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THE UNIONIST MOVEMENT IN EASTERN TENNESSEE
DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

BY

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EAST TENNESSEE AND UNIONISM

All Tennessee, as was Caesar's Gaul, is divided into three parts. In the parlance of her people, they are designated as East Tennessee, Middle Tennessee, and West Tennessee; these divisions are given official recognition in her constitution and laws. The eastern portion is composed of a valley lying between the volcanic Unaka mountains on the east and includes the eastern escarpment of the Cumberland plateau on the west. It is 300 miles in length and varies in width from 50 to 75 miles. The valley is cut off from Kentucky on the north by the Cumberland mountains which extend westward and southward, and is hemmed in by the Chilowee, Iron, and Allegheny mountains on the south which also serve to separate it from Georgia and Alabama.¹

In these surrounding mountains arise the Clinch, the Holston, the Watauga, the Nolichucky, the French Broad and other streams whose combined volume makes up the Tennessee river.² This stream flows southward through the valley into Alabama, and then, instead of continuing toward the Atlantic seaboard, turns west-

1. W. G. Brownlow, Sketches of the Rise, Progress and Decline of Secession, (Philadelphia, 1862) 213
2. Theodore Roosevelt, The Winning of the West, (New York, 1896), Vol. I, 167

ward at Chattanooga and transverses the whole of northern Alabama; then it flows back into Tennessee. Crossing the border into Tennessee near the city of Florence it flows due north across the state, parallel with the Mississippi river, and empties into the Ohio at Paducah. That part of the river situated in East Tennessee is not navigable, except for small boats, but its western branch is deeper and serves Middle and West Tennessee as the main artery of transportation for their cotton crop.

Thirty counties are included in the constitutional division of East Tennessee, the largest being Knox, whose county seat, Knoxville, is the most important city in the section, because of its size and location in the geographical center of the region. It is, in addition, the commercial and political headquarters. From Knoxville emanated the one newspaper of the district, The Knoxville Whig, edited by Parson Brownlow.³

The mountain whites who inhabit this region are the descendants of the Scotch-Irish immigrants of the eighteenth century. "These Irish representatives of the covenanters", stated Mr. Roosevelt in The Winning of the West, "were to the west almost what the Puritans were to the northeast and more than the Cavaliers were to the south.

3. O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and the Civil War, (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1899), 160

Mingled with the descendants of many other races they nevertheless formed the kernel of the distinctly and intensely American stock who were the pioneers of our people in their march westward.⁴ Hemmed in, in their practically isolated home, they remained much as they were on their arrival in America, resembling each other not a little and inclined to be different from their neighbors of the plains.⁵

In 1861, when the fever of secession was sweeping over the south, Tennessee was taken out of the Union through the machinations of the people of the plains, but the eastern section of the state remained loyal to the Union. It is difficult to see at the first glance that they had anything to gain by remaining true to a faraway government and an abstract Union when her own and the surrounding states had left it. Strong and conflicting forces were at work pulling this small group of people in each direction, but they made their decision and, after it was made, never wavered in its support throughout all the years of the war and under the most trying circumstances.

One of the strongest ties with the northern states was a Democratic social system based on a community

4. Roosevelt, Op. Cit., Vol. I, 103

5. Ibid, 102

of small landowners. In 1860, in a population of 321,672, there were in 28 counties of East Tennessee 20,711 landowners.⁶ Because this region was poorly adapted to the culture of rice, cotton, and indigo the plantation system had never gotten a foothold there.⁷ In the adjacent districts of Middle and West Tennessee, cotton flourished and plantations consisting of many acres of the flat table-land grew up; as early as 1787 only about one-eighth of the adults in those sections were landowners.⁸ As a consequence of this system of small farmers, East Tennessee was not burdened to any large extent with the "peculiar institution" of the South. In 1858 there were in that section 12,546 slaves valued at \$9,309,025.⁹ The ratios of slaves to white people ranged in the different counties from 1 to six, and from one to 60. In two-thirds of the counties the scale was from one in 20 to one in 60. From these figures it is apparent that the slave did not constitute a social problem and that the people were at liberty to make their decisions free from the influence of the race problem. "The mountaineers," wrote Mr. Humes, "strictly speaking felt no concern about the institution of slavery itself, and knew but little...." Generally, they looked upon slavery as something foreign

6. U. S. Census Report, 1860

7. Temple, *Op. Cit.*, 84

8. Thomas P. Abernethy, From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee, (University of N. Car. Press, Chapel Hill 1932), 209

9. Reports of Public Officers and Institutions Made in General Assembly of Tennessee--Session 1859-1860 (Nashville, 1860) Report of Comptroller of Treasury, 158

to their social life, but they had no imperative, philanthropic impulses to contend against it." This statement is supported by Mr. Temple in East Tennessee and the Civil War: "The first settlers seemed to have no moral attitude either right or wrong concerning the holding of slaves." Such an attitude had not always prevailed nor is it an accurate picture of the feelings of each individual. Dr. Rankin came from East Tennessee and the abolitionist, Lundy, had sojourned there; also, the first anti-slavery newspapers had been published in this region, The Manumission Intelligencer, The Emancipator, The Genius of Universal Emancipation, and so forth.

Sometime between 1825 and 1834 anti-slavery agitation died, due to the pro-slavery influence growing up in the adjoining regions. In 1857, it was an East Tennessee politician, Parson Brownlow, who presented the pro-slavery arguments in a debate with the Reverend Prynne at Philadelphia. His personal opinion of slave ownership was presented in the following remark:

10. Thomas W. Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, (Knoxville, Tenn., 1888) 31
11. Temple, Op. Cit., 84
12. Humes, Op. Cit., 31-32
13. W. G. Brownlow, The Great Iron Wheel Examined (pamphlet) (Nashville, Tenn., 1856)

"I own none, but it is because of my poverty and not because I am opposed to owning them." ¹⁴ To Andrew Johnson, the Democratic leader of the district, slavery was merely an incident, a thing of which it was impossible to be rid. In contrast to the poverty-stricken Methodist parson, ¹⁶ this apostle of equality possessed eight slaves. Undoubtedly this passive attitude was shared by a majority of the inhabitants of the region.

Unlike the neighboring Southern gentlemen who went to heaven by way of the Episcopal church, these Scotch-Irish for the most part took the Methodist and Presbyterian routes. ¹⁷ They were intensely Protestant and could feel nothing but hatred and contempt for anything smacking of Catholicism. The Methodist church in East Tennessee had been opposed to slavery, but when the national church split into northern and southern branches in 1844 over that question, she threw in her lot with that of her Southern neighbors. This, due to her geographical position, was only logical. Mr. Temple, a contemporary, in writing on the split in the churches feels that it was a forerunner and helped to prepare the people psychologically for secession. ¹⁸ The action of East Tennessee seems to prove that on the issue of slavery alone she

was willing passively to acquiesce to the southern stand.

14. W. G. Brownlow, Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession, (Phila., 1862), 24

15. R. W. Winston, Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot, (New York, 1928), 143

16. T. W. Preston, Historical Sketches of the Holston Valleys, (Kingsport, Tenn., 1926), 165

17. Temple, Op. Cit., 103

The economic issue does not offer as clear-out a case for the Union, but presents a situation where one set of advantages must be weighed against another. East Tennessee, a land of small Scotch-Irish farmers engaged for the most part in raising hogs and hominy, was second only to the valley of Virginia, in the South, as a grain-growing district. Indian corn and wheat constituted the great staples. In addition, rye, oats, buckwheat, potatoes of the sweet and Irish varieties,¹⁹ wool, flax, and hay were produced in great abundance. In 1856, 26 counties of East Tennessee produced 10,998,654 bushels of Indian corn and 1,813,338 bushels of wheat. That year, the same 26 counties possessed 59,399 horses, 10,502 mules, 175,932 cattle, 170,351 sheep, and 542,356 swine.²⁰ The grain was used for home consumption, distillation, and feeding stock, or was shipped to the southern market. The stock was sent, in the winter months, over the mountains into South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida; these states also furnished markets for flour sent to them usually by wagon train. The river was used to transport flour, whiskey, brandy, dried fruits, iron, nails, and castings into Alabama,²¹ Mississippi, and Louisiana.

19. Brownlow, Op. Cit., 212

20. Comptroller's Report, Agricultural Statistics, 1856
12

21. J. Gray Smith, A Brief Historical Statistical and Descriptive Review of East Tennessee,
(London, 1842), 2

It is evident that the abundant products of East Tennessee, logically, should be disposed of in the South, the only close market for them. This advantage was an immediate one in favor of secession. Nevertheless, this weapon could not be brought to bear by the South with much success, because a lack of transportation had always made it impossible for these people to take advantage of the southern market to its fullest extent. It was useless, therefore, to threaten to deprive her of something that she never really had possessed. The southern market still remained an immediate loss that could not be underestimated and the results would be extensive and undeniable to this comparatively unprosperous region.

The lack of transportation cut off intercourse with the outside world and stifled the economic life of the region. The story of the long and continued agitation of the people for roads, turnpikes, and railroads, and their failure to get them, is the political history of East Tennessee since 1800.

When macadamized roads were first constructed in the state in 1836, East Tennessee received no aid from the state for any such roads, because the country was too sparsely settled and the topography such as to render road building too difficult to be profitable.

The roads were built by private firms and the profits were not enough to warrant building roads in mountainous East Tennessee. However, from 1830 to 1850, as many as 15 tollroads were chartered and built, with Nashville as a center; these served to tap the commerce of a few of the most western counties of the eastern region.²³ At the same time the city of Knoxville was importing her manufactures by wagon from the Atlantic seaboard and exporting her produce down the Tennessee river to Northern Alabama or to New Orleans.²⁴ This situation was partially relieved when the East Tennessee and Georgia railroad was built to Knoxville connecting that section with the southern railway system. The roads are described by Mr. De Bow in 1850, "Tennessee, having in the course of construction, or nearly complete, her road from Chattanooga to Nashville, to connect with the Charleston and Savannah railroads, and another road from the same point to Knoxville intended to be continued to Abingdon where it will intersect the Abingdon and Lynchburg, or East Tennessee and Virginia railroad whose terminus is Richmond."²⁵

By 1860, East Tennessee was connected with the North and South by railroads. The East Tennessee and Virginia, and the East Tennessee and Georgia roads met at

23. W. T. Hale, and D. L. Merritt, A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans, (New York, 1913), Vol. II, 395

24. Abernethy, Op. Cit., 300

25. J. D. B. De Bow, The Industrial Resources, Statistics, etc., of the U. S. and more particularly of the Southern and Western States, (New York, 1854), Vol. II, 444

Chattanooga making that portion of the road an indispensable link in the chain of railroads that connected Washington with Chattanooga and subsequently with Atlanta and Mobile. At Chattanooga the line branched connecting her with Memphis and from there with Louisville. From Atlanta there were railroad lines going to Pensacola, Augusta, Charleston, Montgomery, and Savannah. From Memphis there were lines continuing on to Vicksburg and New Orleans. When these roads were completed they were hailed by Union-loving East Tennesseans as the saviors of the Union. These roads had been built by private companies aided by subscription and by \$16,406,000 granted to them by the state.

