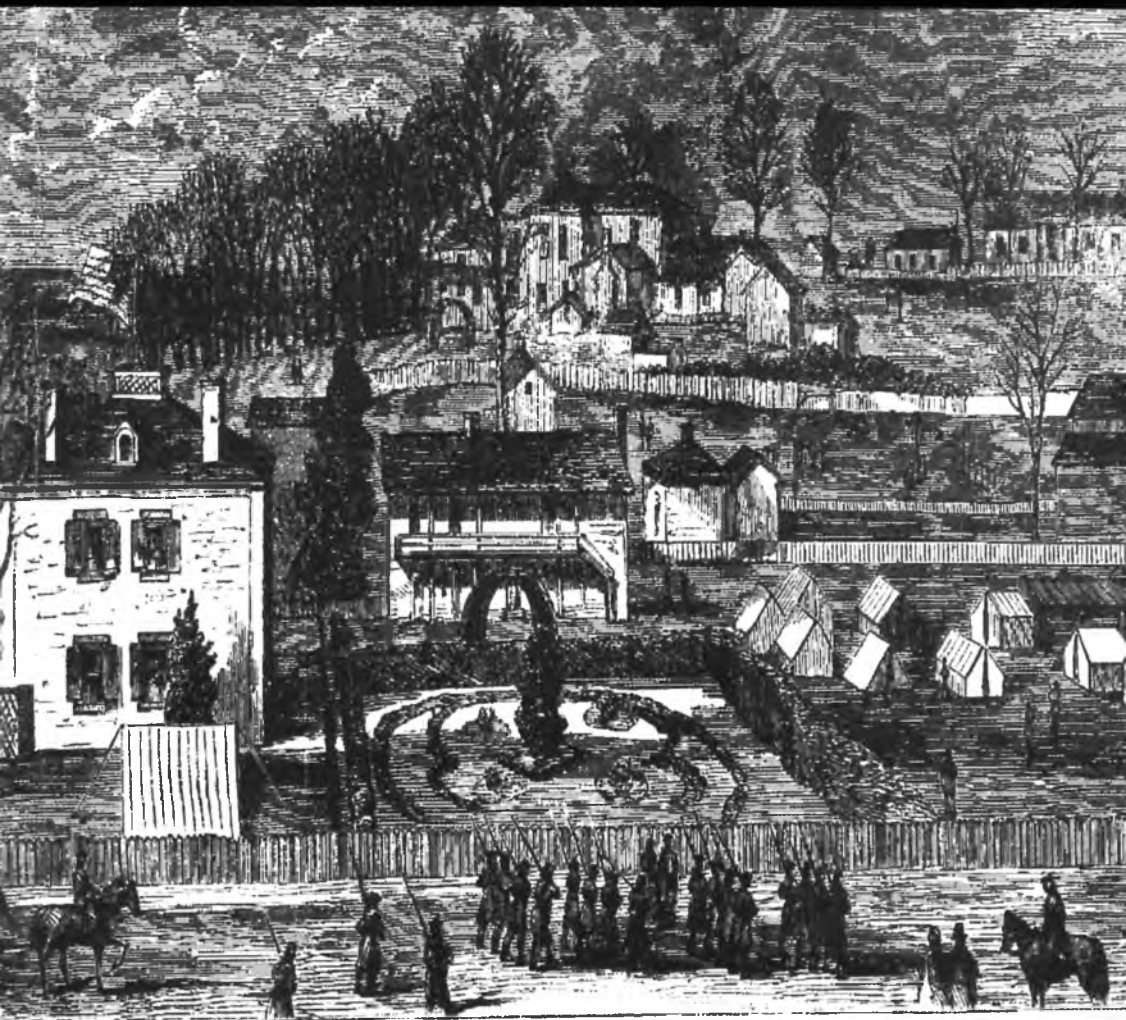


INCIDENTS OF THE WAR

The Civil War Journal
of Mary Jane Chadick



Nancy M. Rohr

INCIDENTS OF THE WAR:
THE CIVIL WAR JOURNAL
OF
MARY JANE CHADICK



EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY
NANCY ROHR

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Norman Shapiro, Brian Hogan, Morris Penny, and Librarian Ranée Pruitt—Thanks for your curiosity, passion, and stubbornness. And anyone who asked, “How is it coming along?” or, assuming I would ever finish, said, “I can’t wait to read it.” You may have had more faith than I did.

Certainly credit goes to the Fordyce family for saving and sharing the original documents of their family. My personal gratitude is extended to everyone else who thought and wrote something down on paper and those who saved their priceless pages so that a more complete picture could be seen and the story told by Mary Jane Chadick about the incidents of the War in Huntsville, Alabama.

Happy 200th birthday, Huntsville.

EDITING TECHNIQUES

The *Huntsville Times* first published Mary Jane Chadick's Civil War journal in 1937. The journal was printed in serial form first in the newspaper and then reprinted in booklet form through three special editions. The series produced a wonderful response in the community, and editor Reese Amis printed a letter of thanks to the Fordyce family of Arkansas who had shared the original material. The *Times* presented two copies to Margaret Mitchell Marsh, author of *Gone with the Wind*. Her response, also printed in the *Times*, observed Mrs. Chadick's work was informative and "so very human."¹ The *Alabama Historic Quarterly* next reprinted the work in 1947. Currently the original journal is housed at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, Arkansas, with other Fordyce related material.

Mrs. Chadick reported the events as accurately as the information she knew at the time allowed. A little editing has been done to make the spelling of surnames consistent. Some errors in transcription from the newspaper account continued in the second publication and neither attempted to identify the names or clarify the events of Mrs. Chadick's story. Every effort has been made to locate information about the people and episodes which she mentioned. This publication is not intended to show the total picture of the American Civil War but rather the circumstances and events of the War as viewed and recorded by Mary Jane Chadick in Huntsville, Alabama during those years. While grateful to Mrs. Chadick for the very act of recording the incidents, there is presumably further information yet to be discovered.

Much of this edition's annotated information has been gathered by use of an early Huntsville city directory and the federal censuses, adjusted for the year in which the person was noted in Mrs. Chadick's journal. For instance, the 1860 Madison County Federal Census gave the age of Martha Bradford as 42. When Mrs. Chadick wrote about her in 1862, Mrs. Bradford would be about 44 years old. The census material combined with information from the *Williams' City Directory* for 1859, which often listed the occupation and the location of the home, offers a different representation of families. Now the reader knows Mrs. Bradford lived on the south side of Randolph Street with her sons Fielding and Joseph B. Bradford, what each of these people did for a living, age, where they were born and the value of their real estate and personal property. No husband was listed with Mrs. Bradford, and she was likely widowed. Using the 1850 Census, one knows Mrs. Bradford's husband's name, age, place of birth, occupation, estimated worth, and the names of their other five living

children not noted (for various reasons) in the 1860 census as being with her. This helped considerably with the identification of many of the names. The Censuses and the *Directory* will not be cited again after the first endnote. The 1861 Hartley and Drayton map of Huntsville helped locate actual households geographically. Most of the information about individual soldiers, of both sides, was obtained from the web site maintained by the National Park Service. Any person or event not annotated, after many hours of research, simply could not be identified.

Mrs. Chadick's entries are written in italics and annotations are below that day's passages in Times New Roman with endnote references. There has been no attempt to correct Mrs. Chadick's spelling unless it involved a place name or surname. Every effort has been made to identify these events and people. The text has not been altered, even though she uses terms considered offensive or degrading today. The material is presented just as Mrs. Chadick wrote it: day-by-day and, sometimes in moments of alarm, written almost hour-by-hour.

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Huntsville Madison County Public Library - HMCPL
Alabama Department of Archives and History - ADAH

INTRODUCTION

“How many weary days, weeks, and perhaps months will lapse before we can know who of our friends are among the slain!” Mary Jane Chadick asked her journal on June 29, 1862. The Union army had occupied Huntsville, Alabama, for a little more than two months, and citizens of north Alabama were “prisoners of hope,” she said. Mrs. Chadick wrote from April 11, 1862, the day of the first occupation, until September first of that year. She picked up the journal again while the Federals made raids into town during July and early autumn of 1863. But the Yankees returned on November 26, 1863, with the intent to remain, and she began to write continuously again. Even when the fear of Confederate attack made the Union army temporarily abandon town between November 27 and December 20, 1864, she was committed to recording in her journal. These entries reported the circumstances of her life and the events in her community from her viewpoint.

Mrs. Chadick’s writing is not a personal diary of aimlessly recorded emotions nor a mental cleansing. She was too much of a woman of refinement to share her own innermost thoughts or to reveal how other people reacted. Doubtless she did not record everything she knew or suspected about her neighbors, who might be aiding and abetting the enemy; however, neither were there any empty spaces in the journal where politeness might suggest leaving out someone’s name. The only gap in the journal is somewhat of a puzzle. She wrote in mid-August of 1864, “Had quite an excitement about dinner time, occasioned by the finding of a _____ in the front yard by Billy.” The reader will never know what Billy found, whether it was a snake or a drunken soldier. She was too lady-like to commit the word to paper.

If Mary Jane Chadick wept or raged she did not write it in her journal. Hers was not a record of feelings, much less passions. After all a lady of her time tended to her responsibilities first, and her duties were heavy. When the journal began on April 11, 1862, her husband, Reverend W. D. Chadick, was away fighting in the Civil War. As a female her role had always been secondary to that of her husband. Now she coped with the children, the servants, the household, the decisions to be made, and her own well-being. Although she never used the word “slave,” she also had responsibility for five household servants. Moreover it was her task, and now most Southern women’s part of the War, to attempt to maintain the family and the charmed circle of warmth and happiness of the home place. Only the very last entry of the journal acknowledges the consolation the pages afforded her and the shared gladness as “they” had wept together.

Although she was born in Salem, Massachusetts, Mrs. Chadick was solidly for the Southern cause as she saw it. The Confederates were fighting an invading army and the South's cause was just in the eyes of God. She was dismayed to learn many of the wounded Southern soldiers took the oath and were allowed to go to their homes. She was mortified when twelve local jailed hostages, leaders of the community, signed a watered-down statement which protested guerilla warfare.

When Mary Jane was overcome with anxiety, she did what any well-bred woman of her generation might do: She took to her bed. Whether her distress was migraine or sinus headaches, real or imagined, she was not embarrassed to write that she had gone to bed with a nervous headache. Her children or neighbors do not seem overly concerned, but accepted it matter-of-factly. Perhaps if she had written of her emotions in the journal, she might have suffered fewer headaches.

What she writes about are the daily events surrounding the house on Randolph Street during the periods of occupation by the Federal troops. Her tone is sensible. Seldom are anger, fear, or anxiety recorded, although righteous indignation sometimes rises to the surface. At times the activities of the eight children almost seem secondary to her recording of events. For instance the reader does not learn until the entry of June 20, 1862, that one other member of the household was absent. The Chadick son, Davie, then six years old, had been visiting with his grandparents in Lebanon, Tennessee, and was unable to be brought through the Federal lines until August of 1864.

If Mrs. Chadick performed nursing duties for the sick or wounded, her journal does not record visits except four or five times. At no time did she mention her brother who remained in Ohio, fought at Shiloh, and died in the Union Army. Likewise she does not mention a second brother from Tennessee who may, or may not, have served with the Federal army but died in 1862. She does note her brother, David, who opened a store in Nashville during the War. She would not know, or guess, that while many other businesses were going bankrupt, his was profitable—he acquired \$55,000 by 1870. She simply may not have been aware of any of these facts.

Under occupation, every action required a “pass,” which was considered in traditional governmental manner with signatures and approval before issuance. Therefore, living in the center of town as the wife of a prominent figure, Mrs. Chadick still had many occasions to interact with the Federal authorities, even though she never wished this. She was inclined to comment on the character and looks of the officers more than the regular soldiers. After the initial shock and anger were

recorded, sometime during the long three years of the journal her attitude seemed to soften toward individual Federal soldiers and officers. Her family came to appreciate individual acts of kindness. She also became aware of the harm done to the civilian population by the uncontrolled guerrilla warfare.

If Mrs. Chadick participated in the Ladies' Humane Society or the Ladies' Soldiers Aid Society, which met every month to send boxes of clothing and supplies to the men in the ranks from north Alabama, she did not mention it. Her days were spent supervising the children and the servants, all the while trying to cope with the difficult times. The family did not endure hunger, dress in rags, or become homeless as had happened to many of her neighbors. Nevertheless the fear and anxiety of the unknown were always present. At the same time she feared the enemy soldiers and the discontented slaves surrounding her. After only two months of occupation, Mrs. Chadick wrote, "We are all prisoners of hope."

PROLOGUE

Mary Jane Chadick and her family had lived in Huntsville for seven years when she began to write her journal. The family had settled into a welcoming community that was not merely a backwoods rural village. Huntsville often led the way in political, commercial, social, educational, and cultural activities. The rich farm land was now even more closely united with the rest of the South by the new railroad. This leadership role had not come without some effort for growth and change.

History of Huntsville and Madison County

“Huntsville without denial, was the Gem of Southern Cities,” boasted the new city directory of 1859. No longer was Huntsville, Alabama, the hamlet of 1811 with only a small dry goods store, a grocery, a whiskey shop, a hatters shop and a bowling alley. Then it may have appeared to be a rude little place with card-playing, quarter-racing and hunting, fist fights and free fights in the streets. And, yes, some citizens may have associated with improper women in those early days. Occasionally when court and muster days filled the town there had been stone-throwing. But be assured use of the pistol or bowie knife was a rare test of manhood and did not happen often in good social circles anymore.²

In 1828 Timothy Flint had prepared a new geography and history reference book of the then western states. He found Madison County, Alabama, to have extremely fertile land and a sense of community. Even then improvements were visible to visitors. Flint said the town of Huntsville was built “principally of brick with spacious and handsome buildings, a Presbyterian Church, a Baptist, and two Methodist places of worship, a handsome courthouse and other public buildings.”³

Charles Lanman, an amateur explorer, writer and artist, visited Huntsville in the 1850s. Lanman was delighted in Huntsville with its highly cultivated farms and people: “On becoming acquainted with the people of Huntsville, as it has been my privilege, a stranger will find that they are the leading attraction. Owing to its pleasant and healthful location, a large number of the more influential families of the south have congregated here. So that society is all that could be expected from a happy union of intelligence, refinement, and wealth...On the score of hospitality, the people of Huntsville are unsurpassed by any of their neighbors.” Lanman was immediately invited to stay with a local family, “...where I had been treated more like an old friend than a stranger. This is the way they treat pilgrims in Alabama.”⁴

Huntsville, Alabama, located between the Tennessee River and the Tennessee state line in the northeastern part of the state, served as county seat for Madison County. The town obviously was growing and grownup from the rough village of earlier years. By 1860 as the rumblings of war were heard, the population of Madison County rose to over 26,000. Within the county, the town of Huntsville included 1980 whites and almost an equal number of blacks, 1654 slaves and 85 free.⁵

Local citizens had much of which to be proud. Consider that Huntsville was the first English settlement in the state, served as the first capital, established the first newspaper, and supported the first Baptist and Presbyterian churches in the state. The town enjoyed the first public water system west of the Alleghenies, the availability of gaslights, and Macadamized roads. The first Masonic lodge and the first bank in the state of Alabama were established in Huntsville. Citizens formed the Bible Society and a library early in the town's growth, and by 1861 Huntsvillians could choose among three weekly newspapers—the *Southern Advocate*, the *Huntsville Democrat*, and the *Huntsville Independent*.⁶

Although the Tennessee Valley of Alabama seemed by its geography to be separated from the remainder of the state, Madison County was never isolated from the rest of the United States. Early area cattlemen drove their herds to Baltimore and bartered for dry goods and groceries to return home by wagon.⁷ Huntsville was not just a backwoods village of the "Old Southwest"; connections for businessmen and cotton factors were made by water to New Orleans and Mobile. Roadways and turnpikes linked stagecoach routes to Memphis, Nashville, and Chattanooga. From Chattanooga routes led to Charleston, Baltimore, New York City, and Boston. Shoppers could expect to order and receive their goods locally, to be dressed in current styles, and have the latest housewares.

Education appeared to be important in this community. The Huntsville Female Seminary, the Huntsville Female College, and Greene Academy were already well established. The North Alabama College would soon be completed at an expense of over \$35,000. Moreover higher education was valued, and Huntsville's scholars went off to study in Northern schools of the highest quality. They returned to serve as doctors, educated with Dr. Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia, and lawyers educated at Yale, Princeton, and the University of Virginia.

Huntsville boasted at least three fine hotels: The Johnson House, The Madison House and near the depot, Venable's Hotel. A fourth hotel, at the site of the old Bell Tavern near the Big Spring, was being completed at a capital outlay of over \$60,000. An omnibus linked the depot, the hotels, the Town Square, and the central streets.



Huntsville Female College.

HMCPL.

The Fire Company was at the ready and thirteen constables were on the rolls. The newly completed depot stood almost pristine as an appropriate adornment for the railroad. After all Huntsville served as the Division Headquarters of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad. Now Huntsville could be linked to the rest of the country, North and South, even more quickly than before. Further proof of progress and communication was the new North Alabama Telegraph Company with an office on Franklin Street, J. H. Larcombe, operator.⁸

Madison County was settled and firmly established by a cross section of slaves, small freeholders, farmers, tradesmen, and well-to-do merchants and planters. In the humid summer months of the Deep South, many affluent families came up from New Orleans and Mobile for the cooler and healthier climate. In April of 1862 a reporter for the *Nashville Daily Union* described Huntsville succinctly for his readers: “In the summer months the crème de la crème of the Alabama aristocracy make Huntsville and vicinity their residence.”⁹ Into this already established community Mary Jane (Cook) and William D. Chadick arrived with their family in 1855.

History of the Cook Family

Mary Jane Chadick, who wrote the journal, was not a Southern lady by birth. The daughter of Mary and David Cook, she was born in Salem, Massachusetts. David Cook was born in Rhode Island in 1795 and attended local schools. Cook served an apprenticeship in machine shops and became a foreman in large mills in Lowell, Massachusetts. Mary (Colburn) Cook, Mary Jane’s mother, was born in 1799 of an educated family. Mrs. Cook’s

brother, Warren Colburn, wrote *Colburn's Arithmetic*, a textbook used widely throughout the country at that time.¹⁰

Mary Jane was born on August 21, 1820, one of the oldest of nine children. The other children were, in probable birth order, Pardon, David, Jr., Clara, Julia, George, Hannah, Clark, and Cora Agnes.¹¹

The Cook family lived for a few years in Steubenville, Ohio. One son, Pardon Cook, remained behind in Jefferson County where he raised a family. He taught school in a log house at Kirkwood Township and served as pastor in St. Clairsville and Sewellsville, Ohio.¹²

In 1841 David Cook, Sr., assumed a new position in Lebanon, Tennessee and moved south to prepare a home for his family to join him. Here, just a mile and a half from town, he managed the Lebanon Woolen Mills owned by General Robert L. Caruthers. Cook renewed his membership with the Masons and established himself as a leader in the community while living in the family home on West Main Street across from the nascent Cumberland College.¹³

The Cook children settled into life in this Southern town located just a few miles east of Nashville. Two of the girls married in their new home place. Clara married David Stockton in 1841, and Julia married Algernon F. Jones in 1842.¹⁴ Their brother, David Cook, Jr., opened in partnership one of the first drug stores in town in 1850. Probably the most outwardly successful of the siblings, he continued in merchandising in different forms and later was able to buy out his partners. George Cook began the study of law at the college. Hannah married G. W. King and moved away to Charleston, South Carolina. Clark Cook also attended the college and later became involved locally in sales of dry goods and carriages.



Mary Jane (Cook) Chadick. ADAH.

During the exciting presidential campaign of 1844, Wilson County men marched in military companies to the parade at Nashville. To participate in the events, David Cook, as manager of the Lebanon factory, sent a loom on a wagon drawn by six white horses to represent the factory.

An expert weaver produced cloth as the wagon went along, and the fabric was cut in strips and tossed to the crowd. Wilson County won a prized pink satin banner with a full-length portrait of Henry Clay because they had the largest delegation.¹⁵

The Cook family's place in Lebanon was secure by 1860. Mr. Cook, now 64 and still working at the factory, had a modest value of \$2000 real estate and \$8300 personal property. Living at home were his wife, Mary, 58, their daughter Cora, 18, Julia Jones, a 30-year-old widowed teacher, and their son, David, Jr., 34, the druggist. By the time of the start of the incidents of the Civil War, Mary Jane Cook had married Reverend William Davidson Chadick and settled with their family in Huntsville, Alabama.

History of The Chadick Family

The Chadick family represented deeply rooted independent Southern kinships. William Davidson Chadick—known as W. D.—was a second son, born January 22, 1817, in Overton County, Tennessee. His mother, Elizabeth Crutchlow, was born in Virginia, and his father, Charles C. Chadick, a farmer, was originally from North Carolina.¹⁶ The family moved to Jackson County, Alabama, about 1820 and settled a few miles west of Scottsboro at Chadick Ford on Sauta Creek. Of the five brothers, James and Albert became Methodist ministers. W. D., Stokely, and Isaac served as Cumberland Presbyterian ministers. The five girls—Senia, Delia, Patsey, Miriam, and Ann—married men from northeastern Alabama, but Patsey and Miriam moved west with their husbands.¹⁷

At about the age of sixteen, W. D. Chadick professed religion at Mink's Creek campground in Jackson County and joined the church. He continued his early education, but at the age of seventeen joined, as a private, in the skirmishes against the Indians in the Creek War of 1836. Colonel John Acklen of Huntsville led his militia company.¹⁸

Chadick next studied under local scholars and ministers to prepare for the ministry in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Men like Dr. Feemster, Mathew Bone, and Robert Donnell were already starting their notable careers in this new denomination. To many settlers changes in the traditional Presbyterian ministry seemed necessary to meet the needs of the expanding frontier population. The Great Revival of the early nineteenth century spilled over into camp meetings at wagons, tents, and brush arbor gatherings. God's spirit seemed so vital and alive in such settings. The more traditional church-goers expressed "opposition to revivals and wanted to force the revival out of the bosom of the Presbyterian Church." There were so many people at the camp meetings yearning to share and



William Davidson Chadick. ADAH.

take their religious experiences back to their cabins and small settlements that as a result, “Some men who did not meet the prescribed educational standards for the ministry were encouraged to go forth and exhort in vacant congregations and settlements.” Many church followers thought these men should be licensed and ordained as “extraordinary cases.”¹⁹

There were attempts at reconciliation, but, after much prayer, a few leaders decided to form a new group and take their faith into the countryside. The founders met in a two-room log house, the home of Reverend

Samuel McAdow, in February of

1810 where they prayed through the night about the changes that they felt necessary to meet the needs of the people. They agreed to separate from the main body of the Presbyterian Church, and as a result the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, or CP Church, was formed in Dickson County, Tennessee. This too became W. D. Chadick’s conviction and church family. Perhaps the concept of effective secession was not too far removed from the experiences of many people.

Chadick was licensed to preach and assigned circuits for five or six years in Jackson, Morgan, Madison, and Clay counties in North Alabama and Franklin and Lincoln counties, Tennessee. Chadick continued to study, was ordained, and assigned a church at Bellefonte, Alabama. At his next assignment in Warrenton, Alabama, Reverend Chadick also taught in a local school and continued to make new friends. Reverend Chadick’s maturing aptitude in the Cumberland ministry impressed others. Reverend G. W. Mitchell wrote that he had more than “ordinary talent and spiritual gifts. He was lucid, forcible, zealous and earnest.”²⁰ These attributes would serve him well.

W. D. Chadick first married Malinda Porterfield Davis in Bolivar, Alabama in December 1841. She was the daughter of Dr. William A. Davis and Susan (Morgan) Davis, and born in Memphis on March 19, 1821. The Morgan branch of the family had settled in Sumner County, Tennessee



*General Robert L. Caruthers House - West Main, Lebanon, TN
The house where Mary Jane Cook met Rev. W. D. Chadick.
Courtesy Wilson County, Tennessee Archives.*

from North Carolina where their ancestor, Captain John Morgan, served in the Revolutionary War. Morgan's wife, Mary (Hall) Morgan, had in her childhood witnessed the death of her father and two young brothers at the hands of the Indians. Malinda's father, Doctor Davis, was active in the local Masons, and while they lived there he represented Jackson County in the Alabama State Legislature, from 1827 to 1828.²¹

Four children were soon born to Malinda and W. D. Chadick: Susan Elizabeth on October 3, 1842 in Bellefonte, Jackson County; Jane (called Jennie), April 26, 1844; Charles William (Willie), May 12, 1846; and, Edwin (Eddie) Davis Chadick born c1847. The family moved to the small town of Fayetteville, Tennessee, and Reverend Chadick served the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. There he held additional duties as teacher and principal at the Female Academy. Unfortunately Malinda Chadick had been in poor health. She died at their home in Fayetteville at the age of 27 in November of 1848, and was buried beside her grandmother Morgan. Friends described her as "intelligent, amiable and pious, faithful, a 'preacher's wife,' she lived and died without an enemy."²² The oldest of her four children, Sue, was just six years old.

In June of the next year, Rev. Chadick, now a widower with four young children, accepted duties in Lebanon, Tennessee, replacing Rev. Robert Donnell. This was quite an honor because the church at Lebanon was then considered the most important church in the developing denomination. Fortunately his four young children stayed behind in Fayetteville while he went ahead to make arrangements for them. In Lebanon that summer Asiatic cholera had broken out in a particularly lethal

form. If the patient survived, recovery required complete bedrest for six to eight weeks. As a result many local families left for the mountains to avoid exposure, and the David Cook family made plans to leave also. But first Mary Jane Cook, now 29 years old, went to say goodbye to her friends at the nearby Caruthers' home. She discovered that Mrs. Caruthers and the General were going to stay and keep their house open for patients who had nowhere else to go. Mrs. Caruthers begged Mary Jane to remain and nurse those in their home. Mary Jane and two of her brothers decided to stay and help.²³

There, Mary Jane met among the patients in the house Rev. W. D. Chadick, about six feet tall, with bluish-gray eyes, black hair, and a fair complexion. After his partial recovery Rev. Chadick also worked day and night at the bedside of the sick and dying. This is how the couple met, and she learned to appreciate his "true worth and noble qualities." He returned a few weeks later to Fayetteville to complete his recovery and visit his children.²⁴ On December 4, 1849, the couple married in a quiet ceremony in Lebanon. Among other gifts, a wedding cake was given "with best wishes for the health, prosperity and happiness of the newly married couple."²⁵



First Cumberland Presbyterian Church - Dedicated in 1853. George Steele, Architect.

HMCPL.

Reverend Chadick had already assumed other duties. He had become editor and owner of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church's weekly newspaper, the *Banner of Peace*. On the couple's wedding trip to Memphis, he purchased the *Religious Ark*, a monthly periodical, and consolidated the two publications. While living in Lebanon he also became soliciting agent for endowments to the Theological Department of Cumberland College, requiring travel in Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. With these added dimensions of pastoral obligations, he gave up his duties at the Lebanon church but continued to preach at churches in New Hope, Alabama, and Gallatin, Tennessee.²⁶

Early in July of 1855 Chadick answered a "call" from a young church in Huntsville. Reverend Donnell had led the first camp meeting in northern Alabama in 1809 while Madison County was part of the Mississippi Territory. Donnell held a brush-arbor meeting at a spring a mile below Big Spring (probably Brahan Springs) near where then "the timber grew thick." The community responded, and by 1828 Rev. Isaac Shook became pastor at the First Cumberland Presbyterian Church, a frame building on the east side of Greene Street.²⁷ In 1853 the *Huntsville Democrat* announced the dedication of the new Cumberland Presbyterian Church, designed and built by George Steele and dedicated by venerable Robert Donnell. The building was "one third larger, tastefully, neatly, and beautifully arranged." Four Corinthian columns in the front framed the brick construction, and a heavy porch topped with a large cupola for the bell completed the building. To the right of the main entrance was a door leading to the balcony for slaves who attended.²⁸

The Huntsville community welcomed the Chadicks in 1855. The couple purchased a pretty and very desirable home—the old Watkins' place on Randolph Street—convenient to the Church and the Seminary where he would also teach. Reverend Chadick was already familiar with the neighboring communities because he had ridden the nearby circuit in earlier years. He was anxious to continue his work in every way, and members eagerly supported his efforts. In Meridianville, just north of town, Madison Otey donated land and that small congregation led by W. D. Chadick and C. W. Strong were able to erect a church building there also. His efforts were appreciated and recognized by elders in the church. In 1858 after delivering the baccalaureate sermon at LaGrange College, Reverend Chadick received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from that college.²⁹

Among his many duties, Rev. Chadick also taught at the Huntsville Female Seminary. The Seminary, affiliated with the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, offered education for young ladies of town and those



Huntsville Female Seminary.

HM CPL.

who needed to board. The older Chadick girls, Sue and Jennie, also attended the school on the south side of Randolph Street. The eight faculty members assured parents about the mission of the school: “Its aim is to develop all that is good in mind and heart, and to suppress all that is evil; to nurture the moral and physical as well as the intellectual powers; to form the true woman as well as the accomplished lady.” Reverend Chadick instructed classes in “Evidence of Christianity” and “Moral Science.”³⁰

Although invited to become pastor of other Cumberland churches, Reverend Chadick felt he belonged in Huntsville with this church, and he was well-liked in the community. On one occasion the townspeople took up a collection to replace his favorite horse. Mary Jane and Reverend Chadick added to his four children with four of their own: George Colburn, born in 1850; Clara Stockton, born July 26, 1853; David Cook, born 1855; and Mary Stokely Chadick, born in Huntsville in 1859.³¹ During these years the Chadick family shared with the entire country a consuming dreadful prospect.



The problems that beset the nation were hotly debated in Huntsville. The issue was longstanding. For instance, in 1818 Dr. Thomas Fearn, youthful and idealistic at 29, wrote from London to his friend—and later governor—

Clement Comer Clay in Huntsville: “I am convinced that nature has bountifully contributed everything to render Huntsville the garden spot of the fairest country on earth.” However, slavery was, “that foulest blot in our national character, that damning curse entailed on us by our forefathers, that glaring inconsistency between republican principles and despotic practice.... To plead equal rights of man and at the same time make the heavenly principle bend and yield to convenience or even necessity is too great an absurdity.” Fearn suggested gradual emancipation and education of the slaves so they would be able to make a living independently.³² At least for a while, Dr. Fearn actively supported the Madison County Colonization Society to gradually emancipate slaves for return to their native Africa. Other interested local leaders included Presbyterian minister Dr. John Allan and James G. Birney. Allan died in the 1843, but his children moved north to carry on his work. James G. Birney also moved north and ran as candidate for the presidency on the Liberty Party ticket in 1840 and 1844. (Two of Birney’s sons, born in Huntsville, would serve as Union generals.) Other thoughtful people must have considered the issue but were fearful of acknowledging such a radical and unpopular opinion aloud. Unfortunately reality and necessity won out for one man. In 1860, an older Dr. Fearn listed 82 slaves among his personal property.³³



Dr. Thomas Fearn House.

HMCPL.

To be idealistic was one thing, but in matters of economics realism would always win. Cotton was a labor-intensive crop and required many workers. The loss of the slave labor force would affect rich and poor in the South. John G. Shorter, later to serve as governor of Alabama and an

ardent secessionist, wrote in 1852 about the possible dangers ahead. He “warned yeomanry that unless they supported planters” on the issue of slavery “they stood to lose more than planters.... If four million slaves were turned loose in the South... the rich would be able to leave a land thus cursed, [while] the poor white man would be left in a most lamentable condition...reduced to the most abject and degrading servitude.”³⁴ But the issue was not simply one of agrarianism vs. industrialism or abolitionists vs. slaveholders. Secession from the United States for many was a critical consideration.

In late 1857 Reverend Dr. William G. Brownlow traveled to Huntsville. He was a noted Methodist circuit rider, newspaper publisher, and public speaker from Tennessee. Parson Brownlow, as he would later be known, made his “headquarters at Gen. Hickman’s ‘Southern Hotel,’ and visited many friends and new acquaintances; “I have been kindly treated by the citizens, irrespective of parties. My old acquaintance Tom White, conveyed me all over the town and vicinity, in a Buggy drawn by a \$500 horse, at the rate of eight knots an hour. Hon. Jere. Clemens, and others treated me to a magnificent Oyster Supper. Col. Joe Bradley, the bell-wether of Democracy, and my friends Saunders, the McClung’s, Dr. Spotswood, Gen. Bradford, ...and others, have called on me.” He spoke for two hours to a crowded house in the warm glow of newly installed gaslights. His competition, an Opera Troupe in full blast, lost their crowd to his oration; “I am not vain, but I think I can compete successfully, with a Circus, and Elephant show, or a theater, in any town in the South!”

On Sunday Brownlow heard Dr. A. R. Erwin preach to a large and attentive audience at the First Methodist Church. At three in the afternoon, he attended one among many of the African Churches in Huntsville. He listened attentively to the prayers given by the old men of color. After Dr. Robinson’s sermon the Parson wrote, “...if I were sick, or dying, I would greatly prefer their prayers at my bedside...” to those of any northern agitator including Henry Ward Beecher. That night Brownlow preached to an overflowing congregation at the First Methodist Church.³⁶

Parson Brownlow planned to tour, North and South, speaking on the subject of slavery. His year’s travel in the South would apprise him of the true situation regarding slavery in all segments of life. Thus he would be able to confront the Abolitionists in the North with their lies. He challenged “Greely, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, Garrison, or any or all of the big guns of anti-slavery, whom he would denounce as infidels, as slanderers, as hypocrites, as liars, and as God-forsaken wretches....” He would argue by letter, by newspaper, or by confrontation at any public forum; he was that confident.³⁷

The dreadful issue confronting many Southerners was the thought of Secession. As much as he hated Abolitionists, Brownlow hated Secession more. Like many Americans, he opposed the thought of dissolving the Union. He wanted to remain in the Union and “fight those who desire to encroach upon our rights, rather than secede, and give up our interest in the National Treasury, the Navy, and the Government property generally; believed that the warm-blooded Southerners, in defence of their rights, could whip the cold, calculating Abolitionists five to one. The Parson thought it better to whip sense into them, than to secede from them.” He finished with an eloquent appeal to the Huntsville audience for “the Union against the common foe—the abolitionists—and loud and repeated cheers came from the audience.”³⁸



War

But other cheers were heard more clearly. For over forty years the South had held grievances against the North. The North grew increasingly industrial while the South remained predominately agricultural. Many in the South felt the tariff that protected northern industry forced the Southerners to pay more for manufactured goods. Southerners were banned from taking their slave property into the territories of the United States. Finally with the election of the “black Republican,” Abraham Lincoln, in November of 1860, the fragile balance appeared shattered.

With great angst both sides recognized and, locally, had tried to head off the growing dissention and disturbances. For instance Huntsville lawyer George Washington Lane felt it immoral for one man to own another, and he freed his slaves. George Beirne had petitioned Huntsville to free the town’s Negro slaves in 1858. Although he was a respected citizen, many in town wanted to jail him as fears continued to mount. Fear of an insurrection led many citizens to see the few free blacks in town, 85 in number, as likely leaders. By December 1859 the terror of a possible slave uprising led the city council to pass an ordinance requiring the removal of all free persons of color to outside of the city limits.³⁹

Reverend W. D. Chadick wrote his friend Reverend J. C. Provine in January 1861 on his feelings about the conflict within the Cumberland Presbyterian Church that led to the division at their recent church convention: “O, how long will Southern men not cease to encourage the injustice and insolence of our Northern enemies.” With reasoning already recognized by the Constitution of the United States, he asked, “Are not slaves property?”⁴⁰ As tensions mounted, Chadick hoped the difficulties

between sections would be amicably and peaceably settled. Many had hoped for peaceable secession, but “[to] force the South back into the Union was open tyranny—the stronger oppressing the weaker.”⁴¹ When his state went out of the Union, being Southern born and bred, the Reverend and his family would choose Alabama. As the Union army attempted to crush the rebellion, Chadick and his neighbors would fight for home and country.

South Carolina, meanwhile, withdrew from the Union on December 20, 1860, and ten other Deep South states followed suit. Delegates assembled in the Alabama capital at Montgomery to consider Secession. Certainly leaders from Madison County, like Jeremiah Clemens and Nicholas Davis, went to the Convention in Montgomery to vote against Secession or at least postpone the action. These men were known as Cooperationists. Still stronger in feelings were those who wanted no action of Secession and were firmly Loyalists to the Union. At this time there was also talk by a small group which considered seceding from Alabama if the state left the Union. One week after Secession by Alabama, the U.S. flag flew over the courthouse at Athens and a 100-gun salute was fired in honor of the stars and stripes as the ladies called, “God bless them! They are all true blue!”⁴² Athens was still known to be very pro-Union, and citizens still came out to cheer the Federal gunboat as it approached nearby Florence, Alabama, in early 1862.

However, others in authority prepared for war. Although some political groups were upset, Alabama’s Governor Andrew Moore on January 4, 1861, ordered the state militia to seize the federal arsenal at Mount Vernon and Fort Morgan and Fort Gaines guarding Mobile Bay. Furthermore Gov. Moore sent Mr. J. R. Powell to purchase over \$46,000 worth of small arms in New York City, Boston, and Washington, D.C. Apparently the competition was active as representatives from other Southern states bid on cannon, gun carriages, and caissons. Powell was worried about being arrested “as an incendiary” and asked the Governor to take care of his wife and baby if he were unable to return.⁴³

Alabama withdrew from the Union on January 11, 1861. Ten days later in Washington, D.C., Huntsville’s own Sen. Clement C. Clay’s address, among others’, to the U.S. Senate caused men to weep and embrace mournfully. Events quickly gathered momentum. On February 14, Jefferson Davis, newly elected president of the Confederacy, on his way to Montgomery, spoke to a large crowd at the depot in Huntsville. He said he desired no hostilities. Four days later, on February 18, Jefferson Davis took the oath of office at the State Capital in Montgomery as President of the Provisional Confederate Government. He wrote a friend that he regretted

the loss of “the high privilege of calling ourselves American citizens. I am not ashamed to confess that I could not restrain my tears when the old banner... was torn down.” Although Huntsville’s Jeremiah Clemens had written the minority report against Secession, he declared: “I am a son of Alabama; her destiny is mine... calmly and deliberately I walk with you in revolution.”⁴⁴ Surrounded by cheers and tumult, few citizens seemed to really comprehend the swiftness and seriousness of the unfolding events.

As the Southern statesmen moved forward, decisions were made to establish an organization for creating this new country. Not surprisingly most plans were modeled on the basis they had just abandoned, the United States of America. Huntsville even played a part for a while. The *New Orleans Picayune* and Mary Boykin Chesnut, among others, recommended that Huntsville, “every way desirable... beautiful and wealthy Country – Society elegant and refined,” become the capital of the newly formed Confederate States of America.⁴⁵

Secession in itself was radical. However, with the bombardment of Yankee-held Fort Sumter in the Charleston, South Carolina, harbor on the 12th through the 14th of April, secession truly became a civil war. Alabama’s Governor Moore established two military camps to deal with the surge of volunteers in July. Because of its excellent railroad and available river connections, one site was located at Huntsville. Jeremiah Clemens, commanding general of the state militia, chose a spot below the Big Spring and named it Camp Jones in honor of Colonel Egbert J. Jones of Huntsville. This campsite was well situated and townspeople came out to watch and encourage the men. Virginia Clay described the volunteers’ activities: “Above the spring and about the picturesque Square and Court House... the gay-hearted youth of Madison County, thronging to the county seat, met in companies to drill and prepare themselves for service in the war now upon us.” Youthful Sarah Lowe and her friends, Carrie and Kate Coles, with a crowd of ladies also went out “for to see the show” and to admire the training soldiers.⁴⁶

As the Confederate government became established, President Davis formed his Cabinet in Montgomery. Leroy Pope Walker, grandson of Huntsville’s founder LeRoy Pope and son of Alabama’s first U. S. Senator, John Williams Walker, was a reasonable choice to serve as the first Secretary of War for the Confederacy. This position was second only to the President, and Walker was a man of character and “unsurpassed for ability and legal skills.” Many politicians felt that former West Point graduate President Davis would really direct the army anyway. Walker telegraphed the final demand for the surrender of Fort Sumter on April 11, 1861. Both sides seemed to feel the War would only last a few months at the most.

Earlier so slight were his concerns, Walker offered “to wipe with my pocket-handkerchief all the blood that would be shed as a result of the South’s withdrawal from the Union.”⁴⁷

Following the bombardment and surrender of Fort Sumter, both sides were driven to action. The Northerners were stunned at losing the Fort, taken from them in a military act of aggression. Of course the Southerners were smug at humbling their now enemy. On March 3rd. after Lincoln’s inauguration, President Davis had asked for an army of 100,000 men. On the day after Sumter was surrendered, President Lincoln called for a volunteer army of 75,000 men.

The 19th Alabama Infantry, formed on August 14, 1861, was commanded by Colonel Joseph Wheeler, a graduate of West Point. One of Wheeler’s first acts was to move to the old training ground at Blue Springs, several miles north of Huntsville and away from distractions of town. Colonel Wheeler named this place Camp Bradford in honor of Martha Bradford who organized hospitals for the recruits during the measles epidemic. The regiment was next ordered to Mobile where it remained for three months before being sent to Pensacola. Later Lt. Col. Nick Davis formed the 1st Alabama Battalion which also trained at Camp Bradford, and when this unit moved on to join the war effort, Camp Bradford was left abandoned. As the War continued to consume the men, other military groups from Huntsville included the Huntsville Guards, North Alabamians, The Minute Men, Silver Grays, several cavalry units, two artillery companies (Pope Walker Artillery and Spring City Guards) and finally the youngest boys formed the Huntsville Cadets and Jordan’s Life Guards.⁴⁸

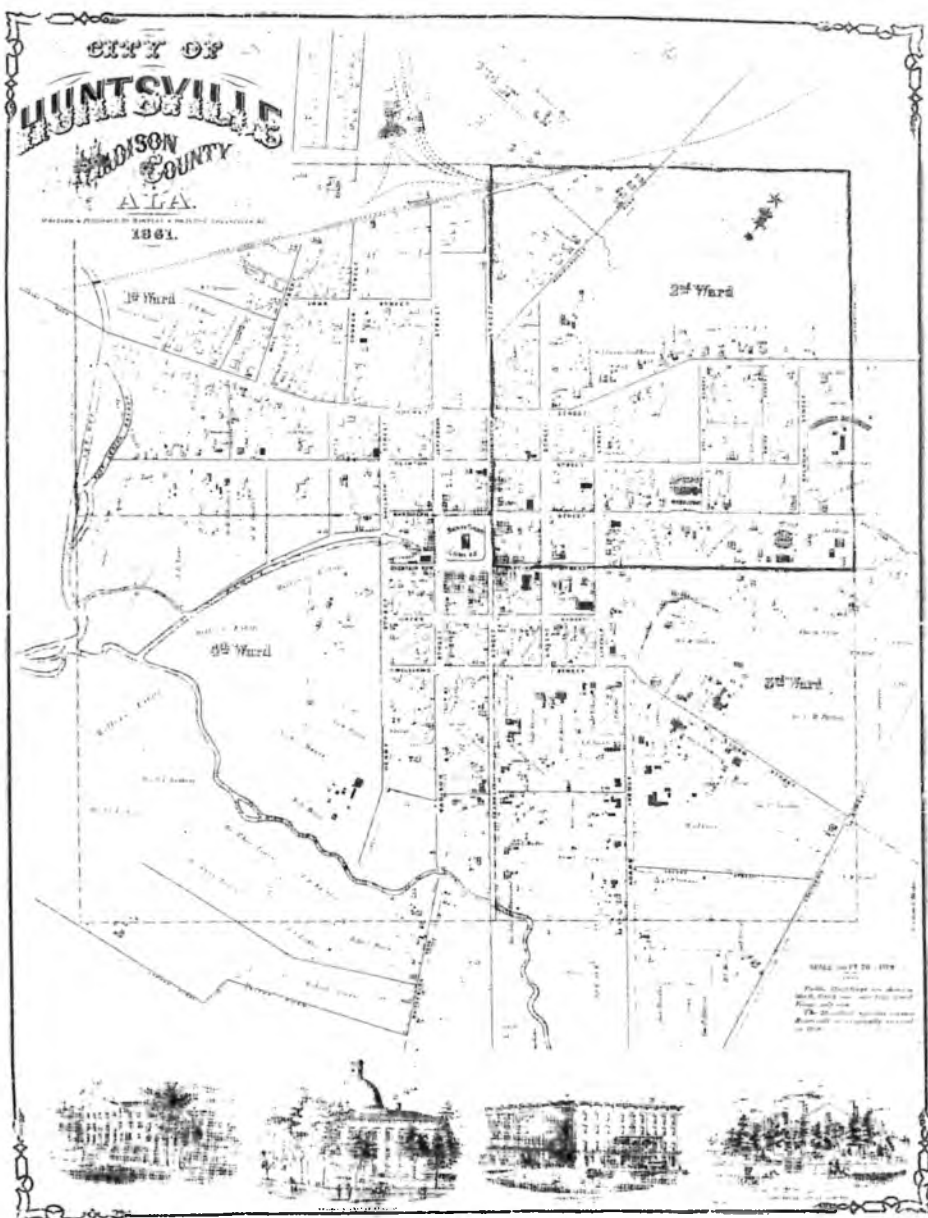
All over the state boys and men joined in the mounting excitement. Now young men leaving for the military, all of a sudden, had a “best girl.” As the day neared for departure every man got a last kiss. J. P. Cannon wrote, “as it was the first that many of us had ever enjoyed, it is not surprising that a last farewell was repeated over and over again before we actually took our departure.” Unrealistically many units were like Alabama’s 3rd Regiment, mainly composed of wealthy men who “brought with them not less than 100 servants” to northern Virginia. As the soldiers gathered and left to join the fray, “beviess of girls” greeted the men with gifts of flowers, cakes and fruit wherever the train stopped along the way.⁴⁹ The prominent and social young men of Huntsville were no different.

The Madison Rifles had organized in 1855 but so far only “performed” at parades and picnics for their admiring family and friends. The Confederate constitution was adopted on February 8, 1861, and within one day, Huntsville’s men were prepared to serve. The Madison Rifles paraded and as a salute their cannon was fired one hundred times. The

company freely offered their services in defense of the state and they immediately left for Mobile. At the farewell dinner, former Governor Clay gave a rousing speech, the men feasted on oysters, and the ladies presented the men with a hand-made flag. Haste was necessary as many of the men felt the War would be over before they had a chance to participate, much less fight a real Yankee. After Fort Sumter was attacked on April 12th, the Huntsville Guards formed. On April 25, after marching in formation to the Female College, Miss Sallie McKie presented a new silk flag to 1st Lieut. Gus Mastin. *The Southern Advocate* reported Mastin accepted with “a strong, manly and striking address, which was in good taste.” The young ladies ended the program with a soldierly march, “to arms ye braves.” The Guards and a third company, the North Alabamians under Captain Edward Tracy, departed immediately afterward.⁵⁰

Unfortunately this left Huntsville, important for its vital transportation links by river and railroad, with few men or weapons for protection from invaders. (Of course this was true for the entire state, except Mobile, but Huntsville would pay a more punishing price.) Both Federals and Confederates recognized the value of this stretch of the Tennessee Valley. The Tennessee River offered entry to the Deep South, and the Memphis & Charleston and the Nashville & Decatur railroads could give access to vital trading centers. Except for rumors no threat really seemed imminent, and so far there had not even been a skirmish in northern Alabama. Although units of the newly formed home guard were at the ready, most of Alabama’s troops were away serving with the Confederacy in Mobile, Pensacola and finally Virginia. Those who remained in town saw the need for sacrifice and contributions in other ways. The membership of the four major churches voted to remove the bells from their spires. The bells were sent to Holly Springs, Mississippi, melted down and cast into cannon for the defense of the Confederate cause. Upon return to Huntsville by rail, the cannons became known as the “Bell Battery of Huntsville” and were at the ready to defend the town.⁵¹

Meanwhile the local foundry, J. R. Young & Company, located behind the depot, geared up for the war effort. Formed in 1855, the foundry quickly changed from production of stoves and gin gears to artillery. In the summer of 1861 the machine shop produced three 6-pounders ready for action. The shop also produced the necessary gun carriages for the weapons, and more guns were ordered by Confederate officials. Unfortunately for the Cause, John R. Young died late in 1861 and by the next spring other events completely halted Huntsville’s war production.⁵²



City of Huntsville - 1861 map showing the city and representative buildings. Not reproduced to scale. HMCPL.



In Huntsville Rev. Chadick, according to his wife, “was greatly troubled at the thought of the ‘Dissolution of the Union’ and hoped against hope that the difficulties between the sections, might be amicably and peaceably adjusted—but finally yielded to the conviction that war was inevitable.

When his State went out of the Union, being Southern born and bred, he went with it.” The men of the 4th Alabama Regiment elected him their Chaplain, and “the wives, mothers, and sisters earnestly entreated him to go and look after them.”⁵³

Reverend W. D. Chadick joined the 4th Alabama Regiment with the rank of Captain. As a chaplain in the military service, Rev. Chadick performed the same duties typical of his vocation at home. He conducted church services, discussed with soldiers their spiritual concerns, distributed religious literature, comforted the sick and wounded, and conducted funerals. Often the chaplains wrote letters for the illiterate soldiers to send home, and they were called on to write home to inform kinfolk of the death of their loved ones. Most chaplains were with men from their own community, and as men of the cloth they were perhaps trusted above others. Frequently the soldiers even asked their chaplain to hold or deliver money for them. The Confederacy, like the Union

Army, authorized chaplains with a pay beginning at \$80. This amount was comparable to a company-grade officer who also came to the army with his own mounts. Expenses for forage for the horse had to be paid out-of-pocket. Moreover, the military chaplain only received a private’s rations and had no uniform provided.⁵⁴

As the 4th Alabama Regiment left for Virginia, Rev. Chadick’s mission was to minister to the men. However, sometime in the heat of the conflict at the First Battle of Manassas, on July 21, 1861, Rev. W. D. Chadick picked up a rifle and fired at the enemy. Hereafter, except for brief periods, he would continue to serve in a military capacity. For six weeks after the battle he attended to the mortally wounded Col. Egbert Jones and then accompanied his body home for interment at the city’s burial ground (now named Maple Hill Cemetery) in early September of 1861. Ladies of his church presented Chadick with a large beautiful bouquet from the entire grateful community in which \$600 was discreetly placed. On October 29th



*Lt. Colonel William D. Chadick -
Fourth Alabama Regiment, Army of
the Mississippi, Confederate States
of America.* ADAH.

the men elected him Major. During his short stay at home, Chadick helped raise an infantry battalion, and the men went into winter quarters below Mobile. This 1st Alabama Battalion became part of the 26th Alabama Regiment, which was eventually designated as the 26th/50th Alabamian Infantry. Chadick received appointment as a Lt. Colonel on April 2, 1862.⁵⁵

As his Regiment went west and fought in the Battle of Shiloh on the 6th and 7th of April, nearly all of his fellow officers were wounded, leaving command on Colonel Chadick. The action was prolonged and the shoulder capes of his overcoat caught a Minie Ball. His horse received a Minie Ball in the neck, so he then led his men on foot.⁵⁶

Because Colonel John G. Coltart was unable, Chadick made the official report for the Regiment on April 12th in regard to their action at the Battle of Shiloh. His account was thorough: The roads were miserable, and the wagons overloaded. To add to the discomfort, heavy rain fell before the battle and there was little sleep for anyone. Their action was heated going into the very center of the enemy's camp, driving the Federals back. In spite of exhaustion, the Regiment held, but after a brief rest they faced at least two Regiments of Federal troops. Under severe fire the only support came from the gallant Colonel Forrest, and as they charged the immediate enemy was driven back. With only two hundred men remaining and seeing no need to sacrifice those if they stayed, the Regiment withdrew to the rear to await orders. By the next day, sickness, extreme exhaustion, and in some cases "a want of moral courage," reduced their number to less than one hundred and fifty men. They went into battle, but with "little efficiency." Major General Jones M. Withers ordered them to retire from the action because of wet and unserviceable weapons. By the time they rejoined the line of battle, the firing had ceased along the whole line and Southern forces were being withdrawn. Chadick reported the Regiment, with a few exceptions, fought bravely.⁵⁷

Afterward Col. Chadick also served his share of picket duty in the rain and became ill. After the loss at Shiloh, Chadick stayed bedfast six weeks in Tupelo, Mississippi apparently suffering with rheumatism so severe, that he was unable to move his hands or feet.⁵⁸

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While the men of Chadick's Regiment tried to recover in Mississippi, the townspeople of Huntsville faced concerns of their own danger. In Huntsville, "Rumor with her thousand tongues," seemed to interfere with hearing the actual news. Mrs. Chadick wrote about rumor as she and her neighbors heard it and tried to determine the real picture. Virginia seemed

so far away, but Mississippi was eminently closer and the Yankees were known to be in middle Tennessee. How could any citizen know which of the stories to believe? They heard daily about invasion but the newspapers and armies gave such different accounts; however, all the citizens were aware that Confederate troops stationed at Huntsville had just been ordered away toward Corinth, Mississippi. There was now nothing to stand in the way of the enemy occupying town when they wanted to. John Withers Clay wrote his brother, Senator Clay, that at least the Yanks could not arrive sooner than 7-10 days from the time of writing because the Confederate army planned to burn the bridges at Shelbyville, Columbia, and Murfreesboro, Tennessee. Governor Moore ordered all ferry boats to be kept on the south side of the Tennessee River to foil Yankee efforts to cross and to protect the southern part of the state. Withers Clay finished his letter with a blessing for his brother's family and announced this would probably be his last letter for some time as Southern authorities had left Alabama to be overrun by Vandals.⁵⁹ Three months later Withers Clay wrote again to his brother in retrospect: "For weeks we have heard rumors of the approach of the enemy.... Everyone seems so incredulous of the enemy's approach and so unconcerned that I yielded to the general fatuity."⁶⁰ Clay was not alone in his thinking. One account suggested residents discussed plans for the summer of 1862 but often ended the sentence uneasily— "If the Yankees do not take us before that time."⁶¹

The enemy continued to edge closer. In February of 1862 after the fall of Fort Henry, Lieutenant S. L. Phelps had daringly led Federal gunboats over 200 miles upstream to Florence, Alabama at the foot of Muscle Shoals. There, on February 8th, they seized three steamers and vast supplies of lumber from the Confederate supplies. According to the Union officer, crowds of enthusiastic Loyalists came out to welcome the Yankees before they left: "Men, women and children, several times gathered in crowds of hundreds, shouted their welcome, and hailed their national flag with an enthusiasm there was no mistaking." John Withers Clay, editor of the *Huntsville Democrat*, warned that the threat of danger was not over. In the newspaper he noted if this was just a reconnaissance by the Yanks, citizens of the Tennessee Valley should expect them to return within a week or two and take up positions along the River.⁶²

Recognizing the threat in northern Alabama, Governor Shorter called for the formation of four partisan cavalry companies to harass the enemy and to prevent the Federals from going south of the Tennessee River. However, the Governor warned the men to bring their own arms and bullet molds. The state would only be able to provide a large bowie knife for armament.⁶³

As she had earlier admired the regiments of infantry, artillery and cavalry parading through Huntsville, even 17-year-old Sarah Lowe, could not decide if her feelings were pleasurable or painful in February 1862: "It made me realize more plainly our critical condition at present and the urgent necessity for preparing for any emergency." ⁶⁴

Any sensible citizen of northern Alabama had to be aware of the approaching Union army. Rumors had been alive for months concerning the progress of the invaders and some seemed aware of how little protection was available. Edward Tracy, a Huntsville lawyer, wrote Senator Clay in February of 1862: "This valley seems entirely over-looked, Johnston thinks it is in Beauregard's Department; Polk thinks it in his; Bragg in his; but nobody seems alive to its vast importance and few even know where it is. Meanwhile the river is high and you may hear any morning that the enemy are here." Senator Clay also received a letter from his mother Susanna in Huntsville written two weeks later. She wrote that "the townspeople expected from four to ten thousand Union troops at any moment. Confederate Brig. Gen. Gideon Pillow was at the hotel and would not bring his wife here as Union Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell intended to make this place his headquarters!" ⁶⁵

Leroy Pope Walker, now former Secretary of War, wrote J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of War, on February 14th, "The Memphis Charleston Railroad is the very backbone of the Confederacy and its possession by us is in imminent danger." Five days later Walker tried again, this time writing to General Beauregard: "The Kentucky line of defense being lost, the M. & C. R.R. must be defended at all hazards. This road is the vertebrae of the Confederacy...." ⁶⁶

Miss Sarah Lowe reported in March that the Yankees might be as close as Fayetteville or Columbia, Tennessee. Her sister arrived from Limestone County fully expecting to be stopped by a Federal picket line. Attendance at the college was down to six girls. Expecting an attack on March 29th, Sarah Lowe told her friends at the college goodbye and brought her books home. She and her sister packed clothes and left by railroad for Flower Hill to stay with her cousins near Courtland. She noticed that only a few Southern soldiers were stationed to guard the important railway yards or the Tennessee River at Whitesburg. Sarah Lowe wrote in her diary, "It makes me sick to think that soon the invaders will corrupt our beautiful land by their presence." ⁶⁷

Many affluent townspeople simply withdrew deeper into the state to other plantations or went to stay with relatives. Susanna Clay, wife of former Governor Clay wrote her son, Clement, to ask him what they should do. If they stayed, "soldiers might molest us with impunity, as your poor

father is too deaf and weak to repel. Write and say what is best, I think, if we stay here, we may save our property here.” Mr. LeVert, a wealthy neighbor, had been by that morning in a very distressed state and asked her opinion. Mrs. Clay said she was inclined to remain, “I thought we had better stay, till told to go—that we could die but once....”⁶⁸

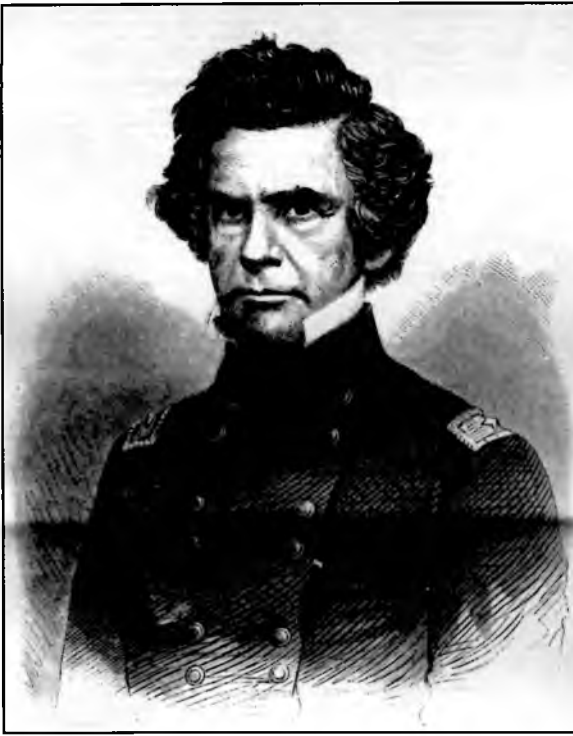
At least one local man took action, under directions from Judge Isaiah Dill, for the protection of the county records. In the first week of April, Bob Spragins, clerk of the Circuit Court, escorted wagons carrying the courthouse papers to Blountsville because of the fear of invasion.⁶⁹

On the evening of April 10th travelers from Fayetteville, Tennessee, arrived after dark and reported several regiments of Union troops on the Shelbyville Road just the night before—within a few miles of Fayetteville. And at 11 p.m. on the same night a messenger from Meridianville said Yankees were camped just two miles north of his town. Three men offered to take a buggy out and look, after all Meridianville was only seven miles north of Huntsville.⁷⁰ In Huntsville some of the townspeople wanted to leave then, but most simply went to bed.

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Brigadier General Ormsby MacKnight Mitchel, under Major General Buell, Commander of the Army of Ohio, led this Federal invading force. General Mitchel, an esteemed scholar of astronomy and geography at Cincinnati College, was a passionate Unionist. At a war rally at New York City’s Union Square, *Harper’s Weekly* told its readers Ormsby Mitchel made the most thrilling [speech] that day.⁷¹ Mitchel wrote that “no cause existed for the south raising its hand against the United States—not the slightest; that it was a rebellion, a downright piece of treason all the way through.... Every individual...who was either in arms, or who aided and abetted those in arms, was my personal enemy.... I determined to make every individual feel that it was a terrible pressure of war upon him, which would finally destroy him and grind him to powder, if he did not give up his rebellion.”⁷² General Mitchel’s life was unsettled during this time; his wife, Louisa, had just died from a stroke in August of the previous year. Mitchel chose to leave his community, home, and adult children because of his zeal to reestablish the Union. Adding to his personal distress, he and General Buell held very different military views, and Mitchel had tried earlier to resign from the army.⁷³

As General Mitchel’s troops marched farther south, the General became still more highly out of sorts. In Fayetteville, Tennessee, his men



General Ormsby MacKnight Mitchel - Harper's Weekly engraving.

had been outrageously received. Described by an accompanying newspaperman, the forward movement from Nashville and Shelbyville had been pleasant enough. The woods along the way changed from cedar to familiar dogwood; the grass of countryside was turning deep green; cattle were feeding everywhere. Ahead of the troops Mitchel sent, under a flag of truce, an escorted carriage with Colonel Young, CSA, who had been sick and another man who was suspected of being a Southern spy. However,

“When the escort arrived at Fayetteville, it was surrounded by a mob of the citizens of that place, who heaped upon our unoffending soldiers every imaginable insult that could be expressed.... The most opprobrious epithets were applied, and the most insane threats hurled at their heads.” The “hootings and revilings” grew worse and the military party was forced to take refuge in an old hotel, where they remained during the night before they could make their way back to the main army.⁷⁴

General Mitchel was highly indignant at the outrage upon a flag of truce. He rode rapidly into Fayetteville and berated the citizens gathered on the public square. He thundered at them, “You are worse than savages... You are not worthy to look in the face of honest men. Depart to your houses every one of you, and remain there until I give you permission to come forth.... The skulking cowards scattered to their houses like frightened rats to their holes.”⁷⁵ This did not bode well for northern Alabama.

Many citizens of north Alabama were well aware that “they were exposed without help or the means of defense, their fighting men with all the war material being gone with the army.” However, many residents were reassured by statements issued after the occupation of Nashville by the



William McDowell House – 517 Adams Avenue, used as Mitchel’s headquarters. HMCPL.

Federal Generals Buell and Mitchel: “We are in arms, not for the purpose of invading the rights of our fellow countrymen anywhere, but to maintain the integrity of the Union.... Peaceable citizens are not to be molested in their persons and property. These ... pledges were published and sent in advance of the invaders.” Thus “it was the common consent quietly to await the coming of the invader, trusting with, whatever of faith we could to the fine promises....”⁷⁶

By this time the Chadicks had become comfortably established in Huntsville among close friends and a warm church family. At the start of the War in 1861 Rev. W. D. Chadick was about 45 and Mary Jane 42 years old. The children from the two marriages were Susan, now about 18; Jennie, 17; Charles William, called Willie, about 15; Eddie, 13; George, 12; Clara, 10; David, 5, and the baby Mary, about 2 years old. Certainly the children considered themselves Southerners, and with a strong-minded husband, Mary Jane Chadick was Southern, too. (Even her speech included phrases like “reckon,” “fixing to” and “carry her to the store.”)

When Rev. Chadick entered the military service, serving at Manassas and then at Shiloh, Mary Jane Chadick assumed all duties of the household. Mrs. Chadick then also had the responsibility of managing five slaves—old Tom, Corinna who had a son Jim and an infant son John, and Vienna—to help her through the daily tasks of running the household. A slave also attended Colonel Chadick during his years of military service. (These slaves may have belonged to Rev. Chadick’s first wife, Malinda.) Mrs. Chadick’s two teenaged stepsons, Willie and Eddie, were able to help her with physical chores, but at the best of times they and the servants were

aware that, with Reverend Chadick away, the real authority was also gone. Mrs. Chadick could try, but every day would be a test of her ability to manage and control the household.

The oldest daughter, Sue Chadick, had left home to attend Mary Sharp College in Winchester, Tennessee. Still apparently not alarmed at the threat of invasion in March of 1862, little Davie Chadick was allowed to visit in Lebanon with his grandparents, the Cook family. As the Yankees came into middle Tennessee, the lad was in territory controlled by the Federal army and unable to return home. Meanwhile, Sue and her classmates just had time to flee Mary Sharp College as the 1st Ohio Cavalry advanced on Winchester. The students were fortunate to find a place in a freight car on the last train able to escape town. On the trip south to Huntsville, Sue sat on a crate packed with her books and little else.⁷⁷

In February Forts Henry and Donelson fell to the Union forces, and the War crept closer. The defeated Confederate army had withdrawn painfully from Shiloh. Confederate Brigadier General Samuel B. Maxey, with three regiments and a battalion, passed through Huntsville on the 10th of April headed for Corinth, Mississippi. The way was open to north Alabama, and on April 11th the Federal army raced in.⁷⁸ Mrs. Chadick began her journal that day, and these are her words.

FEDERALS IN HUNTSVILLE

April-September 1862

Mary Jane Chadick begins so matter-of-factly it seems as if the journal were meant to simply record the world around her—to act as a reminder of events. Later entries begin to report a combination of informative and personal observations. The rest of her writings follow this pattern.

On the morning of April 11, General Mitchel's division (Federalists) took possession of Huntsville. There was no opposition, there being only a few wounded and sick Confederate soldiers in the town. They entered at daybreak, first taking possession of the railroad and some 15 engines. The southern train was just coming in, having onboard 159 Confederate soldiers, some wounded, going to their homes, and others, who had been on furlough, rejoining their regiments. The train endeavored to make its escape, but was fired into by two cannons. One of the firemen was seriously wounded. All aboard were taken prisoners. The well soldiers were confined in the depot house and the wounded remained in the cars.

The telegraph office and post office were next seized. Many wounded soldiers quartered in town and many prominent citizens and refugees made their escape during the day. Among them was the secretary of war, Pope Walker, the Hon. John Bell and others. There was a great deal of excitement and consternation among the citizens, as it had not been generally believed the enemy would come here.

About 7 o'clock, in the company with Mrs. Bradford, Mrs. Mayhew, Mrs. Francis, Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Powers, Mrs. Toney, and ladies from the College, we waited on Gen. Mitchel to ask permission to visit our wounded soldiers he had taken on the cars. We were ushered into his august presence in the parlor of the hotel at the depot. He received us politely remarking he was always glad to see the ladies, provided they "did not rail at him as they had done at Fayetteville." The object of the visit then was stated to him by Mrs. Bradford, when, instead of a direct reply, he went on to speak of the very great surprise he had given us that morning, and expressing great surprise on his part we had no reception prepared for him! I had it in my heart to let him know "we had one grand reception prepared for him at Corinth," but considering "discretion was the better part of valor," kept silent.

He went on to enumerate the towns he had taken in his route, saying he did not know how much farther south he should go. He expressed surprise we had so few provisions here (all our government stores had been removed) and saying we should be compelled to call on the North for

help, and he blushed to speak of some Southern ladies who had taunted his soldiers with our late victory at Corinth, all of which was very emotional and magnanimous on the part of a great general going forth “conquering and to conquer;” especially where he had no armed force to oppose him.

He, however, gave us permission to visit our wounded and do what we could for them. We found them still on the cars in a very uncomfortable position, and many of them suffering dreadfully, and having no nourishment in two days! Among them we found three Confederate officers—Major McDonell and Capts. Means and Bird, who by their gentlemanly bearing, refinement and severe wounds, received in the Battle of Corinth enlisted our deepest sympathies and interest. We also visited the well prisoners in the depot house and found them suffering for something to eat.

In the evening we returned to them with milk, wine, soups and a great quantity of provisions—enough for all. Some of the Federal officers informed us their wagon trains would not be in for two days (so forced had been their march), and they would have to tax the citizens for food for their own men. Through Dr. Shumard, we obtained permission to move our wounded to the hospitals. Mrs. Harris and myself, accompanied by Mr. Brown (Methodist minister), were deputized to set the house and beds in order, while Mrs. Bradford and some others remained behind to superintend their removal. Everything was soon arranged, and before night, they were all on comfortable beds, and their wounds dressed. They declared they were the sweetest beds they ever lay down upon—poor fellows! One of them was wounded in nine places and was perfectly helpless. Miss Clapham and Miss Daniel from the College went around and washed all their faces and hands, which they declared, was another luxury.

General Mitchel reported to his superiors about the 26-mile trek to Huntsville: “After a forced march of incredible difficulty, leaving Fayetteville yesterday at 12 m., my advanced guard, consisting of Turchin’s brigade, Kennett’s cavalry, and Simonson’s battery, entered Huntsville this morning at 6 o’clock. The city was taken completely by surprise, no one having considered the march practicable in the time.... We have at length succeeded in cutting the great artery of the railway intercommunication between the Southern states.”⁷⁹

A correspondent, William S. Furay, of the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* accompanied Mitchel’s army. He felt like exulting: “We have achieved a victory...[that] can hardly be overestimated. The main line, and for all practical military purposes the only line of communication between the

eastern and western armies of the enemy, is in our hands.” The reporter continued, “General Mitchell’s [sic] division is making history faster than I can write it.” He noted the action was bloodless, but then went on to report the Federals fired their carbines on the second train trying to get away from the depot. “An unfortunate colored person received one of the bullets in his neck,” making the first casualty of the invasion at Huntsville a black man.⁸⁰

Private Emil Frey with an Illinois regiment wrote his parents about the seeming ease of their invasion on that Friday: “We surprised the enemy in Huntsville; although they usually are extremely well informed.... We found them asleep and unaware.”⁸¹ On the same day 2nd Lt. William Crane of the 4th Ohio Cavalry arrived just before 6 a.m. and noted, “Black faces were at every door and window, blacks were at the gates and blacks were on the streets.... Perhaps it was too early for white folks to be out of bed.” A newly-arrived train, filled with rebel soldiers, one major, one captain, 2 lieutenants, and 180 privates, was captured. A nice haul, he thought. At one of the hotels a major and three captains were caught. All the prisoners were taken to the depot and kept under guard. Hams, bacon, sugar, etc were located in the warehouse and taken. Crane’s men went on to Whitesburg the next day hoping to capture the ferryboat. Too late to seize the boat, they confiscated weapons at every store in the village and a handsome Secesh flag. His company received three rousing cheers on their return to Huntsville.⁸² On the other hand, local citizens decried the actions of the “truly brave” Yankees who captured a city that was “strongly fortified with the most impenetrable brick houses, daring women, undaunted children and dubious bulldogs.”⁸³

Of all the many prominent citizens, refugees, and Rebel soldiers trying to slip away unnoticed down the back streets and side alleys of Huntsville, probably the most sought after was General Leroy Pope Walker, former Confederate Secretary of War. Unfortunately for his wartime career, Leroy Pope Walker apparently lacked administrative experience and appeared unable to cope with responsibility on such a large scale. One of the Richmond clerks mentioned Walker “having never been in governmental employment, is fast working himself down.” Unhappy with his own performance and criticized by many, Walker resigned in September of 1861 to accept an appointment as brigadier general. When no field duty assignment became available, he resigned in March of 1862 to return to Huntsville. Although the Confederacy didn’t seem to want General Walker, the Union army really did. After all, according to the northern newspapers



*Leroy Pope Walker-
Secretary of War.*

during the celebration in Montgomery of the surrender at Fort Sumter, Walker had boasted, “The flag which now flaunts the breeze here would float over the dome of the old capital at Washington before the first of May....” He even suggested Boston, and other northern cities would be next. This reckless statement incensed many citizens who, up to that time, had been neutral. A fire had destroyed Walker’s town house on Williams Street early in March, and his wife and their three young children were staying near Maysville Pike with the family of former-Governor Reuben Chapman. Walker’s two older sons, by his first marriage, were already serving with the CSA. The Chapman house was searched daily for Walker who likely fled to Montgomery, leaving his family behind.⁸⁴

In the presidential election of 1860, The Honorable John Bell of Nashville and Edward Everett ran on the ticket for the Constitutional Union party with a compromise platform. Bell, fearful of remaining in Federally occupied Nashville, stayed in Huntsville with Nick Davis at “The Grove” during this time. “The Grove” belonged to General Bartley M. Lowe, but Lowe’s daughter and her family currently lived there. Now 65, Bell was later quoted in the *Huntsville Confederate* as still expecting an early peace.⁸⁵

The women of Huntsville were empowered to seek an interview with General Mitchel by the knowledge they were ladies and, according to the times, would be treated respectfully by the officers who were, of course, gentlemen. Mrs. Martha Bradford, 47, was a daughter of William and Martha (Hays) Patton and widowed a second time at the death of Joseph B. Bradford six years earlier. Her son, Fielding, was killed at the First Battle of Manassas in July of 1861. Another son, John Patton Bradford also served in the Confederate army. She lived with her youngest son, Joe, across Randolph Street from the Chadicks and was a close friend. Fanny Mayhew, 32, was married to Dr. Sidney J. Mayhew, principal of the Huntsville Female Seminary which was located to the east of Mrs. Bradford’s house. Mr. and Mrs. Mayhew and their son lived on Eustis Street in the home built by his family in the 1840s. Although their plantation was on Whitesburg Turnpike, Louisa M. (Watkins) Harris, the wife of farmer Stephen Harris, and two children lived on Randolph Street. Tulliola Powers, 52, was the wife of W.H. Powers, owner of a wholesale and retail mercantile business. He came to Huntsville in 1818 and was known to be “exceedingly careful and close in transactions.”⁸⁶ They lived across from the Female College. Mary Toney, 37, and her family also lived on Randolph Street.

The captured Confederate soldiers were returning from the battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, a Union victory on the 6th and 7th of April. The



Memphis & Charleston Railroad Depot - Huntsville, AL. HPMCL

handsome new brick depot, just completed for the Memphis & Charleston Railroad by civil engineer, Gabriel Jordan, Jr., temporarily housed the men from the train cars who were able to walk to the third floor.⁸⁷ The more seriously wounded men stayed, confined in the railroad cars under guard until Major George H. Shumard gave permission for their removal to nearby buildings. Dr. Shumard had been appointed Surgeon General of Ohio troops and standardized medical procedures for the state army camps. He was now medical director for the 3rd Division.⁸⁸

Major Thaddeus Alfred McDonell and Captains T. Sumter Means and William Capers Bird were wounded members of the 1st Florida Infantry also returning from the Battle of Shiloh. McDonell, 31, had been a lawyer before the War. He was severely wounded in the left leg and captured at Shiloh. Means, 29, also was seriously wounded, as was Bird, 25.⁸⁹ Robert K. Brown was the assistant pastor but now led the congregation at the First Methodist Church after Rev. David Campbell Kelley joined the Confederate Army as a chaplain in 1861.⁹⁰

Saturday April 12th 1862 Truly our town is full of the enemy. There is a sentinel at every corner. Everybody keeps the front door locked, and I make it a point to answer the bell myself, not permitting servants or children to open it. They have been searching the houses today for arms. We have not been molested. Servants are giving information of all the arms and soldiers who have been concealed. Visited the wounded prisoners. One poor fellow had his hand amputated today. His name is

Gregory—promised him a shirt tomorrow. Found 3 or 4 others suffering immensely from their wounds, the Federal surgeons having neglected to dress them. Went for Dr. Sheffey to attend to them. Gave the major a bouquet and promised him some butter.

