THE WHITE REFUGEES OF THE CIVIL WAR

by

MARY DUPRE HARVEY

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1 9 4 4

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I. Types of White Refugees

In less than a year after the outbreak of the Civil War white refugees began moving from devastated and dangerous regions of the Confederacy to seek protection behind the Union lines. Life in Confederate territory became increasingly dangerous as the war progressed for Home Guards tracked down Conscripts, fighting took place near their homes and roving bands pillaged the territory. Families found their crops destroyed and homes burned by both Union and Confederate armies and by the marauding bands following in the wake of these armies. Homeless, starving, and in fear of further oppression and devastation large numbers of whites sought aid from the Federal Government. From the mountains of East Tennessee, from Northern Alabama, from the Ozarks, West Texas and Southeastern Missouri they came.

In the cities of refuge and in the Union camps every class of refugee -- college professors, professional people, deserters from the Confederate army, laborers and farmers mingled together with the most shiftless poor whites. The well educated and once wealthy refugee had to ask help from the same agencies as did the most ignorant and degraded.[1]

---

1 Report to the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee by a Commission sent by the Executive Committee to Visit that Region, and Forward Supplies to the Loyal and Suffering Inhabitants (Philadelphia, 1864), 18.

It was the Union armies and the northern people who faced the unforeseen problem of caring for these destitute, homeless people.

A few of the refugees represented a well-educated and prosperous class who were ardent Unionists and had lost all their possessions during the war. Their journeys to the Union lines were as precarious as those of the poorest, most ignorant whites. Elder Graham, former professor of Belles Lettres and History in Kentucky and later General Agent of Arkansas College, was fortunate in being able to deceive the Confederates until he was well within the protection of the Union lines. In 1862 he decided that his life was not safe at Fayetteville as he was a strong Unionist and he determined to escape northward. At the beginning of the war he had been in easy circumstances but affairs had so changed that he had to borrow ten dollars to pay his expenses on the way.[2]

William Baxter, President of Arkansas College and pastor of the largest church of that region, had stayed on in Fayetteville until 1863. His reasons for not leaving sooner were the reasons of many Union men who had remained this long in the South. The Baxters had no relatives in the North with whom they could seek temporary shelter, their money would be worthless and the attempt to go away by private conveyance

---

2 William Baxter, Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove; or Scenes and Incidents of the War in Arkansas (Cincinnati, 1864), 156-160.

exposed them to robbery, perhaps death at the hands of guerrillas. Like many of the refugees who left the South to seek protection in the North, it meant starting life over again among strangers. They had lived on in the war-torn regions in the vain hope that peace would soon come and they would not have to leave their homes and property. But their Union sympathies were known and every day it was more dangerous for them to remain in Confederate territory.

Their journey was similar to that of many refugees. Soon after Baxter had made up his mind to leave Arkansas, a supply train came down to Fayetteville from Springfield, Missouri. The train, on its return trip to Springfield, was a large one with a number of refugees and a long ambulance train. Some of the soldiers were on their way home, others were on their way to rejoin regiments.

After many days of travel they reached Springfield, Missouri. While there Baxter met one of the agents of the Sanitary Commission who gave Baxter some articles to render the remainder of the arduous trip by wagon more comfortable. Colonel Carr, chief quartermaster at Springfield, provided them with transportation to Rolla. This trip took fifteen days but at last they reached civilization and secured passage on the train to St. Louis. From there the Baxter family went on to Cincinnati where they had some friends and they established themselves in that city.[3]

---

3 Baxter, Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove.

Deserters from the Confederate Army went northward, gave their allegiance to the Union and settled down in the North. These deserters were sometimes high-ranking officers and sometimes conscripted men in the ranks.[4] In the refugee train in which Baxter and his family travelled there was a young man dressed in the Federal Blue but a former major in the Confederate service. He had graduated at the same college as had Baxter and just before the war had received an M.A. When Baxter met him in 1863 he had a furlough from General Pemberton. Baxter took him to Colonel Wickersham of the Federal forces for an interview. At the close of the interview the young Confederate took the oath of allegiance to the Union. He had been in the North as a prisoner of war and found that the charges made by Southern leaders were unwarranted. He was on his way to rejoin his wife whom he had not seen for a long time and together they would seek a home in the North.[5]

The greater number of refugees were from the non-slaveholding middle and lower classes of the population for these classes made up a greater share of the population in the South. From the mountains of Tennessee to Alabama came these refugees who had been small farmers and graziers, and had lived in cottages scattered over valleys and nooks of the mountains. Men with small means and few or no slaves had

---

4 Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, on the White Union Refugees of the South (St. Louis, 1864), 33-4.

5 Baxter, Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove, 213-14.

come from the eastern slave-holding regions and had occupied the thinner upland soils to make an independent living for their families. The purpose of their agriculture was self-support. Usually, these mountaineer farmers entered a small tract, erected a log cabin and opened fields of a few acres on small plateaus. Their wealth consisted chiefly of grazing lands and forests, with hogs and cattle running wild in the woods. Sometimes there were a few acres of bottom land where they raised cotton for a cash crop.[6]

These people were of strong character and common sense. They combined the industrious disposition of the North with the fierce pride of the South and they had no interest which would benefit and no feeling which would be gratified by joining the Southern Confederacy.[7]

There was a similar and equally strong feeling in favor of the Union in the manufacturing industries of this region. In the mountainous parts of the border states of Kentucky and Tennessee, in the north-western part of Virginia, in the pine woods of North Carolina, men worked in the rosin and naval store manufactures and they felt that their interests would suffer under the Confederacy.[8]

The greater part of these people were of American birth

---

6 Sidney E. Morse, A Geographical, Statistical and Ethical View of the American Slaveholder's Rebellion (New York, 1863), 8-14.

7 O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and the Civil War (Cincinnati, 1899), 49.

8 W. H. Russell, My Diary, North and South (Boston, 1863), 350.

and throughout the mountains they had retained their love of liberty, love of country and love of home which fired their spirits and actions throughout the war. East Tennessee furnished the most striking example of this intense Union feeling, but among the mountains of every southern state, a vast majority of the people were loyal.[9]

The mountain region extending from Virginia to Northern Alabama was not the only stronghold of Unionists in the Confederacy. Arkansas and Texas had extensive regions where slavery was unprofitable and which were in the hands of non-slaveholding farmers.

In the Ozarks, mountaineers from Tennessee and Kentucky settled and carried on the type of small farming which they had done in the eastern regions and it was here that Union feeling was strongest in Arkansas. The southeastern third of Texas had been found to be most suitable for plantations land and cotton culture. Slave labor was unprofitable in the western part of the state and many non-slaveholders settled there. A great many Germans farmed the region and they were ardent Unionists.[10]

The difficulties which these people encountered and the obstacles which they had to overcome were tremendous. On one

---

9 T. W. Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee (Knoxville, 1888), 26. A. D. Richardson, The Secret Service, The Field, The Dungeon and The Escape (Hartford, 1865), 451.

10 Charles Hodge, England and America (Philadelphia, 1862), 29.

of the coldest days of the winter of 1864, the widow of a soldier of the Union army started for Pilot Knob, Missouri, which was thirty miles away in order to obtain rations. She was a worthy woman and had been driven from her home in Arkansas after her husband had enlisted in the Union army. Her husband received a discharge but had died shortly afterwards and his wife was left to provide for their eight children. With a few of the younger children in the old wagon she journeyed a few miles through the day and camped in the woods by night. Her ox team, which was all she had left after years of hard toil, was nearly dead of starvation and within ten miles of Pilot Knob one of the oxen died. She left her children huddled together in the wagon while she went forward on foot. At Pilot Knob the Commission supplied her with sufficient rations and sent her back to her family in one of the Commission's wagons.[11]

Another worthy woman walked thirteen miles with an infant child and had to wade several streams. Her shoes were nearly worn from her feet and her clothes were frozen up to her knees. She was loyal to the Union and said that she would rather suffer a hundred times as much as she had than to see her country overrun by the rebel ruffians.[12]

East of the Mississippi there are similar cases. In

---

11 Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, on the White Union Refugees of the South, 33-4.

12 Ibid.

1864 the commissioners of the Pennsylvania Relief Association saw and talked to a family of refugees in the depot at Chattanooga. They were Clay County, North Carolina and were on their way to Kentucky. They had no friends there and no money but the government was furnishing them transportation and rations. The father of the family was a fine-looking man and his family, although shabbily dressed was clean. In his neighborhood there was a company of one hundred men who had lived for two years in their little houses in the mountains and killed game for food. This refugee farmer said that those who had been forced into the rebellion from Clay County were deserting from the Confederate army and were either going back home or into the Union army.[13]

These refugees were the staunch Unionists from the loyal regions of the South. The relief associations had little trouble with them for they were needed in the northern armies and there was a good demand for male help in the northern cities. All these people required was a temporary home where they could have food and shelter until employed.[14]

From these same loyal regions of the South came another class of refugee -- the poor whites. They were the lowest class of the population, were shut off from the world and knew

---

13 Report of the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee, 18.

14 Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, on the White Union Refugees of the South (St. Louis, 1864), 33-4.

scarcely anything of the war. They did not feel it their duty to support a cause in which they were not concerned. Most of them would have preferred to remain neutral during the entire war as they had little to gain either way. It was from this class that the Confederates obtained a great many conscripts and the families of the conscripts were compelled to make their way to the Union lines to save themselves from starvation. They uniformly claimed to be Union people and were willing enough to take the oath of allegiance. No doubt there were many who professed their loyalty who could not support their claims for they did not understand what the war was about.[15]

Some of the refugees were starved out but others, who had never made a decent living for themselves came to the refugee cities in the hope of being taken care of by the government. It was strange to the men of the Sanitary Commission that these people who didn't have enough energy to harvest the crop which was left to keep themselves alive, could overcome the difficulties of a long, hard journey with baggage and children and travel a thousand miles.[16]

One interesting "female" of this class whose husband had been shot by Confederate guerillas was brought to the office

---

15 Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, on the White Union Refugees of the South, 41-3.

16 F. N. Knapp, "Extract of One Day's Record" in Documents of the United States Sanitary Commission, Vol. 2, No. 77, (New York, 1866), 61.

of the Sanitary Commission by the provost guard in December of 1862. She had gone from Tennessee to Alexandria, Virginia in order to find some relatives of her husband who lived there but she searched in vain. As she had nothing on which to live she went to the Sanitary Commission with all her worldly goods -- a bed, blankets and some dirty clothes in dirty bundles. She thought that the Sanitary Commissioner did wait on her and pay her the attention she deserved. She had a notion that the Refugee Home was a kind of hotel "only where they don't take any pay."[17]

These poor whites were ignorant, unable to read and write, and accustomed to living in squalid wretchedness. As soon as they realized that the Sanitary Commission would spend time and labor in efforts to secure their comfort and happiness, they became as troublesome and dependent as children. They made calls on the Commission for labor which they were well able to perform themselves. There was a general want of economy and regard for the needs of tomorrow produced by the listless and unambitious lives they had led. "As human beings they were almost imbecile" and it was necessary for the commissioners to repeat assistance day after day. A few were clean and thrifty but their moral character was in a very undeveloped state and they quarreled and

---

17 Knapp, "Extract of One Day's Record", 61.

wrangled so constantly that the commissioners had to send them to different parts of the refugee camps.[18]

The poor of England, the indentured servant class, were the poor of the colonial South and the poor of the Civil War South. They drifted to America in order to escape hard conditions at home and they drifted on to the frontier after others had discovered the way. Some of the indentured servants rose to prominence but many more sank lower and lower in the social scale. They took up the poorer land in the high lands or lowlands and continued to live much as they had lived before with no thought of rising in their social and economic status. They went from farm to farm, and when the war came it was not hard for them to leave their homes and move on.