This mountainous region had under its rough surface the material for the production of great wealth. Copper, gold, silver, lead, zinc, manganese, mica, corundum, and quartz, together with iron and coal, were deposited there in large quantities. Building materials, such as hardwood timber, limestone and marble of many varieties were abundant throughout the district. There were two large iron deposits, the Eastern and Dyestone, which produced annually, iron valued at \$2,000,000, in 1857.

26. J. W. Holland, "The Building of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad" (East Tennessee Historical Society's publications, Jan., 1932), 101

27. Ibid., 102

28. Report of R. G. Payne, Road commissioner, in Collected Records for Tennessee, 1857-58

29. Brownlow, Op. Cit., 217

Coal was found in the same districts, there being an area of 4,400 square miles of stone coal in the state.³⁰

Consequently, East Tennessee presented to the manufacturer the raw materials, the consumer of the manufactured articles, a low-priced labor supply, and unrivalled and unlimited amounts of water power.

It is uncertain just when the industrial possibilities of the region began to play a part in the thoughts of the inhabitants, but there can be little doubt that it was the basis of much of the political thinking of their leaders during this decade from 1850 to 1860. The growth of manufactures during this decade was slow but in a positive direction. The only ones listed by De Bow for Tennessee in 1850 were 30 cotton factories, employing \$100,000 of invested capital.³¹ In 1860, the census lists 88 such factories for East Tennessee alone.³² There is also a complete record of all kinds of factories from those employing a single individual to those employing over 300. For 27 of the counties of East Tennessee these number 1,099, employing 5,569 hands, with an invested capital of \$8,132,635.³³ There were extensive iron nail and casting establishments in the upper counties of the valley, a patent axe and tool factory, several small cot-

30. Report of State Geologist in Collected Records,

(Nov. 5, 1857)

31. De Bow, Op. Cit., Vol. II, 233

32. U. S. Census, 1860, Table No. 6, 471

33. Ibid., Table No. 3, 579

ton spinning plants and two or three extensive paper mills as early as 1842.³⁴ By 1860 these had become more numerous and there were many new additions to the variety of articles produced. The results, in 1860, were an ideal industrial district possessing 1,099 establishments averaging slightly more than five employees and representing all the available capital. For full realization of the industrial possibilities of the region, transportation had to be made available to distribute the products when produced and there had to be an influx of capital which, it was believed, would immediately follow the acquisition of a transportation system.

For internal improvements, the people looked to the national government, and the for the much-needed capital, to the capitalists of the North and East. They early affiliated with the political party that would promise to secure these needs for them and the national party organization added one more tie to the Union. Their problem was whether to give up the immediate southern market for their hogs and hominy, or to stay with the Union in order to realize their future industrial possibilities. The majority chose the latter course.

Party politics in East Tennessee followed economic lines. The plantation districts of West and Middle Tennessee, voted Democratic while the small farm

³⁴. Smith, Op. Cit., 18

region of East Tennessee had a Whig majority in each of its three congressional districts.³⁵ By 1830 Andrew Jackson was definitely allied with the planter class in Tennessee. The small farmers of East Tennessee soon constituted a party of opposition to the Democratic party and its leader. In 1832, Calhoun and his followers, advocating nullification, free trade, strict construction, and states' rights,³⁶ left the Democratic party. They joined the National Republican party led by Clay.

"Thus in the spring of 1834, the National Whig party was born. Its parents were the Anti-tariff and strict construction 'Whig' following, largely located in the south and under the leadership of Calhoun, and Clay's National Republican Party....If, indeed it was a strange union, it was because it was dictated by political considerations; it never claimed to be a real love match. The offspring was of necessity a hybrid. Strangely enough, however, it was only during its infancy and youth that its characteristics betrayed its mongrel origin; when it reached maturity, the qualities inherited from the National Republican Party asserted an absolute predominance."³⁷

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

36. A. C. Cole, The Whig Party in the South, (Washington, D.C., 1913), 18

37. Ibid, 30

The platform of the National Republican Party, commonly known as 'The American System,' had a strong appeal for the people of East Tennessee. The platform called for national banks and internal improvements to be paid for by the National government, from revenue derived from a high protective tariff. There was no place in such a scheme for the doctrines of states' rights and strict construction, so Calhoun eventually returned to the Democratic Party.³⁸

East Tennessee was quick to support the policies of a national bank and internal improvements, but protective tariff did not gain support there until 1840.³⁹ This fact is significant, not only because it represents the acceptance of the Whig platform in its entirety, but it is also indicative of the realization of the region's industrial possibilities by its inhabitants. Not only did they need internal improvements to make industry possible but protection for their factories, when they were established. It is natural that the backbone of the Whig Party in East Tennessee was constituted by the commercial interests.³⁹ The commercial and professional men were the aristocrats of the region, just as a large part of "the wealth, intelligence and blue blood of the South"⁴⁰ belonged to the party.

38. Cole, Op. Cit., 6.

39. James Phelan, History of Tennessee, the Making of a State, (New York, 1889), 424.

40. Cole, Op. Cit., 69.

In 1850-'51, the old parties were retained, but there was a re-alignment. The tendency in the South was, for Union Whigs as well as the limited group of states' rights Whigs, to transfer their allegiance to the Democratic Party.⁴¹ The Whigs of East Tennessee, however, stayed with the Whig party, praised the Compromise of 1850, stated their confidence in the North, and prepared to sustain the laws.⁴²

In 1860 the Whigs were for the preservation of the Union, the summum bonum of the national life. When the maintenance of the Union was jeopardized, slavery and every other minor issue must compromise or give way.⁴³ Thus the national party policy was in complete harmony with the political, economic, and social forces of East Tennessee.

W. G. Brownlow was the greatest of the Whig leaders in East Tennessee, possessing a Jacksonian will, and, at the same time, a kindliness of disposition that linked him to men "as with hooks of steel."⁴⁴ The Knoxville Whig, which he edited, was pervaded by his dauntless spirit. Horace Maynard was able to command the confidence of his fellow citizens to a greater degree

41. Cole, Op. Cit., 223

42. Ibid., 191

43. Clifton R. Hall, Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee, (Princeton, 1916), 1

44. Temple, Op. Cit., 40

than any other man in the state.⁴⁵ T. A. R. Nelson, a man of great personal charm and intellect, influenced the votes of numbers of the people. There were many leaders with a more local, if less devoted, following.

The agrarian interests in East Tennessee voted the Democratic ticket and were able to send their leader, Andrew Johnson, to Congress for many years. Andrew Johnson was not a Democrat of the Davis-Calhoun variety, but a representative of the original rough, vigorous, and aggressive Democracy. Believing that the people were the source of all power, he advocated states' rights. However, he held that each state had parted with such attributes of sovereignty as related to the continuity and perpetuity of the national government. Therefore, Calhoun's extreme doctrines of nullification⁴⁶ and secession were constitutionally baseless.

Johnson was closely identified with the labor party although he was not in accord with its radical teachings.⁴⁷ He was the champion of the cause of the common man, advocating a free homestead bill, public education, income tax, the election of senators and judges, and the referendum and recall.⁴⁸ A Democrat in the sense of the Declaration of Independence, Johnson detested "Whiggery" because it meant caste and it sneered at the laboring man.

45. Temple, Op. Cit., 40

46. Winston, Op. Cit., 112

47. Ibid., 56

48. Ibid., 28

Governor Isham G. Harris said of him, "If Johnson were a snake he would lie in the grass to bite the heels of rich men's children."⁴⁹

Johnson supported the Union in 1860 because he loved it and because secession was inconsistent with his political reasoning. What rights would the white laborer have in a slave empire? A Democratic social system existed in East Tennessee where the man of wealth was the exception; hence, Johnson was able to forget his prejudices. The Democrats opposed him and advocated secession, while the Whigs supported him and the Union. Therefore, he had to join forces with his old political enemies, Horace Maynard, Nelson, and even the 'Fighting Parson'.⁵⁰ As a result, in 1860, the political parties of East Tennessee were united in support of the Union.

49. Hall, Op. Cit., 22

50. Winston, Op. Cit., 191

SECESSION AND UNIONIST REACTION

With the election of Lincoln in November 1860 the South began to seeth. Secession was no longer an abstract right but an accomplished fact. The question was whether the election of a Republican President was sufficiently unjust to warrant dissolving the Union. Brownlow, a constitutional Union man, did not believe that it was. ¹ Mr. O. P. Temple, another East Tennessean, believed secession to be the project of a few Southern leaders and that the ascendancy of the Republican party did not menace the liberties of the people or endanger the institution of slavery. ² He ably summed up the reasons why the people of East Tennessee were against secession. There was no adequate reason for secession; it was not a remedy for the existing complaints of the South; to secede constitutionally was impossible; peaceful secession could not be; and a long, exhaustive war would result in which slavery would perish. Above all, they believed that a government founded on secession and states' rights could not permanently endure. ³

1. Knoxville Whig, May 18, 1861.

2. O. P. Temple, Notable Men of Tennessee, (New York, 1912) 35

3. O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and Civil War, (Cincinnati, 1899) 545

The most prominent leaders of the Unionist movement, Parson Brownlow, Andrew Johnson, Horace Maynard, T. A. R. Nelson, and John Baxter, exerted their influence to crystallize public opinion in support of the Union and against secession. They made stump speeches all over the state, beginning in November, 1860, and continuing until the election, ratifying secession, the following June. They attempted to "fire the hearts" of the people in favor of the Union, as Mr. Yancey had urged should be done in favor of secession.⁴

The governor of the state, Isham G. Harris, elected in 1857 and again in 1859, was a Breckinridge Democrat in 1860. "Harris", according to O. P. Temple, "was as bold an ally for the South as Toombs or Yancey,⁵ less brilliant, but with more discretion and prudence." Temple also credited him, almost solely, with the responsibility of carrying the state out of the Union.⁶ The governor convened the General Assembly of Tennessee in extraordinary session on January 7, 1861. His opening speech explained why the legislature had been called and arraigned the northern states for their "actual and threatened aggressions" upon the "well-defined rights" of the southern states. The legislature passed an act appointing February

4. O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and Civil War, 200

5. Ibid, 187

6. Ibid, 559

9 as the day for the election of delegates to a convention, to be held February 25. The purpose of the convention was to consider the relations between the state of Tennessee and the government of the United States, and to adopt such measures as were deemed necessary to vindicate the sovereignty of the state and to protect its institutions.⁷

The returns of the election were 57,798 in favor of holding the convention and 69,675 against. Due to the work of the Unionist leaders, East Tennessee voted nay by a vote of 5 to 1. The Union delegates to the convention received 88,803 votes and the dis-Union delegates 24,749 votes.⁸ East Tennessee and the Union⁵ carried the election.