On this day Sarah Lowe returned from Courtland to find Yankees on every street with “bayonets keeping guard. My heart stops beating at the thought that my home is a captured city.” Dramatically she continued, “The despot’s heel is on our shore. Naught but gloom seems to hover over our future. Sad thoughts come upon me so fast that the light of other days has faded.”⁹¹

Lawrence B. and Elizabeth White (Humes) Sheffey and their large family lived just three houses away from the Chadicks on Randolph Street. The story is told that at the invasion by Mitchel’s troops, Elizabeth just had time to conceal her silver in the garden. Then she and the children ran to Oak Place, the home of Eliza Steele, on Maysville Pike, to hide in their wine cellar.⁹²

April 13th 1862 Visited the well prisoners at the depot. Our visit seemed to delight and cheer them very much. Many of them asked us to write to their wives and friends, and gave some of their valuables into our keeping. As yet, they have no food, only what we carry them. The wounded officers were removed this evening to the College. One of the prisoners at the depot (Duncan of Louisiana) gave me a little tea bell as a keepsake.

Had a conversation with a Federal officer, Capt. Doughty, in the course of which he remarked that the “Western men who form Mitchel’s division are fighting for the right of secession, and whenever we become convinced that the slavery question is involved, we shall lay down our arms and go home.” Strange infatuation not to see it.

Private W. H. Duncan, 20, served in Co. K, 9th Louisiana Infantry. His company had just returned from the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia when he was captured. Federal Capt. William N. Doughty served in Co. I of the 37th Indiana Infantry.⁹³ Captain Doughty’s feelings reflected that of many Yankee soldiers at that time and were asserted by President Lincoln in his first inaugural address. The Union was perpetual and could not be broken. This was not a war between two sovereign states but the suppression of an illegitimate rebellion.

Private Henry A. Smith of the 21st Ohio Volunteer Infantry reinforced Mrs. Chadick’s observation that “...a number of ladies called

upon them [the prisoners] bringing flowers, edibles etc. at the same time enjoining upon them to be good rebels....”⁹⁴

Locally the expected violence of open warfare continued to explode into the savagery of guerrilla warfare. Lieutenant Dilworth, 21st Ohio Infantry, wrote about one of their pickets found hanged, a planned murder, and a captured Confederate prisoner who imagined just that—a guerilla warfare against their troops.⁹⁵ These activities had only just begun!

April 14th 1862 Some arrests have been made today of prominent Secessionists. Among those was Matt Steele, but they have been released. Visited the hospital, and was mortified to find many of our wounded men had taken the oath and were going home. Expressed our mortification and disappointment in the presence of the Federals, and exhorted the others never to do likewise. Those who had not taken the oath said they would die first. The prisoners at the depot refused nearly to a man thus to disgrace themselves, and the ladies openly commended them for it. Some of them have made their escape.

Matthew Steele and his family with six children lived on Randolph St. to the east. He formerly practiced law and later became a cotton factor. But like his deceased father, George Steele, Matthew aspired to continue the tradition as a well-known architect and builder in town.

Accepting the oath allowed the captured soldiers to return to their homes. Very relevant to the local people during Mitchel’s command, an oath of allegiance to the United States was also necessary to receive passes to leave town or be admitted. Perhaps more importantly, provisions could not be purchased without taking the oath. In addition, unless a citizen, even women and children, took the pledge to denounce the Confederacy, one could not send to the mill for flour or meal, bring in provisions from out in the county, or buy food locally.⁹⁶ The South’s code of honor deeply revered any oath taken, and this was a particularly offensive action.

At first the merchants of town kept their stores closed, but General Mitchel threatened to burn the town if the doors were not opened to the public immediately. The Huntsville Hotel never closed its doors, and the officers played billiards with one another and even one of the paroled prisoners, Captain Shell of Georgia.⁹⁷

The occupying army continued their search of local property. As one soldier noted, “We captured 6000 stands of arms...and 5 pieces of artillery, all concealed in a cellar for the use of the citizens....”⁹⁸

April 21st 1862 One week later Messrs. Wilson, Banister; and Mayhew returned from Corinth. The latter brought me news from my dear hus-

band. He is well. This is some consolation, yet a letter would have delighted me exceedingly. His absence has always been painful, yet I would not have him here now at the mercy of the enemy. It must be so humiliating to the men—reckon some of them wish they had gone to the war and saved their reputation. Mr. Wilson has been arrested, not giving the information desired, and has been kept in confinement several days. Two prisoners at the depot made their escape in this way: they put on Yankee uniforms and walked out of doors, stood awhile and then went back. Whereupon, the guard ordered them out, telling them “they had no business in there,” so they went quietly out and walked up town and made their escape! As soon as it was know, the balance of the prisoners were hurried off to Camp Chase, Ohio.

Members of the clergy and concerned citizens often accompanied local troops in the field to support and minister where they could. Family and friends also came to care for the sick and injured, or worse, to convey a body home for burial. John G.

Wilson, 35, was new to Huntsville and just appointed president of the Female College to replace the beloved Dr. A. R. Erwin who died in 1860. Dr. John Monro Banister also arrived in 1860 to take leadership of the Episcopal Church of the Nativity where the growing membership had just completed a fine new church building and a new rectory.⁹⁹ Sidney Mayhew, 33, taught mathematics and mental philosophy and served as principal of the Huntsville Female Seminary.



Mayhew House - Col. Chadick hid in the basement to avoid Federal troops. HMCPL.

The escape of the two Rebel soldiers produced immediate unforeseen results. The remaining prisoners were immediately sent North to an Ohio prisoner camp, escorted by six privates detailed from each company. Hereafter in Huntsville, no captured prisoners would be allowed to take the oath and be released on their honor.¹⁰⁰ Men from the ranks were generally sent to Camp Chase, the prisoner of war camp at Columbus, Ohio. At times as many as 8000 Southern soldiers were held there.

April 28th 1862 *General Mitchel has been in a rage all the week on account of the cutting of the telegraph wires, the tearing up of the railroad*

track, firing into trains, and holds the citizens responsible for the same, having had 12 of the most prominent arrested. It is probable the work of our cavalry who annoy him excessively, as they are constantly picking off his men. Great depredations have been committed by the Federal cavalry in the country surrounding Huntsville, and the citizens of Athens have suffered terribly. We are all "prisoners of hope," and are in daily expectancy Gen. Kirby Smith or Gen. Morgan is coming to our relief. News of an exploit of the latter near Pulaski has reached us. He took a son of Gen. Mitchel prisoner, paroled him, gave him plenty of money, telling him "his Union money would be of no use to him here," and sent him to his father, asking for the exchange of his brother Charlton Morgan. Gen. Mitchel was quite surprised at such magnanimity from such a desperado as Morgan.

General Mitchel's invasion affected all of the Tennessee Valley of north Alabama. Mitchel occupied Huntsville and then turned toward Bridgeport to the northeast. Colonel John B. Turchin, a former Russian officer, went west from Mitchel's command and secured Decatur, Athens, and then Tuscumbia. Unexpectedly on May 1st Confederate Colonel John S. Scott and men of the 1st and 2nd Louisiana Cavalry boldly chased the 18th Ohio out of Athens. Scott reported 200 Federals killed or wounded and only one Rebel killed and three wounded. Adding to the indignities of the evacuation by the Yankees, the citizens of Athens jeered at the retreating men. The next day Colonel Turchin attacked Athens with the 19th Illinois Infantry. Although until this time Athens had many Union sympathizers, by the evening of that day the townspeople changed their outlook. Colonel Turchin attacked Athens in a particularly unsavory manner because he was angry that some citizens aided and abetted Colonel Scott's troops. It was said Turchin announced he would shut his eyes for two hours, allowing his soldiers to plunder the village of 900 people.¹⁰¹

Major General Buell considered habitual lawlessness the worst aspect of General Mitchel's command. Mitchel acknowledged the breakdown of control in a dispatch to the Secretary of War: "The most terrible outrages—robberies, rapes, arsons, and plunderings—are being committed by lawless brigands and vagabonds connected with the army." Mitchel asked for and received authority to use the death penalty on offenders, but no one was punished.¹⁰²

Apparently nothing seemed to aggravate General Mitchel more and put him in a worse mood than for the trains to be fired on. It meant his over-extended troops would do without needed supplies. Although some forays were from organized Southern cavalry units, many were not official military actions. The outnumbered citizens often responded to the invaders

in the only ways they could. They attacked the Yankees and the vital railroad links whenever and however they were able to get close enough to inflict damage. The Alabamians considered themselves to be protecting their homeland; the Federal soldiers considered these actions to be guerilla warfare.¹⁰³

In response General Mitchel took unprecedented action on May 2nd when he ordered the arrest of twelve civilians, leaders of the community. These men, arrested and imprisoned, included prominent figures in town. Bishop Henry C. Lay, formerly the rector of the Episcopal Church of Nativity, had just fled Arkansas for the safety of his family. John G. Wilson, 35, was the new president and owner of the Female College. George P. Beirne, 52, a wealthy planter, his wife, Eliza, and their six children lived on Williams Street. He was a director of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad. Samuel Cruse, 65, was secretary and treasurer of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad and an officer in the Northern Bank of Alabama. (A locomotive of the railroad named for him was captured at the Depot on the day of the invasion.) William McDowell, 60, a cotton broker and merchant lived with his wife, Priscilla, on the east side of Adams Avenue. Elderly Dr. Thomas Fearn, 72, had served his community well in an awesome array of medical, commercial, and civic ventures. His most noted achievement was the use of quinine to treat malarial fever. Although Stephen W. Harris owned large plantations along Whitesburg Turnpike, he lived in town on Randolph Street with his family. William H. Moore, 40, practiced law with his brother, B. F. Moore. Together they were considered the best lawyers in Huntsville. Gustaus Lyle Mastin, 47, a planter and merchant, maintained his household on Franklin Street. Thomas S. McCalley, about 47, was a wealthy planter and dry goods merchant, who lived two miles west of town with his wife and nine children. William Acklen, 61, was a grandson of John Hunt the founder of Huntsville. He and his son, Theodore, were lawyers with an office on Bank Row on the Town Square. The average age of the group of men was over 52 years. Excluding the two ministers and the educator (occupations not known for high salaries), the same nine men in 1860 owned real estate declared at \$440,000 and personal property estimated valued at \$1,054,000. These men in no way could be considered combatants or a danger to the Federal Army at this time. They represented money, power, and influence in town.¹⁰⁴

Major General Edmund Kirby Smith, a West Point graduate, was in command of the District of East Tennessee of the Confederate army. However, Smith would not be able to come to the relief of Huntsville because he and his troops were on the way toward Cumberland Gap.¹⁰⁵

At this time John Hunt Morgan served as a Colonel in the 2nd Kentucky Cavalry. His activities offered Southerners more than a dash of

excitement as his brave exploits left the Federals apparently befuddled. On the military scene Morgan's raiders burned bridges, captured supply wagons, tore up railroad tracks where least expected, and still avoided capture by the Federals. On the social scene Morgan "was all the rage.... Everybody and his wife called to pay their respects; the gentlemen hob-nobbed graciously, the ladies talked admiringly, the little girls looked on wonderingly..." at Morgan who was inundated with flowers everywhere he went. One Union adversary wrote that Morgan "epitomized his Confederate countrymen's belief in the South's code of honor and system of ethics, calling for the defense of personal and family honor, personal courage and valor." ¹⁰⁶



*John Hunt Morgan,
HMCPL.*

The events of the capture of Morgan's brother and Mitchel's son offer one of the coincidences of the War. Sam Morgan and two of his nephews, who were brothers of John Hunt Morgan, had been at the Fackler house on Adams Avenue recovering from wounds after the Battle at Shiloh. Sam Morgan and one nephew escaped during the invasion by Mitchel. John Hunt Morgan's younger brother, Charlton Hunt Morgan, had resigned from his appointment as U. S. Consul to Messina, Sicily, when the War broke out to serve in the Confederate Army. First Lieutenant Charlton Morgan, serving as an aide to Col. Robert P. Trabue, commander of the 4th Kentucky Infantry, was wounded on Sunday April 6th at Shiloh. Now on April 11th, still asleep, he was captured and detained by the Federal army in Huntsville. On May 1st Col. John Hunt Morgan captured Capt. Edwin (Ned) Mitchel, an adjutant for his father, General Mitchel. While young Mitchel was returning to camp from sick leave, he stopped for dinner at Pulaski and was surrounded by Morgan's cavalry. Morgan said he wouldn't have "captured Mitchel's son for the world had I known it...I must send you south. Have you any money?" and gave him a few green backs. The writer of this account, Mitchel's other son, Frank, wrote that his brother Ned did not accept the money. Apparently Morgan captured a wagon train of supplies intended for Huntsville and had too many prisoners to manage. Morgan then paroled Captain Mitchel, and the young man returned to Huntsville. Lieutenant Morgan was exchanged and sent home to Lexington, Kentucky. Colonel W. H. Lytle, commander of the 10th Ohio, commented that young Mitchel, "Speaks in the highest terms of the courtesy with which he was treated. Morgan is certainly a gallant gentleman." Even this early in the War Morgan had become a folk hero,

perhaps for both factions. However, a paroled officer—not formally exchanged and subsequently re-captured while on active duty—was subject to execution. Parole meant, “not to serve again until formally exchanged.”

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Mitchel’s rage would not lessen quickly. On that very day a combined force of Rebel soldiers and nearby citizens attacked a detachment of the 10th Wisconsin at the Paint Rock railroad bridge. Six Union men were wounded and one Confederate was killed and one wounded.¹⁰⁸ On May 2nd Mitchel let the consequences to all who aided and abetted the enemy be known. His proclamation read:

All these acts will be punished with death, if the perpetrators can be found. And if they cannot, I will destroy the property of all who sympathize with the southern rebellion in the neighborhood where these acts are committed.¹⁰⁹

Local citizens continued to stoke General Mitchel’s anger. They taunted Federal troops going off to Decatur and Stevenson, thinking the men were retreating. On the return of the soldiers, the hostility of the civilians increased so much that General Mitchel “ordered them to go instantly to their houses or he would cannonade the town.”¹¹⁰

May 10th 1862 12 days later *There has been a small fight at Bridgeport, which the Federals claim as a great victory. They brought down a great many wounded and 41 prisoners, who are in the West Huntsville Methodist church. Have been to see them, carrying them flowers and food. They are a fine looking set of men, and from the account of one of their officers, they fought bravely against fearful odds. Our Gen. Leadbetter acted cowardly, burning the bridge and running. We have also furnished them with a change of clothes and had their washing done. Lieuts. Reinhart and Clayton are the officers, and are Georgians. Our citizens are still held as hostages for the mischief done by our Cavalry. Bishop Lay, Mr. Banister, J.G. Wilson, George Beirne, Sam Cruse, Mr. McDowell, Dr. Fearn, Mr. Harris, W H. Moore, Gus Mastin, Tom McCauley and William Acklen are in solitary confinement. They are required to sign a paper condemning Guerilla warfare and pronouncing the sentence of death upon such as are engaged in it or be sent to Fort Warren as the alternative to it. Is to be hoped they will be true to themselves—let the result be what it may.*

There has been some fighting at Athens. The enemy have brought up some wounded men and taken a few of our men prisoners. One of

the Federalists at the hospital told me our cavalry took an entire company of their men prisoners, including the officers.

Gen. Mitchel has sent Lts. Reinhart and Clayton to Kirby Smith and Capts. Bird and Chase to Gen. Beauregard to effect an exchange of prisoners. I have sent by Capt. Bird a letter to my husband to assure him of our health and safety, and trust I shall have the happiness of receiving one in return. Our officers in the College are now nearly recovered from their wounds and able to walk about, but are not allowed to go beyond the boundaries of its walls. They have received great attention from the ladies, and we are proud we have such men in our army. General Mitchel complained that the ladies of Huntsville have given his officers the "cold shoulder" by not having received them into the social circle! Some of the Unionists gave a pic-nic and invited two of his officers, who accepted and went. The next day, he had them arrested. Some folks were malicious enough to attribute it to jealousy, because he was not invited himself.

The location of Bridgeport, Alabama, was of importance to both armies. Beside the Tennessee River and the railroad links to Chattanooga, Nashville, and Atlanta, it was a crucial site. As Mitchel invaded north Alabama, the Confederates still held Bridgeport. On April 29th Confederate Brig. Gen. Danville L. Leadbetter and his troops occupied the hill overlooking the river and the valley. Because of mistaken identification the Federals were not quickly fired upon, and they soon forced the Southerners to retreat across the truss bridge. Leadbetter ordered the bridge to be burned, destroying 450 feet of the wooden structure. Mitchel reported his men had gone up against five regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry. Leadbetter reported he had 450 raw infantry and 150 cavalry. At any rate, now with the capture of Decatur to the west by Turchin, there was little organized Confederate opposition remaining in the Tennessee Valley of Alabama.¹¹¹

This West Huntsville Methodist Church was probably on the site where the first Methodist church had been built on Clinton Street, west of Gallatin Street, completed by 1821.¹¹²

General Mitchel sent Lt. Augustus M. Reinhart and 3rd Lt. Charles C. Clayton, Co. A, 43rd Georgia Infantry.¹¹³

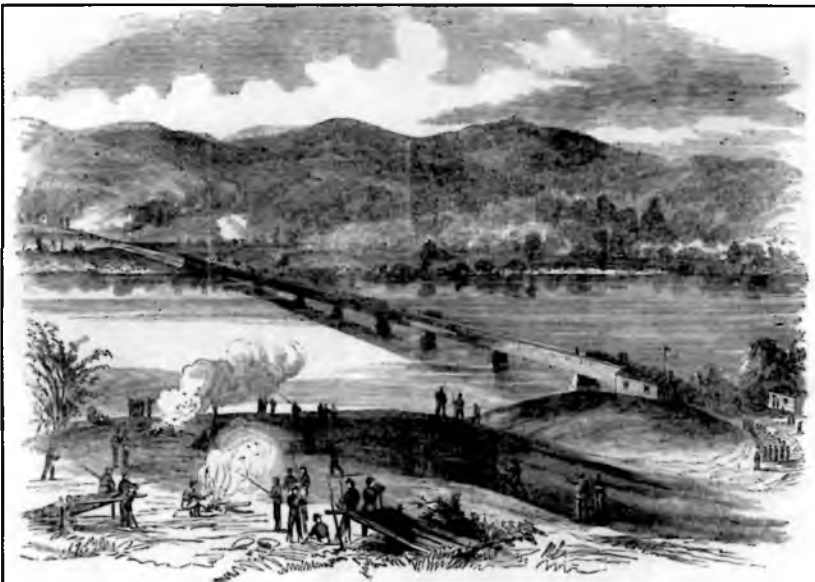
After two days of confinement, three of the twelve leaders were brought before General Mitchel. Apparently Mitchel began by stating he only wanted to "walk humbly with God and military glory had no charms for him." But he realized that the rebellion was wicked and he was determined to "crush it out." The General had two complaints. The first

was “that the community would not exchange social courtesies with him and his officers.” He wished to “promote kind social relations, and to encourage the citizens to regard him as their friend.” However, the acts of hostility against his troops were a greater concern. Mr. McDowell replied that he felt there was not a man in the room who favored guerrilla warfare, and Mitchel conceded he had no charges against the twelve men. General Mitchel announced the men would not be released until they signed his proposed statement against guerrilla warfare activities.¹¹⁴

Fort Warren was a Federal Prison located on an island in Boston Harbor.

General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard was one of the South’s first heroes. He commanded the forces in Charleston that brought about the surrender of Fort Sumter to begin the Civil War and led the Confederate Army of the Potomac to its first major victory at the Battle of First Manassas. However, President Jeff Davis, because of personal animosity to him, assigned Beauregard to the West. When General Albert Sidney Johnston was killed at Shiloh, Beauregard assumed command. Feeling confident of a victory, Beauregard sent a victorious message to Richmond announcing he would finish off Grant’s troops the next day. But the next day was too late, and the remaining Southern soldiers were fortunate to retreat in the face of newly reinforced northern troops.¹¹⁵

The action in nearby Athens could have been the May 1st attack by Colonel J. S. Scott who with 112 Confederates drove the Union forces out

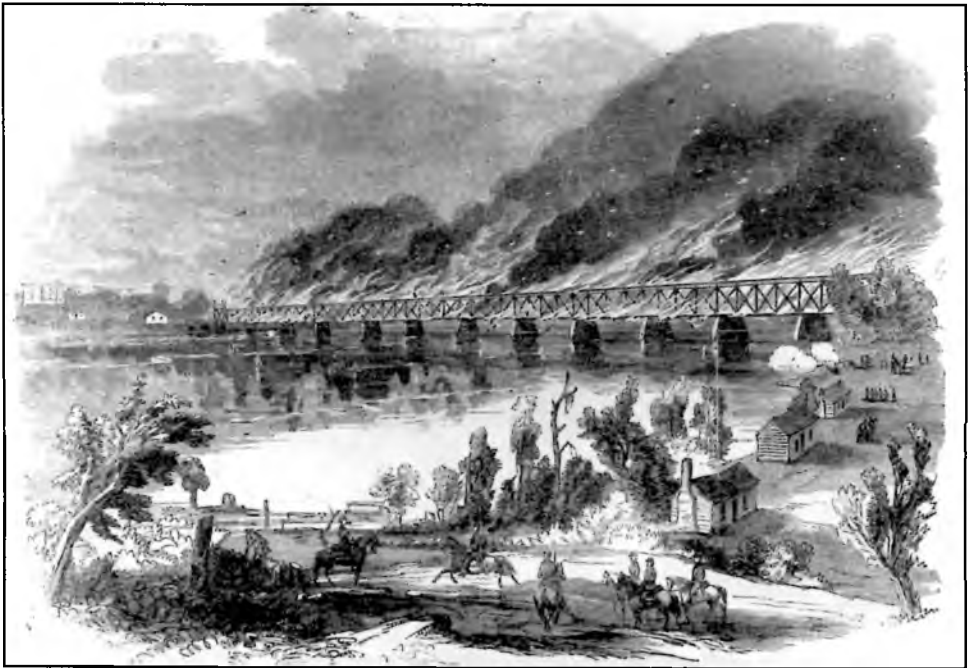


General Leadbetter’s forces - Near Bridgeport, Alabama, 1862. Harper’s Weekly engraving.

and forced a retreat toward Huntsville. General Mitchel sent reinforcements only to find the Confederates gone. Mrs. Chadick could have heard about the action as the Yankees recaptured Decatur on May 8th. Or, she heard about the movement from Athens to the Elk River, a ruse by Colonel Lytle to allow General Negley to complete a surprise attack on the Rebels.¹¹⁶

General Mitchel was not the only Federal officer to note the attitude of the women in town. Colonel Lytle that evening wrote to his sisters that there was no social interchange, and “the women are venomous.” Colonel John Beatty, commander of the 3rd Ohio Infantry, noted that the men of town “settled down to a patient endurance of military rule. They say but little, and treat us with all politeness. The women, however, are outspoken in their hostility, and marvelously bitter.”¹¹⁷

If there had been a small fight at Bridgeport, there was another intense action closer at a local picnic. Colonel Jesse Norton of the 21st Ohio was now Provost Marshal, and he was quickly welcomed into Southern society. According to Captain Silas Canfield, Col. Norton readily protected and returned the property of the Southern civilians—their slaves. A fish-bake was arranged at a resort south of town, outside the Union picket line, and Colonel Norton was invited. General Mitchel, with a mounted escort,



Burning the bridge over the Tennessee River near Decatur - Harper's Weekly engraving illustrates the May 8th recapture of Decatur.

happened to lead a reconnaissance and appeared in the midst of the party: "The fish-bake was broken up, and Colonel Norton was reprimanded in severe terms in the presence of the party for being absent from his command, and outside of the army lines without permission, and ordered to return to his quarters under arrest."¹¹⁸

May 18th 1862 Who would have believed it! Every one of those 12 men have signed the paper!! They are at liberty and Gen. Mitchel "says he knew they were a set of cowards." We actually cried tears of shame and resentment when we heard it. Comments are useless.

One of the prisoners at the church has died. Major Moore of Cincinnati permitted the prisoners to follow him to the grave without a guard or any blue coat except himself. A large concourse of ladies and gentlemen also followed in the procession. Gen. Mitchel and some of his staff were observed to ride out where they could view it. He subsequently told Mrs. E____s who called upon him for business, that it was a political demonstration on the part of the Ladies of Huntsville.

Col. Harris, with Lt. Rhinehart and others, assigned this week under flag of truce to effect the exchange of prisoners. They proceeded at once to headquarters. Their noble bearing produced quite a sensation among the citizens. Col. Harris told Gen. Mitchel he could exchange with him till he was ready to cry "enough!" It appears we took 160 prisoners at Bridgeport!

The evening of the funeral, Mrs. Cowan called for me to accompany her on a visit to Gen. Mitchel. Consented very reluctantly. He received us very politely, and promised to assist Mrs. Cowan in going to Corinth on her way to Memphis. Talked politics to myself and complained bitterly of the vindictive feelings entertained by Southerners toward the North

This week also brought another horse panic. Nearly all of the carriage horses about town were taken by Gen. Mitchel's orders. They called to examine Old Henry, but pronounced him too clumsy for cavalry. This caused a great many ladies to call on the general to solicit their horses back again, which in most cases was granted.

Jeremiah Clemens had visited the prisoners and urged them to sign the first statement, assuring the men they would be otherwise quickly sent to Fort Warren. Because of Clemens' association with the Yankees, they felt this was "official notification." Wilson and Lay were sent to solitary confinement, perhaps to show the seriousness of the situation, but at least Dr. Fearn and Mr. Cruse were paroled because of their poor health. Then

the remaining eight men were also put under guard in separate rooms. On May 14th the ten men were paroled home, but ordered to report back the next day. On May 15th after more intense negotiations about the wording of the statement, the ten remaining men signed the statement and were freed.¹¹⁹

The imprisoned citizens felt Mitchel “arrested us to show he could arrest anyone.” The Rt. Reverend Lay explained after 13 days of confinement the captives agreed that “imprisonment would do no one any good.” They signed a watered-down statement:

We disapprove and abhor all unauthorized and illegal war; and we believe that citizens who fire upon railway trains, attack the guards of bridges, destroy the telegraph lines and fire from concealment upon pickets deserve and should receive the punishment of death.¹²⁰

Mrs. Chadick was not the only one to express disappointment. One newspaper editor wrote, “It is to be regretted that the 12 citizens should have allowed themselves to be intimidated and seduced in giving their signatures to such a paper, for every concession to the enemy only makes him more hopeful and defiant in his war of subjugation. The true policy is to resist his aggression to death, and to have our homes fired and desolated rather than cringe to this infamous beast. Let him know that every foot of Southern soil will run with blood; that every home and fireside well be devastated before we will give in....”¹²¹

On June 3rd Mrs. Lay had her own “confinement” and gave birth to their seventh child, a son named Beirne in honor of Huntsville friends. Unfortunately one month later, a daughter, Lucy, died. This was their second child to die within the year.¹²²

Major Robert M. Moore of the 10th Ohio considerably allowed fellow prisoners to accompany the procession and burial of their Confederate comrade at the cemetery. Colonel Harris was Col. Alphenus Skidmore Harris of the 43rd Georgia Infantry.¹²³

Mrs. E—s was likely Mary, 52, wife of William Echols. They lived on Randolph Street near the Female College. Mr. Echols served as mayor of Huntsville and was general manager of the Bell Factory, a textile factory northeast of town. Lucy (Robinson) Cowan was married to Dr. James B. Cowan, son of a noted Cumberland Presbyterian minister from Fayetteville, Tennessee. Dr. Cowan was a major in Forrest’s regiment and served as chief surgeon with him at Shiloh. Mrs. Mayhew also felt the need for a lady-friend to accompany her to see the officer.¹²⁴ A lady did not walk about town unaccompanied.

Colonel Beatty, now Provost Marshal of town, wrote that Rebel men with a flag of truce “came in last night...and the bearers were overwhelmed with visits and favors from the ladies. When they took supper at the Huntsville Hotel, the large dining-room was crowded with fair faces and bright eyes.”¹²⁵ Colonel Beatty also wrote about the death of the Confederate prisoner: “The ladies filled the hearse to overflowing with flowers, and a large number of them accompanied the soldier to his last resting-place.” With a deeper assessment, Col. Beatty continued, “The foolish, yet absolute, devotion of the women to keep the Southern cause does much to keep it alive. It encourages, nay forces, the young to enter the army, and compels them to continue what the more sensible Southerners know to be a hopeless struggle. But we must not judge these Huntsville women too harshly. Here are the families of many of the leading men of Alabama—of generals, colonels, majors, captains, and lieutenants in the Confederate army.” Men of cabinet positions and clerks whose women feel, “that the honor of these gentlemen, and possibly their lives, depend upon the success of the Confederacy.”¹²⁶

Although the town ladies only needed their horses for transportation, the soldiers were taking them for military use. More important to the folks in the countryside, the mules and horses, besides providing transport, were the means to cultivate the fields.

May 25th 1862 There has been some fighting at Shelbyville between our cavalry and the forces sent up from this place, which are reported to have been disastrous to the latter. Many wounded have been brought down, but we are in ignorance as to the facts. Certain it is there were six burials in one evening, and two or three every day for several days.

Colonel Lytle wrote that his 650 infantrymen, transported in wagons, covered the 50 miles north to Shelbyville “like a blue streak.” At this point he considered that “Wise and paternal treatment can, I think, bring this people back to their allegiance. It is a splendid people. We cannot afford to lose them from the Union.”¹²⁷

Initially Northerners thought of themselves as progressive and democratic toward the South. Congress, in July of 1861, had passed the Crittenden Resolution. “This war is not waged, on our part, in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation.” Many Federal military leaders had strong views opposing this “Rosewater Policy,” but not General Buell. One Cincinnati reporter wrote about “...General Buell, who cares more for guarding a rebel cabbage patch, or reenslaving a liberated negro, than he does for gaining a triumph over the enemy.”¹²⁸

May 26th 1862 Went out with Sue to spend the day with old Mrs. Lowry. My first visit to the country since the Federals came here. The 33rd Ohio Regiment, Col. Moore, was camped opposite. Some of the men informed Mr. Lowry that Capts. Bird and Chase were at Decatur, and Col. Moore had been sent down to receive them.

Came home in the evening and hastened over to the College. Major McDonell and Capt. Means had heard nothing of it, but while sitting in the yard in conversation, Fannie D. came by and said the train had come in and one of the cars had a white flag on it! In a few minutes, they rode up, and in a moment were surrounded by a crowd of women, all asking questions about Corinth and their friends. As usual, I was doomed to disappointment they not having seen my "better half," he being on outpost duty when they visited his camp. They left my letter for him but brought no sweet solace in return.

Came home and wrote him another long letter; not guarded in speech like the former; but indulged in a little freedom as in days of yore. Oh, what delightful sensations were experienced as we closed the seal! But the gentlemen were all on parole of honor and afraid to take it, unless I gave permission for it to be read in case of necessity. So I entrusted it to one of their servants. Wonder if he ever got it. They all left for Corinth the next day.

Mrs. Chadick and her stepdaughter, Sue, visited Elizabeth Lowry, 67, who lived with her son, John, a well-to-do merchant at the edge of town on the road to Athens. Mrs. Lowry was a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The men of the 33rd Ohio were camped across from Lowry's at Blue Spring, the site of the former Confederate training ground just north of town.¹²⁹ Colonel Oscar F. Moore was with the 33rd Ohio. Captains Bird and Chase had negotiated the transfer of prisoners and were now at Decatur. The entire community eagerly waited to see which Confederate soldiers might be arriving.

That evening Mrs. Chadick walked two doors west to the Huntsville Female College. She shared her news with two of the Confederate prisoners housed there, Major McDonell and Captain Means. It was likely Fanny Donegan, 28, who lived just a few houses to the east, who announced the carload of soldiers at the depot. Mrs. Chadick went to look for her husband or to hear news. She immediately returned home to write and send a letter to him. But none of the newly paroled men cared to risk taking the sealed letter with them. If the letter was found on their person and read by Federal officials, their parole might be revoked, particularly if her missive contained troop information. Mrs. Chadick certainly had information from her visit to the country that day which she



Huntsville Roundhouse - Troops and supplies were delivered and trains rerouted here. Remains of spring flooding can be seen. HMCPL.

might have included in her letter. Parole of honor allowed the men, prisoners of war captured by the Federals, to be released. As a condition they promised not to fight or enter into any political activity until officially exchanged for a prisoner held by the Confederacy. One of their servants would have to try to deliver her letter.

That day Daniel Finn, with the 10th Ohio Regimental Band, also wrote in his diary that the band played “Hail to the Chief” for Colonel Lytle and the men of the 10th Ohio. The soldiers were glad to have their own band with them again in Huntsville.¹³⁰

While Mrs. Chadick was waiting anxiously for news about her husband, apparently he was quite ill. After the retreat from Corinth, he spent six weeks until the end of May in bed recovering from a debilitating bout of rheumatism, unable to move his hands or feet.¹³¹ Additionally he suffered from the effects of the last year’s accumulated hardships. W. D. Chadick’s vocation assumed him to be a caring and sensitive man and the death and violence at Manassas and Shiloh took a dreadful toll on his mental state.

June 2nd 1862 *This morning we were startled by the booming of cannons on the public square and learned conflicting reports as to the object. Some said Richmond and Jeff Davis were taken. But it turned out to be*

for the death of Major General Smith of the Federal army who was wounded in the Battle of Corinth (Shiloh) and has since died. There has been a report that Corinth is evacuated by our troops. If true, our confidence in Beauregard leads us to believe it is all right.

The Confederate Congress had voted in secret and adjourned on May 21, 1861, to reconvene on the 29th of July in Richmond, now to become the permanent capital of the Confederacy. This may have been planned to allow President Davis to be closer to the action of the War, but Mrs. Chadick now began to mention Richmond more frequently. Removal of the capital to Richmond might have been the very act that kept much of the military action in the east, saving Alabama south of the Tennessee River from early invasion.¹³²

Mrs. Chadick referred to Maj. Gen. Charles Ferguson Smith who had taught both Grant and Sherman at West Point. Both men and many other army officers admired Smith greatly. General Lew Wallace called him “the handsomest, stateliest, most commanding figure I had ever seen.” He died on April 25, 1862, not in battle as Mrs. Chadick assumed, but as a result of the combined effects of dysentery and an infection from a scrape when he jumped into a rowboat at the beginning of the Shiloh Campaign.¹³³

Such was the faith in General Beauregard; retreat became “evacuation.” But certainly it was not all right for the Southern army. Leaving Corinth to the superior numbers of USA General Halleck, Beauregard planned to stop at Baldwin, Mississippi, just 35 miles south of Corinth with his exhausted men.¹³⁴

June 9th 1862 *There has been some cheering news from Virginia the past week. Something of the kind is needed to revive our drooping spirits, prisoners as we are. We hear no news but such as comes from the enemy, and that is rarely ever favorable to our side.*

There has been some fighting the past week between Gen. Mitchel's men and our cavalry in Jackson County, the result of which is unknown to us. The Federals brought down a great many wounded men, most of whom have since died. The small pox has broken out in the army here in the last few days, so we are literally visited by “pestilence and the sword.” The yoke is very galling. One day we are buoyed up with hope and the next, sunk into a state of despair; fearing the day of deliverance is a long way off. We heard yesterday the enemy has gained a great victory at or near Corinth, and our army was nearly destroyed. We don't believe it, yet feel sad and fearful.

We heard a day or two since the Federals had burned the house of Mrs. Dillard in Jackson. A story was also circulated to us of her son. A soldier asked for some meat, and he accompanied him to the smokehouse and cut it for him. When the soldier said it was not enough, young Dillard then gave him the knife and told him to cut it for himself. Putting down his gun for that purpose, Dillard promptly seized it and told the other he was his prisoner. The soldier sent up a loud cry for help, Dillard threatening all the time to bayonet him if he did not hush. A struggle ensued, in which the Federal was killed and Dillard taken prisoner and carried to Stevenson. Some whisky, deeply drugged with laudanum, was given the guards by Dillard's friends. They partook of it, and naturally enough fell into a deep sleep. Dillard escaped and joined Starns' cavalry, with which he is now doing service.

Dr. Sheffey vaccinated the children and servants yesterday. We are having strange weather for June. The nights and mornings are cold enough for fires, and the days exceedingly warm. Heard this morning that Mrs. Patteson was under arrest for attempting to convey improper news to her husband.

Gen. Mitchel seems to consider his sojourn among us as permanent. He desires to rent a furnished house, and is going to bring his family here. Mrs. Col. Turchin has been at Athens with her husband, and when the Athens ladies called upon her, she declined returning their visits, upon the grounds she was among them with her husband as an enemy! Certainly smacks of good taste on her part. They are now in Fayetteville. It is said she takes long rides in the country every day, accompanied by a guard of soldiers and mounted upon Jennie Watkins's famous riding pony.

Mrs. Col. Norton is now at Athens, her husband being provost marshal. The Athens ladies called upon her and she is delighted with the place, contrasting it very unfavorably with Huntsville, where she received little or no attention. Col. Norton was a great favorite here, always acting the gentleman in his discussions with the citizens and had he not been here as an enemy, he would have been most hospitably treated.

The cheering news most likely was about Maj. Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's brilliant forays in the Shenandoah Valley.

As the War dragged on the number of men killed and wounded in battle continued to rise. However, disease killed more soldiers than wounds received in the conflict. Although Southern women were not as socially organized as their northern counterparts, the ladies on the home front of

both sides initiated relief societies to provide bandages, clothing, and supplies for their men at the front. Women soon volunteered to become nurses in the field and organize hospitals, a job formerly considered to be a male occupation. Dorothea Dix, Clara Barton, Louisa May Alcott, and Alabama's Juliet Opie Hopkins were among the many hundreds who served."¹³⁵

The rugged, hilly part of Jackson County, often called "High Jackson," was a hotbed of guerilla action. Henry C. Dillard, about 15, apparently killed two foraging Federal soldiers when he found them stealing from his family's smoke house. The affair grew still more serious after his capture. Dillard was arrested and put under guard aboard a train for Nashville along with a variety of contraband items taken by the Federal soldiers. Apparently the Union men found whiskey among the goods and drank it. Meanwhile the local Southern Sheriff, Stephen Kennamer, and James Skelton placed crossties across the rails below Scottsboro, forcing the train to stop. General Mitchel, incensed, arrested about 30 citizens in an attempt to get information concerning the railroad sabotage. No information was forthcoming and eventually they were released. Meanwhile, because his guards were now drunk, young Dillard escaped from the train car. In his account General Mitchel reported the train to Stevenson was fired on, and eleven men were wounded and one killed. Mitchel did not note in the report that one young boy got away. Dillard then enlisted with the 61st Alabama Infantry.¹³⁶

Brigadier General Benjamin Patteson, who had served as a U.S. Marshall for 31 years and then with the Confederate government, had been ill for months and fled to Summit in Blount County to escape Yankee harassment. His wife, Sarah, 46, still had eight children at home, including two sons just barely old enough to serve in the CSA. General Patteson died about the 20th of September, age 73, and his body was returned to Huntsville for burial in the town cemetery.¹³⁷

The story was told that Nadine Lvova Turchin rode conspicuously through Huntsville along "with the cavalry dressed in a blue costume, with hat and feathers, and sword and pistols by her side" greeted enthusiastically by the Union soldiers."¹³⁸ Whatever her attire, she disobeyed orders with her arrival. This was in violation of instructions from General Buell, and Colonel Turchin was court-martialed for noncompliance and the behavior of his uncontrolled troops. Mrs. Turchin apparently went to Washington to plead his case before President Lincoln. At any rate Turchin was commissioned a brigadier general in July and thus the court-martial was nullified.

General James A. Garfield presided at the court-martial of Turchin first in Athens, the scene of the atrocities. The trial moved then to the

stately Northern Bank of Alabama in Huntsville. Garfield, who disagreed with the official Federal “Rosewater” policy, “tried to teach rebels that treachery to the Union was a terrible crime. My superior officers do not agree.... They want the rebellion treated tenderly and gently.” Nevertheless Garfield considered the conduct of Mitchel’s men “shameful...in the history of war. There has not been found in American history so black a page.” General Garfield, recovering but still weak from illness, was “allowed a cot to lie on and have thus been enabled to work and be sick at the same time” while in Huntsville.¹³⁹

General Mitchel’s family arrived shortly. His two sons were Captain Edwin (just released by Col. John Hunt Morgan) and Frank, who served as an adjunct for his father. The General’s three daughters were Harriet, Louise, and Virginia (who was married to William Hook of New York City, a cotton broker).¹⁴⁰ Although other officers’ wives and families arrived during this occupation, Colonel Lytle wrote his sisters not to come. It was a perilous trip and “we are surrounded by enemies—the opposite bank of the Tennessee—only 10 miles distant swarms with rebel cavalry...when at any moment we may be attacked [to come here] is madness.”¹⁴¹

The James Laurence Watkins house on McClung Street, near Adams Avenue, was vacant at the time of this invasion. Laurence Watkins, his wife Eliza and two children, Virginia and young William, lived there but had fled south as the Federals approached. The household certainly



James Laurence Watkins House - 603 Adams.

HMCPL.

maintained a stable at the back of their lot for the carriage horses and Jennie's "famous pony." The incident with the borrowed horse may have been just hearsay. Celeste Clay wrote her sister-in-law, Virginia Clay, that the same story had been spread about both Celeste and Virginia, and Celeste didn't even have a mare.¹⁴²

The Provost Office was established at the courthouse with 70 men, four corporals and one sergeant assigned to Company G for duty under Lt. Robert S. Dilworth. Colonel Jesse S. Norton, as Provost Marshal, was very popular locally. Leaders in town offered a petition to Gen. Mitchel asking him to maintain the 21st Ohio Regiment permanently on provost duty.¹⁴³ It may well be that the Colonel's popularity with the locals was due to his approval of the moderate stance held by Gen. Buell. Accordingly, private property was just that and had nothing to do with the military action of the armies. This "Rosewater" approach projected the widely held view in the North that secession was a conspiracy by an elite few, "lords of the lash," and offered "conciliation for the mass of southern whites" that were simply misled.¹⁴⁴ However, after a year of war and death and destruction, it was obvious to many there would be no peaceful reconciliation.

Colonel Norton, for his apparent respect with Southern leaders and their property, was admired as much as Gen. Mitchel was reviled. Martha Norton, the Colonel's wife, only had to tolerate the inhospitable Huntsville women for three weeks. Her husband was stationed at Athens on May 26 where they were warmly received: "...Officers and citizens met on friendly terms, chatted, drank together and were merry."¹⁴⁵

June 10th 1862 Certain it is the enemy has not yet discovered the whereabouts of Beauregard since the evacuation of Corinth. Gen. Mitchel, upon being interrogated, replied he had probably "gone up a spout"! We have had a great victory at Chickahominy, near Richmond, but learn with the deepest regret of the death of my old friend, Gen. Hatton. Today, we have received the usual amount of bogus news from the Federals. Richmond, Memphis and Fort Pillow have fallen—we disbelieve the first two, but fear there is some truth in the last.

Beauregard's army continued on to Tupelo, Mississippi, 52 miles to the south of Corinth by the 9th of June.¹⁴⁶ Here his men rested and tried to recover from exhaustion and battle fatigue, among them Colonel W. D. Chadick.

Federal General McClellan and General Lee's men fought at the outskirts of Richmond resulting in a weeklong series of battles on the Virginia Peninsula called the Seven Days' Battles. Among these actions on June 27th at Gaines's Mill on the Chickahominy River, General Lee's men

won a respectable victory. This and the remaining battles that week sent the Yankees withdrawing “to a change of base” on the James River.

Mary Jane seemed genuinely sorry for the loss of General Robert Hatton. Hatton’s father, Reverend Hatton, and his family were in Steubenville, Ohio, while the Cooks were there before their move to Tennessee. Moreover, in 1845 Robert Hopkins Hatton entered the junior class at Cumberland College located on West Main Street in Lebanon, Tennessee; the same street where the Cooks lived. Hatton remained in town several years after he completed his education, married and began his law practice. (One of Hatton’s early jobs to support himself was as an agent to raise funds for the Washington Monument.) Reverend Chadick continued to visit Lebanon as soliciting agent for the Theological Department at the College and his wife’s family was there. Their friend, Gen. Hatton, died May 31, 1861, from wounds received at Seven Pines.¹⁴⁷

On the first of June, General Beauregard ordered Fort Pillow to be vacated. Under attack from Union gunboats, the fort was abandoned, June 7th, two months after the Southern loss at Shiloh. Richmond had not fallen.

“Gone up a spout” was an idiom of the time simply meaning lost or disappeared.

June 11th 1862 Last night, the guard discovered 50 or 60 Negroes at the depot, armed with Enfield rifles, drilling. They were dispersed and some of them taken to jail. Col. Burke, the provost, seems disposed to make the Negroes keep their places. Nearly all the troops here are leaving for Chattanooga. Rumor says there has been fighting there, and the Rebel troops have gained a victory.

A funeral procession is passing. A flag is thrown over the coffin. Must belong to the artillery, as there is a cannon in the procession. The band of music from headquarters is playing a dirge. These funeral processions pass two or three times a day of late and sometimes there are two coffins in the hearse at the same time. When a member of the cavalry dies, his horse is led in the procession, as a chief mourner, with the blankets and accoutrements of the deceased thrown over him, which looks inexpressibly sad.

The Federal mails were seized yesterday between here and Nashville. The mischief, as usual, was laid to Morgan’s charges.

Knowing that a large number of slaves were drilling in a military fashion with the latest weapons—the Enfield rifle musket—would have been very unsettling; however, slaves from surrounding areas fled their masters to congregate in garrisoned towns. Many risked getting caught and

punished, not to perform manual labor, but to join in the fight for their own freedom. The Federal government was not prepared to recruit enslaved black men at this time, and these men were arrested by the provost and probably returned to their masters. The first of five regiments of colored soldiers raised in Alabama was the Third Regiment Alabama Volunteers, A.D. (African Descent), in January 1863. Because their duties were generally at garrisoned towns, as the Yankees maintained their strength in North Alabama, the black soldiers would become more and more evident.¹⁴⁸

Lieutenant Colonel Joseph W. Burke was provost of the 10th Ohio Infantry and now of the occupied region. His duties were not trifling for soldiers or residents: “The provost marshal is the social, internal regulator of the army. To him 50,000 soldiers and the constantly changing crowd of citizens, strangers, and refugees throng for ‘passes’ to go here and to go there.”¹⁴⁹

Most funeral processions proceeded east on Randolph past the Chadick house to the town cemetery. Admiring the beauty of the cemetery earlier in April, USA Lieutenant Dilworth noted 70 new graves giving testimony to the ravages of war. Two months later now, there were still more burials with rude wooden markers. Rowena Webster described a Federal artillery officer’s funeral. “The body was in an ambulance, draped with crepe; his war horse was draped also; the officers were riding with reversed arms; many soldiers; the band was playing the dead march with muffled drums. It was a solemn sight....”¹⁵⁰

The interruption of the Federal mail service could not be blamed on Colonel Morgan—this time. Morgan and his command had just formed the basis of a new 2nd Kentucky Cavalry regiment and were training at Knoxville for their first raid into Kentucky.¹⁵¹

June 16th 1862 The enemy have been driven back from Chattanooga with considerable force. There has been quite a dearth of news for the last few days, owing to the cutting off of the mails. News has reached us of a glorious victory in Virginia, which is truly cheering. We are still in suspense as to the whereabouts of Gen. Beauregard’s army, and the welfare of those we hold most dear.

The Yankees have heard some doleful news. They have some long faces today and keep very quiet. Gen. Mitchel’s family have arrived—furniture, bed, table linens and piano were taken from the hotel to furnish the Lawson Clay house for their reception. The statuary and pictures were also taken for that purpose from the Calhoun place. There was a rumor last night Van Dorn, Price and Breckinridge were

advancing on Nashville by way of Chattanooga. Heaven sent it may be true! Little Mary has just fallen off the table and hurt her head I fear badly.

There were only skirmishes at Chattanooga on the 7th and 8th of June and on the 10th and 16th at Winchester, Tennessee. The Federals had gotten close enough to be able to bombard Chattanooga from the northern side of the Tennessee River, but Nathan Forrest and Kirby Smith were sent there to hold back the possibility of attack. In Virginia General Jackson's Shenandoah Campaign remained the closest to a glorious victory.

General Mitchel's family stayed in the home of Hugh Lawson Clay, the third son of Ex-Governor Clement C. Clay and the brother of Clement Clay, Jr., former USA Senator and now CSA Senator in Richmond. Colonel Lytle wrote that the three Mitchel girls arrived and the "General has taken a little cottage and furnished it for them." Lawson's house was on the east side of Madison Street. The three brothers—Clement, Jr., John Withers, and Lawson Clay—had practiced law together with their father. Now Hugh Lawson felt their father would suffer because of his sons' activities: "Everything portable he has will be removed and in a day the fruits of a lifetime of labor will be gone." Withers Clay had left the law practice and operated the local newspaper, the *Huntsville Democrat*. However today the Ohio Regimental Band played the "Star Spangled Banner" as the flag was raised at the door of the former *Democrat*, now the *Huntsville Reveille*. Withers Clay had evacuated his office and left printing equipment behind. The Federals used it to print their own army newspaper. Apparently it was discontinued after four weeks.¹⁵²

Meredith and Mary Calhoun, living abroad since 1842, spent years acquiring an impressive collection of art on their many trips throughout Europe. More important to the Union army, since May 7th the Calhoun house served as a hospital. The sick and wounded might not have time to admire the art works, but one officer wrote it was "the most splendidly furnished house I ever saw."¹⁵³

Mrs. Chadick used the phrase "glorious victory" several times in her account to describe an assumed Southern victory. The word was frequently used in newspaper headings. The Congresses of both sides also used the term, often in accompaniment with "brilliant victory." However, Private Juckett of the 2nd Michigan Infantry wrote his parents a different view: "Of course the paper give a long account of the glorious victory or the dreadful defeat of our army but little do you know of the horror and suffering of the parties engaged."¹⁵⁴ Everyone would know sooner or later.

At Tupelo General Beauregard, under great stress and ill, decided to take disability leave to Bladon Springs near Mobile. He left Gen. Braxton Bragg in charge of his troops, which is just as well because President Davis had appointed Bragg to assume command of the Army of the West.¹⁵⁵ Major General Earl Van Dorn now commanded the District of Mississippi, headquartered at Vicksburg. He also headed the Army of West Tennessee and Major Generals Sterling Price and John Breckinridge. None of these armies would be coming to the relief of Huntsville any time soon; nor were they advancing on Nashville or Chattanooga.

June 19th 1862 *Since writing the above, some Federal prisoners confined in the jail, set it on fire and damaged the building considerably. They said, "they would not be confined with Negroes, neither did they come here to be put in jail."*

Some of the enemy who came here, Abolitionists, seem to have had a great "change come o'er the spirit of their feelings." They say the Negro women live like ladies, compared to the poor women of the North, and they outdress the better class; the Negro men dress better than the poor men of the South, and are a lazy, impudent, no-account set, and they didn't know how Southern people put up with them. In many instances, the soldiers have treated the blacks in such a manner the latter have had quite enough of the Abolitionist friends. Others, however, are familiar with them, and some of their officers visit the kitchens and chat familiarly with the women. Many of the Negroes have refused to work for their masters and are constantly going to the Federalists.

A rumor this evening Beauregard's army has gone to Charleston. The Yankees say he blew a bluff into the Mississippi a few days since. He is a great "boogerboo" to their army. Great anxiety is felt by friends as to his present locality, and certain it is his late movements have non-plussed General Halleck and the Lincoln cabinet terribly. Rumors of another great battle and victory by the Confederates in Virginia and General McClellan killed. When is our great suspense to be relieved and the truth to be known! What would we not give this moment to set eyes on a Rebel newspaper!

On whatever level, rumors were always more common than real news throughout the War. Hearsay was only slightly eased by information posted on the "Bully Board" at a downtown corner in Huntsville. The *Nashville Daily Union* reported "the young, old, lame, blind and decrepit" gathered daily to read postings of newspaper and official dispatches.

Besides news of the battles one could read for the list of casualties and death of friends, neighbors and, worst of all, kinfolk.¹⁵⁶

General Beauregard's army, now Gen. Bragg's, was on its way to defend the coastline of the Carolinas and Georgia. After recovering his health Beauregard rejoined his men there.

June 20th 1862 Spent the day in the country at Mr. James Robinson's. Saw a Federal regiment go up the railroad about 11 o'clock. Two others passed up the night previous. Wonder where they were going? On my return home, to my great joy found a letter from Tennessee assuring me of the health and welfare of my friends and little Davie at Lebanon—a letter! What a treasure—the first that has greeted my eyes in 3 months and it was brought by a Yankee officer—Lt. Dick of the First Kentucky Cavalry.

This has been rather an eventful day. Miss Sallie Matthews and Miss Row Webster were arrested this morning and carried before Gen. Mitchel for having attached Confederate flags to their grace hoop and playing with them when his soldiers were passing. Quite a spirited interview took place. The general asked Miss Matthews if she were a Rebel. She replied she was one "over and above board." Then he retorted, "How dare you tell me this in my tent?" When the audience was over, he said to them, "Women, go home and behave yourselves. Henceforth, I shall keep an eye on you and know all you do!"

Saw a Confederate account this evening of the Battle of Seven Pines before Richmond. The slaughter was terrible. How many brave hearts have fallen! O, when will this dreadful war be over! And how many weary days, weeks, and perhaps months will lapse before we can know who of our friends are among the slain!

We are very carefully guarded here so we know nothing that is passing without, and very little within. All we hear is rumor, rumor, rumor, "with her thousand tongues." And we might add, a very small quantity of bacon.

James B. and Mary Frances (Otey) Robinson and their children lived at the plantation Forrestfield north of Huntsville on the turnpike to Meridianville. Their home was thought to be identical to that of Oaklawn, built by his brother John and Caroline (Otey) Robinson on Meridian Street. The two Robinson brothers married two Otey sisters, and both families were members of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The brothers owned property in Demopolis, Marengo County, in lower Alabama, and they initially evacuated their northern estates as the invading army

threatened. Madison Otey, invalid brother of the two women, remained at his plantation, Greenlawn, at the edge of Meridianville with his family during the entire time. Otey's wife, Octavia, nursed him, her stepfather, and her younger half-brother while raising the children and managing the plantation with at least nine slaves also to house, clothe and to feed through the War years.

Little Davie, the third child of W. D. and Mary Jane Chadick, was about seven years old. Apparently in March, just before the invasion of Huntsville, he visited Mrs. Chadick's family in Lebanon, Tennessee, and was unable to return. Second Lieutenant James G. Dick of the 1st Kentucky Cavalry kindly delivered the letter from Mrs. Chadick's family in Lebanon.

Rowena Webster, probably in her late 30's, and her niece, Rosa Turner, came to Huntsville for safety when the Federals invaded Beechwood, Tennessee, after the capture of Fort Donelson in February of 1862. The women stayed in Huntsville with Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Matthews who lived on McClung Street where modern Echols Street forms a "V" near the foot of what was then called Patton's Hill. Apparently "Row" attached a tiny Confederate flag to her arm while watching Miss Sallie Matthews, about 16, and Miss Rosa play with a hoop wrapped in red, white and blue. Unfortunately soldiers of an Ohio Regiment stationed on the hill passed the house every day on the way to water their horses at the Big Spring and noticed the girls' patriotic display. One soldier came into the yard and demanded the flag. (The hoop had been already quickly sent into the reservoir down the hill.) The Federal soldier threatened to put a patient with smallpox in their house, and the house opposite, if she did not give him the now torn-up flag! More words were exchanged, officers appeared, a crowd gathered and neither side could back down. Next day



Robinson House - Oaklawn, home of John Robinson, and thought to look like the James Robinson plantation, Forrestfield. HMCPL.



Samuel Matthews House - 413 McClung.

HMCPL.

Mr. Matthews, Sallie, Rosa Turner and Rowena were arrested. Miss Webster's account placed the interview with General Mitchel under the trees in General Lowe's grove where she proclaimed in a refined ladylike—but firm—tone, she was a Rebel. In her recollections she wrote, "Gen. Mitchel said, 'Don't you know I could send you to Fort LaFayette [the dreaded prison in New York] in five minutes.' I replied, 'that is very rapid traveling.' I could see a lurking smile pass over his face," and after a stern warning, everyone was sent home.¹⁵⁷

By May 31st USA Gen. McClellan and over 100,000 men camped within eight miles of the capital at Richmond on the Virginia Peninsula. CSA General Joseph Johnston and 65,000 troops attacked there at the Battle of Seven Pines, just five miles from Richmond. Johnston was severely wounded and replaced by Robert E. Lee as commanding General of the Army of Northern Virginia. The Union casualties were 5000 and the Confederate over 6000. Among the fallen brave hearts was her friend, General Hatton, and it would be almost a week before she learned of the death of other, younger acquaintances from Huntsville.

Meanwhile Colonel Beatty wrote about the dullness of camp life in Alabama and that everyone was holding their breath to hear news from Richmond: "Rumor gives us a thousand conflicting stories of the battle, but rumor has many tongues and lies with all."¹⁵⁸

June 21st 1862 *The train was again fired into in Jackson County today, and 10 men killed and the three or four wounded. A gentleman up there sent Gen. Mitchel word he need not be punishing private citizens for*

these things. Jackson County people had suffered too much already, and he (Mitchel) had burned the house of a widow a few days since and the men of Jackson intended to avenge it. He said they had formed themselves into two bands for that purpose and, as they were cut off from the army they intended to stay there and aggravate him all they could.

When the news reached General Mitchel, he sent up a body of men with orders to burn every house in Jackson near the railroad between here and Stevenson. When they were met by the other party under flag of truce, saying that they (the Confederates) had about 50 Yankee prisoners in their hands, and for every house burned, they would hang a man. Whereupon, the General countermanded the order.

General Mitchel appeared surprised at the vehemence of reaction from the locals. He wrote Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, “Armed citizens fire into the trains, cut the telegraph wires, attack the guards of bridges, cut off and destroy my couriers, while guerrilla bands of cavalry attack whenever there is the slightest chance of success.” Guerrilla resistance often occurred, perhaps because the civilians regarded themselves not as a member of the Confederate Army but members of a more vital army—the community.¹⁵⁹ After the invasion by the Union army this was a personal war, up close and at home. The Union soldiers saw, however, their comrades dying because of aid given to the Confederates or at the hands of these armed civilians. There were no reported skirmishes in Jackson County in June.

June 25th 1862 *An order has been given today that, if the stockholders of the new hotel do not take the oath of allegiance to the U.S. within three days, the hotel will be taken into the hands of the Federalists. All provisions also are forbidden to be brought to town, or passes given, except on the above conditions. Heard today James Darwin was killed in the battle of Richmond. Also Gus Mastin.*

Stockholders for the new hotel included Joseph C. Bradley, George Neal, George W. Jones, Dr. Thomas Fearn, and William Blunt.¹⁶⁰ The second bit of news would affect more people. Anyone desiring to do any kind of business, or even visit outside the picket lines surrounding town, would have to take the oath of allegiance to the Union.

Private James Darwin, 18, was the son of Susan and George Darwin and served in Company I of the 4th Alabama. Gustavus Boardman Mastin, a 24-year-old lawyer, was the son of widow Mary Mastin who had three sons in the War. Captain Gus Mastin, of the Huntsville Guards,

Alabama 4th Infantry, had “in a strong, manly and striking address” accepted the new silk flag from Miss McKie of the Female College as the “Huntsville Guards” went to War. On May 31st an exploding shell at the Battle of Seven Pines killed Mastin, the folded silk flag still on his body.¹⁶¹

In Huntsville the day before, 2nd Lt. Robert Dilworth of the 21st Ohio Volunteers, one of the provost guards, walked about town. Lieutenant Dilworth wrote about the Big Spring, “enough water passes over the falls to [supply] 20 more such towns or drive the best mills in Ohio.” He continued to describe the town: “The courthouse is a very handsome one and surrounded with a most splendid yard enclosed by an iron fence.[...] The court yard is filled with locust trees and various other of a species not acclimated to the north....Fronting the court house may be seen, stores, groceries, jewelries, slop shops, etc.... The Episcopal Church, splendid with a steeple running up to the highest of 160 feet... and the Presbyterian Church with its steeple running up and pointing towards the heavens at a distance of 190 feet.... The Catholics are building one which is to eclipse both the Presbyterians and the Episcopal.” Huntsville was the most beautiful town he had visited. The ladies, however, he did not observe up close. In Nashville the women would spit at the soldiers from their windows, but in Huntsville while walking they drew their “veils over their mortal phizes to hide their Southern beauty from the vulgar gaze of the more than vulgar Yankees of the north.” At the cemetery the beauty of the setting and the monuments gave him sympathy for the ladies who came out to decorate the graves with flowers and wreaths. Seventy new graves gave testimony to the ravages of war.¹⁶²

June 26th 1862 This has been the most delightful morning of the season, for it has brought happiness to me. Mr. Fifer brought me news from my husband. He also brought me a letter; but, falling into the hands of the Federalists yesterday, he had to destroy it. A matter to be regretted, yet it is happiness to know he is well and safe, after being kept so long in a state of most agonizing suspense.

As we are so soon to be cut off from provisions I ordered Uncle Tom to shell some corn and take it to the mill. He went to the provost marshal for a pass where he was told to bring an order from his master. He went to Charles William for that purpose and got one. On presenting it, he was told to “tell his young master to come there!” The latter refusing to go, Eddie was sent, with instructions to “state the case politely and ask Col. Burke for a pass.” He was kindly received by the latter; and told to come after dinner and he should have one. In the meantime, C.W., not knowing Eddie had been and reconsidering the matter, presented himself at the office. No one was there but the clerk,

who told him to sign the oath and he could get one, at the same talking very nicely to him. Of course, the honor was declined. Dinner being over; Eddie went according to the appointment, but unfortunately found no one there except said clerk. On hearing his name, the clerk said to him, "O yes! Your brother has been here, and I intend to report him severely for his conduct this evening. Go home and tell him to come to me immediately." Of course, this honor was declined also.

Jacob Fifer, a carpenter by trade, lived with his wife and five children near Meridianville.

Huntsville enjoyed a new steam-powered gristmill conveniently located on Clinton Street just one block north of the Chadick house. Before the war, Mrs. Chadick simply would have sent Uncle Tom, their old slave, to have the corn ground for meal. Now, signing the oath or not became the issue. Yankee restrictions and intimidation and Rebel honor and stubbornness clashed head-on, leading to frustrations and no corn meal.

June 28th 1862 Mr. Stone of Nashville called this morning at the request of Mrs. Elliott of Nashville. He has been sent south by Governor Johnson for refusing to take the oath and is waiting for a pass from Gen. Mitchel. Generals Buell, McCook and Johnson, with a part of their army, arrived this evening. Their destination not known – supposed to be Chattanooga. Rumors that Gen. Buell is to succeed Gen. Mitchel at this place!

Mr. W.P. Stone was part owner of Stone & Miller, a merchandise company specializing in stoves and tin-ware. Mrs. W.T. Elliott, also of Nashville, apparently gave him a letter of introduction to Mrs. Chadick.¹⁶³

President Lincoln appointed Senator Andrew Johnson Brigadier General of Volunteers and Military Governor of Tennessee. Johnson at one time had apprenticed to be a tailor at nearby Mooresville, Alabama. Many people in the neighborhood still claimed his friendship and hoped to claim his protection.

General Buell, commanding the Army of the Ohio, had just arrived from Florence, Alabama, where he had gathered supplies and men before heading towards Huntsville. Brigadier General Alexander McCook commanded the 2nd Division of that Army. (Alexander McCook was the third brother of the ten "fighting McCooks," sons of Maj. Daniel McCook of Steubenville, Ohio. Seventeen "Fighting McCooks" from Ohio took part in the War. Among the brothers, four attained the rank of general in the Federal army and three died in battle.) Brigadier General Richard W.



Huntsville, Alabama - Harper's Weekly engraving showing General Logan's Headquarters in the McDowell House. Structures noted by Lt. Dilworth are visible, as well as troops and their encampment.

Johnson led the 6th Brigade, 2nd Division. Generals Nelson, Crittenden, and Wood would also arrive in Huntsville soon.¹⁶⁴

Major General Henry Halleck ordered a lateral offensive on the 9th of June, and Gen. Buell moved toward Chattanooga slowly. As they advanced toward Huntsville, the troops had to be ferried across the Tennessee River at Florence, and the Memphis & Charleston Railroad had to be repaired. For 35,000 men this became painstakingly time-consuming. Their supply line grew thinner. The soldiers and the animals required 300 tons of food and forage daily, and as a result half rations were ordered.¹⁶⁵

June 30th 1862 Heard today Mr. Hop Turney has been brought in a prisoner, suffering with rheumatism—nothing to sleep on. Although an entire stranger, I resolved to go and see him. Sent for Mrs. Mayhew to accompany me and we went to the courthouse to get a pass, which was reluctantly given. Found all the gentlemen glad to see me, practically all and particularly Mr. Turney and Mr. Holland, a relative of Sue and Jennie, and more particularly an imprisoned Yankee with whom we had a conversation and who became a warm friend. He had been suffering with typhoid fever; had been much neglected, and a few words of kindness and sympathy won his heart at once. News came today confirming the death of Gus Mastin, also of another great victory at Richmond.

Hop Turney might have been Henry Turney, 64, or a member of his family from Lincoln County, just across the state line in Tennessee. Mr. John Holland, 27, taught school and lived in Bellafonte, Jackson County. He was in some way related to Sue, Jennie, Willie, and Eddie's mother, Amanda (Davis) Chadick. Some of her more prominent relations included Judge Morgan of Mississippi and Col. James Fulton of Fayetteville.¹⁶⁶

On the Virginia Peninsula General Lee's men fought at Mechanicsville with great loss on June 26th, but Mrs. Chadick may have heard about the next day's battle at Gaines's Mill when the Union soldiers retreated.

July 1st 1862 Visited the prisoners again today, carrying them all some dinner, including the Federalist, who is from Ohio. Found Mr. Turney not so well. Came home and sent him a bed, which was kindly furnished by Mrs. Harris. The neighbors also assisted me in providing the dinner.

Heard today of another glorious victory at Charleston. Mrs. Mayhew and Mr. Stone took tea here. The latter leaves in the morning under flag of truce for Chattanooga, having got a pass from Gen.

Buell. Gen. Mitchel left last night for Washington. It is rumored Gen. Buell did not approve of the course he had pursued toward the citizens here and his management of things generally, and the former had resigned and gone to Washington to be court-martialed. Wonder if it's true. News from Richmond confirmed.

Here rumor, again, became Mrs. Chadick's news. Charleston, South Carolina never suffered from skirmishes or battles during the War.

General Buell showed a more agreeable attitude toward the citizens and Mr. Stone got his pass to go to Rebel-held Chattanooga.

Still impatient with the progress of the troops to capture Chattanooga and Buell's conciliatory policy, Gen. Mitchel tried to resign from the army a second time. He left for Washington, D. C., not to face a court-martial after all but to receive a promotion to major general. He returned to his New York home where he was immediately assigned commander of the 10th Army Corps of the Department of the South and sent to Hilton Head, South Carolina.

Earlier a Southern newspaper account reported that Gen. Mitchel intended not to invade the rights of fellow countrymen, and announced, "peaceable citizens are not to be molested in their persons and property." But already the hamlet of Paint Rock was "reduced to shapeless rubbish and ashes." At Woodville citizens were imprisoned for no cause and food supplies were stolen. At Larkinsville stores and homes were robbed; William R. Larkins was detained and taken to Huntsville. At his residence his wife and sisters' trunks, jewelry and linens were stolen or torn up and tossed out the windows. The trunk of the late General Higgins was broken open and clothing taken away. Every man in Larkinsville was arrested in mid-May and taken to Huntsville as prisoners. Scottsboro suffered worse outrages. Bellefonte, then the county seat, was so badly handled the writer asked if this was "the work of vandals? Are we living in the fifth century? Have Attila's hosts arose from the grave.... Have the Goths revisited our earth?"¹⁶⁷ The invaders would long be remembered.

General Buell most likely led the court-martial proceedings against Turchin. With Mitchel gone, Colonel Lytle was now in command at Huntsville.

July 4th 1862 *All is quiet. No booming of cannon disturbed the quiet of our slumbers this morning to celebrate the National Independence. The Feds wear long faces today owing to the news from Richmond.*

Noon *They have just fired 34 guns. And say the news is not so bad as they thought. Miss Maria Robinson spent the day with us, bring a nice present of apples and butter. Mr. Matt Steele made me a present of a*

nice load of hay. Bless his kind, generous heart! Dr. Newman called this morning at the request of Mr. Turney to get me to find him a private house at which to stay. Dr. Fearn has partly promised. Mr. Turney is suffering terribly from inflammatory rheumatism, and the doctor is trying to get him paroled.

Night *Sue and Eddie are gone out to Mr. Robinson's. A little after night, our ears were greeted with tremendous shouts from the direction of the camps. What can it mean?*

Miss Maria Robinson, daughter of Mary (Otey) and James Robinson, came in from Forestfield on the Meridianville Pike to visit. She was about 20 years old at that time. Dr. Francis H. Newman had in 1856 organized a company to form the city gasworks. Now aged 61, he was too old to fight, but he was strong supporter of the Rebel cause.¹⁶⁸

In honor of the day, the Ohio Bandsmen played patriotic tunes at reveille this morning and at noon a national salute of 34 guns was fired in Huntsville.¹⁶⁹ The men of the 49th Ohio thought the glorious Fourth a dull day, lamenting that they could not spend the day at home with loved ones. There was a "little cannonadeing" in Huntsville after dinner. In nearby Mooresville, the men of the 57th Indiana fired the first salute at 6 o'clock in the morning. Drills were dispensed with and the Regiment formed to join another Brigade in celebration. The band played and speeches were made followed by the familiar melody, "The Red, White, and Blue." The Declaration of Independence was read aloud. The men greeted General Garfield's address with prolonged applause and more music followed. At 5 o'clock that evening a dress parade closed the formal ceremony.¹⁷⁰

Colonel Beatty worried that the glorious day might be "clouded and sending out a somewhat uncertain light. Has the great experiment failed? Shall we hail the Fourth as the birthday of a great Nation, or weep over it as the beginning of a political enterprise which resulted in dissolution, anarchy and ruin?"¹⁷¹

General Lee, during the Seven Days' Battles from the 25th of June to the 1st of July, was unable to destroy General McClellan's army, but the Yankees withdrew and the immediate threat to Richmond was averted.

July 5th 1862 *Quite sick this morning. After a breakfast, Mrs. Mayhew came in to tell me she was heartsick, a little after the showing last night, a Federalist came running down to her house to tell her that his colonel has just read out to the regiment that "Richmond had fallen." The Rebel army was all cut to pieces and had fallen back eight miles from the city, and all the officers had been requested to read the above*

to the Federal regiments posted here. "Don't believe a word of it!" Such is the crying resorted to keep up the spirits of the soldiers.

Mrs. Vann Horton called to tell me of an opportunity to write W. D.

Eddie has come home and says there are 15,000 of Buell's troops camped on the creek back of Mr. Robinson's. Reported to be on their way to Chattanooga. They have taken the Seminary today for a hospital. Truly this neighborhood has its share of them.

Misses Mitchels are left here in the care of Mrs. Judge Lane. They seem to be enjoying themselves in the enemy's country. Yesterday, they took a trip to the mountain. Dashed by here in two carriages with Kate Lane and Mrs. Clemens, right in front of the funeral procession of a poor soldier who was shot while on picket duty.

News about the fall of Richmond became the most common rumor during the War. Actually Lee's Army of Northern Virginia pushed McClellan and the Yankee Army of the Potomac away from Richmond.

Emma (Battle) Horton was the wife of Rodah Vann Horton. The female school, the Huntsville Seminary, was taken over by the Yankees to serve as a hospital.

Private Kiene and the 49th Ohio camped about a half-mile northeast of Huntsville for the night. He walked into town and "got a pair of shoes half soled. While my shoes were at the shoemakers I took a good walk through the Town and found that it is as nice a town as I have seen. There is a splendid Catholic Church and many other nice buildings."¹⁷²

The Fourth of July trip and picnic mentioned by Mrs. Chadick had been a gala event for the Federal officers. Colonel Lytle wrote, "The view from Monte Sano is I suppose unsurpassed in the United States." The party included wives of officers, Mrs. Clemens, Miss Lane, the three Mitchell girls and others of Gen. Buell's staff. They enjoyed a "tip top lunch at a most romantic spring on the top of the mountain." Just a week or so before this gala event, Judge Lane invited Gen. Mitchell, Col. Beatty and other military figures to a strawberry supper. Local Unionists including the Lanes, Nick Davis, and a former general (perhaps James Hickman) attended also. They were the only local citizens present.¹⁷³

Not surprisingly those loyal to the Southern cause noted the bad behavior and worse the companions of Mary L. (Read) Clemens, wife of Jeremiah Clemens, and Kate Lane. The Lanes, as Unionists, were a good choice of hosts for the Federal officers' families. The Lane family presents an interesting study of Southern relations—kinship, political, and social. Judge George Washington Lane and his wife Martha, a daughter of Nick Davis, Sr., with their ten children lived on Adams Avenue. A lawyer and

circuit court judge, Lane was in financial difficulty in 1854, “broke and used up.” He had invested in the Bell Tavern on the Square, which burned, and he was insolvent; however, he continued to practice law. After a temporary lapse in the excitement of raising local troops, Lane remained clearly a Union man throughout the War. (His brother General James Lane, one of Limestone County’s wealthiest men, served with the Federal army.) However the distinctions were not clearly understood by all of G. W. Lane’s family. The oldest son, Robert W. Lane, belonged to the North Alabama Mounted Cavaliers and served as a Captain in Nathan Bedford Forrest’s cavalry, CSA. Robert returned home on leave to recover from exposure, but died two days later. According to one family story Hector, a son, along with other neighborhood boys threw rocks at Union troops during the occupation.¹⁷⁴ The punishment from the soldiers was not as harsh as the boy probably received from his father.

