

UNIONISTS IN EASTERN WEST TENNESSEE 1861-1865

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In 1861, Governor Isham Harris announced that Tennessee would refuse to raise a single soldier for President Abraham Lincoln's call for troops to preserve the Union and instead promised to raise 50,000 men to oppose it.¹ During the Civil War, however, nearly 50,000 Tennesseans,² served in the Union Army, clearly indicating that many in Tennessee agreed with Lincoln rather than Harris. A large portion of these soldiers came from the Appalachian counties in East Tennessee where Unionists outnumbered Secessionists. They receive, understandably, the most attention in the literature.³ Although the lowland counties of West Tennessee generally favored secession,⁴ several counties on the western side of the Tennessee River contained considerable numbers of loyalists. These counties contributed two regiments and parts of several other regiments to Union forces.⁵ Evidence for the existence of this pool of West Tennessee loyalists surfaced in the events preceding the statewide election on separation from the Union in June 1861.

It took strong convictions and courage for loyalists to express their opinion in the section of Tennessee most in favor of withdrawal from the Union. Secessionists exerted pressure on voters to either vote for separation or to abstain from voting. They prevented Weakley County's Emerson Etheridge, the most prominent loyalist politician in the eastern counties, from speaking in Henry County during pre-election campaigning. A pistol fight broke up the meeting and ended with four wounded and one killed.⁶ Mr. Horton of near Paris (Henry County) maintained that rebels in his area prevented men from voting for the Union so he stayed home giving the excuse that he "couldn't spare time."⁷ Nathaniel Brewer, a yeoman farmer in Carroll County, recalled a "general report" that "every Union man that offered to vote would be shot" and that he

¹ U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), series. 3, volume I, page 81, Isham G. Harris to Simon Cameron, April 17, 1861. Hereafter: OR 3, I, 81.

² *Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units with Available Rosters of Personnel* (Nashville: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1964), II, 453-608. Approximately 45,000 names of men in Tennessee Federal units are listed. This includes re-enlistments but does not include men who joined northern regiments or Home Guard organizations.

³ Richard Nelson Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 29-60. This standard work on southern Unionism barely mentions West Tennessee.

⁴ *Ibid*, 29.

⁵ *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers of Tennessee* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M395 RG094 rolls 50-69). The muster rolls of the 6th and 7th TN Cavalries show recruitment primarily in Weakley, Carroll, Henderson, Decatur, McNairy and Hardin Counties.

⁶ Gideon J. Pillow to L. P. Walker, April 24, 1861, OR 3, LII, (2), 69.

⁷ Charles C. Nott, *Sketches of the War: A Series of Letters to the North Moore Street School of New York* (New York: Charles T. Evans, 1863; reprint, Paris, TN: The Guild Bindery Press), 67.

“believed it.” Rebel soldiers from Union City “guarded” the polls in Brewer’s district.⁸ The decision to vote against secession often involved consequences.

In order to prevent loyalists from casting secret ballots, some newspapers, including the *Memphis Daily Appeal*, encouraged those voting for secession to leave their ballots unfolded in order that Unionists could be identified.⁹ In spite of the fact that he thought he would be hanged, War of 1812 veteran John Drewry defiantly read a statement at the polling place in Dresden, Weakley County accusing secessionists of “fraud, perjury and oppression” before handing the sheriff his vote for “no separation and no representation.”¹⁰ In spite of the risk involved, a slight majority of voters in Weakley, Carroll, Henderson, Decatur and Hardin Counties, and a significant minority in Benton, Gibson, Henry and McNairy Counties, voted “No Separation” in an election where other West Tennessee counties chose “Separation” by large majorities.¹¹

On the surface these Unionists seem much like their rebel neighbors. A comparison of the families of 398 Union and 390 Confederate soldiers (336 and 316 households) in one of the eastern counties (Carroll County), confirms this impression. Most soldiers on both sides were born in Tennessee to parents born in the South. Almost the same number of men owned farms or lived on family owned farms (211 Union, 207 Confederate). Sixteen Union soldiers practiced a profession (doctor, lawyer, teacher, minister) or lived in a professional family compared to nineteen Confederate soldiers. Nineteen Union enlistees worked at non-professional occupations (other than farmer), compared to twenty-five Confederate soldiers. Even the number of soldiers who lived in households headed by women almost matched (20-25).¹² Further investigation, however, reveals economic and social differences that may have influenced, consciously or unconsciously, the decision of some to support the Federal Government.

Although Carroll County contributed about the same number of landless men to each side (110 C.S.A., 125 U.S.A.), the majority of the Union soldiers’ families remained on the lower end of the economic scale. Over three-fourths owned no real estate or had real estate valued at \$1000 or less compared with nearly half of Confederate families whose real estate was valued at \$1001 or more. The census value of Confederate real estate averaged \$2,427 while that of Unionists a mere \$812. Only one Union soldier owned real estate worth \$10,000 or more (\$10,110) while twelve Confederate soldiers’ families held land worth from \$10,000 to \$25,000. In this county, at least, landless individuals joined both armies. Small farm owners usually fought with the Union while the majority of the medium and large landowners supported the South (Table 1).¹³

Personal property assessment for Confederate soldiers’ families in Carroll County also outstripped Unionists. The value of slaves accounted for much of the difference (Table 2). About 25% of the families of Confederate soldiers (80 owners, 2,441 slaves) owned workers compared to only 5% of Unionist soldiers (16 owners, 75 slaves). The average personal property

⁸ “Nathaniel Brewer,” *Southern Claims Commission Disallowed Claims, 1871-1880* (National Archives Microfiche Publication M140 RG 233), Fiche #881

⁹ *Memphis Daily Appeal*, 12 May 1861; *Nashville Union and American*, 11 May 1861.

¹⁰ John Drewry speech, June 8, 1861 Dresden, Tennessee.

¹¹ *Goodspeed’s General History of Tennessee*, reprint from *Goodspeed’s History of Tennessee, 1887* (Nashville: Charles and Randy Elder Booksellers, 1973), 534. These counties were part of a larger area of Union sentiment that included Wayne County in Middle Tennessee and Northern Alabama.

¹² Comparison of the families of Confederate and Union soldiers in Carroll County, Tennessee by the author using the real estate, personal property figures and Slave Schedules in the 1860 census. Hereafter, *Comparison by author*.

¹³ *Ibid*.

value of \$4609 for rebels, as compared to only \$857 for loyalists, reflects those percentages.¹⁴ The most loyal districts of the county contained only 901 slaves while the unquestionably Confederate districts held 2912, or over three times as many.¹⁵ For example, when former Pvt. William M. Robinson of the 7th Tennessee Cavalry U.S.A. answered his Civil War questionnaire in the early 1900s he could recall few men in his neighborhood (18th district) who owned slaves.¹⁶ His memory served him well. The 1860 Slave Schedule listed only 13 slaves in the 18th, a district that contributed at least 39 men to Union regiments but only one known soldier to the Confederacy.¹⁷ (See Figure 1, next page.)

