., *The Roster of Union Soldiers, 1861–1865*, 21 vols. (Wilmington, Del.: Broadfeet, 1997–2000), 20:561; Tennessee General Assembly, *Senate Journal*, 34th General Assembly, 1st sess. (1865), 165, 180, 185; Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 24.
24. Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 8:99, 440; Sefton, *United States Army and Reconstruction*, 261; Ulrich, “Northern Military Mind,” 212–13; Tennessee General Assembly, *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 34th General Assembly, 1st sess. (1865), Resolution No. 39 and chap. 24.
25. Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 9:367; Sefton, *United States Army and Reconstruction*, 261; Coulter, *Brownlow*, 331.
26. Tennessee General Assembly, *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 34th General Assembly, 2nd adjourned sess. (1867), chap. 35; Tennessee General Assembly, *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 34th General Assembly, extra sess.

- (1866), chap. 2; Alexander, "Political Reconstruction in Tennessee," 55; Lucile Deaderick, ed., *Heart of the Valley: A History of Knoxville, Tennessee* (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1976), 95; Charles Stuart McGehee, "Wake of the Flood: A Southern City in the Civil War, Chattanooga, 1838-1873" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Virginia, 1985), 169-71; Walter J. Fraser Jr., "Lucien Bonaparte Eaton: Politics and the Memphis Post," West Tennessee Historical Society *Papers* 20 (1966): 20-45; Stanley F. Rose, "Nashville and Its Leadership Elite" (Master's thesis, Univ. of Virginia, 1965), 36; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Sept. 29, 1866; White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:516; Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction*, 228-29, 232.
27. Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 11:234, 288, 362.
 28. Tennessee General Assembly, *House Journal*, 34th General Assembly, 2nd adjourned sess. (1867), 37, 85, 177; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Dec. 21, 1866, Jan. 24, Feb. 1, 1867; *Fayetteville Observer*, Feb. 14, 1867.
 29. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Jan. 27, 1867; Tennessee General Assembly, *House Journal*, 34th General Assembly, 2nd adjourned sess. (1867), 192-93.
 30. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Jan. 19, 26, Feb. 1, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Jan. 27, Feb. 2, 17, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, Jan. 30, Feb. 27, 1867.
 31. Tennessee General Assembly, *House Journal*, 34th General Assembly, 2nd adjourned sess. (1867), 233, 257, 263-65; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Feb. 17, 1867.
 32. Tennessee General Assembly, *Senate Journal*, 34th General Assembly, 2nd adjourned sess. (1867), 280, 284, 301-9; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Feb. 17, 1867.
 33. Tennessee General Assembly, *House Journal*, 34th General Assembly, 2nd adjourned sess. (1867), 294-96, 300-301; Tennessee General Assembly, *Senate Journal*, 34th General Assembly, 2nd adjourned sess. (1867), 327; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Feb. 20, 1867.
 34. Tennessee General Assembly, *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 34th General Assembly, 2nd adjourned sess. (1867), chap. 24.
 35. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:499.

CHAPTER 2

1. *Knoxville Whig*, Mar. 6, 1867; White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:559-60.
2. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:553-55. In a private letter to a concerned Conservative, Brownlow vaguely explained that the militia would deploy only to the "most rebellious counties." Brownlow to S. L. Warren, Mar. 16, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers.
3. Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 142-46; Susie Lee Owens, "The Union League of America: Political Activities in Tennessee, the Carolinas, and Virginia, 1865-1870" (Ph.D. diss., New York Univ., 1943), 40-81; Phillips, "History of the Freedmen's Bureau," 272; Arnell, "Southern Unionist," 285.
4. *Fayetteville Observer*, Feb. 21, Mar. 7, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, Mar. 27, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Feb. 24, 1867; *Pulaski Citizen*, Feb. 22, 1867.
5. Coulter, *Brownlow*, 332-33; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Feb. 25, 1867; Tennessee General Assembly, *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 34th General Assembly, 2nd adjourned sess. (1867), Resolution No. 91; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:81; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Mar. 1, 1867; Governor Brownlow to George H. Thomas, Mar. 1, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events* (New York, 1867), 705.
6. General Order No. 1, Mar. 6, 1867, Tennessee Adjutant General's Office, Papers, Reel 8, Vol. 26, RG 21, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville (hereafter cited as TAGO).
7. Newton T. Beal to Governor Brownlow, Mar. 30, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1; John T. Rushing to Governor Brownlow, May 24, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 2; Russ B. Davis to Governor Brownlow, Feb. 22, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1; C. Underwood to Governor Brownlow, Mar. 29, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 2; Robert Galbraith to Governor Brownlow, Mar. 4, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1, all in Governor Brownlow Papers; John Enoch to H. H. Thomas, June 24, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, TAGO; William Bunker to Governor Brownlow, June 8, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers.

8. All requests for commissions are contained in either the Tennessee Adjutant General files or the Governor Brownlow Papers. Samuel S. Couch to James Hale, Feb. 2, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, TAGO; Coulter, *Brownlow*, 267; James P. Brownlow to W. O. White, Mar. 8, 1867, Reel 10, Vol. 45, TAGO (this letter is an example of the form letters Adjutant General Brownlow sent to all commissioned officers). During the Civil War, James P. Brownlow earned the brevet rank of brigadier general as commander of the First Tennessee Cavalry (Union). *Report of the Adjutant General*, 13, 301.
9. James H. Watson to adjutant general's office, May 27, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3; W. O. White to Samuel Hunt, Apr. 3, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3; James M. Dickerson to James P. Brownlow, May 23, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, all in TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, June 9, 1867; George E. Grisham to H. H. Thomas, June 27, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, TAGO. The fluctuating company letter designations have also created some headaches for the researcher. For example, the TAGO folder labeled "Company A, 1st Regiment" contains early muster rolls for three different companies, the final Company A, and two which were subsequently reclassified. Fortunately, this confusion occurs in only a few instances.
10. Madden, "Unionist Resistance to Confederate Occupation," 28–35; Thomas B. Alexander, *Thomas A. R. Nelson of East Tennessee* (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1956), 18, 112–13; *Index to the Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Tennessee*, National Archives and Records Services, Washington D.C. 1962, Reel 11, (hereafter cited as CSR Index); *Report of the Adjutant General*, ix.
11. Coulter, *Brownlow*, 289, 345; Commission for A. E. Boone, Apr. 25, 1867, Reel 5, Box 25, Folder 7; Frank Travis to H. H. Thomas, Apr. 23, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3; General Order No. 1, Mar. 6, 1867, Reel 8, Vol. 26; Expenditures of Account of the Quartermaster Department, Tennessee State Guard, March 1867–July 1868, Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 7, all in TAGO; H. H. Thomas to Joseph H. Blackburn, Mar. 27, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers. A list of some of the quartermaster's field agents is included in Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 5, TAGO.
12. Governor Brownlow to W. E. Alcorn, Apr. 20, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; William C. Davis, *Rebels and Yankees: The Fighting Men of the Civil War* (New York: Gallery Books, 1989), 132; Itemized Costs for a Standard Issue Militia Uniform (1867–1869), Reel 13, Vols. 75, 76, 82; Capts. R. L. Hall, G. W. Kirk, and G. E. Grisham to H. H. Thomas, June 10, 20, 22, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3; Capt. J. L. Kirk to General Cooper, June 22, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, all in TAGO.
13. Tennessee General Assembly, *House Journal*, 34th General Assembly, 1st adjourned sess. (1866), 535; Governor Brownlow to E. M. Stanton, Feb. 26, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1; H. H. Thomas to Benjamin Franklin, Feb. 27, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, both in Governor Brownlow Papers; Samuel L. Warner to Governor Brownlow, Mar. 11, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Mar. 20, Apr. 4, 1867; Bill of Lading, Apr. 10, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3; Thomas Duncan to James P. Brownlow, Apr. 24, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, both in TAGO.
14. *Nashville Republican Banner*, Apr. 30, May 3, 1867; Davis, *Rebels and Yankees*, 54–58; Equipment Turn-in Report, Company F, 1st Regiment, Dec. 31, 1867, Reel 4, Box 23, Folder 2; James P. Brownlow to Capt. Thompson McKinley, June 7, 1867, and Samuel Hunt to Lt. Philip Fleming, July 30, 1867, Reel 2, Box 9, Folder 5; Shipping Invoice, May 30, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, all in TAGO.
15. *Bristol News*, Mar. 7, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Mar. 17, May 10, 1867; *Pulaski Citizen*, Mar. 8, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 4, 24, 1867; W. A. Tucker to Governor Brownlow, Mar. 9, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers.
16. General Order No. 2, June 7, 1867, Reel 8, Vol. 26; Jebukiah Anderson to James P. Brownlow, May 10, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4; Robert L. Raulston to James P. Brownlow, June 15, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2, all in TAGO.
17. Muster Roll for Company A, 1st Tennessee State Guard, 1867, Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 1, TAGO; Reel 1, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:405; *Report of the Adjutant General*, iii, 223; *The Goodspeed Histories of Cannon, Coffee, DeKalb, Warren and White Counties* (McMinnville, Tenn.: Ben Lomand Press, 1972), 953; War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereafter cited as OR), 70 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880–1901), ser. 1, 23 (1): 17, 155–58, 202, 23 (2): 834, 32 (1): 55, 162, 494, 45 (1): 415, 45 (2): 433, 49 (1): 891–92, 49 (2): 460, 904, 911; Will T. Hale, *History of DeKalb County, Tennessee* (1915; reprint, McMinnville, Tenn.: Ben Lomand Press, 1969), 222; Thomas G. Webb, *DeKalb County* (Memphis: Memphis State Univ. Press, 1986), 31, 39–40; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 8:155.

