

Welcome Back Martha Akins



In January, Martha Dixon Akins joined the Historical Commission as Historic Sites' Program Coordinator. Martha is a native of Brownsville, Tennessee, and holds a BS in Interior Design from Auburn University and an MA in Public History from Middle Tennessee State University. Akins formerly served as Historic Sites' Coordinator at the THC from 2000-2002. Akins has also served as director of education at Carnton Plantation in Franklin and as curatorial assistant at Traveller's Rest in Nashville. "I'm excited to be back and look forward to getting reacquainted with the sites and meeting the staffs and boards of those organizations protecting and interpreting our treasured historic places" says Akins. Akins will have much to do. In addition to helping oversee the ongoing restoration at Wynnewood, over a million dollars worth of new exhibits will go into the state historic sites this year, including at Rocky Mount in Piney Flats, the Chester Inn in Jonesborough, and at the Tipton-Haynes House in Johnson City. In addition, the Alex Haley Boyhood Home in Henning will officially debut its new Visitor's Center this summer, along with a major multi-faceted exhibit featuring the life story of Haley and "Roots." New exhibits at the Hotel Halbrook/Clement Railroad Hotel Museum in Dickson promise to strengthen the programs and interpretation at the newest state-owned site to open to the public.

2010 Statewide Preservation Conference Comes to Greeneville

The 2010 Tennessee Preservation Trust Statewide Preservation Conference and Tennessee Main Street Summit will be held in Greeneville, TN April 15-16, 2010. The Tennessee Historical Commission serves as the major sponsor for this premier gathering of the state's historic preservation supporters. The conference will be headquartered in the

historic General Morgan Inn and will feature the National Trust's Dwight Young as the keynote speaker. For the first time a CAMP (Commission Assisted Mentoring Program) will be held in conjunction with the statewide conference and will qualify attendees for required CLG (Certified Local Government) training. All fees for the CAMP are included in the conference fee. There will also be an annual Leadership Luncheon, Annual Gala, and Auction as part of the conference. The CAMP will be held on Thursday the 15th followed by the Gala and Auction that evening. There will be a number of local tours provided throughout the conference in the numerous historic sites in Greeneville. The keynote address, sessions and Leadership Luncheon will be held Friday the 16th. Sessions will address timely issues facing preservationists across the state and will include training on the critical issues of historic window rehabilitation and historic cemetery care. The conference will end mid-afternoon Friday to

allow time for travel. Tennessee Main Street, The Town of Greeneville, and Main Street Greeneville, are also serving as sponsors with numerous other national, state, regional, and local sponsors. The CAMP and all conference sessions are scheduled adjacent to the historic General Morgan Inn. With the first time inclusion of the CAMP it promises to be one of the most beneficial and informative statewide preservation conferences ever conducted by TPT. Please SAVE THE DATE and plan on attending. Registration information will be posted soon at www.tennesseepreservationtrust.org and you may make your discounted room reservation at the historic General Morgan Inn at 800.223.2679. For any questions or information regarding the conference please call the Tennessee Preservation Trust at 615.963.1255 or email them at tpinfo@bellsouth.net or tnprestr@bellsouth.net. We hope to see you there.

The Tennessee Historical Commission will meet on February 19, 2010, 9:00 a.m. at the downtown Nashville Public Library. The meeting is open to the public.

You can find this issue of *The COURIER* and back issues dating from October, 2003, at the Tennessee Historical Commission's web page 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.



— NOTICE — 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 2011 Fiscal Year (10/01/2010-9/30/2011). 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, 2010, 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

The 15th Annual Summary of Projects Undertaken By the Tennessee Wars Commission in Fiscal 2009

- During Governor Phil Bredesen's opening remarks at the October 2009 National Preservation Trust Conference in Nashville, the Governor acknowledged: "The Tennessee Wars Commission, which is a part of our Tennessee Historical Commission, continues to help protect the important battlefields of the Civil War (in our state). In all, the Wars Commission has protected more than three thousand acres of threatened Tennessee battlefields in the past 15 years." The Governor stated he is "a strong believer in developing partnerships to leverage resources for conservation efforts...to protect a lot of priority tracts of...including several important battlefield sites. Just this summer, the purchase was finalized on 650 acres at the Davis Bridge Battlefield, meaning now 98 percent of the site of this important 1862 battle is permanently protected. In addition to the Tennessee Wars Commission, partners in that effort included the American Battlefield Protection Program, the Civil War Preservation Trust, the Davis Bridge Memorial Foundation, (Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association) and the Tennessee Heritage Conservation Trust Fund."

Archeological investigations near the historic Carter House in Franklin, Tennessee have been completed with grant funding from the Tennessee Wars Commission. The project consisted of a phase one archaeological investigation of two historic properties, the first, now owned by the City of Franklin, is the site of the Carter "Cotton Gin" building, and the second historic site, that of the Carter House Garden, recently obtained by the Historic Carter House Association. The Cotton Gin structure played an important role during the November 30, 1864 Battle of Franklin

- In 2009 Tennessee Wars Commission Director of Programs has assisted the National Park Service's American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) in updating and revising the State of Tennessee section of the National Park Service 1993 publication, *Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields*. The Congressional report's "Stewardship Section" on the State of Tennessee battlefields report, National Parks officials states: "Tennessee offers a model for successful cooperative Civil War battlefield stewardship, with preservation achievements notable at all levels of government...made possible through the efforts...of private nonprofit organizations. Together these...groups...created a partnership network that supports efforts to protect Civil War battle sites throughout the state. Today, 20,426 acres have been set aside permanently. Public-private partnerships have saved one-third of those lands, some 7,319.82 acres, in just the past 16 years. A good deal of the credit for this remarkable rate of land conservation goes to the Tennessee Wars Commission established in 1994." The Wars Commission continues to fulfill its mission to protect these sites.

At the Federal level, the National Park Service currently owns more than 42 percent of all protected battlefield land in Tennessee. This land includes properties associated with parks created with the preservation and interpretation of Civil War history as their primary objectives – Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park (3,120 acres for Chattanooga); Fort Donelson National Battlefield (552

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**15th Annual Summary ...continued**

acres); Stones River National Battlefield (622.53 acres); and Shiloh National Military Park (4,115.75 acres). Portions of the Forts Henry and Donelson battlefields are managed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture as part of the Land Between the Lakes National Recreation Area. Since 1992, the Federal Government, through the American Battlefield Protection Program, has offered grants to numerous nonprofit organizations to protect battlefields. Applicants are encouraged to work with partner organizations to integrate efforts into a larger battle site protection strategy. The ABPP has awarded \$511,467 to proponents of Tennessee's Civil War battlefields.

- During the National Preservation Trust Conference in Nashville in October 2009 Director Fred Prouty was a speaker for the Education Session entitled, "The Battle to Protect Civil War History." Participating with Prouty was Mr. Jim Lighthizer, President of the Civil War Preservation Trust, and Director Robert Nieweg, Southern field office, National Trust for Historic Preservation.

- The Wars Commission is currently in the process of obtaining a 20-acre tract of battlefield property at Davis Bridge. With the loss of funding from the Tennessee State Lands Acquisition Commission and Tennessee Heritage Conservation Trust Fund, the Wars Commission is partnering with nonprofit Civil War preservation organizations to match grants from the federal governments TEA Enhancement Program and the National Park Service's, American Battlefield Protection Program. During the past year a 5-acre tract at Parker's Crossroads Battlefield was purchased by the Civil War Preservation Trust and is to be donated to the State in the near future.

The Tennessee Wars Commission has furnished Johnsonville State Historic Area park officials, in Humphreys County, with a draft copy of text and graphics for 13 interpretive wayside signs and kiosk to be installed on site at the Civil War battlefield located at New Johnsonville. Tennessee State Parks received the interpretive material through the services of the Wars Commission.

- With a grant from the Tennessee Wars Commission, an educational documentary film on the Battle of Johnsonville has been completed and will soon air on National Public Television. The interpretive film will also be shown in the theater of the proposed

Johnsonville State Historic Area. The film focuses on the Civil War Battle of Johnsonville (November 4, 1864 and is produced by the Renaissance Center Multi-Media Department of Dickson, Tennessee.

- The *Tennessee Civil War Documentary Sourcebook* <http://tennessee.civilwarsourcebook.com>, a *pro bono* educational and research service funded by the Tennessee Wars Commission and the American Battlefield Preservation Program (ABPP) was established in 2006. It is based on primary source research by Dr. James Jones, Public Historian for the Tennessee Historical Commission. The site is popular source for historical information about Civil War, with visitors from Tennessee, the United States and indeed, the world. Wars Director Fred Prouty contributed an extensive Tennessee "Civil War Glossary" of military terms to the Sourcebook. Regrettably, like many hallowed Tennessee battlefield sites, its future is uncertain and may be shut down during the Sesqui-centennial celebrations, just when it will be needed most, due to current budgetary constraints.

- The Battle of Nashville Preservation Society (BONPS) was awarded a Tennessee Wars Commission grant for the final payoff of the mortgage on the Redoubt Number One, one of the last remaining Confederate field fortifications from the Battle of Nashville. Tennessee Wars Commission funding was matched dollar-for-dollar and the debt retired by BONPS

- In fiscal year 2009 the Tennessee Wars Commission received a TEA-21 Enhancement Grant from Governor Phil Bredesen for \$929,132. The Wars Commission submitted the TEA-21 Enhancement Grant Funds, in the previous year, for the rehabilitation of the Pocahontas Schoolhouse (Hardeman County) as an interpretive center for the Davis Bridge Battlefield. The application also requested funding for the creation and instillation of an interpretive trail system for the entire 860-acre Davis Bridge Battlefield.

- A Wars Commission grant to the Lakeway Civil War Preservation Association of Morristown, Tennessee, helped restore and interpret the historic Longstreet/Nenney Home in Russellville (Hamblen County). The house was used as headquarters for Confederate Lieutenant General James Longstreet in the winter of 1863-1864

- In fiscal year 2009 the Tennessee Wars Commission received an \$864,500 funding grant from the Tennessee Heritage Conservation Trust Fund (THCTF) to complete the purchase of 643 acres of endangered Battlefield property at Davis Bridge in Hardeman and McNairy County. The THCTF grant was matched by our project partners, the American Battlefield Protection Program (\$864,500), and the Civil War Preservation Trust (\$200,000), for a total of \$1,929,000. 98 percent of the original battlefield acreage has now been preserved and contains over 860 acres of "hallowed ground." In addition the Tennessee State Lands Acquisition Committee approved a \$61,000.00 Wars Commission funding request for administrative and closing costs connected with the Davis Bridge Battlefield acquisition. This brings the total Tennessee Wars Commission grant funding for Davis Bridge Battlefield projects in 2009 to \$1,990,000.