Table 1 - Value of Real Estate
(Carroll Co. 1860 Census)

Value	Numbers of Soldiers' Families			
	CSA		Union	
	Number	%	Number	%
Landless	106	34.8	125	37.2
\$0-\$500	14	4.4	67	19.9
\$501-\$1,000	37	11.7	66	19.6
\$1,001-\$2,000	45	14.2	41	12.2
\$2,001-\$3,000	32	10.8	25	7.4
\$3,001-\$4,000	15	4.7	6	1.8
\$4,001-\$5,000	23	7.3	1	0.3
\$5,001-\$10,000	23	7.9	4	1.2
\$10,001-\$25,000	12	4.1	1	0.3

Table 2 - Value of Personal Property
(Carroll Co. 1860 Census)

Value	Numbers of Soldiers' Families			
	CSA		Union	
	Number	%	Number	%
\$0-\$1,000	163	51.6	283	84.2
\$1,001-\$5,000	68	21.5	45	13.4
\$5,001-\$10,000	38	12.0	4	1.2
\$10,001-\$15,000	19	6.0	3	0.9
\$15,001-\$20,000	12	3.8	1	0.3
\$20,001-\$25,000	10	3.2	0	0.0
\$25,001-\$30,000	0	0.0	0	0.0
\$30,001-\$50,000	6	1.9	0	0.0

¹⁴ In a similar study in Washington County, TN, Union soldiers average \$269 in personal property while Confederates averaged \$3,759. Richard Nelson Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy*, 135.

¹⁵ Comparison by author. See [Footnote 12](#), p. 2.

¹⁶ *The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires*, (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press), vol. 1, 1985, 110. Hereafter *TCWVQ*.

¹⁷ Comparison by author. See [Footnote 12](#), p. 2.

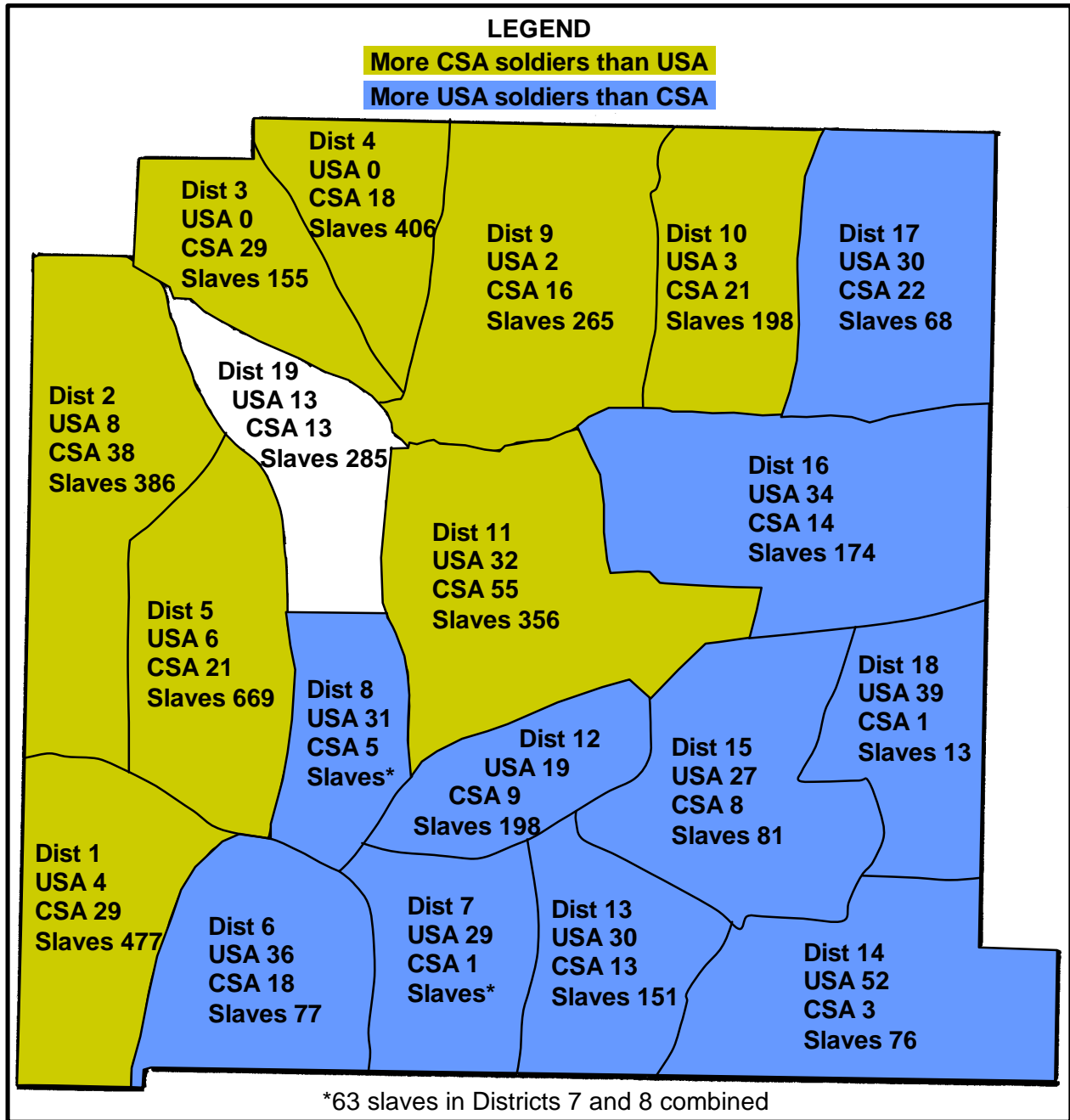


Figure 1 – Distribution of Soldiers and Slaves in Carroll Co.
 (District outlines for 1860 from <http://www.rootsweb.com/~tncarrol/maps.htm>)

In Carroll County families of Union soldiers lived primarily in an area to the east of a line drawn from the northeast corner to the southwest corner. Pvt. Thomas B. Utley 20th Cavalry C.S.A., who resided in the eastern area, recalled in later years that the 6th district where he lived contained “nearly all union people” so his “father sold his farm and moved about eight miles west.”¹⁸ Families of Union soldiers outnumbered Confederate soldiers’ families at least two to

¹⁸ TCWVQ, vol. 5, 2094.

one, and usually much more, in nine of the ten contiguous districts.¹⁹ (See Figure 1.) This concentration of loyalists resulted in Union companies filled with relatives, in-laws and neighbors.