These poor, thriftless people of the South formed a constant quantity in the slave states and because of the physical hardships, social status and intellectual blight they had been unable to raise themselves above a condition of poverty and thriftlessness. These were the people who flocked to the Union lines and were unable to take care of themselves or to start out on a new and better life.[19]

They were a distinct contrast to the preacher and

---

18 Newberry, United States Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi, 532.

19 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee; T. P. Abernethy, From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee; A Study in Frontier Democracy (Chapel Hill, 1933), 17.

educator, William Baxter, who had no difficulty in starting life again in the North. They are far different from the middle class of whites who loved the Union with an intense devotion and were willing to go North to fight for it or seek temporary aid until they could find employment or return to their homes.

CHAPTER II. Reasons for Refugeeing

During the Civil War the main reasons for southern whites leaving the Confederacy for the North were political activity against secession, religious beliefs, fear of conscription into Confederate armies and the devastation of vast areas by military operations and irregular warfare.

After the outbreak of the Civil War among the first refugees from the Confederacy were those who had to leave because of their activities in behalf of the Union cause. The Confederate Government found Reverend William G. Brownlow the most objectionable of the Union supporters in their territory. Parson Brownlow, was editor of the weekly journal, the Knoxville Whig and both before and after Tennessee became a member of the Confederacy he denounced, in the strongest possible terms, the actsof the Confederate government and his state government.

In October of 1861 the Confederates forced Brownlow to stop publication of his newspaper. His friends persuaded him to leave Knoxville and he went into Blount county just south of Knoxville. There he heard that the Confederate Cavalry was searching for him. Quickly, he fled to the Smoky Mountains. Accompanying him were a number of legislators, preachers and farmers. But the cavalry penetrated the mountains, and the fugitive editor fled again. With Reverend W. T. Duvall, he took refuge with a friend in Knoxville. Hiding

from the searching officials he wrote the War Department in Richmond asking for a passport to leave the Confederacy. He promised "to do more for your Confederacy than the devil has ever done" -- shake the dust of the Confederacy from his feet. The harrassed Government took him at his word, issued a passport, and furnished him a military escort to speed his departure. Before he could leave, Commissioner Reynolds issued a warrant for the Parson's arrest as a traitor to the Confederate States of America. For three months the fuming firebrand sputtered in the Knoxville and Tuscaloosa jails. But he was stirring up too much trouble and the Commissioner, taking advantage of the prisoner's bad health, ordered his release. The military authorities immediately arrested him and placed a guard of soldiers about his house. On the third of March, 1862, the Secretary of War at Richmond ordered his release and he went to Cincinnati where he continued his denunciations of the Confederacy.[1]

J. D. Hale of Overton County was another outspoken Union supporter who had to leave the Confederacy to save his life. The secessionists said that because of his speeches the people of northeastern Overton County and the whole of Fentress County voted for the Union and for this they threatened to hang him. After hiding among the rocks of Wolf River Hills

---

1 E. M. Coulter, William G. Brownlow: Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands (Chapel Hill, 1937), 181-207.

he packed up his family and left the state for Albany, Kentucky. There he was assisting Union men to escape from Tennessee to Camp Dick Robinson when the Confederates tracked him down. He fled northward to Adair County, Kentucky and there he continued to help in the escape of Unionists and in the organization of the loyal Tennessee troops.[2]

Other Unionists who had to leave because of their too-active support of the Union were Colonel Connelly F. Trigg, Chairman of the Chief Committee in the Union conventions at Greenville and Knoxville in May and June of 1861; Horace Maynard, George W. Bridges, Andrew J. Clements, James P. Carter and Andrew Johnson, all of Tennessee. One of the things Andrew Johnson hoped to accomplish after he left the state was to set in motion an army of rescue for East Tennessee.[3] The Confederate government also ordered the families of Johnson, Brownlow, Maynard and William B. Carter to leave the state.[4] Andrew Jackson Hamilton, a member of Congress from Texas who was an ardent Unionist escaped from the state and went by boat to New York.[5]

Secessionists sometimes seized letters of Union sympath-

---

2 J. A. Brents, The Patriots and Guerillas of East Tennessee and Kentucky--The Sufferings of the Patriots (New York,

3 Coulter, Parson Brownlow, 165.

4 Ibid., 206; O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and the Civil War (Cincinnati, 1899), 425.

5 A. J. Hamilton, The Condition of the South Under Rebel Rule, and The Necessity of Early Relief to the Union Men of West Texas (New York, 1862).

izers for proof of their disloyalty to the Confederate cause. A university professor of Tennessee, a northerner by birth, had expressed Union sentiments in letters to friends north of the Ohio. Confederates intercepted his letters and he soon received anonymous threats of personal injury. Unwilling to face the dangers in Tennessee he soon left for Ohio with his family and the Confederates confiscated his property.[6]

These political refugees, all outspoken in their denunciations of the Confederate Government left the territory not only to save their lives but also to continue their work against the Confederacy.

Small numbers of men were refugees to the North because their religious beliefs were not respected by the Confederacy. Early in 1863 the Confederate Government drafted twelve Quakers in North Carolina. During the first two years of the war the rebel powers of the state had permitted the Quakers to pass unmolested although they were Union sympathizers. But as the lack of manpower became more and more serious in the South and desertions increased with each defeat, the Confederate Government took drastic steps to gain men. The Conscripted Quakers, in accordance with their peaceful principles, refused to join the army. The officers forced them into the ranks but the Quakers refused to even touch the weapons. Insult was heaped

---

6 Thomas W. Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 179.

on outrage; the Confederate guards tied them up, starved them and whipped them. Still they refused to fight. Finally, the officers strapped muskets to their bodies and marched them with the Rebel army to Gettysburg. In the battle that followed they remained entirely passive and managed to come out unscathed. The Federals took them prisoners and sent them to Fort Delaware. In Philadelphia it became known that several Friends were among the captured and two members of the Society went down to inquire into the circumstances. The officials did not permit them to see the prisoners. The members of the Philadelphia Society went immediately to Washington and obtained an order for their discharge, conditional to their taking an affirmation of their allegiance to the Union. The imprisoned Friends complied with the order and the prison officials released them to go to Philadelphia.[7]

Many men, staunch supporters of the Union, left the Southern states to go northward and join Union forces in the struggle. Among their reasons for fighting with the Unionists were their support of the Union cause, their fear of the conscript laws of the Confederacy, their desire to free and safeguard their families from rebel oppression and the better pay in Union armies. Individually they were not as important politically as Parson Brownlow and other outspoken denouncers

---

7 Percy Howard, The Barbarities of the Rebels (Providence, 1863), 34-5.

of the Confederacy. As a group, however, they were of considerable importance in their lack of support of secession and in their active fighting against the Confederacy.

Among the first of these men to leave for the Union forces was Frederick Heiskell of Knox County, Tennessee. On April 12th, 1861, the day on which the Confederates fired on Fort Sumter, Heiskell prepared to go North. He enlisted in Colonel W. W. Woodruff's First Kentucky Regiment on the 20th or 21st of April.[8]

In the summer of 1861 the flight of Union men to the North assumed sizeable proportions and before the fall had passed Colonel Robert K. Byrd had organized and equipped the First Tennessee Infantry. Byrd was a farmer of considerable wealth but because of his intense loyalty to the Union he found it best to leave that state for Kentucky. Felix A. Reeve went north at this same time and became head of the 8th Regiment of the Tennessee Infantry.[9] Two thousand Unionists left Tennessee in the summer and fall of 1861. It was estimated that between 20 and 100 were leaving Tennessee every day in November of 1861.[10]

For a time many Union sympathizers hoped to remain on their farms unmolested. But fear of conscription drove them

---

8 Temple, East Tennessee and the Civil War, 368.
9 Brents, The Patriots and Guerillas of East Tennessee, 78.
10 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 325-327.

to go through the lines to Union territory. In April, 1862 after the battles at Pittsburgh Landing and after Fort Henry, Fort Donelson and Nashville had fallen into the hands of the Federals, the Confederate Congress, at President Davis' recommendation, passed a conscription law. Voluntary enlistment had not given enough men to the army and this law was necessary. All citizens between eighteen and thirty-five were liable to conscription for an indefinite period. There were many exceptions to the law which caused great discontent among the poorer classes of the South. Newspaper editors, teachers, pharmacists, ministers and owners or overseers of twenty slaves received exemption. The Confederate government thought that exemption for the last two classes was necessary in order to maintain product on the plantations, but the poorer white conscripts felt that it was "pure class legislation."[11]

Those who went north had little interest in slavery and had nothing to gain from a government built around slavery. Their interests were more closely akin to those of the North and they hoped that by entering the Union army that they would receive regular pay and be able to bring aid to their homes and families.

In each southern state there was a Home Guard made up of boys under sixteen years of age and those too old for regu-

---

11 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 165.

lar service in the army. Sometimes they helped the conscript officers in hunting down and arresting some men in their particular district who were subject to military duty. Often they remained in their own home communities and thus knew the people with Union sympathies and all the hiding places. They would sometimes betray old friends and forget everything in their desire to track down men for the Confederate army. Bill Parker and Colonel Falk in Tennessee and Captain Duff in Texas were among the most ruthless and most notorious leaders of the Home Guards, and spread fear wherever they went.[12]

Guides and scouts were necessary to lead the men through from Confederate to Union territory. Immediately after the first conscript law went into effect in April of 1862, a company of four or five hundred men liable to conscription left Jefferson county in East Tennessee for the Union lines in Kentucky. The Confederate East Tennessee cavalry stationed in the mountains attacked them and captured all but a few who escaped into the woods.[13]

The most famous of the Union pilots was Daniel Ellis of Tennessee who had been a farmer and wagon-maker until the Confederates drove him into the mountains. He had lived in

---

the mountains

12 J. W. Hunter, Heel Fly Time in Texas (Bandera, Texas, 1931); Junius Henri Browne, Four Years in Secession (Hartford, 1865), 352-3; Daniel Ellis, Thrilling Adventures of Daniel Ellis, the Great Union Guide of East Tennessee for a period of nearly four years during the great southern rebellion (New York, 1867).

13 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 165.

the mountains of East Tennessee all his life and knew them thoroughly. When Union sympathizers started to go through the lines he saw an opportunity to use his knowledge of the surrounding region to pilot men through. In August of 1862 he conducted his first group of seventy-five men to Kentucky. These refugee bands made their way by night through the wild mountains of East Tennessee. Sometimes they travelled in bitterly cold weather and had little food to eat as they couldn't carry many provisions. They couldn't build a fire for that would give away their location to Confederate guards in the region. After 1862 they were not able to use whatever roads there were in East Tennessee for they were carefully guarded by Confederate Cavalry. In spite of all these hardships Ellis guided 4,000 men from Tennessee to Kentucky.[14]

Other Union pilots were Isaac Bolinger of Campbell county, Seth Lea and Frank Hodge of Knox County, James Lane of Green County, Washington Varm and William B. Reynolds of Anderson County. Captain W. B. Reynolds, noted as a spy, recruiting officer, fighter and pilot slipped into Knoxville from time to time when it was in the hands of the Confederates. There he gathered news, messages and information about the Confederate army. On his return to Kentucky he guided a number of recruits and refugees through the mountains.[15]

---

14 Ellis, Thrilling Adventures of Daniel Ellis; A. D. Richardson, The Secret Service, The Field, The Dungeon, and the Escape (Hartford, 1865), 479-80.