- In addition to these requests, an urgent plea was made to the Tennessee Heritage Conservation Trust Fund (THCTF) on behalf of the Parker's Crossroads Battlefield Preservation Association to help secure 87 acres of endangered core battlefield property for sale at the battlefield site in Henderson County. The request for \$300,000.00 was approved and was matched by \$400,000.00 obtained from the Tennessee Lands Acquisition Fund and \$100,000.00 granted by the Civil War Preservation Trust. The \$800,000.00 purchase has now been closed and property will be incorporated into the existing 206-acre battlefield interpretive program. The Tennessee Wars Commission is indebted to our preservation partners who have helped save over 775 acres of endangered Tennessee Civil War battlefield property last year and contributed funds exceeding \$2,729,000. Since 1998 the National Park Service's American Battlefield Protection Program has contributed \$2,886,575 for six battlefields, allowing the Tennessee Wars Commission to secure over \$7,464,061 in non-federal matching funds for a total battlefield land acquisition cost of \$10,350,636.

Comments and suggestion are welcome.

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SYMPOSIUM

on Stones River Legacy

"The Legacy of Stones River: Why They Fought" symposium will take place on Saturday, March 20, 2010, from 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. in Murfreesboro, TN. The program features talks by Keith Bohannon, Sam Davis Elliott, and Kenneth Noe at the Rutherford County Courthouse in the morning, followed by park ranger-led programs at Stones River National Battlefield in the afternoon. Bohannon of the University of West Georgia has written extensively about the war, including essays on John Bell Hood and the Battle of Chickamauga. Elliott, an attorney in Chattanooga, is Chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission, and the author of the forthcoming book, *Isham G. Harris of Tennessee: Confederate Governor and United States Senator*. Noe's is Professor of Southern History at Auburn University. His latest book, *Reluctant Rebels: The Confederates Who Joined the Army After 1861*, will be published in 2010. \$10 registration fee includes continental breakfast. Call 615-893-9501 or visit www.nps.gov/stri or www.tncivilwar.org.

Report on National Register Activities

By the Tennessee Historic Preservation Office

Claudette Stager and Brian Beadles, National Register Division Staff, State Historic Preservation Office.

Following the September state review board meeting, seven properties were added to the National Register of Historic Places. Since the last issue of *The Courier* there have been seven entries to the National Register of Historic Places from Tennessee. The properties are: Conway Bridge, Cocke and Greene counties; Engel Stadium, Hamilton County; First Presbyterian Church, Hamilton County; Clarence T. Jones Observatory, Hamilton County; Daylight Building, Knox County; Cordell Hull Bridge, Smith County; and Dr. Wiley Wagner Vaught Office, Johnson County.

The Thompson Store in Williamson County had been demolished and was removed from the National Register. The Libertyland Grand Carousel in Shelby County was moved and, therefore, automatically removed from the National Register.

There are now 2,026 entries in the National Register from Tennessee including 267 districts for a total of 41,033 resources now listed.

Notable amongst the entries are two unusual properties in Chattanooga. One is known for viewing extraterrestrial stars and the other is for viewing future baseball stars. Brian Beadles, Historic Preservations Specialist II, discusses two of the more recent listings at right.

ENGEL STADIUM



Grand stands at Engel Stadium, from center field.

In 1928, Clark "Ol' Silver Fox" Griffith, owner of the Washington Senators, chose Chattanooga to land his AA affiliate team to be known as the Chattanooga Lookouts. Construction on a new 12,000 seat stadium began late in 1929 at the site of Andrews Field on the corner of O'Neal and East Third streets.

Determined to have the new stadium built before the 1930 season, structural and steel framework began on the stadium in November and December of 1929. By January, a roof covered the steel framed grandstands and work on the field and outfield wall was underway. Concrete pouring for the grandstands was completed in Jan-Feb 1930 with the total construction taking only 63 working days. The total cost for the stadium was approximately \$250,000, and upon its completion, became the most modern and well designed ballpark in the Southern League.

The new baseball stadium, named for its president, was the premier ballpark of its day. The dimensions of the field were 318 feet to the right field wall, 325 feet to the left field wall, and a daunting 471 feet to the centerfield wall, which made it the deepest centerfield in baseball. The outfield wall towered at twenty feet. The press box sat atop the wide roof of the stadium. In fact, Engel Stadium was one of the first stadiums in the country to include a press box.



Fans at Engel Stadium along first base line.

William Joseph "Joe" Engel, chosen as the president of the Chattanooga Lookouts in 1929, quickly became established in the city. Born in 1893 and son of a German immigrant, Joe Engel served as a Senators batboy as a youth. As a player, Engel floated between the minor and major leagues from 1912-1920, playing for the Washington Senators organization for 5 years.

Engel became known for his unusual promotions and techniques to promote the Lookouts earning him the nickname the Barnum of Baseball. In the 1930s, the Lookouts and the Chattanooga Times co-sponsored a house give away at a baseball game. On opening day of the 1938 season Engel arranged to bring an elephant to the stadium. He attracted fans by spreading the word about a wild elephant hunt. On another occasion he traded his starting shortstop to a rival team for a turkey. He then served a turkey dinner to members of the local press.

One event in particular orchestrated by Engel became one of the most notable sporting events in Chattanooga sports history. On April 2, 1931, the New York Yankees visited Engel Stadium for an exhibition game. Yankee greats Lou Gehrig and Babe Ruth attracted a large crowd to the stadium. However, the story of that day revolved around seventeen-year-old Lookout pitcher Virnett "Jackie" Mitchell. Engel spotted the left-handed pitcher at a baseball camp across the state line in Georgia. After signing Mitchell, Engel promoted the Lookouts as having the only female player in the minors.

Mitchell made history on that day by striking out Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig

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Jones Observatory

Designed by architect and amateur astronomer Clarence T. Jones in 1936, the observatory was built for the Chattanooga school system using federal and local funds. Jones, with much assistance from the Barnard Astronomical Society, promoted the construction and educational uses of the observatory. When completed, it was reported by local sources that the telescope was the largest amateur built telescope in the country and the largest telescope in the southeast. In 1944 the observatory was leased to the University of Chattanooga, which added astronomy to its curriculum.

In addition to designing the observatory building, Jones also helped to build the telescope. As an amateur astronomer he had experience designing and building telescopes and telescope mirrors. Jones and his sons

Bruce and Arthur had built about thirty mirrors and had a twelve-inch telescope at their home. In fact they designed and built their own grinding lap for forming and polishing mirrors for telescopes. His interest and skill in astronomy lead him to be elected chairperson of the Barnard Astronomical Society in 1932.

While the idea of building an observatory had been discussed by the Barnard Astronomical Society in the past, it was not until February 1935 that they began to solicit funds from philanthropic organizations and the general public. In April of the same year a committee met with representatives from the city of Chattanooga and learned that \$8,000 from the Public Works Administration (PWA) would be allotted to build an observatory that the school system would use. The total building cost was expected to be \$15,000, with the city paying for the part the PWA did not cover.



Clarence T. Jones with telescope.



Jones Observatory in the 1950s.

The site for the new observatory was donated by T.R. Preston and the Hamilton National Bank. Smith Elevator and Manufacturing and Strickland Pattern Works built the telescope mounting. Standard Iron Works and Lloyd Taylor built the dome. These services, including the design by Clarence Jones, were donated at an estimated worth of \$8,000. The foundation was laid on May 16, 1936, although the telescope mirrors were not completed until 1937. The first use of the telescope by the Barnard Astronomical Society was in May 1937 and

the public opening of the building was in July 1937 (although the formal dedication was later).

Less than ten years after it was completed, the city decided that the observatory was underused and was a liability. In May 1944, the Chattanooga Board of Education made a decision to lease the observatory to the University of Chattanooga. Under the lease terms, the university would open the observatory for public use and city public school use at least once a week, assume responsibilities for building and equipment maintenance, and add an astronomy course to the university's curriculum. Dr. Karel Hujer, an associate professor of astronomy at the university was put in charge of the observatory. Hujer (1902-1988) spent thirty years at the university teaching physics and astronomy. He lectured and presented papers at conferences throughout the world. Hujer had attended the universities of Prague and Chicago. In 2002, his native Czech Republic honored him with a postal card.



Preparing telescope for viewing stars.

By 1951 there were plans to add a planetarium to the observatory. As with the original building, Clarence Jones headed the efforts to build a planetarium. However, his son, Bruce Jones, was responsible for the final designs since Clarence died before the planetarium was complete. After an anonymous gift of \$12,500, the O.B. Davis Construction Company eventually built the twenty-four foot planetarium, which was dedicated in November 1958.

By 1966, about 6,000 school children each year visited the observatory on the Friday nights it was opened to the public. The University of Chattanooga offered their physics and astronomy students more than just a basic course in a classroom setting. Usage of the high-powered telescope and planetarium gave students hands on experience and closer observation of celestial bodies. Dr. Karl Hujer, along with members of the Barnard Astronomical Society led Friday night programs. University students also had the opportunity to conduct lectures and operate the planetarium for school children and the general public every Friday night.

HISTORICAL MARKERS

At its meeting on October 16, 2009, the Tennessee Historical Commission approved six historical markers: **Monroe D. Anderson**, Madison County; **Crossing the Duck River**, Maury County; **Livingston Academy**, Overton County; **Darwin School** and **Buffalo Valley School**, Putnam County; and **Tennessee Ernie Ford's Birthplace**, Sullivan County. Those interested in submitting proposed texts for markers are urged to contact Linda T. Wynn at the Tennessee Historical Commission, 2941 Lebanon Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37243-0442, or call (615) 532-1550.



The Power of Direct Nonviolent Protests: Sit-ins Bring Down the Wall of Segregation

By Linda T. Wynn Assistant Director for State Programs

Contrary to popular belief, the 1960s was not the first time that American blacks sat-in to protest unequal treatment at lunch counters and other public accommodations, not even in the South. In 1866 blacks in Tennessee staged their first "freedom rides," by boarding streetcars operated by a private Nashville streetcar company, paying the fare, and refusing to sit in the "colored section." Later, when the United States Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875 that guaranteed equal access to public accommodations, black Nashvillians tested the act with sit-in demonstrations in March, the same month that the act was passed. These actions of the Reconstruction era foreshadowed the power of the 20th century's direct nonviolent protests of the Modern Civil Rights Movement that would cause the wall of segregation to crumble.

Believed to be a new tactic to combat racial segregation, earlier protest actions of this type by American blacks have been forgotten. However, early in the 20th century, American blacks and whites who believed in the principles upon which America was founded established organizations to combat the nation's system of racial apartheid beginning with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Later, they formed other organizations that opted to contest racial segregation through direct nonviolent action. Established in 1942 in Chicago, Illinois, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which was an interracial group, used Gandhian tactics of direct nonviolent action in the struggle for racial equality. During the 1940s, it organized sit-ins and pickets to protest racial segregation in public accommodations and successfully desegregated some public facilities in the North.