President Lincoln had appointed Lane to serve as a Federal judge for the Northern District of Alabama to be held in Athens, Alabama, in April of 1861. A mob of angry citizens gathered around the Lane house when the news of his appointment reached town. The crowd demanded he resign, and Lane in turn fastened the U.S. flag to the roof, daring anyone to tear it down—over his dead body. Lane continued to fly that flag from the porch of his Huntsville home every day while he was there. Although it seemed trivial, when the Federals arrived one of Judge Lane’s early duties, as a member of a committee, was to estimate the contents of smokehouses in the district in preparation for an assessment to feed the hungry Yankee army. This would not help win many friends locally.

According to his testimony, Judge Lane sent for Mitchel for a confidential interview two days after the General arrived in town. Lane testified he was on terms of the utmost intimacy with Gen. Mitchel, and later Gen. Buell. Furthermore, Gen. Mitchel recommended Judge Lane to become military governor of the state. The Lane family seemed truly



*Judge George Washington Lane -
Photo courtesy of Dr Frank
Westmoreland.*

despised as traitors by the local population. One writer suggested there was no doubt who was responsible for the arrest of the twelve civic leaders earlier. A list given to the Federals included each man's first name, middle initial and correctly spelled surname. The man was George W. Lane—"the rankest traitor and vilest wretch." Adding repugnant personal traits to Lane's unfavorable political views, Withers Clay, editor of the *Huntsville Confederate*, wrote that G.W. Lane didn't tell the truth or pay his butcher, much less his children's tuition or his pew rents at church.¹⁷⁵

July 6th 1862 The bad news from Richmond is not yet confirmed. It is really tantalizing the state of suspense we have to remain in before we can get the truth. Wash Donegan brought me a letter from Dave this morning. These letters, so rare, are getting to be priceless treasures. Little Dave is well and happy. They have not heard a word from me, although I have written some three weeks since.

Wash Donegan delivered a letter from her brother, David Cook, in Tennessee. Apparently Donegan signed the oath of allegiance because he crossed the Federal lines. George Washington Donegan, 38, had started his career in Nashville as a silversmith and successfully expanded the business to include jewelry. He and his family of six still lived there. Donegan, born in Virginia, was probably related in some manner to the Chadick's neighbor. Locally influential James J. Donegan, 62 and born in Ireland, was president of the Northern Bank of Alabama and a plantation owner. His other positions included being a commission merchant and one of the owners of Bell Factory, a textile mill. The 1860 Census noted Mr. Donegan's real estate worth \$138,000 and his personal property worth \$275,000, while his occupation was simply listed as farmer.

Daniel Finn with the Ohio band also heard rumors about news from Richmond. He took dinner at the Venable Hotel and noticed that townspeople were mourning the loss of a son or brother of the 4th Alabama.¹⁷⁶

July 7th 1862 Sent a letter today by Dr. Dement to W.D. Also one through the kindness of Major Moore (of Cincinnati) to Dave. News of the great victory at Richmond fully confirmed. Everybody looks happy except the Feds, who wear long faces. Confederate money going up. Mr. Turney has been moved to Judge Lane's, which will prevent his friends visiting him.

Dr. John J. Dement, 32, practiced in Meridianville and was commissioned as a surgeon in the CSA. Dr. Dement was captured by the Federals and held prisoner at Camp Chase and later Johnson's Island. He

was exchanged in mid 1862 and joined the 49th Regiment in northern Virginia.¹⁷⁷

Rumors had circulated for days about the fighting in Virginia, and the last week in June produced a series of conflicts at dreadful cost to both sides. The Seven Days' Battles resulted in a Federal retreat. Of course the Federals stationed in Huntsville were upset. Colonel Beatty wrote in his journal, "An Atlanta paper says the Confederates have won a decisive victory at Richmond. No Northern papers have been allowed to come into camp."¹⁷⁸

July 8th 1862 Gen. Smith takes Gen. Mitchel's place here, and thus far has been more indulgent to the citizens. We went to see Mr. Turney this morning, but was refused admittance.

Brigadier General William Sooy Smith of Ohio fought at Shiloh and Perryville under Gen. Buell. General Smith relieved Gen. Mitchel on July 2, 1862. Smith later became Chief of Cavalry Army of Tennessee and the Military Division of the Mississippi under Grant and then Sherman.¹⁷⁹

July 9th 1862 Dr. Hudson and Mr. Holland took tea with us. Informed us nine houses had been burned in Jackson county today. Our cavalry in that region is annoying them dreadfully. A large amount of cotton has been taken and destroyed today between here and Fayetteville by our cavalry.

Dr. James H. Hudson, 36, practiced medicine in Jackson County. He and Mr. Holland, also from Jackson County, apparently traveled to Huntsville together.

July 10th 1862 This day has been made memorable by the departure of the family of Gen. Mitchel. Joy go with them!

Leaving in a cloud of accusations about their father, the Mitchel family returned to Albany, New York. If Mrs. Chadick had known, there was another smaller cause for celebrating. The Rebel cavalry surrounded several sutlers' wagons and cotton wagon train on the road to Fayetteville. The cotton was burned and the supplies were taken for the Confederates' use. The greatest loss was the stand of colors presented to the 10th Brigade by the city of Cincinnati. The outraged soldiers did not take the loss of their flag lightly: "Every mountain road and every ford and ferry for 50 miles was guarded...the men resemble angry hornets."¹⁸⁰

July 11th 1862 *Went out to Mrs. White's today for blackberries, taking Eddie, Georgie and Jimmy Mayhew with me. Passed a camp and three sets of pickets on the road. Spent a delightful day and came home loaded with berries, apples, eggs and honey, the latter a present from Miss Cassie.*

Mrs. Bradford called in just a dark to tell me news had just come that Jessie Jordan, Willie Acklen and a son of Chambers Steele were all killed before Richmond. There is news also our armies are marching on Nashville. If so, "now is the day of our deliverance at hand."

The Blackberry pickers, Mrs Chadick with Eddie and George Chadick, and Jimmy Mayhew walked down Whitesburg Pike to the south. Thomas W. White was partner in R.K. Dickson & Co., Grocers. He and his wife, Susan, purchased the house at the east end of Eustis Street and added rooms to accommodate their family of twelve children. In 1860 they also shared this quite large house with her mother, the widow Adeline Bradley, a daughter of Gov. Thomas Bibb, and her family.

Before the War Jesse W. Jordan and William Acklen, now 23 and 20 respectively, attended law school. Acklen's father had been one of the town leaders arrested by Mitchel that spring. Young Acklen was previously wounded at Manassas. The men were members of The North Alabamians, Company I of the 4th Alabama Infantry, as was Jonathan F. Steele. (Another son, Thomas Jordan, would later form Jordan's Life Guards in Huntsville.) Sergeant Milsas J. Steele, formerly a student, served in Co. I of the 4th Alabama. These men were killed at Gaines' Mill, one of the Seven Days' Battles in Virginia.

Private Francis Kiene and his mates of the 49th Ohio also enjoyed the seasonal fruit. They picked a mess of blackberries at Tuscumbia and it was hard to keep the men, who were short on rations, marching in ranks. The men drifted off to pick "more blackberries than ever I seen...they are larger than in the northern states." At least their officers were aware of the dangers from guerillas: "Stricked orders to the reg. are given for the men to stay inside of their guard lines. Colonel Dicky...arrested some 40 or 50 men and they ware ordert to cary a rail till midnight."¹⁸¹

July 14th 1862 *Mrs. Mayhew and I took a ride this evening out to Mrs. James Robinson. We came in just ahead of a portion of Gen. Buell's army who are apparently moving towards Nashville. The division occupied nearly two hours in passing. Heard today our troops had retaken Murfreesboro.*

Mrs. Chadick had not signed the oath, and she would not have expected to leave town under Gen. Mitchel's command. General Buell's more lenient regulations were obviously in effect. She and Fanny Mayhew visited Robinson's Forestfield plantation on Meridianville Pike.

The damage to the Federal position in Tennessee was even worse than Mrs. Chadick had heard. USA Col. Beatty wrote, "The post at Murfreesboro, occupied by two regiments of infantry and one battery, under Crittenden, of Indiana, has surrendered to the enemy. A bridge and a portion of the railroad track between this place and Pulaski have been destroyed." And, a large Rebel force was out there "somewhere" north of the Tennessee River.¹⁸²

Unbeknownst to Mrs. Chadick, Reverend Chadick, still not well, submitted his resignation from the Confederate army.¹⁸³

July 17th 1862 There have now been no mails for three days. Rumor afloat that Nashville, Columbia and Shelbyville are retaken. Visited Lieut. Coffee in his prison this evening and learned tidings from W.D. He was on his march, two weeks since, in this direction.

Went with Mrs. Bradford and Mrs. Gooch to visit Gen. Rousseau at headquarters. Were very cordially received and agreeably entertained. The general is a handsome, fine looking man. He spoke very strongly on the Union question and especially of our "rattlesnake government," as he was pleased to call it. Judge Lane and Jere Clemens coming in, we immediately took leave. As we were leaving, we met Gen. Buell and, having a curiosity to see him, took a good look at him, a small gray-headed man. Gen. Rousseau, being so large, perhaps made him appear smaller in comparison. Did not get a good look at his features.

Fighting took place in the neighboring state of Tennessee repeatedly. There were recorded skirmishes at Shelbyville on June 21st and between Mt. Pleasant and Columbia on July 17.

In the 50th Alabama Infantry 2nd Lt. Joseph Andrew Coffee, 40 and from Paint Rock, was reported as sick on his official record in June. He resigned on July 30th, two months before his enlistment would have been up. Since he received an honorable discharge, either a wound or illness likely forced his resignation.¹⁸⁴

Mary Ann Gooch was a daughter of William and Mary Patton, early settlers who arrived from Virginia about 1811 in an ox-cart with three children. Six more children were born in Huntsville. William Patton became a very successful merchant and plantation owner. In 1858 his son, Dr. Charles H. Patton, purchased the LeRoy Pope mansion and property on

the grand hill overlooking all of Huntsville. This would now be called Patton's Hill. The doctor's sister, Mary Ann, widow of William G. Selleck, had married N. M. Gooch and was widowed a second time. Living on the hill near her brother, she was not without family and friends. Besides her prominent brothers (one of whom, Robert M., later became Governor), her sisters Jane (Mrs. William) Pope, the widow Martha Bradford, and Eliza (Mrs. Laurence) Watkins were nearby.¹⁸⁵ At the crest of Patton's Hill on McClung Street after the Matthew's house and Mrs. Gooch's, there were only three other homes: those of James Laurence Watkins, Capt. John James Ward who had formed Ward's Artillery Battery, and Joseph Bradley. Widow Gooch's cottage, unfortunately, would be in the way of future Federal activity.

Virginia Clay as a teenager thought Jeremiah Clemens was "the personification of manly beauty, and in his eyes there burned a



Jeremiah Clemens - Oil painting of him in Mexican War uniform. HMCPL.

romantic fire that enslaved me." He was intelligent, yet a man seemingly driven by inner demons. Clemens, until his marriage to Mary Read, was "much addicted to intemperance." A cousin of Samuel Clemens, he also wrote romantic novels. Jeremiah Clemens was a hero of the Mexican War and in 1859, after serving as an U.S. Senator for six years, he became an editor for the *Memphis Eagle & Enquirer*, although he spent most of his time in Huntsville. Clemens remained unsettled and insolvent much of

his adult life.¹⁸⁶ Politically he was a Cooperationist and prepared the minority report against secession. However, fervently in favor of his state, Jeremiah Clemens had initially served as commanding general of the Alabama Militia.

Judge Lane sat easily with authority in the Provost Marshal's office and approved or disapproved applications for passports saying who among the civilians could be trusted or not. One needed a recommendation from a Union man to be allowed to pass through the Federal picket lines to visit or do any business.

Ben Jolley, D. B. Turner, and W. B. Figures, editor of the *Southern Advocate*, gave such endorsements also. One man writing to John Withers Clay, now a refugee, said, "He'd bet Figures would make money out of the Federals visit to Huntsville." Clay replied, "I think it is likely." Clay reported that Jere Clemens also sat in the Provost's office and Nick Davis was away on an errand for Andrew Johnson at Nashville.¹⁸⁷ Clearly local citizens chose sides according to personal beliefs and perhaps personal gain.

After leaving Shiloh and Corinth, Brig. Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau was stationed in Athens for a brief time before coming to Huntsville. Here he replaced Gen. Mitchel as commander of the garrison.

July 18th 1862 Visited Gen. Rousseau again this morning in company with Mrs. Cowan and Mrs. Vann Horton to ask permission for them to go out of the Federal lines, which was immediately and cordially granted. Had a most pleasant interview and came away more pleased with him than we thought it possible to be with any Federal officer. Rumor about the taking of Nashville unfounded.

Mrs. Chadick may not have gone to admire, but the 57th Indiana marched through town this day. The men, up since 2 a.m., were allowed to rest at the edge of town. As a result their "march through Huntsville was truly a brilliant affair.... The town was filled with inhabitants, who crowded the streets to see us as we marched through in column of companies, with colors flying, and band playing national airs."¹⁸⁸

July 19th 1862 Went again this morning very reluctantly to see Gen. Rousseau with Mrs. Jim Ned Horton to ask for a pass for her to leave his lines, which was granted without hesitation. He also gave me a general pass to go when and where I pleased. Sue also called on him with Misses Scott, Robinson, etc. to ask for the release of the Robinson boys and the Christians, which was also granted.

Dr. Ross was arrested this evening on account (it is alleged) of a war sermon he preached last Sunday. Proved the accusations false, but was ordered to prison, as he would not promise to keep his tongue. Upon Mrs. Ross's solicitations, [he] was paroled for the night.

John is very strangely affected tonight. The doctor thinks it is a chill. Hope it is not congestive.

Emma and Emily Horton were sisters-in-law. Their husbands, Rodah Vann and James Edward Horton, were the children of Lucy Ann (Otey) and Rodah Horton. Jim Ed married Emily Donalson, a niece of

Andrew Jackson. A third brother, William Walter Horton was also serving in the CSA. The Horton men were closely related by marriage to the Robinson and Pruitt families. Their mother, like her siblings William Madison Otey, Caroline Robinson, Mary Frances Robinson, and Mariah Pruitt, married people with local connections and continued to live along Meridianville Pike.¹⁸⁹

The Madison Rifles had disbanded on March 31st when their twelve-month enlistment expired, and most of the men returned to their homes in Madison County, missing the Battle of Shiloh. The timing still proved unfortunate for the Christian boys, William A. Robinson, 26, and James Matthew Robinson, 22, sons of Mary and James B. Robinson of Forestfield. Before the War Private John B. and 2nd Sergeant Henry F. Christian were clerks, living in town. Agatha Scott, 18, and her brothers Howland, 16, and Alex Erskine Scott, 14, lived with William and Tulliola Powers.

Dr. Frederick A. Ross, 65, was minister of the newly completed First Presbyterian Church at the corner of Lincoln and Gates Streets. Reverend Ross was said to have extraordinary power in the pulpit and drew large congregations of “interested and intelligent people.” Under his direction the members, who were accustomed to the best in their secular affairs, decided to build the best with a fine new church. The building would be the finest in the city regardless of the expense. Whether from curiosity or religious feelings, many of the soldiers occupying town attended services there. One admiring northern officer said the church was “the richest I ever saw.” The Federals considered Ross’s recent prayer, for some reason, disloyal—“We pray Thee, O Lord, to bless our enemies and to remove them from our midst as soon as seemeth good in Thy sight.” Colonel Beatty noted also that Gen. Rousseau sent Rev. Mr. Ross to jail for preaching a secession sermon.¹⁹⁰

Corinna’s baby, John, was less than two years old.

July 20th 1862 This has been a sad day. Clara has been sick, and poor little John has been in a state of collapse for hours and died about dark. Drs. Sheffey and Leftwich were both called in, and everything has been done that could be done, but all in vain. Corinna takes it quite hard.

Dr. William D. Leftwich and his young family lived at the northeast corner of Lincoln Street and Eustis Street. Not uncommonly children, both white and black, received medical attention from the doctors. Clara Chadick recovered from the illness, but the slave Corinna’s child died. Corinna had one remaining son, Jim.

July 21st 1862 *Today is the anniversary of the Battle of Manassas. It brings up sad memories in the hearts of many. Little John was buried this evening, and we miss him sadly.*

This has been a day of news, but whether reliable or not, its another question. We hear of the presentation of cannons, etc. to the Southern Confederacy from the Liverpool merchants. Also that there has been another battle in Virginia, in which we were victorious. Also at Battle Creek, where it is said we took 2,000 prisoners, and one at Mud Creek, where Gen. Mitchel's famous bridge of cotton bales was burned, two companies taken prisoners and one cannon. It is also rumored Corinth is retaken. Heaven send it all may be true! Gossip adds that Gen. Buell is ordered to Washington to answer to the charges again Gen. Mitchel.

Apparently the merchants of Liverpool, Mississippi, had collected money for the purchase of cannons for the Confederacy.

Mrs. Chadick probably still heard good news for the South from the Seven Days' Battles on the Virginia Peninsula. In Tennessee there had been skirmishes at Battle Creek on the 21st of June and then again on the 5th of July. On July 20 the 2nd Ohio Cavalry and the 23rd Alabama Infantry fought there. Southern Colonel Alexander McKinstry reported his men forced the enemy to break and run in confusion. The Federal stronghold on the railroad center at Stevenson, Alabama, was temporarily broken.¹⁹¹

In an effort to cross the Tennessee River at Bridgeport, General Mitchel collected 500 bales of cotton left behind by the fleeing Confederates at Decatur and had them sent by rail eastward. Near Stevenson, crossing Mud Creek, a pontoon bridge was hastily constructed with the bales, and 3000 men, horses, and cannon crossed. Once across, the Union soldiers were routed with heavy casualties. Afterwards Mitchel had the remaining cotton salvaged and sold in Huntsville for \$30,000. He used Federal wagons to haul the cotton to northern buyers, and with the cash he purchased supplies for his men. Although he reported his actions to his superiors in official reports, this episode, and the use of slaves as lookouts along the River, accounted for part of his initial summons to face authorities in Washington, D.C.¹⁹²

General Buell continued to prepare for an advance on Chattanooga—just not quickly enough to suit his superiors and the journalist who accompanied the army.

July 23rd 1862 *Made my first visit to Monte Sano this morning, in company with Mrs. Bradford and Mrs. Figures, with Willie Gale and*

Joe Bradford for an escort. Rode old Henry in true equestrian style. Mrs. Figures rode a mule. Passed the pickets just beyond the tollgate. They viewed us with a great deal of curiosity, but declined looking at our passes. Bushwhacked about on the top of the mountain and spent a couple of hours with Mrs. Toney, who is rustivating up there, and returned home about dinner time. As we passed the house of Dr. Wilkinson, the Federal band was there serenading.

A most laughable occurrence took place this evening. The Rebman family, who keep a little bakery here, got into a fuss with the Yankees and, while one of the latter was in deadly conflict with Mr. Rebman, Mrs. Rebman took another by the collar and made him "see sights." Whilst the Misses Rebman cried, "Havoc!" and let fly the rocks, with the most undaunted bravery. Every volley told on the enemy, about 25 strong, till one of the misses saw the provost guard heave in sight. When she exclaimed "Thank God! Here is the guard!" The foe retired heels foremost by the Big Spring.

Mrs. Jordan arrived this evening from Richmond with the body of her son, who fell at Mechanicsville. She brought the news of the death of Tom Patton and Willie Acklen.

The road to the city's burial ground and up to Monte Sano was a continuation of Randolph Street to the east at the edge of the city limits. The mountaintop had long served as a retreat and recreation spot for wealthier residents of town. Martha Bradford lived across Randolph Street from the Chadicks with her son, Joe Bradford, about 13, the last child at home. Harriet and William B. Figures lived with their seven children next door to the Chadicks on Randolph. Willie Gale probably was the Figures 16-year-old son, William. Mr. Figures, now siding with the Union, was the editor and proprietor of the *Southern Advocate*. Their eldest son, Henry, had pleaded to join the army, and he first served on the staff of General Walker in Montgomery. Mrs. Chadick used the expression "bushwhacking" in a casual way to describe passing time in the woods. The word would soon take on a harsher meaning.

Algernon Wilkinson, a dentist, lived downtown with his wife and two children.

Although born in Germany (Bernhart), Francis and Eve Rebman had settled into Southern life for at least twelve years. They ran a family bakery and confectionery shop downtown. The Rebmans and their daughters Agnes, Frances, and Catherine (15,13, and 11) were greatly admired for this show of heroics. There were also two other very young children in the household.¹⁹³



William B. Figures House - Next-door to the Chadick home. HMCPL.

Family members were often called upon to escort an injured soldier home or retrieve the body of a loved one killed in action. If someone in the immediate family was available to go and make arrangements, they accompanied the body home. Mrs. Jordan, returning with her son Jesse's body, also confirmed the death of Willie Acklen and shared the news of the death of Thomas T. Patton, 19, son of William R. and Mary Patton, at the Battle of Malvern Hill, July 1, 1862. Jesse Jordan had graduated from the University of Virginia and returned home to practice law in 1860. A member of the 4th Alabama, young Jordan was mortally wounded and buried near Richmond. At the field hospital his last words were, "Tell mother I gave my body to my country and my soul to God." Mrs. Jordan arrived sixteen days later and secured an ambulance with an escort for the battlefield ten miles away. She obtained a casket and had her son's remains disinterred, "and with her own hands unwrapped the soldier's blanket, pulled off his boots and helped to place her precious dead in the coffin." She accompanied his body to Huntsville by train where her family and friends met her.¹⁹⁴

July 24th 1862 The funeral of Jesse Jordan took place this evening. There were 50 carriages in the procession. The Federalists stood at every corner, and many of them at the grave, and looked on with much

curiosity. There is a great deal of sickness here among the latter, and there are five or six burials daily.

At least the Jordan family had a chance to honor their fallen son in his home town. This War's casualties violated everyone's sensibilities about the proper end to life. All these young, healthy men were lost without having a chance to live to an old age, or to die at home with friends and family gathered around the deathbed in the expected manner. Often there was no chance for last words to be heard to show that the victim was prepared and aware of his fate and willing to accept it. The conventions of a "Good Death" were missing and society's mores were often painfully breached.¹⁹⁵

July 25th 1862 *Very busy today fixing off Jennie, who is going to Fayetteville with Brother DeWitt. Went to Gen. Rousseau's tent with Willie for a pass, which was kindly and cordially granted. They got off at 5 o'clock for Meridianville.*

Brother M. B. DeWitt served at the Fayetteville Cumberland Presbyterian Church and accepted the pastorship of the church in Huntsville while Rev. Chadick was away. Their first stop, after getting appropriate passes, was to the Meridianville church to visit friends and enjoy the services. The minister for that church was considered extraordinary and widely known throughout the countryside. Rev. Constantine B. Sanders apparently had clairvoyant powers, and his services were well attended.¹⁹⁶ This trip provided Jennie with an escort to visit her mother's family in Fayetteville.

Sunday, July 27th 1862 *Went to hear Dr. Ross preach this morning. Text: "I am not mad, but speak forth the words of truth." A most excellent discourse followed—first sermon since his arrest. After speaking before Gen. Rousseau two or three times and maintaining his finesse, and "proving his points" with that gentleman, he (Ross) was not further molested. Gen. Rousseau thus far has been very kind to the citizens and has made a very favorable impression, as has Gen. Buell, to the great dissatisfaction of his soldiers.*

Took Georgie and Clara this evening and went out to see Mrs. Vincent. She is very low and can last but a few days. Real glad to see me, and said her great desire was to see W.D. before she died. In going out, we passed a Federal camp beyond the depot. They had 75 pieces of artillery and looked quite formidable. Some of the vulgar horde were in the creek, bathing right at the ford. Others were in

groups roasting corn in abundance plundered from the neighboring fields, which are already nearly stripped of their crop.

Seven thousand of Buell's army passed tonight toward Stevenson. They plundered and destroyed as they came all the way from Tuscumbia, "in revenge," as they said for an attack at Courtland from some of our men, in which they had one killed and 12 wounded.

Mrs. Vincent probably lived about one mile northeast of the Court House, somewhere near Chapman Mountain.¹⁹⁷

Colonel Beatty, stationed in Huntsville, felt that Gen. Rousseau disregarded Gen. Buell's "policy" and acted even more severe to the rebels than Gen. Mitchel had. Beatty considered Rousseau larger and more handsome than General Mitchel, but lacking in Mitchel's "energy, culture, system, and industry."¹⁹⁸

The heat of an Alabama summer would lure anyone to the cool waters for bathing and sport. Just the month before members of 49th Ohio bathed at Tuscumbia in more hazardous conditions. Private Kiene wrote, "it was reported that several were drowned and not less than 8 persons were bitten by snakes and scorpions mostly while pulling up wild onions in the cliffs."¹⁹⁹

There were not many ways for the men to relieve the boredom of military life at a garrison. After the drilling and clean up were completed, fishing and swimming were welcome activities of summertime. Church services were held on Sunday in the army camps and in nearby towns. Personal letters, hometown newspapers, and magazines arrived when the trains were running. Sergeant Asbury Kerwood with the 57th Indiana Volunteers wrote that unoccupied time was also spent playing cards, gambling, and peddling lemonade. "Chucklucking," or dice throwing for money, became a fashionable business. Enough money was involved that Gen. Wood forbid any sutler from selling playing cards and no games of chance could be played for money.²⁰⁰

Two railroads, the Memphis & Charleston and the Nashville & Chattanooga, met at the small town of Stevenson, Alabama, and were essential for the distribution of supplies. Federal guards at the Courtland railroad bridge to the west apparently were taken by surprise and captured on July 25. The Cincinnati newspaper correspondent reported this as another disgraceful surrender and example of neglect by Gen. Buell.²⁰¹

Still moving carefully towards Chattanooga, Gen. Buell managed to send two divisions (a total of about 12,000 men) of Generals Alexander McCook and Thomas Crittenden through Huntsville to Battle Creek, Tennessee.

July 28th 1862 *Last night, the Federals burned Whitesburg, leaving the women and children houseless and homeless. The light of the conflagration was distinctly seen from here. Richmond was taken again tonight.*

More immediate than Richmond, fires set by the Yankees destroyed most of the village of Whitesburg. Thomas White's father, James White, the "Salt King" of Abingdon, Virginia, had established the town as a port, and it was incorporated in 1824. This was the best place to cross the Tennessee River and the location of the Ditto Landing ferry.

The underlined sentence is Mrs. Chadick's. Her sense of humor came to play here as once again the rumor of the alleged destruction of Richmond was on everyone's lips.

July 30th 1862 *Received a present of flour and butter from Mrs. James Robinson yesterday. Another sack of flour today from Mrs. John Robinson, and some salt from Mr. Studdart. Truly I have some kind friends in Huntsville.*

Georgie Saunders arrived last night from our army and says relief is at hand, that the advanced guard of Price's army is at Tusculumbia. "Ye Gods, speed it on its way."

Mrs. Chadick appreciated the gifts of food. Food shortages, particularly in towns, were beginning to be felt. Town dwellers were likely to have only small kitchen gardens at the back of their lot, perhaps a cow or a calf, a few chickens, and a horse. There would be a shed for the cow, a stable for the horse and a smokehouse. It would prove unfortunate that townsfolk were dependent on their servants for the actual gardening and care of the animals. The severing of railroad lines and barricading of roadways to keep the enemy outside the picket lines also kept produce and meat away. Foraging by both armies and outright thievery would, before long, make the countryside desolate, too. As shortages increased the newspaper urged citizens to make salt by leaching the dirt from their smokehouse floors. Such a valued commodity, salt was the first item for speculation beginning at 65 cents a bushel in 1860. It was an absolute necessity for preservation of meat and quickly rose in price from \$1 a bushel to \$10 and eventually \$20. The Governor designated some of his military funds to purchase and distribute salt to the poor families of soldiers.²⁰²

Mary Jane Chadick's friend, William James Studdart, listed his occupation as a farmer in the census. The city directory also noted his partnership with James Wells as a slave dealer.²⁰³

Private George Saunders was in Company C of Williams' Artillery Battery, formed in Livingston, Alabama, but he likely was also related to the Saunders family of Meridianville.²⁰⁴

Confederate General Price appeared to be advancing toward Decatur with a large army while General Braxton Bragg was thought to be in Rome, Georgia with 20,000 strong headed for Middle Tennessee and Kentucky. Thus the two Rebel armies could join forces crushing the Union army in northern Alabama. Colonel Lytle wrote home, "The enemy is getting very saucy and prowling all around us." In the midst of building the fortifications, General Rousseau insisted upon another review that week, "as there are a great many ladies here who wish to be present." Colonel Lytle enjoyed dinner at the Clemens house where Mrs. Col. Burke was also staying.²⁰⁵

August 2nd 1862 Mrs. Dillard, who suffered so severely at the hands of the Yankees came down day before yesterday to see Generals Buell and Rousseau to get restitution. Failed, of course. She made her stay with me and left this morning.

Mrs. Vincent died last night before last and was buried yesterday evening. On my way out was favored with another sight of the bathers, who, when I got sufficiently near; turned a few somersaults for my benefit. The enemy is in our midst. Must have heard some news this morning. They commenced erecting fortifications and have been pressing blacks all the morning to work upon them.

R. C. Brickell, who went away with Mrs. Walker; returned a day or two since and was immediately arrested and is still in "durance vile." Why did he not go to the army, when once away from here?

Night He has been released. The Federal generals have been holding a "council of War" this evening. Wonder what is to pay? There is a rumor that our army is advancing. Fearful it is not true.

Mrs. Vincent's burial and death dates, like most others for these years, cannot be located in any Madison County cemeteries. The events simply went unrecorded in the turmoil of the times.

Although Mrs. Chadick used the word "pressing," others referred to it as "impressment," and still others called it theft—stealing of property: their slaves. This might be considered a step toward the eventual Emancipation. However, it also reflected the white soldiers' contempt for blacks because any officer could impress under his own authority. Although a pay scale later became the official policy, blacks were seldom paid for their labor. For example, in the Federally garrisoned city of

Nashville, the quartermaster provided an elaborate, graded pay scale for black teamsters, cart drivers, general laborers, wood choppers, cooks, adult and young messengers; but only recorded four hired on this list by 1864. As bad as it was that the Federals impressed the blacks, in October 1862 the Alabama Legislature empowered the governor to impress male slaves between the ages of 18 and 50, and the use of tools and implements, wagons, teams and harness.²⁰⁶

The Federals called the slave refugees who fled behind enemy lines “contrabands” as confiscated property. In August of 1861 Congress had passed the First Confiscation Act, which required the seizure of all property in aid of the rebellion, including human property, slaves. They were employed as stable hands, cooks, laborers and house servants. Southerners considered this clearly theft of personal property. In December of 1863 a large camp for former slaves was established on the property of Ex-Governor Chapman, two miles out of town. Over 500 refugee slaves, organized by Chaplain Stokes of the 18th Wisconsin Infantry, stayed there, growing much of their own food and working for the army.²⁰⁷ By October of this year, the Alabama State Legislature authorized Governor Shorter to impress slaves for war work. By August 1863, 10,000 slaves worked at railroad projects, building fortifications, and building river defenses.

Before the War Robert Coman Brickell and Leroy Pope Walker practiced law together. As the Federals invaded in April, Brickell escorted Elizabeth (Pickett) Walker to Montgomery, her hometown. On his return he was imprisoned for a time, but Brickell never joined the Southern forces.

Aug. 4th 1862 The Yankees are using Negroes today by the wholesale, and have commenced their fortifications around the town. Patton’s Hill is being fortified, as it commands the town. 500 blacks were sent off on the train this morning toward Nashville to erect fortifications. There is a great panic among the Negroes. But few are willing to go, and they are running and hiding generally.

They (the Yankees) are talking largely about burning the town, and if the low-down privates were left to do as they please, they would soon sack and burn it. An officer said the other day “these people were too pampered in their pride, and he would like to see some of their fine houses destroyed. Another (private) said that he liked to stay in Huntsville amazingly, we have so many delicacies, and the climate is no warmer than in the North.

A party of them went to the house of the Widow Scruggs last week, and, after robbing the place of every peach, melon and turkey, they returned again in large numbers and surrounded the house, knowing

that there were no whites on the place except three ladies. They (the women) bolted the doors and windows, and ran upstairs for safety, while the brutes, aided by three Negroes, uttering the vilest language, accompanied with curses and imprecation, clamored for admittance. A neighbor, seeing what was going on, started a servant on horseback to the courthouse, and an officer and guard soon made their appearance, whereupon the wretches dispersed and, of course, escaped punishment.

There is a Negro colonel walking around town today as large as life. His regiment is said to be above here on the railroad. So they are arming blacks. Truly their course must have become desperate.

Heard an anecdote today on one of the Misses Malones of Athens, which is worth relating. One of her friends had been taken prisoner and kept standing tied to a tree all night. She was very indignant and went to Gen. Nelson to remonstrate. Her language was severe, to which the general retorted in good humor and finally told her that she "talked like she had the mania petu"[propensity to fly into fits]. She replied, "I expect I have, for I have heard that in that disease they see blue devils, and I have seen nothing else since the 12th of April." And added that she would be glad to be rid of the disease.

Engineers under J. B. Yates had begun to build a square redoubt, or fort, in June of 1862. However, not all slaves were working on the fort on the hill. Slaves were encouraged to report news about their masters and Rebel troop activities. General Mitchel wrote Secretary of War Stanton that "The negroes are our only friends, and in two instances I owe my safety to their faithfulness. I shall very soon have watchful guards among the slaves on the plantations bordering the river from Bridgeport to Florence...." General Mitchel had rewarded one slave with freedom for his valuable information. This man was seen at the railroad station ready to leave dressed in a new suit of clothes, the uniform of a Federal artillery company. This presented a dilemma among the Union officers because the slave belonged to Dr. Charles Patton, a loyal man.²⁰⁸ There was no colored regiment in Huntsville at this time.

Widow Sarah Scruggs, 50, and her children Irene, 22; Ella, 19; Julia, 16; and James, 9, lived with the family of John Waddy Scruggs and his wife Narcissa (Patteson) Scruggs and their children Mary, 15; Fannie, 13; Benjamin, 10; and John, 4. With John Scruggs away at war, this home on the south side of Williams Street was an easy target for marauding bands.

Misses Martha and Sallie Malone lived in the Shoal Ford section of Limestone County. Their house was ransacked and the Yankees carried off

their money, jewelry, and silver. According to Mrs. Chadick, the sisters appealed to Maj. Gen. William Nelson for relief for a friend held prisoner in harsh conditions. General Nelson was the only naval officer to become a general in either army. At Shiloh his troops had repelled the almost victorious Confederates. He commanded the 4th Division, Army of the Ohio.²⁰⁹

August 6th 1862 Matt Steele was arrested yesterday on the old charge of pulling Wilson, the tailor's whiskers, for being civil to a Federal officer. Gen. Rousseau treated it as a very grave offense and an insult to the U.S. government, and asked him "if he did not know that it was a very cowardly act." Mr. Steele replied that he thought it was, as Mr. Wilson did not resent it. Gen. Rousseau remarked among other things, and accompanied by an oath, that they "had got us down and would trot us through, and when we got them down, we would trot them through." Mr. Steele added "that he did not object to the fairness of the thing, but thought it rather hard that he should have the first trotting!" His case is yet to be disposed of.

George S. Wilson, a merchant and tailor, was born in England. He was considered industrious and punctual, doing a lucrative business. Both Wilson and Steele were about 34 years old. Although Matt Steele had acquired more real estate value, Wilson's personal property was valued at \$9000, \$1000 more than Steele's at that time.²¹⁰

At the time the word "trot" was sometimes used to make a person appear ridiculous or beat up.

August 7th 1862 Accompanied Mrs. Matkin to see Mrs. Jere Clemens to ask her to intercede for Dr. Hadden with Col. Burke, who was arrested on a charge of throwing a brick bat on a moonlight night at Mr. and Mrs. Clemens and Col. and Mrs. Burke, who were at the town spring. Dr. Hadden was arrested from the fact of his sleeping near the scene, and was found in bed and fast asleep at the time. He is a plain, unassuming gentleman, incapable of such an act. She promised to use her influence to get him a hearing or have him released.

William Matkin was a wealthy farmer. He and his wife, Margaret, and their six children lived at their plantation southwest of town on the road to Triana. During the War he commanded the Madison County Cavalry. Dr. Louis Hadden, 42, of Sumter County, Alabama, was clearly in the wrong place at the wrong time when the broken piece of brick was thrown.

August 8th 1862 The trains were again fired into last night, between Elkton and Pulaski. Gen. Rousseau declared that he intends to make Drs. Ross and Banister run the trains, as they are prepared to die, and his men are not.

Spent the day with Mrs. Matkin, in company with Mrs. Powers.

Mr. Fennell's cotton burned last night. Supposed to be work of his own Negroes!

Several houses were burned in Jackson County yesterday and New Market—among them Mrs. Vincent's, Mr. Crutcher's, Spraggins', Sledge's and Word's. They kicked Mrs. Word out of doors and slapped Miss Anna's jaws!

It is rumored that Bragg's division has gone to Chattanooga. I know not where W.D. is, or when I shall again hear from him. The suspense is dreadful. Heard yesterday of the death of his mother, but learned of no particulars, as the news was brought by a Negro.

Isham Fennell, a prosperous plantation owner, and his family lived near Madison Station, now Madison, Alabama.

All Northern Alabama would soon hear the story behind the sudden rage of the Federal troops in Jackson County. On Aug. 6, 1862, Brig. Gen. Robert McCook (fourth of the famous McCook brothers), suffering from dysentery, was riding out of uniform in an open carriage near Plevana,

Alabama. Confederate Capt. Frank Gurley's local independent partisan rangers attacked this group. General McCook was wounded during the fray and taken to the nearby farmhouse of Jane Word, where he received medical care but died the next day. Robert McCook was extremely popular with his men who considered the incident murder.

Accounts in his biographical sketch in the Jefferson County, Ohio, history include such phrases as McCook who was "assassinated by the rebels" and whose death was "one of the most dastardly murders ever committed." In Cincinnati flags were placed at half-mast.

Visitors passed by McCook's body, which

was displayed at the rotunda of the Court House before the funeral services attended by the City Council, the Mayor, prominent judges, and the family.²¹¹



*Captain Frank Gurley,
HMCPL.*

At New Market, 20 miles northeast of Huntsville, all houses within several miles of the area of McCook's death were ordered burned, including the house of widow Jane C. Word, 55, where the general was tended after the incident. Mrs. Word had already lost her husband and four young children to illness. Now she and the five remaining members of the family lost their home. The next house was that of 76-year-old William Crutcher [Crucher] a Baptist preacher and his son and daughter-in-law, Jane. Crutcher's son was away serving in the Confederate army and would die at Nashville in 1864. Mrs. Mary E. Spraggins, widowed since 1854, lived nearby with her two children and her mother-in-law. Bruer Vincent, 65, lived in the community with Frances Mitchell, probably his daughter, and her family of four girls. The house of Frank Gurley and that of his father, John Gurley, was also destroyed 20 miles to the east of Huntsville.²¹² Neither side would forget, or forgive, the incident or the violence.

Initially General Bragg, who replaced Beauregard in the west, went toward Chattanooga to counter Federal Gen. Buell's activity in that direction. From there Bragg now took the offensive. General Bragg planned to cross central Tennessee, invade Kentucky, and perhaps even Ohio with the combined forces of 30,000 men.

Reverend Chadick's father, Charles Rowan, had died at the home of his son, J. Watson Chadick, in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, February 2, 1851, aged about 71. His mother, Elizabeth Chadick, widowed for eleven years, died on August 4th in Scottsboro, Alabama.²¹³

Aug. 11th 1862 Yesterday evening was all excitement. The pickets came tearing into town, saying that there was a large force of the Confederates in the neighborhood of Byrd Spring. Nearly all the troops in town were sent out to meet them and drawn up in battle array. It proved to be a false report.

The citizens are a good deal excited, alternately hoping and fearing that deliverance is at hand, fearing that, in case of a battle here, our beautiful town should be destroyed. Matters are evidently working toward a crisis, and our cavalry are closing in all around us. We could be patient, were it not for our great anxiety to see and hear from W.D. If the coast were clear, we think we could soon effect a meeting. We cannot even hear where Bragg's division of the army is at present located.

Still pressing Negroes for stockading the town. The latter say they are regularly drilled every day before commencing their labors. Can it be true that they are going to arm them!

Byrd Spring was a little more than four miles south of town and to the west of Whitesburg Turnpike. Colonel Beatty wrote, "The enemy, a thousand strong, is said to be within five miles of us." Colonel Kennett rode out with 165 men of the 3rd and five companies of cavalry to investigate. There was no recorded action from the troops.²¹⁴

Members of the 51st Indiana Regiment brought in 200 Negroes from near Huntsville and 300 from other areas to build fortifications at Stevenson, the important railroad center. The soldiers were delighted at having others do the manual labor, and the blacks were glad to be away from their masters, if only temporarily.²¹⁵

Many of the Federal soldiers wrote home or in their journals about their time in town. For instance, "Huntsville is one of the most beautiful places we saw during our soldier life. Situated, as it is...where climate and soil combine to render it rich and fertile. Its citizens were high-toned, intelligent and aristocratic. Wealth and ease seemed to mark every homestead with an air of comfort and satisfaction that almost made one begrudge its occupant his happiness.... More than one of the old Sixth promised himself that if he was spared to get through the war alive and well, he would return and make his future home for life at Huntsville."²¹⁶

Aug. 12th 1862 Spent the day with Mrs. James Robinson. About dinner time, a body of cavalry came tearing by in pursuit of some guerrillas they had heard were in the neighborhood. Of course, they did not find them. The picket was bribed in the evening, and several horses and mules were taken by the Confederates from the Federals. Mr. Robinson came home and said he wanted some of his finest fruit gathered for Gen. Rousseau, as he wanted to show his appreciation for having been particularly kind to him, and as he had to go to his plantation, Miss Queeny and myself must receive him and present the fruit. Waited until towards night, as he did not come home I returned.

Brother Mitchell called soon after my return to tell me that he had a pass to go to the army in search of his son, and would take a letter to W. D. if I would get Gen. Rousseau to indorse it. Wrote a long letter.

Editor Withers Clay wrote in the *Democrat* and urged citizens to form guerrilla companies: "Small bodies of men, under cool, bold, daring leaders, who count not the cost...would be of vast service." However, Colonel William Sipes spoke for the Federal position in regard to guerilla activities. They "had no commendable qualities or redeeming traits, but were despicable to the core. They were treacherous, because ready to betray friends and neighbors for gain; cruel, because they made the war a

cover for acts of private revenge; and cowardly, because they slunk around in darkness to perpetrate their evil deeds.”²¹⁷

No matter where his feelings lay, apparently James Robinson knew how to thank the enemy for good deeds. His best fruit was going straight to the General in charge.

Reverend George W. Mitchell labored fervently for the advancement of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in northern Alabama. In the stressful days of the War he was able to keep all the Sunday Schools open and to minister to his congregation. He and his large family lived at Shoal Ford, near Athens. His older sons included William, Thomas, and Francis. In 1868 he was elected moderator of the General Assembly of his church, the highest elected official of the denomination.²¹⁸

Aug. 13th 1862 Breakfast half an hour earlier this morning and, taking Sue and Georgie, proceeded to headquarters with my letter. Was kindly received and the letter indorsed, although I rather suspect from the length of his absence in another tent, that he made himself acquainted with its contents.

Went from there to Mrs. Brickell to see Brother Mitchell, thence to a ladies' auction at Mrs. Weaver's. Heard that W. D. was in Richmond for his commission as colonel of a regiment of cavalry. The ladies of Huntsville received a message from Major McDonell, who is at Battle Creek, through the Yankee courier. News today of the taking of Gallatin by John Morgan. Also of a glorious victory at Gordonsville (Va.) by Stonewall Jackson.

Widow Margaret Brickell, 57, lived with her grown children about 2 miles south of town on the Whitesburg Turnpike. Her son, Robert, had earlier escorted Mrs. Walker to Montgomery. Elizabeth Weaver, 49, newly widowed, sewed mantuas, a mantle or loose gown or cloak, worn by women of the period. Her son, J.C. Weaver, was 4th Sergeant in the Huntsville Guards.

Major T. A. McDonell of the 1st Florida Infantry had been one of the Southern officers wounded at Shiloh and held prisoner at the Huntsville Female College in April. Now he was with McKinstry at Battle Creek. He would be appointed Lt. Colonel on August 15th and later served on President Davis' staff.²¹⁹

During his first Kentucky attack, Acting Brig. Gen. Morgan led his men on a raid behind enemy lines. In perhaps the most strategic action of his career, Morgan effectively cut General Buell's entire supply line. Under cover of darkness and using civilian information, they captured the town of Gallatin, Tennessee, and then wrecked the twin tunnels on the L & N

Railroad about seven miles north of town—without a shot being fired. It took 98 days to rebuild the tunnels and without the necessary supplies, Gen. Buell suspended his advance on Chattanooga.²²⁰

News spread quickly about this northern Virginia action. On August 9th Confederate Maj. Gen. Jackson defeated the advance federal forces of Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Banks at Cedar Mountain near Gordonsville, Virginia. (Moreover, Lee's cavalry commander, Major General J.E.B. Stuart, humiliated General John Pope, head of the newly formed Army of Virginia, by raiding Pope's headquarters and capturing more than \$300,000 in cash, Pope's dress uniform, and his dispatch book with the Federal plans.) Jackson's action against Pope was a crucial factor in the victory that followed at 2nd Manassas.

Aug. 14th 1862 Gens. Buell and Rousseau reported to be in great ferment when they heard this morning of the great victory in Virginia. Jennie returned this morning from Fayetteville, much pleased with her visit. [She] Reports that both Federals and Confederates are alternately occupying the town.

Although Federals took possession of Fayetteville in the spring of 1862, this area suffered from the actions of both sides. The new, gracefully arched, stone bridge allowed troops of both sides to cross the Elk River on an important north-south roadway. On August 13th in the Tennessee Valley, Brig. Gen. Roddey attacked a column of Federals, killing and wounding several and taking 124 prisoners near Decatur. These unexpected strikes were more than annoying. A Nashville newspaper reported "that the United States had lost \$15,000,000 worth of property in the last 30 days." Philip Dale Roddey, a native of Moulton, may have lacked a formal education but he made up for it with leadership and bravery. He raised a company of cavalry locally at the start of the War that eventually became a brigade. His was the only permanent Confederate force in the Tennessee Valley of Alabama. Technically under Generals Wheeler and Forrest, Roddey conducted his own guerrilla-like war in north Alabama and was greatly admired.²²¹

Aug. 15th 1862 News today of the taking of Baton Rouge by Breckinridge's forces and the exploits of the ram, Arkansas.

Gen. Buell's ill humor yesterday was caused by Gen. McCook allowing our forces to cross the River somewhere above here. Buell telegraphed to him not to suffer them to cross. He replied, "they were crossing, and he could not help it."

Corinna got into one of rages this morning, whereupon I sent for Mr. Franks, when she suddenly disappeared. Supposition is that she has gone to the Federals. They are playing the mischief with the Negroes, and the poor ignorant creatures don't now which way to turn, or who are their real friends. The Yankees can be seen at the corners, in the alleys, in confidential chats with them.

The news about Baton Rouge was correct—up to a point. Southern Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn ordered an offensive action against Baton Rouge and Port Hudson, Louisiana, to open up the Red River area as a supply route to the West. After leaving Vicksburg by rail cars on August 5th, Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge marched 3000 Southern troops—in spite of the heat, malaria and “camp fever”—50 miles from Camp Moore to Baton Rouge. The *CSS Arkansas* was expected to attack the city that morning also. Breckinridge rode to the front of his troops with a “magical effect upon the men,” personally leading the assault with sword in hand. The Federals gave up the town and fled toward the Mississippi River behind them.²²²

However, the *Arkansas*, within four miles of the town, lost its engines. It was a wonder this ironclad had gone so far. The Confederate Navy had constructed the *CSS Arkansas* from a preexisting steamship. A battering ram was added to the bow, and the exterior was covered with scrap railroad iron plating dredged from the mud of the river to create an ironclad fighting ship. The ship, manned by 60 soldiers from Missouri and with wet gunpowder from a leaking engine, first ran the gauntlet of Federal ships above Vicksburg. She kept the entire Federal fleet at bay and temporarily ended the blockade. As ordered, the ship went downstream toward Baton Rouge, but the engines failed. The “sailors” were sent ashore and the *Arkansas* was set on fire.²²³ The Confederates were not able to hold Baton Rouge, but they did capture Port Hudson, a more suitable site.

Major General Alexander McCook, just recently promoted, could not keep the Rebs from crossing the Tennessee River. From Chattanooga, Confederate Gen. Bragg sent 30,000 men up the Sequatchie Valley into the heart of the Cumberland Plateau of Tennessee. Where would they go next, and how would that movement affect Huntsville?

Reverend Chadick, the master of the household, was away during this difficult time, and with him went the real authority. No matter how hard Mrs. Chadick tried to control the slaves, she really only represented his authority. Even without the Federals at every alley and corner telling them, the slaves knew the difference.

Britian Franks had the unenviable position of town constable. He and his wife, Mary, ran a boarding house with as many as twenty boarders

at a time. Their son, James W. Franks, about 18, would die at Parkers Cross Roads in the winter of 1862. Their oldest son, Rufus, about 20, would be mortally wounded in the abdomen on July 2nd of the next year.²²⁴

Aug. 17th 1862 *Corinna has returned and says she did not go to the Federals, but stayed with an old woman at the depot. She makes very fair promises and seems truly ashamed of her conduct. Granville has been observed to be very intimate with the Yankees and, for the last two or three days, his conduct has been suspicious. Communicated my suspicions to his master yesterday. Today, he and Vienna are missing with all their plunder. Tonight finds me heart-sick and yearning for the society of W. D. Wonder where the dear fellow is tonight!*

Young Isaac Coles was arrested yesterday upon asking for a pass to go to his mother's plantation in Jackson County. The presumption was that he was going to join the guerrillas. Dr. Fearn was asked to sign a paper denouncing guerrilla warfare and to effect his release, which he refused. Dr. Fearn accompanied the boy's mother to Capt. Ward (assistant provost) and she told the latter gentleman that the boy was too young and had no such intentions and that he did right not to sign the paper, as that kind of warfare was recognized by our government. "Your government! What government?" was the query. "The Confederate government," was the reply. Whereupon he was ordered out of the presence of the august captain and, on his return home, received a note to consider himself under arrest and not to leave the limits of his gate, by order of Lt. Col. Burke, provost marshal.

Apparently Vienna and Granville, with encouragement from the Yankees, ran off together.

Although his mother also had property in Jackson County, young Isaac lived with his widowed mother Eliza Coles and two younger sisters next door to her daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband, Robert Fearn, on Franklin Street. Isaac's older brother, Robert Coles, was already enlisted in Co. F. of the 4th Alabama Infantry, and it was not far-fetched to think Isaac might be eager to join the conflict at the age of eighteen. Private Isaac Coles, 19, died of typhoid fever in March of 1863. Union Captain William Murray Ward, under Colonel Burke, was with Co. I, 10th Ohio Infantry.²²⁵

This was a busy day for the Provost Marshal. Thirty citizens, including Ex-Governor Clay, were detained at the courthouse.²²⁶

Aug. 19th 1862 *Vienna and Granville left on the train Sunday for parts unknown. Mr. Sledge kindly called this morning and offered me a servant to assist in washing every week. Mrs. J. G. Wilson also offered*

me assistance. Vienna helped herself to a nice carpetbag and Eddie's money. Granville also acted the rascal, borrowing and collecting money due his master and putting it in his own pocket.

The slaves, encouraged by the words of freedom, simply ran away, hopefully to a better life. Former Governor Clay's wife, just a few blocks away on Clinton Street, wrote her son what many may have been feeling: "The negroes are ignorant and grasping, as we are, for a happier future."²²⁷

Oliver D. Sledge, a wealthy plantation owner with a large family, kept a town house on the north side of Clinton Street. Martha Wilson, 34, was the wife of the president of the Female College.

Aug. 20th 1862 Mrs. Bradford left for Mississippi this morning. Went to the bank and drew \$50 for the benefit of the widow of Mr. Moore, who served at the hospital, and took it to her. She seemed very grateful. Went from there to Mr. Gordon to see if he had heard anything from the fugitives, Vienna and Granville. He had written to Columbia to have them arrested should they go that way. Mr. Trotman called this evening and advised me to write to some friend in Nashville to put the police on the watch for them. Mr. Donegan called to tell me that he had heard from W. D., and that he had resigned his position as lieutenant colonel and gone to some springs for his health. Feel great anxiety about him. His regiment was 10 miles from Chattanooga.

Mrs. Chadick evidently gave \$50 of her own money to the widow Moore who must have been in unfortunate circumstances.

With the vast number of runaway slaves in the middle of the War, any real information would be hard to obtain. Nothing more was heard about the runaway slaves, Vienna and Granville. These were difficult times. Granville's master, James H. Gordon, died within the year, and to help with her recovery, his widow, Ellen Gordon—accompanied by relative, Eliza Beirne—traveled to Blue Ridge Springs near Lynchburg.²²⁸

John B. Trotman, 48, was a merchant and lived with his wife, Mariah (Jones), and four children on Adams Avenue. His store offered staple and fancy dry goods, boots, shoes, hats, caps, etc. and was located at #1 Commercial Row.

The Chadick and Donegan families were neighbors as his town house was at the east end of Randolph Street at the city limits. According to Rowena Webster, two Confederate soldiers were hidden on the roof of this house sometime while the Yankees held the town until the Rebels could make their escape.²²⁹ It would be inconceivable to think the men might have been there without Donegan's knowledge or permission.

Until the latter part of July, Colonel Chadick had been recovering from the evacuation at Corinth and was in Tupelo, Mississippi.

A few encouraging events took place locally for the Federals. Eleven Alabamians signed up with the Union army at Athens. Nearby ladies at Athens met the soldiers for “a splendid free dinner of roast chicken, pits, etc.” But in the meantime there was great anxiety about the location, number, and actions of the nearby Rebels; “The train from Nashville did not arrive: fired into.” The trains arriving from the north were fired on again, “one car was made a riddle of.” They were unable to send troop trains out after dark with safety.²³⁰ The Federal position in north Alabama was becoming more and more tenuous.

Aug. 24th 1862 Great stir in town today among the soldiers. The 10th Ohio, “the heroes of Carnifex,” have moved their camps up by the graveyard, and we now have all the Federal force in our neighborhood. They appear to be moving their sick and stores, and the rattling of the wagon wheels along the street is terrible to one with the headache.

Noon Mr. Coltart, the mayor, has just called me to tell us that the Federals will evacuate our town at 4 o’clock this afternoon, and no matter how great our joy is upon the occasion, no demonstration must be made on our part while it is going on. Gen. Lytle sent for him and requested him to tell the citizens this, as he could not be answerable for the conduct of the troops when leaving. He had received kindness from the hands of the citizens, and did not wish them to be molested. We have heard of people being intoxicated with joy. This is precisely our condition at the present. As night approaches, many of them appear to be drunk. From present appearances, they will not get off tonight.

Apparently, the 10th Ohio with all their supplies marched east on Randolph Street to re-establish their camp on the grounds of the cemetery. This regiment was composed of many soldiers from Irish backgrounds in Cincinnati, Ohio. The regiment had moved quickly to the War in Western Virginia. “The bloody 10th” earned that title on the Gauley River at Carnifex Ferry in what is now West Virginia. Because of their fierceness citizens assumed them to be “wild, lawless men.... It is said citizens fled at the approach of the regiment, to return surprised that their horses and property were left unharmed. This impression prevailed particularly in Huntsville, Alabama.... But the discipline and fine bearing of the regiment soon dispelled that impression.”²³¹

Earlier in the year Mayor Robert W. Coltart was in an unfortunate position when called on to provide a meal for the 5000 Union soldiers. The invading troops out-marched their supply wagons on April 11th. Orders

were sent to Huntsville's mayor that if food were not provided, the provisions would be taken from private homes. Coltart spent \$500 from the city treasury to buy bacon, beef and flour for their mess.²³² Mayor Coltart spread the word, and all the citizens now could only hope and pray the Federals would not burn the town as they evacuated.

Colonel William H. Lytle did not receive his promotion to Brigadier General until Nov. 29, 1862. He commanded a brigade under Gen. Buell. At the battle of Perryville he was wounded, left for dead on the field, and captured by the Confederates. After his exchange he was promoted Brigadier. At Chickamauga on Sept. 20, 1863, he was mortally wounded and died that day.²³³

Aug. 25th 1862 We hoped to wake this morning and find the enemy gone, but no such good news. The work of evacuation is still going on, and they say they will leave this evening. Mrs. Fackler has just called and says Judge Lane and family got off yesterday, taking Gen. Rousseau's sick son with them, also Mr. Larcombe and family. They all rode to the depot in a wagon, such was their panic. There is a rumor prevailing that the train they were on was captured.

4 o'clock Good heavens—what a sinking of heart! The order for going has been countermanded, and they are actually pitching their tents. They are rejoicing, and shouts are going up in every direction.

"Disappointment is the lot of all," and we must try to endure it a little longer We were fondly dreaming that W. D. could now come to home and spend the remainder of his furlough with us. The Feds say they are ordered to remain until Rosecrans comes up. There is another rumor that Price has whipped them badly at Tusculumbia. O dear! The excitement and disappointment together makes us very sick we must lay down the pen and actually go to bed.

John Fackler and his wife, Elizabeth, lived on Adams Avenue. In March Fackler had entertained John Hunt Morgan and some of his officers. One of the four Fackler daughters, Mary (called "Gypsy" and about 18 years old) sang for the guests. The response was so enthusiastic that Morgan made her an adjutant of his squadron. Fackler also entertained Confederate General Albert Sydney Johnston with his staff for three days in early March at the Fackler home just before the Federal invasion. Mr. Fackler was arrested for aiding Rebel soldiers, specifically Sam Morgan and one of John Hunt Morgan's brothers, to escape. The Federals asked Fackler if he had helped them get away. He acknowledged it and said he would do it again. Two of Fackler's sons, Willie and Calvin, were at Shiloh with the Confederate army.²³⁴



East Side Square - Tents of Federal army nestled between storefronts and Episcopal spire.

HMCPL.

The evacuation by the Federals necessitated that Judge Lane, the collaborator, should also withdraw from town with his family. The indignity of riding to the station in a wagon, rather than a carriage, did not go unnoticed by Mrs. Chadick.

J. Howard Larcombe and his family also made hasty preparations to join the withdrawal. The Larcombes were both born in Pennsylvania. He had telegraph jobs in various northern towns and then worked in Nashville as an ambrotypist before coming to Huntsville. The family arrived in Huntsville at least by June 1859 when he placed an advertisement in the newspaper for Photographic Art. His “new facility had a sky-light and every facility for taking beautiful and life-like likenesses.” He could be found in the shop “ready to wait upon his friends and all who may favor him with a call.” The couple, with their five children, lived in New Hope in 1860. Larcombe was listed in the city directory as a “photographer” and more importantly as a telegraph operator. He was also a newcomer, an outsider, and a Northerner. At that time few citizens apparently gave thought to his background—that is until the evening of April 10. Mrs. Larcombe was handling the operations that night. Earlier, about the 4th or 5th of April, the general superintendent of the Eastern Division of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, Mr. Ross, had ordered all the rolling stock of the line sent immediately to Huntsville from Corinth. At that time Mr. A. J. Hopper was an assistant superintendent of the line in Huntsville.

Hopper sent Martin Pride, the regular operator, to Shelbyville, Tennessee, on the 9th for personal business, and Larcombe took Pride's place at the depot telegraph office. On the same circuit the operator at the uptown office was Elisabeth Larcombe. Several Southern couriers arrived on the night of the 10th with news the Federals were 4-5,000 strong and as close as Meridianville. At 11 o'clock that night John M. Webb gave a dispatch to Mrs. Larcombe to be sent alerting General Beauregard that Mitchel's troops were so close.²³⁵ The telegraph was never sent! Many townspeople immediately suspected that the Larcombes held back the vital information. They were accused of being Lincolnites and Yankees. In July the Alabama newspaper, *Spirit of the South*, voiced the sentiment of local citizens when it suggested, "that the Larcombes might retire to more Northern latitudes."

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As much as the family looked forward to a visit from Rev. Chadick, furloughs had become a problem for both armies. Authorities were slow to develop procedures for granting furloughs and discharges. After the first year of the conflict those who enlisted only for the initial twelve months left the army shorthanded. The Confederate government had a difficult time getting enlistments for the duration of the War, as did the Union army. The CSA Furlough and Bounty Act of December 1861 gave each enlisted man or non-commissioned officer a bounty of \$50 and a furlough of 60 days for re-enlistment. This allowed locals to return to their hometown and recruit for their individual companies. For instance, Capt. L. H. Scruggs, Pvt. T.T. Patton, Capt. G. B. Mastin, Pvt. James White, and Lt. W.B. Rison, all heroes of Manassas, had proposed to fill up their quotas on a hometown visit in March 1862.²³⁷

However, many soldiers saw a furlough as a seemingly easy way to get home to visit family and plant the crops. Planting season in the spring had a high incidence of unauthorized absentees for both sides. A soldier unfit for military duty and likely to remain so for at least 30 days was supposed to receive furlough, but not to exceed 60 days. Often large numbers of sick and wounded were furloughed to provide space for new battle casualties in the hospitals. Many men simply did not return to their original units. Even if they joined a second company, or they remained at home, they were classified as deserters. Governor Shorter would ask citizens to give no shelter to deserters by November 1862. He labeled them "Prowling Brigades" and "Destroying Angels" who terrorized the northern and southeastern parts of the state. By the fall of 1863 the CSA Secretary of War acknowledged one hundred thousand men "one third of the army on average are absent from post at any given time," and "not one man in three, who were furloughed, ever returned to the army."²³⁸



Mrs. John H. Lewis House (Later Clay house) - 513 Eustis.

Built in 1820.

H.A.B.S. photo, HMCPL.

Federal Major General William Rosecrans commanded the District of Corinth and had 30,000 men between Boonville, Mississippi, and Cherokee, Alabama, while General Price held Tupelo with 16,000 troops.

Aug. 28th 1862 And go to bed we did, where we have been ever since, with a most terrible nervous headache. We are needing rain badly. Since we have had the addition of the "Ohio 3rd" and the "bloody 10th" in our neighborhood, we are in danger of death by suffocation. Their rattling wagons and clattering of hoofs ring on the ear from morning till night. They ride their poor steeds to desperation and never go any pace slower than a gallop.

Last night, the Federal band serenaded the Misses Lewis. The first morning of our illness, Mrs. John Robinson called and brought me a present of two nice hams. Mrs. James Robinson also sent me corn and fruit.

Gen. Rousseau has left, and Gen. Lytle is in command. There is news that Judge Lane and party arrived safely in Nashville.

Earlier the 3rd Ohio Infantry had helped drive the Rebels out of Bridgeport, Alabama. Keeping town as a base, they whiled away the summer months in Huntsville. Now there was additional activity as the Ohio “Bloody 10th” and other units suggested more troop movement might be at hand. Confederate Gen. Bragg and 35,000 men were somewhere south of the Yankees.

Perhaps the Lewis girls were not insulted by a Yankee serenade. All the Lewis girls were considered very musical. The widow Mary (Betts) Lewis lived on Eustis Street with her six daughters, two widowed already and ranging in age from about 15 to 33. The oldest of the daughters was Mary Lewis who had married John Withers Clay, editor of the *Huntsville Democrat*. Clay attempted first to publish his newspaper as the *Huntsville Daily Confederate*, then the *Huntsville Democrat*, and finally he was unable to publish at all.²³⁹

Aug. 29th 1862 Corinna is sick today. Had to cook for the entire family, being the only well person on the place who knows how to make a biscuit. Sue and Jennie ironed and cleaned up the house—a foretaste of what we will have to go through with when the rebellion is quashed, and the wonderful “Yankee nation” gets possession of “Niggerdom.”

My kind friend, Mrs. John Robinson, gave me a cartload of green corn today for the purpose of drying for the winter.

Great stir among the Feds this morning. Perhaps they are going to leave us at last. It is certain the 15th Kentucky, camped at Greene Academy, are cooking rations. Georgie and Uncle Tom just came from Mrs. Robinson’s with the corn, and say that the Feds have barricaded the pike and are looking for an immediate attack from our cavalry.

Mrs. Chadick understood if the men at Greene Academy, under Colonel C. Pope, were cooking rations, they were also preparing to march.

Aug. 31st 1862 Awoke a little after midnight by the sound of heavy tramping of feet, the sound of voices, uttering the most dreadful curses, the rattling of wagons, etc. in the street. Sprang out of bed and looked through the shutters to see what it meant, when, lo and behold, it was the Lincoln army making their anxiously wished for exit from Huntsville! Could hardly believe it, so joyful the thought! All the children were up and in a state of great excitement. Joined them in the back porch to look at lurid glares of fires burning in different directions, fearing they had set fire to some parts of the town. Learned since that it was corn, meat and other articles being destroyed to prevent them from falling into our hands.

This is like the Sabbath morning we once enjoyed, except that there is a perfect rush by the Negroes to the different camps to bring away the plunder; and the people cannot suppress their joy. Corinna still sick and had to get dinner. Sue and Jennie went to church.

2 o'clock *Learned that the army, as they marched out on the pike, took all of James Robinson's Negroes but one. Frank Gurley has been in and arrested Gen. Hickman and John King, and gone again. Returned at 5 o'clock with a company of cavalry. A perfect crowd of ladies and gentlemen rushed to the square to greet them, and Capt. Gurley was literally crowned with wreaths of ivy and greenery. Some Feds, who have been out on picket duty, came in, not having received notice that their army was going to leave, and gave themselves up. Surprised by a visit from Clark and Mr. Milligan.*

The decision was made and Federal troops under Gen. Buell withdrew to Decherd, Tennessee, south of Nashville. This action freed all of northern Alabama and southern Tennessee from Federal control, leaving behind relieved citizens and bitter memories. The *Huntsville Advocate* reported that north Alabamians during the five months occupation learned a great deal about war—of military ways of both common soldiers and vain officers. It clearly seemed the goal of the Federals for the South was a reign of terror, subjugation, and treatment as serfs and aliens in their own land. Another newspaper said the Federals must never be allowed to return.²⁴⁰

Colonel Lytle commanded the withdrawal of troops from Huntsville for which he received compliments from headquarters. He took along “400-500 head of cattle and horses, scores of refugees and sutlers with their wagons and goods.” The troops were to march quickly to Shelbyville in four days at the very least. Orders from Gen. Buell mandated the movement be kept a “profound secret from the citizens and officers.”²⁴¹ Nevertheless, it was clear everyone in town figured out something important was happening.

Rebel Captain Frank Gurley reached town as the Yankee rear guard moved out. He found the way “crowded with ladies and they paved the streets with roses and clothed the soldiers with flags and bouquets.” Gurley also found abandoned Federal supplies and wounded Yankees in the hospital.²⁴² It was commonly known that Ben Jolley, James Hickman, and others were buying and selling cotton with the Federals throughout the occupation of 1862. (Hickman was a slave trader and had owned the Southern Hotel.) The *Huntsville Confederate* reported that they, and William Hall of Maysville, did business freely with the invaders. John King worked formerly as a clerk.²⁴³

James Hickman was the only one indicted by the district court for treason to the Confederacy in February of 1863. Apparently he acted as a guide for Union soldiers as they searched for guerrillas. In exchange Hickman received a permit to trade in cotton. Witnesses testified that Hickman “employed enemy’s soldiers as guards to go and get his cotton and General Mitchel sent a six-pounder on the railroad cars with him.” He was also able to sell scarce items such as tobacco and salt. When the Yankees evacuated town, Brig. Gen. William B. Bate commanded the Confederate Army post established in Huntsville. The General decided to make an example of Hickman and ordered his arrest in December for speculating in salt. Allegedly Hickman, who had gotten a permit from General Forrest to sell salt to Southern soldiers’ families, refused to accept Confederate notes and sold the salt for \$75 per barrel—in gold. Hickman was released later that month because the military could not arrest civilians for anything other than a military offense. Hickman was arrested again on January 11th for supposedly taking part in a Union raid against the Confederacy, a military offense.

Leroy Pope Walker and Nick Davis defended Hickman, and popular sentiment turned, for a time against the two lawyers also. A grand jury found cause to determine that Hickman could be charged with treason. His trial began in May of 1863; he was quickly found not guilty, and he returned to his dry-goods store. Later, when the Yankees had returned, Hickman boasted to the Yankee pickets, “‘I suppose you know me. I’m old General Hickman, who was imprisoned five months and tried on a charge of treason by the Confederate States.’ ‘Oh, yes,’ said they: ‘You can pass on.’ Apparently Hickman told the citizens of Huntsville that he would, soon have a fine stock of goods from Nashville.”²⁴⁴

M. G. Milligan farmed and served as a Cumberland Presbyterian clergyman. He and his wife, Hypasia, and their three children lived in New Hope, Alabama. Samuel S. Clark, 45, was also a minister. He and wife and six children lived on the road to Athens.

Sept. 1st 1862 *All my thoughts, feelings and ideas are centered in the return of W. D. Oh, if he could just learn that the coast is clear! Am terribly uneasy lest his furlough should be out before he hears it.*

There has been some Confederate cavalry in town today. They have arrested the Federal sick, who were left in the hospitals, and shut up some of the Jew stores, who had been purchasing goods from the Feds.

Visited with Mrs. Mayhew the hospital at the Calhoun house, and was struck with the extreme neatness of the place, and the attention to the comfort and cleanliness of the sick. Was greatly interested in a young Philadelphian who is very sick of typhus fever. He is on Buell’s

staff. He drew his Bible from under his pillow to show us his mother's picture. A beautiful and interesting face she had. I shall visit him again. Our visits seem to cheer all the poor fellows, who are now left at the mercy of strangers and foes.

The Federals evacuated hurriedly leaving 90 sick and wounded soldiers in the Calhoun House Hospital to be cared for by their enemies. The Confederates immediately transported the soldiers, who were mobile, to the north for treatment, but 20-30 still remained in late October of 1862. The bodies of the 38 Union soldiers who died in the month of August alone were among those left behind in the northwest corner of the town's cemetery. According to a report in the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* published November 19, 1862, they were laid to rest with the 142 Yankees already there.²⁴⁵

The retreating Yankees also left behind a devastated countryside. A reporter for the *Jacksonville Republican* wrote in September that the Federal departure left behind small damage to the town of Huntsville: "But the suburbs and vicinity suffered greatly.... Between Huntsville and Stevenson, the country is desolated and deserted, Jackson County having been left almost without inhabitants or sign of animal life.... The town of Woodville is burned to the ground, and from that place to Bellefonte, scarcely a house is left standing. Blackened ruins is all that remain."²⁴⁶

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Here, for 11 months, the journal entries stop, but the War did not. News of the resounding Confederate victory of Second Manassas in August would surely filter across the land, as did other engagements. At Antietam, with total casualties of over 22,000 for both sides, the confrontation was considered a tie. Fredericksburg was more clearly a Union victory, Chancellorsville a Confederate victory, Gettysburg a Union victory, the fall of Vicksburg to the Federals. Yes, the War continued.

Both sides appeared to gather momentum. But from Richmond Hugh Lawson Clay wrote his brother Senator Clay. Lawson noted and summarized the status of the Confederate military departments and concluded, "The signs are portentous of calamity.... In whatever department you look, there is nothing to cheer or inspire hope."²⁴⁷

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Other events occurred that reflected the unrest and dissatisfaction of both sides.

In Richmond, already crowded with refugees, a group of women and children estimated to be over a thousand in number marched in early April 1863 throughout the city, emptying stores of food supplies to feed their families and to protest the lack of food. Soldiers were called out, but the women refused to leave. Order was not restored until three days later. The women of Mobile, armed with knives and hatchets, entered stores to take food and clothing. The Confederate press chose not to report these events. Before long food shortages led to bread riots in Savannah, High Point, Petersburg, Milledgeville, and Columbia. Desperate “corn women” in Alabama gravitated to the Black Belt and stripped the productive fields to take back to their starving families corn and grain. By December 12, 1863, the state legislature appropriated \$3 million to purchase corn for the poverty-stricken families of soldiers.²⁴⁸

July saw mobs roaming New York City in protest of the federal government’s policy of drafting soldiers. Up to that time wealthy men had been able to pay a “substitute” to serve in their place. This system of military conscription appeared unjust, particularly to the working class and newly arrived immigrants. They blamed the War on the slaves, not on the Abolitionists or the slave owners. Violence against blacks in that city resulted in the burning of churches, boardinghouses and even an orphanage. Federal troops had to be called in when the city police were unable to restore order.

When Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation to free Southern slaves in January 1863, the War took on an even more moral tone. Other considerations shifted also. Union general-in-chief, Henry W. Halleck, wrote in March 1863, “The character of the war has very much changed within the last year. There is now no possible hope of reconciliation with the rebels.... There can be no peace but that which is forced by the sword. We must conquer the rebels or be conquered by them.” There would no longer be gentlemen’s rules; obviously, there would be no rules. This became a war “not to conciliate, but to conquer and punish; not to protect, but to seize and destroy, not to restore, but to prepare the way for a new South and a new nation.”²⁴⁹

Union General Order #100 established guidelines, in 1863 for the first time, for Southern towns occupied and garrisoned as Federal army posts. Loyalty oaths to the Union must be accompanied by renouncing the Confederate cause, or civilians must leave the occupied town. One must have a permit to buy or sell goods. No verbal insults would be tolerated under martial law. Homes could be arbitrarily searched, possessions seized, and citizens could be arrested. Troops would now subsist freely on the

nearby countryside, using up the local people's food, fuel, clothing and needed medical supplies. In the South the chaos continued putting men out of work, complicating still more the demand for supplies by the locals and the invaders both. This compounded the plight of those already homeless or burned out, forcing more people—black and white—to be on the already clogged roadways looking for work, shelter, food, or their family members.²⁵⁰

In April of 1863 Ellen Saunders noted General Roddey with 1200 men moved to Tuscumbia. At the same time Yankees were approaching from Corinth toward Big Bear Creek in northwest Alabama with forces between 15,000 to 20,000 strong. Obviously it was only a matter of time before the Federals would return. In May of 1863 Lawson Clay urged his parents to leave Huntsville and take refuge with friends in Georgia. He also suggested their slaves be taken there or at least hidden in the nearby mountains of Jackson County. His mother, Susanna, wanted to go, but former governor Clay refused to leave his home.²⁵¹



Colonel Chadick went with Bragg's Army into Kentucky and was at the surrender by the Federals at Munfordville, Kentucky, on September 17, 1862. Because he still seemed unable to recover his health, Chadick resigned his commission and returned to Huntsville, recently evacuated by the Yankees. Now 46 years old, he used this time to try and recover his health; however, all was far from well. On September 25th Chadick submitted a second resignation, this one accepted, for health reasons. The accompanying doctor's report noted a deeper concern: Doctor Gilbert, Surgeon of the 26th /50th Alabama Infantry, felt W. D. Chadick incapable of continuing his duties. First, Chadick suffered from persistent chronic rheumatism. The doctor continued, "Secondly nervous prostration being of a peculiar excitable nervous temperament over-exertion and prolonged excitement have produced a species of rather dangerous nervous debility—amounting sometimes to seeming paralysis."²⁵² In October of 1862 the local newspaper noted W. D. "our gallant friend" returned, suffering "severe neuralgic attacks" but improving. "Accounts from Manassas and Shiloh say no one exhibited more calm, cool determined courage."²⁵³ The newspaper account, written by a friend in his home community, was very kind.