15 Temple, East Tennessee and the Civil War, 427.

At least one of these Union guides lost his life as a result of his operations. In 1864 Confederate authorities captured Spencer Deaton of Knox County. They took him to Richmond, tried and condemned him and hanged him as a spy in Castle Thunder.[16]

Union sympathizers left other states of the Confederacy to join Union forces but East Tennessee furnishes the most notable example of soldier refugees.

These first three groups, political, religious and soldier refugees were readily absorbed in the North. Political refugees continued their fight against secession and the Confederacy. The religious groups were taken care of by their brothers, and the soldiers found a ready welcome in the army. Those from East Tennessee would be of particular help in the invasion of that territory when the time came. The greatest number of refugees were those who suffered from military operations and irregular warfare.

Military operations and the provisioning of both Confederate armies resulted in the devastation of great areas of land. The suffering was greatest along the Mississippi and in the mountains from Virginia to Alabama. In the fall of 1861 East Tennessee furnished over 20,000 hogs to support the Rebel army and in 1862 the Rebels seized all supplies which

---

16 Temple, East Tennessee and the Civil War, 426.

they could find -- both food and clothing. This was necessary as the blockade of the Southern coasts deprived the Confederate armies of badly needed supplies.

The winter of 1863-1864 the Union army under Burnside occupied East Tennessee and as it was not able to bring supplies with it, it had to take food wherever it could be found. Soon after Burnside had come into this region, General Longstreet marched into East Tennessee with the hope of reconquering the whole of that region. They wintered on the provisions of the countryside and bands of Rebel soldiers prowled about in their search for food.[17]

In 1864 after Longstreet had wintered his soldiers on the supplies of East Tennessee and stripped it bare, he moved on to Virginia to take part in the Battle of Gettysburg. The depredations of the Union soldiers were equally severe and although the Union had given claims against the Government for provisions and forage, many of the claims were never taken care of.[18] The railroad lines were needed to supply the army and could not take care of the needs of the people as well. The families were destitute and had no way of procuring food. Husbands and brothers were in the armies or hiding from conscription and were unable to raise food for their families.

---

17 Report to the Pennsylvania Relief Association of East Tennessee, 40-1.

18 Ibid., 9-10.

Throughout Mississippi suffering was general and widespread. In July of 1862 within a circuit of thirty or more miles of Corinth, the land had been stripped of the wheat surplus and all the most necessary things of life. Before the occupation of the region by the Union forces the Confederates had consumed most of the food and the little they had left the Unionists had taken. The occupation of the soil by two hostile armies during the spring prevented them from planting crops for that year and the people of this region were facing starvation.[19]

North of the Arkansas River, where the Federals under Steele had been in 1863, the situation was similar to that in Tennessee and Mississippi. It grew steadily worse through 1864 and by 1865 many inhabitants were on the point of starvation. Suffering was equally severe among those loyal to the Union and those loyal to the Confederacy.[20]

Wherever the armies went the people suffered -- not only because of food taken by the soldiers; but also because of the ruffian bands which followed the army. These bands took advantage of the terrorism and uncertainty to prowl through the countryside. The Confederate government enlisted and swore into service partisan rangers and guerillas. These bands did not belong to the regular army and their object was

---

19 Cincinnati Daily Commercial, July 1, 1862.
20 Thomas, Arkansas in War and Reconstruction, 248-9, 360-1.

to do all the damage they could to the Federal cause. Squads of ten to twenty men under the command of a single individual devasted the country side. They seized horses, mules, cattles, hogs and whatever clothing they could find. Humphrey Marshall and Champ Ferguson were the leaders of one of the most notorious bands in Kentucky and Tennessee.[21]

These partisan rangers had a bad effect on the Confederacy as well as on the Union, for it turned many more of the mountain people against the Confederacy. They retaliated by forming into bushwhacking societies to protect themselves and their families. Fierce struggles took place between the bushwhackers and guerillas or rangers. The result of this irregular warfare was the destruction of considerable quantities of food and provisions of all kinds.

Jayhawkers were a step still lower on the scale of warfare. Their object was to make all the money they could from the war. Both Rebel and Union men belonged to the same group. They seized horses and plunder of all kinds and sold these supplies to both armies -- then divided the money among members of their band.[22]

---

21 J. D. Cox, Military Reminiscences of the Civil War (2 vols., New York, 1900), I: 421-2; Frances Lieber, Guerilla Parties Concerned with Reference to the Laws and Usages of War (New York, 1862), 7-8, 20-21; Brents, The Patriots and Guerillas of East Tennessee and Kentucky, 48-9.

22 Brief Narrative of Incidents in the War in Missouri, and of the Personal Experience of One Who Had Suffered (Boston, 1863), 11.

Military operations and all types of irregular warfare resulted in great destitution in the mountains and in other areas where Union feeling was strong. It was in these regions that the small, small farmers and poor whites lived. Many men were in military service or hiding out from conscription. The women and children had to raise whatever crops there were. These left because they were destitute and needed temporary help until they could return to their farms.

The poor whites were near starvation but they had always been more or less in that condition. They had not been able to get relief from the Confederate government as its relief agencies were overtaxed already. These people used the war as an excuse to try to obtain aid from the Union government. Sometimes they could have harvested their small crops and managed to live. Instead they went to the relief agencies where they expected to obtain rations without working for them. These people constituted the most difficult problem for the relief agencies.

CHAPTER III. The Sanitary Commissions and The White Refugees

The earliest refugees from the devastated regions of the South fell into the hands of the police authorities but the police station was hardly a fit place for them. As increasing numbers poured into the cities of the North, the police were unable to cope with the problem and sent the refugees to the Sanitary Commissions.[1] Some of the refugees also came to the army camps for protection and aid and the military authorities turned them over to the Sanitary Commissions. The agents of the Sanitary Commissions already had a tremendous problem in caring for the wounded soldiers and sanitary conditions in the camps. However, they could not turn away these destitute people and it might prove to be of political value to help the refugees. The Sanitary Commissions agreed to take care of them until the government could set up a better method of relief.

On June 13, 1861 the War Department had authorized the organization of the United States Sanitary Commission which had no rights or powers but was to aid, advise and assist the Medical Bureau of the government.[2] During the spring of 1861 a group of very prominent citizens, headed by Reverend H. W.

---

1 The Western Sanitary Commission; A Sketch of Its Origin, History Labors for the Sick and Wounded of the Western Armies and Aid given to Freedmen and Union Refugees, with Incidents of Hospital Life (St. Louis, 1864), 128.

2 "The Sanitary Commission" in The North American Review, (Jan. 1864) 211: 167.

Bellows had been trying to organize an association "through which the benevolence of the people towards the army could be diverted into practical channels."[3] It was a splendid means of obtaining the support of the people in behalf of the war and at the same time having them bear a large part of the work and expense of taking care of the medical needs of the armies.

The Medical Bureau felt that it was self-sufficient and opposed this voluntary organization on the grounds that it would prove troublesome, dangerous and impracticable.[4] In the early months of the war the Medical Bureau did prove unable to cope with the needs of the armies. The New York Committee took advantage of this and attacked the Medical Bureau so strongly that the War Department reorganized it. After a great deal of struggle they succeeded in having Dr. W. A. Hammond, a supporter of the Sanitary Commission appointed as head of the Medical Bureau. From that time until the close of the war the United States Sanitary Commission and the Medical Bureau worked together.[5]

Reverend Bellows who was originator, founder and president of the Commission was a prominent Unitarian clergyman and propagandist for the Union. He and other members of this Commission were the organizers of the New York Union League.[6]

---

3 Charlotte C. Eliot, William Greenleaf Eliot (Boston, 1904), 213.
4 "The Sanitary Commission", 155; 167.
5 Ibid., 159-167.
6 Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1933), I; 123-4.

Vice-President of the Commission was A. D. Bache, superintendent of the United States Coast Survey and adviser to the president and his war secretaries.[7] This would be of great value in helping put over the schemes of the Sanitary Commission. J. M. Forbes of Massachusetts who helped Governor John A. Andrew put that state on a war footing was also on the executive committee. Forbes was much interested in the industrial development of Missouri and was particularly interested in the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. He was organizer of the Loyal Publication Society, chief propaganda agency of the radicals during the war.[8]

Dr. J. S. Newberry who was in charge of the Sanitary Commission in the Mississippi Valley had been assistant surgeon on the exploring parties of the Pacific Railroad and the Santa Fe Railroad and the Colorado River.[9] He believed that the work of the Sanitary Commission in this area would be a medium through which the east would be able to extend its organization and benefits over the great west.[10] After the war Newberry and Agnew, medical organizer of the Commission helped to start the School of Mines at Columbia University. Others on the Executive Committee were Gibbs, prominent New York Chemist, W. H. Van Buren, Frederick Law Olmstead; while Elisha

---

7 Dictionary of American Biography, I: 461.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., 13: 445.
10 J. S. Newberry, The United States Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi (Cleveland, 1871), 2.

Harris, the only experienced sanitarian of the group was corresponding secretary.

The Sanitary Commission, during the course of the war, established over 15,000 Soldier Aid Societies which collected supplies and raised money in their immediate communities.[11] Numerous sanitary fairs were held throughout the country particularly in the large cities.[12] However, money was needed to start the Sanitary Commission on this nation-wide venture and they appealed to the insurance companies for $50,000.[13] The insurance companies which realized the "economic bearings of preventative sanitary measures" and incidentally political advantages, were the first and continued to be among the most liberal contributors to the Commission's treasury.[14] The New England states and New York gave large contributions as did California, Nevada, Oregon and Washington territory.[15] The Union Leagues in the New England states and in New York, which were controlled by the same men who controlled the Sanitary Commission made sizeable contributions to the cause.[16]

The United States Sanitary Commission included the whole country but many battles were fought too far away from the

---

11 "The Sanitary Commission", 185.
12 History of the Northwestern Soldiers' Fair (Chicago, 1864); History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair (Cincinnati, 1864).
13 The United States Sanitary Commission (Boston, 1863), 261-4.
14 "The United States Sanitary Commission" in the North American Review (April, 1864), 413.
15 Ibid., 414.
16 W. L. Fleming, Documents on Reconstruction (Morgantown, W. Va., 1904), No. 3, p. 3.

central offices of the Commission for the soldiers to receive proper care.[17] Some of the prominent St. Louis merchants and railroad men had been opposed to the eastern economic control which had been penetrating into Missouri even before the war. The battle fought at Wilson's Creek and the tremendous number of wounded soldiers near St. Louis gave these men a chance to seize control of the region and keep it out of the hands of the eastern radicals. They didn't wait for "the slow action of the government through the Medical Bureau or for the United States Sanitary Commission to send an agent to that distant point."[18] William J. Eliot, who had worked to keep Missouri in the Union and cooperated with the local loyalist government, the federal forces and the government at Washington suggested that "to meet the exigency of the moment" there should be a sanitary commission for the department of the West.[19] On September 3, 1861 the organization of the Sanitary Commission for the department of the west was submitted to Fremont who signed it and made it public on September 10, 1861 as order 159. This order provided for a civilian commission of five men who were volunteers and they were removable at pleasure.[20] At first it operated in and near St. Louis but

---

17 Eliot, William Greenleaf Eliot, 214-215.
18 Ibid., 216.
19 Ibid.; Dictionary of American Biography, 6: 82-3.
20 Eliot, 217.

later Secretary Staunton extended the range of action to all states west of the Alleghany Mountains. Carlos Greeley, a very successful merchant of St. Louis and also interested in railroads, mining, ferries, banks, sugar, cotton and land companies was treasurer of the association.[21] J. B. Johnson, a distinguished physician and George Partridge, another successful merchant were also on the Commission.[22]

President of the Commission was J. E. Yeatman, a representative in St. Louis for his father's business of Cumberland, Tennessee. He was founder of the Merchant's Bank and occupied an important place in Mississippi Valley financial life and in Missouri railroads. Yeatman gave all his time to organizing hospitals, recruiting nurses, improving prison conditions, establishing soldiers and orphan homes, schools for refugee children and distributing sanitary supplies.[23]

Shortly after the beginning of its work, the United States Sanitary Commission sent the Western Sanitary Commission a remonstrance against the existence of a separate organization in the West. It also made an official protest to the Secretary of War with the request that he should require General Fremont to rescind his order and make the Western Sanitary Commission a part of the National Commission. Immediately, Eliot went to Washington where he interviewed

21 Eliot, William Greenleaf Eliot, 217; J. T. Scharf, History of St. Louis, City and County (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1883) 1: 549-552.
22 Ibid., 218.
23 Dictionary of American Biography, 20: 606-607; Scharf, 552-553.