Mary Church Terrell, a native of Memphis, Tennessee, who was well into her eighties, led a successful crusade to desegregate eateries in the District of Columbia. In February 1950, when she and three other colleagues (one white and two blacks) entered Thompson Restaurant, servers refused to wait on them. When Church and her associates were denied service, they filed a lawsuit. While awaiting the court's decision in the *District of Columbia v. John R. Thompson Co.* case, Terrell targeted other restaurants, this time using tactics such as boycotts, picketing, and sit-ins. Her direct action campaign proved successful. On June 8, 1953, the United States Supreme Court rendered its decision and affirmed that segregated eating establishments in the nation's capital were unconstitutional.

Although the four male students at North Carolina A & T in Greensboro, North Carolina, are given credit for beginning the sit-in movement on February 1, 1960, according to Aldon Morris' *Origins of Civil Rights Movements: Black Communities Organizing for Change*, in at least fifteen cities—St. Louis, Missouri; Wichita and Kansas City, Kansas; Oklahoma City, Enid, Tulsa and Stillwater, Oklahoma; Lexington and Louisville, Kentucky; Miami, Florida; Charleston, West Virginia; Sumter, South Carolina; East St. Louis, Illinois; Nashville, Tennessee; and Durham, North Carolina;—civil rights activists conducted sit-ins between 1957 and 1960, demonstrating that the civil rights movement was not just a southern occurrence, but also a national one. Notwithstanding, the Greensboro sit-ins are important because they denote a link in a chain of previous sit-ins and Tennessee's capital city was one of the links in that chain.

Although a few blacks served on the Board of Education, the city council, and the police force, blacks and whites in Nashville were racially segregated. The pattern of racial exclusiveness prevailed in the city's schools and public facilities, including rest rooms, waiting areas, lunch counters, transportation terminals, libraries, theaters, hotels, restaurants, and neighborhoods. Jim Crowism pervaded all aspects of life in Nashville and throughout the South.

In 1958 following the formation of the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference



Nashville Sit In, February 1960.

(NCLC) by the Reverend Kelly Miller Smith Sr. and others, Nashville's black leaders and students launched an attack on Jim Crow segregation. In March of that year, NCLC members held a workshop on nonviolent tactics against segregation. Early in 1959, the NCLC began a movement to desegregate downtown Nashville. It utilized the concept of Christian nonviolence to stage the Nashville sit-in movement to combat *de jure* and *de facto* racial

segregation. The Reverend James Lawson, a devoted adherent to the Gandhi philosophy of direct nonviolent protest, trained local residents and students in the techniques of nonviolence. In November and December of 1959, NCLC leaders and college students staged unsuccessful "test sit-ins" in an attempt to desegregate the lunch counters at Harvey's and Cain-Sloan's department stores. The Reverends Smith and Lawson, students John Lewis, Diane Nash, James Bevel, Marion Barry and others bought goods and then attempted to desegregate the lunch counters. Before the end of 1959, other college students were trained to participate in the protests. The students were from Nashville's black colleges and universities, including American Baptist Theological College, Fisk University, Meharry Medical College, and Tennessee A & I State University (now Tennessee State University). Although Nashville students began the process of sitting-in two months earlier by testing the city's racially exclusive policy, on February 1, 1960, the Greensboro, North Carolina sit-in received the first publicity.

According to David R. Goldfield's *Black, White, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern Culture, 1940 to the Present*, the lunch counter...highlighted the absurd and debasing spirit of segregation. Blacks could purchase personal items and other merchandise at Woolworth's, but not lunch counter services. In the highly structured protocol that defined southern culture, eating with someone held distinct implications. As one white southerner informed Gunnar Myrdal, "in the South, the table...possesses the sanctity of an intimate social institution." To eat at the same table or lunch counter together expressed equality.

Twelve days after the Greensboro's sit-in, Nashville's students launched their first full-scale sit-ins on February 13, 1960. Throughout the spring, they conducted numerous sit-ins and held steadfastly to the concept of Christian nonviolence. In addition to Kress's, Woolworth's, McClellan's, Harvey's and Cain-Sloan's department stores, W. T. Grant's, Walgreen's and the Greyhound and Trailways bus terminals were targeted. The students' principles of direct nonviolent protest and written rules of conduct became models for later protests in the South. When the students met with white violence and arrests on February 27, the black community rallied to their support with attorneys and bail money. Approximately

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News from the South East Tennessee Development District (SETDD)

By Paul Archambault, Regional Planner*

Your Passport to Explore Cherokee Heritage Driving Trail Brochure

Through partnerships with the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation, The Charleston-Calhoun-Hiwassee Historical Society, Volunteer Energy Cooperative, and the Southeast Tennessee Development District, the Cleveland/Bradley Chamber of Commerce produced a Cherokee driving trail brochure in the spring of 2009, which tells the story of Cherokee communities, missions, families, prominent individuals, landscape, and the Cherokee Indian Agency in Bradley County.

Red Clay State Park, listed in the brochure, is a highly recognizable and certified interpreted site by the National Trail of Tears Association because it served as the Cherokee Capital and last council ground from 1832-1838. Several other Cherokee related sites in Bradley County, primarily located in Charleston and Calhoun (McMinn County) along the Hiwassee River, greatly enhance the story of the Cherokee people in southeast Tennessee because a majority of these listed sites received little interpretation before this project.

This project would not be possible without the many devoted Charleston/ Calhoun residents and members of the Charleston-Calhoun-Hiwassee Historical Society who created enthusiasm about their cultural heritage and built environment. Projects like these must begin on the local level to be successful and sustainable. The driving trail brochure project served as a stepping stone for *The Trail of Tears and Bradley County: New Visions, New Futures* report developed by the C.H.P. at MTSU in September 2009. The report highlights the key resources and preservation

needs, heritage development needs, and historical background of Cherokee related sites in Bradley County. The historical society wishes to use this report to apply for federal funds so that they may further the interpretation of the sites and promote the area's history.

Notable sites include the following:

Charleston:

Fort Cass, a 12x4 mile area, served as one of three major federal emigration depots where several thousand Native Americans, mostly Cherokee, gathered before their forced removal to Oklahoma. The encampments stretched from present-day Charleston southward towards Cleveland.

The **Henegar House** is a Federal Style home located on Market Street in Charleston. It served as the home to Henry Benton Henegar, who served as wagonmaster and secretary under Chief John Ross.

The **Lewis Ross House/Barrett Hotel**, constructed circa 1880, was one of many dwellings that Lewis Ross, brother of John Ross, owned in Charleston. It is also believed that the dwelling included a store. The property, later owned by S.S. Barrett, served as a hotel for road and river travelers. Fires in the 1880s destroyed the original architectural integrity of the building, but some log support beams from an earlier structure are still visible in the basement.

The site of the **Cherokee Agency** (1820-1833) is believed to have been located on Broadway Street in Charleston atop a hill overlooking a spring, the Henegar House, and the Hiwassee River. Return J. Meigs, a

Revolutionary War Hero, served as the Indian Agent at this location from 1820-1823 followed by former Tennessee governor, Joseph McMinn, from 1823-1824. A residence that may be Cherokee-related is located on this property, but deserves more research to confirm its history.

Calhoun (McMinn County):

Joseph McMinn Gravesite: McMinn served as the Governor of Tennessee from 1815 to 1821. The county where he is buried was named after him and was formed out of the Hiwassee Purchase from Cherokee lands in 1819. He served as the Indian Agent from 1823-1824 in present-day Charleston. His twelve foot obelisk grave marker is located in the Shiloh Presbyterian Cemetery. The church is non-extant.

Cleveland & Bradley County Sites:

Red Clay State Park: Location served as Capital of Cherokee Nation and last council ground from 1832-1838. The park is a certified site on the Trail of Tears and features an interpretive center, Cherokee farmhouse, cabins, and council house.

Hair Conrad Cabin (NR listed 1976): Conrad, a Cherokee, adopted Euro-American building techniques to construct his dwelling circa 1804. Conrad served as a delegate to the Cherokee Constitutional Convention in 1827 and the National Committee of the Cherokee Nation in 1836. He led one of the first Cherokee detachments of approximately 700 Cherokee from Rattlesnake Springs (approx. 2 miles south of Charleston on Dry Valley Rd) to Oklahoma.

*The Preservation Planner's position is funded by an HPF grant from the NPS/SHOP.

Engel Stadium...continued

back-to-back on seven pitches. After striking out Ruth reportedly "kicked the dirt" and "gave his bat a wild heave." She stayed in the game to face one more batter, Tony Lazzeri, whom she walked. The Yankees eventually won the game 14-4, but the focus and attention all went to Jackie Mitchell. Reaction to Mitchell's achievement was mixed. It was portrayed alternately as a serious event and as a sideshow stunt.

The *New York Daily News* was particularly severe in its assessment of the event. "The Yankees will meet a club here that has a girl pitcher named Jackie Mitchell, who has a swell change of pace and swings a mean lipstick. I suppose that in the next town the Yankees enter they will find a squad

that has a female impersonator in left field, a sword swallower at short, and a trained seal behind the plate. Times in the South are not only tough but silly."

Unfortunately Jackie didn't have the opportunity to continue her professional career. A few days after the game, Jackie Mitchell's contract was voided by Major League Baseball Commissioner Kennesaw Mountain Landis because he felt the game was "too strenuous" for women to play. She went on to pitch for a few years in various independent leagues and for the House of David barnstorming team. She retired from baseball in 1937 at the age of 23. In 1982 she returned to Engel Stadium to throw the ceremonial first pitch on opening day.

The Lookouts played in Engel Stadium until the end of the 1965 season when the



View of Engel Ball Diamond.

team temporarily disbanded. The team returned for the 1976 season and continued to play at Engel until the end of the 1999 season when a new stadium was built for the team.