18. *OR*, ser. 2, 8:726-29.
19. *Goodspeed Histories*, 953; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Feb. 4, 1867; Joseph Blackburn to H. H. Thomas, May 4, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4, TAGO; Muster Roll for Company A, 1st Tennessee State Guard, TAGO; Reels 4 and 6, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:432, 470; *Report of the Adjutant General*, vi, 230-31; *OR*, ser. 1, 23 (1): 209-10; Webb, *DeKalb County*, 33; Bureau of the Census, Schedules of Population for Tennessee, 1870 (DeKalb County) (hereafter cited as Census of Tennessee, 1870, followed by county), provides information on thirty-seven of the company's personnel.
20. Muster Roll for Company H, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 23, Folder 4, TAGO; Reel 13, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:544; *Report of the Adjutant General*, x, 430; *OR*, ser. 1, 49 (2): 543, 608; House, *Sheafe v. Tillman*, 41st Cong., 2nd sess., H. Misc. Doc. 53, 265; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Mar. 30, 1867.
21. William O. Rickman to James P. Brownlow, Mar. 27, Apr. 2, 25, May 1, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2, TAGO; Joseph Ramsey to Governor Brownlow, Mar. 23, 1867, Governor Brownlow Papers; Muster Roll for Company H, 1st Tennessee State Guard, TAGO.
22. William O. Rickman to James P. Brownlow, May 13, June 3, 1867; Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2, TAGO; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Bedford County), 400; G. W. Farnum to Samuel Hunt, May 8, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4; G. W. Farnum to James P. Brownlow, June 13, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1, both in TAGO; House, *Sheafe v. Tillman*, 264; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Franklin County), 141/125; Muster Roll for Company H, 1st Tennessee State Guard, TAGO.
23. Putnam County Petition to Governor Brownlow, Mar. 13, 1867; Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 2, Governor Brownlow Papers; Reel 14, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:566; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 234; William S. Stuart to James P. Brownlow, Mar. 29, 1867; Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, TAGO; William S. Stuart to Governor Brownlow, Apr. 1, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 2, Governor Brownlow Papers; James P. Brownlow to William S. Stuart, Apr. 6, 1867, Reel 10, Vol. 45, TAGO; White County Petition to Governor Brownlow, Apr. 22, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers.
24. Muster Roll for Company K, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 24, Folders 1 and 2; William S. Stuart to James P. Brownlow, May 8, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, both in TAGO; William S. Stuart to Governor Brownlow, June 26, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 2, Governor Brownlow Papers; Smith County Petition to Joseph A. Cooper, July 28, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2; William B. Stokes to Joseph A. Cooper, Aug. 10, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, both in TAGO; Reel 12, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:532; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 190, 418.
25. Phillips, "History of the Freedmen's Bureau," 272; William G. McBride, "Blacks and the Race Issue in Tennessee Politics, 1865-1876" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt Univ., 1989), 214.
26. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Apr. 3, 19, 1867; Muster Roll for Company E, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 4, Box 23, Folder 1, TAGO; Reels 5, 13 and 14, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:454, 546, 557; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 233, 481, 486A. H. Walker to Governor Brownlow, Apr. 15, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers; *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 23, 1867; Thomas Hopper to adjutant general's office, May 20, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1; John T. Robeson to James P. Brownlow, Mar. 21, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, both in TAGO; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Weakley County), 108, 194.
27. Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Gibson County), 472; Muster Roll supplement to Company E, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 4, Box 23, Folder 1, TAGO; Reels 7 and 8, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:478, 493; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 474, 483; Lufkin, "Forgotten Controversy," 43-44; C. Underwood to Governor Brownlow, Apr. 15, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 2; Obion County Petition to Governor Brownlow, Apr. 13, 1867, Reel 2, Box 4, Folder 7, both in Governor Brownlow Papers..
28. Muster Roll of Company E, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 4, Box 23, Folder 1; General Order No. 16, Sept. 3, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 27; John T. Robeson to Joseph A. Cooper, Sept. 11, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, all in TAGO.
29. Muster Roll for Company E, 2nd Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 24, Folder 7, TAGO; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Hardin County), 346 (Humphreys County), 16, and (McNairy County), 244; R. M. Thompson and Fielding Hurst to Governor Brownlow, Mar. 21, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 2, Governor Brownlow Papers; Reels 6 and 13, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:466, 540.
30. Muster Roll for Company D, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 4, TAGO; Reel 3, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:426; *OR*, ser. 1, 10 (1): 70, 23 (2): 582, 31 (3): 144, 52 (1): 49; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 111, 675.
31. Bureau of the Census, Schedules of Population for Tennessee, 1860 (Bradley County), 144 (hereafter cited as Census of Tennessee, 1860, followed by county), and Census of Tennessee, 1860 (Bradley County),

- 332; Myra Inman, *A Diary of the Civil War in East Tennessee*, ed. William R. Snell (Macon, Ga.: Mercer Univ. Press, 2000), 117, 244; McBride and Robison, *Biographical Directory* 2:167–68; Tennessee General Assembly, *House Journal*, 34th General Assembly, 1st adjourned sess. (1866), 494, 548–49, extra sess., 24–25, 39, 49–50, 2nd adjourned sess. (1867), 101, 213, 242–43.
32. Muster Roll for Company D, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 4, TAGO; *Knoxville Whig*, Mar. 20, 1867; J. K. Clingan to Adjutant General, May 4, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, TAGO; Reels 1 and 8, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:397, 491; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 104, 397. Otis A. Singletary wrongly assumes that there were black volunteers in Clingan's company. See Singletary, *Negro Militia and Reconstruction*, 47.
33. *Knoxville Whig*, Sept. 25, 1867; Muster Roll for Company D, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 4, TAGO.
34. *Knoxville Whig*, May 15, 1867; Governor Brownlow to Joseph A. Cooper, June 22, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4, TAGO; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:254; Governor Brownlow to Samuel Hunt, May 31, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4; Muster Roll for Company C, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 3, both in TAGO; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 20, 1867; Reel 15, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:580; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 20, 1867.
35. Reel 6, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:469; OR, ser. 2, 6:416, 998, 7:16, 23, 1175, 1229, 1263–64, 8:6, 71, 159, 208, 225, 230, 307, 364; *Knoxville Whig*, May 24, 1865.
36. OR, ser. 2, 8:6; *Knoxville Whig*, May 24, 1865; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 157; Muster Roll for Company F, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 4, Box 23, Folder 2, TAGO; OR, ser. 2, 45 (2): 592; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 2:64, 17:450, 20:546; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Jefferson County), 316; Reel 13, CSR Index; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 122.
37. Muster Roll for Company F, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 4, Box 23, Folder 2, TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, May 15, 1867.
38. Reel 5, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:447; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 414; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Claiborne County), 303; James R. Evans to James P. Brownlow, Mar. 27, Apr. 3, 10, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, TAGO; James R. Evans to James P. Brownlow, May 14, 1867, Folder 471, Patton Papers; Allen P. Tate to James P. Brownlow, Apr. 27, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, TAGO.
39. Muster Roll for Company I, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 23, Folder 5; James R. Evans to James P. Brownlow, May 15, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, both in TAGO; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:311; Reel 5, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:445–46; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 70; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Claiborne County), 291.
40. Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Scott County), 245, 252; Reels 3, 11, and 12, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:423, 525, 529; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 48, 93; Muster Roll for Company G, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 23, Folder 3, TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, May 5, 1867; Silas L. Chambers to H. H. Thomas, May 15, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, TAGO; Reels 11 and 12, CSR Index; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Union County), 234; “Alpha” to editor of *Cincinnati Gazette*, May 27, 1867, Houk Papers; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:342.
41. Reel 8, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:494; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 68, 87; OR, ser. 2, 32 (2): 386, 39 (1): 232–34, 52 (1): 517.
42. OR, ser. 2, 39 (1), 235–37, 45 (1), 810, 45 (2): 608, 49 (1): 325, 337–39, 550, 49 (2): 446–47, 509, 556, 622, 738.
43. *Knoxville Whig*, Mar. 27, 1867; Governor Brownlow to Joseph S. Fowler, Mar. 23, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; Muster Roll for Company A, 2nd Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 24, Folder 3, TAGO; Reel 13, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:551; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 236; *Jonesboro Union Flag*, Apr. 19, 1867, quoted in *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Apr. 21, 1867.
44. Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 188; Petition of Joseph M. Alexander to the Commissioner of Claims, 1873, Southern Claims Commission, Case File No. 19833; Joseph M. Alexander to James P. Brownlow, June 22, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4; Joseph M. Alexander to Joseph A. Cooper, June 30, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4; Muster Roll for Company F, 2nd Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 25, Folder 1, all in TAGO. In his petition to the Federal government, Alexander claimed that the U.S. Army confiscated his horse (valued at two hundred dollars) and four hundred pounds of tobacco from his store (valued at four hundred dollars). His claim was “disallowed” for lack of corroborating evidence.
45. Oliver P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati: R. Clarke, 1899), 572; Reels 1, 6, and 11, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union*