The eastern area of Carroll County consists of a “somewhat hilly and broken” landscape in contrast to the “gently undulating” surface on the western side where the majority of the Confederate families resided.²⁰ Although the eastern terrain contained better land for farming than the mountainous abode of the majority of Tennessee Unionists, the predominately loyal districts of Carroll County contained somewhat less desirable farmland than the Confederate districts to their west.

The area of Carroll County where a soldier lived predicted his allegiance better than his religion. Members of Baptist, Methodist, and Christian Churches on the eastern side of the line generally supported the Union, while in the west members of these same denominations went with the rebels. The western side of the county contained most of the Cumberland Presbyterian congregations. Members of that denomination usually supported the Confederacy. Fourteen ministers served or had sons in the military (8 C.S.A., 6 U.S.A.). Of the fourteen only two held an opinion opposite from the majority of their district.²¹

Despite the economic differences between those who chose North and those who supported the South, participants seldom pointed to these differences as reasons they fought the war. Ten of the eleven Union veterans from Carroll County who answered Civil War questionnaires denied that economic or social disharmony existed in their neighborhoods before the war.²² If their assessment, admittedly made years after the war, bears any trust at all then the reasons some remained loyal must lie elsewhere.

When Unionists recorded, either during or long after the war, their reasons for supporting the Federal government they usually gave “love of country” as their motivation. They simply supported their nation over their section. The young men who met at Christian Church minister John Neely's home south of Huntingdon to discuss joining the Union Army felt forced to choose between North and South. They chose North because they “were all a bunch of loyal men and could not fight against the Union.”²³ Yeoman farmer William L. Sanders of Carroll County, writing to his family in North Carolina as soon as the mails ran after the war, inquired as to his family's allegiance during the conflict. He informed them that he had “always been a Union Man and was eternally, invincibly and unalterably opposed to secession, separation from or division of the best government in the world.” (He even added that John C. Calhoun of South Carolina should have been hanged for high treason in 1832 for threatening secession.)²⁴ Dr. Ashton Hawkins of Carroll County accused politicians in the Deep South of working for years to dissolve the Union and of dragging the Border States with them.²⁵ These eastern West Tennesseans seem sufficiently satisfied with the Federal government or at least showed no desire to form another one.

Although non-slaveholding farmers and tenant farmers comprised the majority of eastern West Tennessee Unionists, they apparently tolerated the slavery system. Four of their most

¹⁹ Comparison by author. See [Footnote 12](#), p. 2.

²⁰ *Goodspeed's General History of Tennessee*, “History of Carroll County,” Introduction.

²¹ Comparison by author. See [Footnote 12](#), p. 2. Extant church records available at Gordon Browning Library, McKenzie were compared with the list of soldiers from Carroll County.

²² *TCWVQ*, vol. 1, 14-16, 31-2, 62-63, 77-78, 104, 109-110, 119, 125-127, 155. Only Taylor felt economic and social hostility. The Carroll County Confederates who answered questionnaires agreed as well.

²³ Samuel Brown, “The Family History,” *McKenzie Banner*, 25 May 1972, 9.

²⁴ William L. Sanders, letter to Benjamin Sanders, July 1, 1866. Gordon Browning Library.

²⁵ Ashton Hawkins, letter to Col. Lilly, 24 May 1861, quoted in *Ansearchin' News*, (winter 1995), 148.

prominent leaders held slaves. Both Colonel Fielding Hurst, who raised the 6th Tennessee Cavalry Union and Lt. Colonel Isaac R. Hawkins, who raised the Seventh Tennessee Cavalry Union, owned slaves.²⁶ Weakley County's prominent Unionist politician Emerson Etheridge, who served as Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives 1861-1863, presented a petition to exempt Tennessee from the emancipation of slaves.²⁷ William Harrell Cherry, a wealthy citizen with whom General Ulysses S. Grant stayed in Savannah, made speeches against secession but held 32 slaves.²⁸ Apparently slave ownership posed no hindrance to leadership among the eastern loyalists.

Since many loyalists lived in enclaves with few slaves,²⁹ their livelihoods did not depend on slavery or on the goodwill of slave owners. They could more easily ignore the issue. They certainly had little reason to fight to preserve a system in which their rank and file had so little invested.

A few Unionists did, however, oppose bondage. Yeoman farmer Sanders (Carroll Co.) believed that a man should only own slaves if he would willingly be a slave.³⁰ Reverend Hosea Preslar (Henderson County) felt that slavery hindered the conversion of slaves to Christianity.³¹ James T. Wolverton, (McNairy Co.) who served in the 6th Tennessee Cavalry, remembered that his parents opposed slavery and "would not invest in what they were opposing." Though their rebel neighbors labeled all loyalists "Abolitionists" and "Black Republicans,"³² very few in this area deserved the epithets.

Troubles for the Unionists began immediately upon secession. They found themselves living in enemy territory and acted accordingly. In Carroll County, Jesse Giles, the tax collector in 1861, hid the tax money from the rebel authorities, surrendering it only after the war.³³ Schoolteacher Samuel Neely made a pact with William Montgomery, a Confederate, to vouch for him with the Federals in return for Montgomery's help with the rebels. A "friend in the opposite party was a friend indeed."³⁴ Nathaniel Brewer said that when told that he would need "to leave or be hung" he "kept out of the way" of his Confederate neighbors.³⁵ Men hid out in the woods in caves and hollow trees when danger threatened. Indeed, after implementation of the Confederate draft, Unionists, reluctant rebels, and neutrals all retreated to what undoubtedly became rather crowded wooded areas. Such situations resulted when "friends and enemies were all mixed together."³⁶

Throughout the war, loyalists left their homes to reside near Union occupation forces stationed in West Tennessee and Kentucky. The refugees usually found life very hard near army camps. Sgt. Richard H. Morris, commissary sergeant of the 7th Tennessee Cavalry, then stationed at Union City, Tennessee, advised his wife in Carroll County to refrain from moving

²⁶ Hurst owned twenty-three and Hawkins three in the 1860 slave schedules.

²⁷ John Cimprich, *Slavery's End in Tennessee 1861-1865* (University Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 101.

²⁸ "William Cherry Obituary," *Savannah Courier* (Savannah, TN), September 17, 1885.

²⁹ *TCWVQ*, vol. 1, 110, 143.

³⁰ William L. Sanders, letter to Benjamin Sanders, July 1, 1866.

³¹ Hosea Preslar, *Thoughts on Divine Providence or a Sketch of God's Care Over and Dealings with his People together with a concise view of the causes of the late war in the US* (printed by the author, 1867) 233.

³² "Nathaniel Brewer," *Southern Claims Commission Disallowed Claims, 1871-1880*.