Harris, an ardent secessionist, was not to be thwarted by a mere adverse vote. He was in close touch with the Confederate government which had been formed at Montgomery, February 4. With the firing on Fort Sumter he once more called into extra session the legislature, which, elected in 1859, was Democratic in sentiment. The opening message was delivered April 25, 1861. "The people of the proud state of Tennessee-- true to their honor, true to the great principles of free

7. Temple, Op. Cit., 170

8. The Annual Cyclopedia, 1861, 677

institutions, true to the lessons of their fathers, true to their brethren of the South, the subjects of a common oppression--have united, almost with one voice, in declaring their fixed resolve to resist the tyrant; and in pledging their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the maintenance of their rights, and the rights of their sister states....Under existing circumstances, I can see no propriety for encumbering the people of the state with the election of delegates, to do that which it is in your power to enable them to do directly."⁹

He asked the legislature to pass an ordinance of secession on which there should be a referendum. He justified this unusual procedure by the need for immediate action and economy. He also felt that the legislators, coming directly from their constituents, were the best judges of the matter. He recommended that proper legislation be passed to put the state on a war footing immediately and that a state military board be established to work with a like board of the Confederate government.¹⁰ The amenable legislature passed these measures immediately.

On the first of May, the legislature authorized the governor to enter into a military league with the Confederate states. Gustavus A. Henry, Archibald O. W. Tatten, and Washington Barrow were appointed commissioners

9. Senate Journal of the Second Extra Session of the 33rd General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, (Nashville, April 25, 1861), 10

10. Ibid., 11

for that purpose. They negotiated a treaty with Henry W. Hilliard, the representative of the Confederate government, which was approved by a majority of eight in the senate and 17 in the House. Eighteen members of the House, chiefly from East Tennessee, either were absent or did not vote.¹¹ All troops in the state were put at the disposal of the governor. On May 6 the legislature authorized him to raise, organize, and equip 55,000 volunteers. The power to control the military fund and to make contracts for military purposes was put in his hands.¹² The same day an ordinance of Secession and a Declaration of Independence was passed. Tennessee, for all practical purposes, was out of the Union. June 8 was the date set for the people of Tennessee to register their opinion on these measures at the polls. The legislature then adjourned until after the election.

The measures submitted to the people for their approval or rejection were: 1) "The Declaration of Independence"--the state was independent and sovereign and could act as such in deciding any question. 2) The Ordinance "dissolving the relations between the state of Tennessee and the United States". 3) An ordinance adopting and ratifying the constitution of the provisional government of the Confederate States of America.¹³

11. Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial History of the Civil War. (Philadelphia, 1866), Vol. I., 387

12. State Journal, Op. Cit., 21

13. Temple, Op. Cit., 207

These measures were approved by a majority of 6,241, but the vote in East Tennessee was 14,780 in favor and 32,932 against the acts of the legislature.¹⁴

The legislature, which met in adjourned session June 20, suspended the civil courts and the sale of property under execution, made it a crime to hold a Federal office, and wiped from the statutes all reference to the United States and all penalties for offenses against the laws thereof. It authorized the enrollment in the state militia of all free colored males between the ages of 15 and 50. The resources of the state, both men and money, were placed in the hands of the governor. The legislature adjourned sine die July 1, 1861.¹⁵

The Unionists immediately protested that the actions of Governor Harris and the legislature were illegal. The action taken in other states had differed. In South Carolina this procedure had been followed. Delegates were elected to a convention whose expressed purpose was to consider the future relation of that state to the Union. The convention passed the necessary measures to take the state out of the Union and set it up as an independent power. These measures, in turn, were submitted to the people and the required vote, the majority at the last gubernatorial election, obtained.

14. James Walter Fertig, Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee, (Chicago, 1898), 27

15. Ibid, 32.

In Tennessee the people had been asked to elect delegates to a convention. At the February election the people, by a large majority, had voted against such a convention. In spite of an unfavorable public opinion the state legislature, which had been elected before the issue had come before the public, passed the Ordinance of Secession and the Declaration of Independence. They violated the Constitution of their state by putting the military forces of the state at the disposal of anyone except the governor. By providing for an army in peace time and making an alliance with the Southern states, they violated the Federal constitution.¹⁶ The majority vote obtained in June, 1861, was not equal to that of the last gubernatorial election.

The Unionists declared that to submit the question of secession to the people, after troops had been raised and put under the authority of the Confederate government by means of a military alliance, was unfair compulsion. This opinion was shared by the Louisville Journal which indignantly described the proceedings in Tennessee: "The whole late proceeding in Tennessee has been as gross an outrage as ever was perpetrated by the worst tyrant of all the earth. The whole secession movement, on the part of the legislature of that state, has been lawless, violent and tumultuous. The pretense of

16. Fertig, Op. Cit., 25

submitting the ordinance of Secession to the vote of the people of the state, after placing her military power and resources at the disposal of the Confederate states without any authority from the people, is as bitter and insolent a mockery of popular rights as the human mind could invent."¹⁷

The Unionist leaders, who had canvassed the state and saved it for the Union in February, continued their activities. They considered the action of the legislature a betrayal of the interests of the people. A movement to save East Tennessee for the Union at the cost of separation from the rest of the state began. A convention of Unionists was called to Meet at Knoxville May 30, 1861. The call was signed by F. S. Heiskell, C. F. Baker, S. R. Rodgers, Dr. W. Rodgers, John Baxter, C. F. Trigg, David Burnett, John Williams, John J. Craig, W. H. Rodgers,¹⁸ O. P. Temple, John Tunnell, W. G. Brownlow and others. Four hundred sixty-nine delegates attended, representing 26 counties. Two other counties were represented by resident proxies which left only two counties of East Tennessee without representation.¹⁹ T. A. R. Nelson was elected president and Col. J. G. Spears vice-president. The assistant vice-presidents were R. D. Wheeler, J. C. Murphy, Dr. M. R. May, John Williams, and William Heiskell.

17. Louisville Journal, May 13, 1861.

18. Temple, Op. Cit., 34

19. Thomas W. Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, (Knoxville, Tenn., 1888), 106

John M. Fleming was the secretary and A. L. Greene, S. P. Doss,²⁰ and J. M. Meek were his assistants. C. F. Trigg was chairman of the committee on business or resolutions. The main events of the convention were speeches by T. A. R. Nelson, General Arnold, and Senator Johnson; the latter²¹ spoke for three hours.

The following resolutions were passed.

1. "A declaration of an earnest desire that East Tennessee should not become involved in Civil war.
2. "That the action of the legislature in enacting the so-called 'Declaration of Independence', in forming 'the Military League' with the Confederate States, and in adopting other acts 'looking to the separation of Tennessee from the government of the United States', is unconstitutional and illegal and therefore not binding on us as loyal citizens.
3. "That to avert conflict with the people of the other parts of the state and desiring to preserve peace, the convention constitutes and appoints commissioners, whose duty it shall be to prepare a memorial and cause the same to be presented to the General Assembly of Tennessee now in session, asking its consent that the counties composing East Tennessee and such counties in Middle Tennessee as desire to cooperate²² with them, may form and erect a separate state."

The convention adjourned to meet at Greeneville on June 17, after the returns of the election of June 8 should be known. They wished to decide on the future course of East Tennessee should the state leave the Union.

20. Humes, Op. Cit., 108
 21. Temple, Op. Cit., 342
 22. Ibid, 350

The memorial was prepared and sent to the state legislature in accordance with the resolution passed by the convention. The legislature, however, refused to pass the necessary bill.²³

The convention reassembled at Greeneville. As a result of the overwhelming vote for the Union, registered in the election in East Tennessee, more positive resolutions, indicating their policy in the coming election, were passed.

1. "We will not abide by the new 'Declaration of Independence' or attach ourselves to the Confederate states.

2. "The counties of East Tennessee and such of the adjacent counties in Middle Tennessee as choose to act with them will still legally and constitutionally continue in the Union as the state of Tennessee, subject to its constitution and laws, as far as the same may be applicable to our distracted and divided condition.

3. "We desire to maintain a position of neutrality between the Secessionists and the Federal government in the existing war. We promise not to interfere with them if they do not interfere with us, and not to disturb the formation of Union Volunteer companies, or interfere with the railroad or the transportation of troops, provided we are not molested by either actual violence or insult, or an attempt be made to enforce among us oppressive or unconstitutional laws or to collect unlawful taxes.

4. "But, since we claim the right of the people to determine their own destiny, they are hereby requested to hold an election in all counties of East Tennessee and in such counties of Middle Tennessee, adjacent thereto, as may desire to cooperate with the counties of East Tennessee, to choose delegates to represent them at a convention to be held in the town of Kingston."²⁴

5 and 6. These provided the mode of election and fixed the ratio of representation in the convention.

23. Temple, Op. Cit., 350

24. Ibid, 347-348

This convention was in perfect agreement concerning the illegality of the election. They claimed that in Middle and West Tennessee no speeches or discussions in favor of the Union were permitted; Union papers were not allowed to circulate. Measures were taken in some sections to have the ballots numbered in such manner as to mark and expose Union votes. Union men were overawed by the military power and by "the still greater tyranny of a corrupt and subsidized press."²⁵ A permanent committee was appointed to keep an eye on political affairs and to call a meeting of the convention when it was considered possible and desirable.