- Soldiers* 20:397, 460, 522; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 620, 628; Muster Roll for Company D, 2nd Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 24, Folder 6, TAGO; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Johnson County), 38.
46. Muster Roll for Company I, 2nd Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 25, Folder 4, TAGO; Reel 12, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:539; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 100; Muster Roll for Company H, 2nd Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 25, Folder 3, TAGO; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Knox County), 118.
47. Coulter, *Brownlow*, 290, 333; N. C. Davis to Governor Brownlow, May 18, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; Caleb Gain to Samuel Hunt, Mar. 29, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1, TAGO; Joseph T. Wilson, *The Black Phalanx* (1890; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1968), 142; Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York: Free Press, 1990) 256–61; Stephen V. Ash, “Postwar Recovery: Montgomery County, 1865–1870,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 36 (1977): 212; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 9:48–49; Ulrich, “Northern Military Mind,” 220–21.
48. Reel 6, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:463; *OR*, ser. 1, 39 (1): 846; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Washington County), 330; Watauga Association of Genealogists, *History of Washington County, Tennessee* (Jonesboro, Tenn., Walsworth Press, 1988), 92, 105; *Jonesboro Union Flag*, Oct. 6, 1865; George E. Grisham and seven others to L. C. Houk, Sept. 22, 1866, Houk Papers; Steve Humphrey, *That D—d Brownlow . . .* (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1978), 320; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Oct. 24, 1866, Mar. 1, 1867.
49. George E. Grisham to James P. Brownlow, Mar. 20, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1, TAGO; *Jonesboro Union Flag*, Apr. 5, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Apr. 21, 1867.
50. George E. Grisham to Governor Brownlow, Apr. 13, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Apr. 19, 1867; Muster Roll for Company B, 1st Tennessee State Guard, Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 2, TAGO; Reels 5 and 10, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:448, 513; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 81, 92, 95, 520; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Washington County), 212.
51. *Jonesboro Union Flag*, Apr. 5, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Apr. 19, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, May 7, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, May 8, 1867.
52. Samuel Hunt to John L. Kirk, June 8, 1867, Reel 2, Box 9, Folder 5, TAGO; Reel 8, CSR Index; Muster Roll for Company C, 2nd Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 24, Folder 5, TAGO.
53. James P. Brownlow to Thompson McKinley, Mar. 25, 1867, Reel 10, Vol. 45, TAGO; Walter T. Durham, *Rebellion Revisited: A History of Sumner County, Tennessee from 1861 to 1870* (Gallatin, Tenn.: Sumner County Museum Association, 1982), 283–84, 296, 300, 308; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 28, 1867; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 14, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Sept. 18, 1866; Thompson McKinley to Governor Brownlow, Oct. 22, 1866, Reel 1, Box 1, Folder 8, Governor Brownlow Papers; *Knoxville Whig*, Apr. 24, 1867; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 9:49–51, 12:75. Patton, in *Unionism and Reconstruction*, 176, describes McKinley’s unit as “one of the most notorious of the Negro companies.”
54. Cummings to Governor Brownlow, Mar. 13, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers; H. H. Thomas to M. Cummings, Mar. 15, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; Muster Roll for Company B, 2nd Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 24, Folder 4, TAGO; Peter Maslowski, *Treason Must Be Made Odious: Military Occupation and Wartime Reconstruction in Nashville, 1862–1865* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1978), 108.
55. Nelson Turner to Joseph A. Cooper, July 4, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 28, 1867; Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 271–72, 275, 300; *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 3, 1867.
56. Bobby L. Lovett, *The African-American History of Nashville Tennessee, 1780–1930* (Fayetteville: Univ. of Arkansas Press, 1999), 209; Rose, “Nashville and Its Leadership Elite,” 68; *Pulaski Citizen*, Mar. 29, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Mar. 28, 1867; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 11, 1867.
57. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Mar. 28, 1867; Muster Roll for Company G, 2nd Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 25, Folder 2, TAGO; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 5:138, 405. The size of this company was soon reduced by one when Pvt. Pleasant Terry accidentally shot and killed his comrade, Pvt. Tony Cato, during a barroom brawl. *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 30, 1867.
58. *Memphis Daily Appeal*, July 16, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 9, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 10, 1867.
59. Muster Roll for Company K, 2nd Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box 25, Folder 5, TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Aug. 16, 1867; Muster Roll for Company A, 3rd Tennessee State Guard, Reel 5, Box

- 25, Folder 6, TAGO; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 4:389; Wilson, *Black Phalanx*, 468; Bobby L. Lovett, "The Negro's Civil War in Tennessee, 1861-1865," *Journal of Negro History* 61 (1976): 47-48; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 31, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, Aug. 3, 1867.
60. Coulter, *Brownlow*, 333, 338-39; Trelease, *White Terror*, 24; Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction*, 176; White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:570; Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 149; Singletary, *Negro Militia and Reconstruction*, 15.
61. Singletary, *Negro Militia and Reconstruction*, 22-25; Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), 39-47, 99.
62. General Order No. 2, June 7, 1867, Reel 8, Vol. 26, TAGO; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Knox County), 224; Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War*, 572; Oliver P. Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee, from 1833 to 1875: Their Times and Their Contemporaries* (New York: Cosmopolitan, 1912), 102-4; Reel 3, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:430; *Report of the Adjutant General*, 13; William H. Powell, *List of Officers of the Army of the United States from 1779 to 1900* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1967), 782; *A Survivor of Two Wars: Biographical Sketch of General Joseph A. Cooper* (Knoxville, J. H. Bean and Co., 1895), 3, 7-13.
63. Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee*, 101, 106-8; *Survivor of Two Wars*, 6, 8-11, 17-18.
64. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Nov. 16, Dec. 7, 1866; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 10:176-77, 11:147-48, 381-82.
65. Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 8:471, 553, 12:265; Joseph A. Cooper to L. C. Houk, Apr. 28, 1867, Houk Papers; Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee*, 101; *Knoxville Whig*, July 17, 1867.
66. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 8, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, July 17, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 9, 1867.
67. Circular No. 1, June 19, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 27; Order No. 2, July 10, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 27, both in TAGO; Governor Brownlow to General Cooper, July 18, 1867, Reel 1, Box 1, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; Special Order No. 23, July 22, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO.
68. Special Order No. 7, July 1, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33; Governor Brownlow to H. H. Thomas, June 5, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3; Captain Grisham to A. E. Boone, July 27, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, all in TAGO; H. H. Thomas to Captains Rickman and Blackburn, Apr. 26; May 23, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; J. K. Woodard to H. H. Thomas, June 6, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3.

TAGO; H. H. Thomas to Captains Grisham, Hall, Rickman, and Robeson, Apr. 23-26, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers. Despite Cooper's instructions, at least one officer remained obtuse. In requesting rations for thirty days, Capt. A. M. Clapp told the overworked A. E. Boone to "be so kind as to attend to it immediately," adding that "if the requisition is not correct, you will please correct it." Captain Clapp to A. E. Boone, Aug. 15, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, TAGO.

69. General Order No. 3, July 10, 1867, Reel 8, Vol. 26; Joseph A. Cooper to adjutant general, July 26, 1867, Reel 10, Vol. 46, TAGO. Possibly unhappy with the joint Robeson-Holt command in West Tennessee, General Cooper sometimes referred to Captain Holt's portion of the unit as Company B, Third Regiment. Nevertheless, Holt remained under Robeson's authority throughout the campaign. Special Order No. 120, Sept. 2, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO.

CHAPTER 3

1. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Mar. 21, 1867; White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:561.
2. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:562; Lonnie E. Maness, "Henry Emerson Etheridge and the Gubernatorial Election of 1867: A Study in Futility," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers* 47 (1993): 41-42; Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 142.
3. Lonnie E. Maness, "Emerson Etheridge and the Union," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 48 (1989): 97-105; Maness, "Henry Emerson Etheridge," 43; *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 26, 1867; Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction*, 136.
4. Maness, "Henry Emerson Etheridge," 43-45; White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:565-66; Coulter, *Brownlow*, 336.
5. *Knoxville Whig*, May 8, 1867; *American Annual Cyclopaedia* (1867), 707.
6. *Fayetteville Observer*, May 9, 1867; *Paris Intelligencer*, May 11, 1867; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:254, 263-64.
7. *Knoxville Whig*, May 22, 1867; General Order No. 1, Mar. 6, 1867, Reel 8, Vol. 26; Capt. Clingan to James P. Brownlow, May 25, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, both in TAGO. Perhaps motivated by Clingan's request, the state legislature printed four thousand copies of Hardee's training manual. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 17, 1867.