While Rev. Chadick was at home in Huntsville, his regiment (formerly the Alabama 26th now the Alabama 50th) was involved in the Battle of Murfreesboro at the end of December 1862. Chadick made

enough of a recovery to consider his next efforts. Not knowing the fate of his former comrades, he decided to join them to offer counseling and aid. He arrived at Murfreesboro only to be told that non-combatants were not admitted within the lines. Unable to help he returned home depressed with the outcome of the battle, as were all Southerners.²⁵⁴ Although CSA Gen. Bragg had telegraphed Richmond expecting a victory for the New Year, Maj. Gen. Rosecrans and the Federal troops held their position. The casualties were heavy and the loss of face embarrassing for the South.

Reverend Chadick next sent letters of petition to influential Southern leaders asking for an assignment that would help solve two problems at once. He saw hundreds of deserters in the counties along the Tennessee Valley, who, if pardoned, could be made available for defense of the countryside. As it was, those men “remained concealed, stealing and consuming the meagre supplies of the families of better soldiers.... As they now are a very great curse to the cause and the country; and will continue to become more so, if indeed, they do not go to the enemy and take up arms against their own country.” If Chadick received appointment as a Colonel in the Alabama State Militia he would attempt to raise a regiment of Cavalry of these very men. Guarding the Valley would also protect the interior of the state from potential Yankee invaders at the iron works and coalmines, and the very inner strengths of the state at Selma. Certainly Chadick asked to take action about a potential danger. John A. Campbell, assistant secretary of war, wrote Pres. Jefferson Davis that disaffection and resistance to Confederate authority “in the mountain districts menaces the existence of the Confederacy as fatally as either of the armies of the United States.”²⁵⁵

Colonel Chadick officially rejoined the War effort within the state militia as aide-de-camp, appointed colonel by Governor Watts on December 28, 1863.²⁵⁶ The local newspaper reported his visits in Huntsville to recruit soldiers. In January and again in February of 1863, Rev. Chadick and J. G. Wilson held public meetings on “local defense,” urging citizens to form a Home Guard.²⁵⁷ For all north Alabamians, Dixie could be found simply by crossing the River. The River had become the boundary marker for picket lines, invasion, and occupation forces for both Federals and Confederates. Even as easy as it might have appeared, the Union army seldom pursued anyone across the river. Many writers commonly used the phrase, “Dixie, across the river” or he is “safe in Dixie” when someone crossed the River. Colonel W. D. Chadick would soon cross into Dixie, leaving Mrs. Chadick once again to fight her own skirmishes on the home front.²⁵⁸

CIVILIANS AT WAR
July 1863-May 1865

Mrs. Chadick resumed her journal after an interval of a year with little mention in her initial entry of the new strains the war had brought.

July 1863 *Another eventful year has passed. Bragg has fallen back from his strong position at Tullahoma to Chattanooga, and we are again exposed to the incursions of a ruthless foe. All is excitement and consternation. Many families and parts of families are leaving for the other side of the Tennessee River. W. D. is determined that we shall go, too, has ordered all to pack up, and is seeking conveyance. Such is the panic that every vehicle is chartered.*

Being sick in bed, there is no alternative but to leave myself and the younger children and two servants behind. It appears to me the best plan is for all to stay (except Col. C.) and weather the storm, whatever it may be. The country on the other side of the River is filled with refugees, and the means of living is very scarce and high. Col. Chadick and the young ladies, with Clara and a servant, left this evening for the Cove, until they can find a place to cross the River, for the crowds at the fords are so great that some have been detained there several days. Mrs. Richardson gave \$500 this evening to be sent across, with her carriage and one wagon, at Whitesburg.

Federal General Rosecrans, with 87,000 men, prepared to take the offensive that would result in the Chickamauga campaign of August and September. Among other settlements they added Shelbyville to their garrisoned towns in the Tennessee Valley, which they used as a staging ground. Meanwhile Rebel Gen. Bragg, unable to stop the Yankee advance, had ordered a retreat from Tullahoma on June 30. In the Tennessee Valley the Union cavalry carried out raids with seemingly frightful ease on July 11-13 and 24, August 11, October 12- 20 and Nov. 16 of 1863.

Mary Jane and the seven children—Young Davie was still at Lebanon—had survived the first Federal invasion with only a few mild discomforts and inconveniences but a great deal of anxiety. Her husband, who had been in the very midst of true warfare, may have tried to prepare his family for a life that might become even more difficult. At any rate he and at least the three older girls, Sue, Jennie, and Clara, and one slave, probably Corinna, left for Dixie. This may be the only occasion when Mrs. Chadick wrote with doubt about her husband's decision.

The crossing at the Tennessee River became congested as refugees fled. Hundreds of people gathered at Ditto Landing, but the ferryman could choose to take those with the most money first. Mrs. Richardson was probably Margaret, youngest daughter of William and Martha (Hays) Patton and sister of Martha Bradford, Eliza Watkins, Mary Ann Gooch, and Dr. Charles Patton. She was married to Edmund Richardson, an extremely wealthy cotton factor from New Orleans.²⁵⁹

Two days later Another panic. News this morning that the Yankees are at Bell Factory and will be here in two hours. Sent a servant with a horse to Col. Chadick with the news. Proved a false alarm.

Bell Factory, one of the largest early textile mills in Alabama, was located only about ten miles northeast of town on the Flint River.



Bell Factory - A textile factory located notheast of Huntsville. HMCPL.

Sunday *News that the Feds are certainly on the way here. Everybody is hiding their silver and valuables, and dreading we know not what. Anxiety and dread is upon every countenance.*

Monday *At daybreak, a servant enters my room with the announcement that the town is full of Blue Coats. All are up and hastily dressed. Ah, there goes two of them pursuing two Confederate soldiers. One of them fired upon his pursuer. They escape.*

The enemy numbers about 5,000 and are under Gen. Stanley. The town is upset. The Misses Fearn being absent this general and his staff have taken their house for headquarters, commanding the servants,

using the provisions left in the house, drinking the wine in the cellar, using the bedding, table line, et cetera. Such presumption!

Major General David S. Stanley was the Chief of Cavalry for Rosecrank's Army of the Cumberland. From July 13th through the 22nd Stanley's men gathered horses, mules, forage, and contraband throughout the countryside. Stanley chose the house of Dr. Thomas Fearn on Franklin Street for his headquarters. Doctor Fearn had died on March 16, 1863, of pneumonia or consumption, weakened by his time as a Federal hostage in 1862.²⁶⁰ However, his grown children were still prominent in Huntsville society. After the death of his wife, Sally B. (Shelby), in 1842 at the age of 36, Fearn had raised their seven daughters alone. Although four of the married sisters—Mary Mastin, Katherine Steele, Ada Steele, and Maria Garth—were nearby, two of the younger girls, still single, now had no protection in their own home. Apparently Bernice (Bessie), 27, and Lucy Lee, 21, fled at the news of these raids and the house was unoccupied when General Stanley arrived in mid-July.

A report in the *New York Times* confirmed that Gen. Stanley had taken Huntsville on the 18th of July. He captured 300 prisoners and 1200 horses and mules. Although the townspeople were upset according to Mrs. Chadick, Gen. Stanley reported a respectable number of Union men wanted the Federals in Huntsville.²⁶¹

Tuesday *They are stealing all the Negro men and confining them in the Seminary building. Seventy have just passed by under a strong guard. All the good horses are also being taken.*

On July 14th a Federal cavalry raid lingered long enough for the soldiers to camp in the woods near town. Artilleryman John W. Rowell wrote, "I was Sporting Around Huntsville to day." The men's work was to forage and impress the Negroes, mules, and cattle. Violence and retaliation continued to escalate as Southern guerrillas near Fayetteville hanged a soldier of the 4th Ohio Cavalry. The Federals ordered, thereafter, that all citizens were to take the oath, and captured bushwhackers were to be hanged and their property destroyed.²⁶²

Two days later. *The wagon and wagoners are all camped beside us, close to our garden fence. They behave well and have not troubled us in the least. Negro stealing still progresses. News today that Col. Chadick was at Whitesburg with a small force throwing up fortifications and preparing to dispute the passage of the River; should the enemy attempt it at that place. They had a little skirmish yesterday across the River*

and the Yankees ran. There are a great many surmises in regard to the length of their stay.

Sunday *Such a scene! Whilst the Negroes were all assembled at church, the Yankees surrounded the building and, as the men came out, seized them. Such a scare as it gives them. Some got away and succeeded in hiding from their pursuers. Others were run down by those on horseback. The black women were running in every direction, hunting their husbands and children. It is really heart-rending to a looker-on. These are their friends, the Abolitionists!*

Even other Federals mentioned this kind of activity by the Federals. One officer noted the blacks taken formed part of the First Negro Brigade of Infantry, but many fled to try and return to their homes.²⁶³

Monday *Can it be! The Blue Coats are actually leaving. Our joy is mixed with sorrow to see them taking with them several hundred valuable servants and horses. Mr. Boswell, a paroled Rebel prisoner, dines with us. They have taken away his parole and will take him off with them. The servants have gathered two bushels of corn left by the wagoners.*

Tuesday *Last night, Mr. Boswell made his escape a few miles from here and has returned. Being without money, the ladies have supplied him with clothes and a horse. My contribution was a saddle. He will soon be safe in Dixie.*

The "Colonel" came into town after dark and staid an hour with us. Borrowed Willie Harris' pony to take him as far as the plantation. From there, he had to walk two or three miles and carry his baggage. Truly, the poor soldiers have a hard time.

Colonel Chadick risked coming into town knowing blue-coated Yankees were all around. He rode the borrowed pony for about two miles, leaving it at the Harris plantation on Whitesburg Turnpike, and walked the remaining miles to cross the river.

While on one of the Union raids, Captain Crane noted on July 13 that, "many families had fled across the river, taking their stock and negroes." The Federals sent men to Whitesburg, Vienna, and Triana to stop the flight.²⁶⁴ Captain Crane had arrived to find no business of any kind being conducted in town. Some citizens visited his headquarters to make friendly calls, among them Gen. Hickman and Jere Clemens. By then Hickman had become a familiar camp figure. Crane invited him to dinner in Woodville at the end of October before Huntsville was formally retaken.

Otherwise he found the citizens more bitter than when he had been there a year before: "The men sit in their store doors and about the corners looking sullen and conversing in low tones, and the ladies—those who show themselves at all—pout their lips, throw up their noses and turn their heads indignantly away as soon as looked at."²⁶⁵

Two weeks later, August 14th The enemy, 300 strong, under Major Stewart, made another raid into Huntsville. Captured a few soldiers and several horses. A few Negroes left with these.

Major James W. Stewart commanded the 2nd Indiana Cavalry Regiment and 2nd Brigade within Colonel Edward M. McCook's 1st Cavalry Division.

One week later Another raid under Col. McCook. They came while we were at breakfast. Uncle Tom went to the spring to water his horse, not knowing they were in town, and they took the animal from him. Tom started telling them how old he was and so on, when a loyal citizen stepped forth and told the Federals that he had known him from a colt and had once owned him. He was one of the best pulling horses in town and would do first rate for artillery or a wagon horse! Notwithstanding his Loyalty they took the 3 best horses he had before they left. Sent Eddie before dinner to the provost, Captain McCormick, to ask for him, but he told Eddie the matter would have to be investigated. About 11 o'clock, the door bell rang and, upon opening the door, Major Stewart and a lieutenant and five other Federals presented themselves.

"We have come to search your house, madam." "For what purpose?" I asked.

"For soldiers, madam." "Your search will be fruitless, for I assure you upon the honor of a lady that there are no soldiers concealed her."

"But you will not object to the search?"

"Certainly not, sir; but I should greatly prefer that you should take my word."

"I wish we could, madam, but it is your husband. Soldiers, make a thorough investigation."

I told him that I did not know upon whose information they were making the search, whether white or black, but was happy to inform them that my husband was safe over the River some 10 days since.

"My authority, madam, was white. We don't take black."

Taking little Mary upon his lap, he asked her if she was afraid of Yankees.

“No, sir,” she said, “not when they talk right.”

Then turning to me, he said, “Perhaps some of his command are here.”

I said, “He has no command.”

Whereupon, the lieutenant made a step forward and, looking me right in the eyes, ask, “Is he not a lieutenant colonel?”

I took no notice of him, but, turning to Major Stewart, said, “My husband is acting as staff officer to General Shorter with the rank of colonel, and a year ago was lieutenant colonel of the 26th Alabama Regiment, and the year previous, he served in the Army of Virginia.”

The soldiers here reported that they found no one. They then adjourned to Colonel Harris’ searching his house thoroughly and telling him that a white man had told them that Colonel Chadick was concealed in his cellar. After dinner, some of my friends advised me to go myself and ask for the horse. Mrs. Rogers had been in the morning and got back two mules and obtained Col. Toney’s release. So I asked her to go with me. We found his office occupied by three or four Union men. Governor Chapman was also present on business.

Upon stating the case to Captain McCormick, he said, “Mrs. Chadick, your case is somewhat different from Mrs. Rogers.”

“Why, what have I done,” I asked.

“Nothing, madam, but your husband has.”

Upon this allusion to my husband, I was a good deal excited and, although I strained to keep down my emotions, my eyes would fill with tears. Said I, “My husband is a Patriot and acts upon principle. He is not like some men you find here in Huntsville – one thing when you army comes along and another when the Rebel army is present. He is a consistent man, and as a soldier; you ought to respect him for it.”

“I do, madam, I honor him for it and have very little use for any other sort of man, but when your army invaded the North, you will try to cripple us all you can in taking property, horses, et cetera. So with us when we come here, and as your husband has taken an active part in the war; he must expect to suffer with others. Besides, we have been informed today that your husband has sent off nearly all his property.”

“You have been informed, sir; of what is not true,” I replied. “I have nothing to conceal. We have sent off some bedding and other articles, with the expectation of moving, and my husband has taken away his fine saddle horse. Had it been his horse you took today, I would never have asked for it, but you do not make war upon women.”

The horse I asked for belongs to me and I value him chiefly because he is old and gentle, and I can drive him myself in a buggy.”

“Well, madam, I wish I could give you your horse, but orders are so strict that I cannot transgress them.”

I thanked him and told him that I did not wish him to do anything that would interfere with his sense of duty. He followed me out of the room and urged me to go to Colonel McCook as he was certain he would let me have the horse.

The headquarters of McCook were in the house of Dr. Patton. The colonel received me very politely and said, “Mrs. Chadick, I have this moment received a note from Captain McCormick, asking me to come and look at your horse, and if it is in my power, I will restore him to you. I was just about to start.” He then entered into conversation, and Mrs. Rogers asked him where he was from. He said it was Steubenville, Ohio. I remarked that I had once lived in that town.

“What was your name before you were married? He asked.

“Miss Cook,” I told him.

“Not Miss McCook? He asked, and said that he expected I dropped the Mc when I came South. I laughingly repelled the charge, and he resumed the questions.

“Did you have three brothers, Dave, George and Pard?” I nodded.

“Did you have a sister, Jane?”

I replied that that was my name.

“I thought your countenance was strangely familiar to me. When I was a boy, you kept me from being put in jail. and I have never forgotten you.”

I remembered him very well, but had forgotten the circumstances. He soon recalled it to my recollection. A funeral procession was passing, when several little boys, himself and one of my brothers among the number, got into a fuss and made a great noise in the street. It was near the jail. The constable came out and was going to shut them all up in it, to frighten and punish them. I was looking out of the window, saw it all and went to the rescue. The boys were crying and thought they all were disgraced forever, and, with difficulty, I begged them off.

He said also that I had whipped him once when in a fight with my brother, and that I was the only Rebel that ever had whipped him. He said I should have my horse, and expressed much regret that my house had been searched, and said that it was unauthorized by him, that he supposed it was some staff officer who had taken it upon himself.

He left the next morning for Brownsboro, 10 miles from here, where they are at present encamped. Report says that they are running the [railroad] cars to that place and will bring them to Huntsville and occupy the place. Such being the case, they will compel everybody to take the oath or leave. In the latter case, they are allowed to take only a small amount of money and clothes. In view of this and to save my servants, I am tempted to go at once.

Mrs. Chadick was most persuasive when explaining the need for the return of her horse, "Old Henry." The Yankees next searched the home of Colonel Harris, probably Stephen W. Harris who lived at the corner of Randolph and Lincoln Streets.

Mrs. Chadick accompanied Adelaide Rogers, 60, to see Colonel Edward M. McCook. This McCook was a first cousin to the "ten fighting McCooks." Mrs. Rogers had enough influence to get her mules returned and see to the release of her son-in-law, Col. Edmund Toney. Captain Robert McCormick was with the 7th Pennsylvania Cavalry. As quickly as they arrived, McCook's men left Huntsville on the August 13. McCook then made his headquarters at Brownsboro where he reported the countryside "pretty well cleared" of bushwhackers since he ordered them when caught to be hung and property destroyed in the vicinity where they made attacks."²⁶⁶

While in Huntsville McCook occupied the mansion built by LeRoy Pope in 1814 and then owned by Dr. Charles H. Patton and his wife, Susan. After the War Dr. Patton, who was president of the Bell Factory and chairman of the board of the Northern Bank of Alabama, personally told his slaves they were free and gave each family a cow and a calf.²⁶⁷

Aug. 19th 1863 Had my piano moved today to Mr. Brown's in view of "coming events," as it is wholly impossible for any of this family to take the oath.

Mr. William H. T. Brown was a deputy Circuit Court clerk and lived at the west end of Clinton Street. By now there appeared to be little doubt, the Federals would return and another occupation was anticipated. At this time Mrs. Chadick recognized her family must swear the oath of allegiance to the United States or flee across the Tennessee River to Dixie.

Aug. 20th 1863 Another raid under Colonel Watkins – took a few soldiers, servants and horses.

Colonel Louis D. Watkins led the 6th Kentucky Cavalry on this raid.



LeRoy Pope House - Sarah Huff Fisk rendition of building fortifications in front of the house during McCook's occupation while owned by Dr. Charles Patton. Courtesy Sarah Huff Fisk.

Aug. 23rd 1863 *The die is cast. We will pack up and cross the River; where my husband will meet me. Moved most of my furniture to the College. With great difficulty, secured two wagons for bedding, provisions, et cetera. If the Yankees should come in and intercept, it would be a bad business, I fear.*

With this fear in view, started the young ladies and Clara to Whitesburg at 2 o'clock in the morning, with Eddie and Erskine Scott for an escort. Got the wagons off by 8 a.m., and the enemy not making their appearance, left with the remainder of the family at 3 in the evening, and crossed the River in safety before dark. The colonel was there to meet us, and we are once more united and breathe freely.

At some time earlier Rev. Chadick, the three girls, and Corinna must have returned from across the Tennessee River after the departure of July 6. Now, after the furniture was stored, Mrs. Chadick prepared for the entire family to leave in two groups, one in the dark of night, the second that afternoon. Erskine Scott was probably, Alexander E. Scott, 15, one of the three Scott children living at the home of William H. Powers on the south side of Randolph Street. Eddie Chadick was also 15. The boys drove the two wagons and the Chadicks crossed the River most likely at Ditto's Landing. Before dams altered the current and width of the waterway, the Tennessee River in this area on an average was 800 yards across.²⁶⁸

Aug. 24th 1863 The girls started for Warrenton in a wagon, with Sandy White as driver—followed them in a day or two and we are now comfortably located at Mrs. Parker's. There, we see somebody from Huntsville every few days. See plenty of Confederate soldiers, hear the news from our army and are much happier out of Yankeedom.

The Battle of Chickamauga has at last come off. We are victorious. The Yankees are all out of North Alabama, and everybody is going home. Winter is coming. The children are out of school and anxious to go, too.

Mrs. Chadick could not know that during this time her older brother, Pardon Cook, serving as an Assistant Surgeon with Brig. Gen. Sherman's troops in the 77th Ohio Infantry—after serving at Shiloh and Corinth—died in Arkansas on August 31st, 1863.²⁶⁹

Warrenton, the second county seat of Marshall County, is located west of Guntersville. While Frank R. Parker was away at war, the Chadicks stayed with his wife, Eleanor Parker and Catharine Parker, his mother. Later the Parkers were postmasters in Warrenton.²⁷⁰

Alexander White, 19, was still recovering from wounds he received in Virginia. He was reported to be on crutches in October the year before. Both he and his younger brother, James, were in Co. F, 4th Alabama Infantry. Later James was wounded and as a prisoner in 1864 managed to escape. Their brother, W. Y. C. White, also served in the Confederate army. The youngest of the White boys at home, Addison, Frank, and Thomas, were paid by the Federals to bring them bricks to build chimneys for their tents in the coming winter.²⁷¹

The battle along Chicamauga Creek in the very northwest corner of Georgia on September 19th and 20th was a victory for the Confederates at an immense cost for both sides. A witness said the Creek ran red with human blood. The casualties amounted to over 34,000 for both sides, among them ten Confederate generals wounded or killed. This would have been a

prelude to the capture of Chattanooga except for the steadfast defense by USA Gen. George H. Thomas and CSA Gen. Bragg's unpopular decision not to try to capture Chattanooga. "The Rock of Chickamauga," General Thomas and his men remained in place.

Many refugees across the Tennessee River returned to their own homes not being sure of what awaited them. Had their homes been destroyed and valuables taken by the Yankee raids? The Chadick family remained a little longer in Warrenton.

October [11, 12] 1863 The colonel has decided to go, although against his better judgement. Eight government wagons are on their way thither, which will take our plunder. One company of the colonel's command go to guard them.

Sue left last week to teach in the College. Jennie and Clara go in an ambulance by way of Deposit, with Misses White and Coltart. The balance of us go by Whitesburg. Met Jerome Ridley on the way. Stayed all night at Mr. Bush's, crossed the River next morning and was proceeding homeward in advance of the rest with two servants and the colonel to get the house in readiness, when we were met by the intelligence that the Yankees were at Athens.

Here was a dilemma. The colonel returned to the River and recrossed the wagons, and I came home without beds or provisions. Stayed at home that night with no one but Clara for company. Heard the next morning that it was a false report, and sent Uncle Tom with the buggy to the River for little Mary and the children. The wagons came before dark, hastily unloaded and returned.

News that the Yankees were coming. The colonel stayed home that night, but as the enemy had not made their appearance in the morning, he remained to procure conveyance for the body of Robert Fulton, who was killed at Chickamauga, to Fayetteville and to unite with General Rather in sending out couriers.

I commenced having my furniture brought home, and was arranging it when he came in and said he must say "goodbye" and hurry off as the Yankees were but a few miles away from town. He had scarcely said it when they were seen galloping along the back street and in full sight of him. He gave a bound and was across the street through Mrs. Bradford's yard on the back street, and found a hiding place in Mrs. Mayhew's house. We were all beside ourselves with fear lest they should get him, as they were already in every part of the town. His horse was in the stable ready saddled. The servants hid the saddle, but alas, the horse had to take his chance. My husband soon sent me

word to try to save the saddle, which was a very fine one, but if they came for the horse, to give it up.

Directly, an officer came walking in with his hat drawn over his eyes and, meeting me in the hall, asked where Colonel Chadick was. I replied that I hoped he was safe.

“How long has he been gone?”

“An hour and a half or two hours,” I replied.

“Which way is your stable?”

I pointed to it, and proceeded thither. Returning he asked for me and said, “Mrs. Chadick, we shall be under the necessity of searching your house and placing a guard over it, and we shall have to take that fine black horse in the stable.

“Your name sir?” “McCook,” he replied in a low tone. Sure enough it was him, and he had been lately made a general.

“Ah, I thought so,” was my rejoinder; “but I did not think you would treat me in this way. I thought you had more magnanimity!”

“I assure you, madam, that it is very painful to me, but I did what I am not accustomed to do. I came in person that you might not be rudely treated in any way.” Said he had a great many dismounted men and was obliged to take the horse, but declined searching the house or placing a guard, and I said if General Mitchel [had] ordered a search he would have sent a staff officer who was a gentleman.

He asked me where my husband’s fine saddle was. I told him that I hoped it was safe, too. From what I said, he evidently got the impression that he rode away upon it. I asked him how he knew that my husband had a fine saddle, and said that he may have been here for that very purpose.

The day passed drearily and sadly. I was in constant alarm lest the hiding place of my husband should be discovered. A young miss, Betty W. who was in on the secret, came and got him a citizen’s dress, which I pinned under her hoops and was thus conveyed to him. He was in a cellar, the entrance to which was by a trap door in Mrs. Mayhew’s pantry, a barrel sitting over the place.

About dark my house was surrounded by soldiers, one which took his position in the back yard with his pistol cocked. He told the servants that they came to watch for Colonel Chadick, that they were certain he was in the neighborhood, for a citizen had told them that he had not been gone from the public square 15 minutes when they entered the town.

We were alone and unprotected, and Miss Sue went into her room to load her pistol, when by accident, it went off and shot her through the hand. The report of the pistol and the noise and the cries of the

family so alarmed the Yankee in the yard that he was taken with a leaving, but before going, asked a servant if the young lady was loading her pistol to shoot him.

Some time after dark, they searched Mrs. Mayhew's house. They were confident he was there and they told her in a loud tone, so that he might hear, that one of the Misses Chadick had shot herself. They made a thorough search of the house and left disappointed. Shortly afterward, Mr. Tom White took him and Sandy safe to the mountain under the cover of darkness.

The rain was pouring down in torrents, and they laid out in it all that night, but escaped being captured and are now safe in Dixie. The next morning, I sent him his saddle and accoutrements, and met him on the outskirts of the town, and bidding him farewell, saw him to my great joy depart in safety.

Fort Deposit, Alabama, established by Andrew Jackson during the Creek War in 1813, was in Marshall County on the south side of the Tennessee River. A ferry was located there. (One hopes Mrs. Chadick's "plunder" was only an unfortunate choice of words.)

Everyone, who earlier fled the threat of danger in Huntsville, must have been pleased to return and hoped to resume some kind of normal family life. Alexander White accompanied his sister, Adeline, and perhaps eight more siblings and the Coltarts back to town after crossing the river. Numerous places to ford or be ferried were available, particularly after a dry summer. The Whites and Coltarts apparently crossed at Deposit, today near Honeycomb. The others came down river to cross at Ditto's Landing at the site of the burned-out village of Whitesburg and then up the turnpike 10 miles or so to town. The Chadicks could have stayed at the home of George and Martha Bush near Ditto Landing.

Reverend Chadick knew the family of Robert Fulton, 20, personally because he had ministered to them at the Fayetteville Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The young man's parents were Mary and James Fulton. The Fultons also were related to Chadick's first wife, Malinda (Davis) Chadick. The young man was buried in the churchyard at Fayetteville.²⁷²

Colonel Chadick met with John D. Rather, a Brigadier General in the state militia. Rather previously served in the state legislature and was President of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad.²⁷³

As the Federals came into town, Chadick well knew the consequences of being caught. If he were attired in civilian clothes, the danger was worse: He could be hanged as a spy! Reverend Chadick reached his own lines without his horse, but Mrs. Chadick managed to get

the fine saddle to him. This treasured saddle apparently had been smuggled in from England. Northern authorities reported that Colonel Chadick was in the Guntersville area November 5, 1863.²⁷⁴

Of course Fanny Mayhew was in great anxiety. She and her young son were also without protection. Her husband, Sidney, had resigned as schoolmaster of the Female Seminary, and in November of 1862 he formally entered the CSA as a topographical engineer.²⁷⁵

Mrs. Chadick tried to head the Federal officers off, or at least stall for more time, as she spoke to them in her front hallway. Neither Mrs. Chadick nor Gen. McCook were aware that Gen. O. M. Mitchel had contracted yellow fever in South Carolina and died Oct. 30th at the age of 53. Emotions ran high at that news later in November. Withers Clay wrote in the *Huntsville Confederate*, Mitchel was “without skill theoretical or practical, proud, vain, vindictive, vile, barbarous man who made war on non-combatants, unarmed men, women and children. [He was] a coward who sulked. No tears were shed for his reported demise, but fears were generally expressed that it was not so.” Although she was not here at the time, Virginia Clay wrote of Mitchel, “His career in our valley from beginning to end was that of a martinet bent upon subjugation of the old and helpless and the very young....” In the North, however, General Mitchel had been a hero with his picture, a detailed biography, and poetry presented in an issue of *Harper’s Weekly*. Apparently the Yankees would have already triumphed with a “handful of such hearted men to beard the wolf of Treason in his den.”²⁷⁶

Thomas W. White and his large family shared their home at the end of Eustis Street with Adeline Bradley and her three children. Susan White replied to a Federal officer when asked where her two older sons were, “They are in the Confederate army in Virginia, and I wish I had 36 more there.”²⁷⁷

It was well that Reverend Chadick fled. The 5th Iowa Cavalry pushed forward with great speed. Their advance met the Rebel rear guard and sabers were drawn. The chase continued and the woods were scoured as the Yanks continued southward from Tennessee. The Yankees reached Huntsville on the evening of the 12th of October. One diarist noted, we “passed over some of the finest country I have ever seen.... As we neared Huntsville the scenery was grand. Across a level plain, dotted with mansions, lay the city in all the beauty of a setting sun, the numerous church steeples glistening and shining like gold, rendering their outline beautifully distinct against the dark blue background...Mountains, at the foot of which the city is built.”²⁷⁸

As Mrs. Chadick had peered out the shutters in late August of 1862 to see the Federals leaving town, did she peer cautiously again this evening

in October 1863 to watch their return? Private Henry Campbell with the 15th Iowa Infantry wrote that same day about the picturesque architecture and, “Streets paved with stone and lighted with gas. Our column moved through town without stopping, everything was closed up, and except for the white inhabitants peering out of half closed windows, the area had the deserted appearance that Southern towns present when a column of Yankee troops pass through.”²⁷⁹ At least Mrs. Chadick had the comfort of seeing her husband safely away.

Four Weeks Later The enemy are camping at Brownsboro now. Some of them come in town every day, driving off our milk cows, yearlings, hogs, sheep and everything that they think will reduce us to starvation. We have a fine, fat calf, and every time we see them riding in to town, it takes up its quarters in the smokehouse.

The conduct of these Yankees is shameful. They are constantly firing in the streets, endangering the lives of passersby. One of them shot a citizen so that his arm had to be amputated. In some instances, they have entered private houses, robbing them of clothing, blankets, food, et cetera. We hear rumors in regard to the movements of our army, but we are equally upon the borders of Dixie and Yankeedom, and cannot hear the truth from either side.

If the Yankees do not leave here soon, we shall also be upon the border of starvation. Beef is selling at 50 cents per pound, bacon, at \$2.50, lard at \$1.50, potatoes at \$5 per bushel, wood at \$13 per load, and everything in proportion.

Vandalism during these Federal raids wrecked havoc on town and countryside. Editor Withers Clay also fled Huntsville, and he took some of his printing equipment with him this time. For a while he was able to publish from Macon, Georgia. From there the *Huntsville Confederate* reported stories of fresh atrocities shared by the latest displaced persons. Out in the county Dr. Henry Binford lost all his meat, lard, soap, and his animals. Old Mr. Fleming was left sitting in his buggy as the vandals took his horse; “Horses and mules—halt, maimed and blind, alike were carried off. Old Mr. Lanford, supposing himself doubly protected by riding a blind horse, was ruthlessly put afoot by the road side.” In town they robbed merchant Robert Bernstein of his watches and jewelry and all goods at his clothing store. Mr. Kinkle was relieved of his whisky and tobacco supplies. Charley McCalley was robbed of the fine gold watch and chain he was wearing. Private homes were entered and sacks of flour and meal dumped out just for spite. Apparently homes of Union sympathizers were just as severely vandalized as those of the Confederates. The Bell Factory mills

were emptied of several thousand bushels of wheat stored there. Negro men between 18 and 45 years of age continued to be impressed for service whether manual labor or military duty. To complete the distressful news, Confederate soldiers on furlough or sick leave were captured—Lieutenants Jere Murphy and Wes McCravey, and Privates Jim Leftwitch, Jack Kelly, Scott, William Fackler, Billy Higgins, William Rutherford, William Bassett, and others. Any money the men were carrying seemed to disappear at their capture.²⁸⁰

Apparently it was Reuben Street, 32, whose arm was amputated. Street worked as overseer at the plantation of Meredith Calhoun. Except for one clever trip to Huntsville, Calhoun remained in France with his family during most of the War. Mr. Street also would have been responsible for the Calhoun house in town, used again as a Federal hospital.²⁸¹

Sometimes the Federal soldiers ate what was available and very little else. Private Eugene Marshal apologized to his sister about the quality of his letter: “A diet of Sweet Potatoes and meat with no variations is not favorable to writing letters. We are still living on what we can gather in the country....”²⁸²

Nov. 14th 1863 *Eddie went to Brownsboro to the Yankee camp to get a cast-off horse. Fell in with a clever lieutenant who treated him with great kindness and gave him a good mule.*

Nov. 16th 1863 *Yankees came into town in considerable force took up all the able-bodies black men to fight for them, telling them they wanted them to go and hold Nashville, while they, the Yanks, went out to fight our army. Several Negroes, who had previously gone to them, came in today and removed their families.*

Tuesday [Nov. 17th 1863] *Today, an abolition preacher from Ohio made a speech to the Darkies, which has caused a good deal of excitement among them. Many of them have left today, and two or three families are left entirely without servants. Brought in 3 of our very best soldiers as prisoners today—Capts. Jim, Mat and Mec Robinson. They have now got nearly all of our men on this side of the River. We heard nothing now from either side, and things look very dark and gloomy.*

Major J. Morris Young, 5th Iowa Cavalry, and his men spent these last three days on an expedition from Maysville to Whitesburg and Decatur. They admired the cornfields and the abundant livestock, captured and destroyed nine ferryboats, and confiscated nearly 200 fine mules and horses. Besides Captain Moore, the Yankees captured three of James M.

Robinson's sons—Lieutenant William, Captains Jim Matt and Americus Robinson. The men had been in Bragg's army but were back in Madison County actively involved in guerilla warfare.²⁸³

Nov. 22nd 1863 *The dead body of a Yankee lieutenant was brought to town and buried. Killed in a skirmish near Mooresville. The "African fair sex" crowded around the body putting flowers upon and muttering, "Poor fellow! Killed by an old Secesh," etc. They have all just been listening to an Abolition sermon from one Jones from Ohio, who is doing all in his power to stir them up to rebellion by telling them that they are free now and here, that Lincoln made them so the 1st of January last—that they must stay here and send out their husbands, children and sweethearts to help crush out this rebellion. Their masters are bound to support and take care of them, and pay them for all the work they have ever done, that the hand of God is in this thing, and that He has opened up the way for them to come here and set them free, and when we are subjugated, they (the blacks) are to occupy this country.*

Nov. 24th 1863 *Another Abolition speech today. Two flags, and bouquets and a haversack were presented to the eloquent speaker by the fair darkies, whose names, he assured them, should be sent up to Lincoln. These speeches are having a telling effect. All the servants about town flock to hear them. My own asked permission to go, but most of them are too free for this.*

Perhaps feeling freedom in the air, many slaves did not ask permission to attend the Abolition speaker's program. Mrs. Chadick's servants did ask—for now.

The *Huntsville Confederate* reported the Yankee preacher had "carried off" a considerable number of men, women and children after these speeches. Mrs. Chadick would not have known, but her husband, W. D., was in action this day. The newspaper reported the "Yankees appeared at Fort Deposit Ferry as though intending to cross and were prevented by Col. Chadick, with a regiment of State troops."²⁸⁴

Nov. 26th 1863 *The Federals again occupy Huntsville. Came in with bands of music and pennants waving. Great was the excitement, especially among the blacks. Brig. Gen. Crook in command. Headquarters the Calhoun house. Sent Eddie over the River today with a letter to the colonel. Returned at night in safety.*

Major General George Crook commanded the 2nd Cavalry Division and had taken part in the Chicamauga campaign. General Crook actually spent the winter at the new Huntsville Hotel as headquarters, and none of his men occupied private homes.²⁸⁵

Nov. 27th 1863 The Federals say that there is a terrible battle in progress at Chattanooga, and Bragg is in full retreat. We do not credit anything they tell us, but are inclined to think just the contrary. We cannot believe that a just God will suffer such an enemy to triumph over us. Our faith in the justice of our cause buoys us up with the hope that all will come right in the end.

Jennie came in from the country today. Last night, five Yankees went to the house where she was staying (Mrs. Ewing's, a widow lady) and woke them up all at midnight to terrify them, asking where her brother (the bushwhacker) was and where her sister who carries a revolver in her pocket was. Then they proceeded to the house of her father; whose bravery completely nonplussed the cowardly ruffians and they slunk away. The next morning, Mrs. Ewing found that 21 servants had left her during the night.

This time the rumors, and the Federals, were correct. The battle at Chattanooga, Nov. 23-25 was a Union victory. USA Generals Sherman and Hooker led the Union forces at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. One of the goals was to open supply lines to General Thomas still at Chicamauga. CSA General Bragg's troops with 6700 casualties retreated into northern Georgia. General Grant, now commander of the western forces, decided to attack deep into the South and compel an end to this terrible conflict.

Mrs. Chadick, like many other Southern ladies, felt "Our cause is a just and Holy one and God will protect the right." Moreover this "unwavering belief in divine protection anchored daily life, sustained hope, and, above all helped women make some sense out of the War."²⁸⁶

Nineteen-year-old Jennie Chadick offered company for Mary Jane (Malone) Ewing, 41, widow of Alexander Ewing, with three teenagers and a child of six at home. In 1856 the Ewing family had moved to Guadalupe County, Texas, where he held over 6500 acres of land. Unfortunately three of their young children died there within two months of one another within the year. Mr. Ewing also died there in August of 1857, and his widow returned with the remaining children to her hometown, Huntsville.²⁸⁷ At this time they lived in her father-in-law's house, Cedarhurst, just three miles from town on Whitesburg Turnpike.

As reported by Mrs. Chadick in the journal, the implication is that the Yankees knew who Jennie was—the sister of the gun-toting Sue and probably Willie whose activities were already under suspicion. At that time of night this was not an authorized or official raid, but that would not have mattered to the terrorized victims.

One week later The Feds are behaving very well in town, are supplying the poor with fuel, and many of the better class citizens. It is said that many families are drawing rations, Ex-Governor Clay's family among the number. Dame Rumor also insists that Federal officers are very kindly received in certain families in town.

Gen. Crook's command are the finest looking set of men and officers that have yet visited Huntsville. Servants are leaving their homes and coming to them by scores daily. They are quartered at Greene Academy and other vacant houses about town. Bought a hog today, for which I paid \$75 in state money.

To show their “manhood,” the men of the 7th Pennsylvania volunteered to open a coal mine on Monte Sano, and Quartermaster Rickert arranged to haul the coal in army wagons for free distribution to the needy. The men repaired the steam gristmill near the railroad and arranged to haul corn from nearby fields where it had been left ungathered. The corn was ground and the meal given free to any that wanted it.²⁸⁸

Ex-Governor Clay's son, Withers, denied in a letter to his brother, Clement, that their parents were reduced to drawing rations. He wrote, “After diligent inquiry, as to the truth of the rumor, I am satisfied that it is false and originated with the enemy.” The elderly Clays were certainly needy. Mrs. Clay wrote her son, Clement, in September of 1863, “The Negroes eat bread and milk. So do we. If they [the Yankees] come again we shall not get that, for they take or destroy all provisions.” Mrs. Clay, in desperation, applied for a food allotment from the Federals. However, she refused to admit to being an “indigent person,” and was denied by the authorities. Unknowingly Mrs. Clay rented upstairs rooms in the house to people who were actors, and she was not sure they would be able to pay the rent. Among their losses, the Yankees burned the family's 3000-volume library. Friends and neighbors helped as best they could.²⁸⁹

The Greene Academy, located on the east side of Calhoun Street between Randolph and Holmes Streets, had served the young men of town in preparation for higher education. The Academy enjoyed a lovely wooded campus, and earlier, in April of 1862, the building served as headquarters for 2nd Ohio Infantry under Colonel L. A. Harris. The enlisted men camped on the grounds, and their officers used the schoolrooms for quarters. Of

course the trees surrounding the school were immediately cut for campfires.

Dec. 19th 1863 Went to the River today, hoping to meet with the colonel. Carried him a fine pair of boots, gloves, fatigue shirts and some oysters. Returned disappointed. Tonight, my house servant, Vienna, again went to the Yankees.

Mrs. Chadick prepared to meet the Colonel with items from home that he would need in the coming winter. Disappointed, she returned home to find one slave gone over to the Yankees.

The idle and dreary days of winter had set in for the occupying army. Private James H. Wiswell of Vermont returned from serving on picket duty at the Tennessee River and established winter camp in the suburbs. Their time was filled with “Fancy work,” polishing everything from boots to buttons with a “Dress Parade” every evening.²⁹⁰

Union Private Eugene Marshall of Brackett’s Battalion, Minnesota Cavalry, wrote his sister that Huntsville was beautiful: “I like it surrounded as it is by mountains covered with cedars always green and luxuriant.... One could almost imagine a perpetual summer here to walk along the streets even now in the middle of winter.” However, for three days last week “it did not thaw in the shade and only a little in the sun.” With the accumulated mud, the roads became almost impassable. It would be heavy going for army wagon trains or civilian buggies and carts.²⁹¹

Private Marshall observed more than just the scenery as he continued. “The South is exhausted of men and means. The whole fabric of society and government is destroyed. There is barely the semblance of any government except the rule of the military. The men are all gone. Wherever we go we find nothing but old men children and cripples. I could not if I would give you a picture of the desolation which reigns supreme here. With all that are left behind the great struggle is for the wherewith to live. The barest necessities of life are all that any one can effect and all do not get even that. What do you say to families and neighborhoods existing on nothing but corn bread mixed meal and water hardened by fire without salt, yet such with a few sweet potatoes is what hundreds live upon.... The richest families of this and other towns which are occupied by our troops are fed by our army.... They are tired of war and long for peace on any terms....”²⁹²

Dec. 22nd 1863 Made another trip to the River and crossed in a canoe. Stayed all night at Bush’s, where we found Mrs. Richardson, Mr. Bradley and Mr. Cabaniss, but no colonel or any tiding of him since he

went to Mississippi to meet Gen. Forrest. Returned a second time, disappointed.

Even if Mary Jane Chadick was not wearing hoops beneath her skirt this day, the thought of sitting in a clumsy canoe in a full-length dress with petticoats and a bonnet presents a striking image of determination and daring.

Joseph C. Bradley was a commission merchant and cotton factor. He had interests in the new Huntsville Hotel, local utilities, and served on the boards of several civic groups. His firm maintained offices in New Orleans, Charleston, and Tuscumbia also; although both he and his partner, John J. Fackler, had handsome residences in Huntsville. Bradley and his wife, Isabella, and their 12 children lived at the corner of Franklin and Williams Streets. Bradley never wavered politically; he was adamant. In a public meeting he said he would “have his neck stretched three feet and spend his money to the last dollar” before harming the Union.²⁹³ He and other “unionists” hoped to form a peace party and held rallies to gather support during these years. That a Union sympathizer had fled across the river reflected the uncertainty, fear, and lawlessness of the times for both factions. Bradley would return soon. Septimus D. Cabaniss, 47 and a lawyer, was from a prominent family in town. Cabaniss served as a colonel in the Confederate Army. Federal troops camped in the Cabaniss yard and confiscated the entire white board fence around the property for fuel, leaving the gate standing by itself. Mrs. Cabaniss insisted that the family continue to use the key to lock and unlock the gate as they left or entered the house in “defiance of the Yankees.”²⁹⁴

Nathan Bedford Forrest, now Major General, commanded cavalry regiments of North Alabama and Middle Tennessee, raising and equipping one cavalry unit at his own expense. With successful and daring raids, he truly seemed to strike terror in the hearts of the Federals. General Forrest was already a legend before he tricked Col. Abel Streight into surrendering his Union forces to less than half the number of the Confederates in May that year. Once the news and the story of the battlefield deception by Forrest were known, the state went wild with excitement. In admiration and appreciation the leaders of Huntsville had presented the “gallant” General Forrest with King Phillip, a fine horse worth \$800 and “of the best Virginia stock.”²⁹⁵

Dec. 24th 1863 *Answered door bell this morning when, lo and behold, a Yankee soldier stood before me with a saber in his hand. He accosted me thus:*

“Have you been to the provost’s today?”

"No, sir."

"Haven't you complained of a servant who sass'd you?"

"No, sir."

"Is your name Mrs. Chadick?"

"Yes, sir."

"Haven't you a servant who did sass you?"

"Yes, sir; but I made no complaint of her."

"Well, Captain Teetor; the provost marshal, told me to come down here and make her behave. Now, if she sasses you and keeps sassing, I can do it."

"Thank you, sir; but she has gone to the Yankees, and I am very glad of it."

An officer also called to read me a letter he had received from Lebanon, Tenn., stating that my father's family and my little Davie were all alive and well.

Mrs. Chadick must have been pleased that the provost men of General Crook's troops were trying to do their job and keep the peace. The Provost Marshall was Capt. Henry B. Teetor of the 4th Ohio Infantry. Mrs. Chadick was impressed enough to write about it, and then for a Yankee to thoughtfully read to her from his letter about her son and parents in Lebanon was an unusual kindness.

On this date, still suffering from his previous war injuries, Federal Capt. Samuel Fordyce of the 1st Ohio Cavalry submitted his resignation to General Crook. Fordyce stayed at the Huntsville Hotel when he became quite ill. Somehow during this time he had become friends with Confederate Capt. Charles Mastin. The two men could not really mingle socially with one another in town, but Mastin invited Fordyce to his father's plantation while he recovered. At the plantation north of town, Fordyce was introduced to Sue Chadick.²⁹⁶

Christmas Day *We have a Christmas dinner prepared, but, alas! How few of the home circle are here to partake of it. The colonel, Billy and Davie are absent, and the enemy is in our midst. Gen. Crook's division have all left, but Sherman's men are coming on.*

The Union soldiers settled in and some wrote of their activities. Private James Wiswell of the 4th Vermont Cavalry spent his "Holidays" passing through Athens. He and a chum stopped at a citizen's house to get dinner. Some very nice young ladies gave them a cordial invitation to spend the day with them. They stopped and time passed quickly until they left at twilight. Late that evening they had to ride 20 miles against a strong



*Captain Samuel Wesley
Fordyce, First Ohio Cavalry,
Army of the Cumberland.
Fordyce Family*

west wind to join the command at Elkton. Private Wiswell's military service was due to expire, and he hoped to return to Huntsville as a civilian clerk: "I can get better wages here than in the east for one very good reason not more than half of the people born and raised in this section can read or write." Furthermore, he liked this town better than any other place he had been: "The public schools and seminaries are all in session now, but not quite as briskly...as before the war. Cotton the King of the Southern confederacy is rolling in here everyday and finds a ready sale to the numerous speculators that throng the streets." He continued glowingly, "The country between here and Pulaski is splendid it will raise almost anything that you can mention. All it wants is to have the curse of slavery removed and Yankee enterprise energy and industry introduced to make it the finest country in the world."²⁹⁷

Surrounded by an invading enemy, and without husband, father, or the oldest and youngest sons to round out the home circle, the Chadicks sat down to a Christmas meal of sorts. Worst of all the family knew that Reverend Chadick and Billy could be somewhere wounded or dead. Many families already knew of the loss of their loved ones. The popular song "The Vacant Chair," spoke for families across the countryside:

At our fireside, sad and lonely
How he strove to bear the banner
Thro' the thickest of the fight
Sweeping o'er our heartstrings now
We shall meet, but we shall miss him,
There will be one vacant chair.²⁹⁸

Three weeks later, Jan. 1864 Have made two trips to Dixie to see the colonel and been disappointed. Carried a splendid pair of boots, two shirts, gloves, socks and can of oysters.

Sherman's corps occupied our town. Crook's brigade has also returned. Many families have officers quartered on them. Our beautiful town is beginning to show the prudence of the enemy. Fences are demolished and houses and dilapidated buildings are shorn of their planks and timbers to build soldiers' huts; all the groves of timber around the town is being cut-down to supply fuel etc.

Twelve of the most prominent citizens, original Secessionists have been arrested and called upon to take the oath of allegiance. They all refused to a man, and are ordered to leave the lines. Mr. Beirne has been given 24 hours to leave his house, as it is wanted for headquarters.

Made two successful trips to Dixie and spent a few delightful hours with the colonel after a separation of four months. Carried him a hat. In making these trips, great caution is to be pursued. In cases, the pickets examine the vehicle for goods and contraband articles, but with all their vigilance, they are frequently outwitted by the ladies. The River has to be crossed in a small canoe, which requires some little courage. After crossing, no vehicle being at hand, I mounted up behind my husband. We rode in this primitive style to our stopping place for the night. Returned home the next day in safety.

The following day, Mrs. Kate Steele resolved to pay her husband a visit across the River and insisted upon having my company. On examining my pass, found that it was for 10 days and concluded to go. Performed the trip. The pickets were very polite and assiduous in fixing the blankets around our feet and taking a sharp look into the buggy to see if we were smuggling out goods. They discovered nothing, owing to the efficiency of hoops. Crossed the River and spent two delightful hours with my husband.

A Federal officer, Col. McFall, called today and said that he had been assigned to me, with his wife and child, to take quarters in my house, it being a disloyal family, try to make the best of it, rather than be turned out of doors as many have been. He has the air of a

gentleman and says he will furnish fuel and provisions for the family. Have but two spare rooms—parlor and study. Resolved to give them latter, as it is more retired from the family. Made preparations for them and determined to treat them kindly.

Since the previous entry Mrs. Chadick made at least four visits to Dixie. In her journal she seemed quite aware of the Yankee movements in and out of town. No doubt she shared this and other news when she was able to see her husband. One might not call this spying, but certainly she was able to inform him about what she heard and saw, and Col. Chadick would have been interested in the troop movements. General Sherman had returned from eastern Tennessee and passed through Huntsville by way of the restored railroads, going west to arrive in Memphis in mid January. Mrs. Chadick also carried to her husband what were obviously considered contraband goods.

With the return of General Crook in January 1864, Col. William Sipes took command of the town and the countryside for three miles around. The 7th Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteer Cavalry served as provost guard and was quartered in houses all over town. They found Huntsville deserted of white males except the very feeble or ill: “The women and children were in these homes...and having a hard time of it. The slaves, mostly household servants, were completely demoralized...refusing to obey their owners, and straggling around in idleness.”²⁹⁹

Catherine (Fearn) Steele, now 34, was the wife of architect Matthew Steele. The Federal officer assigned to her house was Col. John McFall of the 26th Missouri Infantry.

The winter of 1863-64 was one of the most severe ever experienced in Huntsville. Just about anything that would burn and was not attached was used for fuel by the Yankees. Fence rails were taken because the wood burned readily for cooking and heating. Unfortunately material for fuel and bricks to build chimneys for the men’s huts and tents was already consumed, and General Stanley ordered the dismantling of the almost completed, North Alabama College, one-mile southeast of town. Matthew Steele had designed the college building, about 125 feet by 65 feet, for the Presbyterian Church. The exterior and the tin roof were completed, and the remaining building material had been stored inside when the War started. Because contributions and non-partisans raised the funds, the U.S. Court of Claims later awarded the Presbyterian Church \$7600 for damages. On 140 acres of land, the college faced what is now Governors Drive and extended west toward Bassett Street.³⁰⁰

One of the Federal officers explained why the locals were unable to find wood, where the bricks from the College went, and how better meals



Harper's Weekly engraving of Huntsville looking north. The North Alabama College on the left—before it was dismantled by the Yankees.

could be found. Colonel Jefferson K. Scott of the 59th Indiana Infantry wrote in his journal about January, “Still cold, the citizens say it has not been so cold for 17 years.... We are short of wood.... Some talk of our having to go into camp, don’t like [that] very well as we are doing so fine in houses.... Sent to Brownsboro for our tents.... Had oyster soup for dinner and stewed chicken for supper, does pretty well for soldiers.... Our camp is to be about one mile from the city. Sent the men out to police the grounds, get brick, etc.” He commented several times about the “ruff weather.[...] It feels very much like an Indiana winter.”³⁰¹

In the previous year at harvest time, George Beirne gave away large amounts of wheat to families in town and to poor families in the county. Earlier Mr. Beirne had been arrested at his plantation but released. Now General Sherman’s staff took possession of Beirne’s town home, and he was forced to move in with friends or go south. General Smith stayed at former Governor Clay’s house on Clinton Street. The elderly couple was assigned two rooms in the back of the house for their use. Later the Clays were reduced to the use of only one room.³⁰²

Jere Clemens gave an oyster supper for the returning Yankees and invited local citizens George Yuckley, who was a foreman in the *Huntsville Advocate* office, General James Hickman, and Benjamin Jolley who “were hand and glove with them and trading as before.”³⁰³



George P. Beirne House - 300 Williams Street.

HMCPL.

Two days later The colonel called to say that he had been ordered away in a few days and would not trouble me, but would take his family to camp for the short time he would be here. Also told me that he had heard from my husband this evening. A lady went to headquarters to report herself as coming over the River and, upon being questioned as to whom she saw over there, said that she saw Col. Chadick about four hours before.

Mrs. Russel died suddenly yesterday. The 12 men who were required to take the oath and refused have been ordered to leave forthwith. Mrs. Chapman has been ordered out of her house. Col. McFall was ordered to take my house. He has treated me with great kindness and consideration. Sent me a load of wood.

Martha Jane (Lacy) Russel, widow of Albert Russel, died January 20, aged 46. Her son, Albert Russel, was one of the first fatalities of the War. He died of typhoid fever at Pensacola while training with the Madison Rifles.³⁰⁴

Among the 12 men forced to leave, at least Beirne, Stephen W. Harris, and Dr. Anthony were known to have crossed the river and were safe in Dixie.³⁰⁵

Felicia (Pickett) Chapman was at the mercy of the Federal army. Her husband, former Governor Reuben Chapman, was out of the country trying to get aid from France for the Confederate cause. Their oldest son was serving in the Confederate army, and she still had five younger children to care for at home.

Mrs. Chadick probably realized that more northern soldiers had arrived in town. Private Jenkin Jones recently marched from Brownsboro into Huntsville with the 6th Wisconsin: "The natives say it was the coldest day known for years. Animals and wagons covered with ice." On the afternoon of the 9th, "Coming around the point of the bluff we could see Huntsville in the valley below three miles distant. And weary as I was I could but enjoy the beautiful scenery before me greatly." Marching in a sea of mud, "The sun shone brightly on the snow-covered roofs of this beautiful town with their tall church spires raising their snow-capped peaks to the heavens as a witness of better and happier days gone by.... Marched through the town with colors flying and bands playing, much to the satisfaction of the large crowds of contrabands that flocked at every corner. Came into camp a mile north of the town on Russell Hill.... I was very tired."³⁰⁶

In the meantime the men of 4th Minnesota Infantry Volunteers marched to Huntsville from near New Market and also put up their tents on Russell's Hill. They drove before them "700 cattle, sheep and hogs, four or five ox teams and the wagons loaded with poultry, sweet potatoes and corn" taken from the countryside.³⁰⁷

Jan. 27, 1864 Mr. Robert Watkins died today. There is quite a commotion among the Federals. Couriers have arrived announcing that Roddey took Athens today at 10 o'clock, with all the garrison and commissary stores. Not true.

Again, there was no notation in records about the death or burial of Robert Watkins. Watkins' wife, Mary, had died on January 31, 1863, at the age of 36 a few months after giving birth to a baby.³⁰⁸ Now the Yankees took over the Robert Watkins house even before his burial; his ailing mother and seven children moved in with his older brother, Laurence Watkins. At the same time the Watkins sister, Louisa Harris, and her husband were ordered from their house.³⁰⁹ The Robert Watkins home, next door to the McDowell house on Adams Avenue, had been used by Mitchel and other generals as personal quarters or headquarters.

Almost all of Alabama's men were at the front fighting in Virginia and Tennessee, and only home guard, small cavalry units, and state militia protected the home front. Although Roddey's men often acted boldly, these troops would never drive the Federals away. Athens was attacked on January 26 by CSA Lt. Col. Hannon's 600-man cavalry brigade. One hundred Union troops held them off for two hours, and the Confederate attempt was a failure.

Jan. 29th 1864 Got a barrel of flour from the Feds today through the kindness of Col. McFall. Bought 45 pounds of beef for \$45 in Confed. A short time since, purchased 40 pounds of sugar for \$120 in the same currency.

A lady called just now with a present of five pounds of crushed sugar and the same of coffee from a cotton buyer. The gentleman offers to purchase my house and lot, with all its appurtenances for 45,000 dollars in Confed., \$15,000 in state money or \$6,000 in Greenbacks. Oh, for wisdom in this matter! If gold was the offer, should know what to do. A Fed just called to collect my water tax. Refused, of course, to pay as there has been no water in my hydrant for months.

In town food supplies were difficult to obtain and prices out of control. Problems with labor and transportation brought the productive

countryside to a standstill. But many observers commented about the availability of crops. For instance, out at Russell's Hill, Private Jones was glad to leave the boredom of the daily drill behind while his detail accompanied the forage train out on the turnpike to the west. There were "numerous stacks of wheat unthreshed and broad fields of corn unhusked." Some of the "boys" took privileges with the contents of the chicken coop at one plantation for a real meal of Southern fried chicken.³¹⁰

Most citizens of both sides already hoarded gold and silver. The Federal government issued paper money, "greenbacks," that depreciated only to about nine percent during the War. The Confederacy issued paper money which also rapidly depreciated. By early 1864 the South had a national debt of more than \$700,000,000 and inflation of 6000 per cent. Mrs. Chadick was truly vexed by the offer from the cotton broker to buy her house. Money, in whatever form, presented a serious dilemma. Mrs. Chadick clearly understood the value of gold versus Union or Confederate money. On this day she acknowledged she might sell the house for gold; but she also must have recognized a worse predicament—where would she and the children then go? She was clear about one thing: she felt she had the right to refuse to pay the water bill when there had been no water supplied!

Jan. 30th 1864 Feds are taking a great many houses today and quartering officers in others – among others Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Bradford are on the street.

Mrs. Chadick's neighbor, Stephen Harris, had joined the War effort, leaving his wife, Louisa, at home with their two children. Although when Mrs. Harris and Martha Bradford were turned out of their houses, friends would take them in.

Private Alonzo Brown and the 4th Regiment of the Minnesota Infantry were stationed at Whitesburg now. Their pioneers built two boats while the Rebels fired at them from across the river. The decision was made to move into the few remaining houses for safety. Brown wrote, "Many of our men became intimately acquainted with some of the ladies of this town. Lively skirmishing between our men and the enemy was kept up for three days, when an agreement was entered into and firing ceased until some overt act should be committed."³¹¹

Meanwhile the 59th and 48th Indiana were about to start home. On January 30th General Smith and his staff rode through camp and a salute was fired to honor the veterans about to return home. Each gun of three Batteries fired, one after another, with cheers from the men remaining behind. Private Jones felt the retirees deserved the honor and it was gladly

given: "Together we have struggled on every field of strife and won. They have the wishes and gratitude of the comrades they leave behind."³¹²

Feb. 5th 1864 *Have suspicions that Corinna (my cook) is fixing to leave. Learned a little later that Major Griffin, who is quartered at Mr. Harris's ordered a room prepared for her, and that she is to cook for and wait on him. Feel sad and disheartened in consequences, as she is the only woman we have left. Sent for Major Griffin and laid the case before him, and he declined her services.*

Feb. 8th 1864 *A Negro school opens today at the West Huntsville church and Corinna sent Jim against my positive commands.*

A paymaster, Major Brotherline, and clerk are assigned to me this evening, and they took immediate possession of the parlor as an office and the study for a bedroom, leaving me no "say-so" in the matter. The major proposes eating at my table, furnishing such provisions as can be obtained at the commissary, with fuel, and paying me \$10 per week each for board, deducting the provisions. This is more liberal than most of the them. My servants are to wait on them. Find my Yankees very gentlemanly men, disposed to be well pleased with their quarters, and giving as little trouble as possible. Have been boasting of the elegant and refined ladies in this part of town, and of their nice quarters to other officers.

A large battery has been arranged with men and guns before the house today, receiving their pay. The major arranged his table in the front porch, to prevent their coming into the house.

Noah (Vienna's husband) is here quite sick. He is heartily tired of his friends, the Yankees, and anxious to get home, and now that he is sick and has no home, comes to one for care and protection. Has symptoms of pneumonia and fear he may die on my hands. Sent for Dr. Barnett (of the 26th Missouri, introduced to me by Col. McFall) for prescription for him, and gave him medicines. He got better, and Mr. Kinne (the major's clerk) procured him a pass to go home. He started, but was seized by Elliot Fearn (colored recruiting officer) as a deserter. Don't know what is to become of the poor fellow.

My own servants are treating me badly. It is with difficulty that we can get a fire made in the morning for the family to come, after they have risen. They wait upon the Yankees, however, with the greatest alacrity.

The 1859 city directory listed an African Church, then called the East Side Church, between Holmes and Arms Street. Perhaps it was near

where Church Street intersects Holmes Street currently. (Parson Brownlow earlier suggested he had seen several black churches in 1857 during his stay in town.) Private Jones visited “the colored school under charge of Chaplain of the 17th Colored.” The teachers were volunteers from the ranks, and the children “all seemed attentive and anxious to receive the instruction but poorly imparted to them.”³¹³

These officers, Lt. Col. John McFall and Assistant Surgeon Charles F. Barnett, were with the 26th Missouri Infantry. They provided many kind services for the Chadick family.

Major John Brotherline of Blair County, an attorney and journalist, now served as appointed paymaster from Pennsylvania.³¹⁴ The Major may have felt more secure with a battery of guns to back him up. For instance at the end of January in Huntsville one paymaster disbursed “about \$45,000 in three hours...and the boys are in fine spirits, had no drills, but a fine dress parade.” Three months later the paymaster paid out \$60,000 for that one regiment.³¹⁵ The paymaster’s clerk, Kinne, probably was an in-law because Brotherline’s wife was Martha Gregg Kinne.³¹⁶

Mrs. Chadick’s difficulty with the management of the slaves was understandable. The real authority, the male figurehead, was missing from the household. However, with the War and the possibility of freedom, the problem really was out of control. The female slaves were encouraged to leave the household and cook, wait upon, or become laundresses for the Federal army. All slave-owners in the occupied South suffered from the loss of their male slaves in a bolder way. The Federal government sent recruiters for Negro enlistment into the Union Army into the occupied South. For example, Pvt. James T. Ayers, a white itinerant Methodist preacher, 59, came to north Alabama in early 1864. In the rural communities he rode from farm to farm finding the workers in the fields. He often was the first to tell the slaves they were free and urged them to join-up and support their Father Abraham who had given them freedom. In towns he used posters for mass meetings to encourage enlistment. The former slaves should feel obliged to join and help free their brothers still in slavery, he maintained. They would also receive \$10 per month, free food, and clothing. Of course they would have to leave their families behind. Many Federal officers felt this would leave fewer laborers necessary for construction and defense, so Gen. Sherman issued orders forbidding any Negro already employed by the Army to be recruited for military service.³¹⁷

March 1st 1864 My boarders left today for Louisville after a sojourn of three weeks in my family. They seemed to feel regret at parting with us. We shall miss them very much, as they have been kind to us in many ways and made themselves very agreeable. I purchased a nice pair of

blankets from Mr. Kinne. The major took a little contraband home with him; we forebear comments. Sent two letters by them to Tennessee. Had an application from another major to take his place in my house, but as he was not assigned one by the quartermaster, I refused.

At the local artillery post Pvt. Jenkin Jones and men sloshed about in the mud that prohibited even routine drills. No mail arrived, and the time hung heavy. In their tents the men gambled with cards and dice, played dominoes and checkers, and shared what books and newspapers they had. Ned Buntline's thrilling tale "Ella Adams" was a favorite. Jones spent time reading the *Phrenological Journal* sent from home and *Atlantic Monthly* loaned by a buddy. When the weather broke they played ball and sparred with boxing gloves. In the evening many gathered to enjoy the music from fiddle and bow or dance. By necessity ladies were dispensed with.³¹⁸

March 5th 1864 *Sent \$23 by Mrs. Jordan today for goods. She is going to get her son paroled—a prisoner in that city. Lillie Pickett goes with her to see her mother in the lunatic asylum.*

The two women and others from Huntsville boarded a train headed north. Mrs. Jordan was going to Nashville to see her son, Capt. Thomas B. Jordan, who was a prisoner of war there.³¹⁹

Lillie Pickett's mother was Ann (Russell) Henderson Pickett. Mrs. Pickett was 16 and with a small child when her first husband, Arthur M. Henderson, died. She later married Dr. Edward Pickett and they lived on Eustis Street. Lillie's brother, Edward Pickett, Jr., was an aide to Gen. Albert S. Johnston.³²⁰

March 6th 1864 *We have just heard of a horrible accident. The Chattanooga train ran into the train from Huntsville last night the other side of Stevenson killing Mrs. Jordan instantly. Lillie Pickett died this morning. Mrs. Vogel and Mrs. Keys and Mrs. Jordan's bodies were burned up. Mrs. Hoffa was badly injured but still lives.*

Lillie Pickett died at the age of twenty-two.³²¹ Isabella Vogel, 31, was the wife of John, a confectioner and baker whose shop was on the town square. Catherine Keys, 29, was the mother of five small children and the wife of Nimrod Keys, a Methodist minister. They lived in the Meridianville community. Sarah Hoffa, 43, who survived this disaster, was the wife of William B. Hoffa, a teacher, and they lived at the community of Brick Schoolhouse on Pulaski Pike. Mrs. Jordan was the woman who earlier had gone to Richmond to recover the body of her son, Jesse Jordan.

March 7th 1864 The remains of these unfortunate ladies were brought to town today. Those of Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Keyes could not be recognized as they were reduced to a few bones and were interred in the same coffin.

Even if one became accustomed to the violence of death during the War, the loss of these neighbor women was met with additional horror. Mrs. Jordan had returned to town with the body of her son, Jesse, in July of 1862 and had been on her way to see about a parole for a captured second son, Capt. Thomas B. Jordan. Mary Margaret (Brandon) Jordan, 47, and her husband, Jesse Glasgow Jordan, had three older children and a young child, aged six, still living at home. Friends considered Mrs. Jordan to be witty, yet deeply religious and caring: “The South had no more ardent friend.” Martha, as she was called, was universally popular and often won her way where others failed. During the first occupation of Huntsville she went in person to ask General Mitchel for a pass, then almost impossible to obtain. She mentioned she had admired and studied the General’s geography text in school and immediately received her pass!³²²

Private Alonzo Brown of the 4th Minnesota was aboard one of the train cars going north for furlough on the 5th of March. That evening the men changed cars at Stevenson to continue to Nashville, and this train stopped for water at Anderson Station, 11 miles north of Stevenson. Just before midnight a second train ran into it from behind, and the two trains “were telescoped and three passenger cars were consumed by fire.... Five women from Huntsville were also burned. We could see the women running around in the burning cars. In all, seven were killed or burned to death, 22 were wounded and 20 cars and one locomotive burned or rendered useless. One of the ladies burned was a Miss Pickett, a relative of General Pickett, who led the rebel charge at Gettysburg.... She was taken from the car alive, expressed her thanks to our men for taking her out and before she died sent messages by our men to her mother.” Captain Jordan was allowed to attend the burial of his mother and then he returned to prison in Nashville.³²³ In the chaos of the times, only Lillie Pickett’s grave was marked with a tombstone at the town cemetery. The other victims were laid to rest in unidentified graves.

Union Private Jones heard the news of the train wreck at his encampment near Russell Hill. The calamity was made worse to him because those soldiers killed and burned in the accident of the 4th Minnesota had survived battle only to suffer more on their way home.

March 8th 1864 *During the funeral services of Mrs. Jordan at the Presbyterian church today, news was brought of the death of Mr. Sam Cruse. Another old citizen gone.*

The Jordan family was active in the Methodist Church, but that building had been recently destroyed by fire. Union soldiers were quartered in the Church, and the upper floors used for a hospital. The men spread blankets on the wooden floor of the basement to sleep and cooked meals there. Two elders of the church appealed to General Stanley not to allow fires inside, but two days after that on January 6th, the church was completely destroyed by an uncontained fire. The Methodists met temporarily at the smaller, original Episcopal building.³²⁴ Actually all the local church buildings housed soldiers, and the pews often were grouped together to form stalls for their animals. According to tradition horses did not occupy the gothic-designed Episcopal Church of the Nativity because a Union officer chose to honor the inscription over the front door, "Reverence My Sanctuary." But troops were quartered there.

Private Jones and some of his buddies attended church together: "The society was in deep mourning for Mrs. Jordan, principal teacher and superintendent of the Sabbath School. Fitting resolutions were passed by the school in memoriam." The minister gave a sermon filled with "hell fire and eternal misery, with but little consolation to the many bereaved mothers and sisters present who had lost their all in the Confederate army. Although enemies, I could but feel for their distressing sobs, that were audible all over the room." Later Private Jones also attended the funeral service at the Presbyterian Church. It was "crowded to overflowing by citizens, but few soldiers could gain admittance. I was up in the gallery. The funeral sermon of Mrs. Jordan was preached, very effective and eloquent."³²⁵

March 10th 1864 *The death of Mr. Cruse is contradicted. The money sent by Mrs. Jordan is lost. She had a large amount about her person \$1,150—for Mrs. McClung.*

Mr. Cruse, now 68, had fled earlier to south Alabama. He continued to live in Huntsville another 19 years.³²⁶

Margaret McClung, for over 15 years the widow of James White McClung, lived on Adams Avenue with her six children. Likely, she sent money by Mrs. Jordan to reach her son, Frank McClung, 20, a member of the 4th Alabama Cavalry. Her son, James W. McClung, served with the Madison Rifles, who disbanded after their initial year of service. Most of those men joined other outfits.

During this week Union Chaplain George W. Pepper of the 80th Ohio Infantry wrote home: "This town of Huntsville is truly the gem of the Southern Confederacy. It is a most charming and delightful place. It is beautifully situated in the centre of a rich and enterprising population.... I am forcibly reminded of the saying of Cromwell... This is indeed is a land worth fighting for." ³²⁷

Indeed the locals were fighting in any manner at hand. The *Nashville Daily Union* reported that three Union soldiers were thrown into a well near Huntsville, and the bodies of the men were found three days later. ³²⁸

March 20th 1864 Mr. John Robinson's residence has been taken for a smallpox hospital. As soon as I heard it, sent for Dr. Barnett to ascertain if something could not be done to save the furniture still remaining there. He kindly promised to do everything in his power. He hunted up the surgeon in charge and ascertained that they had already moved in several cases. Rode out there, took an inventory of the things



*First
Methodist
Church -
later burned.
HMCPL.*

remaining, and received a promise from the surgeon that they should be locked into a room reserved for that purpose. They consisted of only two or three marble-top tables, hat rack, books and a few articles of minor importance. Everything else had been removed by the occupants, the Jett family. It is said they had been trying to dispose of some of the articles. The prisoners are still there and the surgeon promised that they shall not be injured. It is certainly better for families to remain in their homes and try to preserve them.

Dr. Barnett has been prescribing for Jim (servant) at his mother's request. By constantly having chills, he has got into a very bad state of health, and the doctor has made a case of him, furnishing all the medicines, and offered to vaccinate the members of the family. In short, he has been very kind. Would that he were not a Federal.

Heard last night from my husband. He is just across the River at Whitesburg and sent one word that he was well. How provoking that just the River should run between, and we are not permitted to see each other.

Eddie is clerking in a bakery at \$20 per month. Better than to be eating the bread of idleness at his age. He brings nice fresh bread every evening, which is quite a great assistance in these times of scarcity.

Sent to Nashville by Mr. Cowles for a small bill of goods – also by Mr. John Erwin. Had to go to Col. Weaver (commander of the post) for a permit to have them brought out of Nashville. Sue has taken Miss Sue Bradley's place in the College as teacher. Little Mary has started to school with her.

Smallpox is spreading in the town. George is going to Mrs. Mayhew. Shall have to stop his Latin, as I find it impossible to command Greenbacks sufficient to pay his tuition and meet my other expenses.

Major Griffin has returned from Louisville and brought Sue and Jennie some music from one of our Yankee boarders, Mr. Kinne. The latter, when he first came to the house, it appears, had an idea that the Secesh were a shockingly barbarous set of people, and entertained fears for his personal safety. As he confessed to us, on the day of his taking up quarters with us, he asked Major Brotherline if there was any danger of their being poisoned.

There is news today that we have at last been recognized by France. This has been rumored so often without foundation that we scarcely believe it.

Ebenezer Cowles, 59, was a merchant and jeweler. He and his wife, Hannah, lived on Eustis Street with their three teen-aged daughters. He must have taken the oath of allegiance to the Union, because he crossed the Federal lines into Nashville to get supplies to sell in Huntsville. Although she has not taken the oath herself, Mrs. Chadick had dealings with those able to supply goods.

Measles and small pox were rampant in the Union camp, and of course they quickly spread through town. John Robinson's Oaklawn plantation served as a hospital for soldiers then and again in the Spanish-American War. Mrs. Chadick went out to check on the furniture that she had stored at Robinson's when she and her family evacuated their house earlier. The Jett family was probably Joseph, his wife, Armina, and three small children. He was a carpenter with very modest means. They could not have been the only people to take advantage of stored possessions or absentee owners.

Merchant John Erwin maintained a grocery and provisions store at Holmes and Washington Streets during the War. It may be his wife, Bettie, who served tea to the officers of all ranks who came to call.³²⁹

Mrs. Chadick earlier mentioned Sue's teaching duties and now this second position at the school. Sue took the place of Sue Bradley, 22-year-old daughter of Joseph Bradley. Up to this time women's minds were considered inferior, and they were not generally encouraged to teach school. Besides her assumed limited mental ability, she would have to mingle with students, some considered to be her inferiors. For example at



Downtown Huntsville – South side of Courthouse Square.

