



THE COURIER



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Wynnewood State Historic Site Restoration Continues

By Martha Akins, Historic Sites Program Coordinator

Wynnewood State Historic Site in Castalian Springs continues to undergo its \$2.4 million dollar restoration following the 2008 tornado that ripped through the area.

Nashville firm Centric Architecture prepared the documents outlining the restoration and is overseeing the construction administration. Wieck Construction, also of Nashville, won the bid to complete the work. The project is complicated because of all of the details, and because of the number of parties involved: Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), Tennessee Emergency Management Agency (TEMA), Tennessee Historical Commission, Bledsoe Lick Historical Association (the non-profit organization managing the site), Centric Architecture, Wieck Construction, associated Native American tribes, and three other state agencies: Division of Archaeology, Division of Risk Management, and Real Property Administration. Regardless, teamwork is playing a major role in making this project successful.

To date much of the ground work is achieved. The grounds have been cleared of rubble and debris, the piles of construction materials are being depleted as the contractor returns them to their original locations, the fencing along the road is nearly complete, and over 100 young trees are currently being planted—hopefully returning the site to its former shaded landscape in the future.

On the main structure itself, the stone foundation has been restored, and the stone chimneys are under way. Parts of the temporary roof are being removed as the logs below are being repaired, replaced, or returned. The east pen, which suffered the most damage, is the end on which the

contractor started. Window restoration, chinking and daubing, plastering, lighting, painting are just a few of the many tasks in the restoration effort.

Bledsoe Cabin No. 1, also known as the dining room from the Wynne era, is on the ell of the main structure. Prior to the tornado, this

completely replaced and it looks outstanding.

The 1899 summer cottage was part of the resort era of the site, and for the first time this building will also be available for public viewing. Its restoration has been an exciting process. The front façade and a few other smaller parts were basically all that remained

after the tornado. In piecing together what remained, questions about actual construction details arose. It was originally believed that there were no windows on the rear. No one seemed to recall specifically what was on the rear, and most of the photos available showed heavy vegetation covering the back. The configuration of panes on the double hung east window was also unknown. Following diligent research, two photos were finally located that answered

cont. next page



Photos courtesy of Rick Hendrix, Site Administrator

Views of restoration work of Wynnewood's main structure. Restoration of the stone foundation has been completed. The temporary roof has been removed from the east section. Currently, the second story logs are being restored and replaced.



area was the caretaker's residence. Today the interior is being restored for public viewing and will be interpreted as the Wynne's dining room of the 1830s. Its roof has been

The Tennessee Historical Commission will meet on Friday, February 18, in Dickson at 9:00 a.m., at the Hotel Halbrook, 100 Frank Clement Place. The meeting is open to the public.

You can find this issue of *The Courier* in an expanded and enhanced version, along with back issues dating from October, 2003, at the Tennessee Historical Commission's web site at www.state.tn.us/environment/hist. Click on the State Programs Menu to find the newsletter. For information on the Civil War in the Volunteer State visit www.tennessee.civilwarsourcebook.com



NEW COMMISSION MEMBERS

Two new members of the Tennessee Historical Commission have been appointed since the last issue of the Courier. Sherry Kilgore of Charlotte was appointed in October. Mrs. Kilgore brings experience from a long and distinguished career in historic preservation to the Commission. A native of Texas, she has an MS in History/Historic Preservation from MTSU, and served as the staff person for the Historic Sites Program for the Tennessee Historical Commission from 1985 to 1994. She serves currently as Vice President of the Dickson County Historical and Genealogical Society and on the Board of Directors for the Clement Railroad Hotel Museum/Hotel Halbrog State Historic Site. Mrs. Kilgore also served as a member of the Charlotte City Council from 1997 until 2009.



Sherry Kilgore

John Charles Trotter of Knoxville was appointed to replace Mark Hicks of Johnson City, who resigned last Fall due to health issues. Mr. Trotter is the founder of Trotter, Inc., a commercial real estate service group in Knoxville. He has been active in the Knoxville Association of Realtors and is the former chairman of the Greater East Tennessee Better Business Bureau. In 2003, he purchased Crescent Bluff, a c. 1917 Beaux Arts-style residence built by H.L. Dulin. In 2008, Knox Heritage awarded him for his restoration of the property. In 2010, Mr. Trotter was honored by his alma mater Maryville College with the Kin Takahashi Award for Outstanding Young Alumni.

In addition, since the last issue Paul A. Matthews and Beverly Robertson of Memphis, Rick Warwick of Franklin, and Dr. Calvin Dickinson of Cookeville were reappointed to the Commission for another five year term.

STATEWIDE PRESERVATION CONFERENCE comes to Collierville

The Statewide Preservation Conference and Tennessee Main Street Summit will take place in Collierville April 14-15. The theme for 2011 is "Tracking the Ties that Bind." Patty Gay, the executive director of the Preservation Resource Center of New Orleans, will be the keynote speaker. This is the first time that the conference has taken place in West Tennessee since 2003. The Tennessee Preservation Trust receives an annual \$15,000 grant from the Tennessee Historical Commission for the conference, which serves as the annual convening for the state's diverse heritage community. For registration information, go to www.tennesseepreservationtrust.org or call 615.963.1255.

IN MEMORIUM

Wendy Jayne Bailey, the longtime Certified Local Government contact for Johnson City, died on January 26, 2011 from the effects of multiple sclerosis. She was 50 years old. Mrs. Bailey was a 23 year employee of the Johnson City Planning Department and was the staff person for the local historic zoning commission. She was instrumental in the creation of several of the city's local historic districts and in making sure that historic preservation held a strong focus in the city's comprehensive plan.

Wynnewood Restoration...continued

those questions. One photo revealed just enough under the undergrowth that the windows had been covered by wood and metal. The other photo showed the configuration of the east window to be four panes over four panes—thus verifying intuition. This same photo also showed how the gutter system connected to the cistern, which was a source of water for the site. This configuration will hopefully be included in this restoration project if there is money available.

"Barn No. 2" is the largest barn on the property. It is a big component of the historic view shed and will be used mainly for storing the maintenance equipment. It was racked askew during the tornado and has been squared up. It is now ready for the additional stories to be added back.

Other buildings complete—or nearly complete—are the main smoke house, the doctor's office, the Spencer cabin, the garage housing the restrooms, and the ca. 1910 bungalow, where the caretaker will now reside.

There are several structures that have not had any work done to date, but all in all, the project is on schedule and restoration should be complete sometime in the fall.

In the meantime, Bledsoe Lick Historical Association (BLHA) is cataloging their remaining historic artifacts and assessing their condition. This inventory will help in determining what items are desired to be purchased to complete the site's interpretation. With new rooms and buildings being on the tour, a revised site interpretation is also required, and that is underway as well. After the contractor has completed the job and left the site, BLHA will need some time preparing the site for visitors. With no specific date set yet, Wynnewood State Historic Site is anticipated to be open perhaps early winter.

Entries to the National Register from Tennessee

Since the last issue of *The Courier* there have been nine entries made to the National Register of Historic Places from Tennessee. The properties are: Bonds House, Gibson County; Daugherty Furniture Building, Anderson County; Lebanon in the Forks Cemetery, Knox County; Minville, Knox County; Doe Creek School, Henderson County; Municipal Public Works Garage Industrial District, Davidson County; Stone Hall, Davidson County; Market Street Bridge, Hamilton County; and First Presbyterian Church, Putnam County.