8. H. Walker to Governor Brownlow, Apr. 15, 1867, and E. Cooper to Governor Brownlow, May 27, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers; J. P. Ledbetter to L. C. Houk, Apr. 29, 1867, Houk Papers; Horace H. Thomas to Russell A. Salisbury, Apr. 8, 1867, H. H. Thomas to James Cockerell, May 6, 1867, and H. H. Thomas to William Coward, May 6, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers.
9. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:534–35, 553–55; General Order No. 2, June 7, 1867, Reel 8, Vol. 26, TAGO; *Knoxville Whig*, May 8, 1867; Philip M. Hamer, *Tennessee: A History, 1673–1932*, 4 vols. (New York: American Historical Society, 1933), 2:619–20; Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 150; Jones, “Reconstruction in Tennessee,” 196; *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 11, 1867.
10. Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 189; J. W. Brown to Governor Brownlow, May 21, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; Arthur Cyrus Hill, “The History of the Black People of Franklin County, Tennessee” (Master’s thesis, Univ. of Minnesota, 1982), 112–16.
11. Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 226.
12. *Fayetteville Observer*, May 23, 1867; Captain Rickman to James P. Brownlow, May 28, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2, TAGO; Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 227.
13. Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 227; Captain Rickman to James P. Brownlow, May 31, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2, TAGO; Samuel Hunt to Governor Brownlow, June 3, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers.
14. Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 225, 227–28; *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 5, 1867; Samuel Hunt to Governor Brownlow, June 3, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers.
15. *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 26, 1867; Samuel Hunt to Governor Brownlow, June 3, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers; Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 228–29; Captain Rickman to James P. Brownlow, May 29, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2, TAGO.
16. Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 228–29; Samuel Hunt to Governor Brownlow, June 3, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers; Captain Rickman to James P. Brownlow, May 29, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2, TAGO.
17. Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 225–26; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, May 31, 1867; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:299–301.
18. *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 26, 30, 31, June 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 25, July 9, 1867.
19. *Pulaski Citizen*, June 7, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 1, 3, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, June 5, 1867; Captain Rickman to James P. Brownlow, May 31, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2, TAGO.
20. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, June 7, 1867; Samuel Hunt to Governor Brownlow, June 3, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers; Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 225–30; Captain Rickman to Samuel Hunt, June 4, 1867, Reel 2, Box 1, Folder 2, TAGO; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:315–17.
21. Captain Rickman to James P. Brownlow, May 31, June 3, 12, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2; Muster Roll for Company H, 1st Regiment, Reel 5, Box 23, Folder 4, both in TAGO. Rickman later tried to appoint Cpl. Joseph B. Clark to the still-vacant second lieutenantcy, but headquarters never granted Clark a commission. Captain Rickman to General Cooper July 9, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2, both in TAGO.
22. *Knoxville Whig*, June 5, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, June 7, 12, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 5, 18, 25, 1867; H. H. Thomas to Governor Brownlow, June 7, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers. William Crane, a local sutler for the militia, had done a brisk business with Captain Rickman and was sad to see his unit leave. He tried in vain to get Franklin’s citizenry to sign a petition asking Rickman to stay. *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 21, 25, 1867.
23. Webb, *DeKalb County*, 40–42, 119; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 189; J. T. Thompson to Governor Brownlow, Apr. 13, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 2; James T. Exum to Governor Brownlow, Apr. 13, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1, both in Governor Brownlow Papers; Captain Blackburn to H. H. Thomas, May 4, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4, TAGO.
24. Muster Roll for Company A, 1st Regiment, Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 1, TAGO; *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 12, June 7, 11, 1867; William Baker to Governor Brownlow, June 6, 1867, Patton Papers; Warren County petition to Governor Brownlow, June 8, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers; William Baker to Governor Brownlow, June 18, 28, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; Special Order No. 1, June 21, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO.
25. *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 12, June 2, 18, 1867; Monroe Seals, *History of White County, Tennessee* (Spartanburg, S.C., 1974), 74, 77.
26. Webb, *DeKalb County*, 37–39; Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 152; *Harper’s Weekly*, Feb. 23, 1867; Mary Jean DeLozier, “The Civil War

- and Its Aftermath in Putnam County," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 38, (1979): 456; *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 31, June 25, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 24, 1867.
27. Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 189; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, May 17, 21, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 1, 1867; Phillips, "History of the Freedmen's Bureau," 299-300; *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 12, 1867.
 28. *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 21, 28, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, June 14, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 1, 1867.
 29. Captain Clingan to James P. Brownlow, May 25, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, May 31, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 1, 1867.
 30. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, May 31, June 1, 1867; Muster Roll for Company D, 1st Regiment, Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 4, TAGO; Jones, "Reconstruction in Tennessee," 197.
 31. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, May 31, June 1, 1867.
 32. McBride, "Blacks and the Race Issue," 214-15; Captain Clingan to Samuel Hunt, June 14, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, TAGO; *Pulaski Citizen*, May 31, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 18, 1867.
 33. L. Kelley to Governor Brownlow, June 12, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; Mrs. S. Fry to James P. Brownlow, June 25, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1, TAGO; *Cleveland Banner*, June 13, 1867; Captain Clingan to A. E. Boone, June 25, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, TAGO.
 34. *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 16, 1867; Captain Clingan to James P. Brownlow, June 17, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5; Special Order NA, June 19, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO.
 35. Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 189-90; Mingo Scott, *The Negro in Tennessee Politics and Governmental Affairs, 1865-1965: "The Hundred Years Study"* (Nashville: Rich Print, 1965), 18; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, June 4, 1867; Captain Robeson to Samuel Hunt, June 16, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, TAGO.
 36. Captain Robeson to Samuel Hunt, June 16, 18, 22, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, TAGO; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:373; Captain Robeson to Governor Brownlow, June 22, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 2, Governor Brownlow Papers; Captain Robeson to Frank Hyberger, June 23, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, TAGO.
 37. Captain Robeson to Samuel Hunt, June 16, 22, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, TAGO; Captain Robeson to Governor Brownlow, June 22, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 2, Governor Brownlow Papers; Morning Report for Company E, 1st Regiment, June 21, 1867, Reel 4, Box 23, Folder 1, TAGO.
 38. Captain Robeson to Samuel Hunt, June 16, 22, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3; Captain Robeson to Governor Brownlow, June 22, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, both in TAGO.
 39. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Apr. 19, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Apr. 16, July 3, 1867; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 188; Hamer, *Tennessee* 2:626.
 40. *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 22, 1867.
 41. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, June 5, July 3, 1867; *Pulaski Citizen*, June 14, 1867; *Clarksville Chronicle*, June 14, 1867; Jones, "Reconstruction in Tennessee," 197.
 42. Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:314; *Pulaski Citizen*, June 14, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, July 3, 1867.
 43. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 9, 31, 1867.
 44. Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 188; *Knoxville Whig*, June 12, 1867; A. W. Howard to Governor Brownlow, June 4, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers.
 45. *Knoxville Whig*, June 12, 1867; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:308-12; Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 230-31.
 46. Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:309-12.
 47. Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 231-32; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 31, 1867.
 48. *Knoxville Whig*, June 12, 26, 1867.
 49. David M. Nelson to Lieutenant Ellis, June 3, 1867, and Lieutenant Ellis to H. H. Thomas, July 10, 27, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3; Quartermaster Expenditures, April 1867-February 1868, Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 5, both in TAGO; Tennessee General Assembly, *House Journal*, 35th General Assembly, extra sess. (1868), 26. Numerous ration invoices from Totten and other grocers to most of the militia companies can be found in Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, TAGO.
 50. Jones, "Reconstruction in Tennessee," 196; Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction*, 177-78; Hamer, *Tennessee* 2:626; Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 151-52; Maness, "Henry Emerson Etheridge," 47-48; A. W. Howard to Governor Brownlow, June 4, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers; *Knoxville Whig*, June 12, 1867. Captain Grisham took a brief leave of absence from his command in Sullivan to participate in a Radical counter-rally during Etheridge's stop in Jonesboro on June 5. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 12, 1867.

51. *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 9, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 10, 22, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, June 19, July 3, 1867.
52. Hamer, *Tennessee* 2:620.