By the June election it was decided that the state should send representatives to the Confederate congress, the elections to be held the first Thursday in August, the day on which, previously, Federal Congressmen had been elected. Confederate candidates were put in the field all over the state. However, the people of East Tennessee acted on the principle laid down by the convention at Greeneville--to remain in the Union and function as the state of Tennessee. Consequently, they nominated and elected Union men to represent them at Washington. They did not consider themselves a part of the Confederacy and did not want representation at Montgomery. T. A. R. Nelson was elected overwhelmingly in the first district, Horace Maynard in the second, and George W. Bridges and Dr. Clements from the third and fourth respectively.²⁶ Andrew Johnson ~~was~~ returned

25. Humes, Op. Cit., 116

26. Fertig, Op. Cit., 31

to the Senate.

These men, feeling that they were members-elect of the United States Congress, tried to get to Washington. Their route lay through the mountains now guarded by Confederate troops, sent there by Governor Harris to prevent anyone from leaving the state. The government of Isham G. Harris and the rest of the state did not approve of the action of East Tennessee in attempting to function as a separate state subject to the Federal government.

East Tennessee was strategically important and had to be kept in the Confederacy. Johnson and Maynard left the state before the election and arrived safely at Washington. Nelson was arrested, taken to Richmond, and made to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy. Clements was also arrested, but managed to get away. Bridges finally arrived at the capitol just three days before the close of the session.²⁷

Isham Harris was re-elected governor by Confederate votes in the June election. The Unionist votes were ignored when it was known that the people had ratified the Ordinance of Secession. The legislature was secessionist in sentiment, as a matter of course, since no Unionist votes were counted. This legislature held three short sessions but accomplished very little.²⁸

²⁷. Humes, Op. Cit., 126

²⁸. Fertig, Op. Cit., 32

The government was forced to flee and became powerless when the Federal armies occupied West and Middle Tennessee in 1862.

Unable to act, the Confederate government in Tennessee was ended. The Unionists had worked intensely to keep the state from leaving the Union. When this could not be averted, they had voiced their protests and their decision not to follow the state, in the most legal method possible, a convention. However, Eastern Tennessee remained in the Confederacy much longer than the rest of the state.

THE CAMPAIGNS IN EAST TENNESSEE

From the beginning of the Secession agitation in the state there had been those who counselled neutrality in order that the state might escape the destruction consequent to being a battlefield. After Tennessee had seceded, their worst fears were confirmed when Kentucky announced her neutrality. During the summer of 1861 conditions in East Tennessee were chaotic and by September the Confederacy had enough troops in that region to forcibly hold it for the South. Troops numbering 22,000 from Tennessee and 18,000 from Mississippi were actually there. Fourteen thousand had been requested from Richmond to aid them.¹

East Tennessee was of vital importance to the Confederacy for the railroad between Chattanooga and Bristol, Virginia was the connecting link between the lower South and Richmond. Southern railways were not extensive and possible routes through the mountains were not numerous. This made it more necessary to hold that section of the line. The valley held the key to all of northern Georgia and Alabama. It was one of the great hog and hominy regions of the South. East Tennessee and all the surrounding mountain districts were Unionist in sentiment and if the region was opened up the people of the mountain sections of North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama would join the Union and openly assert their Union sentiments.

1. Robert W. Winston, Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot, (New York, 1928) 220

The valley also constituted the gateway into Kentucky and was the only hope of the Confederacy to strengthen their cause in that state. Military and political strategy required that the Confederacy hold the eastern section of Tennessee.

The importance of the move to hold East Tennessee by the Confederacy cannot be doubted, but its strategic importance to the Union, so firmly believed then, has since been questioned. Would it be better to split the Confederacy at that point or to cut it in halves by taking the Mississippi and, slowly closing in, to crush it? The latter plan, which eventually was followed, was, from the military point of view, perhaps, the best and the easiest method of defeating the South. Political considerations, however, pointed to the necessity of supporting the Union sentiments of the mountain regions by military force. Lincoln gave his support to such a plan and was confirmed in his decision by Sherman and McClellan.

A plan was devised whereby Federal troops under Buell should be sent from Kentucky into Eastern Tennessee. Their coming was to be anticipated by the destruction of the railroad bridges in that region, thus cutting the connections of the southwestern part of the Confederacy with Richmond. Unionists of the region, under the leadership of William Carter, secretly carried through the plan of destroying the bridges. Meanwhile

Buell, who was not in sympathy with the plan, stayed in Kentucky giving technical reasons for his delay and the looked-for Federal invasion did not take place. The fact was that Buell had set his heart upon striking directly at the center of Confederate power at Nashville. With this end in view he remained inactive, maturing his own plans, and meeting the impatience of Lincoln and McClellan with evasive replies, until the Confederate domination of East Tennessee was complete and only a laborious campaign could dislodge them.²

Buell was continually urged on by Lincoln who wired him, "Have arms gone forward for East Tennessee? Please tell me the progress and condition of the movement in that direction. Answer." Signed--A. Lincoln.³

McClellan, who agreed with Lincoln and favored the invasion of East Tennessee, also wrote to General Buell, "There are few things I have more at heart than the prompt movement of a strong column into East Tennessee. The political consequences of the delay of this movement will be much more serious than you seem to anticipate. I was extremely sorry to learn from your telegram to the president that you had from the beginning attached little or no importance to a movement into East Tennessee."⁴

2. Clifton R. Hall, Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee, (Princeton, 1916), 17

3. Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies,

4. Ibid., 900

The people of East Tennessee felt that they were being betrayed by the Federal government. Their representatives, Andrew Johnson and Horace Maynard, after discussing the situation with Lincoln also tried to influence Buell's action. "We have just had interviews with the President and General McClellan and find that they concur with us in respect to the East Tennessee expedition. Our people are oppressed and pursued as beasts of the forest. The government must come to their relief. We are looking to you with anxious solicitude to move in that direction."⁵

Johnson became disgusted with the vacillating Buell and wrote Lincoln expressing his disappointment on the course followed. "East Tennessee seems doomed. There is scarcely a hope left of her redemption; if ever, no one now can tell. May God save my country from some of the generals that have been conducting this war."⁶

The Confederates followed no such policy but moved into Tennessee and eventually attacked the Federals in Kentucky, using Chattanooga as a base of supplies. The Federals were forced to carry the war into Tennessee. During the next eight months, 400 engagements were fought on her soil.⁷ For any man to remain neutral was impossible so 31,000 chose to join the Union army while 115,000 took up arms for the Confederacy.

5.. O. R. Op. Cit., 897

6. Hall, Op. Cit., 62

7. James Walter Fertig, The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee, (Chicago, 1898) 45

This great number of troops was furnished by a state whose male population cast 145,000 votes in the presidential election of 1860.⁸

Troops were sent into East Tennessee before the June election and military control had been established over the territory by the succeeding fall. General Felix K. Zollicoffer was appointed, by the Confederacy, in the summer of 1861, to the supreme command of East Tennessee with headquarters at Knoxville.⁹

December 9, 1861 Zollicoffer, with 6,444 troops recruited from Middle and West Tennessee, with the exception of one regiment from Mississippi and one from Alabama,¹⁰ advanced from Cumberland Ford and crossed the Cumberland river at Mill Springs, Kentucky. On January 1, the commander of the district for the Confederacy, Major-General George B. Crittenden, arrived and took command of the whole force. Zollicoffer remained in a subordinate position. The Battle of Fishing Creek was fought on January 19, 1862. The 4829 Federal troops, mostly from East Tennessee, were led by Thomas and Sahoeph. The Federals held their ground and the Confederates were forced to fall back across the Cumberland river.¹¹

8. Fertig, Op. Cit., (Quoting Miller's Manual, 132)
 9. Thomas W. Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, (Knoxville, Tenn., 1888) 122
 10. O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and the Civil War, (Cincinnati, 1899), 499
 11. John Berrien Lindsley (editor), The Military Annals of Tennessee, (Nashville, 1886) 66

In the spring of 1862 Grant, aided by Commo-
 dore Foote and his gunboats, began his march from Paducah
 down the Tennessee and took Fort ^{Henry} ~~Donelson~~.¹² The surrender
 of Fort Donelson was one of the most complete victories
 of the war and from that date on 'U. S. Grant' stood for
 'Unconditional Surrender Grant'.¹³ Six days later, on
 February 12, he arrived at Fort ^{Donelson} ~~Henry~~ which was on the
 Cumberland river at its entrance into Tennessee. For
 four days those holding the fort withstood the Federal
 attack but on the sixteenth, they were forced to surrender
 also.

The Cumberland and Tennessee rivers had been
 opened up. Grant moved on down to Shiloh. Columbus,¹⁴
 Bowling Green, and Nashville were taken along the way.
 At Shiloh, on April 6, the Confederates, under the command
 of General A. S. Johnston fell upon the Federal army in a
 surprise attack. At the close of the first day of the
 battle a Confederate victory seemed assured.¹⁵ General
 Johnston, however, had been killed. Beauregard, though
 ill, took Johnston's place. The next day, due to the
 arrival of northern enforcements, he was forced to fall
 back on Corinth. By June 7, 1862, Middle and Western
 Tennessee, from the mountains to the Mississippi river was
 in the hands of the Federal army.¹⁶

12. Lindsley, Op. Cit., 26
 13. Temple, Op. Cit., 451
 14. Ibid, 453
 15. Lindsley, Op. Cit., 28
 16. Ibid, 30

The Confederacy was more intent upon holding East Tennessee than ever. Because of Beauregard's continued illness, the army of Tennessee at Corinth was taken over by General Braxton Bragg.¹⁷ General Halleck approached the city methods of siege. This gave the army of Tennessee time to move to Tupelo, Mississippi and to carry every available supply from Corinth with them.

The army soon was ordered from Tupelo to Chattanooga, Tennessee to confront Buell, who was still in Kentucky. Bragg advanced and was joined by Gen. E. Kirby Smith who had been in the vicinity of Cincinnati, Ohio. There were two purposes for entering Kentucky; to meet and destroy Buell's army if possible and to arouse the secessionists and bring the state into the Confederacy. Both failed.¹⁸ Buell's army had been heavily reinforced and Rosecrans placed in command. He succeeded in driving Bragg out of Kentucky, and then moved to Nashville to fortify that place.¹⁹ Bragg fell back to Chattanooga and was there joined by Morgan and Forrest from which place they invaded Middle Tennessee and made intermittent forays into Kentucky during the summer.²⁰

17. Lindsley, Op. Cit., 30

18. Ibid., 31

19. Ibid., 32

20. Ibid., 33

Chattanooga played such a prominent part in Confederate military operations, because the southern leaders considered the city the key to Eastern Tennessee and Georgia. Rosecrans remained at Nashville until the Indian corn, in cultivated areas, had ripened sufficiently to furnish forage for the army; Bragg had consumed every available blade of grass in the region.²¹ Bragg moved toward Louisville but Rosecrans anticipated him and they engaged in battle at Perryville.