³³ *Records of Tennessee's 34th Assembly, 1866-67*, 10 December 1866, Tennessee Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

³⁴ Molly Neely Owens, "History of Our Trip and Our Stay in Illinois During the Civil War," (unpublished), 3..

³⁵ "Nathaniel Brewer," *Southern Claims Commission Disallowed Claims, 1871-1880*.

³⁶ Molly Neely Owens, "History of Our Trip and Our Stay in Illinois During the Civil War," 3.

“to soldiers” if she could “stay anywhere else.”³⁷ Fortunately she took his advice. General Forrest’s troops captured Union City in March 1864 taking the 7th Tennessee, including Sgt. Morris, prisoners. At least two wives who came to the fort fared badly. Pvt. George W. Sutton’s wife and child shared the private’s capture. Although released, Mrs. Sutton explained to the military authorities that she had “no plac (sic) no home to go to now.”³⁸ Pvt. Samuel McCollum’s wife fled to Paducah, Kentucky and died there shortly after her husband died on the way to Andersonville Prison. A friend took her children back to Henderson County after the war.³⁹ At least dependents who remained near other loyal families and relatives could hope for some support.

Some individuals and families opted to leave the Confederacy entirely. Although officially Union, much of western Kentucky sympathized with the South. Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio comprised the closest northern areas where refugees could feel safe. Lt. Charles C. Nott of the 5th Iowa met a large crowd of these refugees near Paducah, Kentucky. He described them as “mounted on jaded mules and clad in somber butternut with sad and anxious faces.”⁴⁰ Another fleeing group joined the 5th on patrol in Weakley County and served as guides one “wild and stormy night.” Nott thought them “picturesque, but sad exiles.” Many refugees settled in “Little Egypt,” an area of Illinois across the Ohio River from Paducah, Kentucky. Earlier migrations from West Tennessee into Massac, Johnson and Union Counties meant relatives and acquaintances already resided there and could be depended upon for help in resettlement.⁴¹

Molly Neely Owen, a child during the Civil War, wrote a memoir of her family’s refugee experiences. Her schoolteacher father, a member of the very pro-Union Neely family, left Carroll County for Illinois in haste due to threats on his life by Confederate neighbors. Her mother auctioned their goods, loaded her three children into a wagon and headed toward the Tennessee River at Johnsonville where Union soldiers guarded a large military depot. Owen remembered Johnsonville as a “dreary sight” with a “few straggling houses all occupied by more than one family,” soldiers in groups, broken barrels and boxes, stacks of spoiled vegetables, (mainly potatoes and onions), slush and “mud, mud everywhere.” When the military evacuated Johnsonville, the Neelys and several other refugee families floated down the river in the hull of an abandoned, burned out steamboat. At Paducah, Kentucky, they took the steamboat “Armada” to Metropolis, Illinois where they found Tennessee acquaintances immediately upon docking.⁴²

In April, 1863 Brigadier-General Alfred Ellet, returned to Cairo, Illinois from patrol on the Tennessee River near the Unionist counties. He reported that the “West bank of the Tennessee River was lined with refugees, who have been driven from their homes for love to the Old Union.” He exhausted his “supplies in taking care of their necessities.”⁴³ In June 1863 gunboats picked up 150 more refugees and took them north.⁴⁴ Late in the war Margaret Yeates of Hardin County wrote that many of her neighbors had left, or still talked about leaving, for Illinois.⁴⁵ Some military families followed the 7th Tennessee Cavalry USA to Paducah, Kentucky in late 1864, many settling immediately across the Ohio River in Illinois near the

³⁷ Richard Henry Morris to Margaret R. Morris, March 1, 1864.

³⁸ *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers of Tennessee*, Roll 69, #1715; Elizabeth Sutton to Mr. Huffman, Sept. 18, 1864.

³⁹ “Samuel F. McCollum Pension,” *Family Findings*, Vol XXV, January 199, #1, 25. Application filed Feb 2, 1870.

⁴⁰ Charles C. Nott, *Sketches of the War*, 152.

⁴¹ Molly Neely Owens, “History of Our Trip and Our Stay in Illinois During the Civil War,” 6-7, 15-16.

⁴² *Ibid*, 19-21.

⁴³ A. W. Ellett, report, April 30, 1863, *OR*, 1, XXIII, (1), 279.

⁴⁴ Asboth to H. W. Halleck, June 23, 1863, *OR*, 1, XXIV, (3), 434.

⁴⁵ Margaret Yeates to John Wesley Yeates, 10th TN Infantry USA, 1864.

earlier arrivals. The Commissary Lieutenant of the 7th Tennessee superintended the refugees and issued rations to destitute military families.⁴⁶

At the conclusion of the war some refugees, like the Neelys, returned to Tennessee. Children born in the North during the war years help identify some of the former refugees. Many loyalists, however, decided to remain in the North. Tennessee friends and relatives agreed to tend the grave of the Neely's small son who died in Illinois.⁴⁷ Military markers in northern cemeteries and pension applications from northern states also bear witness to the men who joined Tennessee Union regiments but opted to reside in the North after the war.⁴⁸

Some loyal families who remained in Tennessee during the war sent their military age men to the North, removing the men from peer pressure and the Confederate draft. On February 25, 1862 an officer at Paducah, Kentucky mentioned that "All [are] fleeing from Weakley County, Tennessee, to escape impressment." Twelve arrived at Mayfield, Kentucky that day, and reported 1,200 more Union men still in their home county.⁴⁹ Mr. Moore of Carroll County sent his sons, Felix and James, to Vienna in Washington County, Illinois because his sister lived there. Although the father opposed secession he expected the boys "to keep out of either army," an admonition they promptly ignored when they joined Union troops invading Tennessee.⁵⁰

In March of 1862 when General Ulysses S. Grant attacked Forts Henry and Donelson, he entered the Confederacy near the heart of eastern West Tennessee Unionism. His success proved "most beneficial to the Union cause throughout South and West Tennessee and Alabama." Eager young loyalists took the proximity of Grant's army as an opportunity to volunteer in northern regiments.⁵¹ Samuel Brown and his friends traveled at night across Carroll and Benton Counties, hiding in the homes of known Union sympathizers in the daytime. Upon reaching the Tennessee River, the young men floated in a raft down the river facing a north wind and snow. After finding the Union army where the Big Sandy River enters the Tennessee, they volunteered in the 52nd Indiana and 11th Iowa regiments.⁵²

Benjamin Mills, an 18 year old from Henderson County, traveled to Savannah, Tennessee and enlisted on March 24, 1862 in the 48th Illinois.⁵³ John Pitts of Hardin County joined the 46th Ohio while on furlough from the Confederate Army.⁵⁴ They comprised two of the one hundred fifty citizens of Savannah and environs who volunteered for the army or on the gunboats when Grant's troops entered Savannah.⁵⁵ Since many of these eastern West Tennesseans volunteered in northern regiments in February and March 1862 after Grant's army entered Tennessee, some fought in the battle of Shiloh on April 6-7 with virtually no training. At least two of the Carroll County recruits fought without uniforms.⁵⁶ Most men remained in the northern units throughout the war, as Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois military markers in cemeteries all over eastern West Tennessee testify.