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

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

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

Edited by Horace Huntley and John W. McKerley, *Foot Soldiers for Democracy: The Men, Women, and Children of the Birmingham Civil Rights Movement*, includes twenty-nine oral history entries taken from the archives of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute and illustrates the complexity and diversity of the spirit of resistance at a formative moment in American history. Taken from people of varying ages and occupations who participated in the movement at the grassroots level, these narratives convey the real sense of fear and risk of bodily danger people had to overcome in order to participate in the movement. Huntley, an assistant professor of history at the University of Alabama, Birmingham, and the director of the Oral History Project at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, and McKerley, a faculty research associate with the Freedmen and Southern Society Project, cast a wide net by examining black community activism across the lines of class, gender, and generation. They cause the reader to recognize that comprehending the freedom struggle in Birmingham requires a recognition and understanding of how local people, including schoolchildren organized and fought the inculcated system of racial apartheid and aided one of history's most significant social movements. **Paper, \$25.00.**

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

The Education of a Black Radical: A Southern Civil Rights Activist's Journey, 1959-1964 by D'Army Bailey with Roger Easson gives an insider's view of one of the most important decades of the twentieth century. Bailey's experiences on the front lines of the black student movement of the early 1960s, provides an example of one person's struggle to uphold the principles of liberty, justice, and equality during the struggle for African American civil rights. Bailey, now a circuit court judge in Memphis, Tennessee, and author of *Mine Eyes Have Seen: Dr. Martin Luther King's Final Journey*, joined the movement as a student at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. After the university summarily expelled him for his civil rights activities, he continued his educational journey at Clark University in Worcester,

Massachusetts, where he expanded his activism. Encountering many civil rights activists of the era, Judge Bailey gives voice to a generation of student participants and provides inspiration for twenty-first century activists. **Cloth, \$28.00.**

Publications of Ohio University Press, 19 Circle Drive, Athens, Ohio 45701-2979 include:

Children in Slavery Through the Ages edited by Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller consists of twelve essays and is the first collection to focus on children in slavery. While significant numbers of people enslaved throughout world history have been children, most of the extensive literature on the subject concentrates on adult males. Giving a global perspective that cuts across time and space, *Children in Slavery* reconstructs one's understanding of enslavement. By looking at the variety of children's roles—from manual laborers and domestic servants to court entertainers and eunuchs, as well as the world-side context in which the child slave trade existed, this book epitomizes the new history of slavery. **Paper, \$19.95.**

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

William A. Blair and Karen Fisher Younger, eds. *Lincoln's Proclamation: Emancipation Reconsidered*. The eight distinguished contributors to Lincoln's Proclamation assess the proclamation by considering not only aspects of Lincoln's decision-making, but also events beyond the boundaries of Washington. This document, which is popularly regarded as a heroic act by President Lincoln, provides a launching point for new insights on the consequences and legacies of freedom, the engagement of black Americans in their liberation, and the issues of citizenship and rights that were not decided by the 1863 document. The eight contributors view the Emancipation Proclamation from a variety of perspectives, including how the ending of the "peculiar institution" is remembered both in America and in the Atlantic world. **Cloth, \$30.00.**

Freedom's Teacher: The Life of Septima Clark by Katherine Mellen Charron traces Clark's life from her earliest years as a student, teacher, and community member in rural and urban South Carolina to her activism following the Second World War. Charron, an assistant professor of history at

North Carolina State University, demonstrates how Clark brought her life's work to bear on the Civil Rights Movement. Through decades of teaching and civic organizing, Clark developed citizenship pedagogy reflective of the fundamental problems confronting blacks in the South, including the need for better schools, better health care, job opportunities, and the right of the franchise. She articulated her citizenship pedagogy in the 1950s, while working for the Highlander Folk School, an interracial adult education center in Tennessee. Charron's work not only provides a biography of a civil rights leader but also brings forth a reconsideration of the civil rights era historiography by the juxtaposing the school together with the church as a strategic site of the struggle. By bringing to the forefront the veiled history of black women's educational activism and revealing the subtle interface of race and gender, the author allows the reader to see both women's leadership and the struggle for freedom from a new perspective. **Cloth, \$35.00.**

Pickett's Charge: The Last Attack at Gettysburg by Earl J. Hess is another work published by the University of North Carolina Press. Perhaps one of the best-known military engagements of the American Civil War Pickett's Charge is considered as a key moment of the battle of Gettysburg and celebrated as the high-water mark of the Confederacy. Notwithstanding, Professor Hess notes that the epic stature of Pickett's Charge has grown at the expense of reality. According to Hess, the facts of the attack have been masked or distorted by the myth that encompasses them. An associate professor and chair in the Department of History at Lincoln Memorial University, he draws on exhaustive primary research, especially in unpublished accounts, thereby creating a narrative of the attack from both Union and Confederate perspectives. Analyzing its planning, execution, aftermath, and legacy, he provides the reader with a new interpretation of the last attack at Gettysburg. *Pickett's Charge* is well illustrated with scenes from the battlefield and visual renderings of the principal figures. For those with an interest in the Civil War and its battles, this work should have an appeal. **Paper, \$25.00.**

Glenn Hinson and William Ferris under General Editor Charles Reagan Wilson, *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*

cont. next page

**Publications to Note...continued**

moves beyond the traditional view of folklore that situates it in historical practice and narrowly defined genres. The entries in this volume demonstrate how folklife remains a vital part of communities' self-definitions. Fifty thematic profiles address subjects such as car culture, funerals, hip-hop, and powwows. In fifty-six topical entries, contributors focus more on specific elements of folklife, such as roadside memorials, collegiate stepping, quinceañera celebrations, New Orleans marching bands, and hunting dogs. Together, the entries in the *New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* reveal that southern folklife is dynamically alive and gives meaning to the daily unfolding of community life. **Paperback, \$22.95.**

Blue and Gray Diplomacy: A History of Union and Confederate Foreign Relations by Howard Jones is an examination of Union and Confederate foreign relations during the Civil War from both the European and American viewpoint and reveals that the consequences of the battle between the North and South spread beyond the nation's boundaries. Jones, a University Research Professor of History at the University of Alabama, delves into numerous themes. He looks at the international economic and political dimensions of the war; the North's efforts to block the South from winning foreign recognition as a nation; Napoleon III's meddling in the war and his attempt to restore French power in the New World; and the inability of Europeans to comprehend the interconnected nature of slavery and union, which resulted in their tendency to construe the war as a nonsensical struggle between a South too large and populous to have its independence denied and a North too obstinate to give up on the preservation of the Union. Written in a narrative style that relates the story as its participants saw it play out around them, *Blue and Gray Diplomacy* should appeal to those interested in the Civil War and its impact beyond America. **Cloth, \$30.00.**

The Marion Butler McLean Professor in the History of Ideas and Professor of Women's Studies at Wellesley College, Susan M. Reverby's *Examining Tuskegee: The Infamous Syphilis Study and Its Legacy* offers a comprehensive investigation of the notorious study of untreated syphilis, which took place from the 1930s through the 1970s in Tuskegee, Alabama. The forty-year "Tuskegee" Syphilis experiment that has become the American metaphor for medical racism, government malfeasance, and physician arrogance, involved hundreds of

American black men, who were told by physicians from the U. S. Public Health Service that they were being treated for their late-stage syphilis. Professor Reverby investigates the study and its aftermath from multiple perspectives to explicate what happened and why this experiment has such power in the public's collective memory. Delving into new available medical records, she uncovers the different ways it was understood by approximately 400 men, their families, and health care professionals. In due course, she reshapes conventional wisdom on the study by placing the "Tuskegee Study" into a historical perspective that enhances the public's comprehension of a significant and heartrending incident in America's medical history. **Cloth, \$30.00.**

Another work published by the University of North Carolina Press is Stephen G. Hall's *A Faithful Account of the Race: African American Historical Writing in Nineteenth Century America*. Hall, an assistant professor of history at The Ohio State University, chronicles the origins, meanings, methods, evolution, and maturation of African American historical writing from the period of the Early Republic to the twentieth-century professionalization of the larger field of historical study. While illustrating how these works integrated and engaged with ideological and intellectual constructs from conventional intellectual movements including the Enlightenment, Romanticism, Realism, and Modernism, the author also examines the making of discursive spaces that concomitantly strengthened and presented counter narratives to the more mainstream historical discourse. With this tome, Hall evokes and reconstructs an abounding but principally overlooked standard of historical writing by African Americans. **Paper, \$22.95.**

Lauren Rebecca Karloff's *Black Culture and the New Deal: The Quest for Civil Rights in the Roosevelt Era* highlights how programs within the Federal Arts Projects and several war agencies gave voice to African Americans. She contends that these New Deal programs represent a significant moment in the history of American race relations, as the cultural arena afforded African Americans unique employment opportunities and new outlets for political expression. An assistant professor of history at the University of South Carolina, Karloff's work offers a new viewpoint on the New Deal's racial progressivism and provides a unique context for understanding black culture and politics during Franklin D. Roosevelt's era. **Cloth, \$35.00.**

Publications of The University of

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

The Wars of Myron King: A B-17 Pilot Faces WWII and U.S.-Soviet Intrigue by James Lee McDonough is an interesting account of King's early life and wartime service as part of the 401st Bombardment Group, U.S. Eighth Air Force. Reared in New York and Tennessee, King not only experiences the Second World War as a member of the U. S. Army Air Corps but becomes entwined in the escalating tensions between the United States and the then Soviet Union. Ultimately, the young lieutenant faced three wars: the monumental conflict between the Allies and the Third Reich, the Cold War, and a personal battle with the military brass to clear his name after enduring an unjust court-martial. ***The War of Myron King*** is more than just a good true-life adventure story. Based on an extensive assortment of primary and secondary sources, including trail transcripts and interviews with King, this monograph offers a rare glimpse of the experience of combat, the interlacing of politics and military justice, and the complex state of affairs that launched the Cold War. **Cloth, \$32.95.**

Frederick C. Moffatt's *The Life, Art, and Times of Joseph Delaney, 1904-1991* is the first in-depth treatment of the life and work of the prolific African American painter and Knoxville, Tennessee native Joseph Delaney. This renowned artist's impressive achievements on canvas were somewhat overshadowed during his long career by those of his older brother Beauford Delaney (1901-1979), whose life and artistic accomplishments are noted in David Leeming's 1998 work *Amazing Grace: A Life of Beauford Delaney*. Although Joseph Delaney did not arrive in New York until a decade after the Harlem Renaissance, he kept pace with a leading echelon of African American painters and graphic artists over a fifty-year period. Moffatt, professor emeritus of art at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, expanded his essay "Life in the City: The Art of Joseph Delaney," which appeared in an exhibition catalog published by the University of Tennessee-Knoxville's Downtown Gallery in 2004. This tome draws on the artist's own diaries, essays, and poetry, as well as numerous other sources. The result of which, is an illuminating narrative that definitely establishes Joseph Delaney within the history of twentieth-century African American and American art. **Cloth, \$44.95.**

**Nonviolent Protests...continued**

eight-one students who were found guilty of disorderly conduct on February 29 refused to pay the fines and chose to serve time in jail. Four days later, on March 3, Vanderbilt University's administrators expelled the Reverend James Lawson, a divinity student, for participating in the sit-ins.

Shortly before Easter, black Nashvillians withdrew their economic support and boycotted downtown stores, creating an estimated twenty percent loss in business revenues. "To destroy radical evil, you have to be radically good," said Dr. Vivian Henderson, an economics professor at Fisk University. "It is a radical evil that rules this town and it will take radical good to break it." As racial tension escalated, segregationists lashed out at civil rights activists. The April 19 bombing Z. Alexander Looby's home, attorney for the students, a city council member, and a leading figure in desegregation movements throughout Tennessee, caused thousands of blacks and some whites to silently march to City Hall, where Mayor Ben Concluded to Diane Nash of Fisk University that lunch counters should be desegregated. Nashville became the first major city to begin desegregating its public facilities on May 10, 1960. Merchants and representatives of the sit-ins gathered to evaluate the desegregation of the lunch counters on June 15, 1960. During the meeting merchants admitted they were wrong in predicting dire consequences to desegregation. While food service decreased slightly, and a few employees resigned rather than work in desegregated lunchrooms, the merchants reported no effect on retail sales. In November sit-ins resumed, as racially exclusive practices continued in most eating establishments and institutionalized racism remained intact. Sit-ins and other forms of protests continued until 1964, as other business establishments such as theatres, hotels, and public facilities relented and desegregated.