In the fall Rosecrans moved into Tennessee meeting Bragg at Murfreesboro on the last day of 1862. The battle was long and hard-fought, but on January 2, 1863 the Confederate forces drew off and took up a position at Duck River.²² The battle was costly for both sides. A loss of 10,000 men in killed, wounded, and missing, out of 35,000 engaged was suffered by the Confederates; the North lost 25,000 out of 65,000 engaged,²³ 6,000 of them being taken prisoners. It seemed impossible for Bragg to defeat Rosecrans so he wisely retired to Tullahoma, Tennessee, on the fourth of January. Thus, at the close of the campaign the armies of Bragg and Rosecrans were in Tennessee.

21. Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial History of the Civil War, (Philadelphia, 1866) Vol. III 124

22. Lindsley, Op. Cit., 34

23. Ibid, 34

Bragg stayed at Tullahoma until April when he became alarmed, abandoned it, passed through the gap at Missionary Ridge and fortified Pigeon Mountain to the west of the Chickamauga river.²⁴ Meanwhile, Burnside, commanding the army of the Cumberland, had joined Rosecrans to attack Bragg. When the latter anticipated them by retreating, their chief object was gained without a battle. The Confederate General, Frazer, who held Cumberland Gap, had been surrounded and forced to surrender.²⁵ With the Gap in their possession and Bragg's army in Georgia, the whole valley from Cleveland to Bristol seemed rid permanently of armed Confederates.

The loyal inhabitants of the region received the Federal troops as their deliverers. Union refugees and escaped prisoners who had been hiding in the mountains, ragged and starved, flocked to their homes and joined in ovations offered to Burnside and his followers at Knoxville and elsewhere.²⁶

Their happiness was short-lived. In September the Confederacy concentrated troops at Pigeon Mountain for the purpose of attacking Rosecrans at Chattanooga and recovering the valley. The Federals did likewise. On the nineteenth the battle of Chickamauga began. The Federals defended their position and held the Confederates back

24. Lossing, Op. Cit., Vol. III, 126

25. Ibid, 129

26. Ibid, 130

by the bold stand of General Thomas, henceforth known
 as the 'Rock of Chickamauga'.²⁷ However, the Federal
 army had become disorganized and straggled back to
 Chattanooga. The Confederates followed and laid siege to
 the city.²⁸

Lee had sent Longstreet's division to^{re-} enforce
 Bragg. He was now detached to the Upper valley to keep
 Burnside from coming to the aid of Rosecrans at Chattanooga.
 Burnside endeavored to repulse Longstreet but was unsuccess-
 ful. He retreated to Knoxville. Longstreet followed and
 besieged the city. Four armies now faced each other in
 East Tennessee.²⁹

By the end of the summer Grant was placed
 in charge of all the Union forces. Sherman and Hooker were
 sent with fresh troops to raise the siege and to enforce
 Rosecrans. Sherman succeeded to the command.³⁰ Grant
 ordered an advance along the entire line of the now consol-
 idated army.

Sherman began a series of battles, starting
 from Chattanooga. Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge
 followed. The army of the Tennessee was defeated, retiring
 from East Tennessee for the last time.³¹ At Dalton, Georgia
 the Confederates halted and General Bragg was replaced by

27. Lossing, Op. Cit., Vol. III 132

28. Lindsley, Op. Cit., 35

29. Ibid, 155

30. Temple, Op. Cit., 488

31. Lossing, Op. Cit., Vol. III 144

Gen. Joe E. Johnston. The stage was set for Sherman's subsequent march to Atlanta and the sea. At the Battle of Lookout Mountain when victory was assured Sherman rushed to the rescue of Burnside, shut up in Knoxville, and drove Longstreet off. Nevertheless, Longstreet remained in the valley until spring.³² Sherman went into winter quarters at Chattanooga and again the supplies of the land were used by the armies.³³

The results of the campaigns of the 1863 were the permanent establishment of Federal forces at Chattanooga and Knoxville, with secure lines of communication, the confirmation of the Union grasp upon East Tennessee, and the discomfiture and loss of prestige of the choicest troops in the Confederate service.

³². Temple, Op. Cit., 36

³³. Lossing, Op. Cit., Vol. III, 144

HOW WAR AFFECTED UNIONISTS

At the time of the election of June 8, 1861, there were many confederate troops in Eastern Tennessee and Governor Harris was calling on the other states for more.¹ Due to their good services the election resulted in favor of secession. After that date the Union party of the state began to lose its compactness and to disintegrate. In East Tennessee, where mob rule had not yet begun, the organization remained intact until after the Greeneville convention.² In the resolutions passed at that convention, through which the Unionists of East Tennessee attempted to make terms with the Confederacy, it was promised that they would remain peaceable unless coerced by the Confederacy. This was impossible. Their governor was calling for troops, at that very time, to be sent into East Tennessee; they were to control the polls and prevent Unionists from voting.

The first shots were fired in East Tennessee on May 5, 1861 when some Alabama soldiers fired from

1. R. W. Winston, Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot, (New York, 1928), 270
2. O. P. Temple, East Tennessee and the Civil War, (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1899) 228

train windows into a political meeting being held about 75 yards from the tracks. From 3,000 to 5,000 people attended this meeting at Strawberry Plains. Some were armed and straightway returned the fire³ but no damage was done on either side.

In the summer of 1861 the Confederacy took control of East Tennessee. General Zollicoffer of Nashville was sent to Knoxville with his staff to take command. He was lenient in exercising authority and abstained from needless severities. From Tennessee,⁴ he had been a Whig before the secession movement. Undoubtedly the military rule of General Zollicoffer was not considered sufficiently harsh. The Confederate congressman from Tennessee, the Hon. L. P. Walker, in evident trepidation, wrote to the secretary of war, "I regard civil war as imminent.... Things are growing worse daily... Mr. Brownlow in his paper says civil war is inevitable and that Union men have 10,000 men under drill and armed with rifles and shotguns."⁵ Bishop Polk reported his opinion of the situation on July 9 to the President, "No time is to be lost in East Tennessee.

3. O. P. Temple, Op. Cit., 193

4. T. W. Humes, The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee, (Knoxville, Tenn., 1888), 122

5. Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies, (Series II Vol. I) 824

I examined the case thoroughly. There are 2,000 men of various arms here now. I think at least 10,000 ought to be here at once. Governor Brown, of Georgia, has 2,500 well armed and equipped at Marietta ready to move. Floyd I hear has 2,000. The rest might be sent from Corinth. I would strongly recommend making a department of East Tennessee and parts of North Carolina and Georgia...." ⁶

The latter recommendation was ordered August 1, 1861. The obnoxious Wm. G. Swan of Knoxville, communicating news of Union activities to Davis a few days later wrote, "It is fortunate that we are not left to conjecture the purposes of the Union men in East Tennessee who are in arms or the probable number of them in this county. On Sunday, July 7, an alarm was given that a troop of secessionists had entered the county to disarm the Union men. By some means unknown to our friends here in twelve hours near 1,000 Union men were in arms at different rendezvous and disclosed a most complete organization, secret hitherto in its character and numbers. The alarm proved to proceed from a mere jest so the party immediately dissolved to hold themselves in readiness at like short notice

to rally again with their rifles and shotguns and with what ammunition as they have." ⁷ It is clear that these people were prepared to defend their homes and property in a region where the civil government had broken down.

The Confederate government passed the Banishment and Confiscation acts on August 8, 1861. These authorized the banishment from the limits of the "Confederate States" of every masculine citizen of the United States (some exceptions were listed) over 14 years of age, who adhered to its government and acknowledged its authority. The Act prescribed as the duty of all courts of justice the arrest of all Union men who did not proclaim their allegiance to the conscriptors or leave the Confederacy within forty days and their treatment as alien enemies. ⁸ By these acts, the seal of silence was imposed upon the lips of nearly all Union men. Few could leave, for obstacles were cast in their way. To remain was to acquiesce in the new order of things, or to suffer intensely. The publication of the Knoxville

7. O. R. Op. Cit., 828

8. Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial History of the Civil War, (Philadelphia, Pa., 1866), Vol. II

Whig, a newspaper intensely Unionist in sympathy, edited by Parson Brownlow, each week was permitted by General Zollicoffer. Not until October, 1861, was the paper suppressed. ⁹ Brownlow's caustic pen, social position, and public relations through press and pulpit made him feared and hated by the conspirators and their adherents. Brownlow was asked to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederate government. His definite reply was boldly daring to the point of folly: "Rather than stultify myself and disgrace my family by such an oath, I agree to die. I never could sanction the government, and I trust no child of mine will ever do it." ¹⁰

General Zollicoffer was transferred to military headquarters where he took command of the army gathered to meet Thomas in Kentucky. Col. William B. Wood of Alabama succeeded Zollicoffer at Knoxville. Wood was very zealous, but exhibited a grave lack of self-control which made him unfit for ¹¹ commanding others. William B. Carter of East Tennessee, as a part of a plan of Federal invasion

9. O. P. Temple, Notable Men of Tennessee, (New York, 1912), 64

10. Lossing, Op. Cit., 39

11. Humes, Op. Cit., 131

of that region, devised the scheme of destroying the railroad bridges in East Tennessee. These included the bridges on the Memphis and Charleston, the Atlantic and Western, the East Tennessee and Georgia, the East Tennessee and Virginia, and also the bridge over the Tennessee river at Bridgeport, Alabama. These roads constituted the main line in the Middle South and Southwest for the transportation of troops and supplies from these regions to the Confederate troops in Virginia. Hence, they were of vital importance to the South. This scheme was to have been followed by an independent Federal military expedition from Kentucky into Tennessee to seize the railroads. The expedition was abandoned due to Sherman's change of plans, but the bridges were destroyed.^{12.}

News of the bridge burning, which was done secretly, reached the world November 9, 1861. It was a mistake; resulting in no harm to the Confederate cause, it had dire results for the Union people of the region. The distrust of the Confederates was confirmed and the few secessionists of the region began to fear them. Five men were hanged.

^{12.} Temple, Op. Cit., 90

From 1,500 to 2,000 were sentenced to long confinement in prisons where numbers died. Many of the Unionists were forced to leave their homes to escape such punishments as a result of this scare.^{13.}

Since not more than 500 men were implicated in the bridge-burning, the rest were arrested on the grounds of holding Union sentiments.