There are now 2,049 entries in the National Register from Tennessee including 268 districts for a total of 41,502 resources now listed.

Two properties, the Daugherty Furniture Building and the Municipal Public Works Garage Industrial District are featured below.



Public Comment Solicited

The Tennessee Historical Commission is again soliciting public comment and advice on its administration of the National Historic Preservation Act. Especially, we are seeking input on such matters as geographic areas or classes of properties which should be a priority for survey and/or registration efforts, criteria and priorities which should be established for restoration grants, and ways and means through which local efforts at preservation of historic properties can be most effectively assisted. Comments and advice on other areas and issues of a more general nature are also encouraged.

Activities carried out by the Commission under the mandate of the Act include efforts to survey and inventory potentially-historic properties across the state and to nominate the most significant to the National Register of Historic Places. Other activities involve programs to protect and preserve properties once they are identified by reviewing Federal projects to determine if they will adversely affect historic properties; assisting persons who are rehabilitating historic properties and wish to earn the investment tax credits which are available; awarding and administering grants for the restoration of National Register properties; and providing technical assistance and advice to local governments which are attempting to establish local programs and ordinances to protect historic properties. Besides the restoration grants program, some of these activities are carried out in part by the provision of grant support to local groups and agencies. These grant funds are federal funds which are appropriated under the authority of the National Historic Preservation Act to assist states in carrying out the purposes of the Act. The comments received will be used to structure the annual application to the National Park Service for these funds.

The Tennessee Historical Commission expects to solicit applications for grants-in-aid in June of this year for the 2012 Fiscal Year (10/01/2011-9/30/2012). The public input and advice which we are soliciting now will help to set both general office objectives and to establish priorities and criteria for the review of grant applications. Comments are requested by April 15, 2011, and may be addressed to Richard G. Tune, Assistant Director for National Register Programs, Tennessee Historical Commission, 2941 Lebanon Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37243-0442.

This program receives Federal funds from the National Park Service. Regulations of the U.S. Department of the Interior strictly prohibit unlawful discrimination in departmental federally assisted programs on the basis of race, color, national origin, age or disability. Any person who believes he or she has been discriminated against in any program, activity or facility operated by a recipient of Federal assistance should write to: Director, Equal Opportunity Program, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

Municipal Public Works Garage Industrial District

By Brian Beadles

The Municipal Public Works Garage Industrial District is comprised of six single-story, brick buildings built c. 1940. The garages are on the west bank of the Cumberland River, situated between Hermitage Avenue and Peabody Street in Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee. The district is comprised of seven contributing resources, the six garages and a stone wall that predates and surrounds the district. The buildings are one story in height, have parapet walls, garage doors, and a variety of multi-light windows. The interiors are large open spaces with no embellishments.



All of the buildings have bowed steel truss roof systems. Situated in a former municipal/industrial part of the city that has been rezoned for residential and commercial use, there is no landscaping on the property. Most of the buildings have a narrow concrete sidewalk and are separated from each other by paved surfaces. Overall, the district retains its architectural and historic integrity.

All six buildings are constructed of red, load-bearing brick and have concrete slab foundations. Each building measures approximately twenty feet high and features a curved, bow truss roof hidden behind a stepped parapet wall on the façade. Windows and doors vary slightly from building to building due to later alterations and additions, but most feature a metal six-light pivot window set within a multi-light fixed window. The interior spaces in these buildings are largely the same. Most maintain large open spaces, concrete floors, exposed brick, exposed metal beams, and a floor that slopes as much as three feet in some of the buildings.

The Municipal Public Works Garage Industrial District is an example of early twentieth century industrial architecture. Its form is typical of its function aside from office space in most of the buildings. The interior of each garage is mostly open space, similar to a warehouse, accessed primarily through multiple drive-in openings. Windows stretch the length of all four sides of these buildings, providing natural light to the interior of each structure.

These buildings reflect common trends in New Deal architecture. Although these buildings were constructed to serve a primarily utilitarian purpose, they are architecturally similar to commercial storefronts and commercial garages of the early to mid-twentieth century. The facade seen on each building took on the form and styling of typical early to mid-twentieth century commercial buildings.

The interior spaces found in these six buildings reflect the district's more utilitarian use. The interiors are mostly defined by large open garage or work spaces that reflect their industrial use. Garage doors on the main façades reinforce the industrial appearance of the buildings. The office spaces were small and only one of the buildings.

During the first half of the twentieth century, a number of auto-related businesses and maintenance shops opened within the blocks east of the property. Most of these businesses were housed in brick industrial garages the public works complex is particularly distinctive architecturally and forms a unified district. The site itself had a long history of public works. The cohesive design for the nominated complex reflects the importance of these departments to the city. They were built as a permanent and architecturally distinctive complex that would serve the city of Nashville throughout the twentieth century.



Daugherty Store

After its initial growth in the 1800s, Clinton continued to prosper throughout the 1900s, but the city also endured a few setbacks. Two fires, in 1905 and 1908 respectively, consumed seventeen businesses and fourteen residences. By 1912,



businesses along Market and Main streets, Clinton's two major thoroughfares, had been rebuilt in brick and stone. In 1918, the first passenger bus service was offered and in 1926, the courthouse had electricity.

The arrival of the Daugherty Store in the City of Clinton during the early part of the twentieth century is directly associated with the changing nature of both Clinton's and Anderson County's economy representing the transition from a traditional agricultural and industrial based economy to one based primarily in the progressive urban spheres of business and technology. Anderson County had become a hotbed of activity, particularly for technological innovation, during the mid 1930s and 1940s. The large-scale TVA Norris Dam and Norris Lake projects, coupled with the construction of the Oak Ridge laboratories as part of the United States government's Manhattan Project, resulted in a substantial population influx within the county.

Mr. John R. Daugherty relocated his business from Fork Mountain in Morgan County to Clinton in the late 1930s. Some 75,000 individuals moved into Oak Ridge within twenty-four months needed to purchase items for their households. The only place that served as a local, "one-stop shop" for Anderson County's newest residents was the J.R. Daugherty Company. In order to make furniture deliveries, the Daugherty Company's delivery trucks had security clearance into the residential areas of Oak Ridge.

Additionally, Oak Ridge workers and scientists without on-site living quarters stayed in the third and fourth floor apartments of the Daugherty Building, including the day rooms, until they could be accommodated in Oak Ridge. With the establishment of Oak Ridge housing became scarce. Hundreds of trailers were set up and "residents rented out attics and basements, garages and chicken coops."

The Daugherty Company quickly became the same kind of "go-to" place for Clinton, Oak Ridge, Oliver Springs, and

Norris as it had been in Fork Mountain since 1924, selling furniture, appliances, hardware, flooring, wallpaper, mattresses, and other related specialty household items. Daugherty's business became recognized as a meeting place for

prominent area businessmen. As a result of the traffic and activity generated by Daugherty's, the development of Market and Main streets in Clinton progressed throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Daugherty also honored the hard work of his employees and firmly believed in providing for his family. The third and fourth floor rental units were partly occupied by many of the employees, as it was considered part of their pay. The rental units were occupied through the late 1970s and early 1980s. Daugherty lived in a corner unit and was still overseeing the store's operations at the time of his death in 1985.