One of the best-organized and most disciplined movements in the South, the Nashville sit-in movement served as a model for future demonstrations against other violations of black American civil rights. Many of the Nashville student participants became leaders in the struggle for civil rights throughout the South.

Sit-ins took place in other Tennessee cities including Chattanooga, Memphis, Knoxville, and Jackson. Unlike Knoxville, Jackson, Memphis, and Nashville, there was no black institution of higher learning in Chattanooga. Consequently, the movement in Chattanooga was different in that Howard High School students began the sit-ins. Six days after

Nashville students conducted their first full-scale sit-in, on February 19, 1960, twelve Howard High honor students, without adult supervision, went into three downtown variety stores and occupied seats at racially segregated lunch counters. They developed a set of "dos and don'ts" and relied strictly on group discipline in carrying out their protests. Their rules stipulated that no protester taunt, curse, or respond to any taunts or insults that may be hurled at Chattanooga Times headlines read: Negroes 'Sit Down' Here; No Incident, No Service." The crowd of protesters grew daily until February 24, when more than one-thousand people gathered in downtown Chattanooga. To disperse them, authorities turned fire hoses on the throng of people, both black and white. As protests continued throughout the spring and into the summer, Mayor Rudy Ogiati worked with black and white leaders, and local merchants to bring a solution to Chattanooga's racial problems. While numerous merchants contended that they had no personal problem with serving blacks, they felt compelled to adhere to company and locally imposed racial restrictions. To change such policies, the merchants felt such directives must come from their home office and from a change in city ordinances that required separation of the races. After months of negotiations between all parties involved, on August 5 downtown lunch counters served black customers for the first time.

Two days following Nashville's first full-scale sit-in, on February 15, 1960, a group of Knoxville College students met and decided to stage sit-ins at downtown lunch counters two days later. However, when President James Colston heard about the students' plans, he convinced them to delay their protests until he could negotiate with city leaders. Knoxville had a long history of open communication between local black and white leaders, and there was a less restrictive form of segregation practiced in the city. Many were confident that the vicious and prolonged sit-ins taking place in other cities across the South could not happen in Knoxville.

Mayor John Duncan Sr. and other city leaders held what seemed like never-ending negotiations in the spring of 1960. To no avail, Mayor Duncan even took a delegation, including two members of the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce and two students from Knoxville College, to New York to negotiate with chain store executives. However, they refused to meet with the Knoxville delegation.

Knoxville College students became exasperated with the measured pace of talks. In May the downtown merchants refused to desegregate the lunch counters. Many in the black community felt betrayed. On June 9, 1960, the Knoxville sit-ins began.

Notwithstanding the stand taken by the downtown merchants, the mayor continued his support of lunch counter desegregation and directed police officers to protect the rights of sit-in protesters. Unlike other cities in Tennessee, Knoxville's sit-ins were peaceful and successful in a very short period. By July 12, after little more than a month of lunch counter protests, downtown merchants surrendered and desegregated downtown eating facilities.

According to Laurie B. Green's *Battling the Plantation Mentality: Memphis and the Black Freedom Struggle*, two female and five male students from Owen Junior College (merged with LeMoyne in 1968 to form LeMoyne-Owen College) entered McClellan's variety store on Friday, March 18, 1960. They took seats at the "whites only" lunch counter and situated themselves between white customers already seated. Several cars of police officers rushed to McClellan's and its manager closed the store. Although the law enforcement officials were on the scene, they did not arrest the seven students. The following day, students from Owen and LeMoyne met to consider further action. Marion Barry, a Memphis native, attending Fisk University and active in Nashville's student movement, attended the students' meeting. Although President Hollis Price of LeMoyne College tried to discourage the students from organizing further protest by threatening them with expulsion.

Notwithstanding his warning, the students decided to proceed. Their movement differed from those of other Tennessee cities in that they targeted the city's main public library. On the same day of the meeting, approximately forty students occupied tables or approached the desk to request library materials. Within the hour, the students were arrested. Represented by law partners Russell Sugarmon and A. W. Willis, the students were arraigned and released on bail the following Sunday. Despite the events of the previous day, on Monday, twenty-three students sat in at the Cossitt Library and the Brooks Memorial Art Garden. The students continued their sit-ins throughout the spring and turned their attention to lunch counters in mid-May, where they confronted far more defiance from whites than they had at the libraries, art museum, and other public institutions. The protests, combined by mass meetings, boycotts, and marches, continued throughout 1960 and most of 1961, until businesses and governmental agencies began to desegregate in 1962. Desegregation took place in eating facilities in downtown stores, the city parks, golf courses, Crump Stadium, Fairgrounds Amusement Park, the Cotton Carnival, Memphis Airport restaurants, local theaters and

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“...the moon must hold his nose as he passed over this vast sea of filth.”¹

The Struggle for Public Health in Civil War Middle Tennessee. ©

By James B. Jones, Jr., D.A., Public Historian, Editor, *the Courier*, Historic Preservation Specialist II,²
Tennessee Historical Commission

Key events and names in Tennessee's Civil War history are well known and well chronicled. Dramatic stories of the battles of Fort Donelson, Shiloh and Stones River and wartime biographies of famous Confederate and Federal generals have monopolized scholars' and readers' attention. In the past two decades scholars have exposed a previously unheralded field of study of military health and hospitals in Tennessee cities during the war. While medical care was poorly planned for the topic has, nevertheless been the subject of many elucidating studies. Yet, these are focused closely upon hospitals, surgical procedures, malnutrition and organization of army medical services³. Save for one study examining the dilemmas of venereal infection and prostitution in Tennessee and the U. S. Army medical corps' solution to this public health and social problem⁴ the subject of public health in the Volunteer Stated during the war has been overlooked. This is largely due to the fact that, until recently,⁵ there has been no serious scholarly investigation into the subject... Evidence demonstrates the problems of filth and disease were closely related to the lack of any sanitary precautions in Tennessee cities – however, this was common throughout American cities of the era. Both Nashville and Memphis became important centers for logistical, supply, and medical activities during the conflict, and the United States Army occupied both cities. It would not be surprising then to expect that most of the evidence available would relate to those two cities. Where armies increased population it was nearly axiomatic pestilence and public health disorders would increase as well. Certainly, the problems presented by public health issues were not anticipated by the cities or the army, and it became a problem of significance in Middle Tennessee, especially in Nashville.

Only days before the fall of Fort Donelson, the Clarksville *Chronicle* commented on the continual stretch of rain unheralded for years. One result of the rain was that city streets were turned to muck. “The accumulated dirt and filth of some two years” pointed out the editor, “has been chemically rendered into slosh [*sic*], so that Franklin street is as terrible to one, wanting to cross it, as Styx is to a ghost without Chiron's fee.”⁶ The focus was more upon convenience than pestilence, but the threat of “two years” of

accumulated filth to public health was recognized.

As early as May, 1862, some concern was expressed in Murfreesboro about small-pox. According to Kate Carney this anxiety was heightened after Federal officials arrested some prominent townsfolk, including most of the physicians. The adolescent Carney didn't “know what we would do if the small pox should break out, for it [*is*] already here, we know of two cases among the Yankees, and there is no telling how many more there are that we do not know about.”⁷

Public health was a matter of some concern in Murfreesboro in March 1863. According to long time resident John C. Spence, the Army of the Cumberland was receiving large droves of beef cattle after the battle of Stones River. Whether healthy or sick the livestock was kept in lots at various locations around the city. It required the slaughter of some fifty or sixty cattle to supply the army and its hospitals. According to Spence's diary:

They would drive out that number, [then] shoot them down. When butchered, it generally covered over a half acre of ground, the entrails, heads and feet, left lying there-so in the course of time several acres was [*sic*] covered in this way, and it began to get warm weather. The smell became very offensive.

We began to be apprehensive that it would cause sickness, but as fortune would have it, the authorities took the matter in hand-dug pits, had the offensive [offal] collected up and thrown in and covered up. This caused the atmosphere to improve.

In addition the army commenced a system of street cleaning where “hands were set to work scraping up all the litter that was lying in the streets, gutters and corners and hauled it out of town.” The city took on a “more cheerful and healthy appearance” according to Spence.⁸

Yet another source describes the general health issues in Murfreesboro. In a letter to his parents B. F. McGee of the 72nd Indiana infantry reported on the hygienic conditions of the Army of the Cumberland then occupying

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¹B. F. McGee, *History of the 72d Volunteer Infantry of the Mounted Lightning Brigade. A Faithful Record of the Life, Service, and Suffering, of the Rank and File of the Regiment, on the March, in Camp, in Battle, and in Prison. Especially Devoted to Giving the Reader a Definite Knowledge of the Service of the Common Soldier. With an Appendix Containing a Complete Roster of Officers and Men.* (La Fayette, Indiana: S. Vater & Co., “The Journal,” Printers, 1882), p. 118. Letter of April 15, 1863. [Hereinafter cited as: McGee, *History of the 72d.*]

²Dr. Jones, who has served at entry level at the THC for over two decades, marks his 26th anniversary this January.

³Studies include: Sloan, Eugene. “Soule College.” *Rutherford County Historical Society* 11 (Summer 1978): 58-103; Denney, Robert E. *Civil War Medicine: Care & Comfort of the Wounded*. New York: Sterling Publishing Company, Inc., 1994. Stevens, John K. “Hostages to Hunger: Nutritional Night Blindness in Confederate Armies.” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (1989): 131-143; Clark, Sam L., and H.D. Riley, Jr., ed. “Outline and the Organization of the Medical Department of the Confederate Army and Department of Tennessee, by S.H. Stout.” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 16 (1957): 55-82.; Patricia M. La Pointe, “Military Hospitals in Memphis, 1861-1865,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 42 no. 4 (1983): 325-42; Harris D. Riley, Jr., and Amos Christie, “Deaths and Disabilities in the Provisional Army of Tennessee,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1984): 142-54; Schroeder-Lein, Glenna Ruth. “Confederate Army of Tennessee Hospitals in Chattanooga.” *Journal of East Tennessee History* 66 (1994): 32-58; Owen, Urban Grammar. *Letters to Laura: A Confederate Surgeon's Impressions of Four Years of War*, Nashville: Tunstede, 1996; Gordon, Ralph C. “Hospital Trains of the Army of the Cumberland.” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (1992): 147-156; One unique study delves into the tenure of Dr. Joseph Jones as Nashville's first, and post-war public health officer; see: Robert W. Ikard, “The Short and Stormy Nashville Career of Joseph Jones, Tennessee's First Public Health Officer,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 48 (1989): 209-17

⁴James B. Jones, Jr., “A Tale of Two Cities: The Hidden Battle Against Venereal Disease in Civil War Nashville and Memphis Tennessee,” *Civil War History*, XXXI, No. 3 (September 1985); “The Struggle for Public Health in Civil War Tennessee Cities,” *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, LXI, 2007; “Municipal Vice: The Management of Prostitution in Tennessee's Urban Experience. Part I, the Experience of Nashville and Memphis, 1854-1917,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, L, No. 1 (Spring) 1991; “A Tale of Two Cities,” *North & South Magazine*, Vol. 10, Number 5 (2008).