When the Confederate Army retreated to Corinth after the battle of Shiloh, eastern West Tennessee came under nominal federal control making the situation somewhat better for

⁴⁶ *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers of Tennessee*, M395, Roll 67, #1209.

⁴⁷ Molly Neely Owens, "History of Our Trip and Our Stay in Illinois During the Civil War," 26-27.

⁴⁸ Several members of the 7th Tennessee applied for pensions while living in Illinois.

⁴⁹ D. Stuart to Halleck, Feb. 25, 1862, *OR*, 1, VII, 665.

⁵⁰ Felix Wisdom Moore, "Moore-Pattons," 1. Gordon Browning Library, McKenzie, TN,

⁵¹ Lt. William Gwin of Gunboat Tyler report, Feb. 23, and March 5, 1862. *OR*, 1, VII, 421; *OR*, 1, X, 2, 8.

⁵² Samuel Brown, "The Family History," 9.

⁵³ *TCWVQ*, 90.

⁵⁴ *TCWVQ*, 105.

⁵⁵ *Chicago Times*, March 26, 1862, p. 1, c. 6. An extract reprinted from the *Cincinnati Gazette*.

⁵⁶ Samuel Brown, "The Family History," 9.

Unionists. At first, Major General Grant made his headquarters at Jackson (Madison County) on the edge of the Unionist counties.⁵⁷ The U.S. Army openly recruited men to fill the new Tennessee Union regiments forming in the summer of 1862 at Trenton, Humboldt, Lexington, Huntington, Adamsville, and Jackson.⁵⁸ The journey to recruiting stations, however, could be hazardous. A group of guerrillas in Henderson County prevented a company from Farmington (Marshall County) from volunteering by killing one man and placing “many under arrest.”⁵⁹ Sufficient men, however, arrived at the recruiting stations to form two Tennessee regiments.

The new recruits in the 6th and 7th Tennessee Cavalries (Union) hailed primarily from Carroll, Henderson, Weakley, Hardin, Decatur, Wayne and McNairy Counties.⁶⁰ General Dodd authorized the muster of the 6th even though the men wore “every conceivable type of uniform” while their colonel sported a “tall silk hat, a long coat with brass buttons, baggy jeans pantaloons, and an old sword.”⁶¹ A newspaper published by the 12th Wisconsin gave the following account of northern reaction to the new 7th Tennessee recruits being mustered at Humboldt:

We have observed a number of ragged fellows about the village lately and wondered what their business might be. Think (sic) it treachery, but were very agreeably disappointed to find that they were loyal Tennesseans, forming a company for service under the “stars and bars.” These poor fellows have been compelled to lay out in the bush to preserve their lives from their traitorous neighbors, for days and weeks, but have finally gathered to offer their services for their country. We welcome you, loyal men, and are proud of your patriotism.⁶²

Records of the 5th Iowa, stationed at Humboldt in 1862, mention that the 5th assisted Col. Hawkins (7th Tennessee) in forming his regiment of loyal citizens from that portion of the state.⁶³

The greatest numbers of eastern West Tennesseans who joined the 6th and 7th Tennessee Cavalries Union volunteered from June through December of 1862. Over twice as many enlisted in that period as enlisted from 1863 to the end of the war. A drop in enlistment in early 1863 probably resulted from the first recruitment having depleted the most aggressively loyal men, and from the implementation of the Confederate draft. In addition, some men enlisted in the 2nd Tennessee Mounted Infantry, a regiment containing men from both eastern West Tennessee and loyal men from nearby counties in Middle Tennessee.⁶⁴

Union successes in the western theater of the war resulted in an ever-increasing need for occupation forces. Because of their familiarity with the area and their desire to remain close to

⁵⁷ William W. Lowe to Major-General U. S. Grant, *OR* 1, XVII, (1), 62.

⁵⁸ *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers of Tennessee*, M375, rolls 50-69.

⁵⁹ W.W. Sanford to Brigadier General Logan, July 18, 1862; *OR*, 1, XVII, 2, 104.

⁶⁰ Designated 1st and 2nd West Tennessee Cavalry until 1863.

⁶¹ Jacob R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War: The Life of General G. M. Dodge* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1929), 109-110.

⁶² Fragment of a regimental newspaper published by 12th Wisconsin Battery at Humboldt, TN, August 23, 1862. Microfilm in genealogy room Humboldt Public Library.

⁶³ Adjutant General's Office, “Fifth Iowa,” *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion: Together with Historical Sketches of Volunteer Organizations, 1861-1866*, vol. IV (Des Moines, Iowa: E. H. English, 1908-1911).

⁶⁴ *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers of Tennessee*, M375, RG094, rolls 50-69; Fredrick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1908), 2nd Tennessee Mounted Infantry.

their families, the new Union regiments from eastern West Tennessee often obtained posts nearby. The earliest assignments for the 6th and 7th Tennessee included Trenton, Humboldt, Bethel, Dresden and Jackson⁶⁵. Guarding railroads, logistical routes, and lines of communication comprised their main duties. Other responsibilities included spying, serving as guides, fighting guerillas, stopping the citizenry from aiding the rebels, and commandeering provisions for the Union army.⁶⁶

These activities caused great resentment among the local Confederates, especially when carried out by acquaintances. Many felt the local Unionist troops far exceeded their orders. Teenager Annie Cole of McKenzie wrote about her contempt for the company of homemade Yankees who took her school horse. She described them as “southern men who had joined the North and were fighting against their own country and committing ravages in their native state.”⁶⁷ Williamson Younger complained in his journal that Newton Cox, a neighbor and a lieutenant in the 7th Tennessee Cavalry, threatened to burn his house.⁶⁸ Confederates in Jackson accused the 6th Tennessee Cavalry of extorting money and intentionally burning part of the town. General Forrest complained about the 6th Tennessee to Union authorities and vowed to treat them as outlaws if they fell into his hands.⁶⁹ Some members of the 2nd Tennessee Mounted Infantry committed offenses against civilians in North Alabama around Florence and in the area around Clifton, Tennessee (Wayne County) where they headquartered.⁷⁰ Since Confederates also persecuted the soldiers’ families, local Union troops could rationalize their behavior as retaliatory. Both sides often behaved inhumanly.