J.R. Daugherty's original store building in Fork Mountain was a simple one-story structure. Upon moving to Clinton in 1935, he first rented two buildings across the street from where his stone building now stands. When deciding how to go about building a new store in the city, he was inspired by a small house inside the Elsa Gate of Oak Ridge, known locally as the Glenn Copeland House. Except for the roof, the house was entirely faced in stone.

The Daugherty Furniture Building refrains from traditional architectural styles and instead serves as a significant work of vernacular architecture. The building's interior space, from the fourth floor to the basement level, resembles an inverted stepped pyramid. The load bearing walls are stair-stepped, resulting in the fifth floor walls being much thinner than the basement level. The basement walls measure twenty-six inches thick while the walls of the top floor measure twelve inches thick. Floors for each level rest directly on top of the wall below.

Clem H. Meyer, the building's architect, designed schools and institutions in East Tennessee in a Collegiate Gothic school motif, elements also used in the construction of the Daugherty Furniture Building. The design and construction of the Daugherty Furniture Building, in essence, is a minimalistic, fortress-like design indicative of the wartime weight given to simplicity over ornamentation.



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TOWARDS A CENTENNIAL: THE EARLY YEARS OF THE TENNESSEE ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

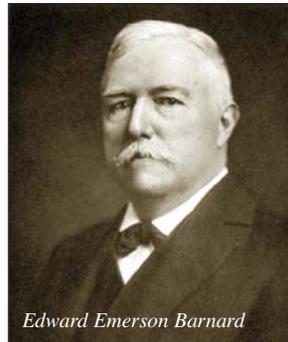
By George E. Webb, Professor of History at Tennessee Technological University

By the second decade of the twentieth century, scientists could be found in various areas of Tennessee. They were employed by colleges and universities, served in state agencies, and pursued scientific endeavors as dedicated amateurs. Missing from the state, however, was an organization of scientists to provide a forum for discussion and an outlet for the results of research efforts. Such organizations had emerged throughout the United States during the early years of the century, indicating a growing professionalization of technical fields and creating a community of interest for professionals and amateurs alike. The Tennessee Academy of Science emerged from this combination of events.

Many Tennessee scientists received a letter in early March, 1912, inviting them to attend an organizational meeting in Nashville to discuss the creation of a state science academy. Signed by scientists from the Tennessee Geological Survey, Vanderbilt University, and the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, the invitation was the culmination of a two-year campaign led by State Geologist George H. Ashley. The letter, drafted by University of Tennessee geologist C. H. Gordon, noted the “urgent need of a closer association of those interested in the study of the sciences and related branches in the State of Tennessee” and stressed that “the time is ripe for an organization that will promote these interests” Some two dozen interested individuals assembled on 9 March in the State Capitol, where they drafted a constitution and by-laws, elected temporary officers, and called for another meeting the following month to finalize the creation of the Tennessee Academy of Science. At the 6 April meeting at the Carnegie Library in Nashville, members of the new organization elected permanent officers (including C. H. Gordon as president) and listened to a dozen papers on a wide variety of topics. To satisfy the constitutional requirement that annual meetings be scheduled for November, the April meeting also accepted the invitation of the University of Tennessee to meet in Knoxville on 29 November 1912.

The first decade of its existence was a difficult time for the new science academy. Membership had reached more than seventy by the time of the 1912 Knoxville meeting, but only modest growth characterized the Academy after that. Similarly problematic was the organization’s journal. Such a publication was called for in the constitution, but neither *The Science Record* (a private venture subsidized by the Academy) nor the *Transactions of the Tennessee Academy of Science* (published by the Academy in 1914 and 1917) proved viable. The Academy had no further publications until the creation of the *Journal of the Tennessee Academy of Science* in 1926.

The mid-1920s, however, witnessed a dramatic expansion of both the membership and visibility of the Tennessee Academy of Science. The majority of the scientists involved in the Academy were interested in biology and geology. Among the more intriguing regions for such study was the area around Reelfoot Lake in the northwestern part of the state. As early as the 1918 meeting, members of the Academy had discussed the wildlife and geology of the site, but in 1923 the organization began a campaign to establish a state park and biological research station at Reelfoot Lake. During the next eight years, the Academy continued to discuss the proposed research station at its meetings and forwarded resolutions to the state government, which finally created the park and research facility in 1931.



Edward Emerson Barnard

As the Reelfoot Lake campaign continued, the Academy found itself involved in a much more contentious issue. In the spring of 1925, the Tennessee legislature passed the infamous Butler Act, which prohibited the teaching of evolutionary concepts in the state’s public schools. Scientists had little opportunity to influence the legislative debates or the famous Scopes Trial that followed in July. Indeed, the Academy’s first opportunity to respond to the Butler Act did not come until its November 1925 meeting at Vanderbilt University, at which time it passed a resolution calling for the repeal of the antievolution law. This resolution referred to the Butler Act as “an unfortunate limitation of the intellectual

freedom of teachers of science in our public schools” and “a backward step in our educational program.” The organization also engaged legal counsel to prepare an *Amicus Curiae* brief to file with the Tennessee Supreme Court to support Scopes’s appeal of his conviction. The Academy’s efforts had little impact. Although Scopes’s conviction was overturned on a technicality in 1927, the Butler Act remained on the statute books until its repeal in 1967.

As the Academy waited for the Court to determine the fate of Scopes and the antievolution law, it pursued another topic of growing interest to the people of Tennessee. The idea of a national park in the Great Smoky Mountains had been gestating since the early 1920s and had, by 1926, gained Congressional authorization. Fundraising to purchase land in the area was proceeding steadily, if somewhat slowly, and enthusiasm was widespread. The Tennessee Academy of Science, which viewed the Smokies as a valuable natural laboratory, devoted the April 1926 issue of the *Journal of the Tennessee Academy of Science* to a discussion of the proposed park. Articles included an introductory essay outlining the current status of the project, as well as descriptions of the flora, fauna, and geology of the region. Although the Great Smoky Mountain National Park was not formally established until 1934, the Academy continued to emphasize the region’s value to both the public and the scientific community.

The increased activity and visibility of the Tennessee Academy of Science led to a dramatic increase in membership (approximately 300 by 1926) and an awareness that it was part of a growing national scientific community. To more firmly establish itself within that community, the Academy successfully pursued a campaign to host the December 1927 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Nashville. In addition to its planning and coordination of the meeting, the Academy organized a commemorative program celebrating the famous astronomer Edward Emerson Barnard (1857-1923), a Nashville native who had enjoyed a distinguished career at the Lick and Yerkes observatories. This program included a series of papers discussing various aspects of Barnard’s life and career, followed a few weeks later by a special issue of the Academy’s *Journal* as a memorial to the astronomer.

As the Tennessee Academy of Science celebrated its fifteenth anniversary in 1927, it could look back with satisfaction on its emergence as a recognized member of the American scientific community. The organization would continue to grow and became increasingly involved not only in extending scientific research in the state, but also in increasing the quality of science education. When it celebrates its centennial in 2012, the Tennessee Academy of Science will be able to look back on a century of significant contributions to science and to the State of Tennessee.