Simon Cameron. Both Cameron and Lincoln were of the opinion that there was no objection to their being as independent as they pleased as long as they worked with the Medical Bureau. The five men of the Western Sanitary Commission maintained that the problem of loyalty in Missouri was such a complicated one that it necessitated a local commission which understood the situation.[24] Lincoln realized the necessity of keeping the support of these prominent conservative Republicans and he approved their organization.

The Western Sanitary Commission realized that it would be of little value to organize auxiliary societies and that it would run into more trouble with the United States Commission if it did this.[25] They relied on sending out appeals every six months for contributions. On September 16, 1861, they made their first appeal to the public and received a generous response from St. Louis and the North.[26] Massachusetts again took the lead in the size of its contributions and Missouri and California also contributed heavily.[27] The Unitarian Church of St. Louis of which Reverend Eliot was

---

24 Eliot, William Greenleaf Eliot, 221.
25 Ibid., 273.
26 Ibid., 218.
27 R. G. Usher, "The Western Sanitary Commission" in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (1908-1909) 2:232; "Loyal Work at Missouri" in the North American Review (April, 1864), 523-4.

pastor assumed heavy charitable and missionary obligations to support the Commission.[28]

The hostile feeling between the United States Commission and the Western Commission continued and in 1864, the United States Commission stated that all local, personal and religious prejudices had yielded more or less slowly but steadily to the self-vindicating claims of the Sanitary Commission -- except Missouri.[29] In spite of the hostility, the Western Sanitary Commission made definite plans for thorough cooperation with the government and the United States Sanitary Commission.[39]

Before the winter of 1862, both the United States Commission and the Western Commission were confronting new problems. Enlisted freedmen, contrabands, the occupants of the military prisons and white refugees all appealed to the Sanitary Commissions for help. Before long, agencies were taking care of the colored refugees but the only help the white refugees received from the government until the close of the war was through the Sanitary Commissions.[31]

As the refugees in the northern cities increased in number the Sanitary Commission in Kansas sent Reverend Folsom

---

28 Dictionary of American Biography, 6: 82-3.
29 "The Sanitary Commission", 183.
30 Eliot, William Greenleaf Eliot, 272.
31 Newberry, United States Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi, 383; Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, on the White Union Refugees of the South (St. Louis, 1864), 43-4.

to New York to lay the claims of the loyal white refugees before the board. The Commissioners realized the value of helping these people to give them an inroad into the South and they appropriated funds for this work. Throughout the entire course of the war, however, it was the policy of the Commission to make the care of the refugees a distinct part of its work. They did not use any of the money or supplies or hospitals needed by the soldiers for the refugees. The appeal of the care of the soldiers had a far stronger claim on the people of the country and they wanted to keep this cause uppermost.[32]

The Western Sanitary Commission also kept the refugee and freedmen's work separate and detailed. John Cavender, a prominent man in St. Louis to take charge of the refugees and raise money for their care.[33]

At this time the government did not set up a separate organization to care for the claims of the refugees but found it most expedient to use the agencies already in existence. The War Department ordered the issuance of rations only through the Sanitary Commissions to the white refugees. Wherever there was a branch of either of the Sanitary Commissions there were probably refugees. The largest numbers of refugees aided by the United States Sanitary Commission

---

32 Newberry, United States Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi, 519.

33 Eliot, William Greenleaf Eliot, 253.

were in Cleveland, Nashville, Cairo, Kansas City, Camp Nelson, Kentucky, Newbern and New Orleans. The largest encampments of refugees under the jurisdiction of the Western Sanitary Commission were at Benton Barracks, St. Louis, Pilot Knob, Rolla, Cape Girardeau, Knoxville, Springfield, Corinth and Fort Scott.[34]

By railroads, river packets, wagon trains and on foot these people poured into the army camps and cities of refuge. In providing a shelter for them the Commissioners at first used any available place. The military authorities turned over unused barracks and discarded tents for temporary shelter. Sometimes there were too many refugees for the available space and the refugees had to stay out in the open or in wagon trains until the Commissioners found more space.[35]

When the Commissioners realized that the refugee problem would be a constant one and that the care of these people was entirely in their hands, they provided more permanent shelter for their care. They fixed up old barracks and buildings and built new ones for them. In Cleveland, the Soldiers' Aid Society of Northern Ohio, a branch of the United States

---

34 Eliot, William Greenleaf Eliot, 254-259.

35 Newberry, The United States Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi, 518-534; Report to the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee (Philadelphia, 1864), 19-20.

Sanitary Commission established the "Home for Strangers" for the care of refugees and government employees.[36] At Nashville and Vicksburg there were "Refugee Barracks" while in St. Louis there were two refugee homes as well as barracks in use.[37]

In all the refugee centers there were some refugees who stayed only a night or two and there were those who remained for months. In order to facilitate the handling of the temporary refugees one particular building was sometimes devoted to their care. This was the case at Camp Nelson, Kentucky and Leavenworth. In other places, the Commissioners allowed the refugees to stay in the hospital rooms which were not in use.[38]

Many refugees needed medical attention as they had suffered on their journeys and their poor constitutionsmade them particularly susceptible to disease. In all cities of refuge those who needed medical attention received it. The Sanitary Commissions in Knoxville, Camp Nelson, Cairo and St. Louis provided special hospitals for the care of the refugees.[39]

---

36 One Acre and Its Harvest (Cleveland, 1869), 315; 335-8.

37 Newberry, United States Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi, 157; The Western Sanitary Commission (St. Louis, 1864), 126; Report of the Western Sanitary Commission on the White Refugees of the South, 20.

38 Newberry, ibid., 518-31; Report of the Western Sanitary Commission on the White Union Refugees of the South, 27.

39 Newberry, ibid., 394-5; 518-534; T. W. Humes, ed., History of the East Tennessee Relief Association (Knoxville, 1864-1865), 15; Report of the Western Sanitary Commission on the White Union Refugees of the South, 34-5.

St. Louis was the center for the cities and camps under the jurisdiction of the Western Sanitary Commission. The government appropriated funds for the building of a new structure to care for two thousand refugees. All refugees in Springfield, Rolla, Pilot Knob and Cape Girardeau would go to this place. This would save transportation charges on food and supplies and bring all of the refugees in this section under central supervision. From there the Commission would send them on to places of employment in the North and West. Unfortunately, the buildings burned down shortly before completion and the plan never went into operation. This shows, however, the development of the government policy and also the size of the refugee movement.[40]

The War Department furnished food, fuel, shelter, medical attention and some transportation to the refugees; but the administrative work and the supplying of clothes and extras devolved upon the Commissions. In almost all cities of refuge there was one person in charge of all refugees and usually a chaplain was detailed to this duty. Besides having charge of the distribution of government rations and attending to the housing problems of the refugees, the chaplain often had to appeal to the charitable people of the surrounding region for clothing and money. He sent articles to the

---

40 Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, on the White Union Refugees of the South, 6.

newspapers asking for donations of money and clothing and prevailed upon the women in churches to collect clothing for these destitute people.[41]

The Sanitary Commissioners were interested not only in caring for the material needs of the people but they tried to direct them into channels of production. For the more energetic ones who desired to go north or return to their homes, the Sanitary Commissions, with the cooperation of the government, the railroads and the river lines, provided transportation. The government paid for only about half of the transportation expenses as the railroads often furnished free passes or the Sanitary Commissions paid half the fares. The railroads which helped were the Pacific Railroad; the Northern Missouri; the Iron Mountain; the St. Louis, Alton and Chicago; the Terre Haute; and the Alton and St. Louis. The river packets also helped in transportation of the refugees -- particularly, the Line of Packets to Dubuque, Iowa; and the Illinois River packets. The Commissioners made arrangements for their transportation and often gave them money to defray the necessary expenses on the trip.[42]

For those who had no homes to go back to and who had no friends in the North and West, the agents of the Sanitary

---

41 Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, on the White Union Refugees of the South, 7.

42 Ibid., 8.

Commissions did what they could to make them independent of government aid. At some of the refugee centers they provided the poor whites with cooking stoves and articles of furniture so that they could set up new homes and not become a permanent charge to the government. They also furnished them with axes so that they could go out in the woods and get their own fuel. When the Commissioners were able to, they furnished the refugees seed so that those who were willing and able could plant crops. Often they tried to secure employment and homes for the refugees but this proved very difficult in most cases because the refugees were not fit by habits or education for any branch of industry.[43]

Among the refugees were a great number of children who had never had the advantage of schooling. In Newbern, St. Louis, Vicksburg and Springfield, the men in charge of the refugees established schools. Benevolent persons undertook the education of these "victims of the institution of slavery". They found them dull and unwilling to learn. When one considers that most of these children had never gone to school and that they were from the lowest class of society in the south, it is not surprising that the teachers found them difficult pupils.[44]

---

43 One Acre and Its Harvest, 335-338.

44 Vincent Colyer, Report of the Services Rendered by the Freed People to the United States Army, in North Carolina, in the Spring of 1862, After the Battle of Newbern (New York, 1864), 31; Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, on the White Union Refugees of the South, 20.

After the first of March, 1865, there was a marked falling off in the number of soldiers received by the Sanitary Commissions but there was still great activity for some months in caring for the refugees and freedmen until the Freedmen's Bureau was able to take over completely this branch of the work.[45]

Before the Freedmen's Bureau came into operation the refugees in the West were taken care of by the Western Sanitary Commission and those in the East by the United States Sanitary Commission. The policies in regard to refugees of both of these Commissions were very similar and were the foundations on which the private relief organizations and the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and abandoned lands would operate. To some the white refugees might be of political value in reconstructing the South, to others it opened up the way for the Eastern financial interests and industrial interests to move into this region. This was the reason behind the quarrel between the Western Sanitary Commission and the United States Sanitary Commission. Both wanted control of St. Louis, the gateway to the West and to the South. Both were interested in Southern cotton and western lands. The United States Sanitary Commission couldn't gain this through their present set up but the Freedmen's Bureau would bring even Missouri under their control.