⁵See: <http://www.tennessee.civilwarsourcebook.com>.

⁶Clarksville *Chronicle*, February 7, 1862

⁷Kate Carney Diary April 15, 1861-July 31, 1862; entry for May 13, 1862. As cited in: <http://docsouth.unc.edu>.

⁸John C. Spence, *A Diary of the Civil War*, (Rutherford County Historical Society: Murfreesboro, 1993). Entry for March 15, 1863.

**Public Health Struggle...continued**

Murfreesboro and environs. He avowed that:

Sickness in the regiment prevails to an alarming extent; average attendance at the sick call, 100, perhaps 100 more are not fit for duty. This army of 40,000 men is encamped on a space so small that it is utterly impossible to keep the camps clean. Thousands of dead horses, mules and offal of every description, literally cover the whole face of the earth inside our picket lines; and each emits a thousand stinks, and each stink different from its fellow. The weather for months has been almost one continual flood of rain, and now, as the sun comes up more nearly straight over us, and pours down his boiling rays on this vast, sweltering mass of putridity, the stinks are magnified, multiplied and etherealized until the man in the moon must hold his nose as he passed over this vast sea of filth.⁹

By November 1863, five months since the launching of the Middle Tennessee Campaign, small-pox was rampant in Murfreesboro. It was apparently restricted by and large to the large unvaccinated contraband population. "Some white persons caught the disease," according to John Spence, and "a few died with it." He further observed:

A great many negroes [*sic*] have fallen victims to the disease. It is a great wonder the plague has not been of a more alarming nature, as there were such a large number of negroes [*sic*] in from the country, fit subjects, one in ten who had been vaccinated, and it being almost impossible to keep them from mixing about through one another. They seem to be like rats, [and] are going at all times and places. The army had a hospital built for that purpose, on the bank of the river near the Nashville pike. At this place the cases were moved to as fast as they were found out, which is the cause of the disease being kept down. Being told by one of the negroes [*sic*], who had been sick there, said the Drs and nurses paid little attention, or cared, whether or not they got well... Says as soon as the breath was out, they would lay the dead out side of the door, sometimes lay there a day or two before they were moved or buried... Large numbers died.¹⁰

Conditions in Confederate occupied Fayetteville, Lincoln County, did not vary much from those in Murfreesboro, Memphis or Nashville. A brief note in the Fayetteville Observer entitled "Clean up" indicates a growing concern over public health problems:

We would respectfully refer the attention of the authorities, civil or military, or both, to the condition of the streets, allies [*sic*], etc., of Fayetteville. Dead hogs, mules, and horses may be found in the corporation or vicinity, on all sides in every state of decomposition. The air is thick with incipient disease, and unless a speedy purifying is resorted to, midsummer will again find the cholera or some other fatal epidemic in our midst. In behalf of the citizens, we ask that our town may now have a thorough cleansing. The soldiers, we have no doubt, would unite in the request.¹¹

If the Army of Tennessee took measures to mitigate the problem it is

not known.

Public health disquiet was a matter of anxiety for municipal and military authorities in Nashville as well. As in Memphis the spring of 1863 seems to have been a shared time for urban public health initiatives. Orders issued by the Inspector General's office on March 16, 1863 required owners and occupants of businesses and dwelling houses to "have the streets, alleys and backyards adjoining their respective houses thoroughly cleaned." By late April it was announced an inspection "by proper [*sic*] authorized persons" of the work accomplished was to be executed. Brigadier General J. D. Morgan warned "anyone found to have neglected to obey the Order will be severely punished."¹²

In the meantime Federal hospital authorities had contracted a sewer system from Hospital No. 9 to the Cumberland River, "through which flows all the waste water from every part of the hospital." This was said to have a cleansing and healthful effect upon the hospital and its patients.¹³ That the sewer might be a prime factor for infecting the river and posing a health hazard to thousands seems hardly to have been considered.

Regardless, by the time the hot weather arrived in June, Mayor John Hugh Smith recognized that "the health of the city demands that it should be thoroughly cleansed." His public health notice spelled out the same approach utilized in Memphis, in which all filth or nuisances found on the premises of private citizens were to be removed "to the streets or alley and placed in heaps so the same may be hauled away by Government wagons furnished by Gen. Granger, Commander of the Post." Premises would be inspected and the city's nuisance law enforced. Reinforcing the idea that public health was both a military and civic responsibility it was the aggressive threat: "If the enforcement of civil law fails to affect the object, a more expeditious remedy may be applied."¹⁴

On July 9, 1863, the Nashville *Dispatch* commented on an advance copy of the report of the City agent of the Pest House, Spencer Chandler. The incidence of small-pox was, according to statistics, on the decline, from 18 cases to 7 among whites and 18 to 16 among blacks. The figures for the African-American population were troubling, however, showing that overall the disease was still virulent. Chandler was a qualified judge of such public health threats and he feared "an increase not only of small pox, but of other diseases, among the blacks, unless some measures be adopted by the civil or military authorities, or both, to place the contrabands in healthy encampments, with guards and overseers to see after their health and morals." As the newspaper pointed out there was another challenge to public health in the realm of the contrabands who were:

scattered over the city and suburbs, and are crowded together by dozens and fifties [*sic*], many of the men living in idleness, some by thieving, a large number of the women by prostitution, and all in filth, breeding disease, which will spread like wildfire over the city. So barefaced are these black prostitutes becoming, that they parade the streets, and even the public square, by day and night.¹⁵

Public health problems were not limited to disease or poor sewerage only. In late July 1863, the editor of the Nashville *Dispatch* complained that the city had "more mean dogs and cats than any city of the same size was ever cursed with." It was practically impossible for anyone to walk the

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⁹B. F. McGee, *History of the 72d Volunteer Infantry of the Mounted Lightning Brigade. A Faithful Record of the Life, Service, and Suffering, of the Rank and File of the Regiment, on the March, in Camp, in Battle, and in Prison. Especially Devoted to Giving the Reader a Definite Knowledge of the Service of the Common Soldier. With an Appendix Containing a Complete Roster of Officers and Men.* (La Fayette, Indiana: S. Vater & Co., "The Journal," Printers, 1882), p. 118. Letter of April 15, 1863.

¹⁰Spence, *Diary*, entry for November 30, 1863.

¹¹Fayetteville *Observer*, April 23, 1863.

¹²Nashville *Daily Press*, May 11, 1863.

¹³Nashville *Dispatch*, June 2, 1863.

¹⁴Nashville *Daily Press*, June 11, 1863, and Nashville *Dispatch*, June 12, 1863.

¹⁵Nashville *Dispatch*, On July 9, 1863.

**Public Health Struggle...continued**

streets at night without kicking a few rats in his path, and "if he but imitate the bark of a dog, in two minutes from twenty to a hundred dogs will rush from their hiding places, and woe be to the smallest cur which happens amongst them. Night is made hideous with their cries of barking, and they finally crawl into the several holes, and the rats again hold a carnival among themselves." One man who owned some sixteen dogs "and as infinite number of cats" and was nevertheless plagued by rats and complained that not only was "his house is eaten up by the rats, one of his cats had been recently killed by the vermin and his family was in constant danger of a rat attack. Perhaps the problem could be solved with a "rat hunter" who duties would include shooting all "worthless dogs and cats on the premises, and then commence with traps and every device with human ingenuity has devised." Dogs and cats had duty to perform to society, and all canine and feline pets should be made to perform duties to society, just as horses and mules did.¹⁶ This seemed hardly a serious suggestion to controlling the exceptionally virulent rodent problem in Nashville.

In the late summer of 1863 what might have been a successful record of improvements in Nashville's public health were betrayed by the question: "Shall we be stunk to death?" Abundant rains had lately helped "purify our devoted city and save us from pestilence," but the recent drought called for some plan to rid the streets and alley ways of "the contaminating filth that spreads its vomitvie [*sic*] quintessence into every particle of space, [that] we shall not long have a corporal's guard on the healthy list. Nashville, long having a reputation "for cleanliness and hygeian [*sic*]" was now in the midst of a wave of miasmas¹⁷ and horrible odors. Why was there no Board of Health in Nashville? Weren't the city fathers aware of the problem? Didn't they ever

pass along near the Maxwell house, or any other of the perfumed localities, before breakfast, or after tea, when everything is still. If they do, and inhale the delectable effluvium without being staggered and having a hurried desire to "cast up" all superfluous nourishment, they are proof against almost anything-they need not be "copper-bottomed" or "iron-clad." If we are to submit to the exhalations from dirty cellars and back premises, another month, all the good-smelling extracts ever compounded by the great Lubin¹⁸ would fail to restore our nasal organs to their natural functions, nor would all of the Plantation Bitters in the country bring back our appetites. Shall we endure these unnatural sacrifices? That's the question. Shall we be stunk to death? That's another question.

If the corporation was not competent to carry out the vital job no doubt General Granger should assume the task and "step into Doctor Butler's boots and clean out Nashville on the same admirable plan that New Orleans was redeemed from disease and death. Action! action! action!"¹⁹

Thus far, measures taken to improve public health in Nashville had not, despite the best intentions, proven successful. The *Daily Press* warned in a lengthy article by "SCALPLE:"

Yes the enemy is upon us; are even here now marching up our streets in solid columns, garrisoning our fortifications and throwing a guard into each farm and many of our houses;

binding with chains not easily to be broken, a large portion of the residents, both citizens and soldiers; binding with chains not easily to be broken, a large portion of the residents, both citizens and soldiers; slaughtering without remorse, the old and young; the strong man at arms and the feeble woman; even the little child does not escape his power. Lawrence is invaded at our very doors. Yes, more than invaded, in awful distress, in panic, in these consequences death.