P U B L I C A T I O N S T O N O T E

By Linda T. Wynn, Assistant Director for State Programs and Publications Editor

Archphone Records, 4106 Rayburn Court, Champaign, Illinois 61822 includes:

There Breathes A Hope: The Legacy of John Work II and His Fisk Jubilee Quartet, 1909-1916 is an anthology released by Archeophone Records. This two-CD set, which also includes a copiously illustrated 100-page booklet, contains 43 of the first recordings of black spirituals. For the first time the story of John Work II is told in detail by author Doug Seroff, accompanied by the 43 extant selections recorded by the Fisk Quartet when Work led the group—including all nine legendary Edison cylinders that feature Roland Hayes as second tenor and the four recitations of Paul Laurence Dunbar's poetry by James A. Myers. The selections are programmed as four mini-concerts and introduced by spoken excerpts from the Rev. Jerome I. Wright, one of the last living Fisk students to have sung under John Work's direction. One that tells a story about turn-of-the-century black culture, *There Breathes A Hope* is considered one of the most important historical reissues of 2010. Book and CD \$39.99.

Publications of Alfred A. Knopf Publishers, New York, New York include:

The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, & Indian Allies by Alan Taylor, a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, who looks at the War of 1812 not as the traditionally understood second war for independence, but as a war fought in the context of a U.S.-Canadian boundary barely separating kindred peoples, recently and incompletely divided by the revolution. Upper Canada was the scene of embittered battle between two sets of immigrants: Loyalist refugees from the Revolutionary War and the more recent American arrivals hoping to bring the region into the U.S. In New England, antiwar sentiment was strong enough to bring the region close to secession. Irish immigrants, many of them republican in sympathy, found Canada, with its developing monarchical ethos, less than welcoming. The Indians of the Northwest found themselves squeezed between two alien and expansionist cultures unconcerned for Native Americans' welfare. The result was a drawn-out, indecisive war. However,

as described by Taylor, in the end the four-way conflict was crucial in transforming a permeable frontier into a boundary separating the king's subjects and the republic's citizens. Cloth, \$35.00.

Publications of Historic Archives of Rosemark and Environs, Inc., 6177 Mudville Road, Millington, Tennessee 38503 includes:

An Illustrated History of the People and Towns of Northeast Shelby County and South Central Tipton County, by Jon Phipps McCalla, Editor-in-Chief, Penny Saucier Glover, Managing Editor, and Ruth Blakey Billingsley and Louise Wooldridge Rhodes, Co-Editors. More than nine years in the research, writing, and production, this work contains 608 pages with 883 photographs, maps, and illustrations. Beginning with a brief sketch of the pre-history of the area and, through a series of articles and interviews, *An Illustrated History of the People and Towns of Northeast Shelby County and South Central Tipton County*, conveys in detail the narrative of the people, enterprises, and churches of the area. Although the purpose of the tome is to preserve the history of the people who lived in a particular area, the message is universal. Also available to complement this work is a CD containing a unique map collection, 27 historic maps of Tennessee, Shelby, and Tipton Counties from 1796 to 1954, (\$15.00) as well as a CD of historic cemeteries (\$10.00) containing the census of the burial grounds referenced in the book. While this book should be of particular interest to those in the towns of Northeast Shelby and South Central Tipton Counties, it should also be of interest to those with an interest in Tennessee history. Cloth, \$65.00.

Louisiana State University Press, Post Office Box 25053, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70894-5053 has published the following:

Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War by Steven R. Boyd is the first analysis of a ubiquitous and prevalent source of Civil War images. During the War, private printers in the North and South produced an assortment of envelopes featuring iconography designed to promote each side's war effort. Northern envelopes, typically documented the centrality of the

preservation of the Union as the key issue that, if unsuccessful, would lead to the destruction of the United States, its Constitution, and its way of life. Conversely, Confederate covers usually illustrated a competing vision of an independent republic free of the "tyranny of the United States. Additionally, printers also illustrated the impact of the war on women and African Americans. Professor Boyd's *Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War* is a fascinating examination of Civil War iconography that moves a previously overlooked source from the margins of scholarly awareness into the ongoing analysis of America's Civil War. Cloth, \$36.95.

Race Relations at the Margins: Slaves and Poor Whites in the Antebellum Southern Countryside by Jeff Forret scrutinizes relations among rural poor whites and slaves, a subject previously unexplored and underreported. The book calls into question the long-held hypothesis by historians that mutual violence and animosity characterized the interactions between poor whites and slaves. Forret, an associate professor of history at Lamar University, make known that while poor whites and slaves at times experienced stints of hostility, more often than not they worked or played in accord and amity. Race and class intersected in unique ways for those at the margins of southern society. *Race Relations at the Margins* challenges the belief that race created a social cohesion among whites regardless of economic status and is a constructive addition to the evolving literature on nonelite southerners in plantation societies. Paper, \$24.95

The South that Wasn't There: Postsouthern Memory and History by Michael Kreyling. In this work, the author explores a series of literary situations in which memory and history seem to work in odd and problematic ways. Based on evidence in cultural texts, Kreyling uses the *Moebius* strip of history and memory as a model for investigating the South's freighted relationships with its past. While the words "memory," "history," and "identity" are not novel to southern literary investigations, the relationships among

cont. next page

**Publications to Note...continued**

these perceptions have never been simple. By situating what is often called 'memory' within history, he observes how representations of the past respond to the socially produced altering forces of the present. *The South that Wasn't There: Postsouthern Memory and History* proffers a provocative reassessment of the reader's literary perceptions about the South. Cloth, \$48.00

Publications of Providence House Publishers, 238 Seaboard Lane, Franklin, Tennessee 37067 includes:

Walter T. Durham's *Grasslands: A History of the Southern Grasslands Hunt and Racing Foundation, 1929-1932*, relates the history of the Southern Grasslands and Racing Foundation, a group that organized the first international steeplechase held in the United States. Located in Gallatin, Tennessee, Grassland Downs was a 24-square-mile course that operated between 1929 and 1932. Not since 1079 when William the Conqueror set aside "New Forest" in Hampshire, England, as a preserve for noblemen to hunt stags had such a place been established in an English speaking culture. No such private preserve existed in the United States prior to this venture. In addition to holding the inaugural race in 1930, two international steeplechases were held at Grasslands in 1930 and 1931. Durham, Tennessee's State Historian and author of numerous articles and books, spent two years researching libraries and archives in several states, including Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia. He attributes Grasslands' legacy as generating interest in steeplechases in the Volunteer State and directly to the organization of the Iroquois Steeplechase in Nashville, Tennessee. Available at the Gallatin Chamber of Commerce on West Main Street, *Grasslands* may also be obtained at the Rock Castle's gift shop in Hendersonville, Tennessee. This work should appeal not only to those interested in the history of Gallatin but also to those who have an interest in the area's steeplechases. Cloth, \$45.00.

Publications of the University of Georgia Press, 330 Research Drive, Athens, Georgia 30602-4901 includes:

Secession As An International Phenomenon: From America's Civil War to Contemporary Separatist Movements edited by Don H. Doyle. As America approaches the sesquicentennial of the Civil War, this

collection of essays allows the reader to consider within a broader global framework one of modern history's bloodiest wars over secession, separatism, and the nationalist passions that ignited such conflicts. Composed of nineteen essays written by scholars, this book grew out of a project sponsored by the Association for Research on Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Americas (ARENA), which was founded in 2002 by a group of historians from the United States, Latin America and Europe. A successor to the first book, *Nationalism in the New World*, this work seeks to expand a particular aspect of nationalism, separatism, and secession by placing the America experience within an enlarged historical and international framework. More than six hundred thousand men died in America's intersectional conflict and was the bloodiest war between the Napoleonic Wars and the first World War in the Western world. For a century, until the 1960s when Biafra tried to separate from Nigeria, America's Civil War was history's most deadly war over secession. Doyle, the McCausland Professor of History at the University of South Carolina, and the other scholars has made a considerable contribution by placing the American Civil War into a larger historical and international framework. Paper, \$24.95.