---

45 Newberry, United States Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi, 385.

CHAPTER IV. Local Relief Agencies

As the war progressed and the loyal white refugee problem became more and more serious, local relief agencies came into prominence in many cities. In spite of the work which the government and the Sanitary Commissions were doing there was still great suffering and destitution in some areas. These local agencies worked in cooperation with the government and with the Sanitary Commissions. The government helped with the transportation of supplies and some of the Sanitary Commissioners advised the agents of the local relief organizations in their purchases. These agencies took care of the administrative work and raised their own money. Their first consideration was with the relief problems of their own citizens and then with the refugees who poured into their cities from the surrounding regions.

Early in 1863 Mr. N. G. Taylor went northward to seek aid for the destitute people of East Tennessee. For several years Radical republicans and Unionist refugees had spread propaganda about an alliance with this "great tongue or wedge of land (which) carries northern ideas, northern industry, northern population right into the heart of cottondom, and within two hundred miles of the Gulf of Mexico."[1]

---

1 The Effect of Secession upon the Commercial Relations between the North and South, and upon Each Section (New York, 1861), 68.

The richness of this region and its possibilities for development by the North had been called to the attention of the people. This was a land of opportunity. The soil was admirably adapted to grazing and the cultivation of grains and beneath the soil were valuable minerals. The region was thinly settled but capable of supporting a much denser population. This, then, would be an ideal territory for emigration from the north. Only railroads were needed to connect it with the north. The people, the radicals said, would welcome the establishment of industries and would favor the tariff as a protection for home industries.[2]

The radicals championed the cause of the non-slaveholding population of the South. They were going to free these people from ignorance and degradation. On June 4, 1860 Sumner had spoken of the ignorance prevalent throughout the slave states. Through slavery all the great values of northern capitalism -- "manufacture, commerce, railroads, canals, charities, the post office, colleges, professional schools, academies, public schools, newspapers, periodicals, books, authorship, invention" are stunted.[3]

The East Tennessee small farmers and laborers were not in favor of this exploitation of their region. The stand which

---

2 The Effect of Secession, 69; Henry Darling, Slavery and the War: A Historical Essay (Philadelphia, 1863), 9-10.

3 Charles Sumner, The Barbarism of Slavery (Albany, 1860), 31.

they took during the war was largely brought about by the stand taken by their leaders.[4]

Their real leader was Andrew Johnson and his sympathies were known to be with the masses of the laboring white men of the south. He was fighting for the non-slaveholding population of which he was a member and he had opposed secession because of the condition he feared the non-slaveholders would assume in a confederacy based on slavery.[5]

There was also a small but powerful and aggressive group of conservative Whig politicians who hoped for an industrial development which would never be possible in an agriculture-dominated confederacy. These men were determined to carry on the program of the Whig party and after East Tennessee seceeded they left the Confederacy as refugees. In this group were Horace Maynard, Parson Brownlow, John Baxter and William B. Carter. Until the Union forces conquered East Tennessee, they stayed in the North and cooperated with the Republicans in laying foundations for the domination and economic development of their state after the war.[6]

The East Tennessee problem remained before the people from the time of secession until the period of reconstruction

---

4 T. P. Abernethy, From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee; A Study in Frontier Democracy (Chapel Hill, 1933), 341.

5 Lorenzo Sherwood, "Remarks of the Hon. Lorenzo Sherwood, Ex-Member of the Texan Legislature, on the Course of the Slaveholders' Conspiracy against Democratic Government" in the Origin and Objects of the Slaveholders' Conspiracy against Democratic Principles (New York, 1862), 6-7.

6 J. W. Patton, Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee,

was completed. On July 1, 1861 William B. Carter, one of the Unionist leaders of East Tennessee, went north to see what could be done for the region. He conferred with Lincoln, Seward and McClellan in reference to the relief of East Tennessee. Carter outlined a plan for the destruction of railroads by the Unionists and at the same time there would be a military expedition into the region. The army would be on the border of East Tennessee and move to Knoxville as soon as the bridges were destroyed. Lincoln and McClellan approved the plan and the Secretary of State furnished $2,500 to secure destruction of the bridges. In October, Lincoln ordered Buell to advance from Ohio into East Tennessee. The citizens went ahead with their plans and burned five railroad bridges in order to cooperate with the Federals they thought were advancing. Buell did not advance and the Confederates inaugurated a reign of terror in East Tennessee. They hanged several men and arrested many others among who was N. G. Taylor. They tried him at a drum-headed court-martial as an accomplice in the bridge burnings. He was acquitted but some of the secessionists threatened him with arrest and imprisonment upon the charge of high treason against the Confederacy. For many months Taylor hid in the mountains of East Tennessee trying to think of some way

---

1860-69 (Chapel Hill, 1934), 22; Theodore Tilton, Sketch of Parson Brownlow (New York, 1862), 5-6.

he could help the people in that region.[7]

It was late in the year 1862 when Taylor left his mountain hide-out and decided to seek help in the north for the loyal Unionists. He escaped through the Confederate lines to Knoxville where he received support for his plan and went on to Cincinnati. There were already many refugees in Cincinnati and the people of that city had a serious relief problem of their own to handle and he succeeded in raising only a few hundred dollars. After conferring with refugees from East Tennessee who were in Cincinnati, Mr. Taylor determined to go to Philadelphia and the New England cities which had no such relief problem and where he would have active support from the Republicans.[8]

On his way north he stopped in Washington to obtain the support of the administration. He presented his plan to Andrew Johnson, then military governor of Tennessee, who was enthusiastic about the plan. Johnson saw an opportunity to build up close cooperation between the non-slaveholders of the South and the laboring classes of the North. The plan which Mr. Taylor presented to him offered an opportunity to help the small farmers and artisans of East Tennessee and make this class the dominant power in a reconstructed Ten-

---

7 Report to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee, 5-6; O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and the Civil War (Cincinnati, 1899), 369-371; T. W. Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee (Knoxville, 1899), 308-9.

8 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 309.

nessee and make this class the dominant power in a reconstructed Tennessee. Johnson gave Mr. Taylor a letter of endorsement and commendation.[9]

President Lincoln gave him a similar letter for he believed that the loyalists of East Tennessee would be of help in military movements and in provisioning the soldiers.[10] With the backing of Lincoln and Johnson, Taylor went on to Philadelphia where he received the support of James Pollock, republican governor.[11]

Taylor was not the first of the Unionist refugees of East Tennessee to speak in the northern cities. Parson Brownlow, backed by the Radical Republicans had made a tour earlier that year and delivered a lecture on the "Sufferings of Union men."[12] The press was busy as well, publishing stories of atrocities committed against the Unionists.[13] Northern men escaped from southern prisons further inflamed the public mind with their stories of conditions in the Confederate prisons.[14]

Women in Philadelphia were already busy organizing

---

9 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 310.
10 Ibid.; Abraham Lincoln, Annual Message of the President (Washington, D.C., 1861), 2.
11 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 310.
12 W. G. Brownlow, Sufferings of Union Men (New York, 1862).
13 Percy Howard, The Barbarities of the Rebels (Providence, 1863).
14 J. J. Geer, Beyond the Lines: or a Yankee Prisoner Loose in Dixie (Philadelphia, 1863).

relief for the suffering East Tennesseans. Two months before Taylor arrived some soldiers of Kearney's regiment had told Mrs. Joseph Canby and Mrs. Caleb W. Hallowell of the famine in East Tennessee. These two ladies, together with other women of Philadelphia, sewed and collected articles. They held a fair and forwarded the cash proceeds and several boxes of clothing to Knoxville for distribution to the needy.[15]

When Mr. Taylor arrived in Philadelphia in January, 1864, the Governor of Pennsylvania recommended to the state legislature, the subject of Taylor's mission. Taylor delivered an address in the Philadelphia Academy of Music when he told the people of the reign of terror in East Tennessee under Confederate rule and asked their cooperation in helping these fellow Unionists.[16] Some of the prominent Republicans of the city organized the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee. They elected Ex-governor James Pollock, president; and Lloyd P. Smith, Chairman of the executive committee. The others on the executive committee consisted of Joseph T. Thomas, Caleb Cope, and J. B. Lippincot. The state legislature made no appropriation to the Association but the people of Philadelphia contributed $26,000 to the cause.[17]

Mr. Taylor went on to Boston where he made an address to

---

15 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 309.
16 Ibid., 310-312; Report to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee, 6.
17 Ibid., 6-7.

the citizens but no arrangement was made at that time for obtaining individual subscriptions. On the day after the public meeting a "Teacher in a Public School" made a contribution of $3 and within a week the people of Boston had contributed more than a thousand dollars. Edward Everett was treasurer of the money and chief promoter of the cause in Boston.[18] Two years before this Everett had spoken of the sufferings of the loyal Unionists of the South. At that time he said, "If all now shrink discomfited from the contest, we surrender these our loyal friends and brethern to exile, confiscation and death."[19] For a time it seemed that the state legislature would make an appropriation but constitutional difficulties prevented this. However, the fund increased rapidly until it amounted to $100,000, a great share of which came from the capitalists and financiers.[20]

In Portland, Maine, Governor Cony supported the cause of the East Tennesseans and the citizens contributed $8,000. By this time it was June of 1864 and throughout the eastern cities the radical republicans were now using their propaganda devices for the reelection of Lincoln. When Mr. Taylor stopped in New York he found interest but no support for his

---

18 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 316-317; Edward Everett, Account of the Fund for the Relief of East Tennessee with a Complete List of the Contributors (Boston, 1864), 41-48.

19 Edward Everett, Addresses by his Excellency Governor John A. Andrew, Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. B.F. Thomas and Hon. Robert C. Winthrop (Boston, 1862), 10-11.

20 Everett, Account of the Fund, 56-61.

21 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 317.

movement.[21]

While Mr. Taylor was still travelling through the East, the Pennsylvania Association was already at work in East Tennessee. In order to receive and administer the gifts in the stricken areas, the executive committee recommended that there should be a local association in the destitute region. The Unionists in Knoxville promptly agreed with this idea and on February 8, 1864 at a public meeting in Knoxville, they organized the East Tennessee Relief Association. They elected Reverend Thomas W. Humes, President and the executive committee was made up of William Heiskell, Sam R. Rodgers, John Baxter, O. P. Temple, William G. Brownlow, R. D. Jourolmon, George M. White and David Richardson.[22] These men were supporters of a close economic and political cooperation with the north. Secretary Chase had appointed Brownlow treasury agent in Knoxville and he had already been helping the loyal refugees.[23] O. P. Temple was much interested in railroad building as a means of connecting this mountain region of the South with the North. He was one of the originators of the Knoxville and Ohio Railroad, director of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railway Company and president of the first macadam turnpike company in his section.[24] Baxter, one of the best lawyers in

---

21 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 317.
22 Ibid., 322-3; T. W. Humes, ed., History of the East Tennessee Relief Association (Knoxville, 1864-5), 3-4.
23 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 328.
24 The Dictionary of American Biography, 718: 363.

the state, had much to do later in framing the constitution of Tennessee.[25]

These were the men who were to keep in close contact with the Pennsylvania Association and direct the administration of relief to the East Tennesseans. Humes expressed the sentiment of this group when he said that the people of East Tennessee would never forget the people of Massachusetts. "The memory of it and especially as shown by the chief benefactor in the case deserves to be transmitted to their children with gratitude and love." The Philadelphia Society contributed less but is "entitled to a grateful remembrance" and the hearty good will and active sympathy manifested by it in this direction has been constant from the beginning and the correspondence of the chairman of the Executive Committee has tended to keep alive fraternal feelings and to encourage a diligent and hopeful prosecution of the work."[26]

The executive committee of the Pennsylvania Association had also recommended that a competent committee representing the distant contributors should visit the East Tennesseans, observe their conditions, confer with the local society and report to the Pennsylvania Association. Two commissioners of the association, Lloyd P. Smith and Frederick Collins,

---

25 The Dictionary of American Biography, 2: 63.
26 Humes, History of the East Tennessee Relief Association, 10-11.

stopped at Cincinnati and spent over $8,000 in buying and shipping articles to Knoxville. They found difficulty in securing transportation for their supplies from Cincinnati to Knoxville because the railroad lines were being used to full capacity in shipping supplies to the army. The Commissioners appealed to the War Department and Charles H. Dana, assistant secretary of war, sent a credential letter to General Grant which provided for the shipment of one carload a day, free of charge from Cincinnati to Knoxville. The War Department also granted the Commissioners of the Pennsylvania Association the right to travel at government expense.[27] When the commissioners arrived in Knoxville on the 14th of March, 1864, they held a conference with the officers of the East Tennessee Relief Association and found them "highly respectable and worthy gentlemen, every way suitable to assist in carrying out the objects of our Association."[28] They organized a plan of relief so that the goods would be impartially distributed among the different counties with due regard to the wants as well as to the loyalty of applicant. The agents of the East Tennessee Association agreed to this plan and tried to carry it out.[29]

---

27 Humes, History of the East Tennessee Relief Association, 14-15; Report to the Pennsylvania Relief Association, 7-8, 38-9.