Martial law in East Tennessee was declared immediately by the Confederate secretary of war.

The bridge-burners were ordered tried at ~~Drumhead~~ court martials and were hanged. Other Union men in arms were sent to Tuscaloosa, Alabama as prisoners of war.¹⁴

The remainder of the inhabitants were disarmed. The orders of General Zollicoffer from his headquarters at Jonesboro to Colonel Wood at Knoxville on November 12, were: "I will tomorrow send despatches to the forces near Jamestown, the cavalry near Huntsville, that near Oliver's, and start out the cavalry here, to commence simultaneously disarming the Union population. You will please send orders to all the detachments under your command to inaugurate the same movement at the same time

13. Temple, Op. Cit., 409

14. Ibid, 390-393

in their various localities. Their leaders should be seized and held as prisoners. The leniency shown them has been unavailing. They have acted with duplicity and should no longer be trusted."¹⁵

Anyone who resisted, failed to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, or was thought to be a bridge-burner was arrested. This drag net had the desired result; the prisons of Tennessee teemed with victims.

What to do with them? J. P. Benjamin, secretary of war for the Confederacy, instructed Colonel Leadbetter at Jonesboro to send all prisoners known to be criminals or to have borne arms against the government to Nashville where they were tried for high treason. The others were discharged on their taking the oath of allegiance.¹⁶

The Unionist camps in Sevier and Hamilton counties were reported broken up by November 20. Numbers were made prisoners. The reporting officer, Colonel Wood, complained that it was a mere farce to arrest the people and turn them over to the courts.

15. Humes, Op. Cit., 139

16. O. R., Op. Cit., 845

He requested, at least, that the prisoners he had taken be held, if not as traitors, then as prisoners of war. He believed that to release them would be ruinous, yet to convict them before a court at that time was almost impossible.¹⁷ The district attorney and Colonel Wood were both instructed: 1) All prisoners that can be identified as having been engaged in bridge burning are to be tried summarily by Drumhead court martial, and, if found guilty, executed on the spot by hanging. It would be well to leave their bodies hanging in the vicinity of the burned bridges. 2) All such as have not been so engaged are to be treated as prisoners of war and sent with an armed guard to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, there to be kept imprisoned at the depot selected by the Government as prisoners of war...In no case is one of the men, known to have been up in arms against the government to be released on any pledge or oath of allegiance. They are all to be held as prisoners of war and held in jail until the end of the war. Such as come in voluntarily, take the oath of allegiance, and surrender their arms, are alone to be treated with leniency.¹⁸ Judge Patterson, Colonel Pickens, and other known leaders were ordered incarcerated.

17. O. R. Op. Cit., 845

18. Humes, Op. Cit., 140

Some of the leaders, due to their positions, were ~~not~~ ^{No} subject to more than insult and ignominy by the Confederates. Their Unionist sentiments were candidly admitted. The bridge burners, if not caught and hanged, hid in the mountains, refugees with prices on their heads. Men, old enough to be conscripted, trembled for their safety. Still others, believing in the cause of the Union, joined the Confederate army for assurance of personal safety and the provision of their dependents. Many of the non-combatants decided to acquiesce in southern rule as was attested by the complaint in a report to the war department: "I have been here at this station, half the time in command of this post; and I have had a good opportunity of learning the feeling pervading this country. It is hostile to the Confederate government. They will take the oath of allegiance with no intention to observe it. They are slaves of Johnson and Maynard and never intend to be otherwise. When arrested, they suddenly become very submissive and declare they are for peace and not supporters of the Lincoln government....At the withdrawal of the army from here to Cumberland Gap and the first intimation of the approach of the Lincoln army, they were in arms and scarcely a man ¹⁹ but was ready to join it and make war upon us."

By December of 1861 Colonel Wood had been replaced by General William H. Carroll at Knoxville. On December 11, the latter declared martial law over the city to prevent the courts from interfering with the action taken toward the prisoners then in custody in Knoxville.²⁰ General court martial began on December 17. Within two days 400 prisoners had been sent to Tuscaloosa.²¹ On January 7, Colonel Leadbetter, district commander, reported his intention of dissolving the court martial because of its attendant expense.²² Five people had been hanged and 150 prisoners were held in Nashville pending trial.²³

On December 19, the Battle of Fishing Creek was fought between Thomas, commanding an army which included numbers of refugees who had fled from East Tennessee to Kentucky to enlist in the Union army, and Zollicoffer, leading their neighbors from that region. Forts Donelson and Henry had fallen by February 16. The Confederate government of the state, headed by Isham G. Harris, fled from Nashville to Memphis. The legislature then passed an act which ordered out the state militia, between the ages of 18 and 45, into active military service.²⁴

20. O. R., Op. Cit., 854

21. Ibid, 858

22. Ibid, 869

23. Temple, Op. Cit., 395

24. Humes, Op. Cit., 165

When the Confederate government began to conscript the men of East Tennessee for the Confederate army, the Union exodus began. There were Union guides who piloted all the men fleeing from the Confederate government to the Union lines through the mountains of East Tennessee into Kentucky. The best known was Daniel Ellis who wrote the story of his many adventures while pursuing this dangerous trade.²⁵ Other successful guides were Isaac Bolinger of Campbell county, Seath Lea and Frank Hodge of Knox, Washington Vann and William Reynolds of Anderson county and James Lane of Greene county.²⁶ The hardships, endured by these pilots and the men they were delivering, beggar description. As many as 100 men made the journey at one time. These trips were made as long as the Confederacy held East Tennessee. On the part of some pilots it was a definite means of recruiting the Federal armies. An agreement that they would join some particular regiment on arrival in Kentucky was required before the pilot would take them.²⁷ Daniel Ellis disapproved of this procedure and took both those people fleeing from southern conscription and those fleeing for political

25. Daniel Ellis, The Thrilling Adventures of Daniel Ellis, (New York, 1857)

26. Temple, Op. Cit., 426

27. Ellis, Op. Cit., 121

crimes. There are many stories related of these refugees. On meeting with Confederate men in the mountains, which were guarded for the purpose of stopping such stampedes, they were brutally murdered.²⁸ Thirty-one thousand soldiers from East Tennessee volunteered at Camp Dick Robinson or in Dan Stover's regiment at Louisville.

While Grant was moving down to Corinth and Shiloh in March, Andrew Johnson arrived in Nashville as military governor under the Lincoln administration.²⁹ The reconstruction of West Tennessee began. The extent of territory governed by him fluctuated with the success of the army. From September 15 to November 14 the seat of the government, Nashville,³⁰ was besieged by the Confederate government.

Although East Tennessee was held by Confederate soldiers until 1863 the Johnson regime had the support of the populace. Parson Brownlow stated it thus: "If Mr. Lincoln had consulted the Union men of Tennessee as to whom they wanted for military governor of the state, to a man they would have responded, Andy Johnson. I have fought that

28. Ellis, Op. Cit., 105

29. Winston, Op. Cit., 223

30. Ibid, 42

man for 25 long and terrible years. I fought him systematically and perseveringly and untiringly; but it was on the old issues of whiggery and democracy, and now we will fight for one another." ³¹ The story of Johnson's government is the story of reconstruction.

Bragg and the army of Tennessee occupied Chattanooga in the summer of 1862. They moved into Kentucky using that city as a base of supplies.

During this summer Morgan and Forrest, living off the land in East Tennessee, made raids from there into Kentucky, Middle Tennessee, Indiana, and Ohio. ³²

Bragg was defeated and moved back to Chattanooga. His forces so stripped the country that Rosecrans, to make sure of his supplies, had to wait until harvest time before he invaded the region. In the autumn Rosecrans moved on Chattanooga and Burnside into the valley of East Tennessee. Thus three armies were living off the land. General E. Kirby Smith, who had joined Bragg in Kentucky, followed General Carroll in command of East Tennessee.

In Tennessee, civil war was at its worst. Davis confiscated the property of the Unionists and Lincoln, through the medium of Governor Johnson, confiscated the property of the secessionists. Cities, towns, and counties would be over-run and devastated

31. W. G. Brownlow, Sufferings of Union Men, (An address at the Academy of Music, May 15, 1862)

32. Humes, Op. Cit., 186

by a Confederate army today and by a Union army tomorrow. Each side vied with the other in acts of terror and outrage. Were it not for gifts of food, clothing, and money from the North, East Tennessee would have "gone naked and perished." In that distracted country³³ there was no business but war. In an effort to raise a large harvest in 1862 and to keep starvation from decimating the non-combatant population, Gen. E. Kirby Smith published a proclamation April 18, 1862, which provided that: 1) Anyone voluntarily taking the oath of allegiance to the Confederate states, will not be molested. 2) Anyone who has joined the enemy if returning in 30 days and taking the oath will not be molested. 3) The commander proposes to use every thing in his power to protect the lives and property of the people of East Tennessee. 4) He assures all citizens engaged in cultivating their farms that he will protect them in their rights and he will suspend the militia draft under the state laws that they may raise crops for consumption in the coming year. 5) The courts will continue to exercise their functions and if unable to do so will be aided by the³⁴ military tribunals.

33. Winston, Op. Cit., 239

34. Humes, Op. Cit., 172

The Confederate government cooperated by suspending the operation of the conscript bill in the Department of Tennessee. "It is expected that all good citizens will return from Kentucky. They will not be molested if they come to remain and cultivate their farms and take care of their families."³⁵ General Smith also announced that all families of Union army men must leave the Confederate states. This was done to preserve Confederate supplies for the Confederate people.³⁶

The wives of the prominent leaders in the community, Mrs. Andrew Johnson, Mrs. W. G. Brownlow, Mrs. Horace Maynard, and Mrs. William B. Carter were given 36 hours in which to take their families and leave the state.³⁷

Parson Brownlow had been in prison at Knoxville from December until that spring when his health would not permit further imprisonment. He was sent beyond the Union lines to Nashville. On his arrival there he shouted, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward all men, except a few hell-born and hell-bound rebels in Knoxville."³⁸ While these moves were being made the armies watched each other. Guerillas and marauders, scoured the country, as well as the army, and took everything in sight. The condition of the people grew worse.