Publications of the University of Illinois Press, 1325 South Oak Street, Champaign, Illinois 61820-6903 includes:

Edited by Faith S. Holsaert, Martha Prescod Norman Noonan, Judy Richardson, Betty Garman Robinson, Jean Smith Young, and Dorothy M. Zellner, *Hands on the Freedom Plow: Personal Accounts by Women in SNCC*, is an account of fifty-two women northern and southern, young and old, urban and rural, black, white, and Latina, who share their personal stories of working for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on the front lines of the Modern Civil Rights Movement. All of the editors worked for SNCC. The testimonies gathered in this work present a comprehensive personal history of the organization established by student protesters with the assistance of Ella Baker. From the early sis-ins, voter registration drives, the Freedom Rides, the 1963 March on Washington, and other movements across the country, these intense stories depict women, many of whom were very young, dealing with extreme fear and finding the remarkable strength to not only survive but also thrive. Cloth, \$34.95.

Publications of the University Press of Mississippi 3825 Ridgewood Road, Jackson, Mississippi 39211-6492 includes:

The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader: The "Great Truth" about the "Lost Cause edited by James W. Loewen and Edward H. Sebesta is a compilation of essays aimed at proving that the Confederates seceded from the Union to protect and prolong slavery. "Neo-Confederates fight to maintain their ancestors' honor, which they do by obfuscating why their ancestors fought." Why, they ask, is there a Sons of Confederate Veterans, but no organization, for example, with the moniker Sons of World War I Veterans? This collection of documents coupled with the history and post-war celebration of the times and events leading to the formation of the Southern Confederacy are an extraordinary educational catalyst for insights about the crucial period of the Civil War. The constructive historical documents found in this book acquired from the statements of those who fashioned and encouraged the critical events of the time provide a striking understanding of the development and complexity of Confederate ideology during and after the Civil War. This illuminating book traces the evolving historical interpretation of the most critically important period in American history and its impact on present day perceptions of the Civil War. The "Lost Cause" was neither lost nor a cause. Using key documents from the Confederacy such as South Carolina's "Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union and Mississippi's "Declaration of the Immediate Causes," as well as other secession documents, *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader* is compelling reading and should be in the collection of libraries, history professors, students, and Civil War reenactors during the Sesquicentennial commemorations in Tennessee and other states of the old Confederacy. Paper, \$25.00.

Publications of The University of North Carolina Press, 116 South Boundary Street, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514-3808 includes:

Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876 by Ronald E. Butchart is one of the most comprehensive

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**Publications to Note...continued**

quantitative studies of black education in ever undertaken. A leading authority on the history of African American education, the author explored the archival collections of all of the freedmen's aid organizations as well as the collections of every southern state to compile an extensive database of over 11,600 individuals who taught in southern black schools between 1861 and 1876. Repudiating the earlier historiography, Butchart demonstrates that one-third of the teachers were Black Americans, who taught longer than did white teachers; half of the teachers were southerners; and that teachers from the North were more diverse than previously reported. His evidence reveals that evangelicalism contributed much less than previously believed to white teachers' commitment to Black American students, that abolitionism was a relatively small factor in motivating the teachers, and generally, the teachers' aspirations about their work often ran counter to the schooling objectives of the freed people. With *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom*, Butchart, a professor of history and education and affiliate faculty in the Institute for African American Studies at the University of Georgia, sketches a broader picture that captures the educational effort of those freed after the Civil War to become a free people. He examines the essential work of the freed people themselves seeking to become authors of their own narratives. Heavily documented, this tome does away with the accepted knowledge base that freedmen's education was mainly the effort of advantaged, single white northern women motivated by evangelical viewpoints and abolitionism and restructures the understanding of Reconstruction educators. Cloth, \$39.95.

Stanley Harrold's Border War: Fighting Over Slavery Before the Civil War explores the North-South border region that pitted the slave states of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri against the free states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. In this work, the author explores the border struggle itself, the dramatic incidents that it comprised, and its role in the complex dynamics leading to the Civil War. Investigating the previously neglected cross-border clash of attitudes and traditions dating back many generations, Harrold, a professor of history at South

Carolina State University, contends that by the mid-nineteenth century, warfare on the Kansas-Missouri line and John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia were manifestations of a more pervasive border conflict that aided in pushing the Lower South into secession and helped persuade most of the Border South to stand by the Union. Cloth, \$30.00.

Another work published by the University of North Carolina Press is *God's Almost Chosen Peoples: A Religious History of the American Civil War* by George C. Rable. In this tome, the author offers a groundbreaking account of how Americans of all political persuasions used faith to interpret the course of the war. The Lincoln and Jefferson Davis Prize-winning historian examined a wide range of published and unpublished documents including sermons, officials statements from various churches, denominational papers and periodicals, and letters, diaries, and newspaper articles that illustrated the broad role of religion during the Civil War and pays particular attention to often-neglected groups such as Mormons, Catholics, blacks, and people from the Trans-Mississippi region. *God's Almost Chosen Peoples* brings to the forefront the religion's presence in the everyday lives of Americans, north and south and as the only comprehensive religious history of the war highlights the resilience of religious faith in the face of political and military storms that Americans had never before endured. Cloth, \$35.00.

Torchbearers of Democracy: African American Soldiers in the World War I Era by Chad L. Williams is another work published by the University of North Carolina Press. Utilizing a diverse range of sources, Williams, an associate professor of history at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York, connects the history of American black soldiers and veterans to issues such as the obligations of citizenship, combat and labor, Diaspora and internationalism, homecoming and racial violence, "New Negro" militancy, and American black memories of the war. When President Woodrow Wilson thrust the United States in World War I, he declared, "The world must be safe for democracy." Williams reveals the central role of American black soldiers in World War I and how they, along with race activists and ordinary citizens alike, committed to fighting to democracy at home and beyond. As historian, Eric Arnesen of The George

Washington University points out Williams establishes the centrality of American black soldiers and veterans to the struggles against racial inequality during World War I and studies the links between citizenship, obligation, and race while emphasizing the black soldiers' experiences in fighting on behalf of a democracy that denied them civil rights and dignity. *Torchbearers of Democracy* is a major contribution to political, military, and civil rights history. Cloth, \$34.95.

Publications of The University of Tennessee Press, 110 Conference Center, 110 Henley Street, Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-4108 included the following:

The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Volume VIII, 1830 edited by Daniel Feller, Harold D. Moser, Thomas Coens and Laura-Eve Moss presents more than five hundred documents, many appearing for the first time, from a core year in Jackson's tumultuous presidency. They include Jackson's handwritten drafts of his presidential messages, private notes and memoranda, and correspondence with government officials, Army and Navy officers, friends and family, Indian leaders, foreign diplomats, and ordinary citizens throughout the country. In 1830 Jackson pursued his controversial Indian removal policy, concluding treaties to compel the Choctaws and Chickasaws west of the Mississippi and refusing protection for the Cherokees against encroachments by Georgia. Jackson nurtured his opposition to the Bank of the United States and entered into an escalating confrontation with the Senate over presidential appointments to office. He pronounced his ban on nullification and in May began an explosive quarrel with Vice-President John C. Calhoun over his conduct as secretary of war during Jackson's Seminole campaign of 1818. Later in the year, Jackson refusal to use his pardoning power to save an Irish-born mail robber from the gallows provoked a near-riot in Philadelphia. The sex scandal surrounding Peggy Eaton, wife of the secretary of war lurked throughout, dividing Jackson's cabinet, sundering his own family and household, and threatening to wreck the administration. Volume III offers a window not only into Andrew Jackson and his presidency but also into America during the 1830s. Cloth, \$80.00.