HMCPL.

the start of the War, North Carolina's women composed only seven percent of the state's teachers. But now with the men gone and a source of income needed, teaching became an acceptable role for upper class women.³³⁰

Mrs. Chadick did not write on March 22, but the surprised soldiers and townspeople alike awoke to find the ground covered with snow, eight inches deep before it stopped falling: "What a calm serenity it spreads on earth in its pure, spotless white, covering over the disagreeable, the footprints of suffering and wrongs that are so indelibly imprinted everywhere upon the fair but wicked South." One military unit rigged up a sled with mules and a cowbell to parade up and down the streets of town to the astonishment of the citizens.³³¹

Early in the War Alabama's William Yancey and others went abroad to try to get recognition for the Confederacy in Western Europe. Although they were warmly welcomed and often entertained, the reigning rulers formally received none of the representatives from the South. Perhaps because of the issue of slavery, and the fact they already had a surplus of cotton, European nations were not outwardly sympathetic to the Southern cause. France or England never recognized the Confederate States of America politically.³³²

March 27th 1864 Received another letter this week from Julia and Little Davie. Brother Dave is going into business in Nashville.

Gen. Sherman has arrived in Huntsville this week. It is supposed that he is on his way to the front.

Heard from my dear husband this week, through Miss McClung. He came to the River at Whitesburg and sent word across under flag of truce that he was well. Only 10 miles rolled between us, and yet I could not see him! Have been ill for three days past—confined to my bed. Corinnane and Jim seized this opportunity for leaving. She has gone to the hotel in the capacity of chambermaid. Thus our servants have all left us with the exception of Uncle Tom. He will doubtless go next—old as he is. There is a powerful charm in the word freedom.

Everyone was pleased to get mail. Yankee Private Jones scanned his newly arrived family letters while on guard duty that night. He "read by the pale light of the moon while walking my silent beat...my mind wandered...to the home of my parents and brothers and sisters dear.... Did they see me then walking my beaten path in still quiet moonlight?"³³⁵

Mrs. Chadick's brother, David Cook, Jr., took this opportunity to start up a business where the cash flow might be more active in the federally garrisoned city of Nashville. Apparently he took the oath of allegiance to the Union.

General Sherman and Maj. Gen. McPherson arrived on the train from Nashville by way of Decatur.³³³ Sherman now controlled operations from the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River with 120,000 men in the armies of the Cumberland, the Ohio, and the Tennessee at his disposal. According to the correspondent for *Harper's Weekly*, March 19, 1864, Huntsville, now the headquarters of Maj. Gen. John A. Logan and the XV Corps, was the first town in the South that suggested the "inhabitants [were] of cultivated taste and refinement." Furthermore, he suggested, "The inhabitants are disposed to be 'Union,' but are fearful of the consequence.... Still there are among the citizens very many stanch Union men.... The Courthouse Square is each evening the scene of a dress-parade of the Thirteenth Regulars—General Sherman's bodyguard, and a splendid regiment." While in Huntsville, General Sherman stayed in the Bibb-Beirne house on Williams Street.³³⁴ But now Sherman was in motion to begin the offensive that would result in the Atlanta campaign. Again Huntsville became the staging area for tens of thousands soldiers.

Miss McClung was likely Annie, 22, who lived with her mother, Margaret McClung.

March 28th 1864 Spent most of the day in the kitchen. Tom as concluded to remain with us, provided we allow him to work out part of the time for himself.

Mr. Shepherd (a Fed) called to see if he could quarter one of Gen. McPherson's staff officers and his wife in my house. Resisted it by every plea that woman's tongue could urge. Think I make an impression.

Major General James B. McPherson had been the chief engineer with Grant at Forts Henry and Donelson, at Shiloh, and during the advance on Corinth. Now he was in command of the Army of the Tennessee. In Huntsville he kept headquarters at the Northern Bank of Alabama building. Russell McPherson wrote his brother William, "This place is one of the most beautiful in the whole South or any other country," and "nature seems to have indulged in all sorts of fantastic caprices." When the War was over the young man would consider relocating here.³³⁶

April 1st 1864 Still without a servant. Mrs. Weaver, my kind friend, milks for me regularly.

Had some fun today by playing April jokes. Sent Mrs. Steele and Mrs. Figures official document, ordering them out of their houses for McPherson's staff officers. For a time, Mrs. Steele gave herself up to

despair; and Mrs. Figures, in her indignation, went to apply to the quartermaster:

We have some cheering news from the Confederacy.

A Yankee woman has the keys of Mrs. Harris' house and yesterday, was inspecting the rooms.

A copy of the bogus telegram to Mrs. Figures was shared at the United Daughters of the Confederacy meeting in November 1907 and printed in *The Huntsville Democrat* on the 13th of November.

Post Quartermaster's Office
Huntsville, April 1st, 1864

Mrs. Figures:

Three rooms in your house are hereby assigned to Major Dupree and family of General McPhearson's staff for quarters. The difficulty of procuring houses, and your undisguised disloyalty to the U.S. government—and your acknowledged aversion to Federal officers and obnoxious language to us reported, lead to these extreme measures.

Capt. Allen
A.A.Q.M.
In Charge of Building³³⁷

Out at Russell's Hill, on this wet and rainy day, "the men of the 6th Wisconsin played well the part of April fool.... The bugler blew the breakfast call half an hour too early, calling out the men in the rain to awaken to the fact that it was April fool, etc." ³³⁸

April 4th 1864 The soldiers who were quartered in the steam mill back of our lot are leaving this morning for Nashville. Also, Crook's brigade are going to Columbia. Logan's command will leave this week. The Chattanooga "Commercial" says that North Alabama is to be evacuated. Jere Clemens and lady left yesterday morning for Philadelphia. A good sign for us.

General Crook received orders to take command of the Kanawha District and go north particularly to disrupt rail communications between Lynchburg and eastern Tennessee. General Logan, now commanding the XV Corps, would succeed General McPherson as commander of the Army of the Tennessee.

The 63rd Illinois Veteran Volunteers started homeward on the evening of the 2nd of April: "As they marched out to the music of their fine

martial band, each heart bounded with animation at the prospect of meeting the familiar faces once more.” Mrs. Chadick’s new neighbors would again be “the 48th and 59th Indiana Volunteers who marched into their old camping ground which they had left two months ago for home. They had marched all the way from Nashville in five days, 130 miles, footsore and tired with three years of service before them.”³³⁹

Jere Clemens’s passionate feelings for his home state did not interfere with his recognition of the probable disaster he saw lying ahead. Perhaps he perceived too clearly the downward spiral absorbing the strength of the Confederacy and her people. He and other Unionists—including Judge Humphreys, Charles Strong, William Powers, and Joseph Bradley among others—organized several peace meetings to no avail. Now a very unpopular citizen, Clemens and his family moved north. Clemens presented his political views in a particularly well-reasoned letter printed later that year in a Philadelphia newspaper. He called attention to what he considered the delusions that the Southern people suffered and the calamity that led “independence, prosperity, and happiness, to misery, humiliation, and slavery.” He continued, “The rights of the States were to be scrupulously regarded. . . . Those were the promises. . . . But the rights of the States have been trampled under foot.” Clemens felt hapless citizens were press-ganged into the army and the Confederacy had become a despotism. Freedom of speech and of the press allowed no one to speak. Currency was a failure, food and supplies totally unavailable: “The experiment of Secession has had a long and bloody trial.” Clemens urged a “return to the allegiance. . . the people of the North will gladly meet you half way.” He challenged the Southern citizen to a higher heroism of daring to do the right thing.³⁴⁰

April 6th 1864 *Dr. Barnett has been a kind friend to us. He is a Mason.*

Today, he made a requisition for us in the way of commissary stores. In this way, we get them without procuring a “permit” from headquarters, and at government prices. He got 10 pounds of candles, coffee, 25 pounds of sugar, one peck of salt, one pound of white beans, and sent them by his hospital steward Mr. Weir with a polite note.

Dr. Barnett’s steward was David T. Weir, 26th Missouri Infantry.

April 7th 1864 *Received another favor today from Dr. Barnett in the way of a bottle of “Ferment.” Have got a servant today on trial. Nancy, with two children—one of them large enough to wait on the house.*

April 9th 1864 *Today, a Negro woman, named Melinda, came and offered her services to me, with her two boys—one large enough to cut wood, wait on the table, and for \$8 a month! Resolved to try her and dismissed Nancy.*

Rumors today that the Confeds are crossing at Decatur and at the mouth of Flint River. Certain it is that the Federals have sent out two or three brigades to both points. They also commenced fortifying Patton's hill.

Received my goods from Nashville today by Mr. Erwin. Pleased with his selection, consisting of two large bolts of domestic bleached and unbleached at 60 cents per yard; calico dress patterns 35 cents per yard; blue gingham, 75 cents per yard; linen drilling, 90 cents; flannel, \$1 per yard; shoes, \$3.50 per pair; Moganbique goods, 65 cents—bill: \$95 in Greenbacks.

Obtaining good help in town became more and more difficult.

These women who came in from the countryside were probably former field hands without the training Mrs. Chadick wanted for household duties.

On April 7, the 48th and a detachment of the 59th Indiana had gone out in the afternoon to help reinforce the post on the Tennessee River at Whitesburg, Fort Hall. The news was that “[d]eserters say that the enemy is reinforcing heavily and making preparations to throw a pontoon bridge across the river some dark night. Rumor says John Morgan was in town lately.... If so, I don't think our sixteen pieces on Russell Hill looked very encouraging to him. Come on, John, we are ready.”³⁴¹

There was another skirmish on April 8th at the Paint Rock Railroad Bridge. Fifteen men of the 73rd Indiana Infantry fought an estimated 40 Confederate soldiers. One Yankee was killed and another wounded; they reported two Rebels killed and three wounded.³⁴²

April 11th 1864 *Got up this morning and went to the kitchen to get breakfast. Melinda disappointed me. Just commenced when a neat, nice-looking servant came in and offered her services. Took her on trial. Think I am at last suited.*

A dreadful accident occurred today. A caisson at the depot blew up, killing six poor fellows instantly, tearing them literally to pieces, wounding several others and killing two horses.

Dr. Barrett came around tonight and asked me to take his wife to board. Have no say, whilst in the Federal lines, to command Greenbacks. Would take the doctor and lady to help us live but for the want of a house servant. It would also be protection, as my vacant

rooms are liable to be taken any day for officers, and many of them are not gentlemen. Must weight all the difficulties before I decide.

No more talk of Logan's command leaving.

Private Jones wrote, "A little after noon we were startled by a terrible explosion near the depot. A caisson of the Illinois Battery had exploded while returning from drill, killing six cannoneers instantly and wounding two. A very sad affair. Bodies torn to shreds." The *New York Times* reported, "A caisson of Crosswell's Illinois Battery exploded this noon on the railroad crossing in front of the depot, killing instantly privates Jacob Englehart, John Olsin, William Humphrey, David Roach, William Mattison, and Horace Allen, and wounding George Barnes and William Regan. Several of the bodies of the killed were blown to atoms, and portions were found 500 feet distant." The depot was badly shattered; several citizens were slightly injured.³⁴³

April 12th 1864 The funeral procession of the six men who were killed yesterday has just passed. The coffins were in three ambulances, followed by a piece of artillery and a regiment of the same. A sad sight. Although our enemies, they have "loved ones at home" to weep at their sad, untimely death, and the sight touches our sympathies.

April 13th 1864 Heard today from my dear husband through Miss Hassie Martin. He dined with her at her house two weeks since. She said he was in perfect health and was the finest looking and the finest dressed officer that she had seen. It is like "cold water to a thirsty soul," so seldom do we hear from him.

Hassie Martin, 21, lived with her widowed mother in town, but she may have been across the Tennessee River to see about her brother, Fuller T. Martin, 26, who was likely in the Confederate army.

While Mrs. Chadick struggled to maintain some kind of household routine, the Yankee soldiers also maintained their standards. Seemingly the monotony of army life continued, but today was a delightful day for the great review at two o'clock in the afternoon. An eye witness stated, "The imposing line was formed on the race course consisting of five regiments of infantry and two batteries. The bands rolled out their cheers as Generals McPherson, Logan and Smith, with their respective staffs, rode down the lines, on gay steeds glittering with their military embellishments."³⁴⁴

However, at midnight on the 13th the camps were aroused and ordered to be ready to turn out at a moment's notice. The men fixed their knapsacks and laid back down, dressed for action until summoned.

Fortunately for the men the next bugle was the breakfast call, “nary Forrest or Morgan near.”³⁴⁵

April 16th 1864 The weather is remarkably cool for the season, and vegetation backward. The Feds are fortifying heavily, have mounted 20 cannon upon Patton’s hill. They are evidently expecting the Rebels. Night before last, they slept upon their arms and were for some time drawn up in line of battle. The railroad track was also torn up above here the same night. The steam mill back of our lot is undergoing repairs for a powder magazine! Last night, several Yankee deserters escaped from the jail. They dug out in Morgan style—underground.

Huntsville already seemed fortified enough to fend off any invaders. There were 16 cannon on Russell’s Hill plus the 20 on Patton’s Hill. But apparently the Union officers were not satisfied.

Major Milus Johnston, CSA, gleefully described wrecking the lines of the Yankee-controlled railroads in his memoirs. His men stood close together at the edge of the

tracks, holding a crossie and yelled in unison, “Turn over the United!” while they forced the rails loose. With enough tension and wedging, hundreds of yards of track could be pulled loose at a time. The rails and creosoted log-ties were then set on fire. In the extreme heat the rails became bent and misshapen. New rails had to be supplied each time and put in place before the vital Union supplies and transport trains could run again. The destruction of the northern railroad lines by the

Southerners led to the temporary abandonment of the Nashville & Stevenson Railroad by the Federals. All

transportation now went through Decatur, the juncture of the Memphis & Charleston and Alabama & Tennessee Central Railroads. This amounted daily to “upwards of ten trains each way.”³⁴⁶



Major Milus “Bushwhacker” Johnston.
HMCPL.

The Union army captured General John Hunt Morgan far into northern territory near Lisbon, Ohio, on December 11, 1862. General Halleck, General-in-Chief of the Union Armies, thought Col. Abel Streight had been imprisoned with common criminals in Richmond, and it would be appropriate to imprison the raider Morgan and his men at the Ohio Penitentiary in Columbus, Ohio. They were issued prison garb and haircuts, seemingly secure with no chance of pardon, or exchange, or escape. However, the prisoners had begun a tunnel, and on the night of November 27th seven men escaped. By December 25th, Morgan rejoined his wife in Danville, Virginia.³⁴⁷

April 17th 1864 Took tea with Mrs. Davis last night. Met Col. Alexander at the table. Informed me that an advance into Georgia is intended in a few days, that Atlanta is the point of destination. He “expects to meet my husband and bring him back to me.” I told him on the contrary, I thought I had better give him a letter of introduction, recommending him to the kindness of Col. Chadick when he fell into his hands.

We have had two marriages the past week of the Union Southern ladies to Federal officers: Miss Mattie Lane to Col. Norton and Miss Jennie Davis to Col. Phillips.

Mrs. Chadick took tea with Mrs. Nick Davis and met Col. Jesse I. Alexander, 59th Indiana Infantry, now commander of the post at Huntsville. Nick and Sophia (Lowe) Davis, Jr., lived in Huntsville at The Grove, home of his wife’s family. Davis had served valiantly in the Mexican War and was a member of the State Legislature from Limestone County in 1861. He served in the Confederate Army with the Alabamians in Virginia for a short time, but was known as a Cooperationist during most of the War. He seemed to be able to work effectively with both sides.

While Huntsville was securely in the hands of the Federals in the fall of 1863, the Lanes returned to town protected by an escort of 60 Union Cavalry. However, the feelings against them were so intense that the Lanes returned to Louisville where they resided at the Galt House, Louisville’s finest hostelry. Judge George Washington Lane died there not long afterwards on November 12, 1863. His death notice in the Louisville newspaper said that Judge Lane found it impossible to “exercise his judicial functions” while in Huntsville. “The tide of war...[forced] Judge Lane, for personal security of himself and family, [he] left all the endearments of home and came as a refugee to our city.”³⁴⁸

Mattie Lane, 23-year-old daughter of Judge and Mrs. G. W. Lane, married Col. Charles Norton. Mrs. Lane’s and Nick Davis’s sister, Jennie (Davis) Harris, married as her second husband, Union General Jesse



The Grove - Home of the Nick Davis family, circa 1870. HMCPL.

Phillips of Illinois. This wedding actually did not take place until after the War. The couple lived in northern Virginia where Jennie Phillips renewed her friendship with a former neighbor of Limestone County, President Andrew Johnson.³⁴⁹

Mrs. Chadick did not mention attending local church services on Sunday; the “ladies” of town did not attend. But Private Jones reported, “The presiding elder of the Methodist church was sick, and to my astonishment the Yankee chaplain was invited to preach, which he did very fittingly.” Later that day he went to witness a baptizing at the Methodist church but was too late. The Methodist congregation must have already started reconstructing their church because Jones said a new baptismal font was being built.³⁵⁰

April 24th 1864 Another week has gone by, bring no events of importance to Huntsville. Friday morning, I went with Kate Frazier to see Frye’s paintings.

From there, we went to Patton’s Hill to see the fortifications. Found the Federals engaged in tearing down Mrs. Gooch’s beautiful cottage to plant cannon on its site. The grounds and garden about the house, which were very pretty, were filled with ladies, servants, and soldiers digging up and removing the fine shrubbery. Returned home for Uncle Tom, with spade and basket, and helped myself to some fine roses, box and verbenas.

Walked through Mrs. Watkins’ grounds for Miss Kate’s benefit. She went into raptures over the fine statuary scattered here and there. The Yankees talk about demolishing this place also, which would be

shameful indeed. In the evening, the walls of Mrs. Gooch's house fell with a crash, which was heard all over town!

The works at the steam mill are still progressing. They have built a broad shelter all around the building under which to place their cannon. The cars are running night and day bringing immense supplies of everything including ammunition and cannon. This is to be the headquarters of the Army of the Southwest. Gen. McPherson has taken up his quarters at the Bank. Mr. Lacy's family being ordered out to make room for him. Mrs. Figures has two Feds quartered upon her—takes on like it was fine.

Kate Frazier, 30, lived in Larkinsville five miles west of Scottsboro. Her mother, Nancy, was widowed since before 1850 and there still was a large family to be cared for at home. George William Frye, 42, an Austrian, settled in Huntsville about 1848. He married a local girl, Virginia Catherine Hale, and they and their three daughters lived at the corner of Greene and Holmes Streets where he kept his studio. Frye painted regional landscapes and portraits. With the influx of men with money to spend and the desire to send a likeness to loved ones, this became a busy time for the local artist. Union soldiers, Colonel Scott and others, commissioned works from Frye. The artist worked quickly—Scott's portrait was completed in just a little over a month.³⁵¹

Private Jones with the 6th Wisconsin Artillery walked into town to have his boots repaired. He also visited the cemetery to meditate among the sacred dead. There they lay, “side by side, the rich and the poor. Here are coward, patriot and traitor. Truly all earthly passes away and leaves but faint traces behind.” Jones had also visited Frye's studio earlier, “where I saw the most beautiful works of art I ever saw, representing the human form so lifelike that it needed but the speech to appear with life. The room was filled with different scenes, and the cold white marble statuary by them looked cold and expressionless.”³⁵²

Eliza (Patton) and J. Laurence Watkins lived in the house built in 1838 by Col. James McClung across from Samuel Matthews on McClung Street. The house was very distinctive with galleries built along the two stories to the west and north. The grounds were then terraced gently on three levels down to Adams Avenue, with a formal sunken garden on the south side and statues representing the continents graced the gardens.³⁵³

Banking laws obliged Theophilus Lacy, 59, as cashier of the Northern Bank of Alabama, to live in the Bank building. His wife, Frances, and eight children enjoyed spacious rooms inside the bank building located beside the Big Spring. A walkway on the north side led to their upstairs apartment where the rooms, with 12-foot ceilings, were finished in fine

woodwork. The foundation of this handsome Bank was locally quarried, but the copper roof, capitols, bases, and shafts for the columns were brought from Baltimore by oxcart to the headwaters of the Tennessee River. From there, the pieces were floated by barge to Triana, and pulled by smaller boats up the Indian Creek Canal to the Big Spring.³⁵⁴

April 28th 1864 Great activity prevails among the Federals. Immense supplies are being stored here, and every Negro is pressed and kept at work until midnight. This is to be a "supply depot," and every preparation is evidently being made for the forward movement into Georgia.

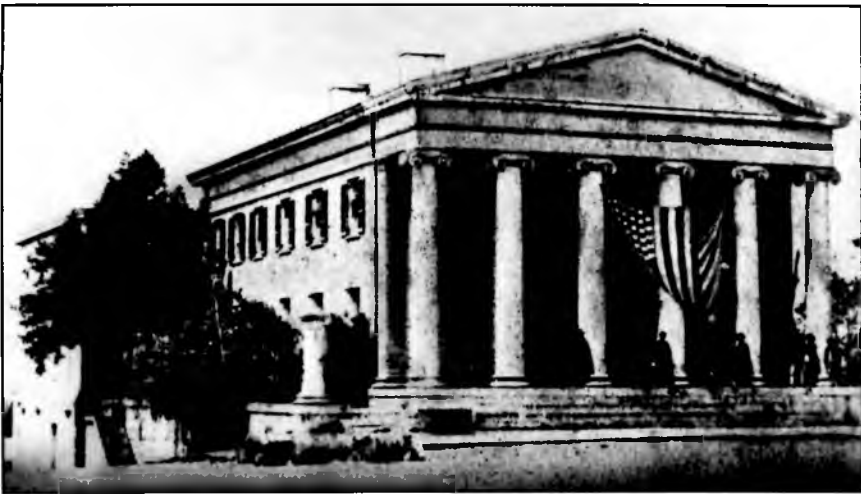
Mrs. Mayhew has been ordered out of the Seminary, which is to be converted into a hospital. Mrs. Lewis is also ordered out of her house. They say they have 4,000 sick. Little Mary is down with the measles. Received letters today from Nashville and Lebanon. Also a box of goods from Nashville by Mr. Cowles consisting mostly of calico and shoes. Dr. Barnett called this morning and left me some white sugar. He is a kind friend.

Gen. Sherman has issued an order that nothing in the way of provisions shall be sold to the citizens. This is rather hard after their army has stripped the country of every thing.

Today Private Jones—now stationed at Fort Hall, Whitesburg with the artillery—was told to keep baggage down to two teams, “everything in light trim for the field.” As they pulled the big guns away from Huntsville, their infantry neighbors of the 56th Illinois, still there, seemed uncomfortable: “Artillery always has a great encouragement to infantry. With its presence they feel safe and strong in any emergency.” The artillerymen returned after a quick march of 12 miles to their old camp on Russell Hill to hear conflicting orders and escalating rumors. The men packed everything not essential to be sent back home. Everyone, civilians and soldiers, waited.³⁵⁵

Mrs. Lewis was not evicted from her house, but she did have Federal boarders. She may have welcomed this chance for such income and food supplies the officers brought. Any revenue would be welcome for a widow with six daughters at home. Desperately in need of funds, Mrs. Lewis to her chagrin was reduced to having an advertisement in her son-in-law’s newspaper to announce availability of a day and boarding school at her home on Eustis Street.³⁵⁶

Colonel William Lyon, with the 13th Wisconsin Infantry stationed in Stevenson in early fall of 1863, wrote about the misery of the inhabitants: “Absolute starvation stares them in the face.[...] We are stripping this



Northern Bank of Alabama - Federal troops and flag on display. HMCPL.

whole country of forage...and there will be, and is already, much suffering among the people. Many hundreds have gone north.... We feed several hundreds out of Government supplies. We issue them half rations of bread and meat. The people have no coffee, sugar or salt. They beg most piteously for salt.” By the fall of 1864, however, the Federal army was hard-pressed to feed its troops. Col. William Lyon wrote from Stevenson about too many extra mouths to feed. General Sherman forbid women to accompany the troops, “He says that a woman eats as much as a soldier.”

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April 30th 1864 Troops have been leaving all day. Gen. Matthies' brigade, including the 26th Missouri, is gone, taking Dr. Barnett. We have now no friend to go to in case of difficulty. More troops are coming in from below. Wonder what is their destination. Some think Georgia and others Chattanooga.

Private Jones called Brig. Gen. Charles L. Matthies “a sturdy and honest old general, loved by all of his command.” Jones continued, “The 3rd Brigade under General Matthies left this morning on the railroad to Decatur where they will relieve General Dodge’s troops. Rainy afternoon.” Jones’ 3rd Division was “assigned to guard the line of communication from Stevenson to Decatur, nearly 80 miles of [rail] road.”³⁵⁸

Recruiter Ayers reported the day to be fine in spite of the slow rain; however, recruitment was going poorly for him among the black men. Most of the army had left town along with many camp followers, and those who remained “seemed unwilling to enlist. Pore ignorant Devils they would Rather Stay behind and gaeather up the Boxes, oald shoes and oald shirts

and Pants our Boys have left than be soldiers.” But change was in the air, and the soldiers listened for any news. Ayers seemed to have a sense of the excitement as he wrote, “We are going now from this on to have stirring times. Everything seems to have new life here this morning. Even I myself feel all on Tiptoe.”³⁵⁹

May 1st 1864 Troops passing through Huntsville all day. There were storing ammunition all day in the mill back of our lot and then loading up wagons again with it until midnight!

Two brigades of Dodge’s command arrived in the afternoon from Athens and Pulaski. General Logan left with his staff for the front, “a gay and dashing cavalcade.”³⁶⁰

May 2nd 1864 Was awakened this morning by sound of drum and fife. Troops still going through. Some great movement is surely on hand. Went at 9 a.m. with Miss Frazier to see Gen. McPherson to get a pass for her to return to Larkinsville. Found him very civil, but in a great hurry as he was evidently going to leave. He gave the pass without asking any questions. He is very fine looking, graceful and obliging, and, unlike most generals and high officers, does all his own writing. I ask him what all this commotion portended. “War, war, war! It portends war!” was his brief reply.

The left wing of the 16th Corps under General Dodge was on the move all day. As the 25th Wisconsin passed, many of those from Wisconsin stationed at Russell’s Hill with the artillery waved to friends and acquaintances. The regiments of the Battalion were a varied lot. Private Jones thought the Yankees from New Jersey in their leggings and yellow tassels made a second-rate showing against the sturdy Western boys.³⁶¹

Apparently Kate Frazier was stranded within the Federal pickets lines and unable to return to her home in Larkinsville.

Among the troops marching through town was Col. Oscar L. Jackson of the 63rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry. His men marched 16 miles that day and reached Huntsville on the second of May. He wrote, “I went into the town in the evening. It is a very pretty place, though badly used up by the war. It seems to have been a summer residence for the ‘Chivalry.’ Its chief curiosity is a large spring which supplies the entire city with water, and what is peculiar, it is raised by a ram which is worked by the waste water of the spring itself.” They did not remain long, leaving the next morning at 7 a.m. on the way to Atlanta.³⁶²

May 3rd 1864 Troops still moving. Smith's division is to remain, Gen. Smith in command, Col. Alexander, commander of the Post, Major Crowell, 26th Missouri, Provost Marshal.

Private Alonzo Brown and the 4th Minnesota returned from furlough to take up duty again at Huntsville. They were part of the 3rd Division, 15th Army Corps under Brig. Gen. John E. Smith, who kept his center of operations at the Bank of Northern Alabama. Colonel Jesse I. Alexander, who commanded the 1st Brigade, maintained his headquarters at the Courthouse. Provost was Robert C. Crowell.³⁶³

These assignments become important to the well being and security of everyone. Now almost totally without serviceable state, county, or city authorities, citizens often felt helpless and unable to resolve concerns or to find justice. One conscientious Huntsville provost marshal in 1864 wrote, "The military authorities are bound...to see that justice is done between citizens, in the absence of the Civil Courts.... They will not—can not—be indifferent to the perpetration of wrongs—private or public."³⁶⁴

Federal defenses of Huntsville were being tightened on all sides. Private Jones's artillery battery moved off Russell Hill nearer to town at the Depot by the racecourse, "a large open green, very pretty for summer quarters." At the new location they had to set up tents; move the regimental sick to the hospital; and construct guard houses, harness racks, shelters for the horses, a cook house, an oven, and mess tables. Conveniently a brook ran through the site for washing-up. The men hauled cooking and drinking water from the Big Spring. As many as 40 trains passed the first day; the whistles woke them every hour of night.³⁶⁵

A vast number of these men, three brigades, cavalry and artillery, continued to prepare to march out in the heat of May and June toward Chattanooga. Colonel Lyon thought as many as 25,000 men from Huntsville, Decatur, and the Tennessee Valley passed though Stevenson on their way to the front.³⁶⁶

Private Ayers, the Recruiter for black soldiers, wrote, "Our Streets Look naked this morning. Soalders are prety scierce here now. I feel prety sure that in A few days we shall have stiring news. God bless the write and Crush out the Rong, or Bless the Union and Crush Rebellion." Ayers, who left his large family in Illinois and lied about his age to enlist, spoke for many soldiers about their motives: "They say my Country needs me and I am willing to forego all this and even more if need be to save my Country. My life is ready if need be to Lay on the alter of my Country...."³⁶⁷

May 10th 1864 Glorious news for the Feds from Virginia. They say that Lee is running! Grant in full pursuit. Don't believe it. There is a great panic

among them in town. They are looking for Gen. Forrest, having heard that he crossed the River yesterday at Florence. They are removing the ammunition from our neighborhood to the courthouse.

General Robert E. Lee was by no means running or in flight. A dreadful campaign of May 5th and 6th waged near Chancellorsville, Virginia, known also as the Battle of the Wilderness. During the fighting the soldiers often stumbled on the debris and remains of bodies from the battle at this site the previous year. The intense combat of daylight was made still worse as night fell and the woods caught on fire. The flames trapped many of the wounded that might have been saved if attended to. By nightfall of the second day, General Grant ordered the Northern troops to withdraw, but toward the southeast.

Still violence remained close to home; active guerrillas were within two miles of Huntsville. This time it was not General Morgan. Colonel Lyon was warned on May 11, “that Roddey (a rebel guerilla, General, or Colonel, or something) had crossed the Tennessee River at Florence...with 5000 men.... This notice was to keep us on the alert,” should Roddey come towards Stevenson: “If he comes here we can whip him.”³⁶⁸

Recruiter Ayers also discussed the rumor of a possible attack by Forrest. Construction on the fort should have been finished by now, but the leaders of the army were diverted it seemed: “...Our Commanders have been so presst with there Arderous duty of waiting on secesh women, yellow girls, and seeing to there wants subject to the craving of human nature and Riding Roun in Buggys and fine Carriages and Drinking now and then A Little spirits just to keep them Cool and Clear headed that the fort has been neglected and now when in all human probability we shall need and that seriously to [use] this fort it is only Just Commenced.”³⁶⁹

Work at the fort on Patton’s Hill, however, progressed at a quickened pace. Private Jones was part of a force of 42 artillerymen sent over to help on May 9. “Heavy details were there from all the batteries, cavalry and infantry. There is much work yet to be done on it. The hill being so rocky, very tedious work.... Forrest reported moving on this place, hence the haste to complete the works.” The next day, in heavy rain, a larger work force reported “to the fort, taking all the men in camp except the guards, leaving the non-commissioned officers to groom the horses.” In traditional army style of hurry-up-and-wait, the tools for the men did not arrive until 10 in the morning. The old machine shop at the depot was torn down to supply lumber for gun platforms for the fort.

At noon all the work “details marched up in line to McBride’s headquarters where whiskey rations were freely issued to all that wanted, many of the most greedy drinking in several different details. After this the

Captain mounted a table and read a dispatch from Sherman by telegraph, of glorious news from Grant. Whips Lee and in full pursuit.... The news and whiskey brought forth thundering acclamations from the soldiers....” After the meal the sober soldiers continued to work in heavy rains. That night a violent thunderstorm deluged camp, leaving 18 inches of water in one tent, and covering the floorboards in all the others: “Dry land could not be seen.”³⁷⁰

Although the Yankees might not be aware, Gen. Forrest, still at Tupelo with 2200 cavalrymen, planned a raid into middle Tennessee to relieve pressure from General Johnston in Georgia.

May 11th 1864 Rushing the work upon the fortifications, pressing every Negro. Came and took old Tom out of the yard. Begged hard for him, urging his rheumatism as a plea, all to no purpose. Went to the Courthouse and made an appeal to Col. Alexander. He said that he met him, and seeing that he was lame, released him. ‘Twas a mistake, however; in the Negro. Uncle Tom worked all day and was ordered to report again at the fortifications tomorrow morning. Two hundred of their shovels received by train today. And all artists, suttlers, cotton buyers and camp followers ordered to report to work at the same time and place to receive arms, upon penalty of being expelled the lines.

In the cold the soldiers continued to load and unload dirt for the walls and stone for the foundation for the heavy gun placements. Colonel Scott wrote about the work at the fort: “all the Negroes in the city were pressed into service, the Loyal citizens complain because their servants are made to work.” After a hard storm the weather turned very cold and the men kept up fires all day. Moreover, all camp followers were ordered to work on the Fort: “There were several long black coats and paper collars at work.”³⁷¹

In spite of their efforts, Fort Taylor—as the fortification of Patton’s Hill was called—was not completed to the original specifications. One year later the Inspector General of Fortifications described the site as an uncompleted redoubt, on a rocky site, mostly square with 180 feet to each side on the highest ground in the city, the parapet nearly 10 feet thick. The outer walls were surrounded by a cedar abatis, or barricade of trees felled and woven together facing outwards toward the enemy.³⁷²

May 12th 1864 Went up to see Mrs. Tom White this evening. They are digging rifle pits in her front yard. This will bring her house and grounds within the fort. All loyal citizens are ordered to report at the

fortifications for work tomorrow. Uncle Tom is still retained, whilst our yard and garden are going to weeds.

Still bad news for us from Virginia, but do not believe it. News today that Gen. Logan and staff are prisoners.

Mrs. Chadick walked up the sloping hill to the end of Eustis Street to visit Susan White's large home that was soon to be within the fortifications.

The Federal soldiers working on the Fort cheered Colonel Alexander's decision to impress the camp followers, sutlers, and correspondents for work detail: "It was a tough pull for them, but justifiable and highly acceptable to the soldiers. They [the sutlers] left their homes to avoid conscription and rob the soldier of his hard-earned money. Let them dig alongside the but slightly darker complected baker and hotel waiter." ³⁷³

Perhaps the bad news Mrs. Chadick referred to was the death of Lt. Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson who was hit by a bullet from one of his own men at Chancellorsville. Jackson's left arm was amputated, but he developed pneumonia. He died eight days later on the 10th of May. Union General Logan was still in the west and was not captured.

May 13th 1864 Dr. Barnett called to see us this morning. His brigade is at Decatur:

Federal Troops still scurried back and forth. Private Jones reported the 14th Illinois, the advance for the 17th Corps, arrived this morning from Athens. General M. M. Crocker also was in town. Noting the enemy's activities, Jones said, "Forrest accidentally ran against the 17th Corps on his way here, and lost all his artillery. Guess he won't bother us any more." However, the War was still close at hand: "Three trains of wounded passed North last night and this morning." More importantly to the town, work continued on Fort Taylor. They dug "rifle pits completely around it, enfiling all the principal streets of town." All the contrabands worked on the fort and "[o]ne sprig of chivalry working with the negroes under guard for saying that no 'd ___n Yankee could make him work.' Yankee bayonet did it though." ³⁷⁴

On Sunday many of the soldiers enjoyed a quiet day. After Sabbath school and what he considered a poorly given sermon at worship services, Private Jones strolled through town. He visited the Calhoun grounds where one of the Federal hospitals was located and saw his first "century plant"

about four feet high. On Monday, except for blasting the rocks inside, the fort was nearly complete.³⁷⁵

Members of the brass band from Brodhead, Wisconsin, joined their chums as the 1st Brigade Band arrived in Huntsville May 14. Bandsman Oscar Kimberey wrote that the men were quartered in a courtroom of the Madison County Courthouse where they also practiced. Private Jones said the courthouse lawn “ was covered with soldiers, lying at full length, dreamily enjoying the sweet music, forgetful of all the past....” Of all the airs, patriotic and melancholy, the sweetest of all was, “Home Sweet Home.”³⁷⁶

May 17th 1864 Heard last night that Billy was across the River at Whitesburg. Sue procured a pass this morning for herself, Jennie and Edwin to go to see him. Failed to get a horse. Sue is crying for disappointment.

Great excitement appears to pervade the town. They are removing ammunition by wagonloads to the depot. Sue has deferred the trip until tomorrow. Here comes Eddie. We shall have to give it up. Our troops are fighting the Yankees at Indian Creek, having torn up the railroad below and are thought to be advancing upon Huntsville. Hence the excitement.

Later—The Confeds destroyed trains, burned 100 bales of cotton at Madison Station, and tore up the railroad. It is also rumored that they took Larkinsville this morning. Certain it is that the trains will not come as usual, and there are no mails.

The soldiers say that Gen. Smith suppressed the dispatches of yesterday.



1st Brigade Band of Brodhead, Wisconsin at Huntsville HMCPL.

Young William Chadick never served in a recognized military unit of the Confederate Army or state militia. However he appeared to come and go on errands of his own choosing and later was suspected by the Federals as being a spy.³⁷⁷

This was an exciting day for both factions. Private Jenkin Jones with the Artillery, stationed near the depot, made two entries in his journal also. The news came that Madison Station was in the hands of the rebels, and the men packed up in great haste: "The long rolls were immediately sounded in infantry camp. Orderlies hastened with orders. First Section in moving order in ten minutes. Soon both Batteries hitched up." The 12th Battery went up to the fort at Patton's Hill and the other waited for orders. At 11 a.m. the 59th Indiana loaded into open railroad cars to go west toward Madison with "high spirits and deafening cheers." The 18th Wisconsin was called in from Whitesburg and two companies of the 10th Missouri came from the Flint River post. By late afternoon Jones' Battery boarded a train in heavy rain with three days' rations and one blanket each. Guns were put in flat cars and horses in freight cars. As the train left the Huntsville depot under Colonel Alexander, "loud cheers arose from the soldier boys. Returned by the waving of handkerchiefs from windows." They arrived at dusk at the smoldering ruins of Madison depot. While rain still fell, most of the men went in pursuit of the rebels toward the river. Jones stayed with the train expecting to return that night to Huntsville with the excess forage. He good-naturedly gave his blanket and surplus food to a companion. The train did not leave, and the kindhearted Jones slept that night in the closed railroad car with nothing to eat, clad in a wet uniform on wet sacks, and only an oilcloth to cover him.³⁷⁸

The Union soldiers were called out because Col. Josiah Patterson, a youthful 27-year-old native of Somerville, crossed the Tennessee River east of Triana on May 16th with his regiment. The Confederate soldiers used old flatboats and came across in the dark of night with at least 325 men and one 12-pounder howitzer. They advanced on Madison Station, now Madison, and local men led them to five of the Federal picket posts, which they captured. At daybreak the Southern artillery started firing on the stockade, which soon was evacuated. Colonel Adam Gorgas and the 13th Illinois fell back almost three miles. In effect the Confederates liberated the town as they burned the depot and about 70 bales of cotton, and tore up a small length of the railroad track. Furthermore, they captured the supply wagon train of the 13th with eight 6-mule teams and three 2-horse ambulances. The relief column from Huntsville arrived after noon, but Patterson's men escaped and crossed the river safely at Fletcher's Ferry with their new supplies and 66 prisoners. Union Colonel Scott, with part of

the troops sent in pursuit, made a hard march of 26 miles through mud and snow, and reported a “sharp skirmish when they caught up with them at Fletcher’s Ferry.”³⁷⁹

There was no recorded activity at Larkinsville.

May 18th 1864 All quiet. Said to be fighting at Dalton. They have brought in Dr. Fletcher and Mr. Betts today from Madison Station, accused, it is said, of guiding the Rebels yesterday to the station where the cotton was burnt. If proved on them, they say, they will hang Dr. Fletcher.

Rev. John Campbell crossed the River from Dixie yesterday. He brings me word that my “other half” is well, and has laid down the sword and taken up the “miter;” or, in other words, quit the service.

Union General Sherman’s three armies had begun to move toward Atlanta when his troops left Chattanooga the first week of May. So far there had been reported skirmishes at Calhoun and Floyd’s Spring, action at Rome, and an engagement at Adairsville—generally all along the railroad lines.

At Madison Station Private Jones awoke in his cold boxcar to find his mates sleeping heavily. They had returned at 1 a.m., travelling 26 miles in the rain with few rations and no rest. At least the Rebs were chased to the River. Jones picked up “breakfast from scraps of hard-tack scattered.” The Federals at the Madison Station had been taken completely by surprise and almost surrounded by at least 1500 Rebels with four pieces of artillery before they knew it! Jones recalled, “[t]he Regiment precipitately made for the woods to escape. Lost everything, clothing, etc. and knapsacks. The affair was no credit to the officers and men of the 13th Illinois. Their time was out on the 24th inst., expecting to go home daily. About 30 of them are now on their way to Southern prisons.” The raiders made good their escape and from the other side of the river they fired a salute of defiance. The soldiers stationed at the Huntsville depot arrived back at 5 p.m. after marching 38 miles: “All hands enjoyed a hearty supper and a good night’s rest.”³⁸⁰

Dr. Richard Matthew Fletcher, 34, enlisted in the Confederate army as a private in Company 1, 4th Alabama Infantry. He became a captain in the Quartermaster Corps but returned home on parole to serve as a doctor at the urging of his community. With this arrest he was considered a spy and faced the death penalty. Dr. Fletcher was jailed for months and watched through the window the scaffold for his execution being built. He was finally released on the word of the former commanding officer at Huntsville.³⁸¹

The other local man mentioned was likely Fletcher Betts, a farmer, who also lived in the Madison Station area. Reverend John Campbell was probably a friend who lived with his family near the Meridianville community.

May 19th 1864 Sue and Jennie went to the River to see Billy and were disappointed.

Mrs. Chadick might disapprove and avert her eyes, but the soldiers posted near the depot dammed up the nearby creek to make a swimming pond during their free time this week.³⁸²

May 22nd 1864 Good news this morning from Virginia. Beauregard has whipped Butler and, although all the Federal papers announced the great success of Grant over Lee and Sherman over Johnston, they are so given to lying and there is so much misrepresentation that we do not place any confidence in this dispatch. Neither do the better class of people in the North, judging from the tone of some of their journals. Certain it is that the Yankees now occupying Huntsville are by no means jubilant, but, on the contrary, are very quiet in regard to the news from Virginia. Their papers acknowledge the loss of 75,000 men! Who is accountable for this fearful useless sacrifice of human life? Echo answers "Who?"

Confederate General Beauregard had hoped to destroy the troops of Union General Benjamin Butler. With fewer men Beauregard was able to bottle-up the inept Federal General's entire force at the base of Bermuda Hundred peninsula, effectively keeping the Yanks out of the War and freeing up men to aid General Lee.

The Northern papers might have exaggerated, but they were not lying. The news relayed that Grant's troops won against Lee after 12 days of fighting at Spotsylvania and continued their drive. The casualties at Spotsylvania were a combined 25,000 wounded and dead. In Georgia Sherman continued to force Johnston to retreat. At Resaca in mid-May the Federals were repulsed, but Sherman continued his flanking movement. Rome, Georgia, fell on the 18th of May.

This was Sunday and in Huntsville the churches were filled with Federal soldiers. The ladies of town still did not attend. Private Jones visited a Sabbath school and heard Dr. Ross speak at the Presbyterian Church. Jones completed his Sunday writing letters and made "a fine bread pudding for dinner, great rarity for soldiers." An entire trainload of unkempt "grey backs" captured by Sherman passed through going north.³⁸³

May 23rd 1864 *Gen. Frank Blair arrived here last evening. The 17th Army Corps under his command arrived here this evening on their way probably to reinforce Sherman. They are committing all kinds of depredations upon private property. They are stopping here every moment for flowers, being greatly attracted by my front yard which at this time looks like a perfect wilderness of wild, fine roses. Twenty of them came into my back yard just at dusk for roses and behaved very badly. One proposed that they should take the churn and carry it away with them. The servant was milking and they waited until she was done, and took it from here and six of them drank it. Shall be glad when they have left here.*

Major General Frank P. Blair, Jr., spent much of his own assets for the northern cause. Early on he early advocated an all-out war, and this might account for the seemingly unsupervised actions of his troops. Blair established his headquarters on the Court House Square. Mrs. Chadick, if she had time, would be glad to notice that General Blair with the 17th Corps left on the 25th for Rome, Georgia. Unfortunately for the civilians, among other items, a herd of 2,200 local cattle were also sent north to Chattanooga.³⁸⁴

Mrs. Chadick was not the only one to notice the behavior of some of the soldiers. Private Jones wrote that the recently returned men were, “as of old...doing steep jay-hawking, breaking into gardens, cheating sutlers, etc.” Jones wrote that Leggett’s Division of the 17th Army Corps would be reorganizing in preparation to leave for the front with “gallant Sherman,” and the 63rd Illinois returned from veteran furlough. Because of the uncontrolled men, guards were stationed on every corner in town. No real news came to the camp about the battles. However, all the men knew that “[t]errible uncertainty hangs over Grant.”³⁸⁵

May 26th 1864 *Received a letter this morning from Brother Dave by Mr. Durham. He writes that poor little Davie has been badly bitten by a dog, but has entirely recovered. Feel anxious and sad about it and think that it may be worse than they represent it. Wrote an answer by the same gentleman and sent money to Dave for two kegs of lard—one for myself and one for Mrs. Steele.*

Col. Alexander gave me a “permit.” He always treats me with kindness and consideration. Major Crowell, the Provost, also approved my letters without reading them, upon my pledging my word that they contained nothing contraband. He is a friend of Dr. Barnett.

Hiram Durham, 33 and a farmer, lived with his family near Meridianville. He had apparently been to Nashville or Lebanon where he was going to return. Mrs. Chadick replied quickly for news about her Davie's condition.

The Federal officers in charge were not making activities difficult for the citizens. In camp near the depot, Private Jones sent money home by express and wrote letters in between guard duty, drill, and roll call. The men continued to be anxious for news about the War.³⁸⁶

May 28th 1864 Mrs. William Robinson called and dined with me. She gave me money to send to Dave for a sack of coffee. I have engaged a servant of hers who left the plantation and came to town with her children, because there was nothing left there for them to live upon. Rosetta by name, I like her very much and am to hire her and two children, and give her \$3 per month. Commences receiving her wages May 30.

William Robinson, High Sheriff of Madison County for three years, had died in 1852. His widow, Caroline (Moore) Robinson, then 29 and with five children, completed the building of the Quietdale, the residence he planned near Meridianville Road. Mrs. Robinson hid her valuables at the plantation in the Big Cove area when the Federals first invaded. Because that was successful, she repeated these safety measures at the next occupation. But on this second go-around, they were detected and apparently 120 pieces of silver, Negroes, stock, tools, and provisions were taken.³⁸⁷

The weather was now mild, and the Union officers enjoyed themselves on Monte Sano. On Friday, May 27, Colonel Scott, General Smith and the Brigade Band and “quite a large party of ladies and officers” amused themselves on “Sono” mountain. There was plenty of music and dancing until sundown. Today members of the band for the 34th Wisconsin Infantry went to the top of Mount Sano and played while the officers and ladies danced.³⁸⁸

June 2nd 1864 To our great surprise, Billy returned home today. Says he was captured on the other side of the River. He was taken to the Courthouse and his person searched. In one of his pockets was found a letter written to him last Fall by myself. Among other things, his pa's escape from capture was spoken of, together with an account of Sue's shooting herself through the hand. I do not, unfortunately, remember the remaining contents. The Provost says that I speak of having my husband's fine saddle in my possession and that it must be sent to him



Soldiers' Ball in Huntsville - The Virginia Reel. It is doubtful that the dance on Monte Sano was this formal. Harper's Weekly engraving.

forthwith. This statement must be incorrect as, not having it, I could not have so stated. He refuses to give up the letter or to let Billy look at it.

How frightening to be doubted by the authorities. At the same time Mrs. Chadick had no clear way to prove her innocence regarding the contents of the letter and the whereabouts of her husband's fine English saddle. She knew the Colonel had the saddle because she had arranged for him to get it when he escaped on the morning of October 12, 1863. Furthermore, she had recorded the story in her journal. Like most other women of the community, she was on her own. There was no one else to turn to or give her advice, and she was at the mercy of any decision by the Federal officers.

June 4th 1864 *Billy reported himself again to the Provost this evening. Major Crowell insists upon my sending him the saddle, says that he "has it in writing with my signature and that I have it in my possession." It is assuredly false. I could not have made such statement, as I sent my husband the saddle the very next morning after his escape. He says that, if I do not send it, I shall certainly get myself into trouble and lay myself liable to have my house searched every day or two.*

I fancied that he might possibly be a gentleman, as, when I went to get my letter approved, he treated me with true politeness, and when others censored and spoke unkindly of him, I was his defender. I shall certainly not take the trouble to notice his menaces. and can search if he chooses.

Two days later Mrs. Chadick continued to be agitated by both Billy's return and the missing letter now in the hands of the Federal authorities. Part of her recognized the threats, and part of her had to recognize the unreasonableness of the officer's demands.

Many soldiers attended the army church services. On this Sunday the post chaplain gave an excellent sermon—six men were baptized afterward—and the sacrament given to many. In the afternoon Private Jenkin Jones and a comrade enjoyed a pleasant stroll to the cemetery: "Walked among the dead of the time that knew peace and tranquility, and others whose lives had been wrecked by the cruel hand of war. The towering marble erected by loving hands marked the resting place of one, while the rude pine slab denoted where the other lay far away from his native home and kindred." ³⁸⁹

On June 7th a squad of eight soldiers accompanied a exclusive picnic party composed of "'shoulder straps' and Southern ladies to Byrd Spring.... Had a good dinner, champagne and plenty and dancing." ³⁹⁰

June 10th 1864 *Dr. Barnett (from Decatur) called to see us on Monday.*

Told him of my difficulty with the Provost who is his friend, and he said that he would state the facts to him and try to get my letter.

Miss Aggie Scott also received a severe reprimand from said gentleman on account of a paragraph in a letter to her brother, a prisoner at Camp Morton. The letter says, in a playful manner, that she is luxuriating daily upon strawberries and that, a year ago at this time, she fed Gen. Forrest with them from her own hand, and she could not help wishing she might again enjoy that pleasure just at this time. The Provost said that it was an insult to the government and he retained the letter.

Dr. Barnett returned the next morning and informed me that he found the major in the worst possible humor in consequence of his horse having run off and broken his buggy all to pieces. Would not listen to reason and said he should most assuredly make the search. He had either intentionally or unintentionally read my letter wrong, asserting that I said the affair took place after Gen. Crook (instead of McCook) occupied the town, and therefore I had no opportunity of sending the saddle to my husband. Should he persist in troubling me, I

shall certainly execute a flank movement by stating the facts to Col. Alexander.

Attended Mrs. Mayhew's examination this week. Clara recited a piece of poetry beautifully, and George made a speech and acted in a dialogue with great credit to him. I really felt proud of them both.

Now eight days later Mrs. Chadick tried to use her friend, Dr. Barnett, as a possible go-between for the return of the letter. When that failed, she prepared her next battle plan. She certainly understood both the army nomenclature and power structure to outflank the Major with a Colonel.

Agatha Scott, 20, and her two younger brothers lived with the Tulliola and William H. Powers on Randolph Street, opposite the Female College. She probably had written to her older brother, Andrew, 30, now a prisoner at Camp Morton in Indianapolis.

The four older Chadick stepchildren were no longer attending school, but for George and Clara the classroom was in session and final recitations were in order. Young Mary was only about four years old.

June 11th 1864 Bought a barrel of flour today from a soldier for \$14 in Greenbacks. He informs me the troops now stationed here are under marching orders and will leave in a few days, their place to be supplied by "100 days" men! We are sorry to hear this, as the officers now in command have been truly kind to the citizens and have made many friends on that account. We may make a bad exchange.

Tonight, news came that Henry Figures had been killed in one of the battles in Virginia!

Private Jones could have used some of Mrs. Chadick's precious flour that day. The soldiers drew rations and received hard-tack instead of flour; however, he completed his meal with a dish of raspberries. The soldiers wondered what the change in rations meant. They also noticed the 100-days men (those who signed on for that specific number of days) pass through on their way to Decatur.³⁹¹

Lieutenant Henry Figures of Huntsville, impatient with his assignment and colleagues in Montgomery, had sought a more active role in the War effort. He requested to be sent to the front. The young man wrote his parents not to worry about his honorable behavior. He had observed his companions and asked, "How can they serve their country well with their brains stupefied with intoxicating drink?" With permission from his parents he joined the 4th Alabama at Winchester, Virginia, in the summer of 1861. His mother visited the War Department, and his father

wrote many letters on behalf of his commission before young Figures became adjutant of the 48th Alabama Regiment. Henry Figures died rallying the men on May 6 at the age of 20 at the Battle of the Wilderness. His body was wrapped in his blanket roll in lieu of a coffin; a makeshift wooden cross marked the spot. His sister, Mattie, wrote later, "Kind hands carried him from the battlefield, and laid him to rest, in an orchard under an apple tree, in full bloom, which cast its rosy petals near his head." Henry's father went to Virginia two years after the War to retrieve the body. His remains are in the family plot at the city cemetery.³⁹²



Lieutenant Henry Figures (left) with unidentified friend. HMCPL.

June 12th 1864 *Heard today John Young had fallen in Virginia with several others from this neighborhood.*

John W. Young, now 30, volunteered early in the War and was a 3rd Corporal in the Madison Rifles. Young had worked for the *Huntsville Independent* and told readers he was "stowing away a cedar pencil in our knapsack, and do up, at leisure moments, a war and general correspondence." John Young fortunately was only wounded. Although he lost three fingers on his right hand in 1863, he then served on the staff of the brigade commissary.³⁹³

That Sunday Dr. Ross's sermon, unattended by the ladies as usual, was "What Is Man?" A railroad train with 300 prisoners passed going north. The Federal soldiers hoped, signs of action were evident: "All the hospitalized wounded and sick were sent north, and orders were issued to "Hold ourselves in readiness to march at any time."³⁹⁴

June 16th 1864 *The old troops are leaving. Col. Dean's regiment came in today from Decatur. Col. McFall came around to see us and said if there was anything he could do for us before leaving, not to hesitate to ask him. Dr. Barnett brought me a supply of medicines.*

Private Jones continued to report on his week: green peas for dinner; two soldiers married girls they met at Scottsboro; 63rd Illinois and 10th Minnesota arrived; Confederate Roddey attacked Decatur as soon as the 3rd Brigade left, driving the 100-days men inside the fort until relief came; action appeared to be eminent—stores and goods were sent south; the days were very hot; 18th Wisconsin came up from Whitesburg; and, 400 rebels prisoners came through on their way north. As the train stopped at the Huntsville depot, word soon spread: “Citizens and soldiers flocked around.... Some ladies trembling inquired for friends and relations, other pressing forward anxious to bestow a smile upon those whom they sympathized with.”³⁹⁵

The townspeople were aware, as were the soldiers, of the consequences when the majority of the military units left town. Bandsman Kimberley wrote on June 21, “The city and Railroad is to [be] guarded by green troops and it is quite certain when we leave the rebels will make a raid and drive them from it.... Then the ground will have to be fought over again. It is known that Forrest is hanging around only waiting for this Division to leave, when he will have just what he wants, namely, about half a million dollars worth of stores.”³⁹⁶

The soldiers were finally given orders to move on June 22. Everyone was busy packing knapsacks, writing letters, and preparing to march out in the rain. Not all of their own men accompanied them. Private Jones visited the seven patients, all recruits, still in the hospital. One, Enoch Johnson, died the next morning: “He left a wife and child to mourn his loss.... Alas! they will see his manly form no more in this world.... I was one of the detachment...that followed the corpse to the grave. Silently, without a word of prayer, we buried him in a rude coffin and without a thought hardly, hastened back to camp to prepare for the morrow.” They all slept—but for Private Johnson—in Huntsville that night for the last time.³⁹⁷

June 23rd 1864 Six thousand troops left here for the front this morning, leaving but one regiment. More “100 days” came in this evening, however: They are moving many of the commissary stores, and many of the Union citizens and officers and wives are leaving. They say it is not now a safe place, and raids are looked for from the Confederates. Forrest is also a terror to them. It is thought he will come this way to cut off Sherman’s communications.

Colonel Alexander was relieved as commander of the Post, and the 59th Indiana Infantry prepared to move out. The men were busy cleaning up and sending off extra overcoats and blankets. Surplus materials were disposed of, likely sold to fortunate townspeople who were glad to get food

or clothing. Horses and mules were shod and wagons loaded. Colonel Scott arranged to have his portrait and that of his wife, Jennie, (already painted by Frye) sent home. The movement of troops began at 6 a.m. and must have taken hours. The soldiers moved out in the following order: 1st, 2nd, & 3rd Brigades. The men of the 1st followed the 63rd Illinois Pioneer Corps, 6th Wisconsin Battery, 48th Indiana, 11th Minnesota, the 18th Wisconsin, Brigade train, 59th Indiana. They bivouacked on the left bank of the Flint River at about 1 p.m. The troops suffered dreadfully from the heat and lack of water. Three or four men died from sunstroke on the next day's march.³⁹⁸

The local citizens probably were war-experienced enough to be concerned about the green, untried men who had enlisted for only 100 days' service replacing the more experienced soldiers. The Yankee greenhorns were in charge of town.

June 24th 1864 I made \$3 today selling milk and vegetables to the soldiers. Sue, Jennie and Georgie have gone to Mr. Malone's. Wish I could hear from W.D. Wonder when the coast will be clear so he can come home. Gen. Rousseau arrived here last night.

These three dollars were probably the first money that Mary Jane Chadick had ever earned. But one suspects that someone else milked the cow while the produce was planted and harvested by servants. The standards of behavior were beginning to change now.

The children went out to visit Mr. Nashville Malone and his wife, Sally, who farmed on Meridianville Pike near the two Robinson families.

General Rousseau received a promotion to major general in October 1862 after he had served in Huntsville—where he was already a favorite of the locals—during July and August of 1862.³⁹⁹

June 26th 1864 Roddey, the Feds say, is threatening Huntsville. No one is allowed to go out of town today without taking the oath. We have a change of commanders—Col. Johnson commands the post, Major Calkins is Provost Marshal with headquarters at the Beirne house. My servant, Corrina, has left the hotel and gone there to wait on him.

They are more stringent and severe than Col. Alexander and Gen. Smith. They say it is Sherman's order. They have also orders to destroy the town in case of a successful attack by the Rebels. We have encouraging news from Petersburg. Gen. Granger commands the Federal forces in North Alabama, with headquarters at Decatur.

Citizens in town had felt secure under Col. Alexander's protection as Commander of the Post; they considered him a friend. They petitioned authorities to have him remain because they felt their lives and property would be more secure, a false impression as events proved.⁴⁰⁰ Lieutenant Colonel Gilbert M. L. Johnson was with the 13th Indiana Cavalry. Major William H. Calkins was with the 12th Indiana Cavalry. Soldiers of the 12th patrolled the county to rid the area of guerrillas and bushwhackers. By this time they had orders to shoot to kill and take no prisoners.⁴⁰¹

The news from Petersburg, Virginia, was still in the formative stage. General Grant attempted to capture this city 20 miles south of Richmond and halt rail traffic to the Confederate capital. The Federals, if things went according to plan, would then be able to starve and force a surrender of Richmond. After the first three days of assault and 12,000 Federal casualties, the men of both sides settled down and dug in. A summer drought was relieved by rain after six weeks only to be followed by a deluge that filled the trenches with waist-deep water. The siege lasted nine months.

Decatur suffered from the longest period of occupation by Federal troops in the Tennessee Valley. In March of 1864 Brig. Gen. Grenville Dodge issued a special order to evacuate most of the citizens of Decatur because the army would need to use every building in town. Everyone, other than the needed government employees and families of the army, had to choose to move at least one mile north or south and take "all their movable effects." Brigadier General Robert S. Granger now served as commander of the District of North Alabama with garrisons at Huntsville, Decatur, and Stevenson. It would be up to his 12,000 men to patrol the north bank of the Tennessee River to keep at bay the likes of Confederates Hood, Wheeler, Forrest, and Roddey.⁴⁰²

July 2nd 1864 Mrs. Figures called upon Mrs. Alexander, and was very sociable with her. Upon Mrs. Alexander's departure from Huntsville, it was discovered Mrs. Figures choice servant, Ella, had gone with her. She either absconded or abducted, but in either case, she was aided and abetted. It shows the principles upon which the northern people act. Carpets, chamber sets and such have been taken from private residences occupied by Federal officers to be shipped north! Mrs. Figures was somewhat taken by surprise.

July 4th 1864 The day passed quietly. The Feds fired a few guns in honor of the day, but Richmond has not fallen as they so confidently believe it would by this day.

July 8th 1864 *Mr. Herrick called this evening with letters for me from Nashville. Learned Julia could not procure a pass for herself and my little Dave to come to Huntsville. A soldier also called with an official document demanding one set of chamber furniture for the benefit of headquarters at Mr. Beire's house. Persuaded the official to wait until I could go to headquarters and appeal to Col. Johnson, commander of the post, as having no furniture to spare, such an arrangement would subject me to most serious inconvenience.*

Mr. Herrick must have been a merchant or sutler who passed through the lines often and had contact with Mrs. Chadick's brother in Nashville.

Colonel Gilbert M. L. Johnson, 13th Indiana Cavalry, was now in command of the garrison and his Chief of Staff was Lt. Edward F. Reid. The commander received a journal listing potentially dangerous Huntsville citizens. Emile Bourlier, a Federal spy since 1862, and J. Howard Larcombe, Huntsville's former telegraph operator, wrote the information about local citizens! If there was any doubt before, proof of Larcombe's undercover activities was verified in writing. The journal notations also presented useful information about Rebel activities in town.⁴⁰³

July 9th 1864 *A second wagon came again for the furniture this morning. A sofa, six chairs, table, bedstead, bureau with looking glass, washstand and bowl and pitcher were demanded. Whilst the wagon went to Dr. Anthony's for similar demand, I proceeded to use my powers of persuasion upon Col. Johnson. He told me, among other things, I must expect to lose everything I had. In fact, I did not possess anything; my husband had taken an active part in the War, had been very violent, was in favor of bushwhacking, etc. I told him my husband was a high-toned, honorable gentleman, and by no means violent. I said he was a man who always took strong grounds and used strong language to maintain it. Neither was he an advocate of bushwhacking, but believed in an honorable, open warfare, and such he had always waged upon them. I did not see why that was any reason why I should be called upon to give up everything I had. Many demands had been made upon me since their army had occupied the place.*

After I finished my talk, he said, "Well, Mrs. Chadick, I will not take as much from you as I intended. I will only take two or three pieces." He sent and took a washstand, bowl and pitcher, bureau and looking glass.

Found this morning my maid of all work, Rosetta, is going to leave me and go to a neighborhood which offers higher wages.

Whether she wore him down with her powers of persuasion, or just wore him down, Colonel Johnson was no match for Mary Jane Chadick.

Dr. Edwin Anthony, 49, maintained an office at his home on the corner of Franklin and Williams Streets. Early in the War during the epidemic of mumps and measles when three to four hundred Southern soldiers often were unfit for duty at Camp Bradford, Dr. Anthony treated the soldiers with remarkable care. There was only one fatality at that time, a patient who apparently did not follow his directions. Before the epidemic ran its course, according to the newspaper, 800 men were stricken, but only ten died.⁴⁰⁴

July 15th 1864 Great excitement prevails this evening. It has been ascertained a large body of cavalry crossed the River at Claysville and it is thought are threatening Huntsville. Every man is ordered into the fort at sundown and whilst the place is held almost exclusively by new troops, there is really quite a panic among them. They are taking every Negro man into the Fort, and think the Rebels will certainly be here by midnight. Badly prepared to greet the Rebels, having a miserable headache.

The War had not ravaged Claysville, Marshall County, as severely as other more northerly Tennessee River towns—yet. Federal Colonel Lyon, now stationed in that area, thought there was a better class of people living around Claysville than in other communities: “They are cleaner and more intelligent, and generally not so wretchedly poor.” The Colonel was awakened about midnight by the announcement, “the rebels are crossing the river with a large force down at the landing.” It appeared the Rebels had artillery on their side of the River, so the other companies under his command were called in. With relief or disappointment, by daylight they determined the large force were all men in blue.⁴⁰⁵

July 16th 1864 Awoke this morning with a clear head and find the Yanks still in unmolested possession of the place. It is certainly a raid upon this side of the River—destination not yet ascertained.

This action from July 10–22 involved raids on the West Point & Montgomery Railroad. Several units under General Rousseau responded from Decatur.

July 18th 1864 Margaret commenced work for me today. Georgie (the colored boy who waited on my husband) was brought across the lines yesterday by the Yanks and says that W. D. had another narrow escape

from being captured last week. The gunboat on the Tennessee crossed over in the night, and the soldiers went to the very house where he was staying. But, going to the stables first, it gave the inmates of the house time to make good their retreat, and he got off safely.

Oh, if I could see him, if but for one short hour! Col. Johnson, in my interview with him, told me in a very unfeeling manner that a letter came to me from my husband a few days since, and he sent it back over the River:

By now Union troops controlled the Tennessee River, but gunboats often could not go farther upriver past Muscle Shoals, Alabama. In order to control the upper Tennessee and provide supplies for troops stationed along the way, a small steamer, the *Chattanooga*, and eight other boats were constructed at a former sawmill at Bridgeport on the river. Colonel Lyon, while stationed in Claysville, wrote his wife, “We are not entirely out of the world, as a gunboat patrols the river from Bridgeport to Decatur once or twice and week.”⁴⁰⁶

July 22nd 1864 *Have just risen from one of my nervous headaches. This cruel separation from my husband affects me most painfully at such times. It is now eight months since we saw each other.*

July 26th 1864 *The Feds are removing all their ammunition from the magazine to the Depot. They appear to be removing all their stores. Wonder if there is any possibility of an evacuation of this place. The joy would be too great.*

We have constantly good news from Virginia, but in Georgia, the news is not favorable to us. They have had a terrible fight before Atlanta and say we have been defeated, but we cannot hear the truth. It is also said Gen. Johnston has been superseded by Hood. Cannot understand it, as everybody had the utmost confidence in Johnston's ability as a general.

Colonel Lyon commented about the false information Southerners appeared to believe so readily. Many of the Rebel enlisted men seemed to think they were whipping the Federals badly; “Never was any people so blind to their real condition as is this people.”⁴⁰⁷

Although the Confederate forces may have defeated the Yankees earlier in June at Cold Harbor, Virginia, the news from Virginia was not good for their cause. At Petersburg the Southern forces inflicted dreadful casualties on the enemy at first; however, in June General Grant had begun

the siege of Petersburg, knowing when he captured the city it would halt rail traffic and supplies to Richmond.

General Sherman, commander of the western forces, had left Huntsville in April 1864 for Chattanooga. After the victory there, he began the campaign for Atlanta, the crossroads of the Confederate communications and supplies. Sherman's three armies began to move toward Georgia on the 7th of May. While the enemy met each other at Dalton, Allatoona, and Kenesaw Mountain, Sherman also had his cavalry burn and destroy supplies along the countryside. Rebel General Johnston's troops continued to fall back toward the city. President Davis called for Confederate Gen. John Hood to replace Johnston on the 17th of July. The battles around Atlanta had been going on for a week.

July 27th 1864 The body of Major Gen. McPherson (at one time in command at Huntsville) passed through here last night. They have lost one of their best generals.

General J. B. McPherson, one of the North's most able commanders, died on July 22. It was said General Sherman cried over his body as it lay on a wooden door serving as a bier.⁴⁰⁸ For a short time General Logan succeeded McPherson as commander of the Army of the Tennessee.

July 29th 1864 Went to Headquarters this morning to get a permit to bring some lard, mackerel and herring, etc. out of Nashville. The favor was readily granted by Col. Johnson. Gen. Granger was present—a very dignified, courteous gentleman. He took great notice of Clara, who accompanied me, took the heart of a watermelon and gave it to her, and spread his handkerchief in her lap to protect her dress. I was in another room at the time, having my permit written out, and did not hear the tale of distress poured into his ears by two women from the country, whose house, with all their worldly goods and chattels, had been laid in ashes the day before by the Feds because her son belonged to a company of guerrillas. Neither did I hear his reply, only that it was unauthorized.

These Federal soldiers are doing dreadful deeds in the country, when they are away from their commands. Last week, near New Market, they called two young men out from their homes and shot them in cold blood, and then called on their friends to bury them. Reason alleged was they had fed bushwhackers!

Captain Baker, Quartermaster, has for some cause been relieved. A lady sent to Corinna (who waited on him) for his China set, silver baskets and other things which had been taken for his use, and she refused to give them up, saying Capt. Baker had given them to her. She had them packed up and was all ready to start with them to Nashville when Col. Johnson sent a guard to take them, and forbid his having a pass to leave the place. She is now hunting a room to stay in.

Mr. McGee from Winchester was here tonight. The most amusing gentleman I have ever met. Gen. Stanley was quartered in his house last summer, and it appears he took quite a fancy to him, although he is a great Rebel. Last week, he received a letter from the General, now in Georgia saying that he had named his little son (six weeks old) for him. Mr. McGhee wrote back that he thanked him and that he would give it a "little nigger."

Colonel Johnson and General Granger by their kindness elicited favorable comments from Mrs. Chadick. But, the entry for the day was filled with other observations about the trying times—unsavory people, cruel deeds, selfishness, and thoughtlessness.

Captain Timothy Baker, who served as Quartermaster, was with Co. B, 12th Indiana Cavalry. Mrs. Chadick does not exactly say so, but it did appear that the woman wanting his china and silver was not Mrs. Baker.

Ben McGee, 48, of Winchester, Tennessee, was a well-to-do farmer with combined assets of \$41,800.

Private Ayers, the recruiter of black soldiers, went down to Whitesburg on this warm day in a misty rain accompanied by ten armed and uniformed black soldiers. "I got some 15 men but some was Lame some Ruptured some pane in back some Rumatism some toothache and so on till five was all the net of my trip.... I find myself verry tired as I walked all the whole trip and wont do it Again."⁴⁰⁹

August 1st 1864 *Wrote to the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war for the U.S., asking for a permit for Eddie to bring some goods through to this place. He is an old friend and once very highly esteemed. I shall wait patiently for the result.*

Edwin M. Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War, lived in Steubenville, Ohio, and in 1843 was law partner with George W. McCook, second oldest of the eight "fighting McCooks."⁴¹⁰ In the early 1830s when Mary's family, the Cooks, were in Steubenville the population was only 5200 people. The Cook, McCook, Stanton, and Hatton families all would have met in the same social circle.

Aug. 6th 1864 Had a complete and joyful surprise this evening in the arrival of my long-absent Little Davie and Sister Julia. He has been absent now nearly three years. A beautiful boy. Has grown very much and hardly knew his mother. Such an excitement among the children! If his pa was only here to participate in it, our happiness would be complete. Julia brings me a letter from Clara asking me to hunt up a Federal officer who has been missing since the Battle of the Wilderness and is supposed to have been taken prisoner and carried to Macon, Georgia. He is a son of Dr. Dale of Pittsburgh. Must make an effort, although I am almost as completely cut off from communication with Dixie as they are themselves.

In March of 1862 young Davie, the Chadick's youngest son, had been treated to a visit to the Cook relatives in Lebanon. As the Federals invaded Huntsville, he was not allowed to cross the picket lines to return. Apparently everything was too unsettled to risk an attempt to return the boy to Huntsville during the times of freedom from Union control. Someone in Lebanon or Nashville, likely her brother David, obtained permission from the Federal authorities for this trip home after 17 months.

Another of Mrs. Chadick's sisters, Clara (Cook) Stockton, asked for information about Lt. Col. Richard Colgate Dale. He was the son of Dr. Thomas and Margaret Dale of Pittsburg. Colonel Dale, 26, was in the 116th Pennsylvania Infantry, a part of the famed Irish Brigade.⁴¹¹

Aug. 10th 1864 Wrote a letter to Major Logan of the LaMar House in Macon, at the suggestion of a friend, to make inquiries about Col. Dale. Shall take it to Gen. Granger, who is in command here, and ask him to forward it under a flag of truce.

Mrs. Chadick wrote LaMar, but she likely meant the Lanier House in Macon, Georgia. The father and grandfather of poet Sidney Lanier had opened the hotel there in 1850. The town of Macon, out of harm's way for almost all the War years, became a safe haven for civilians, injured, and recovering soldiers and prisoners. Macon currently served as temporary capital for Georgia as General Sherman continued his advance.⁴¹²

Aug. 11th 1864 Sent to the Beirne house today and recovered my basin and washstand but the Looking Glass and bowl and pitcher are not to be found; gave General Granger a receipt for the same.

In the scheme of things, with her official receipt, Mrs. Chadick would expect to be reimbursed for the items taken by Yankees and now unaccounted for.

Aug. 12^h 1864 Julia and myself went to Headquarters this morning to ask them to forward my letter. He said there was no communication whatever with the other side of the River; except under very peculiar circumstances. When he learned the particulars and that a Federal officer was involved, he said at once that Gen. Sherman was the man to write to, and he would send it to Macon under flag of truce—that he would forward my letter to Sherman and endorse it.

Three officers also called this morning to take a room in house for business purposes; talked them out of it and mentioned it to the General and he issued an order that they should not go into any private house.

Aug. 13^h 1864 Quite ill with a severe cold. Sue and Jennie have gone out to Mrs. Wilson's to spend the day. Had quite an excitement about dinner time, occasioned by the finding of a _____ in my front yard by Billy.

Whatever Billy discovered in the front yard, Mrs. Chadick (ever the lady) could not bring herself to write the word in her journal.

Aug. 16^h 1864 Great excitement among the children. Aunt Julia is getting up some tableaux in which they are all to act and which will come off tomorrow night.

Heard this evening that John Clark, a member of our church and Sabbath school, had been murdered by the Federal soldiers under the most aggravated circumstances. These murders are becoming numerous and alarming. They call their victims out of their houses, accuse them of feeding bushwhackers or some such pretense, and then shoot them down.

Received a letter today from Hannah, the first in a year. She is in Wilmington, N.C., having left Charleston at the beginning of the siege.

Tableaux vivant, so very popular, allowed all the children to have a part in the original skits with the fun of homemade costumes and pantomime, and the advantage of no words to memorize and no planned stage directions.

This civilian was either John Clark, a plasterer who lived with his family on Pulaski Road or, more likely, John Clark, 34, a merchant. The *Official Records* do not mention John Clark.

Mary Jane's sister, Hannah Cook, was married to George Washington King, a merchant. The couple had no children and lived at a boarding house in Charleston, South Carolina. Charleston had been blockaded much of the War; however, after unsuccessful attacks by land and sea from July 10-18 of 1863, the Yankees settled down to a siege of the city.