CHAPTER 4

1. Special Orders Nos. 1–44, June 21–July 31, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO; *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 9, 27, 28, 1867; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:343. Joining “Generalissimo” Cooper was Samuel Hunt, who replaced his cousin James P. Brownlow as adjutant general in July. Brownlow resigned to accept a commission in the U.S. Army and a duty assignment in California. Tennessee Secretary of State, *Tennessee Blue Book, 1999–2000* (Nashville, 2000), 488; Coulter, *Brownlow*, 267, 324.
2. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:568; *American Annual Cyclopaedia* (1867), 707.
3. White, Ash, and Moore, *Messages* 5:568–70.
4. *American Annual Cyclopaedia* (1867), 708; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 6, 1867; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:369; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 4, 1867. In his interview, Johnson also described the Radical government in Tennessee as “the worst despotism he had ever heard of.”
5. *American Annual Cyclopaedia* (1867), 708; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 8, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, July 3, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 21, 1867.
6. *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 12, 1867; Arnell, “Southern Unionist,” 314–15; *Knoxville Whig*, July 3, 1867; Brian Steel Wills, *A Battle from the Start: The Life of Nathan Bedford Forrest* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 335–36; Trelease, *White Terror*, 14–23; Alexander, *Political Reconstruction*, 179–81.
7. Hamer, *Tennessee* 2:627–28; McBride, “Blacks and Race Issue,” 215–16; Phillips, “History of the Freedmen’s Bureau,” 300–301.
8. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 24, July 10, 1867; Owens, “Union League of America,” 66–68. New York Leaguers reportedly made a “munificent contribution” to the Radical party of Tennessee.
9. *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 14, 1867; *McMinnville Enterprise*, June 29, July 6, 1867; Lewis L. Faulkner to General Cooper, July 6, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1; William Baker to General Cooper, July 10, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4, both in TAGO.
10. James P. Brownlow to General Cooper, June 28, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4; Special Order No. 16, July 12, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, both in TAGO; *McMinnville Enterprise*, July 6, 20, 1867; William Baker to General Cooper, July 10, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4, TAGO.
11. Captain Stuart to General Cooper, July 3, 1867 (two letters), Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, TAGO. Stuart’s rage may have been further exacerbated by “a very severe spell of Cramp Colic,” a stomach ailment which evidently made moving around quite painful. Captain Stuart to H. H. Thomas, June 15, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, TAGO.
12. Captain Stuart to General Cooper, July 16, 18, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 23, 28, 1867.
13. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 26, 1867; Special Order No. 15, July 9, 1867, TAGO, Reel 9, Vol. 33; Marsha Young Darrah, “Political Career of Col. William B. Stokes of Tennessee” (Master’s thesis, Tennessee Technological Univ., 1968), 148–49. The militia detachment in Overton may have accompanied Stokes during his stump of the region. Darrah states that when Stokes arrived in the county, “he was met by a contingent of former Union soldiers on horseback.”
14. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 22, 26, 1867; House, *Sheafe v. Tillman*, 188–89; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 12, 1867; *McMinnville Enterprise*, July 20, 1867; *Pulaski Citizen*, July 26, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 18, 1867.
15. *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 18, 20, 24, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 18, 1867.
16. Captain Rickman to Samuel Hunt, June 25, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2; Morning Report of Company H, 1st Tennessee State Guards, June 30, 1867, Reel 5, Box 23, Folder 4, both in TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, June 28, 1867; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 189. On June 12, Governor Brownlow invalidated Giles’s registration of voters due to “frauds and irregularities.” *Pulaski Citizen*, June 14, 1867. While seeking a commission in the State Guard, Registrar Wiley assembled a number of militia recruits from Marshall County. Until Rickman arrived in Lewisburg, Wiley’s volunteers appear to have served in an extralegal capacity. Robert Wiley to H. H. Thomas, June 1, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, TAGO.
17. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, June 28, 1867; Special Order No. 11, July 3, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33; Captain Rickman to Samuel Hunt, June 25, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2, both in TAGO; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 6, Aug. 5, 1867; Captain Rickman to Lt. L. B. Gamble, Aug. 2, 1867, Reel 1, Box 8, Folder 6, TAGO.

18. *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 25, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 6, 1867; Muster Roll for Company A, 2nd Tennessee State Guard (1867), Reel 5, Box 24, Folder 3; Special Order No. 2, June 21, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, both in TAGO.
19. Jacob W. Brown to Governor Brownlow, July 2, 1867, Patton Papers; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 8, 1867; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, Aug. 1, 1867.
20. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 7, 10, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 9, 10, 1867; *Pulaski Citizen*, July 12, 1867; Muster Roll for Company A, 2nd Tennessee State Guard (1867), Reel 5, Box 24, Folder 3, TAGO.
21. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 7, 10, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, July 10, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 9, 14, 24, 1867; Taz. W. Newman to General Cooper, Nov. 25, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2; Special Order No. 14, July 9, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33; General Order No. 15, Aug. 28, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 27, all in TAGO.
22. Capt. G. Kirk to H. H. Thomas and A. E. Boone, July 17, 21, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3; Captain Grisham to General Cooper, July 21, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1, both in TAGO; House, *Sheafe v. Tillman*, 101; A. M. Shook to A. S. Colyar, Nov. 21, 1905, Arthur S. Colyar Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Jacob W. Brown to General Cooper, July 12, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4, TAGO.
23. Special Orders Nos. 5, 6 (June 28, 1867), and 17 (July 13, 1867), Reel 9, Vol. 33; Captain Evans to General Cooper, July 1, 16, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, both in TAGO; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 189; William Welch to Governor Brownlow, July 14, 1867, Box 1, Folder 10, Brownlow Papers. Lieutenant Ellis remained in Claiborne County throughout the campaign.
24. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 1, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 2, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 29, July 2, 1867.
25. Special Order Nos. 9–10, July 3, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO; Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 197–98; Lieutenant Roberts to General Cooper, July 4, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, TAGO. Originally, Roberts was assigned to go to Cheatham and Hall to Stewart, but Cooper reversed their destinations at the last minute.
26. Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 188; Cheatham County Petition to Governor Brownlow, June 3, 1867, Reel 2, Box 4, Folder 7, Governor Brownlow Papers.
27. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 3, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 4, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 5, 1867.
28. *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 5, 8, 12, 28, Aug. 3, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 11, 1867; *Clarksville Weekly Chronicle*, July 12, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 4, 1867.
29. *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 15, 16, 18, 1867; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 19, 1867.
30. Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 302; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, June 30, 1867.
31. Special Order No. 7, July 1, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO; Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, 300, 302; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 14, 1867.
32. *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 30, July 14, 18, 1867; Muster Roll for Company B, 2nd Tennessee State Guard (1867), Reel 5, Box 24, Folder 4, TAGO; George B. Guild, “Reconstruction Times in Sumner County,” *American Historical Magazine* 8 (1903): 363.
33. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 10, 12, 1867; Samuel Hunt to General Thomas Duncan, July 7, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; Lt. Merritt Barber to Samuel Hunt, July 9, 1867, Reel 2; Box 10, Folder 4; Special Order No. 13, July 8, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, both in TAGO.
34. *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 9, 17, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Banner*, July 12, 15, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 10, 1867. On Apr. 12, 1864, Confederate cavalry raiders under Nathan B. Forrest captured Fort Pillow (Lauderdale County, Tennessee) and reportedly massacred black soldiers who attempted to surrender. See Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 156–57; Wills, *Battle from the Start*, 179–96.
35. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 10, 11, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 11, 1867. In an apparent misread of the sources, James W. Patton incorrectly contends that Company G “stood threateningly by” during Etheridge’s speech. Captain Sumner was probably under General Cooper’s direct command on the day of the Conservative rally. The general had come down from Nashville that morning to coordinate the activities of the militia and the Federal troops. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction*, 177; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 11, 1867.
36. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 10, 11, 16, 18, 28, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 17, 23, 1867.
37. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 11, 17, Aug. 1, 1867; Special Orders Nos. 25, 34, and 36, July 22, 29, 30, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33; W. T. Allmond to General Thomas Duncan, July 29, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, both in TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 11, 31, 1867; *Nashville*

- Republican Banner*, July 11, 31, Aug. 1, 1867; Capt. D. M. Burke to Adjutant General of Tennessee, July 30, 1867, Reel 10, Vol. 46, TAGO; Maury County authorities originally requested military assistance from the Federal garrison, but General Duncan referred the matter to General Cooper, who dispatched Lieutenant Sumner.
38. Captain Sumner to A. E. Boone, July 29, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, TAGO.
 39. Governor Brownlow to General Cooper, July 11, 1867, Reel 1, Box 1, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 15, 24, 1867.
 40. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 20, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, July 24, 1867; Captain Hall to H. H. Thomas, June 13, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 20, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 20, 1867.
 41. L. Waters to General Cooper, July 2, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, TAGO; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 28, 1867.
 42. John Carey to Governor Brownlow, July 8, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; *Fayetteville Observer*, July 11, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 21, 1867.
 43. Captain Grisham to General Cooper, July 26, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1, TAGO; *Jonesboro Union Flag*, Aug. 16, 1867; *Fayetteville Observer*, Aug. 1, 1867.
 44. *Jonesboro Union Flag*, Aug. 16, 1867; Captain Grisham to General Cooper, July 31, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1, TAGO.
 45. Special Order No. 27, July 24, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 189; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 19, 24, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 25, 1867; John L. Roberts to General Cooper, July 27, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3; Muster Roll for Company C, 2nd Tennessee State Guard (1867), Reel 5, Box 24, Folder 5, both in TAGO. Kirk's new recruits may not have been full-fledged militiamen. General Cooper referred to them as a "Citizen Company." Special Order No. 138, July 26, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO.
 46. Special Order No. 28, July 24, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33; H. D. Featherston to General Cooper, July 26, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1; Lieutenant Burchfield to General Cooper, July 30, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4, all in TAGO; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Aug. 1, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Aug. 2, 1867.
 47. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, June 27, July 18, 1867; Special Order No. 3, June 21, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO; *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 26, 1867; *Fayetteville Observer*, July 11, 1867.
 48. Special Order No. 4, June 25, 1867, and No. 12, July 8, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33; Captain Chambers to General Cooper, June 28, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5; Lt. L. B. Gamble to General Cooper, July 14, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1, all in TAGO; *Knoxville Whig*, Dec. 12, 1866; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 15, 1867; General Order No. 3, July 17, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 27, TAGO; Captain Chambers to Governor Brownlow, July 16, 1867, Reel 1, Box 2, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 10, 1867. Through the intercession of numerous friends, Chambers eventually received an honorable discharge. John M. Cordell to General Cooper, Nov. 11, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5; Scott County Petition to General Cooper, Nov. 15, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 2; General Order No. 35, Jan. 14, 1868, Reel 9, Vol. 27, all in TAGO.
 49. Special Order Nos. 12 and 39, July 8, 31, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO; Reel 1, CSR Index; Hewett, *Roster of Union Soldiers* 20:394; Census of Tennessee, 1870 (Scott County), 255; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, July 16, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, Aug. 1, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 31, 1867; James H. McNeilly, "Reconstruction in Tennessee," *Confederate Veteran Magazine* 28 (1920): 342; Captain Adkins to General Cooper, July 31, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4, TAGO.
 50. Captain Robeson to Horace H. Thomas, July 12, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3; Captain Robeson to Samuel Hunt, July 12, 15, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 3, both in TAGO.
 51. Captain Robeson to Samuel Hunt, July 27, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1, TAGO. The anti-Radical sentiment in Lauderdale was likely intensified by a mid-July address by Nathan B. Forrest during a Conservative rally at Fort Pillow, site of the Civil War massacre. *Knoxville Whig*, July 17, 1867.
 52. Special Order NA, June 19, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 190; Emma Inman Williams, *Historic Madison: The Story of Jackson and Madison County Tennessee, from the Prehistoric Moundbuilders to 1917* (Jackson, Tenn.: Madison County Historical Society, 1946), 190-93; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, July 11, 1867.
 53. Williams, *Historic Madison*, 193-94; Captain Clingan to General Cooper, July 11, 15, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5; Captain Clingan to General Cooper, June 24, and A. E. Boone, June 25, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3; Wing E. Ramsey to Adjutant General of Tennessee, July 18, 1867, Reel 10, Vol. 46; Muster Roll for Company D, 1st Tennessee State Guard (1867), Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 4, all in TAGO.