35. O. R. Op. Cit., 886
 36. Hames, Op. Cit. 173
 37. Temple, Op. Cit., 425
 38. Ibid., 315

Violence was the order of the day of both people and commanders, due to desperation born of misery.³⁹ Jails were being filled and emptied and hangings and the steady trek to Tuscaloosa continued.⁴⁰

All current literature and science, periodicals, and new books found no access from abroad to East Tennessee. News was given by authority.⁴¹ Shops and mercantile houses, in some instances, were closed, but as a rule kept open with diminished stocks. A few new shops were established and traders found employment not unprofitable.⁴² Civil law courts convened but with imperfect sessions; the county courts, however, met regularly on the first Monday of each month.⁴³ When, in October of 1863, Burnside entered Knoxville with his army, Parson Brownlow went home and resumed the publication of his paper.⁴⁴

With the close of 1863 the military campaigns in East Tennessee terminated. The battles for that year included Chickamauga, which resulted in Rosecrans taking over Chattanooga; the subsequent siege of that city by Bragg, and the relief of the siege by Sherman. Burnside moved into East Tennessee and was shut up in Knoxville by Longstreet^{until}, Sherman was able to relieve the city.

39. Brownlow, Op. Cit.,
 40. Hames, Op. Cit., 148-149
 41. Ibid., 190
 42. Ibid., 176
 43. Ibid., 178
 44. Temple, Op. Cit., 498

During the siege of Knoxville the soldiers who were defending the city were supplied by the old men, women, and children around Knoxville when rations were low. Hoarded corn, wheat, and bacon were secretly floated down the French Broad river into the city.⁴⁵ After he was repulsed from Knoxville, Longstreet remained in the valley for the winter of 1863-64, within fifty miles of the city.⁴⁶

Since one-eighth of the entire population of East Tennessee had been withdrawn from peaceful labor, which meant agriculture chiefly, the crops of 1863 were poor.⁴⁷

Longstreet spent the winter in the valley living off the land and the inhabitants suffered all the evil that results from such a situation. All during that summer and fall East Tennessee was full of parties marching and counter-marching, skirmishing and battling, ravaging and devastating the whole country, which was remote from a reliable base of supply.⁴⁸ By spring actual famine had come to the people and tens of thousands of them were forced to flee to Knoxville to escape starvation.⁴⁹ Meanwhile, Sherman spent the winter at Chattanooga preparatory to starting the march to Atlanta and the sea.

45. Temple, Op. Cit., 498

46. Ibid, 512

47. Humes, Op. Cit., 302

48. Ibid, 303

49. Temple, Op. Cit., 514

To save these people from starvation aid was solicited from the North. As early as May, 1862, Parson Brownlow set forth the sufferings of the Unionists of East Tennessee to people in New York.⁵⁰ In 1863, the congress of the United States set an example by appropriating \$2,000,000 to aid the southern loyalists.⁵¹ The Federal army then occupying East Tennessee cooperated in helping to relieve the destitution. Through it, 230,000 extra rations were issued by the government to cases of special need in Tennessee.⁵²

In many of the northern cities relief associations were formed in order to raise funds to relieve needy and destitute loyalists. Edward Everett was the president and driving force of such an association in Boston. Col. Nathaniel G. Taylor made the public addresses while Everett superintended the collection of the funds. An excerpt from one of Taylor's speeches cites the reasons for assisting the southern Unionists. "The confiscation of property, merciless conscription, arrest, imprisonment, the execution of the death sentence by Drum-head court martial, running the gauntlet of rebel bullets and bayonets for great distances by 30,000 men to reach the United States' flag and join its army; the martyrdom of from 2,000 to 3,000 non-combatant, unarmed

50. Brownlow, Op. Cit., (Address)

51. Winston, Op. Cit., 206

52. Edward Everett, Account of the Fund for the Relief of East Tennessee, (Pamphlet)

Union people in 31 counties, by shooting, hanging, or slaughtering in cold blood; the despoilment of personal property and consequent upon all these a widespread destitution of the very necessaries of life,"⁵³

This association at Boston had raised \$100,000 in subscriptions by June 4, 1864.⁵⁴ Subsequently, \$2,000 more were added. Material was purchased and the Ladies' Sewing Circle made it up into clothing. There was a department which collected discarded clothes which persons wished to contribute; these were sent to East Tennessee.⁵⁵ Funds were raised in like manner in Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, and at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.⁵⁶

The clothing and some food were sent straight to Knoxville by way of Cincinnati. The balance of the money was placed in banks at the Ohio city; the money could be withdrawn by the committee at Knoxville as need arose during the following winter. The war department helped by lending the use of the railroads from Nashville to Knoxville. The latter was used as a distribution center.⁵⁷

53. Humes, Op. Cit., 307
 54. Everett, Op. Cit., 63
 55. Ibid., 64
 56. Ibid., 28
 57. Ibid., 59

The old Union leaders, the remnant of the Greenville convention, assembled at Knoxville April 12, 1864 to consider means of alleviating the distress. A committee was appointed for that purpose consisting of Reverend Humes, Messrs. William Heiskell, W. G. Brownlow, John Baxter, O. P. Temple, and John M. Fleming.⁵⁸ The associations in the North used this committee as a central agency, sending the money, clothes, and food, to it. Under the superintendence of the executive committee of Knoxville, local committees were organized in each county and supplies were distributed through the sub-committees.⁵⁹ Thus was begun the actual reconstruction of Eastern Tennessee. By the assistance the Unionists of the North rendered, they paid a tribute to the spirit of their loyal brethren of the valley of East Tennessee.

58. James Walter Fertig, The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee, (Chicago, Ill., 1898), 57

59. Everett, Op. Cit., 59

RECONSTRUCTION UNDER ANDREW JOHNSON

Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, having been evacuated in February, 1862, President Lincoln nominated, and the Senate confirmed, Andrew Johnson as Military Governor, with the rank of Brigadier-General, March 4, 1862.¹ The military commission read:

"You are hereby appointed Military Governor of the State of Tennessee, with authority to exercise and perform, within the limits of that state, all and singular powers, duties and functions pertaining to the office of Military Governor, including the power to establish all necessary offices and tribunals and suspend the writ of habeas corpus, during the pleasure of the President, or until the loyal inhabitants of that state shall organize a civil government in conformity with the Constitution of the United States."²

1. John G. Nicolay, and John Hay, Abraham Lincoln, A History, (New York, 1890), Vol. VI, 344
2. Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. 9, 396

On arriving at Nashville Johnson made a speech sketching his duties as military governor.

"The state government has disappeared. The executive has abdicated, the Judiciary is in abeyance.... The archives have been desecrated; the public property stolen and destroyed; the vaults of the State bank violated, and its treasures robbed, including the funds carefully gathered and consecrated for all time to the instruction of your children. In such a lamentable crisis, the government of the United States could not be unmindful of its constitutional obligation to guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government.... This obligation the National Government is now attempting to discharge. I have been appointed, in the absence of the regular and established state authorities, as military governor for the time being, to preserve the public property of the state, to give the protection of law actively enforced to her citizens, and, as speedily as may be, to restore her government to the same condition as before the existing rebellion.... I find most, if not all the offices, both State and Federal, vacated either by actual abandonment, or by the action of the incumbents in attempting to subordinate their functions to a power in hostility to the fundamental law of the state and subversive of her national allegiance.... I shall, therefore, as early as practicable, designate for various positions under the state and county governments, from among my

fellow-citizens, persons of probity and intelligence, and bearing true allegiance to the Constitution and the government of the United States, who will execute the functions of their respective offices until their places can be filled by the action of the people."³

Johnson's proclamation to the people of Tennessee, issued immediately after he assumed his duties, was striking in its conciliatory tone. The sole purpose of the military government was to aid in the prompt restoration of the state to its former place in the Union. If the people, though hitherto disloyal, would consent to further that purpose, no unnecessary obstacles would be placed in their way. By implication, also, none of their institutions would be interfered with; the Federal government would neither dictate terms nor impose humiliating requirements of probation or atonement. The sole condition prescribed was submission to the Constitution and laws of the United States. Complete amnesty was offered especially to all private citizens who would renounce their disloyalty and return to their allegiance.⁴

The work of reorganization was begun by the appointment of a provisional state government. Edward H. East was appointed secretary of state, Joseph S. Fowley, state comptroller, and Horace Maynard,

3. Nicolay and Hay, Op. Cit., Vol. VI, 344-345
 4. Clifton R. Hall, Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee, (Princeton, 1916,) 40

Attorney-General, and Edmund Cooper, private secretary and confidential agent of the governor.⁵ A decided revival of Union sentiment became apparent. People took the oath of allegiance by hundreds under the easy amnesty terms.⁶

Until 1863 Governor Johnson was forced to accept a subordinate role and to defer to the military policy of the generals, but after 1863 their positions were reversed. The victories of Grant carried the army into other regions. The process of reconstruction held the center of the stage from that time on, with but one serious interruption.⁷ The Confederates retained their hold upon East Tennessee until September, 1863, and even after that the Union occupation afforded little security beyond the vicinity of the post garrisons.⁸ The people of East Tennessee strongly advocated the continuation of the military government until the state should be cleared of Confederate troops.⁹ They did not want to be excluded from political power.

On January 1, 1863, after the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Tennessee alone, of the seceded states, was excepted from its operation. It was consequently placed in a conspic-

5. James W. Fertig, The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee, (Chicago, 1898), 38

6. Ibid, 39

7. Hall, Op. Cit., 110

8. Ibid, 44

9. Fertig, Op. Cit., 44

uous and unique relation to the Federal government. The exception was made at the request of Governor Johnson. Since he held the theory that the loyal citizens of Tennessee retained in full vigor all their personal and property rights, he most earnestly desired them, in their sovereign capacity, to do away with the institution of slavery by their own voluntary act. Johnson himself was convinced by 1862 that slavery and a free government were not compatible.¹⁰

Lincoln's policy of Emancipation was a shock to many who had been true to the Union. They denounced the President and the administration on the grounds that they had been promised protection for their slaves.¹¹ This view was shared by John Baxter, who from this time on was an ardent secessionist.