Aug. 17th 1864 Awoke this morning with a dreadful headache. All came around my bedside with long faces, fearing the tableaux will have to be postponed. Every few minutes, someone puts his head in at the door with, "How do you feel now, Ma." No better?" And they tiptoe from the door in hopeless despair. Felt sad at being the cause of such terrible disappointment and resolved to make a desperate effort to get better. Sent for a tub of hot water and, after bathing my feet almost to a blister, binding up my poor head in vinegar and taking a little nap, my poor head was somewhat relieved of the pain. Then Georgie and Dave were dressed at once and started out to invite the guests.

All hands went to work putting the room to rights and arranging costumes. Some were dispatched for flowers, whilst Julia and Jennie arranged the stage. One end of the back porch was fitted up for this purpose. Counterpanes were tacked to the sides, and carpet spread and a curtain hung in front. In short time, everything was arranged and to complete all, Eddie came with a load of fine large watermelons for refreshments.

Towards night sent out and invited the ladies on this street to come in and witness the children's enjoyment. Night and the company are assembling first tableaux. The schoolmistress being arranged. Curtain used. Sallie Steele with cap and spectacles as Schoolma'am, little Dave shaking a switch at her and a whole swarm of schoolchildren all engaged in some mischief whilst the teacher slept! This was followed by the "Evening prayers," "Fortune teller," "Domestic bliss," Ciscaddine Slave, "Jack the Giant-killer," "May Scene," "Arts in America," "Country Cousins," and "La Sylphide." Some of the costumes were beautiful and all acted their parts admirably and were received with great applause by the company. After they were over, the crowd adjourned to the dining room to luxuriate upon the melons—everything went off admirably, thanks to "Aunt Julia" and the children have not had so much enjoyment since the commencement of the this miserable War:

Acting the school marm was Sallie, 15, daughter of Catherine and Matt Steele.

Aug. 19th 1864 *Rain, rain, rain. It has rained every day but two in this month. Margaret, my slow maid of all work is still washing – the 10th day. Everything is behind-hand. All resolve to put shoulders to the wheel and get things straight. I went to the washtub, Sue and Julia to the ironing table. Jennie got dinner and before night it was all brought up. After washing the skin off my fingers, not being used to it, I sat down to my embroidery frame and embroidered the whole skirt of a child's dress in bunches of flowers, and finished it by dusk. It is for Julia—a present to a little namesake in Lebanon.*

Aug. 21st 1864 *Immediately after breakfast, carried Mrs. Tom White a letter, which contained news from her son Sandy, from whom she had not heard in months. The news of Capt. Ward's death and that of Mr. Bruckner have been confirmed. Both killed in the battles before Atlanta.*

A trial is going on in town today. Col. Anderson, who commands at Brownsboro, has been having innocent citizens shot like dogs. A young man named Davis was carried before him last week and asked "to take the oath." He said he could not take it. They then asked, if he was to go into the army, which one would he go into. He replied he had his old mother and her family to take care of and could not go into either; but of course, if he was forced to go, being a Southern man, his preference would be on that side. Anderson replied, "I'll fix you. You shall not go into either!"

He was kept until the next morning, when Col. Anderson gave him a pass to go home, and then sent out a squad of men with orders to kill him. He begged hard for one-half hour to go home and see his mother. He was shot in 14 places, a Negro having the second shot, and his body carried into the mountain and hid.

The men in the neighborhood were afraid to look for him, and a Federal soldier piloted Miss Ann Vincent to the spot under promise of secrecy, and she and other ladies carried the body home. Another man was afraid to make a coffin without a "permit" from Col. Anderson. This brutal officer refused admittance to the mother of the murdered man, but she forced her way into his presence, told him he had murdered an innocent man and broke a mother's heart, and she would have revenge. She came to town and went to the officers in command and told them that if they did not bring Col. Anderson to justice, she would mount her horse and go herself in search of the Rebel cavalry.

She got up her witnesses and brought them to town, and he is now being tried. This man is a Congregational preacher.

Between robbing, thieving and murdering, they will give the North a glorious name in history. Houses that have been occupied by officers and their reputed wives have been completely plundered. At Mr. Robert Watkins' china, plate, bedding, even the pillow cases from off the beds and the latter gentleman's clothes (he had just died) were packed up and carried off whilst the old lady lay upon a bed of sickness.

Capt. Allen, Quartermaster, who occupied the house of Mrs. Weeden, carried off, among other things, two china chambers. His name has been thereby immortalized by the ladies. When looking under the bed for that article, they ask, "Where's Capt. Allen?"

In the spring of 1862 Captain John James Ward formed Ward's Artillery Battery, the only artillery battery from Huntsville. Ward died July 27th at the age of 44, leaving his 39-year-old widow with six children at home. (Most of the remaining members of the battery were captured at Selma in the spring of 1865.) John T. Bruckner, 37, a sewing machine mechanic and artist, left a wife, Mary Jane, and at least three small children. He was an Adjutant with the 50th Alabama Infantry.⁴¹³

Many victims of the uncontrolled violence in the countryside simply disappeared. A kind Yankee soldier led Ann Vincent, 29, who lived with her family near the Athens Road, to Davis's badly mutilated body. Nevertheless the mother of young Patrick Davis, 18, saw to it that his story was told. Patrick Davis was the oldest of the nine children of 41-year-old widow Lucy Davis. Davis was accused of being a "bushwhacker" and a spy. Although there was no evidence against him, the young man was tied to a tree and shot to death, his body thrown in a sinkhole. Mrs. Davis asked for justice from the local Federal authorities against Col. Edward Anderson. (Apparently the death of John Clark, noted in the journal in August, was under similar circumstances by this same group of the 12th Indiana Cavalry led by Anderson, a former Congregational chaplain from Chicago.)⁴¹⁴

General Granger had ordered Colonel Anderson on August 18th "to clean out the country." Perhaps Anderson was only following orders, but the local witnesses and four men from the 12th Indiana Cavalry apparently were prepared to testify against Colonel Anderson, a colored man, and the squad of soldiers who murdered Davis on August 14. The other witnesses included the boy's mother and ten neighbors. Unfortunately there is no record of any court martial proceedings or trial other than the initial charges. Colonel Anderson left Huntsville in September for special duty in Indiana. The court of inquiry brought charges, but Anderson was safely

away from the scene and his accusers. Colonel William P. Lyon of the 13th Wisconsin thought Anderson “the roughest man I have met lately; but he is talented and brave.”⁴¹⁵

Evidently the mother of Robert Watkins was still living in the house and unwell. The “plate” taken by the enemy soldiers was the Watkins family’s sterling silver.

Mrs. Chadick suggested that perhaps the women with some of the officers were not their wives, and certainly not ladies, something she alluded to earlier.

Captain Allen occupied the home of vulnerable Jane Weeden, a widow, and her two daughters, Kate, 26, and Maria Howard Weeden, 18. The girls’ older brother, Col. John D. Weeden, was a member of the 49th Alabama Infantry Regiment and captured in 1864. John kept a diary and described his experiences on Johnson’s Island in the winter, walking barefoot across three miles of frozen Lake Erie. Harry Weeden, formerly a medical student, served in the medical corps. William Weeden served in the Madison Rifles.⁴¹⁶

Aug. 22nd 1864 I am sad today. Julia is preparing to return tonight to Tennessee, and I shall again be left alone. Little Davie is crying to return with her. Many visitors have been in to say goodbye. I feel great uneasiness about her. The trains are so frequently fired into.

Aug. 23rd 1864 Julia left at daybreak this morning. I feel nervous and anxious lest something was going to happen. Must try to overcome it. If I could only hear from my husband, it would lighten my heart.

Aug. 31st 1864 Received a letter from Julia, assuring me of her safe arrival in Nashville. Mrs. Steele’s lard also arrived by wagon.

There is much excitement among the Federals. Brigadier General Wheeler has destroyed the railroad. Tullahoma and Decatur are threatened. They are looking for him here every hour and are barricading the streets with cotton bales. They [the Confederates] have also fired two shells into the town today.

Rebel General Joe Wheeler had commanded the cavalry of the Army of Tennessee at the age of 26. He was almost constantly engaged in battle at the cost of being wounded three times and having 16 horses shot out from under him. Wheeler’s Confederate cavalry had recently raided into east and middle Tennessee attempting to break General Sherman’s railroad connections with the North, the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad.⁴¹⁷



Weeden House - 300 Gates Avenue.

HMCPL.

Colonel Lyon wrote from Claysville, "There is undoubtedly quite a large rebel force on the other side of the river.... The river is high now and they can only cross in boats." His troops were arranged that night all along the length of the River to Whitesburg without any signs of action. Apparently the Rebels got orders to proceed at once toward Atlanta with their 13 pieces of artillery.⁴¹⁸

Sept. 1st 1864 *The excitement has somewhat subsided, as the Rebels did not make their appearance last night.*

Sept. 2nd 1864 *All is confusion among the Feds. Trains of supplies have just come in, the wagons perfectly riddled with balls. They say they ran the gauntlet at or near Athens, and the bridge over Elk River was on fire when they passed over it. These trains had supplies of coffee, etc. Pity it could not have been captured.*

Wagons are running through the streets at a gallop toward the fort, loaded with cotton bales and all seem to be in preparation for a fight. The Yanks think Forrest and Roddey are below and Wheeler above. They are sending troops below, and make great threats of capturing them all. They had a report here today among the soldiers that Wheeler was captured.

5 o'clock *A dispatch just came that Atlanta had fallen! Sue, Jennie and Georgie, Mrs. Hereford and Kittie Brickell have just started to Meridianville to a meeting of the church. Do not like for them to leave home at such a time.*

First Lieutenant Will McTeer of the 4th Tennessee Cavalry wrote about this nearby action. While the Federal troops were hastily assembling on the public square at Athens, they could see Roddey's men tearing up the railroad tracks and hear his orders called out from the depot.⁴¹⁹

Colonel Lyon received orders to take command of the railroad from Huntsville to Stevenson and all the troops stationed at Huntsville. Lyon wrote, "We are cut off from Nashville.... Wheeler has been in... and cut the railroads." In the meanyime Colonel Lyon enjoyed fine accommodations in town as he had taken "rooms in one of the largest houses in town, that of an old widow, Mrs. Rice.... We have nice quarters. The Adjutant and I each have a large, carpeted, well furnished room, in the second story of a large mansion very pleasantly located." Lyon did not mingle with Mrs. Rice, his "amiable and excellent landlady," whom he had not seen since being in her house. Mary Rice was 64 at the time and had outlived her husband and thirteen children. Colonel Lyon enjoyed his room, "nearly 20 feet square and at least 15 feet high, with four large windows with blinds outside and damask curtains inside. The floor is carpeted" and filled with old-fashioned furniture including the wardrobe, which was kept locked. The Colonel hoped his wife, Adelia, would be able to join him.⁴²⁰

The outcome of Sherman's actions was becoming unmistakable as the Union army surrounded Atlanta. CSA General Hood evacuated Atlanta on the evening of September 1, and the Federal army entered the next morning.

Miss Kittie Brickell was probably 29-year-old Louisa, daughter of Mrs. Brickell and sister of Robert Brickell. Charles W. Hereford was a merchant in town. He and his wife attended the Cumberland Church and proved to be good friends to the Chadick family. Unbeknownst to them Mr. Hereford was also a good friend to Captain Fordyce of the 1st Ohio Cavalry who came to Huntsville with the raids of July 1863 and had stayed in Huntsville after his resignation from the Union army on December 24, 1863.

Sept. 3rd 1864 The railroad has been cut both ways, so there is no communications with Nashville, although the Feds say there is chance of it being repaired in a day or two. We are entirely cut off from any reliable news. One of their officers said yesterday that the news from Atlanta would not do to be bet on. Just as we thought. They were fighting all day yesterday at Athens, with what result is not known to us. It is also rumored Shelbyville is in the hands of the Rebels. Gen. Ed. McCook and command are here.

The 9th Indiana Cavalry participated in at skirmish at Florence, 44 miles west of Athens. There were actions and skirmishes on August 29th and 30th at McMinnville, just 50 miles away from Shelbyville, Tennessee.

Sept. 5th 1864 Lieut. Whitton called this morning and brought me some sugar and candles. Not acquainted, but Mrs. D. with whom he boards, mentioned my wants, and he kindly offered to procure them for me. By this means, I get sugar at 14 cents (government price) whereas I should have to give 50, and other things in proportion. Truly, there are some gentlemen among them. He called at the door this evening and left a lady's book.

James W. Whitton was a 2nd Lieutenant in the 26th Missouri Infantry.

Not far from Huntsville, the Recruiter for black soldiers, Private Ayers, was at Triana, a place he called a "little Stinkhole"—the village was located in the low, swampy lands at the River and summer heat prevailed. Ayers had been to all the stockades from Triana to the mouth of Limestone Creek for over ten days now, attempting to recruit former slaves for the U.S. Army. He was anxious to get back to Huntsville. Besides the lack of volunteers among the slaves, his notes reveal sickness was prevalent: "A goodeal of Ague and Chill and fever here Among the Boys. This Limestone Creek is A sickly place tho A Ritch Country of Land." The countryside of the Tennessee Valley impressed him, "The People have here once injoyed great wealth, many of the fiest of farms with great nigger quarters Looks Like A little Country vilage forty and fifty buildings Generally in two Rows with street between of some four or five Rods width with Master's fine big mansion at head of the street."⁴²¹ Private Ayers also commented on the countryside and the agriculture: figs, crabapples, persimmons, and the magnolia tree, a crown of beauty; "Indigo rice, sweet potatoes, horses, cattle, hogs, mules, sheep in fact and any and Everything soil Can bring...."⁴²²

Sept. 10th 1864 Sue left today for Mr. Matkin's where she has engaged to teach for five months. There is quite a "mania" for teaching among the young ladies, which is certainly praiseworthy, for if the young ladies do not volunteer their services in educating the present generation, to where shall we go for teachers? We have been too dependent upon the North in this respect, as in others.

Jennie has not yet returned from Meridianville. Eddie, too, is there. Billy has a situation at the Depot, which keeps him day and night, so my household has dwindled down to myself and the four little ones. An

occasional visitor drops in and imparts the news. Some of it cheering and some otherwise.

Miss Florence C. says a Rebel newspaper has been smuggled in. It tells us Grant has abandoned the siege of Petersburg and Lee is in possession of the Weldon railroad. Early has given the enemy a severe whipping in the Shenandoah Valley!

Then on the other hand, The Feds say Sherman is 20 miles south of Atlanta and he has had a battle and there is no end to the prisoners taken. First, they said, they captured 12,000 Rebels, but the number has now dwindled down to 3,000.

The Rebels are said to have had Athens, Pulaski and Shelbyville alternately in their possession the last week. Certain it is there is no communication with Nashville either way. We are completely shut in from all knowledge of the outer world, surrounded by Rebels and yet never permitted to behold the light of their dear faces. The road is being constantly cut as fast as the Yanks can repair it.

Am filling up the hours of tediousness and loneliness in reading "The Diary and Letters of Madam D'Arblay." Can hear nothing of the whereabouts of my "cara sposa" [dear spouse].

Col. Anderson, the murderer of Mr. Davis, has been sentenced to five years imprisonment! Mild sentence for crimes such as his.

Although William and Margaret Matkin also had three grown children, Sue likely would be teaching Ada, 9, Percy, 7, and perhaps helping Blunt, 5, learn his letters.

The Wilmington & Weldon Railroad transported the critical supplies to Lee from the south and southwest into Petersburg. Grant continued the siege at Petersburg.

Southern General Jubal Early pursued Gen. David Hunter who had recently burned Virginia Military Institute and was marching toward Lynchburg. Hunter's men were chased into West Virginia, and USA General Phil Sheridan was made commander of the Army of the Shenandoah to pursue Early. It took Sheridan over three months to truly defeat Early's army, but meanwhile Sheridan's "scorched-earth policy" totally ravaged the landscape.

General Sherman pursued the Rebels under General Hood past Jonesboro to Lovejoy Station, 20 miles south of Atlanta, but he did not attack because of the strength of the Southern position. Sherman's Union forces returned to Atlanta on the 4th through the 8th of September. For the actions from May through August, the official record reported 9918 prisoners captured. From September 1-20, 3065 more were taken for a combined number of 12,983 Southern prisoners. The General then issued

an order exiling all citizens. “Everything and everybody,” one civilian wrote, were “turned out into the woods like cattle.” The military supplies were set on fire, and as the flames spread much of Atlanta burned to the ground.⁴²³ Many Southerners felt this was one among many of God’s tests of their faith.

On September 10, the 9th Indiana Cavalry participated in a skirmish at Florence. General Wheeler had just returned to nearby Tusculumbia after his raids in north Georgia, eastern and central Tennessee.

The *Official Records* did not include action at Shelbyville or Pulaski.

The War continued closer at hand. Out in the county, one mile south of Meridianville at Greenlawn, Mrs. Chadick’s friend, Octavia Wyche Otey, 33, tried woefully to keep body and soul together. At the plantation were her soon-to-die husband, stepfather and half-brother, and her six children aged 2-14. Mrs. Otey took up her journal again: “This has been a year of trouble for our family, and also to the whole country. Anxiety about something to eat, something to wear, and anxiety about everything. That which is not taken in the day from us, is stolen at night by negroes and robbers. God only knows what will become of us.”⁴²⁴

Mary Jane was reading part of the seven-volume set of journals and papers written by Frances (Fanny) Burney d’Arblay and published posthumously by her niece.⁴²⁵

A military court of inquiry found enough evidence to bring charges against Colonel Anderson; however, he soon left Huntsville with his regiment to serve in Tennessee. He then was assigned to special duty in Indiana. Formal charges were not brought against him until November of 1864. Although the evidence appeared overwhelmingly against him, Anderson was found not guilty and he rejoined his regiment.⁴²⁶ The official paperwork for these proceedings has not survived.

Sept. 12th 1864 Mr. White called this morning to tell me my husband was at the river and had sent me some messages through Col. Chapman, a Federal officer. Went immediately to Mrs. White’s to try and get further particulars. Mrs. White and her son volunteered to aid me in trying to get conveyance and to procure passes to the River. Am perfectly excited at the news and wholly unfitted to attend to my domestic concerns.

Night Mr. White informs me no passes will be allowed to ladies to go to the river!

Mr. Tom White brought the message about Col. Chadick, apparently with the approval of kind-hearted Lt. Col. James F. Chapman of the 13th Wisconsin Infantry.

General Wheeler's raids had been so successful that the trains were still not running. But the Union hoped to restore communication lines by the 13th of September. This disruption would allow more troops to be brought in, but also give Mrs. Chadick a chance to visit her husband across the river. The day before Col. Lyon wrote his wife, "Huntsville is a beautiful town. Before the war there was much wealth in it, and it was the pride of the South. The city has not been torn up much, but the country about is devastated." 427

A revival was going on at the Meridianville Cumberland Presbyterian Church and Eddie Chadick, Willie Figures and J. Russel went up to hear Brother Sanders. Although Sanders was only 33 at the time, Mrs. Otey described him as "almost broke down, but is preaching again today." Others noted, "It seemed strange such a revival at such a time." 428

Sept. 13th 1864 Miss Kitty Brickell called to say there was a letter for me at the Provost office, the official would not let her have it, but sent word for me to come in person and get it. I at once proceeded to the Courthouse and went through the ceremony of receiving it. It was from my dear W.D. urging me to get permission to come and see him. Gen. Granger and Col. Horner, the proper authorities for granting such permission, were absent at Decatur, but were hourly expected.

In the evening Mrs. Burton called and said she had been to the River and she had only a pass to go outside of the pickets, but had succeeding in seeing her husband and my "cara sposa" [dear spouse] had come over with him under flag of truce, thinking I was with her, and of course, was sadly disappointed. Sends me word to try and come tomorrow as he must leave the day following. I must make another effort.

Mr. Hereford came after supper to go with me to Col. Horner's headquarters. He had not returned, neither had Gen. Granger. Several other ladies are in the same situation. The subordinates will not give us passes, as they say no communication whatever is allowed. Returned home and resolved to go on a pass from the Provost to go beyond the Pickets and try my chance for the rest. Found Billy at home, and he promised to come early with a conveyance and accompany me.

Mrs. Burton may have been Minnie Burton, 24, wife of Thomas Burton of Madison Station.

Lieutenant Colonel John W. Horner, 28, formerly a schoolmaster, was with the 18th Michigan Infantry.

Mrs. Otey noted in her diary that it was a beautiful morning, cool and clear. The news had spread up the Pike to expect a Federal foraging

party soon; "They took a barrel of salt from Charley Strong and one from Mrs. Pleas Strong yesterday." 429

At this time Mrs. Chadick has not seen her husband in almost a year. The frustrations of dealing with the rules and regulations of the invaders were enough to exasperate anyone.

Sept 14th 1864 Passed a sleepless night. My nervous system was excited to the utmost pitch, caused by alternate emotions of hope and fear:

Was ready by 8 a.m. Walked down to Mrs. B's who was also going, to send word to W. D. that I was coming if she got there first. Put a silk handkerchief and two cigars in my pocket and took a bottle of home-made wine as tokens of remembrance to my dear, and was off by 9 o'clock.

Oh, how did my heart flutter and tremble with fear all the way lest I should fail in seeing him, whom I had not seen in 10 long months. I took little Davie with us whom he had not seen for two and a half years. Mrs. Bradford and Mrs. Fulton were also in company with us.

Arriving at the river, we sent to the camp for the captain in command. He came—a handsome, gentlemanly young man—Klingman by name. He asked me if I had the requisite papers authorizing him to bring my husband over. I replied I nothing but a pass to come outside the pickets, the proper authorities being absent. Hearing my husband would leave the next day, I had come down to appeal to his generosity and take the chances. He replied he felt a deep interest in Col. Chadick and would bring him over to see me, together with Mr. Fulton, but it would be the last time he would cross anyone without written permission from the general. He said he was running a great risk and might lose his commission by it, and begged me to keep it a secret. How shall I ever thank Capt. Klingman for his noble generosity! The soldiers took us to their quarters and gave us a cup of hot coffee. We then proceeded to the river. The flag of truce was waving upon the boat. The captain and the soldiers jumped in and soon landed upon the opposite shore.

Just then a gunboat passed down the river. I had never seen one before, and it reminded me of pictures I had seen in Roman history of Roman boats or ships. But I had no time to inspect it, as all my thoughts and my eyes were upon the returning skiff and its precious freight.

Soon we were clasped in each other's arms. Then we scrutinized each other. He was looking remarkably well, dressed in a handsome suit of gray with bright buttons. A gray coat is such a treat! It did my eyes good to look at it.

He was delighted to see little Dave and Billy. We walked up the bank, and placed the carriage cushions on some rocks underneath the trees, and seated ourselves vis-a-vis for a chat, as only half-hour was allowed. At the same time, we were closely guarded by the enemy, who watched our every word and look.

Soon, too soon, it was all over and bidding each other farewell, he returned to Dixie and I to Yankeedom, both the happier I trust for the meeting. I tried not to shed a tear or to indulge in any sad reflections upon the occasion. After my return, the excitement was too great for me. I went to bed, sick and unable to hold up my head for two days.

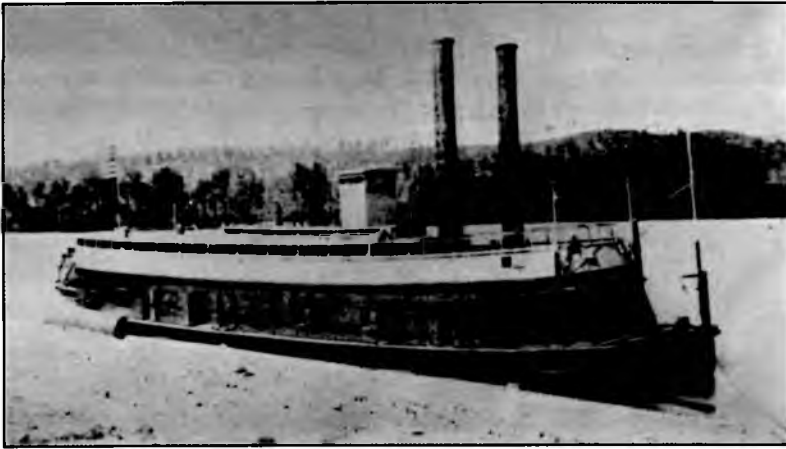
Considerate Captain Tracy Klingman served with the 13th Battery, Indiana Light Artillery, Company C and 75 men stationed at Whitesburg. This was not an easy duty. Colonel Lyon recognized Whitesburg as a “sickly hole,” and he tried to change out the men stationed there once every week⁴³⁰

That morning, in the opposite direction, Mrs. Otey watched a large train of forage wagons and cavalry go north on Meridianville Pike, and she was afraid to leave home. She felt the Yankees would return and find the young turkeys in her hen house. That evening the Federals did return, taking only one turkey but nine head of cattle, “our sole dependence for something to eat this fall.... They curse me, and told me they did not care if we did starve. My little children were standing by and heard them curse their Mother twice. What was in the heads of those children? If human nature is what I think it is, the men and women of the next generation will cause the Yankees more trouble than their parents ever did.”⁴³¹

Unlike General Mitchel’s 1862 gunboat, the *Tennessee* was a re-worked horse ferry with one cannon put aboard. Mrs. Chadick likely saw what became the *U.S.S. Stones River*, on the Tennessee River since May of that year. Captain W. A. Naylor commanded the 10th Indiana Battery on the gunboat. This boat, General Granger’s own gunboat, would participate in the battle at Decatur in October 1864. Four gunboats and 13 transports were now on the River between Chattanooga and Decatur.⁴³²

Sept. 18th 1864 *Communication is again opened between here and Nashville, and permits have been granted for eight stores to be opened. They say since Sherman has taken Atlanta, there is nothing in the way of trade.*

Sent a letter to Dave a day or two since by Mr. Herrick for him to send me a lead-colored straw bonnet by said gentleman. Hitherto, all the goods we have been able to get have been brought from Nashville, with much difficulty in getting permits, transportation, etc. Mr. Jim



U.S.S. Stones River - Harper's Weekly *photograph of the gunboat seen by Mrs. Chadick.*

Rogers was brought in a prisoner this week. Went to Mrs. Toney's this evening to see him. He looks well, was well dressed and in fine spirits for a captured man.

Sent another letter yesterday to Macon, Ga., making further inquiries in regard to the fate of Col. Dale. Heard also of the death of Arthur Robinson, a prisoner at Johnson's Island. Sad, sad news for his family.

Transportation always presented problems for the South, and Huntsvillians were already accustomed to going through Tennessee for supplies. In 1850 one state legislator remarked it was "considerably easier to get from the north Alabama town of Huntsville to New York City than it was to get from Huntsville to Montgomery."⁴³³ Produce was often still available in the central part of Alabama, but there was no means to transport it to the northern sections above the Tennessee River.

Jim Rogers was the son of Adelaide Rogers, and they lived at Colonel Toney's home. Arthur W. Robinson, 28, was the son of Caroline and John Robinson of Oaklawn. He died at Johnson's Island, a Federal military prison for Confederate officers located three miles from Sandusky, Ohio, at the edge of Lake Erie.

Mrs. Chadick would probably never learn the fate of Colonel Dale. Going into battle Dale had urged his men, "Strike for your God and country." On May 12th at Spotsylvania Court House, after the Battle of the Wilderness, he was leading his men across the Southern defenses when he was killed. His death was unconfirmed until August of that year when another officer of the 116th on a prison transport train saw a Georgia

lieutenant wearing Dale's cap and sword. The Confederate said he had taken them from a Union officer killed at Spotsylvania.⁴³⁴

The Otey family, including the invalid men, attended church this Sunday and felt it was a blessing to be there. That evening two of the children and Mrs. Otey's step-father returned for evening services. When they got back to Greenlawn, they shared the events of the evening: "There were 10 or 12 mourners, and no suspicion of evil, when one of the ladies went to the door, and came back, reporting the [church] house surrounded by Yankees. Several went to the door and were not permitted to come out, the men guarding the door with drawn swords and bayonets. They inspected the company and said the ladies might leave.... They thought religion a cloak to military movement.... It is humiliating to be treated so. It is worse than we ever treated our negroes."⁴³⁵

Sept. 22nd 1864 We have a new provost marshal, Col. Horner. Everybody who asks for a pass or for any favor whatever is required to take either the amnesty oath or the oath of allegiance. More severe measures than have heretofore been used. Eddy went for a "pass" this morning to go to the country, and returned quite crestfallen. Couldn't subscribe to the terms.

Out in the county all hands commenced picking the cotton. Mrs. Otey boiled one of her hams, remarking to her journal, "I hate to see the last of my meat go so fast, I gave the negroes their last middling today also."⁴³⁶

Sept. 23rd 1864 Tonight, Mr. Venable called and said the trains were behind time, consequently no news or papers.

James M. Venable maintained his business at a location convenient to gather all the latest news and information about the trains. His Railway Hotel and Tavern was located across from the railroad depot and the freight station. The Venable's lost their son, Victor, 21, to typhoid fever while he was training with the Madison Rifles in Pensacola the summer of 1861.⁴³⁷

Certainly the trains were running behind. On this day the 2nd Tennessee Cavalry responded to news that the enemy were at Decatur, the junction of two railroads. The Rebels, men of Forest, Wheeler, and Roddey's commands, they thought were wrecking havoc with the Federal forces.⁴³⁸

Up near Meridianville Mr. Otey was somewhat better today, although he took opium pills almost constantly to ease his symptoms. More important to the town folks, Mrs. Otey reported the effect of Colonel

Horner's orders: "The authorities in Huntsville commenced making ladies take the oath to day, every lady that got a pass had to take the oath. It has created quite a stir among the ladies."⁴³⁹

Sept. 25th 1864 Another panic among the enemy. A heavy force of Rebels took Athens yesterday, capturing three regiments. Five hundred reinforcements were sent from Decatur and they, too, were "gobbled up." Forrest and Roddey are supposed to be in command. The train that was due Friday night was captured and the road badly torn up.

At Athens Union troops were already garrisoned in the fort considered to be the strongest post between Decatur and Nashville. General Granger was in command of the Headquarters for the Union District of North Alabama at nearby Decatur, and he was apprehensive as to Forrest's whereabouts. General Sherman eased Granger's concerns initially, but Forrest crossed the Tennessee River on September 22nd to the Federals' amazement. The Rebels attacked the fort with a vast display of military power, all faked, and demanded that USA Col. Wallace Campbell surrender. Convinced he was up against 10,000 men, Campbell surrendered his entire command of 1900 men, two pieces of artillery, small arms, wagons, 300 horses, and supplies.⁴⁴⁰ The loss for Forrest was five men killed. And no one knew for sure where General Forrest would go next.

The night before Federals raided the Otey plantation again for more cattle. The family gratefully attended church where Brother Bone preached a splendid sermon. On returning home, to their dismay, they discovered wild dogs had killed four of their remaining eight sheep.⁴⁴¹

Sept. 26th 1864 The Rebel force is said to be moving up in the direction of Nashville. Gen. Steedman and command arrived last night on their way to Decatur; but, on learning this, turned back towards Stevenson. There is news this evening that the Confeds still hold Athens, and the Yanks think they will certainly be here tonight.

The Confederates captured Athens and the forts guarding the railroad as far north as Pulaski, Tennessee. The 18th Michigan, stationed in Decatur, sent various detachments that day in response to Forrest and Wheeler's raids. Private Fernando Pomeroy's squad was already up the river on a gunboat: "We land for wood, get a good surplie. A part of the boys are sent out a foraging they do get a beaf...we do get to Decature...where we learn that what of the regt. that was sent up the railroad are captured a few killed and a few do get away...." On September 26th. Union soldiers of the 18th Michigan and 150 men from the 102nd Ohio

were taken prisoner near Athens. In Huntsville Col. Lyon and his troops were in constant action for two nights and days trying to keep up. Reinforcements came down from Chattanooga, but they were sent on to Nashville.⁴⁴²

Union Maj. Gen. James B. Steedman, although not formally educated, had inspired confidence in his men at Chickamauga. He led one attack personally while carrying the regimental colors. He was sent to command the eleven regiments at Nashville while General Thomas opposed Hood's advance into Tennessee.⁴⁴³

At Greenlawn the Otey family heard that Forrest had taken Athens and 2000 or 3000 Yankees and Negroes prisoner: "Federal troops are rolling through Huntsville to meet the Confederates, but Forrest will meet them where he pleases."⁴⁴⁴

Sept. 29th 1864 Forrest is confidently looked for tonight. New troops have come in and gone to the fort. Many anecdotes are told of him at Athens by the enemy. He took several hundred prisoners there and at other points, and has completely destroyed the railroad between here and Pulaski, burning the bridges, destroying trestle work, etc. and says when he has done with this road, the enemy is welcome to it for six months! A Fed said yesterday Forrest was a dashing-looking officer and the most taking one in his ways he had ever seen. It is plain the enemy fear him.

Colonel Lyon, in command at Huntsville, considered they would give a good account of themselves if attacked by Forrest. They had a first-rate fort, considerable artillery and a gallant little garrison to defend the fort. However, "Forrest is playing the smash in here," Lyon wrote. "He first struck the railroad at Athens," a complete surprise, and he captured the garrison there without much of a fight. The Federal reinforcements who arrived from Decatur were just in time to be captured also. Then north of Athens the Confederates captured two regiments and burned the Sulphur Trestle Bridge. Forrest's men next captured the bridge at the Elk River, burned it, and then turned toward Pulaski or Fayetteville—but no one was sure which. At this point Maj. Gen. Granger telegraphed Lyon: "Strengthen Huntsville all you can. Use every available cotton bale for traverses in the fort to defend against enfilading fire. Thoroughly barricade the streets. Defend all approaches to the fort as completely as possible."⁴⁴⁵ If Granger appeared anxious, perhaps it was because he had just lost 3000-4000 men, and his family was inside that gallant little garrison.

Neighbors told Mrs. Otey that General Forrest had "a thousand negroes tearing up the railroad. I am afraid it will be hard on the citizens if



Greenlawn - Otey house near Meridianville. H.A.B.S. photo, HMCPL.

the Yankees remain here.” With autumn approaching, the county residents realized their food supplies would be taken or stolen by winter.⁴⁴⁶

Sept. 30th 1864 *It is current among the enemy this morning that Gen. Sherman, with the 15th Army Corps, will be here tonight to resist the movements of Forrest; if true, we as citizens have everything to fear. Yet, it may be just a “ruse” to cheer and encourage the small force that is here – that a large force will be sent to meet him there is little doubt.*

Here comes Ed. A force went out this morning to hunt Forrest. When about nine miles from town, 50 of them were “gobbled up” and the remainder came tearing back – sans hats, etc. One of them took a horse yesterday from Robert Banister; and today a Rebel knocked him off and took it. They brought back three Rebel prisoners.

Gen. Granger came up from Decatur, and he and his officers are having a consultation in the Courthouse before dinner.

5 p.m. *The Rebels are thundering at the gates, or in other words, they are drawn up in line of battle across the Meridianville Pike on the edge of town, the enemy opposing them. Occasional shots are fired.*

Night *All is quiet. Occasional showers, with thunder and lightning. It is to be hoped an attack will be made this dark night. Try to calm my excited nerves by reading “Miss Burney’s Letters.” Have got the children all quietly to bed.*

9 p.m. Conclude there will be no attacks tonight. I lay aside my book and retired. Just as I was sinking into the arms of Morpheus, I was aroused by the violent ringing of the door bell. It was Willie Harris come to tell us that Gen. Buford had demanded an "unconditional surrender." Gen. Granger had replied, "he would burn the town first, and he would fight him there, or in the Fort" and said Gen. sent word to Mrs. Toney that he would give all the citizens 2 hours to get out of the town! Horrible. Now what is to be done?

All the children were aroused from their peaceful slumber and hastily dressed. Then such hurrying together of clothes to carry with us. In the midst here comes Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Figures to see what is to be done. Finally settled it we will do nothing until we hear something further. Misses Parker and Cooper have gone to Mrs. Granger's to make further inquires.

Morning All up at daylight and packing up. Gen. Forrest or Buford sent word that the women and children must get out of town by 7 o'clock

Ate a hasty breakfast. Some advise to go. Others say the safest place for the people on this street is in their houses, as they are under the guns of the fort. Am in a state of the most nervous excitement in regard to what I ought to do with so many little helpless ones dependent upon me for protection. Most of my neighbors resolved to stay, and so will I.

Here comes Billy from a panic-stricken quarter of the town and here comes Ed with a small wagon. Both say we must get out of town in a hurry, as it is going to be burned. Cannons booming from the fort. Some of the children are crying and all beseeching to go. So we packed them into the wagon with a lunch and a few things, and sent them out to old Mrs. Steele's under Jennie's care. Resolved to stay ourselves and risk the chances, not being able to walk so far this morning.

Suffering tortures with my old disease. I am alone with Margaret, a faithful servant. Here comes Mrs. Hewlett. She has been to the fort to solicit Gen. Granger not to shell the College. He replied, if the Confederates come within 300 yards of the fort, "I have orders to fire every house in town within half an hour. You can take your ladies to the hospital. They will be safe there."

9 a.m. The firing has ceased. No attack yet from the Rebs. The town is surrounded on three sides, and they are tearing up the railroad as fast as they can.

A Yankee captain just came in to see why Mrs. Thurston's wagon does not return. He says they are skirmishing down by the depot. I can see Yankee soldiers prowling around my neighbor's lots. One said the

family had not gone from here, as he saw a Negro. I heartily wish the children had remained with me.

1 p.m. *All is quiet. Wonder what it means. Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Mayhew, in endeavoring to escape from town, were stopped by the Rebels and divested of all their luggage. They took from Mrs. Mayhew two bolts of domestic, all her shoes, and one of them told her that the last thing his wife told him was to bring her some shoes. From Mrs. Parker, they took all her clothing and a large amount of money. They evidently took them for Yankee women and told them they were travelling [in] too fine a carriage and they said they were too well dressed, and they had been told to watch for just such a carriage. It is to be hoped that, when this explained, the things will be restored.*

5 p.m. *All apprehensions of an attack today from the Rebels seem to be pretty well over, and the Yanks say the latter has retired. It is raining very hard, accompanied by thunder. Oh, that my little ones were at home!*

At about noon, the Otey family had noticed a Confederate soldier leisurely riding south toward town, followed by another and then six or eight more still at a relaxed pace. Even more followed. One neighbor guessed thousands marched by; at least two distinct regiments were seen, on their way to attack Huntsville. Mrs. Otey thought that at least 3000 men passed as it began to rain and then storm.⁴⁴⁷

For the townspeople this night and day probably were the most frightening of the War. Rumor proclaimed Gen. Forrest intended to capture Huntsville. General Forrest had left Tupelo mid-September with 3500 men. He attacked Athens, the Sulphur Branch railroad trestle, threatened Pulaski and now returned to the Tennessee River area. Indeed one of his staff officers, Brig. Gen. Abraham Buford, appeared at Huntsville demanding that General Granger surrender.⁴⁴⁸

General Abraham Buford, supposedly the advance of General Forrest's army, led this threatened attack with 1500 men. Now coming down Winchester Road on the evening of September 30th, Buford and his men approached the fortified town. In the fading light holding a borrowed lantern and under a flag of truce, a Rebel colonel approached the military authorities with a note that demanded surrender of the "city, fort, and garrison." Furthermore if the surrender did not occur before nightfall, the citizens must leave because the town would be fired upon. Although unknown to the Union men, any citizen of Huntsville would have likely recognized the bearer of the message. The messenger was Col. David C. Kelley, formerly the minister to their First Methodist Church. Lieutenant Sam Kneeland, adjutant for USA Gen. Granger, delivered the official

written reply: “You can come and take it as soon as you get ready.” This response noted that most people in town were for the Southern cause and questioned whether or not more than a couple of hours would be better to secure their safety outside of town.⁴⁴⁹

Yankee General Granger’s reply also threatened to burn the entire city rather than surrender. As Mrs. Chadick wrote, panic-stricken civilians immediately fled in all directions as the news spread. Many people not fortunate enough to be sheltered by Mrs. George Steele (or someone else outside of town) spent the night where they hoped to be safe—away from the Fort and into the rain-soaked fields and woods. Messages passed back and forth between the officers of both sides and the hours dragged on. Many civilians finally gathered personal possessions and simply fled farther, going to the mountains or south to cross the river into Dixie. Others, like Mrs. Chadick, decided to wait it out even though they were just below the guns of Patton’s Hill. The storm, the darkness, and the fear of the unknown all compounded the terror.

A second message was delivered at midnight, also assumed to be from Gen. Forrest at his camp in the middle of Pulaski Pike: “I expect to attack you tomorrow from every rock, house, tree and shrub in the vicinity... [and] now bid you prepare yourself for the fray.”⁴⁵⁰ The night passed and the dawn light showed the two sides still in position. At noon that day the Confederate cavalry under Gen. Buford mounted and rode west, their mission completed.

General Forrest went north, destroying railroads and capturing isolated Union garrisons. The damage from Forrest’s foray exceeded 3500 killed, wounded, and captured Federal soldiers within a period of twenty days. The Rebels continued wrecking havoc on the Yankees through middle Tennessee after leaving the fort at Athens and burning the 75-foot high wooden bridge at Sulfur Trestle.⁴⁵¹ After the feint at Huntsville, Gen. Buford and his men went toward Athens where he and Forrest joined forces again and crossed the Tennessee River, followed by Union Gen. Steedman.

Robert Bannister, 16, was the son of the minister, John Bannister. Marion Cooper of New Hope was about 22. Mrs. Martha Thurston and A. H. Thurston kept a well-situated billiard parlor and saloon on the east side of the Public Square. For the men stationed in Huntsville the days and nights were often boring. Private Lewis A. Simmons of the 84th Illinois Volunteers noted the three large saloons in town were constantly crowded with players at the “princely game,” billiards. He does not say if he played, and one hopes the Thurstons made a profit.⁴⁵² Jane S. Hewlett, 48, Thomas Hewlett, and their six children lived on Randolph Street. Willie Harris was the 22-year-old son of Caroline and J. H. Harris.

Late September rains are often cold in northern Alabama. Most of the citizens of town who fled returned cold, wet, and bedraggled. The soldiers could not have fared much better.

Oct. 2nd 1864 All quiet. The Rebels have disappeared. The little refugee children have just returned, all mud and dirt. They said they stayed all night at old Mrs. Steele's with a large crowd. The pickets said as they went out that such a pretty family of children could pass anywhere. It is now generally understood the whole thing was a feint on the part of Gen. Forrest to enable him to get 200 wagons, which he captured from the enemy, across the River. Most of the Federal force was sent off from here yesterday, for what purpose I know not.

Mrs. Mayhew came in to give me an account of her adventures. She says it was done and the carriage arrested by a major and a captain. The carriage was sent forward whilst they were ordered to walk around a hill. When they came up with it, their things had been plundered and the officers had disappeared. The Confederates generally were highly indignant with the outrage and said the men who did it ought to be hung. Col. Kelley promised to have the matter investigated and, if the things could be found, they should be restored under flag of truce.

The shells and cannon from the fort wounded only one Confederate soldier, who had to have his leg amputated. Three Yankees were killed in the little skirmish Friday evening. Stayed all alone in the house last night, except for a servant, who slept in the room with me.

“Old Mrs. Steele,” Eliza Ann (Weaver) Steele, was 56 years old at the time. She was called that simply to distinguish her from her daughter-in-law, “Young Mrs. Steele,” the wife of Matthew Steele. Eliza’s husband, the architect George Steele, had died in 1855. Their home of three stories with 14 rooms located in the center of an oak grove on Maysville Pike was built in 1837-1838.

Mrs. Otey and her family listened to the sound of cannon in the morning, but in the direction of Athens. Mrs. Otey wrote in understatement, “Quite a stir has been made in Huntsville, a great many have left the place,” including her sister Caroline’s family at Oaklawn. Disappointed that the Confederates were not back in control and sick with worry about the illnesses of her men-folk, Mrs. Otey wrote from her heart: “Sometimes I feel quite desperate, all seems dark around me, I feel like I could struggle no longer, but that would not increase my happiness, so ‘I must e’en keep a trying.’”⁴⁵³

Colonel Lyon sent scouts out on Thursday nearly to Fayetteville to learn that General Forrest had passed traveling east the night before. On Friday the 1st, Lyon sent scouts to the northeast about twelve miles out of Huntsville, and there was a small skirmish with the enemy. Meanwhile Union General Granger arrived from Decatur and sent out more men on the same road. More skirmishing occurred about two miles out of town that night. Lyon reported 150 Rebels were there, and one Yankee soldier was killed. Lyon wrote his wife that General Granger's answer to General Buford's demand for surrender of Huntsville had been, "Go to h—l." Town became crowded again as reinforcements of several thousand troops soon arrived under General Morgan.⁴⁵⁴

Apparently men in Confederate officers' uniforms accosted Fanny Mayhew and Mrs. Parker while they were fleeing town for the safety of Guntersville. Whether the men were regular army, guerillas, bushwhackers, or deserters, this was certainly theft. Mrs. Chadick never mentioned if any of the items or the money was returned to the women.

Oct. 4th 1864 Still raining. Sent George and Davie to the depot for some provisions, which Billy had purchased from a soldier—one month's rations, that is, four pounds of sugar, two and a half pounds of coffee, 22 pounds of bacon and a half box of crackers.

Heard there were two letters for me at the Provost Marshal's. Sent for them, when 10 cents was demanded before delivery. Georgie, not having the money, returned without them. What new system of extortion is this from these upstarts in office?

Mr. and Mrs. Wilson were arrested and carried before the Provost today on a charge of feeding Rebels during the feint of Saturday last. Have not heard the result. Am suffering with a dreadful nervous headache.

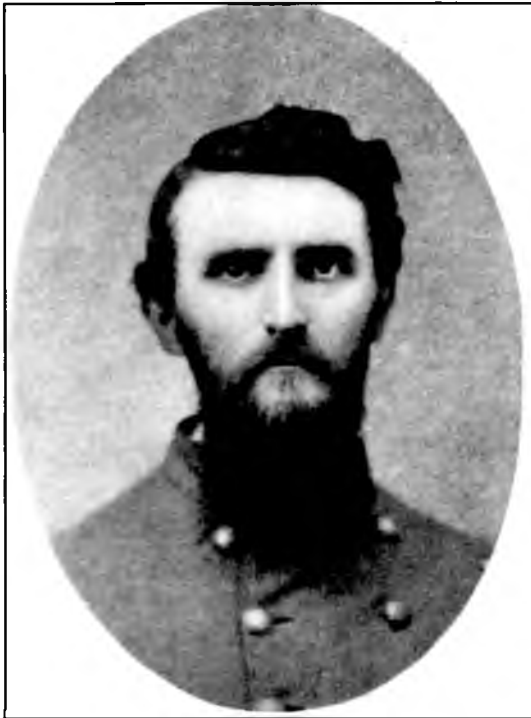
It is likely soldiers sold their unused rations to townspeople for cash. The civilians would not have to take the oath, and the soldier made a little money other than his often-overdue pay. Coffee had become a precious commodity. The common folk, who could not afford inflated prices, brewed parched bits of sweet potatoes, peanuts, okra and other vegetables as a substitute. Except in the very Deep South, sugar was replaced by sorghum as a sweetener.⁴⁵⁵

John, 62, and Jane Wilson, 49, lived in the county near Madison Crossroads.

Mrs. Otey heard that Jenny Lind, her old mule stolen earlier, was at the corral of old Mrs. Patton. She needed the mule back, but the nervous Federal authorities would not allow any citizens in or out of town.⁴⁵⁶

Oct. 5th 1864 Mr. and Mrs. Wilson were required to take the oath and give a \$10,000 bond besides the humiliation of being escorted to town by a Negro guard. This is the work of a rebel renegade, Kinch Britt by name. He is notorious for telling lies on people to the enemy and getting them into difficulty. This same man's father-in-law told Col. Kelley when said Kinch joined his command that he would give him a splendid suit of clothes if he would place him in front—in case of a fight where he would get killed.

Got my letter today by paying 10 cents! It was from Julia. Still raining which keeps us all in doors.



Colonel David C. Kelley.

HMCPL.

Kincheon Britt, 35, lived on Athens Road, just west of the Depot with his wife and child, James. Kinch Britt enlisted in the CSA at New Market under then Capt. David Kelley in August of 1862, but Britt was furloughed after his wife, Susan (Williams) Britt, died. Britt then married Louisa Bradley, 20 years old in 1862. He reenlisted in the 4th Alabama, was captured, paroled, and returned to Huntsville. After that he worked as a civilian spy for the Federals at \$3 per day. As a “homemade Yankee” Kinch Britt became a terror to the community. He soon became a social outcast,

raiding, looting homes, and spying on his neighbors for the Federal authorities.⁴⁵⁷

At Greenlawn Mrs. Otey wrote that the cows had gone almost dry, and there was little milk or butter: “This morning we had neither. It is very hard on the poor children, nothing but a little piece of fried middling, and bread and water, and not as much as they could eat of that....” One of her children had told a passing Federal soldier she hated Yankees. The soldier answered, “‘What do they expect to do with us when the very babies hate them.’ Yes, there is a feeling of eternal dislike, and hatred, for our

oppressors growing up in the hearts of the babes and children of this generation that will never be obliterated.”⁴⁵⁸

Oct. 6th 1864 *How beautiful the sunshine after four days of incessant rain! Sent George and Dave to the depot after provisions. In addition to the things above mentioned, they brought me some dried beef, cheese, a bottle of vinegar and half a box of hard crackers. Went to the College this evening to call on Mrs. Hewlett, Mrs. Plummer and Mrs. Hereford.*

Heard that Gen. Hood's army had disappeared to Gen. Sherman's great discomfiture. It is supposed they are moving up into Tennessee. It is also said that 100 citizens of this place are to be sent across the river in the course of the next 10 days for exulting when Forrest approached last week.

Jane Hewlett was the wife of Thomas Hewlett, and they lived on Holmes Street. Laura Plummer, 30, was the wife of James R. Plummer, a Methodist clergyman. Louisa, 29, was the wife of Charles Hereford, a merchant.

Confederate General Hood had remained at Lovejoy Station south of Atlanta until mid-September. When it became apparent Union General Sherman was not going to attack him there, Hood decided to draw Sherman north by threatening Nashville. On October 1, after getting supplies, Hood's Army of Tennessee headed north.

Mrs. Otey continued to nurse her invalid men, and she gave the baby, two-year-old Lucy, three small doses of calomel. Matt, six, had a fever and headache.

Oct. 7th 1864 *Went this morning to call on Mrs. Lowe, Mrs. Breck, Mrs. Rice and Bishop Lay, who was here from Atlanta. Missed the last of the four; however, as he left this morning. Mrs. Harris called this evening for me to go with her to a provision store in search of meat. Whilst standing talking with her upon the pavement, three soldiers passed, who were greatly struck with my fine roses, now in bloom, and asked permission to pull some of them, which was readily given.*

They came inside the gate and commenced a very gay sort of chat, showing at once that their tongues had been a little "oiled" with the "how come you so!" They were a little familiar as their discourse became more vehement frequently laying a finger upon our arm by way of emphasis, one, a fine looking fellow, said he was from Canada and came here out of curiosity to see the South and the Southern people. When the War was over he did not intend to leave here, but to "stay on" as it was the prettiest place he had ever seen – he thanked me for

our courtesy and said he should come again on the morrow, and again the next day, and the next as long as the roses continued to bloom. They walked off like they were stepping on eggs, but managed to sustain their equilibrium.

Mary P. Rice, 64, was the well-to-do widow who owned the house that Colonel Lyon requisitioned on Lincoln Street earlier. Bishop Lay regarded Mrs. Rice as a surrogate mother, and his children called her “Grandma.” He received permission to take the railroad to visit her in Huntsville while he was at Macon, Georgia. While traveling south on a Federal train into dangerous territory below Stevenson, he and the other passengers were well aware a train had been captured the day before and that now the telegraph wires were sabotaged. The Rev. Lay reclined on a bench, not from weariness, but expecting the coach to be fired on at any time. Their train crew repaired the tracks as they went, and the soldiers kept their muskets on their laps throughout the ride. It took two hours just to clear the rocks thrown in at Mastin’s Cut north of town. He found Mrs. Rice nervous with the commotion, troops in her house, and streets barricaded throughout town. Small wonder that Mrs. Rice was apprehensive. She had been robbed of her silverware from the table while she was eating and blankets from her own bed during one of the earlier raids. Henry Lay remained longer than planned because the unusually heavy rains blocked bridges and closed roads.⁴⁵⁹

The friends called upon at Mrs. Rice’s included Fanny (Jolley) Lowe, 24, wife of Bartley M. Lowe, Jr.; Mary, wife of Dr. Samuel Breck; and Louisa (Watkins) Harris, already mentioned.⁴⁶¹ A more relaxed Mrs. Chadick did not appear to be incensed or indignant about the inebriated soldier. Even with sermons exhorting the men to sobriety and punishments from commanding officers—or maybe in spite of it—alcohol was an omnipresent problem for both armies. Common expressions included “Rock Me To Sleep, Mother,” “Bust Skull,” “Tanglefoot,” and the one Mrs. Chadick used, “How Come You So.”⁴⁶²

For the occupation troops who settled back down, drills and parades relieved the boredom of inactivity. The saloon at the Huntsville Hotel was “quite extensive” and took in \$350 a day, with most drinks available at 25 cents. Oscar Kimberley, bandsman of the 3rd Wisconsin enthused, “We are enjoying ourselves first rate. I would not go home if I had a chance,” but “whole families are moving from one place to another, for refuge and something to eat.”⁴⁶⁰

Oct. 8th 1864 Zenia Pruitt (colored) came to town this morning, bringing me a present of a ham and side of meat from Mr. Thompson in her

neighborhood. She also brought me some sweet potatoes and green corn, which is truly acceptable in these times of scarcity and dearth of provisions, and for which I feel truly grateful.

Mrs. Haris just came in for me to go to the market with her to make some arrangement for beef. She tells me bacon is 40 cents per pound and very scarce. Spent the day in mending and sewing upon a shirt for "sposa," the fourth I have made him, hoping the time near at hand when I can convey them to him. At night, Jennie went to Mrs. Hereford and I read "Madam D'Arblay," Dr. Ross having just sent me the seventh volume.

Zenia Pruitt, about 22, was obviously a highly regarded slave because she was allowed to go into town with the wagon. Her owners, John W. and Mariah (Otey) Pruitt, lived in Meridianville where he kept a store.⁴⁶³ Mrs. Pruitt was a sister of Madison Otey, Caroline Robinson, and Mary Robinson. Mr. Thompson was from the Meridianville area, but could have been either Benjamin, 61, a farmer, or John B. Thompson, 69, also a farmer in that area.

The Federal soldiers were not necessarily paying high prices, but they often ate less well than some civilians. Private Wiswell wrote his sister that for breakfast they had "coffee, hard tack, and beef pork or bacon for dinner. We have pilot bread and beef, pork or bacon and for supper we have hard bread, coffee and beef, pork or bacon. Unfortunately a great deal of the time we do not get the beef pork or bacon and many times the coffee is taken off and then we subsist on the Staff of Life Only."⁴⁶⁴

Jennie Chadick may have stayed with Mrs. Hereford because Mr. Hereford was often out of town. He was a merchant and apparently signed the loyalty oath, because he was allowed to travel to and from Nashville to purchase and return with goods for sale.

The first heavy frost of the season arrived. The Otey children could not gather the chestnuts quickly enough ahead of the slaves. With the change of weather, the children were ill and being dosed with quinine and calomel. The sugar cane was ready to be ground for molasses and the grapes gathered and pressed for cider only if there were any workers. They made catsup from the tomatoes and preserves from the peaches. Mrs. Otey picked wool for carding one morning and the children helped.⁴⁶⁵

Oct. 12th 1864 *Just recovered from two days' nervous headache. Assisted Jennie today in making an English Bare'ge dress.*

Kittie Brickell and Mrs. Hereford called in the evening, and we all enjoyed a hearty laugh at George and Davie, who went to the Courthouse to get a pass to go nutting. They were asked if they had

taken the oath, or if their father had? Otherwise, they would have no pass! The little fellows came home in a high state of indignation. The whole thing struck us as so supremely ridiculous, and the boys were so angry we could not help amusing ourselves at their expense. So we all urged them with great seriousness to go back and take it, and not let all their pleasure be spoiled by so trifling a ceremony. George's face flushed with angry surprise, and he said that it was "a pill he could not swallow." Davie said it would not stay on his stomach, he would throw it up. We then urged them to each take a spoonful of preserves and go up to the Provost and tell him they had brought something to take it in!

This Col. Horner excels all the Provost Marshals we have yet had in his malice and ill will toward those whom he does call Rebels. He certainly has Provost Marshal on the brain, and reminds us of another illustrious namesake, Jacky Horner; who in his unbounded pride, exclaimed, "Oh, what a great, big boy am I."

Jennie's new dress was a blend of wool woven with either cotton or silk, the fabric named for the town in France.

The reputation of Colonel Horner would live on. Robert Bentley, in his novel *Forestfield* disguised most of the characters' identities. His villain, however, "the meanest Yankee that ever was in North Alabama," he named Colonel Horner.⁴⁶⁶

Mrs. Otey rode into town to the courthouse with her cousin, Eliza (McCrary) Battle, a widow, and Otey's 11-year-old son, Walter. Hers was to be a particularly onerous task today— Mrs. Otey signed the oath of allegiance to the United States. They found "Mr. or rather Judge Dox," who got them passes. "The thought that it is for my husband and family, with God's help, carries me through it all," she justified. She exchanged an old debt for 28 pounds of sugar and \$10 on account, and with some of the cash she bought opium pills for her husband.⁴⁶⁷

Oct. 14th 1864 My true friend, Mrs. Pruitt, sent me a small jar of peach preserves.

Mrs. Chadick might have written little this day, but the Federal authorities still expected an attack by heavy forces. On the same day Colonel Lyon wrote, "Everything is mixed and in confusion with us."⁴⁶⁸

Oct. 15th 1864 Just received a note from Sue, urging me to answer it at once that she might have something for Sunday reading. Replied suggesting at the same time one of the epistles of St. Paul might prove

more edifying and instructive. Finished embroidering a bridal pincushion and took it to Mrs. Elliott, for which I received \$1.50.

Mrs. Chadick may have been doing fancy work for Mrs. James C. Elliott, wife of a Cumberland minister from Limestone County. Fall chores continued at Greenlawn; the Oteys gathered about 30 bushels of apples and the sugar cane produced 50 gallons of molasses.⁴⁶⁹

Oct. 16th 1864 *Heard today Forrest had taken Eastport and Hood's army was near Chattanooga. The enemy look rather blue. Two regiments have received orders to leave since morning.*

Hark! A band of music playing "The Mocking Bird." They are at this moment marching by on their way to the Depart. Joy go with them, so that they never return! Everybody has been gloomy at the thought of their taking up Winter quarters here, and we can only pray and hope such a calamity may be altered by their being compelled to evacuate.

On October 9th Gen. Forrest sent Kelley's brigade to Eastport at the northeast corner of Mississippi in order to stop the Yankees from crossing the Black Warrior River. Kelley, second in command to Forrest, successfully ambushed two gunboats and three transports. However, it seemed apparent to the Yankees that the Rebel soldiers were wearing down. General Forrest moved on the 15th to Jackson, Tennessee, where he joined with Brig. Gen. James R. Chalmers for a combined force of 3500 men.⁴⁷⁰

Confederate Gen. John B. Hood moved around Rome, Georgia, and was joined by Wheeler's cavalry. Still avoiding Yankee troops, his Southern forces moved toward Gadsden, Alabama.

Oct. 17th 1864 *Yesterday, the enemy sent out 10 wagons on a foraging expedition, and they were all captured!*

Gen. Granger's family all leave tonight for Nashville, which is rather significant. Miss Kate Lane is to be married tonight to Col. Townes, one of Gen. Logan's staff. Gen. Granger's family and many others are leaving tonight. Was a great disappointment to the family, as they expected quite a crowd.

Lieutenant Colonel Robert R. Townes, 22, of Illinois, served as Chief of Staff during General Logan's command in Huntsville. With Federal friends leaving in a rush, few townspeople, and certainly very few Southerners, attended any festivities connected with the Lane wedding. Dr. Ross performed the ceremony for Townes and Kate Lane, 17, in the

Presbyterian Church.⁴⁷¹ Kate was the second of Lane's daughters to marry a Union officer in Huntsville.

Oct. 18th 1864 *Spent the evening sociably with Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Mayhew. Came home and found Jennie going to Mrs. Hereford's to stay all night.*

Lt. Whitton (Federal) called in to say "goodbye," being ordered to the front. Our acquaintance with this gentleman is very limited, having met him but once at Mrs. Davis'. He afterwards told Mrs. Davis he would draw anything I wished from the commissaries, and being very short of provisions, I availed myself of this kind offer. He drew coffee, sugar and candles, and brought them to me himself, which was truly kind. At another time, he called at the door and left me a lady's book, for all of which he felt himself bound to say, "Farewell, Mrs. Chadick."

Mrs. Chadick enjoyed the evening with women already introduced. Sophia (Lowe) Davis, 35, was the wife of attorney Nick Davis, Jr. They lived at The Grove, the estate of Bartley M. Lowe, with her younger siblings. Both Yankee and Rebel officers had stayed at this stately mansion during the course of the War.

Mrs. Chadick did not write on October 19th, but Octavia Otey and her cousin, Eliza, had business in town. They gave apples to their friends Mrs. Dox, Mrs. Dr. Patton, Captain Bond, and Charley Hereford. The Yankee Major Stout shared with the ladies half a quire of paper, two pencils and a penholder each. Octavia had time and called on Mary Jane Chadick at her house on Randolph Street. On the way home, because the Oteys were out of meat, she stopped to buy some. But she was too late and had to pay 50 cents for soup bone, the only scrap available.⁴⁷²

Oct. 20th 1864 *Have just arisen from a spell of severe nervous headache. Sent Clara to Mrs. Miller's for my hat, had it altered and pressed the crown, made a "waterfall," now the vogue.*

Oct. 21st 1864 *Here comes Zenia, with a present of (75 lbs.) of flour from Mr. T. Thompson, a bag of turnips and sweet potatoes from Mrs. Pruitt and a small basket of onions and apples from Mrs. Otey. I shall not forget my Meridianville friends.*

And here comes Nancy Matkin, colored, riding in on horseback at the alley gate with a note from Sue and with a basket of nuts for the children. I am truly glad to get this, as the boys were again refused a pass for that purpose this morning.

We have a fine, fat yearling – our dependence for beef this Fall, and owing to the presence of the enemy, we have to keep it in the back yard.

Hark! Two shots are fired near us. What's that? Shortly after, Ed comes in and reports someone has left the gate open, and the calf is out and gone! Everyone starts in pursuit. Returned after dark with no success. Gave it up as lost and gobbled up, no doubt, by the soldiers.

Oct. 22nd 1864 *Ed and Georgie went out at daybreak to look for the calf with no success. Whilst at breakfast, someone drove it home, but it had a minnie ball through one side of its head—probably the shot we heard. Hope it will live.*

Went to church and heard a most excellent discourse from Dr. Ross. Text: "For every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof in the day of Judgment." Read a Sunday school book to the children in the evening, after which was surprised by an agreeable visit from Mr. Trotman.

With so few soldiers in town, the ladies may have fet it acceptable to attend church services again. Earlier Private Jones had commented on a "scientific" sermon by Dr. Ross at the Presbyterian Church that reflected "upon technical points, existence of evil. His arguments were very concise and binding. Although differing in opinion I received many new ideas. He is one of the leading Southern clergy and formerly a rabid secessionist.... He touched upon the war, but so nicely that it could not displease any of his audience which was composed of the two extremes, viz: Yankee soldiers and secesh women." Dr. Ross "relied upon his faith in God, 'looking down upon the struggle with as much composure as though they were but the convulsions of so many pigmies—God would do it right.' Just found it out I suppose."⁴⁷³

At the Meridianville church Brother Bone preached. A neighbor came and shared dinner with the Oteys, but had "had no meat on our table since Friday morning, and God knows when we shall get any from."⁴⁷⁴

Oct. 24th 1864 *A Negro soldier came in my back yard this morning and took deliberate aim at my house dog, and fired right in the midst of a group—Margaret and her children—the ball plowing the ground within a yard of one of the latter. The ball missed the head of the dog, going between his legs, I sprang to the door, calling out, "What are you shooting my dog for?" He replied, "G__ Damn you, why don't you come out and keep him off me?" Margaret exclaimed, "What if you had killed my child?" "It's nothing but a damned little Secesh no how," he*

replied and got away in a hurry, two other black cowards standing sentinel at the gate.

Such outrages from Negro soldiers are hard to submit to. Went to Col. Lyon (at Mrs. Rice's) Commander of the Post, to report these Negroes. Was politely and kindly heard. He admitted it was an outrage and said they were sent out to press other Negroes to work upon the fortifications, and were not allowed to go in private homes without a white officer with them. He promised to investigate the matter and prevent a similar recurrence of such conduct, and as soon as the work upon the fortifications was finished they should be sent off from here. He added he had but little use for Negroes as soldiers or in any other way, and saying, "Upon my word, Madam, you treat them much better than we do."

Colonel Lyon also recorded his activities almost daily, and his letters home often appear like a journal. He did not take his duties in Huntsville lightly. His entry for this day: "I am weighted down with care and responsibility, and that responsibility is terrific, for it has to do with human life. Then I am torn away and kept...from home and family, and they seem dearer to me every day."⁴⁷⁵

As much as she hated to, Mrs. Otey found she had to go to town again. She and cousin Eliza went together, hoping that Federal Captain Bond would pay them for the cattle taken by the Yankees. They found the officials in a good humor and their trip was worthwhile. They got some protection for their corn, 50 lbs. of meat and \$17 cash went to their beef account. However, she found the children unwell on her return home.⁴⁷⁶

Oct. 25th 1864 *Panic No. 6! Hood is at Decatur and has made an attack on that place today at 12 o'clock. Cannons have been heard here all this evening. All the available troops have been sent from here to Whitesburg with several guns from the fort to prevent the Rebels from crossing at that place. There is not a single picket out tonight, and if it were only daylight, we could for the first time in a year, go where we pleased without a pass. The Yanks and army are in great trepidation, confidently looking for them here.*

General Hood had left Georgia, passed by Gadsden and Somerville, Alabama, and now approached Decatur. Hood was in front of Decatur, Alabama, and the Yankees in Huntsville focused all their attention to the immediate west. At this time General Granger had only about 1745 men available in Decatur, 475 at Huntsville, 600 guarding the railroad from Huntsville to Stevenson, 180 at posts along the river, 360 at Athens, and

three companies at Pulaski, Tennessee (no more than 300 men). Granger waited anxiously for General Hood's men—35,000 strong. On the 24th Granger sent 250 men to Whitesburg aboard the *Stones River* to look for signs of the advancing Rebel troops.⁴⁷⁷

Mrs. Otey reported that it was a beautiful autumn day. She weighed out the meat for both families, white and black, and spent the rest of the day sewing. Dr. Searcy was called to attend Imogene, 14, whose throat was cauterized, and the doctor left more medicine for Matt.⁴⁷⁸

Oct. 26th 1864 In a state of uncertainty as regards Decatur: Gen. Granger dispatched to his wife at midnight last night to pack up and leave on the first train, and not to stop at Nashville, but to go directly North! It is now generally believed Gen. Hood's destination is Nashville! A good many troops passed to Decatur yesterday evening, raw levies, two-months men. A sutler from these reports today 300 of them got suddenly sick, unable to cross the river when they got there, and 90 of those who did cross were killed.

The children, Davie and Mary, are dressing for a party at Mrs. Bradford's given by little Mattie Ashford.

Little Mattie Ashford was likely seven-year-old Joana, daughter of Mary and Joseph Ashford of Madison Station.

Colonel Charles C. Doolittle commanded the green, two-months men at the Federal fort at Decatur. Their mission was to protect a highly valuable post, stockpiled with provisions and ammunition, and the important pontoon bridge across the Tennessee River. Doolittle thought at first the Rebel troops sighted along the Sommerville Road were just a part of a scouting party. But as the Union men were forced to retreat, Doolittle put his post on alert and asked for reinforcements from Huntsville. Both sides prepared for what appeared to be a full-scale battle. Federal General Granger arrived to check his railroad defenses this day still expecting a significant attack from the entire army of Rebel General Hood.⁴⁷⁹

Yankee Private Pomeroy of the 18th Michigan and his detachment were in Claysville gathering wood and could hear the artillery at Decatur. They were sent back down river and arrived "at 11 o.c. at night. There has been quite a skirmish with the rebs and some Artillery firing of our men there is some five killed and several wounded a few Horses killed to."⁴⁸⁰

A bevy of camp followers traveled with the armies. Besides family members and well-intentioned do-gooders, merchants were often on the road to set up shop in the more established camps and towns. These sutlers sold goods to soldiers as a private contractor appointed by the government to provide civilian goods such as toiletries, tobacco, books, and canned

meats—all for a price. The raw two-months men were even less trained than the 100-days recruits and perhaps hesitant about crossing a wobbly pontoon bridge or entering the fray.

At Greenlawn young Matt was still sick, and Mrs. Otey was afraid it would develop into typhoid fever. Her husband, Madison Otey, began taking “nitro muriatic acid” for his ailments.⁴⁸¹

Oct. 27th 1864 Many wounded were brought in last night from Decatur. There is heavy fighting still going on. Cannon are distinctly heard, but we can learn nothing of how the battle goes. Eighty Confederate prisoners were brought in this evening, taken in the trenches. They would not permit citizens to talk to them. There are not 100 Federal soldiers in Huntsville. They have been removing the ammunition from the magazine today, and everything looks like they were preparing to leave.

The price of goods has fallen considerably. Went this evening to see Mrs. Hereford, Mrs. Brickell, Mrs. Davis, and Mrs. Fackler. A surgeon waited upon the latter this morning to inform her that her house would probably be taken for the wounded.

The sounds of Gen. Hood’s guns could be heard clearly in Huntsville. Private Pomeroy wrote from Decatur, “there is a good deal of Skirmishing along the picket lines to day.... They do fire at us a good but they do not hurt any one only make us bow when their bulls pass by. We do return the Compliment.” Indeed, nearly all the forces from Huntsville were sent to Decatur and Whitesburg in case Hood’s army moved in that direction. When the scouts reported Decatur was the likely crossing site, Colonel Lyon got the artillery loaded onto the railroad cars.⁴⁸²

Aside from the moments of desperate battle at Decatur between the infantry, cavalry and artillery of both sides, there were moments of respite. Lieutenant Will McTeer wrote about the morning of the 27th: “The men on each side were standing out in full view of each other, talking. The 102nd Ohio brought out their band and played Yankee Doodle. A rebel band responded with Dixie. Ours then again played the Star Spangled Banner—they replied to this with the Bonnie Blue Flag. This was kept up for some time, when someone cried out that he was ‘going to shoot,’ and almost instantly every man was behind his breastworks or in his pit and the deadly work again began.”⁴⁸³

John J. Fackler, a merchant, and Elizabeth lived in the elegant 14-room house on Adams Avenue across from the McDowell house. (This house is where Sam Morgan and his two nephews were recovering from Shiloh when the Federals first invaded Huntsville.)

Mrs. Otey wrote, "...when will all of our dear relations come home? And when will our poor prisoner boys be released? Poor fellows, they must have a hard time, it requires courage to endure, as well as to do."

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Oct. 28th 1864 *Still fighting at Decatur.*

Went to the Square this evening with Mrs. Steele to look at the new goods. Mr. Herrick gave Mary a beautiful dress. Every store house in town is filled with beautiful goods and nearly all the female portion of Huntsville were abroad this evening shopping. The rush was caused by the new order which is to go into effect on Monday, viz: that no person can buy over 1 dollar worth without a "permit," for which they pay 25 cents, and if over \$10, they must take the oath.

Various reports are in circulation this evening—General Cleburne's Division is crossing at Decatur—Gen. Cheatham at Elkton, and other portions of Hood's army at Claysville. The enemy seems to be completely mystified in regard to the Rebel movements.

Without the presence of all the soldiers now busy in Decatur, the ladies of town went to the square. Despite the almost party atmosphere of a shopping spree, on Monday the 31st, many ladies could not shop at all for lack of the 25 cents cash for the permit required to buy goods—even if they could be charged to an account.

Private Pomeroy wrote again from Decatur, "At 8 o.c. this morning the rebs does make a charge they do drive our pickets in. Capture a few of Pickets one or two killed. There is a good deal of skirmishing along the lines. 40 men of our Regiment makes a sortie on the reble lines and capture 105 prisoners... The 14 U.S. Coloured makes a charge on the reble Battery the report is they spiked one or two guns. They loose about 40 men killed and wounded...." By the next day the Confederate forces could be seen marching away toward Courtland. Colonel Doolittle wrote with great relief that the Union forces would not have been able to withstand the artillery fire General Hood might have presented. Union losses for the two days were 10 dead, 45 wounded, and 100 missing.⁴⁸⁵ Although the Union forces had grown to some 5000 men, it was thought Hood likely had 35,000 men and 40 to 50 large guns. At least General Hood did not cross the Tennessee River here under Doolittle's watch.

General Hood intended to begin his offensive from Decatur, but when he realized that General Forrest was delayed, Hood moved farther west to Tuscumbia. The Confederate army now waited three weeks at Tuscumbia to begin the offensive into mid-Tennessee.

Nov. 1st 1864 Last evening, Mr. Herrick took tea with us. Owing to the scarcity of the times, had a very plain supper. A good cup of coffee, broiled ham, and chipped beef, biscuits, batter cakes and light bread, can fruit (peaches and cream) concluded the bill of fare. Eddie commenced clerking for Mr. H. a day or two ago.

On Sunday evening the Rebels came near town and burned the contraband camp. Mr. Tate Lowry's house is being occupied by Negroes. Today Jim (Corinna's boy) came home to see us for the first time since last March. He seemed delighted and staid nearly all day, and said if the Rebs came, he was coming to me for protection. We have no reliable news. Nobody seems to know the whereabouts of Hood's army.

Mrs. Chadick offered her guest a rather scrumptious tea. In most places within the state, coffee was a luxury that quickly disappeared, and cornmeal had replaced flour. The rural yeomen farmers' families were subsisting on field peas, sweet potatoes, pork and cornbread—if they were lucky. The poor in the cities were worse off because they had no money and no land on which to raise gardens or animals.⁴⁸⁶

John Tate Lowry, 42, was a well-to-do merchant who lived outside the town limits toward Athens. His family attended Reverend Chadick's church.⁴⁸⁷

At this point the Federals still did not have a clear understanding of the direction General Hood was taking. In Huntsville Colonel Lyon was pulled in all directions. Later, when he had time, he wrote his wife about the activities of the recent Sunday, the 30th of October. He responded to the battery fired against his troops from across the river at Whitesburg. A heavy force was reported near the city on the New Market road and flames could be seen from headquarters; the commanding officer at Larkinsville sent word he was being attacked. As the day turned into night two Federal gunboats appeared on the river at Whitesburg to dispatch the Rebs. The fire was at some houses occupied by blacks at the contraband camp on Governor Chapman's property, and the danger at Larkinsville turned out to be a false alarm.⁴⁸⁸

Nov. 3rd 1864 Have just finished braiding a beautiful little cloak for Mary. Gray flannel braided with blue. Eddie has come in and says Mr. Herrick will start for Nashville in the morning, and will take letters for me.