Civilian Unionists rejoiced when the Union army encamped in the area or even passed through. They often made efforts to be recognized as in agreement with the invaders. The Union steamer “*Empress*” reported “demonstrations of loyalty” as Grant’s victorious army went up the Tennessee River after the battles of Forts Henry and Donelson.⁷¹ At Savannah, Tennessee large crowds of citizens hailed them “with delight—especially the slaves.”⁷² Lieutenant Charles C. Nott of the 5th Iowa described an area near Dresden where Union families waved handkerchiefs, clapped hands, waved flags and cheered as his troops went past. Nott noted that loyalists gladly provided provisions for the Union Army but requested anonymity for fear of reprisals by their neighbors.⁷³

Lieutenant Nott himself received loyalist aid after he became separated from his command near the border between Henry and Carroll Counties. Badly injured, he sought help at a nearby household where the man of the house identified himself as “a Union citizen.” Nott trusted him immediately because Confederates generally referred to Unionists as Federals. A network of loyal citizens passed Nott from one family to the next in a sort of loyalist “underground railroad” all the way to Paducah, Kentucky where he rejoined his regiment. These

⁶⁵ McCann, Kevin, “*Hurst’s Wurst*”: A History of the 6th Tennessee (U.S.) Cavalry, (Ashland City, Tennessee: self published, 1995,) 9, 50.

⁶⁶ *OR* 1, XVII, (2), 414, 564; *OR* 1, XXXI, (1), 751.

⁶⁷ Annie Cole Hawkins, “War Leaflets,” 6. Gordon Browning Library, McKenzie, TN.

⁶⁸ Williamson Younger, “The Diary of Williamson Younger,” *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, (Memphis: West Tennessee Historical Society, Vol. 13, 1959), 60.

⁶⁹ N. B. Forrest to whom it may concern; *OR*, 3, XXXII, (3), 119.

⁷⁰ Lot Abraham, report, March 6, 1865, *OR*, 1, XLIX, (1), 73; R. Rowett to J. W. Barnes, April 23, 1864, *OR*, 1, XXXII, (3), 460.

⁷¹ *Daily Missouri Republican*, 25 March 1862, p. 1, c 7.

⁷² John A. Bering and Thomas Montgomery, *History of the Forty-Eighth Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, (Hillsboro, Ohio: Highland News Office, 1880) 14-15.

⁷³ Charles C. Nott, *Sketches of the War*, 125..

families placed themselves at risk by harboring and abetting a northern soldier and all refused pay for their assistance.⁷⁴

Citizen loyalists aided the Union Army whenever possible. Sheriff Levi McEwen and several others gave reliable information about the enemy in the Henderson County area. Dr. Seth Bell of Huntingdon (Carroll County), using the code name D. Snips, sent messages to Union headquarters by men he employed.⁷⁵ Occasionally citizens banded together and actually confronted troops. Unionists in Savannah fought with Robertson's company (Confederate). They wounded two and took six prisoners, delivering them over to Federal scouts.⁷⁶

Slaves also helped the occupation army as best they could under the circumstances. They could be depended upon for accurate information as to where the best provisions could be obtained from rebels. Lt. Nott reported that some seemed to derive great pleasure from secretly helping the northern troops deprive their owners of provisions. The slaves of Major Thorton of Conyersville insisted on giving Nott's troops a dozen more sheaves of oats than requested.⁷⁷ Blacks also gave information on which families remained loyal, provided directions to the Union Army, and information on the movement of Confederate troops. Burrell, a slave of rebel shoe factory owner William Collins, served as a contact for information about the leading Confederates in Henderson County, including his owner.⁷⁸

Many slaves in the area sought protection behind federal lines when Grant's army came through West Tennessee. Williamson Younger, a Carroll County slave owner, even accused the West Tennessee Unionist troops of persuading slaves to run away.⁷⁹ Over 4000 contrabands resided in camps in Grand Junction, La Grange, Bolivar and Jackson by March of 1863.⁸⁰ Some volunteered for the military when Congress authorized black recruitment. Jordan Pyles, the black overseer of a plantation near Parker's Crossroads in Henderson County, ran away, joined the Union army, and fought against Major General Nathan Bedford Forrest's troops at Fort Pillow.⁸¹ Slave desertions, as well as those of loyal white Southerners, not only helped the Union cause but deprived the South of desperately needed manpower as well.⁸²

In April of 1863 Colonel M. K. Lawler at Jackson issued a circular to all citizens in the area promising the protection of the Union Army to all those who swore an oath of allegiance to the United States. Those who refused or who took the oath but continued to support the rebels would be held responsible for any disturbances.⁸³ Despite the optimistic promise of Colonel Lawler, neither "the oath" nor the thin occupation forces, could protect Unionists or neutrals from the Confederate Home Guard organizations, irate rebel civilians, roving bands of guerillas, press gangs who forced reluctant men into the Confederate Army, or from the cavalry raids of General Forrest.

By November of 1862 only scattered occupation forces remained in the eastern section of West Tennessee, the major portion of Grant's forces having removed toward Memphis in

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 142.

⁷⁵ Asboth to von Helmrick, June 23, 1863, *OR*, 1, XXIV, (3), 434.

⁷⁶ G. M. Dodge to U. S. Grant, December 26, 1862, *OR*, 1, XVII, (2), 488.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 94.

⁷⁸ Asboth to H. W. Halleck, June 23, 1863, *OR*, 1, XXIV, (3), 434.

⁷⁹ Williamson Younger, "The Diary of Williamson Younger," 60.

⁸⁰ John Cimprich, *Slavery's End in Tennessee 1861-1865*, 53.

⁸¹ Henry F. Pyles, *Oklahoma Writer's Project and Indian Pioneer History Project for Oklahoma* (1937-1938).

⁸² William W. Freehling, *The South vs. The South*, (New York:Oxford University Press, 2001) examines the harmful effects of southern male and slave defection on the Southern cause.

⁸³ M. K. Lawler, report, April 17, 1863, *OR* 1, XXIV, (1), 498-9.

preparation for the attack on Vicksburg.⁸⁴ In December 1862, General Forrest made the first of several cavalry raids into the occupied area. He defeated Colonel Robert G. Ingersol's command at the battle of Lexington (Henderson County). The 7th Tennessee Cavalry (Union), men primarily from Henderson and Carroll County, made a hasty retreat to hide in their nearby homes or to regroup at their headquarters at Trenton in Gibson County. Two days later Forrest captured the stockade at Trenton taking over 300 eastern West Tennessee Unionists out of the war for six to nine months until they could be exchanged for Confederate prisoners.⁸⁵

General Forrest, whose troops also contained many eastern West Tennesseans, continued to make successful raids into occupied West Tennessee throughout the war. His objectives included gathering supplies, collecting willing or unwilling recruits, and interrupting Union supply lines.⁸⁶ Forrest's fearsome reputation enabled his troops to capture Union City in March of 1864, again taking much of the 7th Tennessee Cavalry (Union) out of commission. Robbed of their possessions in violation of the surrender agreement and taken to Andersonville prison without money to bribe the guards or equipment to sustain life, nearly two thirds of the men died.⁸⁷ Unlike Forrest's command, many other Confederate troops respected the personal property rights.