54. Captain Clingan to General Cooper, July 11, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, TAGO; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 11, 1867.
55. Captain Clingan to General Cooper, July 11, 15, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, TAGO.
56. Special Order Nos. 8 and 48, July 3, Aug. 2, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33; Boyd Cheatham (Edgefield & Kentucky) to General Cooper, July 3, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5, both in TAGO; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 189; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 3, 9, 1867; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, July 23, 1867; *Paris Intelligencer*, July 6, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 9, 1867.
57. Captain Hamilton to H. H. Thomas, July 2, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, TAGO; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 189; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 20, 1867; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, July 25, 1867.
58. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 31, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 31, 1867.
59. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 31, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 31, 1867; Muster Roll for Company E, 2nd Tennessee State Guard (1867), Reel 5, Box 24, Folder 7, TAGO; Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 189.
60. Muster Rolls for Company A, H, I, 1st Regiment, B, 2nd Regiment, Tennessee State Guard (1867), Reel 4, Box 22, Folder 1, Reel 5, Box 23, Folders 4, 5, Box 24, Folder 4; Captain Grisham to General Cooper, July 21, 1867, Reel 2, Box 11, Folder 1; General Order No. 34, Dec. 7, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 27, all in TAGO.
61. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 26, 1867; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 188; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 23, 1867.
62. *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 26, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, July 24, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 23, 1867.
63. *Athens Republican*, July 26, 1867; Special Order No. 26, July 23, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 25, 1867.
64. Lieutenant Brown to General Cooper, July 25, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4, TAGO; McBride, "Blacks and the Race Issue," 215; Lieutenant Alexander to General Cooper, July 31, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4, TAGO.
65. Boyd M. Cheatham to H. H. Thomas, June 18, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3, TAGO; H. H. Thomas to Joseph Hoxie, Aug. 8, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1; H. H. Thomas to President of Mobile & Ohio Railroad, July 7, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, both in Governor Brownlow Papers; Sam B. Jones to H. H. Thomas, June 27, July 2, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 3; Boyd M. Cheatham to General Cooper, July 3, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 5; J. L. Williams to J. M. Houston, Sept. 23, 1867, Reel 13, Vol. 82, all in TAGO; Tennessee General Assembly, *House Journal*, 35th General Assembly, extra sess. (1868), 26. For a map of the principal rail lines in Tennessee during this period, see Bergeron, Ash, and Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History*, 115.
66. Governor Brownlow to General Cooper, July 25, 1867, Reel 1, Box 1, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers; *Knoxville Whig*, July 30, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 31, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 26, 27, Aug. 1, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, Aug. 2, 1867; Special Order No. 33, July 29, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 188.
67. Special Order Nos. 37 and 40-42, July 30, 31, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO; W. Y. Elliott to Governor Brownlow, July 15, 1867, Patton Papers; W. Bosson and W. Y. Elliott to General Cooper, July 26, 1867, Reel 2, Box 10, Folder 4, TAGO; *Nashville Republican Banner*, Aug. 1, 1867.
68. House, *Sheafe v. Tillman*, 101; Lt. L. B. Gamble to General Cooper, Sept. 6, 1867, Reel 1, Box 8, Folder 6; Lieutenant Cravens to General Cooper, Sept. 7, 1867, Reel 1, Box 8, Folder 6, TAGO; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 27, Aug. 9, 1867; *Knoxville Whig*, Aug. 7, 1867; Special Orders Book, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 33, TAGO.
69. Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:434.
70. *Fayetteville Observer*, May 9, 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, June 30, Aug. 1, 1867; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 25, Aug. 1, 1867.
71. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 1867; *Nashville Republican Banner*, July 20, 1867.

CHAPTER 5

1. Circular No. 2, July 25, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 27, TAGO.
2. General Order No. 4, July 31, 1867, Reel 9, Vol. 27, TAGO; *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, Aug. 2, 1867.
3. *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, July 3, 31, 1867; *Nashville Daily Press and Times*, July 26, Aug. 1, 1867; Graf, Haskins, and Bergeron, *Papers of Andrew Johnson* 12:410; Gideon Welles, *Diary of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln and Johnson*, John T. Morse, jr. ed. 3 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 3:140; Congress, *House Executive Documents, Report of the Secretary of War* (1867), 235-37; Governor Brownlow to George H. Thomas, July 20, 1867, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 1, Governor Brownlow Papers. The Metropolitan Police was

Negro Militia and Reconstruction

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I. Genesis of the Militia Movement

WHEN THE DEFINITIVE ACCOUNT of the South during Reconstruction is finally written, it will contain deep and depressing undertones of violence. The long-standing and lamentable Southern tendency in this direction, which has already brought down adverse judgments of several generations of historians, only partially explains its prevalence during the period following the Civil War. Add to this historical predisposition the social unrest that inevitably follows military conquest, the perplexing new social, economic, and political problems associated with the freedmen, and the presence of a large number of men well schooled in the art of killing and grown sullen from tasting the bitterness of defeat, and a formula emerges that at least begins to explain why Reconstruction was pre-eminently a period of violence.

When Charles Nordhoff made his observation tour of the South in 1875, he expressed amazement in finding that not only the men but even boys of fourteen were frequently armed and that "every trifling dispute" was "ended with the pistol."¹ One of the innumerable Senate investigating committees which held hearings in the South was shocked to discover that carrying arms was an almost universal practice there. Many witnesses appeared before the group fully armed; and when the committee returned to the relatively peaceful environs of the nation's Capitol, they described the region as "the greatest place on the face of the earth for pistols" and asserted that "no man is comfortable down there unless he has got his pistols."² The novelist

¹ Charles Nordhoff, *The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875*, p. 78.

² S. Rep. 527, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 56.

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Albion W. Tourgee, a disillusioned participant in the Reconstruction experiment, captured the turbulent spirit of the times in a harsh passage written in 1879:³

Of the slain there were enough to furnish forth a battlefield and all from those three classes, the negro, the scalawag, and the carpetbagger—all killed with deliberation, overwhelmed by numbers, roused from slumber at the murk midnight, in the hall of public assembly, upon the river-brink, on the lonely woods-road . . . shot, stabbed, hanged, drowned, mutilated beyond description, tortured beyond conception.

Even after allowances are made for poetic license, there remains a considerable degree of truth in Tourgee's assertion, for the South during Reconstruction was indeed the stage for an almost incredible drama of violence.

One of the most sinister yet interesting struggles of this uneasy period resulted from the organization of Negro militia forces in the Southern states. These forces were created by the Radicals in an attempt to fill the power vacuum that resulted from the withdrawal of Federal troops when the states had complied with the conditions set forth in the Reconstruction acts. The need for the militia grew out of the stern dictates of political self-preservation; in the Radical plan for a Republican South the militia forces were assigned the task of perpetuating the existence of the newly created Republican state governments. However, the Radicals knew that as a prerequisite to the formation of any effective force of their own they must first destroy any existing armed counterforces in the South. Consequently, they made the provisional militia their target. This militia had been created by the provisional governors in the days immediately after Appomattox in an effort to combat the evils that accompanied the paralysis

³ Albion W. Tourgee, *A Fool's Errand*, p. 246.