Dismissed the children to bed, and wrote Dave and Julia each a long letter. Wonder if they will reach their destination. Have made

arrangements for him to bring my bonnet and dress, and feel I am running a great risk to have them sent just at this time.

Nov. 4th 1864 *Just sent Sue two letters, one from myself and the other from Miss Robinson in "Dixie." Sue has not been home once since she left two months ago and only 5 miles distant—all because Col. Horner (alias Do-much-the Colonel of the regiment being Col. Doolittle) will not give her a pass unless she takes the oath! A Federal (Capt. Fordyce) knowing the facts, unsolicited, very kindly procured her a Pass from Gen. Rousseau at Nashville for sixty days and sent it to Mrs. Hereford and she will get it this evening.*

This was the first mention by Mrs. Chadick of Yankee Captain Samuel Wesley Fordyce, and she expressed appreciation of his unexpected kindness. Captain Fordyce wrote in his autobiography that Mrs. Hereford asked a favor for a very dear young friend who could not come home from the country without a pass. In order to receive a permit her friend, Sue Chadick, would have to swear an oath of allegiance to the United States, which she refused to do. Captain Fordyce went to Colonel Horner who refused to make an exception—to both men's annoyance. Fordyce then took it upon himself and went to Nashville to get permission from General Rousseau. The General suggested Fordyce was going to end up marrying the girl. However, Fordyce replied he had never even seen her. Rousseau could not allow the pass, but a telegram was sent to General Thomas who said he knew the Captain and "did not believe I would make any request that would be detrimental to the service." The pass was issued, and Fordyce gave it to Mrs. Hereford; she in turn handed it to Dr. Leftwich who gave it to Sue Chadick. Thus Sue Chadick was able to return home and not swear the required oath. Colonel Horner never forgave Fordyce.⁴⁸⁹

Fordyce may not have been exactly frank with General Rousseau. Samuel Fordyce wrote his sister on November 1, 1864 from Nashville. He had just come from Huntsville, "partly out of business and partly to see the people—as I have a great many friends there and know more people than I do at home. It certainly is the most pleasant place to be south of the Ohio River. Perhaps I think so—being in love with the Rebel Colonel's daughter."⁴⁹⁰

Nov. 5th 1864 *Jennie and I were busy at work this morning finishing up a new black and white alpaca dress when we were surprised by the entrance of Sue. She seemed overjoyed to get home again, is quite fat and rosy. She brought the children a quantity of persimmons, hickory nuts and popcorn.*

Went this evening to see Miss Fanny Moore, who has just come from across the river, to learn if she had lately seen my dear W. D. She had not seen him, but had learned he was on his way to Whitesburg

The new dress was made from a cotton and wool cloth. There were several Moore families listed in the 1860 census. Miss Fanny, 24, was the most likely fit, and she lived with her mother, Mary J. Moore, in town.

Nov. 7th 1864 *Learned that Judge Hammond was just from Whitesburg, and went up town this morning to Mr. Herrick's store and sent for him. Mr. McDowell kindly volunteered to go in search for him, and soon reappeared with him. He said my husband had just arrived at the river on the opposite shore, but could not tell me whether he was still there or not. How my heart yearns to see him, not only now, but daily—nay hourly. I can safely say he is never mentally absent from me. Did know he was certainly at the river today and would remain for a day or two. I would leave no means untried to see him, notwithstanding the difficulties that surrounded me.*

Made me a pair of black cloth gaiters today and sent them to the country to be sold. My first attempt in the shoemaking line. Little Mary told me today she had a new Sunday school teacher. Upon asking her name, she replied, "she did not know, but it was the lady who went outdoors so much without her bonnet and sun-burnt."

Judge Ferdinand L. Hammond, 44 and a widower with two teen-aged daughters at home, served as Judge of Probate of Madison County from 1853-1859.⁴⁹¹

William McDowell had not so easily enjoyed the freedom of the streets of Huntsville earlier. In May of 1862 he was one of the twelve hostages held by General Mitchel. Then in December of 1863 USA Gen. George Crook arrested McDowell and held him hostage for Charles Sheats, who had refused to sign the Ordinance of Secession as the Representative of Winston County, Alabama. Sheats fervently urged his neighbors to work against the Confederacy. Confederate authorities arrested Sheats and he was sent to a prison in Montgomery. According to the Federal directive, William McDowell in Huntsville was to receive the same treatment as Sheats. McDowell remained in jail three weeks, and the Federals again used his house as headquarters. He and Mrs. McDowell were allowed the use of one room. Apparently Mrs. McDowell, who was a sister-in-law to Ex-governor Clay, had gone to Nashville and worked like a "Trojan" for the release of her husband. The commandant in Huntsville told McDowell he would need bond from two loyal citizens. McDowell replied he did not

know any loyal citizens. The commandant told him Benjamin Jolly was a loyal citizen. When asked if he would put up \$10,000 bond for McDowell, Jolly said if necessary he would give \$110,00 bond.⁴⁹²

Nov. 8th 1864 Sent this morning in search of Tom. Found him at his wife's house. He looked surprised and embarrassed to see me, and said the reason he had not been round was because he had so much work to do elsewhere! He has evidently assumed his "freedom." So farewell to our last servant. He consented to come up and go to the mill, and Mrs. Parker kindly furnished me a horse. When he left, after bringing the meal, I requested him to return as usual. He replied he would when he had time. I gave him some fine chewing tobacco, which seemed amply to satisfy him for his trouble.

Sue returned this evening. Today is the Presidential election at the North.

Private Pomeroy wrote, "Picket to day but does not go out tile 10 o.c. as they stay and vote as to day is election day... and for to say if we shall have a Country or not for one Canidate or the other is for or against the Union. I do Cast my vote for Old Abe again...." Colonel Lyon also voted with his Regiment and told his wife, "The hope of the country is her army and ballot box combined..., but 24-pounder howitzers are better to bring traitors and rebels to their allegiance."⁴⁹³

Nov. 9th 1864 There is news today that Forrest has made a successful debut into Kentucky.

The news spread quickly. This action in the first week by General Forrest effectively closed river transportation south of the Kentucky line. His men then terrorized the Federals into destroying a fleet of ships and large amounts of supplies at Johnsonville, Tennessee. General Forrest then turned south to join Hood at Tuscumbia.

Nov. 11th 1864 The enemy hearing that some Confederate soldiers were at Mr James Robinson's plantation, Col. Horner proceed thither last evening, with a company of soldiers and the notorious Kinch Britt as a guide. Surrounding the house, they demanded surrender, telling them it was useless to resist as they had 50 men. The reply was, "If you want us, come and take us."

Kinch Britt was stationed at a window, where he was immediately shot. Thus have the enemy lost a most valuable scout and the citizens of

the countryside rid of a most dangerous foe. Col. Horner narrowly escaped. He had one of his shoulder straps shot off.

The Confeds (number not known) made their escape, but Mr. Nugent, an innocent man occupying the house with his family, was unfortunately killed. The next day, Col. Horner sent up a squad of men to lay the house in ashes, an inglorious revenge, we should say, for a Methodist preacher; for such is said to have been his vocation before the War.

The Union troops surrounded Forestfield searching for Matt Robinson, an alleged bushwhacker. As detested as Kinch Britt was, it may not have been an accident that he was the only casualty. The home of Mary (Otey) and James Robinson was burned to the ground, becoming just another vague recollection to the older people of the community. In 1860 J. R. F. Nugent (Newgent), 45, farmed and lived with his wife, Mary, 35, and six children in the Meridianville community. The family likely was tending to the estate for the absent Robinson family.

Nov. 12th 1864 *Rose late with a nervous headache. Mrs. Mayhew and Miss Hattie Figures brought their sewing and spent the morning with me.*

The College buildings are ordered to be vacated for a hospital. Thus are five or six families and several young ladies from a distance from their homes turned out of doors upon a few hour's notice. Mrs. Wilson is sending most of the furniture out among her friends. A fine piano has just been brought here, as well as six parlor chairs, a large hair-cloth armchair, two fancy Gothic chairs and some pictures. Also the portraits of Bishop Andrew and Dr. Erwin.

Went shopping this evening with Clara and bought a hoop skirt.

Martha Wilson sent over two paintings from the Huntsville Female College for safekeeping. She was in charge of safekeeping the College's property while her husband was away, and she recently had been evicted from there. One of the two portraits from the College was of Methodist Bishop Andrew and the other of recently deceased Dr. A. R. Erwin of the Methodist Church.⁴⁹⁴ The much loved and respected Dr. Alexander R. Erwin had died in January of 1860. Under his leadership the Methodist church was the largest denomination in town and also served a commitment for missions to the black community.⁴⁹⁵

The Federal army appointed Dr. Evans to be medical director of the district and ordered a general hospital established in Huntsville. Colonel

Lyon seized the Huntsville Female College, “a treasonable Methodist concern,” for that purpose. The females are very sweet on me he said, “hoping to induce me to rescind the order and take some other building. It can not be done, though.”⁴⁹⁶

Until this time hooped skirts clearly separated women of the higher classes. But now they were considered extravagant and by the summer of 1863 had begun their decline in ladies’ fashions.⁴⁹⁷ However, Southern ladies, including Mrs. Chadick, knew their skirts had other advantages in wartime activities.

Nov. 15th 1864 Four days of unremitted headache and am yet barely able to sit up. Billy has given up his situation at the depot and come home today to stay. Miss Jennie Moore died Sunday night and was buried today.

Caroline Virginia Moore, 19, lived with her siblings at the home of her father, Hugh Moore, and her stepmother, Margaret. (Caroline’s mother, Catharine Moore, had died in 1847.) Mr. Moore developed the new steam flour and planing mills, among other interests in town.⁴⁹⁸

Nov. 17th 1864 A bright, beautiful day for the middle of November. Went in my front yard and made most beautiful bouquets for my vases of roses, evergreens and Autumn leaves. Spent the morning in arranging and distributing the furniture sent here from the college. Then heard Davie and little Mary’s lessons as usual.

Mary is a droll little creature. When she spells a word, she stops to explain it. She spelled “p-a-s-s, pass; passed by the pickets and didn’t have no pass and wouldn’t stop.” This reminds us of old Brother Elliott, a preacher in our church. He accosted a Yankee officer thus: “Good morning, sir: Picketed in on every side but one, and that is the road that leads straight up to Heaven. I travel that road three times a day and have never met a picket yet.”

Miss Bessy Fearn and Mrs. Mayhew came in and sat with me till dark.

Old Brother Elliott was 65-year-old James C. Elliot, a Cumberland Presbyterian clergyman who lived in the Shoal’s Ford district of Limestone County. Bessy was Berenice Shelby Fearn, 30, the sixth daughter of Dr. Thomas Fearn. Fanny Mayhew was the dear friend who hid Reverend Chadick in her basement the year before and was recently robbed when fleeing town with Mrs. Parker.

Nov. 18th 1864 *Received a note today from my dear W. D. written two weeks ago whilst he was at Whitesburg, and has been lying at the Provost Marshal's office ever since. It is a kind, sweet missive and cheers my heart. May God bless and preserve him in all his absence, and assist me to bear it patiently.*

Sue came home again this evening. The pickets did not question her pass, but their curiosity was excited, and one of them said to another, "I will register that pass."

Perhaps Mrs. Chadick should have wondered at the curiosity of the pickets. Information is difficult to hide from the common soldier, and perhaps they also guessed about Sue's remarkable pass.

Nov. 19th 1864 *"Never rains but it pours." Never was an old saying more truly verified. It has rained incessantly day and night nearly all the week. Mr. Hereford called in to see Sue, and she and Jennie both went there in the rain to tea and to stay all night.*

Nov. 20th 1864 *Still cloudy and occasionally a drizzling rain. Just started all the children to Sabbath school and church. Prevented from going myself by a pain in the face. Just sat down to write in my journal when Mr. Tom Barum called to see Sue. He had just gone when Mr. Wilkinson came to take her back to the country. He dined with us and gave us the "news."*

Gen. Sherman is moving either upon Savannah or Charleston, burning Atlanta and all the towns behind him, and completely destroying the railroad. Beauregard is reported in front of him and Hood in his rear. There was fighting yesterday at New Market between Russell's cavalry and the Yankees. The railroad was also torn up so the trains did not get in.

Mr. Wilkinson may have been George Wilkinson, 32, who lived at Madison Station and was taking Sue back to her teaching job at the Matkins home.

General Sherman waited until after Lincoln's reelection and began heading east on the 16th of November. Going only 15 miles a day, his men destroyed rail lines and raided stock and homes along the way. As the Yankees marched across Georgia, food and supplies were totally destroyed in a line 50 miles wide.

In early October Gen. Beauregard had accepted command of the newly created Military Division of The West, giving him seniority over Generals Hood and Taylor. Beauregard had met with General Hood at

Gadsden for two days to discuss the plans for invasion of Tennessee, which they hoped would draw Sherman away from his raid of the deep South. Beauregard felt Hood would only be successful if he moved quickly. As Hood had moved west, Beauregard stayed in Gadsden supervising the supplies to follow Hood. An indignant Beauregard went to Decatur stunned at Hood's apparent tardiness to move north. Beauregard then went on to inspect defenses at Corinth. He returned to Macon, Georgia, by November 24th to organize defenses against Sherman's expected attack on Macon or Augusta, Georgia. Meanwhile General Hood began marching into Tennessee on this day from Tusculumbia with 38,000 men in three separate columns. In the vanguard were Gen. Forrest and 6000 cavalrymen.

Colonel Alfred A. Russell's 4th Alabama Cavalry Regiment and Col. Lemuel Mead's Partisans skirmished with detachments from the 11th and 12th Indiana Cavalry and the 4th Michigan Infantry on November 17th between New Market and Maysville. Union Captain M. D. Williams claimed nine Rebels killed and three wounded. He reported only two Federal soldiers wounded. This was a daylong encounter, and "Bushwhacker" Johnston said, "We tussled with them in the lane, in the gap, and up and down the creek and still held them off so they did us no serious damage." On the 18th the Rebels tore up 300 yards of track between Gurley and Paint Rock.⁴⁹⁹

Sherman's movement led to a December 22 Christmas gift to President Lincoln: the city of Savannah.

Nov. 22nd 1864 Mr. Herrick's goods arrived today and with them a letter from Julia and two for Davie from his Grandpa and Aunt Cora. The little fellow is delighted – two photographs also came to light among the goods, of my dear father and mother, excellent ones too and how highly prized none but myself can know. Eddie has just come in, bringing the long expected silk dress, which was also among the goods. It is beautiful and a perfect fit and beautifully made—the work of sister Clara—perfectly characteristic of her sisterly kindness.

Although Southern newspapers urged women to revive home production of fabric because it was both patriotic and moral, many women did not care to wear fabric associated with lower classes. Mrs. Chadick was not reduced to homespun—or at least she did not say so; nor does she mention spinning or weaving cloth

Nov. 23rd 1864 There is another excitement this evening, but how much foundation there is for it, we know not. It is thought the enemy are

evacuating here. They say Hood's whole army is at Decatur, and Forrest in front of them.

For the 18th Michigan stationed at Decatur, action began again that day. Private Pomeroy wrote, "At about eleven the rebs does attack our picket line on the left and the pickets does run without trying to hold their groun... a good deal of excitement in Camp all of the Regiments are ordered to pack up and be ready to evacuate the place at the shortest notice." Everything not packed up was ordered to be destroyed, and "all of the amunition is put on to the gunboats to be taken to Bridgeport." On the morning of the 25th everything remaining—buildings and stores—were set fire and Decatur, in flames, was evacuated.⁵⁰⁰

The nearby threat at Decatur struck panic in the Federal troops stationed in Huntsville as the entire Confederate Army of Tennessee crossed the Tennessee River west of town on their way north. But where were they going?

***Nov. 24th 1864** The panic increases. The enemy are actually taking their departure. The whole town is in commotion. The trade stores—many of them are closed—are packing their goods as rapidly as possible. Others are selling out as fast as they can at cost, and such another rush of men and women to furnish themselves with goods was truly never seen. Jennie and myself went to the Square with the crowd, and I purchased calico and socks at 30 cents and other things in proportion.*

***Night** Went this evening to see Mrs. Davis and passed Corinna having a wagon loaded for the depot. She goes to Nashville tonight. The officer who has her in charge went to a Yankee lady at Mrs. Davis' today, and begged her to take Corinna under her charge, telling her that she was a very smart servant, and that her master was a tyrant and a colonel in the Confederate army, and had once taken her off South. Mrs. Davis advised the lady to have nothing to do with her, that her master had always been a kind one and although he had once taken her across the river, he had brought her back when she wanted to come.*

I went back and spoke to Corinna, and asked her where and why she was going. She said it was to Nashville to avoid the Rebels that she was not afraid of them, but did not want to be in any fuss. She was at first inclined to be important and impolite but, when I talked kindly to her, she changed her tone and said if things had not gone so far she would not have gone. I told her I did not ask her to stay but that my advice to her would be to do so. But if she was ever in want or needed a home, she could come back and that she should be kindly treated. She

commenced crying and the Yankees hurried her off A large proportion of Africa is collected at the depot tonight, awaiting transportation. The work of evacuation is going on rapidly. Fires are burning in different quarters of the town where there have been camps which makes quite an illumination. Many fear they will set fire to the town before leaving.

Went with Eddie since supper to Mr. Donegan to ask him to loan me some money to make a few purchases in the morning. My request was kindly and readily granted. He is every inch a gentleman, and Mrs. Donegan is equally a lady.

Colonel Lyon wrote, "We are evacuating this line. Decatur is already abandoned, and when the troops from that place arrive here we shall take up our line of march for Stevenson.... This course is rendered necessary by Hood's movement north." The loyal citizens and hundreds of former slaves left with the army. The colonel removed all restrictions from sales and merchants sold their wares at cost: "The reason for this reduction is that it is doubtful whether they can get [railroad] cars to take their goods away, and they would be cleaned out in two hours after we leave.... I have seen a great deal of anguish and almost despair in the last two days.... I issue rations freely to these people, without authority and regardless of personal consequences; but they are liable to be robbed of them as soon as we are gone."⁵⁰¹

Nov. 25th 1864 *Had the misfortune to be very sick and unable to see or speak to anybody, consequently missed the opportunity of making many cheap bargains at the stores, as they are still selling out. Spent the day in great suffering from a violent sick headache, increased, doubtless, by the excitement.*

For any woman not to take advantage of the sales spoke of great torment. Mrs. Chadick's nervous headaches had become more frequent with four episodes in this month alone. She could have suffered from sinus, migraine, allergies, or simply stress-related headaches. She appeared to experience these episodes before and after difficult encounters, such as the panic in town and her personal confrontation with Corinna. Whether the cause was real or imagined did not make her suffering any less debilitating.

Nov. 26th 1864 *Rose immediately after breakfast, notwithstanding my great weakness from yesterday's illness, and went on the Square to buy myself rich. Purchased shoes, calico, soda, pickles, oysters, knives and forks, plates, tumblers and a hat and pants for W. D., etc.*

They were burning the papers in the Court House yard belonging to the Provost Marshal's office. There was a great stir among the enemy generally. It is said the Rebel cavalry are hovering in the neighborhood and seven Negro soldiers were killed today near the house of Mr. Charley Strong.

The enemy all expect to get away by morning. The soldiers threaten to burn the town, and there is a strong guard out to prevent it. Greene Academy is burning at this moment. Many families in town are left tonight without a single servant, all gone to the Yankees. The country all around the depot is perfectly black with them.

Just one year ago today, the Federals occupied Huntsville from Brownsboro, where they had their camp.

Indeed the Rebel cavalry were hovering in the neighborhood. Charles W. Strong and his family lived on the Pike about two miles south of Meridianville. Rebel Major Johnston and a detachment were just about 50 yards from the house of the widow Mrs. Pleasant Strong. A quarter mile from Charlie's house, they encountered black soldiers, probably of the 106th U.S. Colored Infantry stationed in Pulaski, Tennessee. At the bend in the road, almost in sight of town, the enemies saw each other and began firing. Bushwhacker Johnston said it was the first armed Negroes his men had ever met. Johnston reported the entire black squad, except one, was killed. That one soldier fled to Huntsville to tell his story. Johnston and his men waited on a hill nearby for the Yankees to come out and attack them, but the Yanks were apparently too busy packing up.⁵⁰²

In early 1862 G. W. Turner, assistant principal, had added military training to the curriculum of Greene Academy at no extra cost to the students.⁵⁰³ This did not endear the school to the Federals; they burned the building as they hastily left town.

Union troops evacuated Decatur and joined with those preparing to leave Huntsville: "Everything was bustle and preparation to get everything away. We had some two or three engines on the railroad, and they were kept very busy switching about and gathering scattered military stores." In their haste two engines were left behind. One ran off the tracks and the Rebels captured the other.⁵⁰⁴

Nov. 27th 1864 Everything remained quiet during the night. The enemy have not all left, but are getting away as fast as they can. The railroad have been cut during the night, and they are marching out, followed by a long line of contrabands with their plunder by the Brownsboro Pike. Stragglers are going around town, taking all the horses they can find

out of the stables. Citizens, disloyal to the South, are also leaving in great haste on mules or anything they can find to ride.

Billy has been down to the Depot to see if he can secure some provisions at the hotel, as the proprietor has to run. Eddie has just come in and says some Negroes just fired Donegan's block, one of the finest buildings in town, but the citizens with the aid of the soldiers, succeeded in putting it out.

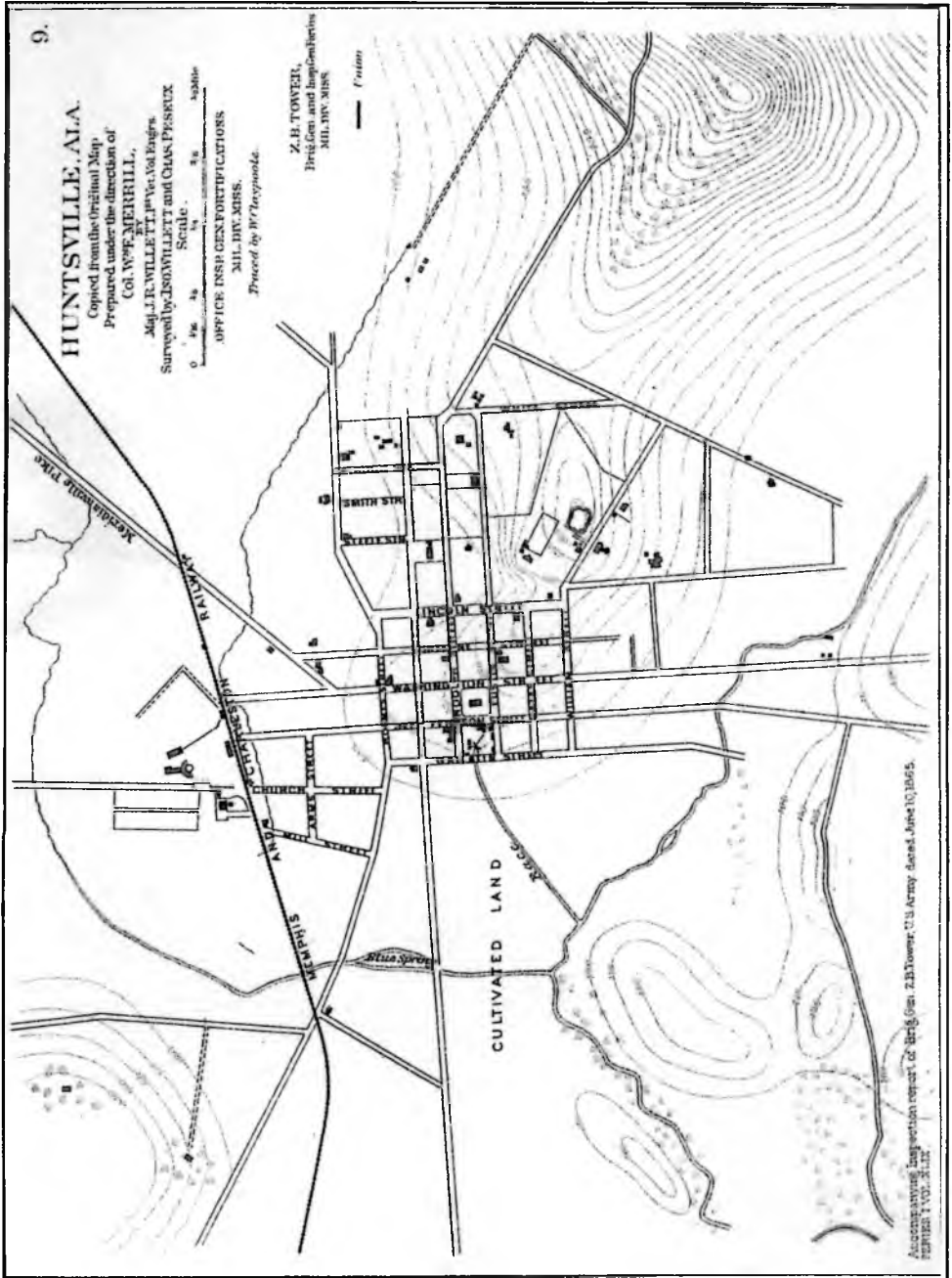
Two regiments are still in town, helping the refugees to leave. The railroad being torn up is a mistake. It was a collision, but cannot learn any particulars. The supplies have arrive—bbl. of pickled pork, dried beef, mackerel, bbl. of rice, ditto white beans, sweet potatoes, 25 pounds of brown sugar, 20 pounds of coffee, four cans of fruit and soda, box of cigars.

Dressed the children and started them for Sunday school, but they returned, there being none—too much excitement. It does not seem like the Sabbath.

9 o'clock *The last Yankee has gone and we are again free. They did not get off till dark, as the cavalry had to go with the train to guard it. Many apprehensions were felt by the citizens lest they should be detained over night. Many of the common soldiers made threats of burning the town—they burned Governor Chapman's house today.*

Earlier, former Governor Chapman, his wife, and family had been turned out of their house when the Union forces confiscated it. They were given just a few hours to pack their belongings, and Mrs. Chapman was understandably upset. As she continued to berate them, the Federal officer in charge threatened to have her arrested. The family story implied Governor Chapman said to the officer, "Sir I've put up with her for twenty-four years, so surely you can stand it a little longer." The family moved to safety, but Governor Chapman, just back from his duties as envoy to France, was arrested and imprisoned at Fort Warren in Boston harbor. Their son, Steptoe Chapman, 23, a member of Co. F. 4th Alabama Infantry, had died in battle in May.⁵⁰⁵

General Hood's troops, progressing along on the south side of the river, engaged in skirmishes at Decatur before moving northward. In fear of the superior forces, the Union army at Huntsville abandoned town this night for the northeastern part of the state. Dr. Thomas Madden of nearby Maysville wrote about the frightful retreat: "The [Union] soldiers amounted to about 8000 soldiers and baggage wagons almost beyond number. Refugees and contrabands, astonishing in number.... It began to pass here at 8 in the morning and continued until 4 p.m." The trail along the road could be seen by the spillage of feather bedding and cotton. He



Map of Huntsville during the War by Merrill. HMCPL.

continued, “The day passed, but the distressing feature is that women gave birth to children during the flight, and unnaturally left them to perish; one case occurred near this place. A Yankee soldier picked up the infant, wrapped it up and tried to give it away as he passed along. . . . At Stevenson, ‘tis said that they are dying by multitudes since the cold set in.”⁵⁰⁶

Nov. 28th 1864 Russell’s cavalry (Confederate) entered the town this morning. The Yankees sent back a train guarded by Negro soldiers, from 75 to 100 in the omnibus, to bring off the remaining contrabands at the depot. A Confederate officer fired at them, and the shot was returned. He fired again several times, and called to his men to charge to the right and to the left, not having a single man at his command! The soldiers took a panic and ran the engine off the track and then took to their heels toward the woods! The locomotive and train were sent to Decatur:

Many females went upon the Square to see and to talk to our soldiers, but, for ourselves, we stayed at home and mended and tacked down a carpet, and regulated everything generally as the arrival of W.D. is confidently expected soon.

Colonel Francis Marion Windes offered a more exciting account of the activities to his superior, General Roddey. Windes and his men rode easily into Huntsville, now evacuated by the Federals: “I entered town immediately with a lieutenant and two men at daylight—scouted two miles each side of town, found no enemy and returned. . . . when a train loaded with 200 Negro soldiers came in from Stevenson. . . . I, with one man, attacked the engineer with pistols and frightened him so that he ran the engine off the track. I pretended I had a regiment nearby and caused the Negro troops to stampede. I had the engine put on the track and with 25 cars brought to Decatur.” From there he put his regiment on the train to go assist Colonel Russell near Brownsboro.⁵⁰⁷

The omnibus, an early bus, offered a covered wagon ride for a fare in a route that included the depot, the Hotels and about town. Before the War Larkin Robinson, a free black, drove it.

At Greenlawn plantation Octavia Otey had not opened her journal to write for over a month. When she took up the pen again, “. . . a retrospect of the past month will be sad and difficult also to make.” The men in the family continued quite ill, the children were sick, as were their black family. Two long-time friends, two young men, perhaps nephews, were killed in action; a niece unexpectedly died; and their neighbor, Mr. Nugent, was murdered. Moreover, “We were most starved for a while. . . . So one Sunday while he [Mr. Otey] was sick I found my self without a pound or

scrap of meat, Lard or butter to save our lives.... The very last little scrap gave out on Sunday.” She had sent part of a chicken to her husband and half-brother who were ill and staying in her room. She “sat down at the table and looked around. The children were waiting to be helped, six of them, and Father had helped himself to stewed fruit, potatoes, and bread, no milk, but water. And I looked at him and then at his plate, at it seemed so unreal and ridiculous that I burst out laughing, but other thoughts soon sent me from the table to finish a hearty fit of crying. I passed it off to the children as a fit of laughing hysterics. And poor things, they did not know that their Mother was crying for them. I never saw starvation so close to me before.”⁵⁰⁸

Dec. 3rd 1864 Spent the week in finishing up my sewing and preparations for the return of my dear W. D., who has not yet arrived. Mrs. Matkin spent the day with me on Tuesday, and took little Mary home with her to stay until Sue returns to town. Bless her little heart. How we all miss her, but none so much as her ma. Mrs. Peebles and Frank came on Wednesday and staid until Thursday.

Many of the contrabands who left the Yankees are returning. We have news today that old Uncle Tom has been captured by the Rebels. Whether true, we know not, but hope it may be, as he deserves a good scare for his ingratitude and unfaithfulness to his master. A courier arrived this morning on his way to Gen. Roddey. He says Gen. Hood is skirmishing with the enemy 15 miles from Nashville!

Eddie has enlisted in a company called “Jordan’s Life Guards,” made up of most of the nicest boys in Huntsville. Mr. Tom Jordan is captain. They belong to Col. W’s regiment, Roddey’s command.

Thomas B. Jordan, who recently lost his mother in the unfortunate train wreck of March, established Jordan’s Company “of the nicest boys.” Captain Jordan had been released from prison in Nashville, and now with the Federal army out of Huntsville, he helped form Company L, 4th Regiment Alabama Cavalry led by Colonel Francis Marion Windes.⁵⁰⁹ However, most able-bodied men were already serving in the army. With the Federals still lurking so close, Home Guard units of teens and older men, poorly armed and untrained, formed for protection of the community. Eddie was a lad of about 15; these were truly sorry times. Eddie’s service record described him as having a fair complexion, dark hair, and gray eyes. Likely the 15-year-old boy had not finished his growth to full manhood; his height was listed at five feet, two inches.⁵¹⁰ He would be a man hereafter.

The Confederate draft plan ensured those men who could not make up their minds about joining the War effort would either flee or be drafted.

In April 1862 the Confederate Congress passed its first military conscription act for all white men 18-35 who were physically able to bear arms. Unfortunately for farmers, this was also the season for planting crops for the year. Exemptions were given to certain groups, such as masters or overseers engaged in agriculture, preachers, doctors, county officials, millers, school teachers, etc. Wealthy men, of course, could always hire a substitute. In September the age was raised to 45, and in February 1863 the age range became 17-50. Suddenly “deputy clerks,” “deputy sheriffs,” “deputy school teachers” and small mail route deliverymen appeared in many communities. These occupations were exempt from conscription.⁵¹¹ Some men reacted by evading the draft and hiding out.

Adding to the burden of those who remained at home, the law also forced farmers to give one tenth of their farm produce, crops and slaughtered meat as a tax-in-kind. (Huntsville’s Major G. W. Jones as Controlling Quartermaster, Tax-in Kind, maintained these stockpiles of food for the Confederate army at Marion, Alabama.) The farmers’ burden increased, as the farmer was required to deliver the supplies to the local railroad depot when possible. As a result scores of farmers also chose to hide their meager food supplies and livestock. By 1864, thirty-seven percent of families in Alabama were receiving state aid.⁵¹²

Dec. 4th 1864 This is the 15th anniversary of my wedding day. Wonder if he recalls it to his recollection amid his wanderings. As he is not particularly sentimental, I fear he does not, especially as he has matters of grave importance to fix his attention just now. Am looking anxiously for his arrival. Did not go to church, not being at all well. Heard that Dr. Ross predicted in his sermon the enemy would never return to Huntsville. Heaven send it may come true!

News came tonight of a bloody battle near Franklin, Tenn., fought on Wednesday last, in which we lost heavily in officers, Gen. Cleburne among the number. The enemy were completely routed and driven towards Nashville.

The Federals who fled Huntsville, were safely camped at Stevenson by this day. The immense wagon train included the crowd of refugees and contrabands numbering 3000, most of them destitute. Sadly, “It is said a great many young children and infants were abandoned by their mothers.”

⁵¹³

On the afternoon of November 30th the Rebel troops of General Hood charged across two miles of open ground to attack Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield, commander of the XXIII Corps, Department of Ohio, whose

men were behind quickly constructed defenses at the village of Franklin, Tennessee. By dark when the fighting ceased, the Army of Tennessee was shattered—a full quarter of those engaged were casualties. The next day Schofield's Federals retreated into Nashville to reinforce Brig. Gen. George H. Thomas and his men. Hood, perhaps hoping for reinforcements from somewhere, continued the offensive on the 2nd of December. He laid siege to a Nashville of 50,000 strongly fortified Union soldiers with his weak and hungry 30,000 remaining troops. Heroic General Cleburne was just one of the six Southern generals mortally wounded that day.

Dec. 6th 1864 *Went last night to see Mr. Matt Steele, who has just returned. Could give me no tidings of W. D. On my return home, found Mr. Harvey Donegan, who made himself exceedingly interesting by a description of his interviews with a Yankee lieutenant under flag of truce.*

Was disturbed in the night by a sudden and violent ringing of the door bell! Went to the window and asked who was there. Two soldiers wanted Eddie in a hurry to come to the Court House, as the Yankees were reported at Brownsboro. He came back directly and reported it as a false alarm.

William Harvey Donegan was the 23-year-old son of financier, James J. Donegan. Harvey was a merchant and in November 1865 he married Kate Coles, daughter of Eliza Coles.⁵¹⁴

Dec. 7th 1864 *Yesterday, the scouts came in and said the enemy were at Larkinsville with a heavy cavalry force. Nothing but trouble and excitement all day. Was glad W. D. had not arrived. Yet, this morning, am looking for him as anxiously as ever, as there has nothing further been heard from the Yankees.*

The Federal troops at Stevenson established posts again on the railroad line at Bellefonte, Larkinsville, and then on the 7th the Paint Rock railroad bridge. The Confederates ran the engine, captured two weeks earlier, to their end of the bridge before realizing the Federals were at the other end. The Rebels quickly reversed the train, “and returned faster than they came.”⁵¹⁵

Dec. 11th 1864 *John Robinson (Jun.) arrived today from Marion. Says W.D. will certainly be here in a day or two. Weather exceedingly cold.*

Apparently John Robinson, Jr., son of the Robinsons of Oaklawn, was involved with the state militia in Marion where Colonel Chadick was located.

In the tents at Stevenson Colonel Lyon wrote, “The weather is unusually cold and there is considerable suffering amongst the refugees, and even the soldiers are not too comfortable.” Also on this morning 10,000 federal troops under Gen. Steedman camped at Paint Rock while organizing themselves to return to Huntsville.⁵¹⁶

Dec. 12th 1864 DeWitt called to see us today, right from Hood's army. He and Jennie were going out to make some visits this evening, when he returned and said, “Mrs. Chadick, here is somebody at the gate you love very much.” Sprang up and ran out, and was clasped in the arms of W. D. After an exile of 14 months, he is once more permitted a short repose in the bosom of his family. Our joy is great, too great for expression. We can only thank God for bringing about this happy reunion and enjoy it deep down in our heart of hearts.

Colonel Chadick, and most likely others across the Tennessee River, took advantage of the Federal absence in Huntsville and returned to their homes. Chadick had fled town on the night of October 12, 1863 in a driving rainstorm after hiding in Mrs. Mayhew’s basement to escape the Yankees—14 months earlier.

Mrs. Otey at Greenlawn plantation had not written in her journal for two weeks. In the meantime she wrote a passionate letter of explanation to her half-sister, Ella Kirkland Burke. The Burke, the John Robinson and the James B. Robinson families had fled for safety deep into the state during this time. But the rumor of Mrs. Otey’s signing the oath had reached them, and Mrs. Burke apparently wrote criticizing Octavia. On December 12th Octavia replied in a lengthy letter: “Rest assured my dear sister, our subscribing to their oath was a perfect sacrifice of my self to our family. . . . No one could buy goods without taking the oath, that is, if they bought over 10 dollars worth. Towards the last, they only allowed us to buy one dollars worth without taking it.” She signed the oath so her husband, who was violently opposed to signing, would not have to. It was a matter of pride: “We who are in the enemy’s lines, with their clutch, as it were, on our throats, can do our cause no harm by taking their oath. . . . So I subscribed to their oath to keep my husband, brother, or Father (also Mrs. Burke’s brother and father) from taking it, and to keep my family of 10 white ones from beggary or starvation. The vouchers for the stolen livestock could only be redeemed to those who signed. . . . They have taken

everything here, almost, except the house and furniture.” Signing “was the hardest task I ever did.”

She continued, “The people of South Alabama, as any other place, where they have laws to protect them, a plenty to eat and to wear, secure in the midst of friends, are not competent to judge of what is right and proper for a people oppressed as we have been, to do, some with starvation staring us in the face, some shot down in the midst of their families.... Others with their houses burnt down, only because they may have a soldier friend or relation, who they can not punish, so punish their friends.” Her half-sister, Ella, had recently lost a young child to illness, so Mrs. Otey wrote, “My dear sister, you must not grieve too deeply for dear little Octie. You never heard the dear little ‘angel’ begging for something to eat....” Mrs. Otey continued that she missed all her family and urged them to return to north Alabama soon.⁵¹⁷

Dec. 16th 1864 Last night, we had another panic. The Yankees were reported not many miles off. They had made a raid into Vienna (New Hope), led on by the notorious Ben Harris, a renegade, and burnt the remainder of the town, and it was expected they would be in Huntsville by daybreak.

Our two soldiers were in the saddle at once, and went to the Square to see what was going on. As there were not sufficient force to meet the enemy, it was decided to run! W. D. went out on a scout with Col. Russell and some of his men, and spent the night on the mountain. About daybreak, we were aroused by the firing of guns and by loud shouts, and it was instantly announced the Yankees were in town. All was excitement at once. We commenced dressing and hiding our valuables when suddenly, W. D. made his appearance and pronounced it all a hoax. It was a trick of Col. Russell to try the mettle of a brother officer. Of course, we were all greatly relieved.

Yankee Lieutenant McTeer at Paint Rock spoke of local men—polished gentlemen, two brothers—who spied for them. However, he felt generally that “spies are an unscrupulous, dishonest, and unreliable class of men, coming from the rougher class.” He knew about “Captain” Harris: “He was a rougher man, of the desperate kind...and he made himself a terror where he went.” As the rumor was later quite prevalent, McTeer thought the Harris family was “poisoned to death” after the War.⁵¹⁸

Unfortunately the locals also were familiar with Ben Harris. An Alabamian, he farmed unsuccessfully for a while in Madison County. After living for a time in Arkansas, he returned in the fall of 1863 and served as a scout for the Union Army. Harris claimed he had been “Chief of Scouts for

Gen. Sherman” and had been to Atlanta three times in the summer of 1864. Now he returned to Madison County “ ‘with orders to clean that country out’ and to ‘burn every house within 10 miles’ of his home place ‘if bushwhackers fired a single shot into him.’”⁵¹⁹ Harris adopted the uniform of a captain, and his gang dressed in Federal clothes. In December of 1863 they attempted to steal a herd of cattle at Buck Island near Claysville. The gang surprised and killed four Confederate sympathizers and almost killed a fifth. That man, after being shot, was thrown into the Tennessee River. Charles Hardcastle, the only survivor, floated away in the icy water, managed to pull himself ashore and locate a relative’s house. This witness lived to tell the tale, but many more vicious killings went uncounted.⁵²⁰

Ben Harris used his role of scout to settle some old personal grudges with former neighbors. For instance he said he would kill Bradford Hambrick and “get some of the Union soldiers and take everything out of Hambrick’s house and burn the whole place up. . . . He has been a big fellow for a long time, but now is my time to bring him down.”⁵²¹ The nature of the War became vicious, ugly, and unrelenting for both sides. Mrs. Chadick would learn the little town of Vienna was burned December 15. Left standing were the Post Office, which also housed a tavern, and a building used by the Masons. After the War, the town was rebuilt and incorporated in 1883. (Mrs. Chadick used the names Vienna and New Hope interchangeably, as did many people.)

Dec. 18th 1864 Went to church today to hear Dr. Ross, accompanied by W. D. for the first time in 15 months. On reaching the corner of the street, was struck suddenly by a rock upon the ankle, hurled with considerable force from a sling. I went into Mrs. Weaver’s and W. D. went in search of the offender, found him in the person of a young Negro in the Calhoun grounds. After giving him a good whipping, came for me and we proceeded to church, my ankle fortunately not being badly hurt, although painful for several hours. These slings in the hands of the boys and Negroes are becoming very dangerous. Yesterday one of our officers had his horse’s eye shot out.

Other than this episode with the young ruffian, there was a sense of normalcy to this Sunday morning scene. Peaceful as it may have appeared, Yankee Colonel Lyon in Stevenson received orders from General Thomas to reoccupy the railroad all the way to Decatur, and Lyon expected to leave for Huntsville by rail cars on the 19th to arrive on Tuesday, the next day.⁵²²

Dec. 20th 1864 *W. D. has been in a constant run all day, trying to make arrangements for us to live this Winter. Has sold his gray horse this morning for \$150 in gold to Nick Davis, in order to obtain the right kind of currency. I have scarcely got to speak with him today. It is so long since we have had the pleasure of being together I can hardly endure for him to get out of my sight.*

Oh, horrors! We had just risen from a late dinner and he had started over to see Mrs. Bradford on some business when he came running back, and putting his head in at the door cried out, "Jane, the Yankees are coming!" Telling me to take care of his saddle, he hurried away on foot. Such consternation, terror and confusion! It was supposed that they were already coming into town.

Our attention was now turned to getting Eddie off and hiding the things they left behind. In a few minutes, a servant came for W. D.'s saddle and blanket, but not a rag of clothes did either take with them.

It is pouring down rain, a cold rain. Wonder if they are to be out all night in it. Sat up until a late hour. No Yankees as yet. They might have gone comfortably fixed. If the enemy came in, it will probably be a raid, and they will be gone again in a few hours. We have been sitting up late every night, reading, "A Tale of the Revolution," by Simms. Tried to go on with the story tonight, but cannot enjoy it, since he is not here to enjoy it with me.

The Union troops advanced cautiously, with the cavalry reconnoitering ahead of the troop train. The few Confederates fled at their approach.⁵²³ The Yankees had come to stay. Mrs. Chadick—or Jane as her husband called her—was trying to settle down with a romantic story with a Southern setting; *The Partisan: A Tale of the Revolution* was written in 1835 by William Gilmore Simms.⁵²⁴

Dec. 21st 1864 *Passed a restless and uneasy night caused by anxiety for my dear husband and Eddie. Just at daylight, the Yankees burst in upon the waking inhabitants with an unearthly whoop and yell, a firing of guns. Their appearance was more like imps from the bad world than like human beings. They broke open stores, rifled private houses and cut up generally.*

At Mr. Jolley's, who has always been a good Union man, they took everything they could lay their hands upon. Children's clothes, jewelry, hoop skirts, going into the rooms where the young ladies were not yet out of bed. Billy went up town, and they took his hat off his head and ordered Mr. Donegan to take off his boots, which he positively refused to do, and they had to pass on.

When the Confederates were here, scarcely a pair of boots were to be found in the town for the benefit of our officers and soldiers. But it is a mortifying fact that when the Federals broke open the stores, plenty of them were found, and two Feds actually came here on their horses with several pairs, which tried to sell at \$5 per pair! About 11 o'clock, three men came here upon pretense of searching the house for arms. They would not take my word for it that there were not any here. I then asked to see their orders for such a proceeding. They had none to show, and said, "that was done away with." I next objected on the grounds they had no commissioned officers with them! This, however, had no effect upon them as they were determined to go through the house.

I was entirely alone and could not leave them even to go to the kitchen and send for a guard. I persisted in declining the search until one of them pushed by me saying, "We must obey orders. I told the sergeant who said they were searching Union people's houses that I was no union woman, but professed to be a lady, and trusted I had gentlemen to deal with. He then assured me nothing should be touched unless they found arms.

They then went into my room and made right for the wardrobe. I told them to stand back and examine as I removed the things. Some bottles of wine immediately attracted their attention. After draining the only one that had anything in it, some cans of oysters and peaches next elicited their attention. I begged them not to take them and by giving them a can of peaches, drove them away from the wardrobe.

They next searched the bureau which contained my silver and W. D.'s clothes, but, my keeping them back, adroitly managed to keep them from discovering either: They then wished to examine my large trunk, saying it "looked like it would hold the government." I opened it, but the sergeant prevented them from touching anything.

Whilst they were searching in Sue and Jennie's room, one of the scamps went back to my wardrobe and helping himself to all my oysters and cans of fruit, made off with them. The other two followed under pretense of reporting this man, but doubtless to assist him in enjoying the spoils, thus relinquishing the search for firearms which was only an excuse for ransacking the house and stealing whatever they could lay their hands on!

These are truly terrible times. Alas! Alas! There is the railroad whistle. They have actually come back with all their infantry and cannon to occupy. Our hearts sink within us. W. D. and Eddie both gone without a change of clothing, and we cannot even conjecture how long the enemy may remain—perhaps for the War.

Benjamin Jolley and his wife, Caroline, lived with their five children at the corner of Madison and Williams Streets. He was known to have anti-secession sentiments from early days and was considered a Tory. Jolley was one of the three men engaged in buying cotton during the occupation, which would not have been allowed without Federal approval and authorization.⁵²⁵

Tennessee cavalry officer Lieutenant McTeer wrote, "On the 21st, we moved in Huntsville at the break of day, taking possession of that beautiful city." The returning Federal troops occupied their old grounds and found little changed in town: "The people profess to be glad to see us back here, although I think the most of them lie about that."⁵²⁶

Dec. 22nd 1864 Hope and trusted I should not be further molested by the enemy. Delusive hope. Today, an officer with a guard of six men came to search the premises for W. D. Assured them he was not here, but Col. Fish of the 13th Wisconsin (for such was his cognomen and rank) said that he did not expect a man's wife to tell the truth where he was concerned. He then proceeded to search—looked under the piano and behind the divans in the parlor, in the wardrobe in my room and then behind the pillows upon my bed! He even started to raise the lid of a trunk but dropped it upon seeing my look at him with surprise. I began to suspect him of being a shark instead of a swordfish! He then placed a guard in the hall and around the house and desired me to open the smokehouse and lock room and servants' room. As I persevered to treat him with great kindness and politeness, he seemed to get ashamed and commenced an apology for the intrusion, saying they had been told Col. Chadick was certainly here, and he was obliged to do his duty.

He then dismissed his men and came into the sitting room and again apologized for the intrusion and said he would not have gone so unceremoniously into the young ladies' room had he have known it was theirs! I began to think him a whale! He then asked what news we had from Hood's army. Having none I then asked what they had? He replied that 3 or 4 days since, they had received a dispatch from Gen. Thomas from Franklin stating Gen. Hood had been badly whipped and was retreating and sent orders for them to return to this place.

Went this evening to see Col. Davis to try to learn something of the whereabouts of W. D., learning that he went immediately to the river. So he is in all probability across safely. Heard also that Miss Aggie Scott had a pass to go across the river tomorrow. Went to see her and asked her to take W. D.'s clothes to him. She kindly consented, and went to get permission from Col. Lyon. He said that consistent with his duty, he could not give me permission, but if I chose to put some things in

Miss Scott's trunk, they would not be molested, and advised me to act upon that suggestion, which I have accordingly done.

Although Mrs. Chadick is usually precise about identifying the rank and name of the officers, on this occasion and six days later, she must be naming Captain John T. Fish of the 13th Wisconsin. (She certainly enjoyed twisting his surname.) Captain Fish, Co. C, was assigned provost duties on the 21st of December for Huntsville.⁵²⁷

General Hood risked everything left of his army after the Battle of Franklin against Gen. Thomas's superior numbers. The Confederate Army of Tennessee suffered complete disaster at Nashville on the 15th and 16th of December. For a while Gen. Forrest held off the Union troops, allowing many of the Confederate soldiers to flee. This action at Nashville gave no other hope of success for the Confederacy. General Joseph E. Johnson now replaced Hood as leader of the Army of Tennessee.

Adding to the distress of the Southern countryside after this loss, many men with very little discipline or control simply walked away from the battlefield, preying on easy victims along the way. Men returned to try and settle their households and others simply hid in the hills. Others were stragglers who fell out of line during the march or after the battle. And some were skulking to avoid further military service—perhaps with forged papers for parole, furlough, or exemptions pretending to be disabled. However, unlike Toryism (a political crime), desertion was a military crime against the authority of the Confederate States of America.⁵²⁸

Here again Nick Davis was at his best. Just a few days before he had paid Rev. Chadick in gold for a horse, and now Mrs. Chadick went to him for information that one familiar with the Yankees and the Rebels might know.

Dec. 23rd 1864 *Went before breakfast to Mrs. Rice's to see Miss Scott before starting to entrust her with a note to W. D.*

Learned during morning there had been quite a fight near Ellick Jones' and the enemy had brought in 49 prisoners and several wounded men, mostly of Col. Windes regiment with the exception of Capt. Jordan and two of his men. Went immediately to the guard house and learned from Capt. Jordan that Eddie was probably safe as he had not been with the company since they left here. The wounded men were badly cut up with saber cuts as it was a hand to hand fight and the enemy says the young Rebs fought bravely.

The Federal soldiers have been behaving very badly today on the Square. They found some whiskey and after getting drunk knocked

down Gen. Lowe, stabbed one Negro, sabered another and knocked a third off his horse.

We learn to night the report that Decatur being taken by the Fed's is untrue. They are looking for Forrest here again tonight.

We have had most discouraging news here today of the total rout and demoralization of Hood's army, but do not begin to believe half of it. The croakers would have us believe we are whipped beyond redemption. We accidentally got into a nest of them this evening. One gentleman, Mr. F., said, after relating the doleful news, if he was asked to point out the worst enemy of the Southern Confeds, he would say Jeff Davis, and the best friend, he would say Abraham Lincoln.

On December 23rd at 3 a.m. a Federal force prepared to attack 300-600 dismounted Southern cavalrymen under the command of Col. Windes about seven miles west of town at Indian Creek. This location was the property between the William Lanford plantation and Hamilton Bradford's place, which had belonged to bachelor Alexander P. Jones since 1827. (Jones was 69 and would die within the next year.) The troops clashed near what is now Old Madison Pike and Slaughter Road close to Jones's Spring. The skirmish in the bitterly cold early daylight resulted in over 50 Rebel prisoners, 15 killed, and 15 mortally wounded taken to Huntsville. The remaining Rebels fled toward Mooresville. Mrs. Chadick noted the men were "badly cut up." Lieutenant McTeer wrote that the 54 prisoners "were the bloodiest men I ever saw.... They seemed to think a sabre would not hurt a man and would not surrender until they had received a blow." Apparently the Rebels had been incited to plan an attack on Huntsville at the urging of some local citizens who were also captured. All the prisoners were taken to the public square and soon hundreds of women and children gathered: "Wives were recognizing bleeding husbands.... Their tears and cries furnished a sad picture of real war."⁵²⁹

After losing so disastrously at Franklin and then Nashville, Confederate Gen. Hood staggered back south. His army had been routed and was demoralized; desertions along the way back continued to be widespread. Federal General Thomas sent a force under Gen. Steedman toward Decatur and a gunboat flotilla up from Muscle Shoals under Rear Admiral Lee to try to keep the Confederates from crossing the Tennessee River.

General Forrest and his men had retreated from Nashville through sleet and rain to Columbia, Tennessee, where he suggested to Gen. Hood that his troops might be able with a rearguard action, to secure time for the remaining ragged army's escape from the Federals right behind them. Forrest with 3000 cavalrymen, eight pieces of artillery and 1900

infantrymen (of these latter, 400 had no shoes) began a protective withdrawal behind Hood. On this night that Mrs. Chadick looked for him, Forrest and his men, falling back under Federal action, were five miles south of Columbia. The next night both armies were near Pulaski, Tennessee.⁵³⁰

General Bartley M. Lowe, a distinguished resident, was about 62 years old. Although his daughter and son-in-law occupied his home place, The Grove, Gen. Lowe lived at the corner of Madison and Williams Streets.

One might expect a northern supporter to have harsh words for President Davis, but Davis had become less popular in the South as the weary months of conflict and hardship continued. In Montgomery his presence embarrassed those who introduced bills for negotiated peace in the September 1864 special session of the State Legislature.

Dec. 24th 1864 Threatened with one of my dreadful headaches, yet fitted and made the waist for a dress for Jennie. Dr. Ross was arrested and taken before Gen. Steedman at the depot by a Negro guard to answer for a sermon preached after the Feds had evacuated here. In said sermon, he gave those men a severe lashing who tried to avoid the conscript, and said if every man had done his part, the Yankees might have been whipped out of here in six months. He was asked whether he would go North or South. He chose the latter, and was given two hours for himself and family to get ready in. Mr. Bob Smith went down to the train to carry Dr. Ross some money, and was carried off without time to apprise his family, or to get a change of clothes.

Mr. Donegan and old Gov. Clay were arrested as hostages for D. C. Humphreys who was arrested and sent to Gen. Roddey by the Confederates.

The Federals were now back in control of the entire Tennessee River. Under arrest, Dr. Ross was taken to Decatur and ordered initially to go north. Lieutenant McTeer, from eastern Tennessee, already knew about Rev. Ross since the Reverend had built, with his own money, a church in Kingsport. General Steedman ordered Ross arrested with his wife and son, Charles, 14. According to Lt. McTeer, the boy was “a mere youth who appeared tender as a babe.” The General initially intended to have the Ross family put outside the Federal lines where they would have to fend for themselves. Steedman relented and allowed Ross to return to Huntsville, but the Reverend could not preach for two months. Reverend Ross was about 67 at the time.⁵³¹ Robert C. Smith, 29, probably was a member of Dr.

Ross's congregation and was a bookkeeper at the Northern Bank of Alabama.

The Yankees, under Gen. Steedman, seized Clay and Donnegan when Confederate Gen. Roddey arrested Judge David C. Humphreys. Humphreys, recently resigned from the Confederate army, was now a fervent Union man. James J. Donegan was about 64, and former Governor Clay was now 74 years old and in fragile health. Apparently they were ordered to a Federal prison in Nashville. Confederate authorities in Richmond ordered Roddey to release Humphreys. So the Federals released their hostages, Donegan and Clay, before they were sent north. This was the second arrest for the frail Governor Clay, now deaf and likely senile. In August of 1862 he had been taken from his Gurley plantation to town by train. He was then made to walk three-quarters of a mile from the depot in a cold rain to the courthouse, where he and some thirty other civilians were arrested.⁵³² Fortunately for Huntsville, General Steedman's 10,000 infantry left town by train going toward Mooresville accompanied by cavalry units.⁵³³

Dec. 26th 1864 A sad, sad Christmas. Spent the day in bed, very ill. How different from our anticipations a week since W.D. was here and expected to eat with us our Christmas dinner: Alas, we know not where he is, since he left us so unceremoniously. And poor little Eddie – his soldiering met with rather an unfortunate beginning.

Gen. Steedman, with his division, passed through here Sunday on their way to Decatur, where it is said they are fighting. But it is impossible to find out anything. Gen. Humphreys returned today. A captain of Negro troops came here tonight to get a room for a sick lieutenant. Upon my saying I had no vacant room, he remarked there were more people in this town than any place he ever saw.

In late November of 1864 USA Brig. Gen. Andrew A. Humphreys took command and revitalized the exhausted men of the II Corps.⁵³⁴

General Steedman and the 10,000 infantrymen got as far west as the mouth of Limestone Creek and spent this night on the banks of the Tennessee River. The River rose so quickly the steamboats to transport the troops came up to Mooresville. There was only one house available, "and that a one-story cottage with two rooms in it. (These old people Reverend Ross was about 67, but his wife, Fannie was only 42) with their boy were crowded into this and had to be exposed to the rough fare and rough manner of the soldiers."⁵³⁵

Members of the 106th, 110th, and 111th United States Colored Infantry now guarded railroads in Tennessee and north Alabama.

Dec. 27th 1864 *It appears Gen. Steedman was greatly exasperated on Saturday on being informed by his emissaries that the people of Huntsville had been kind to their own soldiers! After sending off Dr. Ross, he ordered the torch to be applied to the town, and it was through the earnest remonstrance of Col. Lyon that it was prevented. With such men in power, what may or may we not expect in their hands?*

It was said a short time since by a resigned Federal officer that six months hence, there would not be a gentleman in the Yankee army. All such were becoming disgusted at the manner in which the war was conducted and were getting out of it as fast as they could. Heavy cannonading has been heard all day in the direction of Decatur and it is said they are still fighting there, but we can learn nothing—every precaution seems to be taken to prevent it.

An officer has been going round to the houses today for bedding to furnish the Hospitals—this is a requisition, which has never before been made of the citizens.

Lieutenant McTeer wrote that Gen. Steedman was so angry with Ross's prayer for the downfall of the United States that, at the time, he threatened to set Huntsville to the torch.⁵³⁶

A Federal brigade under Colonel Palmer skirmished with the remaining Confederate Cavalry at Decatur, Hillsboro, Pond Springs, Leighton, and Russellville from December 27th to January 4th as retreating General Hood fled and finally made his way back to Corinth.⁵³⁷

Dec. 28th 1864 *Nick Davis called this morning and says W. D. and several others, in their flight, went towards Athens. I cannot hear anything in regard to them. Miss Aggie Scott returned yesterday, as there has been an order that no one should be permitted to pass through the pickets. She has permission, however, from Col. Lyon to start again on Monday and go by way of Whitesburg, in company with Miss Annie McClung, as Col. Lyon says the soldiers will all be removed from that point by that time.*

I omitted to say that Nick Davis was charged before the Federal authorities with the crime of having given a Negro \$50 in gold to help W. D. in getting away in the panic.

Lieut. Fish called on me this evening for a portion of bedding for the hospital; begged to be excused on the plea of having none to spare. He consented to pass me by, unless he could do no better, in which case, he would return. Little Mary chanced to be at the piano, and greatly astonished and amused him with her musical performance.

Anna McClung accompanied Aggie Scott through the picket lines. Nick Davis, Jr., never seemed to incur the wrath that Judge Lane and other Cooperationists did. He remained in the community apparently cooperating with both sides. After the War Davis continued to be active politically. In the election of 1872 he and black leader, William Council, were both carried around the Court House in a victory celebration. Two weeks later in a different celebration, Davis and Sam Weaver, another Loyalist, fought in the saloon with serious injury to Davis. The *Huntsville Democrat* chided them for their lack of peaceful intentions.⁵³⁸

Dec. 31st 1864 Paint Rock bridge was burned. Two guns captured and 70 prisoners taken by the Rebels. Under whose command, not known. Mr. Banister (Episcopal preacher) received notice today, if he could not pray for Lincoln, he could not officiate in his church on the morrow and he would be sent South.

Cheering news spread quickly about local heroes. Colonel Lemuel Mead and Maj. Milus Johnston with about 35 men crossed the mountains to the northeast and caught a Yankee unit unaware at sunrise that very morning. Federal Col. William P. Lyon had given orders to 2nd Lt. Samuel Wagoner and about 110 men of the 13th Wisconsin to secure the strategic Memphis & Charleston Railroad Bridge at Paint Rock. Three inches of snow covered the mountains and, because of the bitter cold, the Federals all bedded down in abandoned houses along the tracks, leaving only one sentry on guard. The Southerners crossed over the nearby mountain on foot in the night and surprised the sleeping Federals. A few shots were fired, many men fled for the hills, and the remaining were seized.

The captured brass Napoleon 12-pounder howitzer could not be pulled back over the steep terrain, so it was sent into the Paint Rock River. The railroad bridge was set afire, and the Confederates started back over the mountain with Lt. Wagoner and 38 other prisoners. Colonel Lyon, before he learned the embarrassing details, reported to his superiors that 400 rebels were involved in the attack. The success of the raid was all the more sweet for the Rebels because some of the Union soldiers were “turncoats” from Marshall County.⁵³⁹

General George Thomas, federal commander of the Military Division of the Tennessee, ordered all Alabama’s Episcopal churches to pray for the United States President during the formal liturgy. Reverend Banister loyally maintained his support for the Confederate cause. Directed by his Bishop, Banister prayed for the President of the Confederate States and those in authority. As a result, Rev. Banister was banished from Huntsville several times. The Right Reverend Henry Lay tried to explain to

General Sherman that no one objected to praying for any individual, “but the use of the prayer in question was the acknowledgement of a political fact.”⁵⁴⁰

Jan. 1st 1865 *What a contrast between this and a New Year’s morning five years since, before the advent of this miserable war! Then the house echoed with many voices crying to each other, “I wish you a Happy New Year!” But, this morning, each child seems to know and feel by common consent there is no happy year in store for us, and all such expressions are hushed.*

When each day brings with it such terrible and startling events, what may be the record of the coming year? I dread to think of it. It is a sad day to me for many causes. Separated from my husband under the most trying circumstances, for I know not how long a period, with the cares of a large family upon my hands with prospects of the most gloomy. I am just recovering from another one of my nervous attacks, which are becoming more frequent of late.

Jan. 2nd 1865 *Spent the morning in making a necktie for W.D. and writing him another note to be sent by Miss Aggie who has not yet gotten off. Took it up to Mrs. Rice’s and went from there to Miss McClung’s who is keeping house for Dr. and Mrs. Ross. Found Mrs. Mayhew and Miss Kate Erskine there packing a trunk full of things for them, which Gen. Steedman had permitted them to send for. They are quartered in the hotel at Decatur; the only building left standing in the town.*

Kate Erskine, 25, lived with her mother, Susan, the widow of Dr. Alex Erskine, a prominent physician, on Franklin Street. The family of Reverend Ross again suffered banishment for his inappropriate prayers.

Mrs. Chadick’s news from Decatur was not exactly accurate. There would be two public buildings, the State Bank and the McCartney Hotel. The three private homes remaining included the Dancy-Polk House, the Burselson-Hines-McEntire House, and the third just barely a log cabin. The cabin had been used as a hospital and was hit in 1864 by shells that blew off the top floor. The log house was enclosed after the War and rebuilt, surprising later residents who discovered the original cabin.⁵⁴¹

Jan. 5th 1865 *Billy went down to Mr. Matkin’s today and brought home Sue and Clara and Ada Matkin. Learned through them their Pa spent the night there after running from here, and left the next morning for Athens. He also sent me some money. Heard also that Ed was safe, although there are rumors he is a prisoner in Nashville.*

The town is actually crammed with soldiers. The Fourth Corps (Gen. Wood's) have gone into winter quarters here and are tearing down the fences around private lots. Tearing boards off stables and every where else they can find them to build huts with. Destruction is the order of the day. As yet, they have not troubled me.

The Federal pickets still apparently accepted Sue Chadick's pass. Her half-sister, Clara, and Ada Matkins were allowed into town in a wagon driven by Billy Chadick, who probably had not signed the oath.

Union Maj. Gen. Thomas J. Wood's men of the IV Corps had just pursued Hood south from the dramatic loss at Nashville. The entire Corps arrived in Huntsville for the purpose of refitting for the next campaign; perhaps 12,000 to 15,000 men camped just outside the city limits. General Stanley became the permanent commander but had not arrived yet because of a neck wound received at Franklin, Tennessee. Housing for officers now became more pressing.⁵⁴²

Earlier Mrs. Chadick noted the increased number of drunken soldiers about town. After guard and picket duties were fulfilled, winter camp life became very boring and mostly an indoor pastime. Not every young man turned to drinking. One Yankee soldier stationed in Huntsville wrote about their duty: "The boys read everything they could get, discussed everything they knew, and a good deal more; planned campaigns for the immediate close of the war, reviewed our former marches and battles, and expressed freely their opinion of the 'blamed Southern country.' They also laid plans for home work after the war.... But even after all this, much time hung on our hands. Singing, whistling, and joking more or less practical all had their turns; but euchre, muggings, old sledge, and especially among the officers, poker, held the boards all the time...."⁵⁴³ Elsewhere Rebel lads were whiling away time with the same thoughts and activities.

Jan. 7th 1865 *I have given up my stable to a waggoner with six mules, who says he will take good care of it. This turns my poor cow out in all the bad weather.*

An officer with two orderlies called this morning and sent word to the "lady of the house" that an "officer" desired to see her. Great honor! Presented myself, uttering at the same time a bland good morning, sir. He met me with a lofty, dignified manner and a stern countenance, which never relaxed a muscle, although the "lady of the house" was very smiling and pleasant.

Said he wished me to furnish him a room. I replied my house had but a ground floor and no upstairs, and the rooms were all occupied save the parlor, and that was indispensable to me. He said the house

had several wings and seemed to spread over considerable ground, and he thought someone of the wings would suit him exactly. I explained to him in the same pleasant manner the separate situation and use of each room, which left him no more to say unless he took forcible possession (which doubtless my politeness prevented him from doing). He then questioned me in regard to my neighbors and I could give him no satisfactory information, so he went to inquire for himself.

Thus far, I have escaped but expect daily and hourly to have some portion of my house taken. Mrs. Lawrence Watkins has Gen. Steedman and staff, Mrs. McDowell has Gen. Woods and every house except one or two on that street are occupied

General Steedman and staff were at the home of Mrs. Laurence Watkins, across McClung Street from Samuel Matthews and the former home of Mrs. Gooch. Earlier Gen. Mitchel, and now Gen. Woods, occupied McDowell's home on Adams.

Jan. 8th 1865 *Had just got the children washed and dressed for Sunday school when two soldiers came to request a room to write in for an hour or two. Having no fires but one nobody to make any, I told them the rooms were all occupied, which was strictly in regard to all except the parlor, and I feared they might wish to keep that altogether if they found it comfortable. They did not like this reception and went away saying "there was not a house in town that could not afford them a room for short a time."*

Mrs. Pruitt and Zenia just called—they are going over the river and the latter is going to take W. D. his coat.

Dr. Ross and family have been permitted to return. He is paroled until May next, but not allowed to preach.

Billy just came in and says he was told by a citizen (Picard) who acts as a scout for the Federals that Eddie was captured with 228 others day before yesterday in a fight at Mount Hope 50 miles the other side of the Tennessee River. This is sad indeed if true and it must be so since Picard knows him; he is in a block house at Decatur.

General Steedman relented and Reverend Ross was released. Ross was allowed to return to Huntsville but banned from preaching for two months.⁵⁴⁴

During the relief from occupation in September of 1863 the *Huntsville Confederate* reported "a number of citizens vamoused the ranche." According to the newspaper among those were the Pickard boys.

In the 1860 Census Henry J. Pickard, then 45, was a livery keeper downtown and had three sons: Peter, 21; James, 19; and William, 17. Apparently at least one of these three returned with the Union army and was working as a scout. George Yuckley, formerly of the *Huntsville Advocate*, had also earlier left with the Federals.⁵⁴⁵

Young Eddie was captured on January 4th at Mount Hope, now in Lawrence County, Alabama, about thirty miles south of the Tennessee River. Eddie was in Company L of the 4th Regiment, Alabama Cavalry. Perhaps Eddie and his comrades would have been proud to know how the Yankees considered this day's action: "This regiment fought us with more determination than any we had met since passing salutes with Forrest."⁵⁴⁶

Jan. 11th 1865 Before breakfast, a colored man came and told us Eddie was at the depot. Billy went at once to see him, also Dave and George—sent him his clothes and 10 dollars—Jennie went down to see him and carried him several other things. Several ladies were down there today and carried the prisoners many things necessary to their comfort.

Yesterday, Miss Sue Bradley, Miss Hattie Figures and Mr. Banister started to go across the river to go South (the latter was ordered out of the lines). But an officer sent them word they had better return and not think of starting for a week at least, as quite a large cavalry force had crossed the river on a raiding expedition. They accordingly returned. Mrs. Pruitt also returned and sent me W. D.'s coat. The fates seem to be against his ever getting it. Ed informs us his pa has gone to Montgomery. This is the first intimation we have had of his whereabouts.

Miss Lucy and Bessie Fearn came to see me today. Also Mrs. Matkin and Mrs. Cowles spent the evening. After supper, Mr. Hereford called.

Mrs. Chadick sent clothes and cash to Eddie while his train was at the depot. She does not say she went in person to see her stepson, and none of the family knew whether they would ever see him again. He and the other prisoners were being sent by train to Nashville, on to Louisville and then Camp Chase at Columbus, Ohio.

Susan Bradley, her friends, and Rev. Banister were likely warned not to attempt to cross the river at that particular time by Col. Gilbert Johnson who developed a close friendship with the Bradley family.⁵⁴⁷ Apparently Johnson knew a large Federal party was across the River that week, and it was risky for civilians to be there.

Even more Federal reinforcements arrived in Huntsville on this day, the battle-hardened 101st Ohio Infantry. Private Pomeroy and the 18th Michigan were among the troops who returned to Huntsville. Pomeroy wrote on January 13, “We do begin to build Winter quarters again for the fourth time this winter.” They did not occupy the existing housing of the 73rd because “the Major thinks they are not good enough for him so he is aging to strain at a gnat and swallow a Camel....” By early February the men “do get a load of brick and finish inclosing our shanty get our bunks made and part of the chimney up.”⁵⁴⁸ Among the vast number of Federal soldiers, Huntsville was also full of Generals for a while. They included Generals Woods, Kimball, Beatty, Elliott, Granger, and others.⁵⁴⁹

Lucy and Bessie Fearn were the remaining two unmarried daughters who had lived with their father, Dr. Thomas Fearn, until his death on January 16, 1863.⁵⁵⁰

Jan. 16th 1865 Went this evening to see Dr. and Mrs. Ross for the first time since their return from Decatur. He is to receive his sentence day after tomorrow. A list of questions were sent to him, to which he replied this morning. Do not know the nature of them. Col. Sawyer (Sherman's adjutant general) is in town and dined today at the Jolley's. Mrs. R. says no less than 5 Yankee chaplains had been to look at the church today. It is rumored about in certain circles that, this pulpit, the Episcopal and Cumberland Pres. are to be filled by northern preachers and all such persons who refuse to go and hear them are to be sent South.

Actually Colonel R. M. Sawyer was Sherman's Assistant Adjutant-General. Regardless of title, the Federals continued to tear Huntsville apart by board and brick. Private L. A. Simmons of the 84th Illinois Volunteer Infantry wrote, “It was now generally understood that the winter campaign was over and that we would remain in winter quarters until spring.” Every man in camp was busily adapting to winter housing. The men of the 84th were appointed Provost Guards of the town: “About 80 men were regularly detailed to patrol the streets, preserve order and quiet and arrest all soldiers and citizens who were drunk or disorderly.” In addition, “[t]he men were permitted to tear down quite a number of unoccupied barns and stables in and about the city” to build shanties.⁵⁵¹

Benjamin Jolley seemed to try and make the best of a bad situation. Besides being a Loyalist he was also a businessman whose goal was to make a profit. His attempts to find workable solutions did not seem to result in animosity but matter-of-factness. That Jolley was apparently a personal and political friend of Andrew Johnson did not harm his ability to



Court House - Federal troops in winter quarters with permanent chimneys, 1865. HMCPL.

deal with the invaders and later obtain pardons to help other townspeople begin to recover.⁵⁵²

Jan. 19th 1865 Two wagon trains have been captured within the last two days. One near Meridianville by Col. Mead, consisting of 9 wagons and 18 men! The authorities are so exasperated they gave an order yesterday every house in the country for 15 miles around Huntsville should be laid in ashes. But whether the order has been executed we have not learned.

The country people are suffering dreadfully from the depredations of the enemy, and in many instances, not only all their stock, provisions and means of subsistence have been taken and the alleged excuse for all this is they harbor bush whackers! Whilst those in command know very well Mead and Johnston's men are regular cavalry, yet they persist in calling them bushwhackers and, if any of them are so unfortunate as to fall into their hands, they are treated as such! All the "guards" who have been permitted to protect families in the country have been withdrawn and when a lady called upon Gen. Wood, earnestly requesting one, his reply was "he came here with orders to devastate this country."

One hundred of our cavalry were captured a few days since on the other side of the river (Col. Lyon's men) and brought to town. One of them, Bowers by name, made his escape between here and Whitesburg. When they arrived here, his mother was informed of his capture, went to see him, and lo and behold, he was not there. Being badly clothed, he had borrowed a blue overcoat from a nice, kind-hearted Yankee and donning it, soon after walked off!

We have news the celebrated Galt house at Louisville has been burned to the ground. Mrs. Lane, who was sojourning there, lost all she had—Money, clothing, baggage, etc. Capt. Allen, who was quartermaster here last spring and who made himself so notorious in appropriating Southern furniture, etc. was also a great sufferer—his nose was burned off and his fingers to the 2^d joint. He is prone in the hospital as this place in a precarious condition—surely there is retribution in this life evil deeds.

Mrs. Pruitt, Miss Sue Bradley and Miss Hattie Figures got off this morning for Dixie after surmounting all kinds of difficulties. They had an escort to the river.