28 Ibid., 11-12.

29 Humes, ibid., 19-20; Report, ibid., 12-13. They advised that the agents of the East Tennessee Association should give away provisions only to those unable to buy and that they should sell them to all other applicants. In either case, they should give preference first, to Union families

The United States Sanitary Commissioners helped the agents of the East Tennessee Relief Association in the purchasing of necessary supplies. Those who were of particular help were Dr. A. N. Read, Sanitary Commissioner at Nashville; his brother, M. C. Read of the Chattanooga Sanitary Commission and T. G. Odione of the United States Sanitary Commission at Cincinnati. It was in Cincinnati that the East Tennessee Association purchased most of its supplies as this was outside the devastated region and yet close enough to East Tennessee to be practical.[30]

In Knoxville Mrs. Maynard and Mrs. Humes, wives of Unionist leaders, helped to issue food and clothing to the needy. They had had to leave Tennessee with their families in 1862, but returned as soon as the Unionists gained control of Knoxville. So many thousands of refugees were pouring in to Knoxville from all points in East Tennessee that the efficient and fair distribution of supplies became a great problem. It was hard for the commissioners to determine who

---

who had suffered on account of their loyalty; secondly, to families which had not suffered particularly but who had adhered to the Federal government; thirdly, to people who had not always been loyal to the government but who had declared their loyalty; and last, to the aged men, women and children of families which then had representatives in the Confederate army. Secessionists of fighting age would have no share in the provisions.

30 Report to the Pennsylvania Relief Association of East Tennessee, 11.

were the loyal Unionists and deserving of the first consideration. The East Tennessee Association, therefore, organized in Knoxville auxiliary societies of refugees for each of the eastern counties. The agents of these societies, approved by the Knoxville Association, received the portions due their counties and took charge of their distribution, both to the refugees in Knoxville and to those who remained in their counties. All county agents were to distribute supplies according to the original plan of the Pennsylvania Association and to keep careful records of all supplies given out with the names of all those who received supplies. The only counties of East Tennessee not thus represented were Carter, Johnson and Hancock and these received aid from the general agent.[31] The executive committee of the Pennsylvania Association stated that the majority of the agents had carried out their instructions very well.[32]

By March, 1865, twelve months after the work of relief began, the destitution was less but in the most eastern counties of the state where military conditions had prevented the shipments of supplies, there was still much suffering. When the war was over, the people of the most needy counties received the greatest help from the association. In 1865 they received $50,000 in goods and provisions. The ability

---

31 Humes, History of the East Tennessee Relief Association, 8; 12-13.

32 Report to the Pennsylvania Relief Association of East Tennessee, 11.

of the association to do this and at the same time to assist the needy in other counties was due to the faithful observance of the original plan by which it sold supplies at cost to soldiers and at an advance to all citizens able to pay. The agents of the commission were thus able to use their resources to the greatest possible advantage and help the greatest number of loyal people. An original amount of $167,000 had been collected in gifts and these aggregate receipts were increased to $252,000.[33]

The Commissioners, Lloyd P. Smith and Frank Collins, realizing the value of the East Tennessee Association in sealing the bond between the north east and the loyalists of this region of the South, urged influential citizens in other cities to form local relief agencies and raise their own funds. It was largely through these two men that the citizens of Cincinnati formed the Refugee Relief Committee of Ohio; those in Nashville, the Nasvhille Refugee Aid Society; and in Cairo, the Cairo Relief Association.[34]

In Cincinnati, the Commissioners of the Pennsylvania Association called a meeting of those East Tennesseans who happened to be in the city. Mr. George F. Davis, President of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce was chairman of the

---

33 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 330-331.
34 Report to the Pennsylvania Relief Association of East Tennessee, 10; 39-40; 40-41.

meeting. After the Pennsylvania representatives had stated the object of their association, the business men of Cincinnati decided that their duties lay nearer home. It was their duty to take care of the loyal refugees in their own city and thus gain their support. Several days later they called a public meeting in that city to organize a special association for the relief of the refugees arriving in great numbers along points on the Ohio River. The citizens organized the Refugee Relief Committee for Ohio to receive contributions of money, clothing and other articles needed for the white refugees. The express company cooperated in carrying all articles sent to this committee free of charge. A special appeal was made to the churches so that the women would organize as auxiliaries and take an active part in the enterprise. When the commissioners of the Pennsylvania Association returned to Cincinnati several months later, they found that the new association was very active and had collected a considerable amount of money.[35] The associations at Cairo and Nashville were similar to the ones in Cincinnati and Knoxville. These associations, all controlled by Unionists and Republicans cooperated with each other. The Knoxville association, the most prosperous of the group, contributed to the needy citizens of Lookout Mountain, Georgia. During this

---

35 Report to the Pennsylvania Relief Association of East Tennessee, 9-10; 39-40.

time Portland, Maine had suffered from a severe fire and in order to show their gratitude for the aid they had given the East Tennesseans, the Knoxville Association sent a contribution of several hundred dollars to them.[36] The needs of the refugees in Nashville were so much greater than the government or the Refugee Aid society could handle that they appealed to the Knoxville association for help. There was some reluctance on the part of the Unionists in Knoxville and the Pennsylvania commissioners to send aid to them. Nashville was in Middle Tennessee and the refugees in Nashville were from that region and many of them were secessionists. The commissioners of the Pennsylvania Society didn't want any of their money wasted on refugees whose loyalty was questionable. They reluctantly sent contributions of $3,000 to be used for refugees from East Tennessee, and agreed to stand by and render aid if necessary.[37] They offered their help to Cincinnati if needed.

The relief associations embraced an area from Cairo to Cincinnati to Knoxville, Lookout Mountain, Georgia and west through Nashville to Cairo. This would be a solid wedge of Unionist sympathizers into the Confederacy if the republicans would "embrace this opportunity to show them the blessings and worth of a good government."[38]

---

36 Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, 330-331.
37 Everett, Account of the Fund for the Relief of East Tennessee, 60-61; Report to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee, 10.
38 The Effect of Secession, 69.

The policies of these relief agencies were not concerned only with the relief of physical necessities. They felt that it was important not to encourage emigration from these areas but to keep loyal people at home on account of their labor and their votes. The associations purchased large amounts of early garden seeds. Seeds were much easier to ship than bulky articles and it would enable those who could and would to raise crops and thus be able to provide for themselves. It would also mean that these people would stay in this region and be strong supporters of the reconstruction governments. The local agencies also helped in transporting the refugees back home.[39] Another plan of the Sanitary Commission and the relief societies was to teach the children and to prepare them to take a part in business. The fact that the children were to be trained to take their place in "business" and not in agriculture indicates the program of the radical republicans and the use they intended to make of these loyal citizens of the South. They would educate the youth of this "great tongue of land" to appreciate northern ideals and northern enterprises.[40]

These were the reasons behind the active, charitable organizations to help the poor loyal refugees of the South.

---

39 Report to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee, 11.

40 The Effect of Secession, 66-69; Report, ibid., 44; Report of the Western Sanitary Commission on the White Union Refugees, 31-2.

The Whig politicians, Brownlow, Maynard, Temple, Baxter and others together with the radicals of the North, saw in these people a chance to exploit this region for their own benefit. Andrew Johnson, on the other hand, saw in this plan a means to help the small farmers and trandespeople, whom he supported, in becoming the controlling power in the government. It was on the Negro question that the non-slaveholders led by Andrew Johnson came to a parting of the ways with the Radical Republicans.

CHAPTER V. The Freedmen's Bureau and the White Refugees

Until March of 1865 the Sanitary Commissions, benevolent societies, military commanders and treasury agents had concerned themselves with some or all of the problems of the freedmen refugees and abandoned lands. They had all helped to meet these problems in the conquered territory and had formulated policies which were useful in the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau. But these various agencies, all working on a common problem were often in conflict with each other. As the war progressed the problems covered too wide an area to be handled by so many different agencies. It became necessary for economy and efficiency to coordinate all the government activity into one bureau.[1]

In March, 1865 Congress established a bureau in the War Department to supervise and manage all abandoned lands; and have control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from the rebel states or from other districts embraced in the operations of the army and for one year thereafter.[2] This bureau was not meant to supersede the work of the benevolent associations and they were urged to keep up their work, particularly in the education of the Negroes.[3]

---

1 P. S. Peirce, Freedmen's Bureau, A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction (Iowa City, 1904), 32-3.
2 Ibid., 44.
3 House Executive Documents, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 7, No. 19, p. 44.

Lincoln asked President Yeatman of the Western Sanitary Commission to take charge of the Freedmen's Bureau. For almost four years Yeatman had worked in the region west of the Alleghanies and particularly along the Mississippi River. Late in 1863 he had visited the camps and hospitals of the freedmen in the Mississippi Valley and he noted the faults of the plans then in operation to care for the freedmen. Yeatman worked out a plan for the organization of freed labor and abandoned lands along the Mississippi. At this time the Treasury Department had jurisdiction over freedmen, refugees and confiscated lands. Yeatman presented his plan to the Secretary of the Treasury who heartily approved it. This plan was put into effect in the Mississippi Valley region and later was a model for the Freedmen's Bureau.[4]

Yeatman and the Western Sanitary Commission had also done a great deal of work among the white refugees along the Mississippi. If he had accepted the position which Lincoln offered him, a man who knew all phases of the problem and who already had a far-reaching system in the West would be able to take over and to set the bureau in operation immediately. However, Yeatman declined the offer and Lincoln requested General Oliver Otis Howard, commander of the army of Tennessee, to accept the position. After the assassination of Lincoln,

---

4 J. F. Yeatman, Report on the Condition of the Freedmen of the Mississippi (St. Louis, 1864); Dictionary of American Biography, 20: 606-607.