On April 23, Johnson permitted the sheriff of Davidson county and the city of Nashville to publish a proclamation to open the polls for elections May 22nd. The Unionists were unable to carry the election so Johnson gave the successful candidate his commission and then arrested and imprisoned him for treason.¹² This experiment made it apparent that the county was not ready for restor-

10. Hall, Op. Cit., 91

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

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12. Fertig, Op. Cit., 40

ation on the Lincoln plan. This plan was explained by its author in a letter to Governor Johnson:

"Reconstruction must not be conducted so as to give control of the state, and its representation in Congress, to the enemies of the Union....It must not be so. You must have it otherwise. Let the reconstruction be the work of such men only as can be trusted for the Union. Exclude all others; and trust that your government, so organized, will be recognized here as being the one of republican form to be guaranteed to the state."¹³

June twentieth, a call, signed by Brownlow, Maynard, and others was published, "Those who desire to maintain the state government in connection with the Federal Union as it stood prior to the rebellion and the war", should meet in the capitol at Nashville, July 1.¹⁴

The resolutions adopted by the convention declared all laws, resolutions, and ordinances passed by the legislature of Tennessee since April 12, 1861, the work of usurpation and therefore void. The action of the President in appointing a military governor was approved. They endorsed Governor Johnson's administration, emphasized the importance of electing a state legislature and requested the Military Governor to issue writs and appoint agents for such an election. The first Thursday in Aug-

13. John T. Morse, Jr., Abraham Lincoln, (Cambridge, Mass., 1893), Vol. II, 220

14. Hall, Op. Cit., 96

ust, or as soon thereafter as might be expedient, was
 the day appointed for the election.¹⁵ The convention named a
 Union state executive committee, Maynard, Brownlow,
 and John A. Campbell representing East Tennessee, to call
 another convention whenever they deemed it desirable.
 This election did not take place, due to disturbance
 caused by the military campaigns of 1863.

Johnson issued a proclamation, September 15,
 containing his plan of reorganization. "Elections were
 to be held wherever it was possible to hold them; elsewhere
 officers were to be appointed by himself. They were to
 follow the laws and constitution of the state before 1861
 wherever it would be expedient for them to do so. All
 officers were to take the oath, formulated by the con-
 vention, and negroes were to be tried in the courts by
 laws governing free persons of color."¹⁶

September twentieth, he issued a procla-
 mation commanding the people to hold elections for
 presidential electors.¹⁷ Tennessee sent ten delegates
 to the National Union Convention at Baltimore. Four of
 them were from East Tennessee. Two separate meetings
 were held, one at Chattanooga and the other at Knoxville.
 At each one two delegates were chosen. The delegates
 from Tennessee were instructed to vote for Lincoln

15. Hall, Op. Cit., 96

16. Ibid, 97

17. Fertig, Op. Cit., 52

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and Johnson. The Tennessee vote was thrown out by the convention because it was not a true representation of the people.

About the middle of January, 1864, Lincoln sent an agent to Tennessee with blanks and instructions to enroll citizens who would take the oath. Two objections were made to this system. Who would administer the oath? Lincoln suggested that the officers of the provisional government and anyone else that they should appoint should serve. Those who had been loyalists all through the war thought that to take the oath would place them in the class with the penitent rebels thereby slurring their reputations. Lincoln could not appreciate that feeling and thought it more practical for everyone to take the oath which would make a sure and clear standard.¹⁹ Lincoln's assumption was that the taking of the oath brought the franchise with it.²⁰

Governor Johnson believed that the qualifications for voters should be much more stringent. On January 26 he issued a proclamation for an election for county officers to be held the first Saturday in March. "It is not expected that the enemies of the United States will propose to vote nor is it intended that they be permitted to vote or hold office."²¹ Therefore the would-be voter had to satisfy the requirements of the

18. Hall, Op. Cit., 128

19. Ibid., 110

20. Ibid., 113

21. Ibid., 118

constitution and the laws of the state which were in force previous to the Act of Secession. He also had to subscribe to the following oath. "I solemnly swear that I will henceforth support the Constitution of the United States and defend it against the assaults of all of its enemies; that I will henceforth be and conduct myself as a true, faithful citizen of the United States, freely and voluntarily claiming to be subject to all the duties and obligations, and entitled to all the rights and privileges of such citizenship; that I ardently desire the suppression of the present insurrection and rebellion against the government of the United States and all laws and proclamations made in pursuance thereof, may be speedily and permanently established and enforced over all the people, states and territories thereof; and further, that I will hereafter aid and assist all loyal people in the accomplishment of all these results. So help me God."²²

The loyalists of Tennessee were becoming more radical and Lincoln's wise offer, that voters would only have to promise future loyalty and acquiesce in the accomplished results of the war, was left behind. In February, Horace Maynard, the Attorney-General, determined that since the citizenship, forfeited by rebellion, could be regained only by subscribing to the amnesty oath, and the state constitution restricted

the ballot to those who had been citizens for six months, no person who had ever been guilty of a disloyal act could vote until six months after taking the oath.²³ This was but one more means of disqualifying secessionist voters. All judges and officers holding the elections had to take still another oath: to permit none to vote who had not satisfied the requirements of the proclamation.²⁴

In the ensuing March elections serious discord broke out in East Tennessee. There the Unionist population had suffered and was suffering to such a great extent from the effects of the war, that a feeling of fierce hatred existed between the Unionists and Secessionists. Johnson concentrated his efforts upon that stronghold of Unionism in order to line up a solid loyal party in support of his policy.²⁵ Since the Greenville convention, on its adjournment in May, 1861, had appointed a permanent committee to reassemble it whenever desired, the machinery for Johnson's purpose was at hand. The convention assembled on April 12, 1864.²⁶

The convention split into two divisions. The old Union leaders represented the conservative, conciliatory group. The radical group was made up of the vindictive young men--soldiers, partisan fighters, and refugees who had felt the mercilessness of war in

23. Hall, Op. Cit., 119

24. Ibid., 120

25. Ibid., 124

26. Ibid., 125

their persons, their families, and their property. This latter group attached themselves to Johnson and took its stand upon the principle of no concession to traitors.²⁷ Both groups brought in reports to the convention; neither could obtain a majority. A movement was started by the radicals to detach East Tennessee as a separate state. This movement collapsed before the determined opposition of Johnson.²⁸ The debate became acrimonious, and as no agreement could be reached, an adjournment was agreed to in order to preserve what harmony there was.

On January 21, Johnson, with the help of Brownlow and O. P. Temple, succeeded in getting his program endorsed by a Unionist mass meeting.²⁹

The permanent committee of the Knoxville-Greeneville conventions, on November 12, 1864, called a meeting of all the loyalists of the state at Nashville to be held December 19.³⁰ Citizens of East Tennessee were summoned to Knoxville on December sixth to appoint their delegates to this convention. The meeting at Nashville was postponed until January 9, 1865, due to the invasion of the Army of Tennessee under Hood. He was defeated by General Thomas within three miles of Nashville on December sixteenth. The Southern army was utterly crushed and the last hope that the state might yet be won by the Confeder-

27. Hall, Op. Cit., 125

28. Ibid., 126

29. Ibid., 126

30. Robert W. Winston, Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot, (New York, 1928), 241

acy was gone. For the first time Southern sympathizers were compelled to realize that their only course was to make the best possible terms for their submission.³¹

The secessionists and the peace Democrats were henceforth silenced.

The proposed meeting began at Nashville on January ninth. It was composed of delegates chosen by mass meetings; more or less representative, mingled citizens, who represented only themselves; and soldiers sent by their regiments. All delegates were seated "who had given active support to the Union Cause and who had never voluntarily borne arms against the government or voluntarily given aid and comfort to the enemy."³²

Colonel S. R. Rodgers was elected president.

The system of representation finally agreed upon was to apportion it on the basis of the votes cast against separation in June, 1861. By this method East Tennessee, which had cast 33,000 votes in 1861, received 250 votes in the convention; Middle Tennessee, with 8,000 votes in 1861 was allowed 87; and West Tennessee, with 6,000 votes in 1861, received 58. The effect of this was to identify the radical party with East Tennessee and to put the work of re-organization of the state in the hands of these radicals.³³

The radicals at the meeting decided to make it the Constitutional Convention for the reorganization

31. Hall, Op. Cit., 158-159

32. Ibid., 161

33. Fertig, Op. Cit., 56

of the state government. Two amendments were passed to be submitted to the people: To abolish slavery, and to prohibit the legislature from ever reviving it. The convention declared unconstitutional and void the Declaration of Independence, the Ordinance of Secession, the Convention and Military league with the Confederacy. They also repudiated all laws of the secessionist legislature and all acts performed in pursuance of them, including the issue of state bonds, notes of the Bank of Tennessee and its branches, and all debts created in the name of the state. All subsequent legislatures were forbidden to authorize the payment of any such debts. The Convention suspended the statute of Limitations from May 6, 1861 until the legislature should restore it; authorized the attachment of property and collection of judgments in suits for torts or upon contracts, without personal service of process upon the defendant, until the legislature should make other regulations. All civil and military appointments of Governor Johnson were ratified. It was provided that they should continue in office until the election, or until the appointment of their successors, under the laws and constitution of the state and the United States.

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The people were to vote on these Acts and the two amendments on February 22nd. If these acts were approved the election for governor, necessitated by Johnson's election to the vice-presidency, and for mem-

bers of the legislature would follow on March fourth. The legislature was to be voted for by the general ticket upon practically the old basis of representation. The officers chosen served until legally supplanted at the regular biennial election in 1867.³⁵ The convention nominated W. G. Brownlow for governor and committed the naming of candidates for the legislature to the delegates of their respective districts.

The administration party was defended at the ballot box by requiring the voters to take the same oath required in November. The name of each voter had to be written on the back of his ticket and the tickets filed with the clerks of the county courts for reference. Anyone opposed to the party was known to them and could expect to reap the consequences of disloyalty. Members of the army and qualified voters might cast their votes anywhere they happened to be. Returns were made to the Secretary of State and the results published by the governor.³⁶

The amendments and acts proposed were ratified by 25,293 to 48 votes. Only 27 counties in the state sent in returns; Shelby county was the only participant from West Tennessee. The number of votes, however, was more than the ten per cent required by Lincoln.³⁷

35. Hall, Op. Cit., 170

36. Ibid, 171

37. Ibid, 173

On March 4th, Brownlow and the convention ticket received 23,352 votes against 35 scattered votes.³⁸ The legislature met, April 3rd, at Nashville and ratified the thirteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution. They proceeded to reorganize the state government and to elect United States' Senators. Until the new governor was inaugurated, gubernatorial functions were performed by the Secretary of State after the departure of Johnson for Washington.

In December of 1865 senators and representatives from Tennessee appeared in Washington and asked to be admitted to Congress, but that body refused to admit them until Tennessee had been declared a member of the Union by a formal Act of Congress.⁴⁰ For almost eight months they were kept waiting. The radical Congress did not want more votes for Johnson in the Senate. Finally, on July 23, 1866 the state, by joint resolution, was declared to be thereby restored to the Union.

38. Annual Cyclopedia 1864, 767-769

39. Hall, Op. Cit., 175

40. Fertig, Op. Cit., 14

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