More Than Ever Before in the Civil War in Tennessee. A New Assessment from New Reflection of Familiar Resources



By Dr. James B. Jones, Jr., Public Historian

Twelve years ago I asked a colleague how many military engagements took place in Tennessee during the Civil War. He immediately piped up with the established answer provided by E. B. Long, that there were 1,462 fights in the Volunteer State during the Civil War;[1] “second,” he said in comically reverential tones, “only to Virginia.” I thought my search had ended before it began. I took a look at Long’s work only to find he does not indicate how he got his sum.

Using Long’s figure of 1,462 cases of belligerency in the state from 1861 to 1865, an interesting estimate can be made that raises questions about the actual amount of time spent in combat.[2]. After taking into account the length of battles such as Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Stones River, Chattanooga, Knoxville and Nashville, (two weeks each) I assigned the arbitrary but rational value of three hours to all military conflicts in the state; the total number of hours spent in combat was 4,386 hours (or 183 days). The total number of hours that Tennessee was involved in the war amounts to 35,784 (or 1,491 days). Thus, the time spent in actual fighting was 12% of the total. Didn’t anything else transpire during the other 88% (1,308 days) of the time? Even after trebling the value of all combat to an average of 9 hours, only 36% of the time was spent in actual fighting. It was impossible to make a comparison because no such similar conjecture had been made. Nevertheless, by these calculations, the actual time spent in combat in Tennessee during the Civil War appears to have been less than half. Thus, even Nathan Bedford Forrest had time to rest and reload.

These calculations spurred my interest and so I consulted *Dyer’s Compendium* for numbers and documentation. At first I was delighted at this book of lists, but found that Dyer offered neither sources nor a total for Tennessee[3] only the briefest of descriptions that accounted merely for Federal units. Since no Confederate units were named I imagined the Union forces fought phantoms. Further detailed study led to the Guide Index of the National Park Service study entitled *Military Operations of the Civil War*. This promising publication indicated the kind of military action that occurred at the given time and place. This was encouraging, but it provided minimum

narrative value, did not go much beyond the listing of military events, and did not place them in chronological order.[4]

I hadn’t found what I was looking for, a chronological, documented list of martial conflict in Tennessee that provided narration based on the *Official Records (OR)*. Either I was to drop the project or do the right thing - take it upon myself to do the work of the historian, to seek out new information, to boldly go where many had gone before, to the *OR*. At first I intended to come up with a more nearly accurate list of combat actions during the Civil War in Tennessee. I found no comprehensive register. There were lists giving types of combat and dates proceeding operational reports found within the *OR*, but these were not keyed to report citations. But, by pasting them together I saw a limited chronology begin to emerge.

So, there was nothing else to do but count them. I reasoned the only place to find the information was in the *OR* two-volume index. It was a matter of counting beans. I went page by page, entry by entry and concluded there was something over 1,100 separate instances of combat, most of them accompanied by at least one circumstantial report. This list was matched to Dyer’s list and I was found wanting. I counted again, in total 7 times and came up with a list of over 1,700. Now my documented list was bigger, and so I concluded I had found the documentation with which I could construct the narrated list for which I was hunting. This meant keying in what seemed an endless number of reports on skirmishes, actions, advances, affairs, bombardments, campaigns, engagements, reconnaissances, scouts, descents, guerilla attacks and raids found in the operations sections of each of the pertinent volumes. This took a lot of time. I did not copy documents relating directly to big battles, but provided a brief narrative with citations for the curious. There are plenty of secondary sources dealing with big battles and famous generals. It became evident I couldn’t type that many reports without risking a case of carpal tunnel syndrome. In two years, however, I had done a lot of typing.

Then at about the halfway mark the Tennessee Historical Commission purchased Broadfoot’s CD Rom collection of the *OR* and Guild Press’s *NOR*. These proved to be a two edged blade because the tools allowed

me to find other referrals to skirmishes, reconnaissances, bushwhacking, conscript sweeps, naval combat and other lesser events that were separate and distinct actions not mentioned in circumstantial combat reports and the index. These citations would have been next to impossible to enumerate without the aid of the CD Rom technology[5].

I found the Army and Navy records provided excellent and credible accounts, but I still wanted independent corroboration. What better sources than newspapers, diaries and correspondence? These familiar sources did not provide many beans for the combat incidents counter’s mill. They did address the gloomy psychological aspects of the war on the home front, politics, displacement and the plight of refugees, confiscation of property, guerrilla warfare, bushwhacking, smuggling, inflation, currency and commodities speculation, food shortages, urban life, a myriad of Special and General Orders not recorded in the *OR*, attempts to improve public health, public education, the complexity of occupation, the roles played by women, religious and family life, murders, politics, the theater, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, the liberation and shaping of the African-American community, and the effect of the war upon children, to name but a few. There was more to the war in Tennessee than, as my 9 year old nephew put it, “neat fighting’ stuff.”

Presently the work is over 3,600 pages, weighing in at 56 pounds. Tabulations so far indicate 2,777 instances of combat in Civil War Tennessee. Until now Virginia was held to be where most Civil War combat took place. The Old Dominion’s total, according to Long, was 2,154, 623 less than the newly tabulated total for Tennessee. So, if nothing else, one can conclude there was more fighting in the Volunteer State than in any other state. That being the case it is possible to suggest that the war was won (or lost) in Tennessee, not Virginia. For those who may censure this finding with discriminating remarks with reference to “quality vs. quantity” I say “quantity has a quality all its own.” Virginia might regain its earlier ascendant place as the “Mother of all Civil War battles,” when someone does as I did and heed Casey Stengel’s admonishment: “You can look it up.”

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Civil War in Tennessee...continued

The nature of the fighting in Tennessee was not characterized by large battles. Instead combat was on the smaller level of the skirmish, at 1,122, or roughly 40% of the total. The other 60% of combat missions are divided between "affairs," battles, reconnaissances, raids, guerrilla action and what we might today call "search and destroy" missions, and expeditions of various types.

The terminology for the various kinds of combat activity defied any settled definition. They knew what they meant when they meant it [6]. Could a skirmish be identified by numbers of combatants? No, because a skirmish could involve as few as 7 with no losses, or as many as 7,000 men with losses amounting to 80[7]. Could time be a clue? No, seldom were time spans listed in *OR* reports. A skirmish could precede a large battle, or be an isolated incident. An action could not be determined to be any different from an engagement and at times a scout meant reconnaissance, and vice versa. The Tennessee total of 2,777 incidences cannot represent a perfectly comprehensive number of combat operations in Tennessee during the Civil War. For example, my findings show 58 citations under the word "skirmishes." How many "skirmishes?" Three? Fifteen? Similarly, how is an "affair" different from an "engagement," or a "retreat" from a "withdrawal?" There was no designation "conscript sweep" in any of the *OR* circumstantial combat reports or indexes. Many references to conscripting activity are found serendipitously in correspondence, newspaper reports and journals. I have found nothing to indicate how conscripting actually worked. One hint comes from Brigadier General Gideon J. Pillow in January 1863. As designated conscription officer for the Army of Tennessee he reported to General Braxton Bragg that he had ordered his field commanders:

to rake Bedford County, in which there are 1,500 men liable to duty under the conscript law. I was anxious to clean out that county by one movement, and doing it at once to avoid giving alarm. A partial movement over one portion of the county will give the alarm, and cause the conscripts to scatter and hide out[8]

So, not only was there resistance to the Confederate draft, but being conscripted was more accurately a swift, jolting experience with cavalymen dragooning farm boys against their will. Why else would Pillow fear they would scatter and hide out?