General Forrest detested the West Tennessee loyalist troops. He accused them of "oppression, murder and plunder" and called them a "terror to the whole land." He wrote Confederacy President Jefferson Davis in 1864 that he "was gratified to be able to say that the capture of Hawkins at Union City, and Bradford at Fort Pillow," plus a defeat of the 6th Tennessee Cavalry near Memphis, had "broken up the Tennessee Federal regiments" in West Tennessee.⁸⁸ Despite the major Union armies Forrest faced in his military career, it seems instructive that he chose to brag to President Davis about the defeat of three undermanned regiments from his home territory.

If Forrest's raids posed a sporadic threat, the ever-present worries for Unionists consisted of rebel neighbors and the quasi-military groups such as the Home Guards and Partisan Rangers. These people lived in the vicinity, knew the sentiments of the locals, and took every opportunity to make the lives of the loyalists as miserable as possible. Harassment included attacks on personal property and peace of mind. George Huffman reported that rebel neighbors took his family's stock and grain and shot at his house to keep the family frightened.⁸⁹ Some churches closed their doors for the duration of the war. The Henderson County Christians Chapel Church, which consisted primarily of Unionists, thought it "best for their personal safety and well being to absent themselves" during the "great political rebellion."⁹⁰ Since press gangs and Forrest's raiders forced loyalists, deserters, neutrals and reluctant rebels into the Confederate Army,⁹¹ few men of military age ventured into public places. When guerrillas murdered Pvt. Andrew Johnson

⁸⁴ H. W. Halleck to U. S. Grant, November 23, 1862, *OR*, 1, XVII, (1), 471.

⁸⁵ Jacob Fry, report, January 17, 1863, *OR*, 1, XVII, (1), 560-562. US troops hid behind Unionist's cotton bales.

⁸⁶ N. B. Forrest to Jefferson Davis, April 15, 1864, *OR*, 1, XXXII, (1), 611-12.

⁸⁷ Peggy Scott Holley, "Seventh Tennessee Cavalry: West Tennessee Unionists in Andersonville Prison," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers* (Memphis: West Tennessee Historical Society, 1988), vol. XLII, 41, 44, 51.

⁸⁸ N. B. Forrest to Jefferson Davis, April 15, 1864, *OR*, 1, XXXII, (1), 611-12. Bradford's 13th Tennessee Cavalry was not raised primarily in eastern West Tennessee.

⁸⁹ George Huffman, "My Experience of the Civil War and My Prison Escape," *The Guilford Genealogist* (Spring, 1998), vol. XXV, 104.

⁹⁰ *Christians Chapel Christian Church Records*, 3. Everett Horn Public Library, Lexington, TN.

⁹¹ N. B. Forrest to Jefferson Davis, April 15, 1864, *OR*, 1, XXXII, (1), 611-12.

of the 7th Tennessee (Union), his uncle feared attending the funeral. The neighborhood women did what they could for the family.⁹²

Even elderly men faced reprisals. The Confederacy took influential loyalist civilians hostage and forced them to take an oath of allegiance or go to prison. Lieutenant John A. Crutchfield, a Carroll County Confederate soldier, saw a group of these men, including friends of his from Huntingdon, on the way to prison. He thought it “evil to march men off from their Homes in that way even if they was Union.”⁹³ In Weakley County, Mr. Hurt of Como reported to the Union Army that a party of rebel citizens had been “amusing themselves by arresting Union men, and sending them off to Memphis.”⁹⁴ The Federals retaliated against the seizure of non-combatants by arresting prominent Confederate citizens and holding them hostage “for the good treatment and property of Union men.”⁹⁵

The 7th Tennessee Cavalry operated out of Trenton during 1862, Saulsbury and Grand Junction in 1863 and Union City in early 1864. The 6th Tennessee Cavalry spent time in Jackson in 1862 and 1863. The 2nd Mounted Infantry remained at Clifton in Wayne County and at Johnsonville in Perry County in 1864 and 1865.⁹⁶ All these places bordered the eastern Unionist counties. The short distances allowed visits by family or a quick trip home, as the number of babies born in Union soldiers families during the war testifies.⁹⁷ Not all visits had official approval.

Union soldiers often returned to their homes without leave. AWOLs fill the 6th and 7th muster rolls but most men eventually returned to their units voluntarily. General Grenville M. Dodge reported that when the 6th Tennessee Cavalry went on patrols in the West Tennessee area the numbers of men decreased all day and by night few remained. By the next morning, however, the men caught up and reported for duty by noon.⁹⁸ This penchant for returning home without permission caused problems at the time and in later years. The government often held up or denied pensions to 6th and 7th Tennessee veterans due to AWOLs on the records even when the men returned to camp. Government bureaucrats showed little appreciation for the drop in-drop out mentality of soldiers stationed in their home territories.⁹⁹

Visiting the eastern West Tennessee counties, however, involved considerable risk whether the soldiers returned home without leave, on furlough or to convalesce from diseases contracted in camp. Guerillas, rebel citizens and rebel troops pursued, and sometimes killed, isolated individuals. Seventh Tennessee casualties included Pvt. Berry G. Lindsey, killed by a Lexington citizen. Rebel troops shot Corporal Wiley Bowman and Pvt. Dan Freeman in Decatur County when they took leave to investigate a rumor about the burning of their homes. Guerillas killed Pvt. Drury Evans and Pvt. Andrew Johnson in Henderson County. They captured Johnson near Parkers Cross Roads and “made him run and shot him dead.”¹⁰⁰ To be fair it must be admitted that Unionists did similar things to Confederate soldiers on leave or AWOL.

⁹² Molly Neely Owens, “History of Our Trip and Our Stay in Illinois During the Civil War,” 9.

⁹³ John A. Crutchfield to wife Lucinda, May 13, 1864, Gordon Browning Library, McKenzie, TN.

⁹⁴ Charles C. Nott, *Sketches of the War*, 118.

⁹⁵ Asboth to H. W. Halleck, June 23, 1863, *OR*, 1, XXIV, (3), 434.

⁹⁶ *Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units with Available Rosters of Personnel*, 333-338, 355-356.

⁹⁷ In the 1870 census, the 18th district of Henderson Co has 11 former Union soldiers, 8 of their children were born during the war.

⁹⁸ Jacob R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War: The Life of General G. M. Dodge* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1929), 109-110.