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of local government, and opposition to it was formidable. Carl Schurz, while on his Southern tour in 1865, telegraphed a vigorous protest to Washington against arming a militia. His view was supported by America's foremost soldier, not yet turned politician, who argued that it would indeed be unwise to arm Southern militia so soon after the war.⁴ Federal commanders stationed in the South joined unanimously in bitter condemnation of the scheme. Yet in spite of such distinguished opposition, provisional governors were granted permission to organize militia forces to apprehend criminals, suppress crime, and protect the inhabitants.

Once organized, these militia forces pursued a course of action that made them extremely vulnerable when the Radical attack upon them was launched. Membership was restricted exclusively to whites and was composed primarily of former rebel soldiers, who persisted in wearing their Confederate gray.⁵ Their activities were frankly terroristic and were aimed directly at Negroes who displayed a tendency to assert their newly granted independence. Disarming the freedmen was apparently considered a primary duty and one that was fulfilled with relish, according to this excerpt from a letter: "The militia of this county have seized every gun and pistol found in the hands of (so-called) freedmen of this section of the county. They claim that the Statute Laws of Mississippi do not recognize the Negro as having any right to carry arms."⁶ In spite of frequent warnings to militia commanders not to

⁴ William B. Hesseltine, *U. S. Grant, Politician*, p. 69.

⁵ John T. Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States and the Work of Restoration, 1865-1868*, p. 408. (Hereafter cited as *Desolated States*.)

⁶ Letter dated December 2, 1865, cited in *Harper's Weekly*, January 13, 1866.

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take the law into their own hands, freedmen continued to be assaulted and were often killed, sometimes on private account. The repeated acts of violence forced many governors to disband or otherwise curtail the activities of their militia⁷ and, when properly publicized, greatly aided the Radicals in their campaign to popularize the idea that the provisional militia forces had been organized for "the distinct purpose of enforcing the authority of the whites over the blacks."⁸

Consequently, the Radicals were able to abolish the provisional militia with comparative ease. On March 2, 1867, the same day the first Reconstruction Act was passed, an obscure rider attached to the annual Appropriation Act for the Army ordered the disbandment of all militia forces in the Southern states and prohibited the "further organization, arming, or calling into service of the said militia forces, or any part thereof" until so authorized by Congress.⁹ In order to obtain necessary funds for the Army, President Johnson felt compelled to sign the bill, but he immediately forwarded to Congress a communication calling attention to the clause prohibiting certain states from employing their militia and lodged a strong protest against the unconstitutionality of such action.¹⁰

As state governments were reorganized under provisions of the Reconstruction acts, the heretofore suspected need for a protective force became an urgent fact. This was true largely because of the sullen attitude of the prevail-

⁷ Trowbridge, *Desolated States*, p. 374.

⁸ S. Exec. Doc. 2, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 36.

⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 217.

¹⁰ James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1907*, Vol. VI, p. 472. (Hereafter cited as *Messages of the Presidents*.)

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ing number of Southern whites who felt that the reorganized governments were based on a calculated policy of disfranchisement-enfranchisement and were little more than artificial creations imposed from without. It soon became obvious that the new administrations existed precariously amid the undisguised hostility of a potentially destructive local opposition.

Agitation for the restoration of militia privileges in the Southern states thus grew directly out of a need to avoid political annihilation of the Radical state governments at the hands of the enemy within. In early 1868, the incoming mail of congressional Radicals contained many requests for legislation to authorize the re-formation of militia units in Southern states. Two points were consistently emphasized in this correspondence: the need for protection and the need for haste in making that protection available. In answer to these appeals, Senate Bill 648 was reported on July 25, 1868, proposing repeal of the law that prohibited the use of militia in the states lately in rebellion.¹¹

The introduction of this bill precipitated an acrimonious debate. The anti-Radical group assumed the offensive in condemning the proposition as an invitation to "confusion, disorder, revolution, anarchy, violence, and bloodshed." Political reasons were said to be the motivating power behind the bill. The original prohibition was condemned as a move deliberately intended to weaken non-Republican governments in the South, and the proposed extension of force to the now-sympathetic regimes was denounced.¹² The bitterest attack of all came from Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana:¹³

¹¹ *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 4467.

¹² *Ibid.*, 40th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 84. Senator Charles R. Buckalew, of Pennsylvania, was the spearhead of this attack on the Radicals.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

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The only necessity in these southern states for the maintenance of a large military force results from the fact that you have attempted to reverse the American doctrine and to declare that by force the power of the states shall be placed in the hands of the minority, stripping classes of the right to participation in the government, and then by force governing them.

Radical supporters of the bill quickly moved to its defense. They insisted that the purpose of the militia was to preserve peace rather than to make war. They argued that lawlessness in the Southern states was due to the inability of civil governments to quell disturbances, and senators were warned that "unless we bring about a condition of things in which there is a power lodged with somebody to repress by force the violence that takes place there continually, we shall see no end of the troubles of which we have heard so much for the last year."¹⁴ Senator William Pitt Fessenden, an ardent advocate of the militia, asserted that the only cure for the continued outbreaks in the South was "force, to be exercised by men who dare to exercise it."¹⁵ When B. F. Rice, of Arkansas, promised that if his state was allowed a militia there would no longer be any need for a single federal soldier to be stationed there, he gained considerable support from those becoming increasingly concerned about the nation's expenditures.

From this verbal encounter the Radicals emerged victorious. Exactly two years and a day after the original prohibition was enacted, a law was passed repealing "so much of the act . . . as prohibits the organization, arming, or calling into service of the militia forces of the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Arkansas."¹⁶ No mention was made of Virginia, Texas, Mississippi, or Georgia because of the insecurity of

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

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the Radical position in those states. The conservative Virginians had not yet accepted their proposed constitution. The Texas constitutional convention had not completed its task, and the social unrest in the state in 1868 was reflected by a fierce wave of Ku Klux Klan activity. Mississippians had rejected outright the constitution of 1868, which had been drawn up by the highly publicized "Black and Tan Convention," and Georgia was in national disfavor for her intemperate action in having arbitrarily unseated many of the Negro legislators whom the costly machinery of the Reconstruction acts had so laboriously aided in electing. Not until July 15, 1870, when these four states appeared to be safely in the Radical fold, were they authorized to organize militia forces.¹⁷

Acting either illegally in advance of repeal or upon the legal basis when provided, state governments organized and armed their respective militias, which were then launched upon a curious career that included guerrilla campaigns, naval engagements, diplomatic complications, and even full-scale pitched battles complete with artillery, cavalry, and deployment of troops.

Before we enter into the narrative of the Negro militia movement, three fundamental facts must be emphasized in order to place the subject in proper perspective. In the first place, the militia was not the only instrument used by the Radicals in the South; second, militia forces were not active in all Southern states; and third, the militia units were not made up exclusively of Negro troops.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 41st Cong., 2d Sess., p. 738. By this time, the ultra-Radical Edmund J. Davis was firmly in the saddle in Texas. Mississippi had accepted a revised constitution, and the able scalawag James L. Alcorn had been elected governor. Virginia had accepted a compromise constitution, and Georgia had been brought to heel by the purges of General Alfred H. Terry.

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It should be remembered that the militia forces were only one of several instruments used by the Radicals to advance their Southern program. Two others were employed that furnish interesting parallels to the militia: the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union League, or Loyal League. It is unquestionably true that the Freedmen's Bureau rendered a genuine service to the freedman and that the Loyal Leagues that mushroomed over the South furnished him with a political indoctrination he otherwise would not have received. It is also unquestionably true that these two agencies shared with the militia the implacable hostility of the Southern conservatives. The deep-rooted convictions of many Southerners were facetiously yet accurately expressed in the following anecdote by Representative A. H. Ward, of Kentucky, regarding a cartoon he had once seen:¹⁸

It was a picture of an old lady flourishing a broomstick over the head of her husband with a Negro in the background holding a dog by the neck and flourishing an uplifted lash, with these words issuing from the lips of the darkey:

"Missus whips Massa, Massa licks me, and so you infernal dog, I gib you de debbil."

Congress backs the Freedmen's Bureau, the Bureau backs the darkey, and the Negro gives the white man the devil.

The Union League was perhaps more intensely disliked than the Freedmen's Bureau. Its clandestine meetings and mysterious initiation rites, shrouded in secrecy, led to the wildest speculation and gave rise to all sorts of groundless fears on the part of the whites. When in 1877 a disappointed Negro Republican wrote the following exaggerated account of a league meeting, he only confirmed

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 39th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 62. Speech delivered in the House of Representatives on January 19, 1867.

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the long-standing suspicions of many Southern whites:¹⁹

It was in these secret meetings that the fabulous tales of forty acres and a mule originated, and confiscation ideas made some of the leading subjects for discussion. Lands were apportioned by imagination, and fine rebel mansions seized by hope. Gentlemen of African descent saw themselves rearbacked with all the pomp and dignity of princes in their old masters' carriages. . . . Civil rights bills were to be passed by Congress, that would allow them to occupy front seats in white churches, sit at the same table with their former masters, and be respected with all the modern civilities in their parlors and drawing rooms.

The Freedmen's Bureau and the Union League were similar to the militia in that they exacerbated already strained feelings and were directly associated with much of the violence that occurred during the period.