President Johnson carried out the appointment of Howard as Commissioner of the Bureau.[5]

In the North there was general approval of Howard as he was an humanitarian and his enthusiasm for helping the Negro knew no bounds. He was a graduate of West Point and all his work had been with the army. He had taken part in the battle of Gettysburg and in Sherman's march to the sea. During the war he had held command in nearly all the slave states and had had considerable numbers of refugees and freedmen to take care of in the army camps. He, too, had dealt with all phases of the work with which the Bureau was concerned. However, Howard believed the best of any one associated with him. He became a tool in the hands of the Radical Republicans and refused to believe any charges of misconduct brought against the Bureau officials. Under Commissioner Howard, the Freedmen's Bureau developed into a widespread political machine of the Radical Republicans.[6]

On May 15, 1865 Howard began his work as Commissioner of the Bureau. He divided the conquered territory into ten districts, each under the supervision of an assistant commissioner. All of these assistant commissioners had been in active service and some of them had done special work in regard to freedmen and refugees. The assistant commissioners

---

5 Peirce, Freedmen's Bureau, 46.
6 Dictionary of American Biography, IX, 279-280; Peirce, ibid., 46-7.

and Howard met together in Washington to confer on plans for the Bureau.[7] Because of the vast area which the Bureau covered and the many phases of work to be handled, Howard did no more than lay down the broad policies, the objectives to be attained and the legitimate means to obtain these objectives. It was up to the Assistant Commissioners and the lesser bureau officials to work out the plans in their individual districts to fit the local needs.[8] The assistant commissioners divided their states into districts which were under the supervision of a superintendent who further subdivided his territory into subdistricts under the jurisdiction of assistant superintendents. The superintendents, assistant superintendents and the local agents were usually limited to army officers and soldiers.[9] This gave the northern army an opening into every part of the South.

The greatest benefit which the refugees obtained from the Bureau was in rations, hospital care and transportation. Soon after the Bureau was put into operation, Howard sent out a circular defining the term "refugees" as those persons who fled from their homes on account of the war and were now absent from their homes. If the officials of the Freedmen's Bureau issued rations to other persons, even destitute citizens, the officer who issued the rations might be rendered

---

7 House Executive Documents, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 4.
8 Ibid., p. 5.
9 Ibid., 39th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol.8, No. 70, p. 86.

liable for it.[10] In spite of this, in some districts the suffering and destitution was so great that the assistant commissioners interpreted the term "refugees" very broadly and aided the destitute whites whether refugees or not.[11]

The total issue of rations to refugees during the first year after the war was enormous. Some of the poor whites seemed to think that they would be permanent recipients of food and supplies. In order to stop this, Howard on August 22, 1866 ordered that on and after October 1, "The issue of rations be discontinued, except to the sick in regularly organized hospitals, to orphan asylums for refugees and freedmen already existing; the assistant commissioners were to notify the state officials who were responsible for the care of the poor, so that they would assume charge of the indigent refugees and freedmen not included in the exceptions."[12]

This order resulted in a great reduction in the number of rations issued, but during the winter and spring of 1867 "the cry of distress came up from many parts of the South and appeals were made to Congress for an extension of relief to all classes of destitute people." These were mostly laborers who were on the verge of starvation and in March the Senate took up the matter. Upon the recommendation of General Howard,

---

10 House Executive Documents, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 73.
11 Fleming, Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, 442-3.
12 Peirce, Freedmen's Bureau, 94-95.

a joint resolution was passed directing the Secretary of War "to issue through the Bureau supplies of food sufficient to prevent starvation and extreme want, to any and all classes of destitute or helpless persons in those southern and southwestern states where failure of crops had caused widespread destitution. In accordance with this resolution a sum of $500,000 was set apart as a special relief fund and other special appropriations were made for relief in the District of Columbia. The regular issue of rations continued until January, 1869, although they diminished rapidly after 1867.[13]

Because of the suffering and privations of the refugees it was necessary to give many of them medical aid. Hospitals already in operation were maintained and enlarged. After 1866 the number of refugee patients declined rapidly although there were some cases until 1869. Gradually, the state and local authorities assumed the care of the hopeless cases of the refugees.[14]

The Bureau also carried on the policy of the Sanitary Commissions in providing free transportation to the white refugees who wanted to return home. On May 30, 1865, General Howard ordered that on their return they should be "protected and the calamities of their situation relieved as far as

---

13 Report of Brevet Major General O. O. Howard, Commissioner Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, to the Secretary of War, October 20, 1869 (Washington, 1869), 7.

14 Peirce, Freedmen's Bureau, 87-94.

possible. If destitute they will be aided with transportation and food when deemed expedient while in transit to their former homes."[15] Before September 1, 1866 over two thousand had received aid of this kind but there were many abuses of this charity and it was found necessary to restrict this order to cases of absolute necessity. After 1866 the demand for this aid was slight but it, too, was continued until 1869.[16]

In issuing rations, taking care of the sick and furnishing transportation to the refugees, the Freedmen's Bureau carried out the policies of the Sanitary Commissions and the East Tennessee Relief Association. Little was done to rehabilitate the white refugees, to find employment for them, to set up schools, to help them establish homes and to become productive members of society. The Bureau took care of the material needs of the refugees but the Radical Republicans who had supported the Sanitary Commissions and the East Tennessee Relief Association now saw the dangers in creating a strong political party among the poor whites.

From the beginning there had been hostility to the Bureau, particularly in the mountain regions.[17] In 1866 they had applauded Johnson's vetoe of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill.[18]

---

15 O. O. Howard, Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard (New York, 1907), 222.
16 Peirce, Freedmen's Bureau, 99.
17 Senate Documents, 39th Cong., 1st Sess. Vol. 2, No. 27, pp. 3-9.
18 Ibid., 20-21.

In 1867 after the Reconstruction Acts had been put into operation the hostility to the Freedmen's Bureau became even stronger.[19] Their hatred of the Bureau was based on their hatred for the free Negro.

Many years earlier they had favored emancipation, but emancipation which would also remove the free Negro from their region. In 1833 there were active anti slavery societies in western Virginia, western North Carolina, East Tennessee and eastern Kentucky. These societies proposed the emancipation of slaves by acts of state legislatures accompanied by the removal of free Negroes to other lands. When the ultra-abolition movement began in New England, the slaveholders were able to suppress this public agitation for emancipation. The non-slaveholders were afraid that if they allowed this northern abolition movement to grow that the emancipated Negroes would come into their regions. And slavery had been the one thing which made the poor whites feel above the Negroes.[20]

During the war the Negroes had been emancipated and after the war the Civil Rights Act and the 14th Amendment which protected his rights as citizens had been passed. And finally, the 15th amendment giving the Negro the right to vote was forced upon the southern states. The Freedmen's Bureau with

---

19 Peirce, Freedmen's Bureau, 161.
20 Sidney E. Morse, A Geographical, Statistical and Ethical View of the American Slaveholders' Rebellion (New York, 1863), 4-5; 8.

the backing of the military government was protecting the rights of the Negro and doing all it could be educate the Negro along Republican lines. It urged the Missionary societies and other benevolent societies of the North to do all they could to educate the Negro for citizenship.[21] The Freedmen's Bureau would not last indefinitely and the officials looked to the Union League for help in carrying out their plans.[22]

In 1862 when the outlook for the North was gloomy, the Union League movement began among those who were devoted to the Union and in favor of conquering the South. Those associated with the United States Sanitary Commission were prominent in the founding of the League. During the war the League contributed to the Sanitary Commission, raised and equipped Negro troops and sent teachers to educate the Negroes. By 1863 Union Leagues extended throughout the white counties of the mountain and hill country of the South.[23] The Unionists of the South hoped to use the League to build a strong party championing the rights of the non-slaveholders. By 1866 30% of the white population in the mountain districts belonged to the Union League.[24]

---

21 House Executive Documents, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. 7, No. 19, p. 44.

22 W. L. Fleming, "The Formation of the Union League in Alabama" in The Gulf States Historical Magazines, II (Sept. 1903), 79.

23 W. L. Fleming, Documents on Reconstruction (Morgantown, W. Va., 1904), #3, 3.

24 Ibid., #3, 4.

At the end of the war the Union League in the North agitated for Negro suffrage and white disfranchisement, and were foremost in demanding radical measures of reconstruction. In the South the League was a machine for controlling the radical party. The League, at this time, consisted of United States army officers, officials of the Freedmen's Bureau, the Union element in the border states, loyalists of the lower South, civilians who had followed the Federal armies to the South, and a few old Whigs.[25] The Radical Republicans knew that they needed a controlled Negro vote to stay in power. In 1866 the Freedmen's Bureau agents, preachers and teachers admitted the Negroes to membership in the League. This admission of Negroes to membership caused most of the native whites to desert at once. This left the Union Leagues in the hands of the carpetbaggers and scalawags and the Unionists were without a party.[26]

During 1867 and 1868 the League and Bureau worked together in organizing and training the Negro in support of the Republican party. The ritual of the League made a great impression on the superstitious Negro. The League also taught the Negroes to avoid the southern whites in all relations and that the northern whites were their friends. Their purpose was to vote the Negroes solidly for several years against the native whites.[27]

---

25 Fleming, Documents on Reconstruction #3, 3-4.
26 Ibid., 4.
27 Ibid., 4.

The bureau agents knew that they couldn't keep their offices in that capacity much longer and they used the votes of the Negroes to pass into high offices and retain control of the southern government.[28]

The Radical Republicans had used the cause of white refugees to penetrate into the South and to lay foundations for gaining control of this region. Under the Sanitary Commissions and the benevolent societies they hoped to build up a strong Radical Republican party throughout the mountain regions. As soon as it became apparent that the non-slaveholders had political ideas of their own and were opposed to the program of the Radical Republicans, they were purged from the governments of the South. The Radicals now championed the the cause of the Negro as loudly as they had ever championed the cause of the poor whites. Through the Bureau and the League they alienated the Negro and the poor white for generations to come.

---

28 W. L. Fleming, "The Formation of the Union League in Alabama", 79.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CONGRESSIONAL DOCUMENTS

Senate Documents

39th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 2, No. 27.

39th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 1, No. 6.

House Executive Documents

39th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 7, No. 11

39th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 7, No. 19

39th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 8, No. 70

39th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 3, No. 1

40th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 2, No. 1

40th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. 3, No. 1

41st Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 6, No. 142

41st Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. 1, No. 1

42nd Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 1, No. 1

Abbot, A. O. Prison Life in the South... New York. 1865.

Abernethy, T. P. From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee.... Chapel Hill. 1933.

Alvord, J. W. Letters from the South... Washington, D.C. 1870.

Atkinson, Edward. Cheap Cotton by Free Labor... Boston. 1861.

Banks, N. P. The Reconstruction of States. New York. 1865.

Baxter, William. Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove... Cincinnati. 1864.

Biddle, C. J. The Alliance with the Negro. Washington. 1862.

Blake, G. A. "New Orleans" in the Sanitary Commission Bulletin I (1865) 1057-1063.

Bokum, Hermann. Testimony of a Refugee from East Tennessee. Philadelphia. 1863.

Bokum, Hermann. Wanderings North and South. Philadelphia. 1864.

Brents, J. A. The Patriots and Guerillas of East Tennessee and Kentucky. New York. 1863.

Brief Narrative of Incidents in the War in Missouri. Boston. 1863.

Brown, B. Gratz. Universal Suffrage. St. Louis. 1865.

Browne, Junius Henri. Four Years in Secessia. Hartford. 1865.

Brownlow, W. G. Sufferings of Union Men. New York. 1862.

Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen. Report of the Assistant Commissioner for Alabama. 1866.

Byers, S. H. M. What I Saw in Dixie. Dansville, New York. 1868.

Colyer, Vincent. Report of the Services Rendered by the Freed People to the United States Army, in North Carolina, in the Spring of 1862, after the Battle of Newbern. New York. 1864.