Lieutenant A.J. Lacy of the 8th Tennessee cavalry noted in a letter home to his wife that: "I like to gather up those cowardly conscripts that is [*sic*] hiding out." [9] Scattering and hiding out were contradictory to my accepted notions of Confederate youth eager to follow the rebel battle flag. Likewise was the apparent opposition to enlisting in the Confederate army by some young men in the cities.

Among the insights I found startling was the general calm and resignation displayed in newspapers concerning the February 1861 vote to stay in the Union. The secret nature of the business of the legislature was equally curious, especially after the awe-inspiring pro-Union vote in February. Why was it secret? What went on behind closed doors? Another insight revolved around the attempt of the state government to finance its war effort. It was pitiful, even comical. Men of means and position agitated more about the transfer of state debt to the Confederate government and having it reimburse bondholders for expenses rather than providing for soldiers. In late January 1862, it was obvious to the members of the Fayetteville Committee of Correspondence that volunteers from Lincoln County would get no winter clothing from the Confederate government. They wrote a truly touching letter to Confederate Secretary of War L. P. Walker, offering to clothe them with uniforms made from wool textiles manufactured in Fayetteville. Flush with promises of huge profits, arms manufacturers promised state officials the moon but could not deliver, forcing the governor to impound all civilian-sporting pieces for military use. The formation of refugee juvenile gangs in the cities beginning in 1862 came as a surprise. one gang called "the Forty Thieves" originated in Louisville and spread down the railroad to Nashville, Chattanooga, and even Atlanta. Another, the "Mackerel Brigade," formed in Memphis. Turf battles were fought with rival gangs that came from New Orleans. The magnitude of illegal cotton trading near Memphis, Chattanooga and in Middle Tennessee was intriguing. The editor of the Chattanooga *Daily Rebel* was infuriated about it, as was Major-General W. T. Sherman in Memphis.

The War Department quietly sanctioned the practice. Inflated prices, currency and commodities' speculation were common. The anti-Semitism displayed by Grant and Sherman was previously unknown to me. I know some may find this an onerous conclusion, but Nathan Bedford Forrest was defeated a number of times in Tennessee. There was at least one case of mass murder

of white United States Colored Troops' officers committed by Confederate soldiers under Forrest's command, Fort Pillow notwithstanding. The incidence and extent of guerrilla, or as some prefer, "partisan ranger," activity and the extreme measures taken to suppress it were widespread. Home guard units on both sides often took on characteristics of terrorist gangs, and were only in it for the money. Col. Fielding Hurst (U.S.), for example, extorted over \$100,000 from citizens of West Tennessee, while his brother in law squeezed \$50,000 out of McNairy County alone. Both Confederate and Federal forces took political prisoners and hostages to extort loyalty. Hints were found regarding the vigilante-like behavior of "Committees of Public Safety" that formed in Memphis and Nashville before fighting took place. Such groups were apparently as much mechanisms for slave and class management as instruments to appropriate the wealth of those whose beliefs were not "pc" ["politically Confederate"]. [10]

Another unique chapter of the war in Tennessee cities dealt with the U. S. Army Medical Corps and prostitution. The practice was far and away a great threat to the army, and in 1863 officials in Nashville – and it turns out, in Memphis too - exiled the courtesans to Louisville. The "Cyprians" weren't welcomed there and were restored to Nashville. The only solution was to set up a legalized and licensed system of prostitution based upon medical inspection. Memphis duplicated the system a year later. Additionally, the Medical Corps made strides in improving and maintaining public health, in both Nashville and Memphis constructing sewers, removing dead animals, rubbish and offal from the streets, and enforcing small pox inoculation. Early in the war the "Southern Mothers" formed in Memphis, and similar groups in other cities, to help sustain and nurse wounded Confederate troops. However, as wounds festered the well-mannered belles of Memphis were reluctant to continue in their role as caregivers. Sixty-four bellicose belles of Gordonsville, Smith County, petitioned Governor Johnson in November 1862 for arms they wished to use in "aiding to put down the rebellion. "If you accept us" they wrote, "please send them immediately...If not we will arm ourselves and bushwhack it." Mary Ann Pitman, not only helped raise a company of infantry in the Chestnut Bluff environs of West Tennessee, but she served as second lieutenant until after the battle of Shiloh when she was made the company's

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Civil War in Tennessee...continued

commander. Shortly thereafter the company joined Forrest's command and, according to Pitman, she took the name Rawley, and:

While with Forrest's command I was, a large portion of the time, occupied on special service, much of which was of a secret character and in the performance of which I passed in the character of a female. Whilst so employed I was detailed to procure ordnance and ammunition....[11]

They were not at all like the pro-Confederate and wealthy Rebecca Carter Craighead of Nashville who resolutely refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Union until she wanted to take a trip to New York City in the summer of 1864.[12] She quickly swore the oath and took her trip where she purchased a \$400 dress and fine jewelry.[13] At the same time that the wives and families of prominent Unionists were being harassed to leave East Tennessee by Confederate authorities, Mrs. Sarah J. Estes was forced to leave her home in Madison county due to the war.[14] There was poetry in the newspapers, as well as accounts of flag or sword presentations and humorous accounts of grand balls and camp life and editorials complaining of martial prohibition. The theater was active in the cities. In February 1864 John Wilkes Booth appeared in Nashville and got rave reviews. An interesting comment on class-consciousness is found in a letter from Lieutenant-General Leonidas Polk to his wife written in February 1863. He mentions that he promoted his son to his staff because the young man found the artillery captain to whom he was assigned too demanding. While Confederate soldiers went without, Polk sent his wife material and dress patterns. He complained his staff officers were too busy seeking paramours about the countryside to write their reports on the battle of Stones River. Lucy Virginia French's account of what can only be called the "sack of Beersheba Springs" in July 1863 likewise demonstrated class consciousness.

In the months before the fiasco at Fort Donelson, slave owners were asked to provide labor to help build fortifications at Nashville and other points. Few did, and some bragged about not complying. The forts weren't built. It struck me as ironic that the very people who had the most to gain from the Confederacy refused to support it, and not out of loyalty to the Union, but out of a stingy spirit of deception and duping the government. In Middle Tennessee, at least, a sort of sliding scale of class-consciousness and prejudice existed in which the poorest

whites resented the Confederacy for conscripting their sons to fight a rich man's war. The middle class, while supportive of the Confederacy, was ambivalent. The richest were the most stalwart in their support of the rebellion and often sent Confederate foraging parties to those they considered traitors to the cause.