⁹⁹ *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers of Tennessee*, M395, RG094, rolls 63-6.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

In addition to individual actions, Confederate and Unionist citizens each formed groups to harass the other side. In this area, at least at first, gangs made up of northern sympathizers were known as “bushwhackers” and those of southern sympathizers as “guerillas.” Rebel teenager Annie Cole of McKenzie, complained that the homemade Yankees “bushwhacked” Confederate “Guerillas.”¹⁰¹ Each group felt their group’s existence justified due to the actions of the other group.

The Huntingdon Bushwhackers¹⁰² out of Carroll County and the Home Guard in Henderson County comprised two of the groups operating against rebels in the eastern West Tennessee area. The Home Guard cooperated with Union troops to “collect together the Union men and use up the rebels.”¹⁰³ It constituted one of only six Federal Home Guard groups in the state of Tennessee mentioned by name in the Official Records.¹⁰⁴

Some groups targeting Unionists operated out of the area where the Big Sandy enters the Tennessee River, and others made their headquarters in the county courthouses of Weakley and Henry Counties. Loyalists especially feared the Jack Bradford Gang from Jackson, and Capt. Claiborne’s Home Guard.¹⁰⁵ Claiborne reportedly murdered “a little boy because he saw him riding with a company of homemade Yankees.”¹⁰⁶ Major Hans Mattson, 3rd Minnesota Infantry, described Lawyer James B. Algee of Huntingdon, who formed a battalion in Faulkner’s Partisan Rangers, as a “noted guerilla chief.” The Union Army and loyal citizens considered the quasi-military partisan ranger groups, such as Faulkner and Greer’s, to be guerillas as well.¹⁰⁷

By the middle of the war, apolitical outlaws and military deserters from both sides made up many of the raiding groups. Non-combatants on both sides feared them. Unionist Sanders said, “The sufferings of the mind was the worst” since the area was a “terable (sic) guerilla haunt.”¹⁰⁸ Confederate Younger believed that half the males in his section became robbers and that organized bands existed all the way to Illinois.¹⁰⁹ Guerillas shot Rev. Hosea Preslar and left him crippled. Preslar complained “There is no peace to him that goes to battle, nor is there any to him that stays at home, but great vexation rests upon us all.”¹¹⁰ These lawless groups did more damage in eastern West Tennessee than either of the armies.

In predominately Confederate areas of the South, the war finally ended in 1865. In areas with divided populations, an unofficial war went on for several years. Many guerillas and bushwhackers found civilian pursuits unappealing after the excitement of a life of crime. Old grudges from the war also continued to be settled by violence. Guerilla leader Jack Bradford continued to harass the “Union men of Jackson” and surrounding areas. In retaliation, members of the Loyal League, a Unionist organization, murdered him in Henderson County in 1869.¹¹¹ Citizens went after some former members of the 2nd Tennessee Mounted Infantry U.S.A. whom

¹⁰¹ Annie Cole Hawkins, “War Leaflets,” 23.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 47. Cole’s friend, Bettie Snead, called them “the meanest Yankees on earth.”

¹⁰³ G. M. Dodge to Col. Mersy, August 6, 1863, *OR*, 1, XXIV, (3), 579.

¹⁰⁴ *Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units with Available Rosters of Personnel*, I, 411.

¹⁰⁵ *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 16 & 18, 1869.

¹⁰⁶ Annie Cole Hawkins, “War Leaflets,” 59.

¹⁰⁷ Hans Mattson, report, June 2, 1863, *OR* 1, XXIII, (1), 353.

¹⁰⁸ William L. Sanders, letter to Benjamin Sanders, July 1, 1866

¹⁰⁹ Williamson Younger, “The Diary of Williamson Younger,” 64-65.

¹¹⁰ Hosea Preslar, *Thoughts on Divine Providence*, 239.

¹¹¹ “Jack Bradford,” *Memphis Daily Appeal*, 18 June 1869.

they accused acting as bushwhackers while they occupied Clifton in Wayne County.¹¹² Nathan Bedford Forrest, the nemesis of the eastern Unionists, became the Grand Wizard of the KKK. This secret organization continued guerilla warfare tactics against supporters of federal policy, whatever their color.¹¹³

In the post-war period, the eastern Unionists held the upper hand in local politics for only a very short time. They elected Isaac R. Hawkins, former colonel of the 7th Tennessee Cavalry, as a Republican representative to the 40th and 41st Congresses (1866-1871).¹¹⁴ Fielding Hurst, former colonel of the 6th Tennessee served in the Tennessee State Legislature before becoming Circuit Judge for the 12th Judicial Court of Tennessee.¹¹⁵ Reconstruction, however, ended quickly in Tennessee taking with it any political advantage loyalists gained by supporting the Union. Even after most of West Tennessee consistently voted Democratic, its eastern part maintained a strong Republican presence. Alvin Hawkins of Carroll County, cousin to Col. Isaac Hawkins and a previously “uncompromising Union man,” served as a Republican governor of Tennessee from 1881-1883.¹¹⁶

Eventually the old animosities from the war subsided. In the early 1900s, Irvin Hampton of Huntingdon stated in his Civil War questionnaire that he had lived to see his “children and grandchildren married to the sons and daughter and nieces of the boys who wore the gray,”¹¹⁷ implying a previous time when this was not the norm. The great grandchildren of the old Unionists gradually melted into southern culture and bought into “state rights” and the romance of the “Lost Cause.” A recent aspirant to Sons of the Confederacy membership, who shall remain nameless, thought his ancestor fought in Forrest’s much-revered 7th Tennessee Cavalry Confederate. He reported that he had a headache for a week when he discovered that his ancestor fought in the 7th Tennessee Cavalry Union. His ancestor would be mortified to know that a descendant admires General Forrest, the archenemy of Unionists.

A few descendents remember hearing that someone in their family fought for the “North.” Most southerners, however, would be surprised at the number and the determination of the Tennesseans who resisted disunion. In spite of pressure from hostile neighbors, Confederate raiders, and guerillas, “Rebels in Blue” also “fought all the way.” Theirs, however, was not a “Lost Cause.” Tennessee remains in the Union.

¹¹² Wade Pruitt, *Bugger Saga: The Civil War Story of Guerrilla and Bushwhacker Warfare in Lauderdale County, Alabama*, (Columbia, TN: P-Vine Press, 1977). Explores post war retaliation against several 2nd Tennessee Mounted Infantry members.

¹¹³ Richard Nelson Current, *Lincoln’s Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy*, 207.

¹¹⁴ *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington, 1971), 1090.

¹¹⁵ Kevin McCann, “Hurst’s Wurst”, *A History of the 6th Tennessee (U. S.) Cavalry*, 59.

¹¹⁶ Sesquicentennial Booklet, (McKenzie, TN: McKenzie Banner, 1972), 33.

¹¹⁷ “Irving Hampton,” *TCWVQ*, vol. 1, 62.