Coulter, E. M. William G. Brownlow. Chapel Hill, N.C. 1937.

Cox, J. D. Military Reminiscences of the Civil War. New York. 1909. 2 vols.

Darling, Henry, Slavery and the War... Philadelphia. 1863.

Denman, Clarence Phillips. The Secession Movement in Alabama. Montgomery. 1933.

Dictionary of American Biography. Dumas Malone, ed. New York. 1928-1937. 20 vols.

Donnelly, Ignatius. Freedmen's Bureau. Washington. 1866.

Edwards, John Newman. Shelby and His Men. Cincinnati. 1867.

The Effect of Secession upon the Commercial Relations between the North and South, and upon each Section. New York. 1861.

Eggleston, George C. A Rebel's Recollections. New York. 1875.

Eliot, Charlotte C. Life of William Greenleaf Eliot. Boston. 1904.

Ellis, Daniel. Thrilling Adventures... New York. 1867.

Emancipation and Its Results. New York. 1863.

Evarts, William M. The Issues of the Day. Albany. 1860.

Everett, Edward. Account of the Fund for the Relief of East Tennessee. Boston. 1864.

Everett, Edward. Addresses by his Excellency Governor John A. Andrew, Hon. Edw. Everett, Hon. B. F. Thomas and Hon. Robt. C. Winthrop. Boston. 1862.

Federalist. Our Military Experience and What It Suggests. Baltimore. 1863.

Fleming, W. L. Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama. New York. 1905.

Fleming, W. L. Documents on Reconstruction. Morgantown, W. Va. 1904.

Fleming, W. L. "The Formation of the Union League in Alabama" in The Gulf States Historical Magazine II (1903) 73-79.

Forman, J. G. Western Sanitary Commission. St. Louis. 1864.

Gautt, E. W. Address of Brigadier General E. W. Gautt, C.S.A. Little Rock. October 7, 1863.

Garner, J. W. Reconstruction in Mississippi. New York. 1901.

Geer, J. J. Beyond the Lines. Philadelphia. 1863.

Goodloe, Daniel R. The Southern Platform. Boston. 1858.

Grant, U. S. Letter Concerning Affairs in the South. 1865.

Grant, U. S. Personal Memoirs. New York. 1886.

Hamilton, Andrew Jackson. Origin and Objects of the Slaveholders' Conspiracy. New York. 1862.

Hamilton, Andrew Jackson. The Condition of the South Under Rebel Rule. New York. 1862.

Harris, Alexander. A Review of the Political Conflict in America. New York. 1876.

Hawkins, R. C. An Account of the Assassination of Loyal Citizens of North Carolina for having served in the Union Army. New York. 1897.

Helper, Hinton Rowan. The Impending Crisis of the South... New York. 1857.

Hodge, Charles. England and America. Philadelphia. 1862.

Hodges, W. R. The Western Sanitary Commission. St. Louis. 1906.

Hoffman, Wickham. Camp, Court and Siege. New York. 1877.

Howard, Oliver Otis. Autobiography... New York. 1907.

Howard, Percy. The Barbarities of the Rebels. Providence. 1863.

Howe, Timothy O. Speech of Hon. Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin on Reconstruction. Washington. 1866.

Humes, Thomas W. The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee. Knoxville. 1888.

Humes, Thomas W., ed. History of the East Tennessee Relief Association. Knoxville. 1864-1865.

Hunter, John Warren. Heel-fly Time in Texas. Bandera, Texas. 1931.

Ingersoll, Charles. A Letter to a Friend in a Slave State. Philadelphia. 1862.

Jones, Charles Edgeworth. Georgia in the War, 1861-1865. Atlanta. 1909.

Kelley, W. D., Phillips, Wendell, and Douglass, Frederick. The Equality of All Men before the Law Claimed and Defended. Boston. 1865.

Kelley, W. D. The South -- Its Resources and Wants. Washington. 1865.

Kennedy, John P. The Border States... Philadelphia. 1861.

Lawrence, W. A. "Report of the Department of North Carolina" in United States Christian Commission for the Army and Navy for the Year 1865. Philadelphia. 1866.

Leslie, Frank. Heroic Incidents, Personal Adventures and Anecdotes of the Civil War in America. New York. 1862.

Lieber, Francis. Guerrilla Parties Considered with Reference to the Laws and Usages of War. New York. 1862.

Lieber, Francis. Slavery, Plantations and the Yeomanry. New York. 1863.

Lincoln, Abraham. Annual Message of the President. Washington. 1861.

Loring, Charles G. Correspondence on the Present Relations between Great Britain and the United States of America. Boston. 1862.

"Loyal Work in Missouri" in the North American Review XCVIII (1864) 519-530.

Lubbock, Francis R. Six Decades in Texas. Austin, Texas. 1900.

McDonald, Cornelia. A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley, 1860-1865. Nashville. 1935.

Madison, An Address to the Democracy of the United States, On the Duty of the Democratic Party, at this Crisis. December. 1863.

Marden, George N. "Report of Reverend George N. Marden" in United States Christian Commission for the Army and Navy for the Year 1865. Philadelphia. 1866.

Military Essays and Recollections. Chicago. 1891. 2 vols.

Mill, John Stuart. The Contest in America. Boston. 1862.

Mills, William W. Forty Years at El Paso, 1858-1898. Chicago. 1901.

Moody, Loring. The Destruction of Republicanism. Boston. 1863.

Moore, A. B. Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy. New York. 1924.

Moore, A. B. History of Alabama. University, Ala. 1934.

Morse, Sidney E. A Geographical, Statistical and Ethical View of the American Slaveholders Rebellion. New York. 1863.

Moss, Lemuel. Annals of the United States Christian Commission. Philadelphia. 1868.

Newberry, J. S. Report on the Condition of the Troops, and the Operations of the Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi. For the three months ending Nov. 30th, 1861. New York. 1862.

Newberry, J. S. "Report on the Operations of the United States Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi" in Documents of the United States Sanitary Commission. New York. 1866. Vol. II #75.

Newberry, J. S. United States Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi. Cleveland. 1871.

Northern Alabama, Historical and Biographical. Birmingham. 1888.

One Acre and Its Harvest... Cleveland. 1869.

Operations of the Sanitary Commission at Perryville, Ky. New York. 1862.

Parsons, Theophilus. Slavery: Its Origin, Influence and Destiny. Boston. 1863.

Parton, James. General Butler in New Orleans. New York. 1864.

Patton, J. W. Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee 1860-1869. Chapel Hill. 1934.

Peirce, P. S. Freedmen's Bureau... Iowa City. 1904.

Prentiss, G. L. The Political Situation. New York. 1866.

Proceedings of the National Convention, Union League of America. Washington. 1863.

Read, A. N. "The Army in Tennessee" in The Sanitary Commission Bulletin I (April 1, 1864) 332-336.

Read, Wm. H. The Heroic Story of the United States Sanitary Commission, 1861-1865. Boston. 1910.

Report Concerning the Special Relief Service of the United States Sanitary Commission, Boston, Mass. for the Year ending March 31, 1864. Boston. 1864.

Report of Brevet Major General O. O. Howard, Commissioner Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lanes, to the Secretary of War, Oct. 20, 1869. Washington. 1869.

Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, 1866. Washington. 1866.

Report of the Committee Appointed to Take into Consideration the Condition of Western Texas. New York. 1862.

Report of the Committee Who Visited Washington on the Affairs of Western Texas. New York. 1862.

Report of the Speeches of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. Manchester. 1864.

Report of the Western Sanitary Commission for the Year ending June 1st, 1863. St. Louis. 1863.

Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, on the White Union Refugees of the South. St. Louis. 1864.

Report of the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee. Philadelphia. 1864.

"A Republican Form of Government": Definition. Manhood Suffrage. (no place, no date).

Reynolds, W. D. Miss Martha Brownlow. Philadelphia. 1863.

Reynolds. W. D. The Rebel Fiend. Philadelphia. 186-.

Richardson, Albert D. The Secret Service. Hartford. 1865.

Rule, William. The Loyalists of Tennessee in the late War. Cincinnati. 1887.

Russell, W. H. My Diary, North and South. Boston. 1863.

Sanitary Commission Bulletin: Semi-Monthly, 1863-5. Washington, D. C.

Scharff, J. T. History of St. Louis... Philadelphia. 1883. 2 vols.

Schurz, Carl. The New South. New York. 1885.

Shanks, H. T. The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861. Richmond. 1935.

Sherwood, Lorenzo. The Course of the Slaveholders' Conspiracy against Democratic Government. New York. 1862.

The Slaveholders Conspiracy Depicted by Southern Loyalists. New York. 1864.

Smith, Edward P. Incidents of the United States Christian Commission. Philadelphia. 1869.

Smith, John Y. Review of Senator Doolittle's Speech at the Assembly Chamber, Madison, Sept. 30, 1865. Madison. 1865.

Somers, Robert. The Southern States Since the War. London. 1871.

"Southern Aids to the North" in The Continental Monthly I. (1862), 241-246.

Southwood, Marion. "Beauty and Booty", The Watchword of New Orleans. New York. 1867.

Speed, Thomas. The Union Cause in Kentucky, 1860-1865. New York. 1907.

Spencer, Cornelia P. The Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina. New York. 1866.

Sprague, John T. Treachery in Texas. New York. 1862.

Steiner, L. H. History of the United States Sanitary Commission. Philadelphia. 1866.

Stille, Charles J. History of the United States Sanitary Commission. New York. 1868.

Story, William W. The American Question. London. 1862.

Sumner, Charles. The Barbarism of Slavery. Albany. 1860.

Swayne, Wager. Report... Washington, D.C. 1866.

Taylor, Richard. Destruction and Reconstruction... New York. 1879.

Temple, O. P. East Tennessee and the Civil War. Cincinnati. 1899.

Temple, O. P. Notable Men of Tennessee. New York. 1912.

Thayer, M. Russell. A Reply to Mr. Charles Ingersoll's "Letter to a Friend in a Slave State." Philadelphia. 1862.

Thomas, David Yancey. Arkansas in War and Reconstruction, 1861-1874. Little Rock. 1926.

Tilton, Theodore. Sketch of Parson Brownlow. New York. 1862.

United States Sanitary Commission Bulletin. New York. 1866. 3 vols.

United States Sanitary Commission. Documents. New York. 1866.

"The United States Sanitary Commission" in The North American Review XCVIII (January, 1864) 153-194.

"The United States Sanitary Commission" in The North American Review XCVIII (April, 1864), 370-419.

The United States Sanitary Commission: A Sketch of Its Purposes and Its Work. Boston. 1863.

Usher, R. G. "The Western Sanitary Commission" in Mississippi Valley Historical Proceedings II (1908-09) 218-34.

Waldo, Otis H. Letter to His Excellency, Edward Solomon, Governor of the State of Wisconsin, on the Conduct of the War. Milwaukee. 1862.

Walker, Robert J. An Appeal for the Union. New York. 1856.

The Western Sanitary Commission. St. Louis. 1864.

Wiley, I. W. Two Lectures on the Rebellion. Trenton. 1864.

Wilson, Henry. The Death of Slavery is the Life of the Nation. Washington. 1864.

Wright, Edward N. Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War. Philadelphia. 1931.

Wright, Elizur. An Eye Opener for the Wide Awakes. Boston. 1860.

Yeaman, George H. The President's Proclamation. Baltimore. 1863.

Yeatman, James E. Report on the Condition of the Freedmen of the Mississippi. St. Louis. 1864.

Approved W W Sweet
Prof of History

Date Aug 14, 1944