Other insights included the October 1863 proposal by Nashvillian S. R. Cockrill to the Commissioners of the Confederate States for a far fetched five step strategy to harvest fish in Tennessee's rivers to feed the armies. General Pillow endorsed the idea and proposed using his conscription force to aid in the plan. In February 1865, the Board of Commissioners for the State of Tennessee met in Aberdeen, MS. They worked long and hard to establish an extensive "schedule of prices for produce and army supplies...to continue in force until altered." That there was no Confederate authority in Tennessee that late in the war apparently did not cross their minds. General Pillow, by the way, on two separate occasions wrote to the Federal commanders in Memphis in attempts to obtain safe passage so that he might take care of his property within Union lines. If this wasn't treason (as well as stupid) it was very close.

Another insight into the war was finding the location of the first recorded instance of actual fighting in Tennessee – it had to start somewhere. The site was on the Cumberland Plateau, near the Kentucky border, in Pickett County, at a place called Travisville. This was a new finding to historians and the natives. In time a historical marker was unveiled to an appreciative crowd of locals and politicians. A 40-page booklet entitled "A Documentary Guide to the Civil War on the Tennessee Cumberland Plateau" was produced, and given its limited run of 120 copies, was out of print in a week. This was an insight that led me to entrepreneurial musings about profiting from history and new notions about history education. Namely, documentary evidence was a popular commodity and a teaching tool.

This reference book approach to the Civil War in Tennessee can have a more populist application. I like to think that as a printed text this work will prove of interest to "civilians" who have neither the time nor the research skills to find this data. The public has no familiarity with such documents because of a number of factors, the most compelling being that it is difficult to find what they want in primary sources, especially the *OR*. It simply bewilders them. Which brings up the professional versus avocational expenditure of the time it takes

to conduct research. In West Tennessee's Civil War history there was a skirmish on June 30, 1862 at a place then called both Morning Sun or Rising Sun – a Confederate victory, by the way. one constituent, an elderly enthusiast, said he had spent most of his adult life looking for any information about the fight but could not find it. He didn't know where to look. I knew where to look and provided him with that information within minutes. It wasn't that hard to do, but then I'm a historian. I wondered if it would have been easier for him to consult a documentary guide to the Civil War in Tennessee. (Since that time an internet sourcebook has been produced.)

While this work cannot be called comprehensive, it is big. It presents more diversity than any one study, and it is that diversity that can help refocus attention away from a narrow fixation with the false glory or what one historian calls the "drum and trumpet" style of portraying the war's battles as

competitions between individual generals who clenched cigars in their teeth as they leaned over lantern-lit maps in their tents on the eve of the contest, then bravely led their troops to victory, waving their swords heroically while riding on foaming steeds through the bloody fray....The outcomes of battles ...are typically attributed to some combination of the shortcomings of the losing general (who unaccountably fails the seize the opportunity just as decisive victory lies within his grasp) and the tenacity of the winning side's regiments, which again and again rally miraculously at the last possible moment to stave off defeat.[15]

Indeed, for a very large percentage of the time the *war was not fought* in Tennessee or elsewhere, being consumed with foraging, the dull routine of camp life, mischief in the cities, politics, affairs of the heart, railroad building, agricultural pursuits and the problems of contrabands and refugees. Thus, combat was not as common as is generally believed.

It can serve an educational function and maybe even attenuate the dogged "us vs. them" thinking, what James Loewen identifies as a "neo-Confederate state of mind." This outlook interprets the war as a uniformly martial, white-male southern heritage, brought into the world by the successful efforts of United Daughters of the Confederacy's that "distorted why the South seceded and made hash of Civil War history

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Civil War in Tennessee...continued

from beginning to end.”[16] The heritage syndrome,” as Michael Kammen calls it, is “an impulse to remember what is attractive or flattering and ignore the rest.”[17] History and heritage, it follows, are two different things. The latter is based upon the former. It might be best to reflect on the phrase: “we weren’t there, we didn’t do that.” A documentary guide to the Civil War in Tennessee -- and other states -- can be presented to the public in a fashion to help counter the passion and anecdotal wisdom of reenactors, farbs, and relic collectors. Otherwise the public’s view of the war will continue to be perceived as a filiopietistic heritage based upon a poorly understood and narrowly defined history of that conflict. To paraphrase a remark attributed to Marie Antoinette: “Let them read documents.”

[1] E. B. Long, ed., *The Civil War, Day by Day: An Almanac 1861-1865*, (NY: 1971), p. 719.

[2] This sum did not include naval actions.

[3] I counted in the *Compendium* a total of 1,667, 205 more than estimated in Long. I likewise counted a total of 1,103, using the *OR* Indices, or 359 less than Long. In no case was any methodology provided by Long or Dyer.

[4] Although it was not consulted for this study see Dallas Irvine, Edwin R. Coffee, Robert B. Matchette, comps., *Military Operations of the Civil War: A Guide-Index*

to the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865*, Vol. IV, “Main Western Theater of Operations, Except Gulf Approach, 1861-1863 (65?)”, NARS, GSA Washington: 1980, Section M, “Tennessee” pp. 93-153, Section N, “Tennessee,” pp. 178-188. The Guide-Index is a very informative work. Section M lists events in an alphabetical format and Section N lists them in a chronological format, both indicating the kind of military action that occurred at the given time and place. There is some brief narration concerning outcomes in Section M, but not the duplication of reports as made available in the main text of this work, nor does it go beyond the listing of military events, as does my work. It provides no numerical totals for each kind of event that is, how many skirmishes, actions, reconnaissances, engagements, etc., as is I have provided. Neither appears to provide *OR* citations as provided in this work. As reproduced verbatim in: “A Preliminary Proposal for a National Heritage Area on the Civil War in Tennessee,” Center for Historic Preservation, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN, March 1995.

[5] However, the CD Rom was in some cases incomplete so sometimes the paper *OR* and *NOR* had to be consulted to get a correct citation

[6] There is no period or contemporary dictionary of military terms available, according to the Military Academy Library reference desk at West Point, to give precise definitions for Civil War fights

[7] See *OR*, Ser. I, Vol. 16, pt. I, p. 1020,

for example.

[8] *OR*, Ser. IV, Vol. 2, p. 362.

[9] TSLA Confederate Collection, Box C 28, folder 17, Letters – Lacy, Andrew Jackson, 1862-1863.

[10] More work needs to be done on this topic, especially as it relates to the cities of Tennessee.

[11] *OR*, Ser. II, Vol. 7, p. 345

[12] Apparently a trip to New York was worth an oath.

[13] My thanks to Carole Bucy’s “Patient Endurance and Patriotic Devotion: Experience and Memory of Nashville Women on the Home Front,” presented at the 33d Annual Meeting of the Tennessee Conference of Historians at Tennessee Technical University on September 22, 2000. Bucy is the Chair of the History Department at Volunteer Community College in Gallatin, TN.

[14] SARAH JOHNSTON ESTES’S DIARY, [UNC, Southern Historical Collection], entries for May 14, 18, 20, 31, June 12, 18, 19, 1862; *OR*, Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 888-889; See also: *OR*, Ser. II, Vol. 1, pp. 923-932; Ser. II, Vol. 1, p. 883; Ser. I, Vol. 1, p. 891; Ser. I, Vol. 1, p. 891; Ser. I, Vol. 1, p. 930-931; Ser. II, Vol. I, p. 884.

[15] Gerald J. Prokopowicz, *All for the Regiment: The Army of the Ohio, 1861-1862*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 3.

[16] Loewen, *Lies Across America*, p. 39.

[17] As cited in *Ibid.*, p. 41.