It is also necessary to understand that militia forces were not created and employed in all the Southern states. Staid old Virginia, for example, never organized a Negro militia. Her politicians, acting through a committee of nine, worked out a compromise with the Radicals in Washington concerning the constitution of 1868 that solved most of the pressing political problems. The Gilbert C. Walker administration, elected in July, 1869, was the result of a fusion of Democrats and Conservative Republicans; and since there was no truly Radical government in Virginia, no protective militia force was necessary.

More surprising was the fact that the usually obstreperous state of Georgia also had no regularly organized militia forces. The conservative element was always fairly well represented in Georgia affairs, even during the Bul-

¹⁹ John T. Shuften, *A Colored Man's Exposition of the Acts and Doings of the Republican Party South*, p. 8.

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lock administration. Too, the powerful personal influence of former Governor Joseph E. Brown, who consistently pleaded for moderation, was a potent force on the local scene. More important than anything else, perhaps, was the fact that throughout the entire period the Democrats maintained their hold on the county offices, thereby preventing the development of a conspicuously successful Radical government in the state.²⁰

In Alabama, Governor William H. Smith, who held office as an appointee of General George Gordon Meade, had elaborate paper plans for a militia system but consistently refused to arm any troops. At the height of Ku Klux Klan depredations in that state, he threatened to call out Negro troops to suppress lawlessness, but no such order was ever issued. Three years later, his successor ordered the adjutant general not to enroll Negro militia even in the face of a determined White League movement aimed at the eventual destruction of his regime. When Alabama Republicans split in 1874, the "bolters" organized squads of Negro troops who were known as "National Guards" but were not genuine state militia.²¹

The situation in Florida was quite similar to that in Alabama. After the inauguration of Harrison Reed in June, 1868, Negro troops were organized and armed. But in spite of the numerous outbreaks of violence that marked his administration, Reed steadfastly refused to use his militia for fear of starting a race war. As a general rule, Reed was satisfied to allow federal troops to settle any difficulties that arose.

²⁰ Mildred Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, p. 365.

²¹ Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 774.

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In the remaining states, Negro troops were organized and actually employed in varying degrees. In Tennessee, with its own peculiar Reconstruction history, troops were organized by Governor William G. Brownlow early in 1867. His militia did not actually fight any pitched battles but were employed primarily in political assignments, where they proved themselves more annoying than overpowering. They were mustered in on several occasions as anti-Ku Klux Klan forces but were never really effective on a state-wide basis.

Arkansas was one of the most active of the Southern states in the Negro militia movement. Negro troops were organized and armed after the inauguration of Governor Powell Clayton in July, 1868. The first great wave of militia activity came in late 1868 and early 1869, when Clayton proclaimed martial law, as a result of which his troops marched and countermarched over the state for four months. The second wave occurred during April and May of 1874, when the forces of rival claimants for the governorship fought a fair-sized war for control of the state government.

The Negro militia in Texas was intimately associated with the political career of Governor Edmund J. Davis. This official used his troops freely during the election of 1871 and also called them out to enforce declarations of martial law in several counties during the same period. When Davis was defeated by Judge Richard Coke in the gubernatorial election in December, 1873, there ensued a struggle between Coke's supporters and Davis' Negro troops for possession of the Statehouse in Austin.

In Louisiana, Negro troops were first organized by Governor Henry C. Warmoth in June, 1870, and placed under

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the command of Lee's renowned war horse, General James Longstreet. From that time until the final Packard-Nicholls struggle ending in 1877, the troops were used on various occasions. In 1872, when the Carter-Warmoth feud split the party in Louisiana, troops were called out to protect Republicans from other Republicans. The troops were used again in 1873, during the Kellogg-McEnery contest, and in September, 1874, they fought a pitched battle in the barricaded streets of New Orleans against the White League.

In Mississippi, the militia issue remained quiescent during the early years of Radical rule. Following the inauguration of James L. Alcorn as governor in 1870, militia units were organized in a desultory manner. Alcorn apparently never shed enough of his ingrained conservatism to become a full-fledged Radical; and by 1871, when he resigned the governorship to go to the Senate, no Negro troops had actually been used in Mississippi. However, after the Republican faction headed by Adelbert Ames won out in the struggle for party leadership, the tempo of violence increased throughout the state. In 1874 and 1875, riot followed riot. Finally, in the harsh afterlight of the Clinton slaughter, Ames decided to place his militia on a war footing, and a period of feverish preparations followed. A crisis was avoided by the negotiation of a compromise in mid-October, 1875, when the so-called "Peace Agreement" was signed in Jackson by the belligerents.

North Carolina suffered only one spasm of violence connected with the militia. W. W. Holden, elected governor in 1868, first called up his troops to cope with Ku Klux Klan disturbances. In June, 1870, he placed his troops under the command of George W. Kirk, former Colonel of

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United States Volunteers and a native of Tennessee, and for a period of six months the state was involved in either physical or legal phases of the fight that has gone down in the history books as the Kirk-Holden War.

After Arkansas, South Carolina was the most active of the Southern states in the Negro militia movement. Robert K. Scott, the first of the South Carolina Radical governors, armed the Negro troops just before the campaign that resulted in his re-election in 1870. For several years thereafter, the Ku Klux Klan and the militia engaged in a vendetta that ended only when President Grant ordered nine counties of the state placed under martial law and sent United States troops to enforce his proclamation. Franklin J. Moses, Jr., who succeeded Scott as governor, continued the policy of his predecessor in regard to the use of Negro troops, as did his successor, Daniel H. Chamberlain, with only minor variations. The victims of the massacre at Hamburg were members of a Negro militia company, and lesser conflicts claimed the lives of many more until the accession of Wade Hampton in 1877.

The third fact that should be understood about the so-called "Negro militia" is that it was not composed entirely of Negroes. Varying numbers of whites belonged to the militia units in every state. In Arkansas, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Texas, there were heavy concentrations of Negro troops, and there was a noticeable mixture of Negro and white troops in the Tennessee, Louisiana, and North Carolina companies. The militia was nevertheless considered a "Negro militia," in keeping with the long-standing Southern indifference to logic when considering questions involving race. As in heredity, so in the militia, a touch of Negro was sufficient to brand it as all Negro in

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the eyes of most Southern whites. The feeling of resentment that resulted from placing armed Negroes in positions of authority over Southern whites goes a long way toward explaining the violent reaction that inevitably accompanied militia activities.

II. Organizing and Arming the Militia

ONCE THE LEGAL GROUNDWORK had been prepared by Congress, local Radicals, reacting to the increasing pressure of Conservative opposition, speedily assumed the offensive in organizing their state militia forces. Although the procedure differed in detail from state to state, the organizational technique that was employed followed a fairly definite pattern. First came careful cultivation of favorable public opinion. This was followed by well-timed gubernatorial appeals to state legislatures that led directly to passage of militia laws.

In order to gain public support for creation of the militia, campaigns were inaugurated to emphasize the desperate need for such forces. Incumbent Radical governors were voluble spokesmen in support of the plan. Time and again they cried out against the lack of any real force with which to quell disturbances, while continuing to point out the extremely violent nature of their opposition. R. K. Scott, of South Carolina, speaking in the District of Columbia just before the state election of 1870, informed his audience that the only law South Carolinians really understood was the Winchester rifle.¹ Brownlow, while stumping Tennessee in behalf of his own candidacy, pleaded with the voters also to "send up a legislature to reorganize the militia" and promised to put an end to the violence sweeping over the state if his plea was granted.²

Properly publicized reports of legislative investigating committees, emphasizing the general lawlessness of the

¹ Henry T. Thompson, *Ousting the Carpetbagger from South Carolina*, p. 48.

² James W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869*, p. 86 (hereafter cited as *Reconstruction in Tennessee*), citing *Nashville (Tenn.) Daily Times*, January 16, 1865.

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period, also aided in creating sentiment favorable to the organization of militia. In Texas, for example, the *Report of the Committee on Lawlessness* presented statistics on deaths by violence in the period from the close of the war to June, 1868. Although the figures showed 509 whites had been killed as opposed to 486 freedmen, it was asserted that over 90 per cent of the total number of killings had been committed by whites while little more than 1 per cent of the deaths resulted from attacks by freedmen on whites.³ A similar committee of the Louisiana Legislature, investigating fraud and violence in that state during the presidential election of 1868, closed its report with the suggestion that "it might be well to inquire whether a small body of mounted militia, which can be moved to any part of the state where it is needed, upon short notice, should not at once be organized."⁴

At the same time, the governors passed up no opportunity to describe the woeful conditions under which they were forced to operate. Governor Davis, of Texas, spoke for all his comrades-in-office when he complained that "the state government is without any militia or police whatever."⁵ Governor Brownlow, describing conditions in Tennessee, lamented that "the state arms were carried into the rebellion through the influence of the bad men in authority four years ago, and throughout the length and breadth of the state, she has not arms enough to arm a captain's company."⁶

³ This report was published in the *Journal of the Convention of 1868* and is cited in Charles W. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, p. 219.

⁴ *Report of the Joint Committee of the Louisiana Legislature on the Election of 1868*, p. xxxix.

⁵ S. Misc. Doc. 109, 40th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 6.

⁶ *Acts of the State of Tennessee, 1865*, p. 6.