No, it wasn't the Confederate army but a legion of diseases, including malaria, typhoid, typhus, small pox, septicemia, gangrene and dysentery that were ensconced in Nashville. Public health matters were seriously awry in Nashville where no one could walk "up Church street, on the sidewalk, by the barracks, without holding his breath...even old boatmen are sickened by the horrid stench of the river [and]...the streets are the filthiest of any in the world, Constantinople not excepted..." Not a day passed in which soldiers and citizens did not die from disease. There was fear pestilence would find its way into the public market and the suburbs.²⁰ A correspondent for the *New York Times* concurred, writing that Nashville's "streets even surpass those of New-York [*sic*] in accumulated filth, dirt and garbage, and under this tropical sun, steam with odious exhalations."²¹

The fault, it was believed, lay in the army's pass system which allowed disease into the city. "SCALPLE" pointed out the so-called "history of the Murfreesboro' contract;²² the fawning and...the whole history of various transactions in this department...which will account for the reason that the name of 'Grainger' [*sic*] has no angelic sweetness to his ear." Was the important work of public health the responsibility of the military or municipal authorities? "Let the responsible parties see to it. If they do not the people will see to them."²³

Small pox presented a dramatic threat to public health, and while there were some doubts in civilian medical and municipal circles about the logistics and propriety of taking forceful measures to protect public health, the military did not share those misgivings. Perhaps the best example can be found in General Orders, No. 44, issued on November 24, 1863. By its provisions the Assistant Medical Director of the Army forced the vaccination not just on military personnel, but upon citizens as well. Mayor Smith concurred. To facilitate this important medical prophylactic, army medical officers would be in attendance daily from 2 PM to 4 PM at the Alderman's Room in the Market House, on the Public Square, at Fire Engine House No. 3, on Cherry Street, South Nashville. "Gratuitous vaccination will be afforded all these depots." The matter was deadly serious and was any citizen to disobey the order they were subject to a fine or to banishment north of the Nashville district's military lines. Commanding officers were ordered to see that their men were promptly vaccinated.²⁴

But leaving a sense of fuming morality out of the question, Chandler's report stated that wherever a case of small pox was found among contrabands, the house from which it is removed was congested with residents. The editor of the *Dispatch* asked pointedly: "How many of these inmates of a filthy den have contracted the disease? Among how many other will they spread it? How long [a] time will elapse before it breaks out in camps, or in hospitals?-(for many of the occupants of these dens spend their days in hospitals [*sic*]). These are questions to be reflected upon seriously by

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¹⁶Nashville Dispatch, July 23, 1863

¹⁷Vapors arising from rotting matter and feces that were believed to cause disease.

¹⁸Pierre-Francois Lubin, a nineteenth-century French perfumer.

¹⁹Nashville Daily Press, September 4, 1863

²⁰Nashville Daily Press, September 14, 1863.

²¹New York Times, August 21, 1863.

²²Presumably this referred to corruption attendant to army contracts in Murfreesboro made for the improvement of public health.

²³Nashville Daily Press, September 14, 1863.

²⁴Nashville Dispatch, November 24, 1863.

**Public Health Struggle...continued**

our City Fathers, if they would preserve the health of the city.”²⁵

Concurrently with the hazard of small pox, a military order had just the day before been received notifying all white prostitutes to leave Nashville without delay. If this public health tactic was good for them, “why not issue a similar order against the blacks? If military necessity demands the removal of the first, it certainly will require the latter, if the police and our own eyes are to be believed.”²⁶

Indeed Nashville (like Memphis) had become notorious for its “Smoky Row,” the *de facto* red light district of the city. The incidence of venereal disease among the troops, and no doubt the civilian population, was so alarming that in July the military authorities conducted a prostitute pogrom and sent the women via steamboat to Cincinnati. That city refused them and within two months most of the “Cyprians” had returned to Nashville. Seeing that expulsion would not protect soldiers’ and public health the military medical department in Nashville initiated a system of frequent and regular health inspections for prostitutes in an effort to reduce disease in the army. If found free of disease the prostitute paid for a license and was allowed to continue her profession. It was the first licensed system of prostitution in the United States. Memphis, too, tackled this public health problem posed by prostitution in a similar manner by 1864.²⁷

A number of bordellos there created a “perfect pest house. It was common knowledge that “hundreds of soldiers and some hospital workers frequent those houses.” One house of ill repute on College and Criddle streets had at least two sex workers who were small-pox patients, “and *some other girls* [sic]...” Knowing this, the editor of the *Dispatch* asked, “are such things calculated to increase or diminish the spread of small pox? Imagine an inmate of one of our hospitals spending one night with two small-pox patients, and the next day and night in a hospital!”²⁸

On January 24, 1864, Brigadier General R. S. Granger issued General Orders, No. 4. All cases of small-pox, soldiers or citizens, were to be “promptly reported the Acting Assistant Surgeon A. D. White at his office in the Bostick house, a large brick building on the Charlotte Pike.” From that point all bona fide cases were to be conveyed to “the small-pox camps and treated.” Granger justified the necessity of this action on the grounds that the “unchecked spread of this disease necessitates this regulation, which will be strictly enforced.”²⁹

There was little authorities could do to quell small pox and by February 1864 its occurrence in Nashville was alarming. The number of cases of the disease was being recorded. The two bagnios on Criddle and College Street contained cases of small pox, and large numbers of soldiers and hospital employees were known to frequently spend time in them, day and night. It seemed no wonder, then, that one hundred and thirty seven soldiers had been infected with the pox. There had been no effort made to prevent the spread of the disease among the contraband that accounted for the upsurge. The increase in small pox cases among contraband had expanded from 76 in November 1863 to 219 in January 1864 – and that figure did not include those in the military hospitals. A tabular accounting demonstrated the growth in the incidence of the disease from November 1863 to January 1864:

This report presented an alarming picture of dramatic and dangerous increase of small pox and the municipal authorities’ attention was drawn to it. In the early part of December [1863], Mr. Spencer Chandler presented a report to the City Council, making some rational proposals, and urged immediate action to protect the public health. The report was referred to the

Increase in the Incidence of Small Pox in Nashville

November 1863 — January 1864			
ADMITTED	Nov ‘63	Dec ‘63	Jan ‘64
Citizens	23	66	87
Soldiers	47	86	137
Contrabands	76	173	219
Total	146	325	443

Pest House Committee, but nothing whatever “Almost every street in the city infected,” according to a newspaper report, and “almost every negro [sic] den has its patient, and yet we hear of no measures for its amelioration—no active, vigorous measures, such as should be put forth for the prevention of its further spreading.

The Pest House report for the month of January demonstrated the veracity of Chandler’s claims:

Nashville Pest House Report for January 1864

Number in Hospital as per last report	349
Since admitted-citizens	87
Since admitted soldiers	137
Since admitted contrabands	219-443
Total number treated	792
Discharged	107
Died	114
Escaped	2-223
Remaining in Hospital	559

There were at that time eleven pest houses hospitals in Nashville and included small-pox hospitals and surgeons’ quarters: Dr. Watson’s house, Langdon’s, Beech’s, Ed. Smith’s, two houses belonging to Whiteman, the old Pest House on the river, and the Bostick house on the Charlotte Pike, as headquarters. J. B. McFerrin’s house, in Edgefield, is also used as a pest-house.”³⁰

By April 1864, the menace was nonetheless virulent, according Elvira Powers, a novitiate nurse who volunteered to work at the small pox hospital in Nashville. Her work entailed the patients in “two divisions of tents at the Small Pox Hospital.” She described in her diary the particular hospital at which she had volunteered to work as a “most disagreeable place, as there are so few who are willing to take it.” She continued:

The Hospital is about a mile out from the city, and near Camp Cumberland. It consists of tents in the rear of a fine, large mansion which was deserted by its rebel owner. In these tents are about 800 patients—including convalescents, contrabands, soldiers and citizens. Everything seems done for their comfort which can well be, with the scarcity of help. Cleanliness and ventilation are duly attended to; but the unsightly, swollen faces, blotched with eruption, or presenting an entire scab, and the offensive odor, require some strength of nerve in those who minister to their necessities. There are six physicians each in charge of a division. Those in which I am assigned to duty are in charge of Drs. R. & C. There is but one lady nurse here, aside from the wives of three surgeons, -Mrs. B., the nurse,

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²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷A full discussion of the prostitution predicament can be found in James B. Jones, Jr. “A Tale of Two Cities: The Hidden Battle Against Venereal Disease in Civil War Nashville and Memphis.” *Civil War History* 31 (September 1985): 270-276. See also: *Memphis Bulletin*, May 1, 1863; *New York Times*, June 2, 1865.

²⁸Ibid. and February 6, 1864.

²⁹Nashville Dispatch, January 29, 1864. This order is not found in the OR.

³⁰Nashville Dispatch, February 6, 1864.

**Public Health Struggle...continued**

went with me through the tents, introduced me to the patients and explained my duties.³¹

Martial authorities, however, had a clear idea of who was responsible. City authorities were responsible had not done an adequate job in Nashville. In late January 1864 Brigadier General R. S. Granger launched the military's draconian response to the challenges to public health. Noting the utter failure of the municipal authorities to enforce public health regulations to protect the wellbeing and lives of soldiers and citizens he called for drastic measures. Each occupant of every house in the city would "daily sweep or scrape clean the pavement of sidewalk in front of his building." This task was to be completed before 9:00 AM. Thereafter, on announced days, each occupant was to clean to the middle of the street in front of his dwelling "collecting the sweepings into piles, to be carried away by Government wagons." A fine double that charged by the municipal authorities would be levied by the Provost Marshal for neglect of the order. If the fine was not paid within a week of its having been imposed, some of the offender's property would be sold at public auction until the sum was realized. A commissioned officer whose special duty it was to report any neglect or violation of the order had been detailed to superintend the policing of the cleanliness of the city streets.³²

The difficulties encountered by the municipal authorities in trying to keep the avenues of Nashville clean stemmed from a number of factors. Firstly, it was common knowledge that in the winter months it had been wholly impossible to do any street cleaning because the ground was frozen and so it was not possible to clean the streets. Notwithstanding, while the ground had been frozen, Mayor Smith applied to military authorities for the necessary carts to be used for street cleaning purposes. The mayor was prepared to pay for them. There being no response the Mayor wrote to the authorities stating that the city had no carts, and that none could be bought in Nashville, and asked again for the military to provide the corporation "with the number requisite to remove the mud from the streets." The letter was then sent through the military bureaucracy and on the 25th, Army authorities promised to furnish any number required, at any time and place the Mayor might designate. Smith requested some eight carts and wished to have them delivered to the city Street Overseer on the 26th. Sadly, due to pressing military business, the carts were not delivered and the street cleaning order was issued on the 27th. Moreover the Mayor had advertised to pay the "highest price" [sic] weeks before for one hundred hands to do the work. A breakdown in communications between military and civil authority was largely at fault for the lack of action.

Secondly was a severe shortage of labor caused by the vicissitudes of Civil War. Traditionally the streets of Nashville were cleaned and kept in order by workhouse criminals and slaves leased by the year. But now

Our slaves are all gone, and none can be hired. It is deemed almost a miracle to find a negro in the workhouse two hours after he is convicted of a misdemeanor; he is either liberated by order of some military official, or is enlisted in the army, and we hear no more of him until again caught engaged in crime; but the same course is again pursued, and he is again liberated. It is thus that the Street Overseer is frequently without hands, and seldom has more than a dozen or twenty at his command.

The large amount of rock needed for macadamizing our streets is

broken in the workhouse by white criminals; but lately, "before a criminal has time to make a second breath after reaching the workhouse, the recruiting officer pounces upon him, and he is liberated to enter the service of Uncle Sam." Even if they were to find themselves back in the workhouse their stay was truncated once their officers freed them.

Thus there were contradictory and extenuating impulses at work preventing the consummation of the street cleaning public health initiative. On the one hand was the desire to improve public health, and on the other were the demands of the military and the shortage of labor caused by the war. The editor of the Dispatch asked that the Mayor be given "half a chance. These facts we publish for the information of the military authorities, and in justice to our civic officers. With many of them we are perfectly familiar, and we believe to be perfectly true all we have above stated. Give the Mayor "half a chance and he will do justice to all alike, military and civilian."³³

Dead animal carcasses continued to be a problem in Nashville. According to one newspaper report:

Large numbers of the carcasses of dead mules and horses are rotting upon the commons close by the corner of Summer and Crawford streets, filling the air with an intolerable stench, which is admirably calculated to increase the business of physicians and undertakers.

All past attempts to deal with this predicament had failed. Perhaps a solution could be found in constructing a large furnace into which animal carcasses could be burned. Objections that it would require excessive amounts of wood to fire the furnace weren't as burdensome as some proclaimed, and regardless, "the health of the city its worth more than all the wood that could possibly be consumed." The ongoing practice of burying dead animals "played out long ago." There seemed to be no better an idea than the furnace and the editor invited comments from readers.³⁴

Since the city seemed incapable of action the Army took the initiative. Provost Orders, No. 52 was issued by Provost Marshal Lieutenant-Colonel John W. Horner on March 13, 1864, mandating the elimination of dead animals from the streets of Nashville. The practice of depositing the carcasses of dead mules and horses within the city limits "in violation of all sanitary regulations" was strictly prohibited. According to Provost Marshal Horner, all "such dead animals will be hauled to a point on the river bank, below the Government corrals, and thrown into the river." Anyone leaving a dead animal either in or within a half mile of the city limits who neglected to have it hauled away, "will be arrested and imprisoned." The editor of the Dispatch applauded the order as "very wholesome". Yet while street clean might be wholesome, many were upset that street scraping continued on Passion Sunday. "It has been said for ages that 'cleanliness in next to godliness,' not to be preferred to it."³⁵

On 22 March, 1864, Captain William D. Chamberlain, Chief of the Military Police at Nashville issued Special Orders No. 76, which was printed on the 28th. It was sweeping in its intent to improve public health. The civilian population of the city would find it to their individual and mutual interests to assist Chamberlain to obey. The order consisted of seven parts

1) That occupants of stores, restaurants, and dwelling houses, would be required to clean their cellars and yards, and have the offal removed, within forth-eight hours from the date of the order. No rubbish or filth of any kind

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³¹Elvira J. Powers, *Hospital Pencillings* [sic]; *Being a Diary While in Jefferson General Hospital, Jeffersonville, Ind., and Others at Nashville, Tennessee, As Matron and Visitor*, (Edward L. Mitchel: 24 Congress Street: Boston, 1866) pp. 42. [Hereinafter cited as: Powers, *Pencillings*.]

³²Nashville Dispatch, January 28, 1864.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., February 5, 1864

³⁵Ibid., March 15, 19, 1864

**Public Health Struggle...continued**

would be allowed to accumulate on any premises within the city limits.

2) All dirt was to be removed in barrels and boxes from back yards and alleys. All garbage must be collected within twenty-four hours without being removed.

3) Offal and restaurant trash were required to be removed by the occupants each day, except Sundays. Before 10 A. M. all ashes and rubbish must be set in barrels on the sidewalk before 10 A. M. each day.

4) Hereafter occupants of stores and houses were required to have the rear of their premises clean, and the side-walk swept before 9 A. M. each day.

5) Any violation of the Special Orders No. 76 would be punished by a fine of five dollars, to be collected by the Provost Marshal.

6) The cooperation of the citizenry would promote cleanliness "one of the first requisites of health." While there were no facilities to haul the refuse away the Captain promised that as soon as a sufficient number of carts could be obtained "notice will be given, and the dirt and rubbish removed without cost to citizens."

7) The Captain had as his goal the removal of As it is my intention to remove "all filth from the city proper, whether in the shape of dirt, rubbish, or dead animals, [and] all information that would facilitate this public health initiative would "be thankfully received and immediate action taken in the premises."³⁶

Yet the battle for public health in Civil War Nashville would escalate within just a few days. On the 24th of March Brigadier General R. S. Granger appointed Captain M. D. Chamberlain, of the twenty-ninth Massachusetts infantry, as Chief of the Nashville Military Police. He was authorized by the General to enforce Special Orders No. 76 and Provost Orders No. 52.³⁷ His duties were to search all premises, alleys and out houses and to give orders and directions involving the cleaning and keeping them clean. The order likewise provided that no impediment could be allowed on the pavements but should "be taken in as soon as delivered." A five dollar fine was to be imposed for any failure to comply with these public health regulations. The government would see to it that the streets were clean by sprinkling them daily. The prospect for a healthy summer seemed possible.³⁸ Adding additional vigor to the effort to improve public health, Brigadier-General Granger on the advice of Assistant Surgeon U.S.A. Surgeon L. A. James, of the 4th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, as the first acting health officer for Nashville on March 30.³⁹

The work of scraping the streets continued in April, with the object of eradicating small-pox, pneumonia, "two desperate enemies of mankind generally." The work was supervised by two military captains and "reviewed semi-occasionally by Gen. Wright."⁴⁰ Ironically, that same day nurse Powers recorded in her diary that a "woman and a boy died in my division last night. The father, a soldier, wishes to take the child away, but was not permitted to do so or to see it, for fear of contagion. It is to be kept to see if the child has the disease." The boy, from Alabama, thought he was getting better but died. She recorded a conversation she had with one of her civilian patients who died a day later:

"People die mighty easy here."

I asked in what way, he meant.

"Oh," he replied, "they'll be mighty peart-like [sic], one

minute, an' the next you know, they're dead!"

This is true, and I find so many who were sent here with measles, recover from those, and die of small pox. *Sixty cases of measles* [sic] were sent to this hospital in *one month* [sic], as I learn from the lips of the surgeon in charge himself, Dr. F. These are sent by the several physicians of Nashville. The fact itself speaks volumes, but to stay here and see its effects day after day in the poor victims of such ignorance, impress one with a sense of the importance by the medical faculty of distinguishing between the two diseases."⁴¹

Apparently the tough measures taken by the military had an effect on the populace of Nashville, although perhaps not of the sort intended. While the citizens obeyed the public health orders in what might be interpreted as in a passive-aggressive manner, the military could not live up to its end of the bargain. According to one source in early April:

We are informed on authority that the mountains of dirt, ashes, filth, or what not, piled up in front of sundry houses, must be removed immediately at the expense of the owner or occupant of the house from whence it was exhumed, or the officers of the city government will indict the occupants for creating a nuisance. General Granger says he never contemplated having huge nuisances removed at the expense of Uncle Sam. We have warned you in time, reader; so look out for a notice to appear, and answer, etc., if your mud-piles are not removed this morning.⁴²

Nashville's citizens were by this time thoroughly nonplussed in understanding their obligations with regard to the sanitary regulations laid down by the military authorities. Everyone seemed to have interpreted these orders to require them to place rubbish and ashes from their cellars, back yards and alleys in barrels and boxes on the streets in front of their businesses or premises, from whence they would be removed in Government wagons. They complied with what they understood the orders to mean, and now found the city authorities telling them that if they did not remove the rubbish they were to be indicted for creating a nuisance. "The law is plain and explicit upon this point, and the citizens must remove the rubbish in from of their premises forthwith or take the consequences." There were contradictions in the municipal ordinances and the military orders which would result in a doubling of fines. The solution to the public health conundrum was clearly to have either the military or municipal authorities to enforce police and sanitary regulations in the city. The policy adopted by Gen. Hurlbut in Memphis was thought to be the right one. In a speech to the City Council of that city on the 17th, he proclaimed that if they did not clean the city and take measures to improve its sanitary condition, he would impose military authority, stop their power to collect of taxes and do the work himself.⁴⁴ Within a week it was noted that the "shovel brigade" was out in force, "going through its maneuvers with remarkable accuracy.... These forces are intended to operate principally against Small Pox and Pneumonia, two desperate enemies of mankind generally."

It would not be until well into the 1890s that any real acceptance and general understanding of the "germ theory of disease" would lead to health reforms throughout Tennessee and the United States. It wasn't that they didn't know about germs, they just didn't know they could cause disease.

³⁶Ibid., March 29, 1864.

³⁷Neither of these orders is referenced in the *Official Records*.

³⁸Ibid, March 24, 1864.

³⁹Ibid. March 30, 1864.

⁴⁰Nashville *Dispatch*, April 14, 1864

⁴¹Powers, *Pencillings*, pp. 42-43.

⁴²Nashville *Dispatch*, April 6, 1864.

⁴³Nashville *Dispatch*, April 7, 1864. See *Memphis Bulletin*, March 18, 1864.

⁴⁴Nashville *Dispatch*, April 14, 1864.

**Nonviolent Protests...continued**

drive-ins, and Holiday Inn's Bull and Bear Restaurant on Union.

Students from Lane College in Jackson, Tennessee, launched their first sit-in on October 27, 1960, when five members of Lane's Student Movement Association entered Woolworth's and occupied seats at the "white only" lunch counter, causing the store's management to immediately close the counter. Later that afternoon, students gathered and staged a sit-in at McClellan's, approximately, one block north of Woolworth's and refused to leave. After the first sit-ins, students from Lane went to the downtown lunch counters daily, while others carried signs of protests. Like other students in Nashville and Chattanooga, they adhered to certain dos and don'ts while protesting. In most cases when arrests occurred, black students were arrested even though whites taunted them. To uphold the southern way of life, prominent governmental officials joined the Federation for Constitutional Government, an organization that defended segregation and identified black businesspersons who helped make bail for the demonstrators. Although bond money was available, most refused bail in an attempt to fill the local jail and to bring more attention to their cause. In December, as blacks had done in Nashville during Easter, blacks in Jackson withdrew their economic support of downtown businesses during the Christmas holidays. Unlike Nashville, Jackson executives refused to desegregate their lunch counters. Woolworth's closed its lunch counter for an extended period

and McClellan's kept its counter closed. After several years of demonstrations, Woolworth's desegregated its lunch counter one year after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Fifty years ago, the power of the deliberate nonviolent actions of students across the nation, who saw themselves as leading actors on the stage of justice, drew back the legal curtains of racial segregation and provided America with its cue to change its act and finally perform its professed principles of equality and justice for all.

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