Lemuel Green Mead, formerly a lawyer and now 34 and captain of the "Paint Rock Rifles," began raising several companies of men in North Alabama and Tennessee as early as the summer of 1862. He attained the rank of Colonel, and his command later consolidated with Maj. Milus Eddings Johnston, a Methodist minister, to form the 25th Battalion. By early 1865 Mead had organized twelve companies of Partisan Rangers into a regiment of three battalions. They served in the hill country and along the Tennessee River. Mead's Battalion seized a Union wagon train on January 19 near Hazel Green, capturing all but one of the Union soldiers. They also took as



Colonel Lemuel Mead, HMCPL.

many supplies and horses as they could handle, burning the wagons as they left.⁵⁵³

Mrs. Chadick could be thankful she was within the relative safety of the Federal picket lines in town. By January of 1865 the hostility in Madison County was out of control on both sides. Lawlessness, rage, and retaliation became the order of the day, every day. Besides the two sets of supposedly orderly uniformed troops, many undisciplined groups were active in the countryside. One should consider the “moss-backs,” Southerners that hid out in the caves and mountains to avoid the military draft and stayed there so long, the very moss grew on them. In northwestern Alabama they were identified as the “ly outs,” men lying out in the fields and woods to avoid the service. “Bummers” included civilian ne’er do wells and soldiers, from either side, who wandered away taking food and plunder. There were Tories and “home-made” Yankees who from the start or along the way—for whatever reasons—sided with the Union. The CSA constantly sent out regular troops, who could be put to better use fighting the enemy, to round up draft evaders and deserters. The very action of desertion forced men to become outlaws. After the discouraging Confederate losses at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in the summer of 1863, Confederate Conscript Bureau Chief Gideon Pillow estimated 8000-10,000 deserters were hiding out in North Alabama. He said they were “as vicious as copperheads.” One officer wrote “in the thick woods you would as soon catch a fleas as a deserter.” Pillow could get them back in the army, but no one could make them stay.⁵⁵⁴ Even more men chose to desert after the recent loss at Nashville.

“Bushwhackers” sprang up everywhere, often in defense of their own communities. Other citizens in the neighborhood protected them as local heroes. Their activities were noted in the daring attack at the Paint Rock railroad bridge at the beginning of the year. Worse titles included traitors, renegades or vandals, depending on which side was calling the name. Up to this time the Provost Marshal of the occupying army, on request, would assign an armed guard to protect a defenseless rural household from looting and worse.

On January 14 CSA Brig. Gen. Hylan B. Lyon and his Kentucky cavalrymen rested at Red Hill, near Warrenton, after crossing the Tennessee River. They had been on the move from western Kentucky, diverting attention from Hood’s actions in Tennessee since early December. This small group of cavalrymen had captured and burned eight fortified courthouses, railroad bridges and an army supply depot along the way to Alabama. However, members of the 15th Pennsylvania Cavalry, stationed at Huntsville and guided by Ben Harris, were on their trail. The Yanks

captured 21 stragglers on the twelfth and then tracked the others to Red Hill. There, posing as Southerners, they located Gen. Lyon asleep in a sympathizer's house. Union Sgt. Arthur P. Lyon captured General Lyon. The General was able to pull a hidden gun, shot the Sergeant mortally, and fled. The Yankees captured 60 more of Lyon's men, but he escaped.⁵⁵⁵

Susan Bowers, 42, with nine children still at home, apparently searched for her oldest son, David E. Bowers, 20, who may have rejoined his unit after slipping away.

The Galt House was the pride of Louisville, and both Generals Grant and Sherman had stayed there earlier. The fire of January 10 was a commercial disaster for downtown Louisville. The first newspaper report suggested losses to the hotel and nearby businesses at over \$800,000. Hundreds of people were left homeless, including the 75 chambermaids for whom the hotel took up a collection. There were only two fatalities, but many burn victims. Captain Allen scraped his hand while escaping the building.⁵⁵⁶

There is almost a tone of excitement in relating the events as Mrs. Chadick writes about the former Provost Captain Allen and her old nemesis, Mrs. Lane. The Lanes had fled Huntsville for Louisville, but Mrs. Lane, for some reason, returned to Huntsville. She was in Louisville to tend the Judge, who was "dangerous ill" by the second week of November. Judge Lane died November 12, 1863, and was never sworn in as a Federal Judge. That news had reached Huntsville because Mrs. Chadick seemed to be aware that only Mrs. Lane was involved in the fire at the hotel. The Louisville newspaper account suggested the Judge was to have been buried on the 17th of November.

Descendants of the Lane family offer a much more hair-raising account relating to his remains. According to them Lane's body was placed with those of Union officers at the depot near the Galt House waiting to be shipped. As a result of the intense fire, many of the coffins, including Lane's, were never recovered for burial anywhere. However, given the time frame, it seems unlikely the Judge's remains would have been kept from the time of his death until the fire at the Galt House, fourteen months later. His wife, Martha (Davis) Lane, was buried in the Huntsville city burial ground in 1896.⁵⁵⁷

Susan Bradley and her friends now knew it was safe to cross the river; Mrs. Chadick does not identify the escort, but Joseph Bradley was a known Union man. The recollections of Capt. S. H. Moore in the spring and summer of 1864 mention that local citizens often drove out to watch the dress parades of the 13th Indiana Cavalry. Among them was a young lady who always came on horseback, accompanied by her father. Colonel

Gilbert Johnson gave personal instructions for “safe guards” detailed to the residence of Joseph C. Bradley on Franklin Street. Because of the Bradley’s kind treatment, this became an honor assignment for the Federal soldiers.⁵⁵⁸

Jan. 20^h 1865 Sue came home this morning with Mrs. Matkin. I went with the latter to see Capt. Kaldenbaugh, Gen. Wood’s provost marshal, staying at Mrs. Fackler’s. She went to ask that her guard be retained. It appears all the guards were called in from the country because some eight or 10 of them had been captured by Rebel cavalry in the Cove. Our soldiers ought to know such captures do the enemy but little harm and bring great trouble upon our own people. The Capt. said Gen. Woods has decided upon this measure and he had refused admittance to all applicants to return them.

The Captain is a pleasant, agreeable man, treats everybody with courtesy and kindness, censures the mode of warfare now carried on by officers and soldiers. When Mrs. Matkin related her trouble and the manner in which she had been plundered and foraged upon, he would frequently exclaim, “My God!” He gave his orders to get back her cooking stove and other things which had been taken from her, writing a letter to the colonel of the regiment to which the soldiers belonged to that effect. He said he was going home on Monday next to remain, their army had come here like a set of Vandals and he blushed to wear their uniform. Since they had turned into robbing and thieving, he was done with it. Many other officers have lately resigned, and we fear the prediction “that six months hence there will not be a gentleman in the Yankee army” will be verified.

The chaplain of the 13th Wisconsin came to my back door two mornings for milk, very meek and sanctimonious looking! This is the man that fills my husband’s pulpit. Let him have it and try to mix with a little of the “milk of human kindness,” as he said it was for the sick. This morning his wife came also at the back door, a neat, nice-looking woman, dressed in furs. I treated her with great politeness, let her have the milk and showed her out at the front door.

Captain Henry K. Kaldenbaugh and the men of the 51st Ohio Infantry had only gone into camp on January 5th at Huntsville. True to his word, Kaldenbaugh mustered out on the 23rd of January.⁵⁵⁹

Lieutenant E. J. Squire led the eight or ten men captured in Big Cove referred to by Mrs. Chadick. Squire and the men of Company D, 101st Ohio were about to have more adventures and travel more miles than

they could have dreamed when they enlisted. The Lieutenant led a small foraging party on orders from Colonel McDonald into Kennamer Cove. The detail included one army wagon pulled by six mules, two teamsters, two loaders, and one guard. The forage was loaded onto the wagon when 25 or 30 men, some dressed in Southern cavalry uniforms, ordered the Yanks to surrender. All of them were taken prisoner except one who managed to escape. Four other Union soldiers were captured and added to the group. On their way to cross the Tennessee River, three men tried to escape, were caught, and two were immediately hanged. The prisoners were marched to Gadsden, then to Blue Mountain, and ended up at the Cahaba prison camp. In April Lieutenant Squire and the others became part of the group of prisoners sent north from this prison and Andersonville on the ill-fated steamer *Sultana*. The ship was overloaded with 2300 Union former prisoners of war, most of them emaciated and many still suffering from wounds. On the night of April 26th the *Sultana* boiler exploded near Memphis and the ship caught fire, forcing all of them into the cold, dark water. More than 1500 persons perished; Squire and four men of the 101st Ohio on board somehow survived.⁵⁶⁰

Bushwhackers were not the only ones to create additional trouble for the poor country folks. Besides causing the Federals to respond with further violence, by now the Confederate Cavalry often created more problems for the struggling locals. Joel Riggs wrote to Gen. J. M. Withers, “the approach of the Confederate Cavalry fills every neighborhood with dread....” The Southern Cavalry appeared as destructive to the countryside as the Federal Cavalry. General James Clanton declared the CSA cavalry in Northern Alabama was a disgrace to the government, “Our own cavalry have been a terror to our own people...Stealing, robbing and murder are quite common.” Furthermore, because there was no food for the horses, the cavalry was often placed where it could subsist, not where it could attack. Farmers were afraid to take what goods they had to market because the teams and wagons would be impressed. By December 1864, Governor Watts asked CSA Lt. Gen. Richard Taylor to get the food-consuming cavalry out of north Alabama!⁵⁶¹

Reverend Joseph Ives Foote, son of a prominent New England theologian, served the 13th Infantry as chaplain. A Methodist minister, he and his wife, Emily (Lovejoy) Foote, married in 1860 in Evansville, Wisconsin.

Jan 24th 1865 Have just risen from another nervous headache. Lay in bed all day yesterday suffering and think of W. D. The old Bishop Andrew looked down upon me from his frame on the wall with an eye of tenderness and sympathy. The picture had a strange power over my

eyes, for although my temples throbbed and my eyeballs ached with intense suffering, my gaze was constantly riveted upon it. I in turn must have presented a fascinating appearing woman with my pale face, half-closed eyes, and head tied up with brown paper and vinegar!

Dozing once, I thought W. D. approached and said in a kind tone, "How do you feel now?" And laying his hand gently upon my head, added, "Is there anything I can do for you?" I awoke to find it was only a little novelette I had conjured up and was crying over! Oh, these sad, weary days of headache.

The reader might doubt the ability of these ingredients to cure Mrs. Chadick's ills, but the brown paper and vinegar recipe was a remedy of long standing for chasing away colds, bruises and headaches.⁵⁶³

Jan. 27th 1865 Received a letter today from Julia by Mr. Herrick, written in September last. Also one from Mrs. Powers from New London, Conn. I heard also from Eddie through Lieut. Bailey, who wrote to Jennie. He has gone to Camp Chase, was sick at Louisville.

Tulliola and William Powers had no children living at home. Evidently she decided it would be safer, or at least less chaotic, to join his family in New London, Connecticut.

On the same day that Eddie Chadick was captured in Lawrence County, 2nd Lt. James E. Bailey, a Texan, was also captured. Both young men were first sent to Louisville, and then Bailey went on to Fort Delaware. He probably met Jennie while the train cars stopped at Huntsville, and now he took the liberty to write her. Mrs. Chadick probably would not have allowed a Yankee to write to one of the girls, nor would most of the Yankee soldiers have dared to attempt to even speak to Southern ladies. Private L. A. Simmons considered that Huntsville reflected "excessive wealth with a highly cultured and refined taste." Others offered that "[t]he men were affable and polite. The ladies were too intensely Rebel, or excessively proud to speak to a soldier."⁵⁶⁴

Feb. 2nd 1865 Night before last, four soldiers (regular burglars) came to the servant's room and, pushing the key out, unlocked the door and went in to pull off their shoes and light their lantern. They put a pistol to the servant's head and told her they would kill her if she made the slightest noise to alarm the family. They then proceed to my safe, and unlocking it, took all my milk, three hams and dried beef and bottle of wine, my silver caster and everything eatable they could find. The servant succeeded in begging back the caster and a large bowl by

promising she would not let the “sesesh Woman” have it. They then took from her a breast pin and a pair of shoes, and returned the latter for a \$1.50 in silver. A pretty enemy this to contend with. If we had had the least intimation in the house of what was going on, we could easily have called a guard. Housebreaking and thieving are going on nightly and two thirds of the smokehouses in Huntsville have been robbed of their contents. Col. Lyon, our best friend, has been sent elsewhere with his command. The Fourth Corps (Gen. Wood’s) is soon to leave here, and we heartily rejoice at it.

Received a letter from Camp Chase, from Ed. Poor little fellow, he is sick at heart and sick in body, and had to be carried in an ambulance all the way after leaving the railway. He begs me “to try and get him paroled. He says he never knew before what a good home he had, and promised to be a better boy, if spared to return to it!”

Mrs. Toney received a telegram this morning saying her brother, Mr: Jim Rogers, was dead and her mother was on her way thither from Camp Chase with the body.

The Federal soldiers committed at the very least burglary. These unwelcome men of the IV Corps, under General Wood, were soon to be commanded by General Stanley and the entire Corps sent to east Tennessee.

Adelaide, 62, mother of Jim Rogers and Mary (Rogers) Toney, went to Camp Chase, Columbus, Ohio, to claim her son’s body.

Feb. 5th 1865 *Major Fleming died last night. Yesterday was like a Spring day, but there has been a sudden change, and today is intensely cold. Drs. Ross and Banister are again permitted to preach, through the clemency, I believe of Gen. Stanley.*

Major Fleming may have been William F. Fleming, 79.

At Greenlawn plantation, just south of Meridianville, Octavia Otey resumed writing in her journal. She spoke for many: “Time passes sadly with me, with all of us I think.”⁵⁶⁵

Feb. 6th 1865 *The remains of Mr. Rogers arrived from Camp Chase last night, and the funeral obsequies took place today. The body was embalmed in Cincinnati, and he looked perfectly natural. More like one sleeping than dead. He was taken prisoner about four months since and died of pneumonia.*

Went to see Mrs. Rogers this evening. She says our prisoners, both at Camp Chase and Rock Island, suffer both from the cold and from

hunger, and the restrictions are very severe. No vegetable diet is allowed, and only 14 ounces of bread and eight ounces of meat are issued daily to each prisoner. No visitors or relatives permitted to see them except in extreme cases of illness. The diet causes scurvy to prevail to an alarming extent, and the cold to which our poor Southern boys are so unaccustomed produced thousands of cases of pneumonia. Mrs. Rogers says they average 20 deaths per day at Camp Chase. This policy is pursued by the Federal government (they say) in retaliation for the "Rebel barbarities" to their prisoners of war. Has been in operation about five months. Poor Harris Toney, a delicate and refined young man, told his grandmother "he had eaten many a rat since he had been there and a dog never escaped from the prison alive!"

Mrs. Rogers went to Washington City and made a personal appeal to President Lincoln to try and get her son and grandson paroled, but without success. The President told her "no more Southern boys should be paroled, they had given him trouble enough and never would be conquered!"

Poor Eddie! My heart aches for him, so young, so inexperienced; who never knew a sorrow or a hardship in his life. I shall certainly make an appeal to the secretary of war in his behalf. Time was when Mr. Stanton would have granted me anything in his power, but times are sadly changed, and I have but little hope of success.

Rock Island Prison contained 5000 to 8000 Confederate prisoners on an island in the Mississippi River between Rock Island, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa.

During his 18 months of capture "delicate" Harris Toney, Adelaide Roger's grandson, probably endured many hardships, including near-starvation. He was now 22 and remained in prison since his capture in 1863 until his release on Feb. 25, 1865. Medical care and low food supplies in prisons and hospitals were an appalling problem for both sides. Toney was not the only soldier eating what was commonly available. Miss Mason, a matron at Winder Hospital in Richmond, headed off a riot for bread by reminding the patients of many acts of kindness including "her willingness to stew their rats when the cook refused to do so."⁵⁶⁶

Earlier Colonel Lyon had given an "old lady," one of the First Families of Virginia he said, a letter of introduction to Senator Doolittle of Wisconsin. Mrs. Rogers had just returned from Washington where she had gone to try and get her grandson, a Rebel prisoner, paroled. Lyon was glad to note she had been treated with great kindness. She thought the Colonel had more influence than any of the Generals.⁵⁶⁷

Mrs. Otey at Greenlawn wrote it was cold and trying to snow again.

The next day would bring two inches of snow. Her son, Matt, was dressed in rags and the one pair of shoes he had worn since November were nothing. She was going to rip her black dress apart and turn it inside out to sew again. Snow stayed on the ground until February 9.⁵⁶⁸

Feb. 12th 1865 The children have all gone to Sunday school and I have taken up my pen to add a few lines to my journal. The churches are again open—Dr. Ross's through the intercession of Mrs. Stanley, who is a Presbyterian.

The Fourth Army Corps have again returned to Huntsville. Why they have returned or where they have been is not known. There was a rumor on the street yesterday Gen. Sherman had been killed. No particulars— it is probably "grape-vine."

Mrs. Mayhew's school (Spring term) commenced this week. Have concluded to teach George and Clara at home, the tuition is so expensive. Twenty-seven dollars per session each. Quite a little charge with Davie and Mary. Sue has returned from Mr. Matkin's to remain at home and will take this labor off my hands in a few days.

We citizens are beginning to find it difficult to procure provisions for our table. Everything in the country has been taken, and the country people have not enough for themselves. True, the Yankees have plenty of everything in their sutler shops and commissary departments, but they are not accessible to us unless we have officers to board who can then draw them for us at army prices. Many families are filling up their tables in this way, thus insuring a living and making money, the price of board being \$10 per week.

Col. Burke, provost marshal here under Gen. Mitchel, who was very hard upon the citizens and would grant them no favors, and who is now out of the army, has returned here and set up a large provision and commissary establishment for the alleged benefit of the citizens, selling at very high prices. He is now as bland and smiling as a May morning extending the hand of courtesy and bowing gracefully and soliciting the patronage of the citizens. Pity our necessities force us to patronize such men.

We have just heard of another Yankee mode of making money off the South. A card appears in a Nashville paper, stating there are a great numbers of fine plantations in North Alabama to lease, well stocked and with plenty of farming utensils and laborers to work them, and any person in the North desiring to lease said plantation can get all the information they desire by enclosing \$10 to the undersigned!

Col. Alexander

Col. Selfridge.

This is not true, as nearly all the plantations are stripped of everything, even the wood. Our beautiful town is full of Yankee women. They are sweeping through the streets every evening on horseback. All the residences in town where the owners have gone out of town are called government houses and occupied by officers, and where they have been rented, the families have been ordered out, as at Mrs. Weeden's, Mr. Mosley's, Mr. Sledge's and Mrs. Spragins, etc.

Although General Stanley was a Catholic, his wife, Anna Maria (Wright) Stanley, daughter of an army surgeon and now wife of a career officer, attended Protestant services. She demonstrated her sincerity by urging her husband to reopen the local churches. Her tombstone, next to his at Soldiers' Home National Cemetery reads, "Anna M. Stanley, Christian wife."⁵⁶⁹

The return of the IV Army Corps forced all the officers to double up or find new housing. Colonel Lyon wrote, "everything in the shape of a house here is full to overflowing."⁵⁷⁰

Colonel Alexander, 59th Indiana, and Colonel James L. Selfridge, 46th Pennsylvania Infantry, devised a scheme to profit from the wretchedness of the Southerners and the cash Northerners had to spend. This plan, or plot, did not interfere with one's military career. Selfridge was appointed brevet brigadier general on March 16, 1865.⁵⁷¹

Joseph W. Burke, earlier provost marshal, was a brevetted brigadier general when he mustered out on June 17, 1864. Mr. Burke, trained as a lawyer, returned to Huntsville, entered business and then turned to politics after the War.⁵⁷²

Sarah Spragins, now 28, had at least two young children at home with her on Holmes Street. (She was the wife of the former clerk of Circuit Court who had saved Madison County Courthouse records earlier by taking them to Blountsville.) Thomas M. Mosely, a slave trader, lived on the south side of Williams Street with his wife and seven children.

Mrs. Otey came into town to get an order from sympathetic Brig. Gen. Nathan Kimball for some sugar and whiskey, purchased at commissary prices.⁵⁷³

Feb. 13th 1865 *This morning Capt. Fordyce, a retired officer of the Federal Army, called to ask for Eddie's address, saying the officer in command at Camp Chase was a friend of his and under obligation to him. He was going to write to him to try to have Eddie among the prisoners who are about to be exchanged, and in case this cannot be effect, to have him put upon double rations. This is exceedingly kind and generous in Capt. Fordyce, and properly appreciated by us. He is*

singularly handsome and gentlemanly, his bearing, and highly popular with both friend and foe. He is ever ready to do citizens a favor.

Wrote a letter this evening to W. D., having an opportunity to send it by the Misses Fearn. It was exceeding stiff and constrained, all my genius being very much cramped on account of its having to be subjected to the inspection of the provost marshal. When written proceeded with it to the Court House, Lieut. White (Provost) read it carefully and approved it, asking me if he should seal it. Singular condescension as they always do this without giving you any option in the matter.

Visited some of the trade stores in company with Mrs. Heréford, but felt ashamed to be seen on the Square. It looks like Broadway, so thronged one can scarcely make their way with soldiers, citizens and government wagons. Visited Mrs. Brickell in her new house and went to tell Misses Fearn "good-bye." Met Mrs. Mayhew on my way home, and she insisted upon my sending George to school and his tuition shall cost me nothing! We have news of another battle in Virginia, but no particulars.

Captain Fordyce had resigned his commission on December 24, 1863. His military career included surviving malaria, being captured three times, and getting wounded three times. Fordyce stood six feet tall and had steel-blue eyes. Besides having made new friends among his former enemies, Fordyce decided there was another reason to stay.

Margaret Brickell, 60, lived on Whitesburg Pike about 2 miles south of town with her sons, Robert and Richard. Robert, formerly Leroy Pope Walker's law partner, was considered to be a Union man.⁵⁷⁴

Georgie and the other students might study from the new textbooks written specifically for the Southern point of view. *Chaudron's Readers* soon became a standard text in the Confederacy. Prepared by Adelaide DeVendel Chaudron, who had early connections to Huntsville, the texts were "specially adapted to the wants of our Southern Schools." Arithmetic problems might include such propaganda as "A Confederate soldier captured 8 Yankees each day for 9 successive days; how many did he capture in all?" The new primary geography text explained the unreasonableness of Abraham Lincoln and the courtesy found in the South. The Confederacy, being honorable, would prevail. However, just in case, the students were admonished: "Remember, little boys, when you are men, never to vote for a bad man to govern the country."⁵⁷⁵ As strident militarism was replaced for some by perceptive reality, the reading lesson in Marinda B. Moore's new *Dixie Speller* suggested the cost being paid.

The telling last line in her 1864 textbook read, "If little boys fight old folks whip them for it; but when men fight, they say 'how brave!'"⁵⁷⁶

Mrs. Chadick may have heard about the action in early December at Hatcher's Run, part of the Petersburg campaign.

Feb. 16th 1865 *Capt. Fordyce and Mr. T. Barnum called last night to see the young ladies. Whilst they were here, someone stole the arm chairs from the front porch. Probably soldiers, for such a thieving set were never thrown loose upon any community as the Fourth Army Corps.*

This morning, Sue made me a present of a beautiful French merino dress. Am alone tonight. The children being tired went early to bed, and Sue and Jennie are to stay all night at Mrs. Hereford's. Shall seek companionship in "Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution" in which I am much interested.

It is obvious the two Yankee men have come to call on Sue and Jennie Chadick. Here, again, Mrs. Chadick does not voice any protest in the journal. (Mr. Barnum could not be identified.) Mrs. Chadick read from one of the two-volume set written in 1850 by Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*.

Feb. 18th 1865 *Received a handsome marble clock from Mrs. Cowles to take care of, as she is going to Mrs. McClung's plantation to live during the present year. It is very acceptable, as our own clock stopped when the war began!*

Went this evening to visit some of my neighbors and as usual heard some news. The wife of the Rebel Col. Johnston (Whose cavalry has annoyed the federal army in the vicinity of Huntsville excessively) was brought to town a prisoner a short time since and retained 4 days from her little infant six months old! Johnston has been over in the neighborhood of the Cove and captured several Federal prisoners, which so exasperated the authorities here, they sent over a company of soldiers to burn the houses of innocent people and lay waste the country, which they accordingly did. Some of these soldiers upon their return said they never saw such women in their lives. While their dwellings and everything they had were burning they stood with their children around them, looking on and defying them, saying they worked for what little they had and to burn away! They could work for more and they would turn out and bushwhack them themselves! They laid Johnston's house in ashes, and Col. McDonald brought Johnston's wife to town, saying if anything would bring him to his senses, he thought that would!

Walked this morning to the graveyard with Mrs. Mayhew and was surprised to find the fence around it entirely gone, the cattle and horses straying through the beautiful grounds. Such vandalism! The house of Judge Betts, who lives in the country, a beautiful brick edifice, which cost \$18,000 was torn down by the soldiers and the brick brought to town to build chimneys for the soldiers' huts.

The homes of Hannah Cowles and widow Margaret McClung were probably commandeered by the Yankees, and the women moved out to Mrs. McClung's extensive holdings in the Big Cove area east of the Flint River.

Lieutenant Colonel Bedan B. McDanald and the 101st Ohio Infantry were newly stationed in Huntsville. Within a week of their arrival they had humiliating encounters with bushwhackers in Big Cove and New Hope. On January 18th McDanald's group and 25 men of the 15th Pennsylvania Cavalry, led by the local scout Ben Harris, began a month-long mission that resulted in capturing only four of Mead's men. McDanald, however, saw no fault with their next actions as he wrote in his report: "I burned some fifty tenements on my line of march that were occupied by bushwhackers and their supporters, leaving their families in a houseless, helpless condition with orders to leave that country." Ben Harris, who used to live in the neighborhood, apparently told the Federals which houses to destroy—none of which had men folk there to protect their families. The women and children slept the next weeks in the burned-out shell of their homes, in out buildings, or in the woods.⁵⁷⁷

Among the homes Colonel McDanald ordered burned was the house of Mary Elizabeth (Hamer) Johnston, wife of Maj. Milus Johnston. She violently resisted when one of the soldiers ignited a broom and set fire to the bed on which one of her children was sleeping. The soldier then hit her "on the head with the burning broom, scorching her hair and burning holes in her clothes." The soldiers continued their task and set fire to her house while she and the children watched. For some unknown reason the Colonel then arrested Mrs. Johnston and made her ride the 25 miles to town on horseback. Traveling in the worst of winter weather, the group had to spend the night in Big Cove before getting to Huntsville. Mrs. Johnston was forced to leave behind her four-month-old baby, Emma.

Major Johnston wrote in 1902 of what followed, "It was said that the whole garrison was disgusted at the conduct of the officer. The prisoner was placed in the Huntsville Hotel to board at three dollars a day, and at the personal expense of the miscreant that arrested her." Both sides were clearly incensed about McDanald's non-military actions. When CSA Capt. Robert Welch, who held 35 Union prisoners, heard the story he sent a note

to the Union commander threatening to hang his prisoners unless Mrs. Johnston was immediately freed. Provost Marshal, Colonel Horner, released her, wrote passes and allowed a friend, Dr. Thomas Wright of Paint Rock, to escort her back to her family and the baby in the Big Cove community.⁵⁷⁸

Judge Edward C. Betts served in the state legislature and was Judge of the Probate Court. He owned property near Madison Station.⁵⁷⁹ Apparently Judge Betts was also kept in jail for weeks and tried before a Federal court. He was saved by James Hickman, the Yankee sympathizer, who testified Betts was an invalid and not in communication with the Confederate army.⁵⁸⁰

Feb. 20th 1865 *Billy started for Dixie this morning, having a pass to go out of the lines and return. Thus another opportunity is afforded to communicate with W. D. Mrs. Bradford also went in the company.*

There was quite a panic this evening among the enemy. Scouts came in and reported a very heavy force on the other side of the river, supposed to be under Gen. Dick Taylor, and their camp fires extended 12 miles! It turned out to be the mountains on fire!

Feb. 21st 1865 *This morning, the wife of the chaplain, who occupies the pulpit of W. D.'s church and who comes here sometimes for milk, come around asked me in a modest way to lend her a child's dress with an infant's body, to have a likeness painted in of her child who was dead, to be copied from an ambrotype by Mr. Frye. She said she knew of no one else to whom she could go. I felt a pleasure in obliging her, knowing how lonely and isolated she must feel, here in an enemy's country without a single female friend to look to in any emergency especially as she seems a worthy and unpretending creature.*

Her husband however does not so much excite my admiration. He told Mrs. Robinson he was preaching in a church the pastor of which was absent instead of being at home attending to his duty. He evidently thinks us quite heathenish and in his great zeal for the cause in which he is engaged, he thrust, one day, a child's paper under the front door, for the benefit of the juvenile heathens of the family. Said paper was highly perfumed with the extract of abolitionism! Jennie went to the country today to commence her first experiment as a teacher.

Feb. 22nd 1865 *We were startled this morning by the booming of cannon in the public Square. We counted 57 guns and at first we surmised the enemy might have heard of the fall of Charleston or Richmond, and were celebrating as they have frequently done before. Upon inquiry,*

found it was to celebrate the birthday of the illustrious father of his country. Frank Peebles called to see us today and after tea, Capt. Fordyce called to see Sue.

Firing of the guns was timely. Washington's birthday and the Federal troops occupied Charleston, South Carolina, on February 18, 1865.

Feb. 23rd 1865 *"It never rains but it pours" an old saying this day verified. Mr. Hereford came to bring me a letter from Tennessee. It was from Julia, containing tidings from every absent member of my father's family. All well. A young man, came here from the Hospital for milk, name Frye. He sat down and conversed a few minutes with Sue and this evening he sent me a bottle of Catawba wine to be given to her, hoping she would not be insulted.*

There is news that Charleston is evacuated and burned.

Mrs. Chadick and the family have mellowed quite a bit. For Sue to accept a bottle of wine from a Yank a year earlier would have been unthinkable.

General Sherman, moving rapidly north, did not threaten Charleston, South Carolina.

Feb. 25th 1865 *Dr. Ross received orders again this week "to leave the lines" and go South at the end of 5 days or abide the consequences. It appears that Gen. Stanley countermanded the previous orders which gave great offence to Gen. Granger as he commands this district and he resolved in his wrath that his authority had been disputed. So the question has resolved itself into a matter of "pique" between two generals. The time of the Dr.'s probation will be out tomorrow.*

Called to see Dr. and Mrs. Ross this evening and found them very cheerful and rather merry over the circumstances. He said he designed preaching on the morrow, as he could not be expected to travel on the Sabbath and if they interrupted him, he should politely ask them to be seated until he was through with his sermon! He has openly announced his principles and stood up to them like a man through all his difficulties. He has promised me a copy of the "questions" which were submitted to him a short time since, with his answers. He also gave me a printed copy of a bulletin which appeared upon the Square in October last. The following is an exact copy:

Divine service will be dispensed with this evening at the Presbyterian church, while Dr. Ross explains to the congregation the difference between Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee.

TEXT

I am, Sir Oracle, and when I open my mouth, let no dog bark.

First Head

A Southern Lady Must Not Look Upon A Yankee Officer

Second Head

A Southern Parson May Call Upon a Yank Woman.

Conclusion

“Here’s your mule!”

Notice

Weekly meetings of the faithful will be held at the house of Dr. Ross every Wednesday for consultation, where the names of delinquents will be reported. Tea being considered too strong a beverage, a harmless decoction, made from the leaves of “Dr. Ross on Slavery,” will be served out. Ladies under 45 will not be allowed to vote.

Heard last night of the death of Dr. Leftwich, our family physician. A public as well as private loss, a good citizen and physician.

A private soldier came to my front door this morning, bringing me a bag of corn, and said I could give him a little milk for his coffee and he would give me what corn I needed. In the evening, he returned with a bag of meal. Greater generosity than I have heretofore met with the privates.

At Greenlawn Brother Sanders came to call on the Oteys, and Madison Otey, instead of lying down as usual, politely sat up to talk. Octavia made him some strong Red Oak tea and with Johnson water he seemed better.⁵⁸¹

Feb. 26th 1865 *The action in regard to Dr. Ross’s banishment is again suspended and he preaches today. The soldiers are flocking thither in such crowds there will scarcely be room for the citizens.*

Feb. 27th 1865 *Clara resumes her music lessons tomorrow with Miss Ella. She is progressing rapidly. She commenced teaching the children this morning in her room.*

Ella was probably the 22-year-old daughter of widow Sarah Scruggs.

Mar. 1st 1865 *Was surprised this evening by a visit from three soldiers who requested to heard some music, and one of them said one of their number was a musician. Invited them in. They were gentlemanly in their bearing and conversation, and one of them performed upon the piano remarkably well. They were from Sandusky, Ohio, and the musician said his mother had some knowledge of music and having no daughters, had made a daughter of him and taught him to play. They seemed to enjoy their visit and stayed about two hours although the young ladies did not make their appearance. They asked to hear them play, and I made some apology upon the score of their not being at home.*

The chaplain's wife, Mrs. Foote, called again. She seems to regard me as a friend and looks to me for sympathy in this land of strangers. She poured her sorrow into my ear, and recited to me the particulars of the death of her only child, a little girl of 18 months, weeping bitterly all the time. She interests me very much. On leaving, she promised to procure for me some alum from the hospital for my sore mouth.

All three of the Foote children would die young. Mrs. Chadick writes with such sympathy for the grieving mother who seemed so modest, and probably neither woman would forget one another. One hopes Frye's likeness was a comfort; there is no marker at the cemetery for baby Idahoe Foote ⁵⁶²

Mar. 2nd 1865 *Mrs. Octavia Otey dined with me today and I enjoyed her visit very much. It has been a miserably rainy day. Tonight Mr. Shufelt, the commissary at the hospital, called sociably! Truly I must be getting popular with the Yankees. Just as he rose to go, the door bell rang and the chaplain called and left the promised alum and some pamphlets and papers for us to read. Mr. Shufelt proposes selling me a barrel of flour for \$18. It is selling at the trade stores for \$23. At the commissaries, the officers draw it for \$11. Received a letter from Eddie and Mrs. Powers.*

Mar. 5th 1865 *A beautiful bright Spring morning. The military bands of music are playing from different quarters of the town, and wagons and mules from different camps are moving towards the Public Square for "inspection."*

We have news that Thomas has gone towards Knoxville with a heavy force, and it is supposed Gen. Lee is moving in that direction. The Federal officers here are of the opinion the latter General's movements may again complete the evacuation of Huntsville. Heaven send that they may.

Yankee General Thomas, stationed in Nashville, now had orders to keep any local enemy troops busy so they could not hinder General Sherman's advance into South Carolina. But General Grant, in effect, dispersed the 43,000 troops of Thomas leaving him with a third of his command there in case Lee managed to flee westward. General Lee, of course, could not really go anywhere.

Mar. 8th 1865 *Monday afternoon, my three soldiers called again for some music. They were informed again (to their evident surprise) the young ladies were not at home. One said they met a young lady at the gate and I informed them it was Miss Jennie Watkins. They spent about an hour playing upon the piano and conversation and rising to take leave, begged pardon for the intrusion. They were very gentlemanly, intelligent and respectful and said they found the Huntsville ladies different from the other places where their army had been quartered, although they had no visiting acquaintances among them. Whereas they had treated the soldiers with kindness, whilst in Mississippi, Nashville, in other places, they had been very abusive. They gave me their names, Lawrence, Mathews and Austin, and thanking me for my courtesy, took leave. In reference to their remarks about the politeness of the Huntsville ladies, the same is said in regard to the ladies of Savannah in their conduct toward Federal soldiers.*

Upon the same night, how shall I describe my emotions upon waking at midnight and finding a Federal band actually in the front yard with sheets of music and lights in the very act of serenading! It must have been the work of the aforementioned gentlemen, as we are not personally acquainted with a single member of the army in Huntsville! Such impudence! The whole transaction is impudent from beginning to end.

A terrible accident happened to Georgie this morning. One of his playmates, George Steele, hit him in his left eye with a rock, and we fear it is seriously injured. Drs. Spotswood and Sheffey both examined it, and the latter has great fears from inflammation. He is very sick; vomiting constantly all day and the eye is terribly swollen and black. This business of throwing rocks has become a terrible mania among the boys in Huntsville. It is time the police or military took it in hand.

Jennie Watkins, 22, lived with her brother, William, and parents, Eliza and Laurence Watkins, in their house on McClung Street. Of course they shared the house now with various Federal officers boarding there, including General Stanley.

Although Mrs. Chadick was offended with the music from the Federal band in the middle of the night, more than likely the two teen-aged girls were not. The three soldiers were probably Privates Matthew Park, Austin M. Patton, and Lawrence Weitz of the 101st Ohio Infantry. This outfit pursued General Hood from Nashville and then made camp in Huntsville until June 12, 1865.⁵⁸²

Mrs. Chadick called in two nearby doctors for George's very serious injury. Dr. John C. Spotswood had a practice on Commercial Row and lived on Adams Avenue with his wife and son, formerly a medical student now in the Madison Rifles. Dr. Sheffey continued his medical duties throughout the duration, sometimes to the annoyance of the Federal officials: "Doctor Sheffey does not consider taking the oath to the Federals binding.... He considers but one oath binding. That is the oath to the Confederates." Dr. Sheffey died of cholera in 1865 at the age of 46, leaving his widow with six children still at home and very few assets.⁵⁸³

Colonel Lyon remained at Huntsville. He reported the army to be in fine spirits about the news of Sheridan's defeat of General Early in the Shenandoah Valley. The recent military review of the 4th Corps presented 6000 to 7000 troops in line, a fine appearance. However, three days earlier he noted, "about 20,000 men lie around here doing little or nothing."⁵⁸⁴

Mar. 9th 1865 Georgie's eye is badly inflamed and alarming in appearance, using slippery elm poultices and cold water alternately.

Received a letter today from Dave by Mr. Carter. All communication by mail is cut off, owing to the washing away of the railroad bridge during the late heavy rains. We have some "grapevine" to the effect Lee has whipped Grant again in Richmond and Bragg has gained a victory at or near Wilmington!

The Feds have put forth a little sheet entitled the "Huntsville Union," in which it is announced services will henceforth be held forth by "Father Treacy" in the Cumberland Catholic church! They have also appropriated the basement of Dr. Ross's church to the Rev. Mr. Foote.

Elm bark was considered to be one of the most valuable herbal medicines available. The bark was crushed to form a powder and then made into a paste with warm water. When applied to an injury or inflamed area, it reduced the pain and promoted healing.⁵⁸⁵

Mr. Carter may have been Landen Carter, formerly a bookkeeper who might have decided to go into business for himself.

Grant and Lee still battered away at one another at Petersburg, Virginia.

Mrs. Chadick's sister, Hannah King, earlier fled Charleston, South Carolina for Wilmington—seemingly a poor choice, but perhaps not since her husband was a merchant. Because of its secure harbor Wilmington was difficult for the Yankees to blockade, and the city enjoyed a substantial wartime boom dealing with Southern war material. Wilmington was known as “the fairy-land of the Confederacy”⁵⁸⁶ because of its bountiful supply of luxuries. Federal General Butler attacked Wilmington from the water in December 1864 and had some success until he heard of the Rebel reinforcements approaching. He re-embarked his troops and sailed away. This was finally too much for officials in Washington, and Gen. Butler was removed from command. In late February Confederate Gen. Bragg turned northward when he was unable to cut off Gen. Sherman in Georgia. Now called on to aid in the defense of the garrison at Fort Fisher in the harbor at Wilmington—the South's last real port—the Rebels were overwhelmed and the city fell to Federals in early 1865.

Mrs. Chadick enclosed Father Treacy's name in quotation marks for some reason of her own. Father Jeremiah F. Treacy, about 39, served with the 4th Kentucky Cavalry. However, Treacy was familiar with Huntsville because he had arrived in town in 1860 to help construct a church, the cornerstone of which was laid in October 1861. The view of Huntsville in *Harper's Weekly* magazine may show the traditional Catholic cross in the skyline with the steeples of the other denominations.⁵⁸⁷

Mar. 10th 1865 Mr. Winston, who went to Camp Chase two weeks since to see his son, has returned and called today to bring us some messages from Ed, whom he saw, and said he was looking well and on the list of those to be exchanged through the influence of Capt. Fordyce, who accompanied Mr. Winston from this place and aided him in getting to see his son, as the rules are very strict.

Capt. Fordyce is a retired Federal officer staying in Huntsville, and has been very kind to many of the citizens. He gave Ed an entire outfit consisting of a suit of gray, a pair of boots, two shirts, two drawers, two silk handkerchiefs and four pairs of socks and \$50 in money! The officer in command asked him why he was so much interested in the boy. He replied “he knew and liked him, and he belonged to a nice family and he wished to do something for them.” This is a specimen of noble generosity in an enemy, if such he could be called. Eddie had been fortunate in finding friends.

Another Federal, Mr. Strickland, who has been out of the army for over a year; sent him \$20 enclosed in a letter and placed \$100 in the hands of Col. Richardson, who commands at Camp Chase, with instructions to let him have it as he needed it. Mr. Strickland visited Sherman's army last Summer and was captured by the Rebels. His captors treated him very badly until they met up with Mr. Charley Bright, a cousin of Ed's, who immediately took him under his protection and treated him with great kindness, until Mr. Strickland made his escape at Savannah.

After Ed was captured and on his way North, Mr. Strickland and Capt. Fordyce visited the depot in Nashville, where the prisoners were offering him [Ed] money or any assistance he might need. Mr. Strickland went to Gov. Johnson and Gen. Rousseau for their influence in trying to get him paroled, but failed.

There is a general exchange of prisoners going on. Those in dungeons and solitary confinement were the first exchanged. Frank Gurley (who was captured, tried and condemned to a felon's cell for the alleged murder of Gen. McCook, who was killed two years since by Confederate cavalry under Gurley's command) is among the number. Col. Anderson who caused so many murders among innocent citizens last Summer and has been on trial in Nashville for the same, committed suicide lately. Supposed to be deranged.

Edmun M. Winston, now 28, enlisted as a private in the Huntsville Guards although he and his father were living in Fayette County, Tennessee. Charles Bright, 72, and his family lived near Mulberry, Lincoln County, Tennessee.

Strickland, perhaps an army buddy, and Fordyce applied to the two most important men in Nashville for possible help for Eddie. Brigadier General William P. Richardson commanded Camp Chase, Ohio, since February 1864.⁵⁸⁸ Andrew Johnson still served, by appointment, as military governor of Tennessee although he would resign shortly. Major General Rousseau commanded the armies of the District of Nashville.

Frank Gurley, who had rejoined Forrest's command, and his brother, Tom, had been captured and brought into Huntsville on Oct. 21, 1863.⁵⁸⁹ Taken to Nashville to stand trial for murder, Frank Gurley was found guilty by the Federals (not surprisingly) and sentenced to be hanged for the death of General Robert McCook. Gurley was exchanged, by mistake, and was still considered a "wanted man" by the Federals.⁵⁹⁰

Actually Col. Edward Anderson returned to the pulpit of the Congregational Church in Norwalk, Connecticut, and for a time served as

Chaplain-in-Chief for the Union veterans organization, The Grand Army of the Republic.⁵⁹¹

Mar. 12th 1865 Mrs. Otey and Mrs. Dr. Burke dined with me today. In great trouble about Georgie, all his symptoms being bad. Very high fever; constant vomiting. Imagine his brains affected and sent in haste for Dr. Sheffey. He thinks the fever might have been produced by a chill, which affords a hope his case is not so bad as apprehended.

Apparently the Burke family had returned to Madison County from south Alabama. Ella Kirkland previously had lived at Greenlawn until April 1861 when she married Dr. James Pickens Burke, an 1853 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania who practiced medicine in Meridianville.⁵⁹² Octavia Otey and her half-sister came to town together probably to get supplies; little was available in the countryside.

Mar. 13th 1865 Georgie better this morning. His fever greatly abated and his eye evidently better. This evening Brother Mitchell and daughters from Athens called to see us.

With the symptoms described for five days, Georgie Chadick at the least suffered an injury that resulted in internal swelling and pressure on the brain, possibly a concussion.

Brother Mitchell came over to visit with his older daughters, Willy and Jane.

Mrs. Otey fought sickness also as she wrote on March 14th, “My poor dear husband quite sick again to night, oh that he could be spared to us. If it were not for our poor children, I would want to die at the same time that he does.” John Kirkland, Mrs. Otey’s stepfather, however, passed away first on April 4, 1865. Her husband, William Madison Otey, lingered on but died June 2, 1865 at the age of 47.⁵⁹³

Mar. 16th 1865 Arose this morning from another attack of nervous headache. Sent a letter to Nashville today by Sydney Darwin. The Fourth Army Corps under Gen. Stanley are leaving for Knoxville, and all is commotion. Mr. Austin (one of the three) called yesterday to say “good-bye.” He is from Sandusky, Ohio and a druggist by profession. George’s eye much better, and it is a source of joy to see his sight is not injured.

Last night was an exciting one to Sue and myself. I retired early and feeling very restless and nervous on account of my recent headache, I could not sleep. The night was dark, stormy, and the wind

blew terribly, slamming the shutters, with occasional thunder and lightning. Before retiring, I secured the blinds in my room in a way in which they could not blow. But, about midnight, they were suddenly torn open and the window raised. Owing to my nervousness, I was wide awake and sprang up in the bed calling out in a loud voice, "George, call the guard! Where is my pistol?" George in bed with me, owing to his illness, and immediately replied, "Here it is!"

There was no guard for us to call, neither had I a pistol, yet the ruse succeeded, and whoever it was "they were taken with a leaving." I immediately struck a light and passed by the open window in my nightdress to Sue's room. She was up and terribly alarmed, as we two were alone in the house with the smaller children. She went with me to the window, and I closed the blinds and in opening the window they pushed out the sash which I nailed down. Sue then loaded her pistol and having recovered from her first panic assured me if they returned she would certainly fire! We secured the premises. We dressed and sat up the rest of night, but the buglers did not return. Mr. Tom Barnum is coming to protect us tonight. We have learned that four or five similar attempts were made at other places last night.

There is a great stir among the enemy tonight, and they appear to be leaving in great haste. There is a rumor that Gen. Forrest is at Courtland with 15,000 men! Wonder if it be true. The wagoners, camped back of our lot, have hitched up and left since dark.

Sidney Sledge Darwin, 34, was a merchant in town and a member of Chadick's congregation.⁵⁹⁴ Like many other merchants, Darwin decided to take the Union oath in order to continue business and pass through the picket lines to go north.

Mary Jane and Sue Chadick with the four younger children in the house may have cleverly thwarted a robber. Having learned from past experiences, they knew, more than likely, it was a soldier up to no good. Tom Barnum, apparently a good friend, remains unidentified.

General Forrest at this time was in Mississippi recovering with his men from the Southern disaster at Nashville.

Mar. 18th 1865 *The Fourth Army Corps have nearly all gone. One of those camped near offered me a load of corn for \$1.50. Took him up, and find it was worth \$17. New troops are coming in to take the place of the old. Raw recruits. Gen. Thomas is massing his troops at Knoxville. It is all a myth about Forrest at Courtland.*

All outlying detachments would be called in, and by March 23 the IV Corps finally left Huntsville by rail for Chattanooga and then to northern Virginia.⁵⁹⁵

Mar. 19th 1865 *We accidentally got hold of a “Louisville Journal” today giving an account of the inauguration of President Lincoln and Vice-President Johnson. It appears Andy Johnson was most gloriously drunk and commenced making his speech before taking the oath of office! The speech was, of course, incoherent, and he began by the announcement that President Lincoln was a plebian and himself was a plebian, and they both glorified in it. He disgraced his country and his cause. His friends hung their heads in shame. Most of the speech has been suppressed.*

Mrs. Lincoln presented quite a conspicuous appearance upon the occasion, robed in a black silk velvet dress trimmed with ermine. Judging from the description, the whole scene from beginning to end was quite a “farce.”

Have been very busy today, having my yard cleaned up – borders, worked and shrubbery trimmed. One of my neighbors (Mr. R.) came along and said it was all nonsense and he would let it go. It may be labor lost in these times of trial and uncertainty, yet we cannot bear to see things neglected whilst it remains in our possession.

Abraham Lincoln appeared to hope for a reunited country in the future when he chose Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as his running mate in the election of 1864. Johnson was the only Southern senator who had not resigned his seat when Secession split the nation. Perhaps Johnson would appeal to the citizens as a sign of the healing process.

Not surprisingly Mrs. Chadick found poor taste and bad manners as offensive as the politics of the enemy. In Washington, D.C., at the indoor inauguration in the over-crowded Senate chambers, Senators Harlan and Anthony escorted Mrs. Lincoln in her finery to a front seat of the diplomatic box. The gallery was filled with well-dressed women, and Mrs. Lincoln was second to none in the group. The *Louisville Daily Journal* said Mrs. Lincoln was “dressed with great elegance and was the centre of attraction...because of the elegance and exceeding good taste of her dress and general queen-like bearing.” However, Mrs. Lincoln’s dress was not a crass combination of black silk and velvet, but merely black silk.⁵⁹⁶

Mrs. Chadick’s words were more gracious than the newspaper’s toward Vice President-elect Johnson. The newspaper told the reader more than one might be comfortable knowing. Johnson’s speech would have “been more appropriate at some hustings in Tennessee; but it certainly was

very far from being appropriate on this occasion. It was not only a ninety-ninth rate stump speech, but disgraceful.” The Republicans were mortified. The Democrats appeared to be chuckling with one another over the incoherent sentences. He was unfit to make a speech and apparently “had not shun Bourbon county, Kentucky, on his way” to the ceremonies. Because the words were so incoherent, reporters of “The Globe” refused to allow a copy of Johnson’s speech to be given out for publication. The *Cincinnati Gazette* called for his immediate resignation. Lincoln was more generous. He said, Andy “made a bad slip the other day but... Andy ain’t a drunkard.”⁵⁹⁷

The newspaper noted that Abraham Lincoln’s affirmation that “we accepted the war rather than let the nation perish drew the first cheer” from the crowd. Surely the last sentence of his address offered a possible conciliatory message for everyone: “With malice toward none, with charity for all... let us strive to bind up the nation’s wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations....”⁵⁹⁸

Mar. 20th 1865 *Last night Mrs. Figures’ smokehouse was broken into and they were robbed of all her meat and lard. These things occur nightly and without doubt the work of the soldiers, as they have been on half rations for some time.*

Mar. 21st 1865 *We have news of a battle between Johnston and Sherman. The Feds claim a victory but we have information that it was the reverse. There is a great deal of “grape vine” this week to the effect Jeff Davis has resigned and Gen. Lee is Military Dictator and Richmond is evacuated. Wish we did know the truth. Everything looks dark and gloomy for the Confederacy, and the Yankees believe there will be one more big battle, somewhere in North Carolina. Think of course, it will result in their favor. For ourselves we do not believe our cause is hopeless, believing the Cause a just one. We put our trust with the God of battles and if it be a just one He will surely not forsake us in the hour of trial, but will work out our Independence for us, in his own good time and way.*

On the morning of March 19th CSA General Johnston attacked one of Gen. Sherman’s columns marching north. At Bentonville, North Carolina, the Rebel infantry hit Gen. Solocum’s wing. After two days of fighting, Gen. Sherman sent in other troops and the Rebels retreated. The next day Sherman’s men continued north. Generals Lee and Grant were

still battering away at each other. However, Lee was forced to retreat from Petersburg, thus opening Richmond to attack. The other news was rumor but dismaying. It would not be long now.

Meanwhile in north Alabama, Gen. Granger's party (including Mrs. Lyon) went by special train to Huntsville. Of course their "sleeper was a caboose, and [their] easy chairs were cracker boxes." The General apologized for the accommodations and the roughness of the road. This was the first trip since the last guerilla raid had torn the tracks up. They were met at the depot by a beautiful barouche. Mrs. Lyon found Huntsville "a beautiful city, the pride of the South.... There are a great many very handsome homes here.... A great many residents have left their homes and left their houses filled with furniture, carpets, and everything, just as they were living here." Mrs. Lyon only enjoyed a short stay, leaving within the week. The trip north was even more hazardous than her earlier one. The train ran off the track six miles out of town. During the seven-hour delay there was time to see "the hills on which the rebels had guns planted and often fired at the trains." An axle broke on one of the cars and two or three supply cars wrecked and smashed into pieces as they fell over the side of the embankment: "The caboose that we were in just hung over the river." She was relieved to be at Camp Harker, Stevenson, visiting and picnicking at historic places about the countryside, notably Andrew Jackson's home, the Hermitage.⁵⁹⁹

Mar. 28th 1865 Spent the morning in trying to garden. Will Figures ploughed the ground and Margaret and myself laid off the rows and planted peas, radishes and lettuce. Mr. Hereford gave me Irish potatoes enough to plant and called today and brought me a great variety of seed—a valuable present, as they are very high and hard to get. Irish potatoes are 7 dollars per bushel—we miss Uncle Tom in the gardening line. I fear it will cost more than the garden is worth to get any one to take care of it and when the vegetables are ready for use, the Yankees will steal them.

Will Figures, the 19-year-old son of next-door neighbors, Harriet and William B. Figures, helped with the manual labor of plowing. The vegetable seeds would have been easily obtainable from neighbors who saved them from the previous year. However, the gift of Irish potatoes was truly appreciated. Generally in the South seed potatoes could not be preserved through the winter and have to be imported from the North each spring.

Mar. 29th 1865 *Gave a man \$1 today to plant my potatoes and plow a small piece of ground, which took him about half a hour. Have engaged him to work in it at 1 dol./per day. A nice looking white girl came this evening and offered her services as a servant, and the only compensation she asked was her board and clothes.*

Commenced braiding a little dress today for Cornelia Bradford for which I am to receive \$3.50. I am taking all the work I can get of this kind to enable me to sustain my family in W. D.'s absence. By the way it is a very long time now since we have had any tidings of this very dear personage since he left so unceremoniously in December last. A continued anxiety and heartache is the consequence. Neither have I had any tidings of Billy since he left.

The future looked grim for the household. If money went out for expenses, money had to come in from somewhere. Mary Jane Chadick and the other ladies had never worked for pay and had few skills that might bring in money. The white girl she hired was in a worse predicament with no home, no food, and probably only the clothes on her back.

Mar. 31st 1865 *Last night, we were all seated around the fire in my room when Sue turned to me and said, "Ma do you know the state of literature at the North?" "I believe so," I replied, "they are a very intelligent people."*

Well," she answered, "a lady in Huntsville received a letter today from her friend at the North, and how do you think she spelled cat?"

K-a-t? No.

C-a-t-t? No.

K-a-t-t? No!

C-h-a-t? No!

Well, I give it up! She spelt it c-a-t!

We all laughed heartily and this morning I bethought me to pay her back. On awaking this morning, I bethought me to pay her back. On awakening, was surprised to find it past 7:00 and everyone fast asleep. I rushed into Sue's room in my night dress, exclaiming: "Get up, girls, Oh, wake up! Get up quick. The town is full of Rebels. The Yanks were caught sleeping upon their side arms and were complete surprised!" They sprang out of bed, "Oh Ma, is it possible?" and rushed through my room "sans culottes," shouting, and just at this moment, Margaret alarmed at the noise, came in from the kitchen to see "if the house was on fire." When they discovered the joke, Sue passed it off pleasantly, but Georgie was so exasperated he returned to bed, and Clara, in her indignation, waxed impertinent and said, "Ma told a story!" In reply to

which I asked her if the town was full of Rebs and if the Yankees arms were not on their sides, where were they?"

Sue received a note this morning from Capt. Fordyce, written from Nashville in which he said he had again visited Eddie at Camp Chase and he was not yet exchanged. We cannot account for the delay. Wrote him a letter this evening and accompanied by Mary and Dave, took it to the provost marshal who graciously approved and sealed it without examining its contents.

Went from there to Mr. Banny's store. The latter gentleman gave Mary a large beautiful doll. We next went to pay Mrs. L. Watkins a visit. She was absent but found Miss Jennie at home and she entertained me for an hour with an account of Gen. Stanley's sojourn for nearly three months past in her father's house.

The General and his lady made themselves very agreeable to the family. His staff, most of them being young, attractive and elegant gentleman visited him daily and were very solicitous for an introduction to Miss Jennie, and the general used his influence to bring it about, but in vain. The young lady was obdurate and persisted in her allegiance to her Southern beaux. By persistence by refusing to be introduced to a Federal officer and thus stood it out to the end, although daily urged upon the point, by both the General and Mrs. Stanley. The latter gave two large entertainments in the drawing rooms and went out repeatedly and urged Miss Jennie's presence but without success. When the General left he said, "Well Miss Jennie I commend your course and admire you for it! You have excited the curiosity of my staff and they declare that when the war is over; they are coming to Huntsville expressively for an introduction to you." They had probably heard she was an only daughter and an heiress. These staff officers gave an entertainment once a week at the Watkins house (Mrs. R. Watkins) at which all the officers, their wives and other Yankee ladies sojourning in Huntsville were invited.

Ma's April Fools' Day joke caught the children in bed and the boys in their nightshirts.

Mr. Banny was not noted in the 1859 city directory. He could have been a sutler or a merchant who saw the chance of better profits in the war-torn South. General Stanley and his wife stayed in the home of Eliza and Laurence Watkins on McClung Street. The Watkins' daughter, Virginia, the 22-year-old "heiress," would of course share any inheritance with her 10-year-old brother, William. According to the 1860 Federal Census Laurence Watkins' real estate was valued at \$200,000 and personal property at \$210,000.

April 1st 1865 Mrs. Matkin came in town today and brought Jennie. Went up town with Mrs. M. shopping. Some of the restrictions of trade have been removed. All citizens within the picket lines are allowed to purchase to the amount of \$10 without a "permit." Beyond that, they must purchase permits and take the oath.

In the evening, my friends poured in to see me in rather an unusual manner. All were greatly surprised to find me in health! Said they heard I was dangerously ill! It proved to be an April hoax. Several heard it on their way hither and turned back to avoid being laughed at!

Mrs. Foote came this evening to bring her child's picture—a beautiful, fancy piece, with the face of an angel.

The newspapers are meager of news. We are still kept in the dark as to what is transpiring in the world without. But there are vague rumors of three battles in which we have been victorious. A great many of the sick were removed from the hospital yesterday and sent to Nashville. The price of goods has fallen considerably in the last few days. The merchants are somewhat uneasy lest Huntsville should be again evacuated.

Funeral procession is passing, a poor soldier or soldiers from the hospital. There they seem to be dying off rapidly. There has not failed to be a funeral every day for the last month, and the ambulance usually contains two or more coffins. Considerable pomp is kept up in burying their dead. A large, handsome bunch is in attendance, their uniforms of dark blue, rather elaborately trimmed with gold lace, dark blue caps trimmed with the same material, and white gloves. They present an imposing appearance and precede the procession, playing a funeral dirge. Next comes a squad of soldiers detailed for the purpose, with reversed arms. Then the ambulance followed, surrounded on all sides by a body guard of "contrabands," men, women and children, grinning and showing their ivory and keeping all sorts of time and step to the music.

Mrs. Chadick gave a fair account of the military funeral service. She had many chances to observe them well. According to one scholar's research, 1137 known Federal soldiers, buried in the city cemetery and 21 other nearby sites, were reinterred at Chattanooga National Cemetery.⁶⁰⁰

"Showing their ivory" was a common idiom of the period to note a particularly wide smile.

April 4th 1865 Went to the Square this morning to make some purchases, having put Margaret and Georgie in the garden to plant corn. We are somewhat ignorant as to the mode, but trust to a kind Providence to

make it grow. Heard that Richmond and Petersburg were evacuated and in possession of the Federal Army. How our hearts sink within us. Can it be possible after so much precious blood has been spilt to hold our capital, and Gen. Lee has been obliged at last to abandon it?

The Yankees are perfectly jubilant over it, as in proportion we are depressed. Several ladies had to go to bed in consequence. For ourselves, we are not whipped yet, nor do we believe the Southern Confederacy is either. Just let a Yankee exult over me to the fall of Richmond and see if he don't "catch it."

Hark! A cannon is booming from the Fort—one, two, three, four: One hundred guns have been fired in honor of the momentous event. They ought to have fired 1,000 after nearly four years of struggle, toil, expenditure and slaughter to obtain it! No thanks to their great Gen. Grant after all—it was the bold hazardous and successful march of Gen. Sherman in the rear that compelled the evacuation at last! The Yankees do not seem to be apprised of Gen. Lee's whereabouts, and things may after all not be so desperate for the Confederacy as they would have us believe. They represent Lee's Army as being terribly cut up.

Bad news often arrived more quickly than good news. After the nine-month siege, victory at Petersburg came suddenly on April 2nd for the Federals. General Lee retreated but advised the Confederate government to flee Richmond. The streets there became crowded with refugees trying to escape what was certain to come. The city was plunged into total disorder, already a nightmare, now gone totally mad. By the time Major General Weitzel and his troops entered that day the city was ablaze. The night before the ironclads docked along the James River were ordered burned. The explosions caught the nearby tobacco warehouses on fire, which spread throughout the city. President Davis and some members of his cabinet boarded a train for Danville, Virginia, just north of North Carolina. Many Southern ladies would take to their beds in distress.

April 5th 1865 Last night, sky rockets were sent up by the enemy, and there was universal rejoicing. Several entertainments were given and, doubtless every officer got drunk from the excess of joy. The people at Washington City are said to have embraced each other wherever they met. A Federal paper is before us. Making every allowance for its truthfulness, things do not look so bad as represented. They view the war as now over. Not so fast my lads. You may wake up to find yourselves mistaken. I say this to you in confidence dear journal, but

wait and see. They are already talking of fixing up another amnesty proposition, which they flatter themselves will have the desired effect.

April 7th 1865 *Was surprised by a visit from Rev. Leroy Woods, a Cumberland Presbyterian minister from the North. Said he came to inquire after the welfare of my husband and the family. Said he loved him, though he believed he was on the wrong side of the War. Said he supposed that, as I was of Northern birth, my feelings on this subject were somewhat divided. Not in the least, I told him; I am the strongest Southern woman you ever saw! He seemed to be taken a little by surprise and then remarked that the Southern people had all his sympathies in their suffering but he did think the leaders in this rebellion and who had brought on the War ought to be punished! I expressed it as my humble opinion the Northern Abolitionists had brought on this War. Quite an animated discussion followed, but we parted friends. He is here on an errand of mercy to the Federal sick; he belongs to the Christian Commission.*

Reverend Leroy Woods pioneered educational programs and the temperance movement within the backcountry settlements for the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. At the out-break of the War, he associated himself with the United States Christian Commission, initiated by the YMCA, that eventually sent more than 5000 volunteers into the South.⁶⁰¹

April 10th 1865 *Mrs. Figures sent for Sue and when she returned she was so overcome with emotion she could scarcely tell me the news, which was that the Federals had just got a dispatch stating Gen. Lee, with his whole army, had capitulated and surrendered! It was officially and generally believed! Oh, my God, can this be true?*

On April 9th Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered the exhausted army under his command at Appomattox, Virginia, to Gen. U. S. Grant. Grant simply allowed the Southern officers and men to go home, taking their own horses with them. He also made arrangements to send three days rations to the twenty-five thousand defeated and starving Confederate soldiers.

April 11th 1865 *The deepest gloom prevails in consequence of the news yesterday, which is generally believed. The Yankees have made no demonstrations of joy as yet, which leaves us to believe there is some doubt about it. Rev. Woods called again this morning and speaking in regard to the late news said with all due deference to any feelings he*

believed it to be authentic. Furthermore they had news to the effect in Wilson's raid Gen. Forrest had been badly wounded and captured, Gen. Roddey captured and Selma and a part of Montgomery had been laid in ashes! There is a rumor also that Col. Horner, in a raid on the other side of the river, had been captured. We heard to night also they were fighting at Decatur. What does this mean? Instead of being defeated and captured, Forrest must have driven them back!

The largest Union raid into Alabama swept through Tuscaloosa, Montevallo, Selma, and Montgomery before passing through Girard to enter Southern Georgia. Federal Gen. James Wilson led 13,500 cavalrymen into the heart of the state with little opposition. They burned most of the college buildings at Tuscaloosa and destroyed ironworks and rolling mills near Elyton, the future site of Birmingham. Governor Thomas Watts called on the militia to defend the capital, but the men refused, and Watts fled to Union Springs with the state papers. On April 12th, when the Yankees arrived at Montgomery, the militiamen surrendered, and all signs of industry were burned—rolling mills, foundries, niter works, riverboats, railroad cars, and bales of cotton. There was no valid state governor; no government existed at all, except Federal military rule until the appointment of provisional governor Lewis E. Parson on June 21st, 70 days later.⁶⁰²

The next major stop in the raid was Selma, Alabama, a major industrial center with the best railroad connections in the state. Guns and cannon, ironclad vessels, cartridges, nails, shovels, uniforms and other war material involved 10,000 workers at the town's peak during the War. At Selma Gen. Forrest and his remaining men mustered a few other defenders, old men and boys, behind breastworks built by slaves. To keep supplies from falling into Federal hands, the Rebels burned 25,000 bales of cotton and the steamboats fled downstream. Forrest ordered destruction of hundreds of barrels of whiskey, but they were still in the streets by the time the Federals arrived. When Wilson's raiders arrived on April 2nd, the troops helped themselves to the liquor and set fire to the public buildings and the business district before order could be restored. General Wilson then ordered the destruction of the Selma powerhouse, five rolling mills, three arsenals, ten ironworks, the navy yard and the powder magazine. Selma was in ruins. Forrest and Roddey escaped—just barely.

In Baldwin County Spanish Fort and Fort Alexis, crucial to the city of Mobile's defense, finally fell. The Confederate troops evacuated Mobile, and the Mayor surrendered control to the Yankees on the 13th of April. The ironclads *CSS Tuscaloosa* and *Huntsville* were sunk as the remaining Confederate ships fled up the Tombigbee River toward Gen. Forrest. The

Union ironclads pursued the remaining ships and the *CSS Nashville* and *Morgan* were blocked in at Demopolis. Unfortunately on the 25th of May the city of Mobile was nearly destroyed by a fire that followed a deadly accidental explosion of a Federal powder magazine.⁶⁰³

April 12th 1865 We are still incredulous with regard to the late news. There must be something of momentous importance pending. Federal papers say Lincoln is in Richmond, but that no passing to and from or any communication whatever is allowed. Col. Horner arrived with his regiment last night, proving the report of his capture a mistake. He brought with him 100 Confederate prisoners and 800 horses, all stolen it is said from citizens between the river and Cornersville [Guntersville?]

Evening George comes in and says there is news in town. Peace has been declared on the following terms—The United States expects a war with England and France and the Confederate States, by returning to her allegiance, is to remain just as she was before the War. Every man to be restored to the rights of citizenship, his property to be replaced, slavery to remain as it was and the South to unite with the North in the threatened war. On hearing it, our first emotion was an unaccountable choking sensation. The next moment we doubted its truth, but ran over to Mrs. Figures to tell her and Sue. Strange to say we were unwilling to believe a word of it. Tomorrow, perhaps, will remove our doubts, for if true, there will be a great rejoicing except with the Abolitionists.

It is raining terribly and has been for two or three days. Some of the bridges are washed away upon the railroad.

President Lincoln, disregarding advice for his own safety from Secretary of War Stanton, met General Grant on April 3rd in Petersburg. Lincoln continued on to Richmond the next day, still risking assassination, and walked the streets. The white residents watched silently, but the blacks gathered around and thanked and praised Lincoln. On the same day, April 4th, President Davis issued a proclamation at Danville, Virginia, confirming the loss of Richmond, while encouraging Southerners to continue to hope and not abandon the fight.

Lieutenant Colonel Horner was not captured. He led 65 of his men “on a scout in the direction of Vienna” on April 3rd, and two days later his troops went north in the direction of New Market. The mission was to drive out small groups of resistance from the local Rebel guerillas.⁶⁰⁴ There was no action at Decatur.

April 13th 1865 As soon as breakfast was over, Sue went over to ask Mr. Figures if the news had been confirmed. He said everybody had heard it, but nobody knew where it came from. The Yankees said they received a dispatch from Nashville today to fire 200 guns here today, without assigning the cause! Up to 4 o'clock this evening, not a gun had been fired, and they now say the reason why it has not been done is that there is not an artillery man in town. Plausible excuse.

If there was any truth in the late news, Huntsville would be vocal with shouts of rejoicing. Who knows but after all the star of the Southern Confederacy is in the ascendant! We will say to you in confidence, dear journal, right here we in the Yankee lines have become so thoroughly accustomed to these lying rumors, when they actually tell us the truth, we don't believe them. Keep this between the leaves and never divulge!

Mr. Wilson called to see us today and says there is "grapevine" to the effect England and France and Spain had acknowledged our independence!

A letter from Ed this evening.



Big Spring - Camp of the 4th Michigan and their brick powder house sits next to the back door of the bank where slaves had been kept for loan security (visible in the upper left).

HMCPL.

In Washington President Lincoln halted the Federal draft and reduced requisitions for war supplies. General Sherman continued his march and Federal troops occupied Raleigh, the state capital of North Carolina.

April 14th 1865 The firing has commenced. Cannons are booming from the Fort. The brass band is playing, town bells ringing. Railroad engines are shrieking out a prolonged doleful whistle, and the confusion is worse than confounded, and all, they say, for the surrender of Gen. Lee and that of the Northern Virginia army.

The boys have gone upon the housetops, and the dogs have come into the house trembling with fear. Every boom comes to our ears like a knell, recalling our wandering thought for General Lee, and that noble and devoted band of Southern soldiers. We have never yet learned the number that surrendered, as the papers are silent on the subject. Would we could know the truth. Bad as it may prove to be, it would be infinitely better than this suspense. Clara has gone out into the back yard to ring the tea bell by way burlesque. Called her in lest she incur the indignation of the Yankees.

Here comes Mr. Hereford. Says there is a great demonstration going on among the Negroes. Next comes Mrs. Lanier, all excitement, and next Mrs. Brandon. Our heart swells within us from the conflicting emotions. The band is approaching. It is Col. Horner's regiment marching through the streets, himself mounted upon a fire black horse stolen from over the river in his late raid.

After dinner, started up town and met two soldiers carrying a drunken Yank to his quarters at the hospital. A little farther on met Sue, who told me I had better not go, as Col. Horner had given the soldiers until 6 o'clock to get drunk in, and they were taking advantage of the indulgence. Turned my steps towards Mrs. Carter's and from there to Mrs. Elgin's. Whilst out, heard that Gen. Lee and staff and Gen. Grant and staff were gone to Washington. Came home heartsick and thoroughly disgusted with everything.

In the excitement all the townspeople were probably on the streets to hear the news and share the tension and disbelief. Because activity centered on the Square, merchant John Hereford was often first with the news—hearsay or factual.

Sylvestea Lanier, 33, was the wife of merchant Burwell Lanier of an old Madison County family. The Brandons were an extended family of pioneers who came to town as brick masons and significantly contributed to building the community in many ways. Henrietta Carter was a young

widow with three children who ran a millinery shop from her home on Franklin Street. Minerva and Frederick Elgin lived on Meridianville Road with their son, Clifton C., 22, formerly a law student and now in the Confederate army; Juliette E., 17; and two other children. Elgin served as an elder at Chadick's church.⁶⁰⁵

President Lincoln, in Washington, D.C., conferred with his Cabinet and General Grant during the day before leaving for the theatre that night.

April 15th 1865 Quiet today. News came Ridgely Cruse had been killed in a skirmish near Mobile. Went to the provost marshal (Capt. Moore) this evening to get three letters approved. Whilst examining them, he remarked to me, "We have just got news I fear will be worse for you Southern people than anything that has yet happened. President Lincoln was shot last night, at the theatre in Washington, and died this morning. Seward was stabbed, but it is thought will recover."

I asked him if it was supposed that a Southern man had done the deed.

"Oh, no," he replied, "it was done by Booth."

I was exceedingly shocked, as might well be supposed and felt in my heart it must be bad news for the South, if Andrew Johnson was to succeed him. What startling events have crowded fast upon each other within the last few days! I little apprehended that the last passage of my journal would record the death of President Lincoln.

Mrs. Robert Fearn died today.

The news spread rapidly and accurately. On the evening of April 14th John Wilkes Booth assassinated President Lincoln, shooting him at point-blank range in the back of the head at Ford's Theater. Booth, a well-known actor, was recognized immediately as he fled across the stage. Lincoln was taken across the street for medical attention, but he died at 7:22 A.M the next morning.

Private Pomeroy, stationed at Huntsville, was distressed at the cold-blooded murder of President Lincoln. He wrote that at least the South would not be compelled to return to the Union under Lincoln, "But the man that will assume the reins of government will be no better for them and the man Andy Johnson of Tennessee one that has been driven from his home by the rebellious mob because he stood up for the old flag the stars and stripes and not worship at the Southern gods and kneel to the tyrants rod."⁶⁰⁶

Mobile, Alabama, was evacuated on April 11th and occupied the next day. Samuel Ridgely Cruse, now 35, was there with Ward's Artillery

Battery. Eliza Marie Henderson Fearn, 65, had lived with her son, Robert, and his family at Williams and Greene Streets.

April 16th 865 Gen. Granger has issued an order to the effect that all persons exalting the death of President Lincoln shall be summarily punished. Mr. Westley Parkes was seen standing on the porch of his brother's house, laughing and talking with some young ladies, which excited suspicion that they were rejoicing in regard to the above. The house was searched, and last night some of the furniture was moved out with a threat to burn the house. Gen. Granger's order follows:

Head-Quarters District of Northern Alabama

HUNTSVILLE, April 15, 1865

*GENERAL ORDER,
NO.*

The same diabolical spirit which attempted the life of Mr. Lincoln in 1861, which organized expeditions for the Burning of our towns upon the Northern Frontier, and the Assigination of thousands of women and children, organized Under the auspices of the Confederate Government has at Last Culminated in the fiendish murder of the President of The United States by the hand of the assassin. It is to be Hoped, That this act, so savage and so brutal, will find none In this Community who will approve by either word or act; But should ANY ONE be found who in any manner shall Express approbation or approval of this most foul murder, They shall be immediately arrested and tried by a Military Commission, and if found Guilty they will received the most Summary punishment. Such treason shall have no HOME in The District of Northern Alabama.

*R. S. GRANGER
Brig. Genl.*

Some further particulars have been received of the death of President Lincoln. It appears the assassin stood behind the box in which he was seated, and shot him through the head. He was then seen to leap upon the stage, exclaiming "Sic Semper Tyrannis!" in front of the actors and to then disappear, thus making his escape.

An assassin entered the house of Secretary Seward and rushing past the servants and those in attendance, made his way to the bed, where he was confined from his late injuries and stabbed him, but it is hoped he will recover. His son was knocked down and mortally injured. Mrs. Lincoln was in the box beside her husband when the shot was

fired. Gen. Grant had been urged to go to the theatre that night, but declined and took the train for New York instead.

As he fled across the stage at Ford's Theater in front of a thousand witnesses, Booth supposedly shouted, "Sic Semper Tyrannis," ("So perish all tyrants!"). Booth and his small band felt they were super-patriots, and they expected gratitude from the Southern people for their actions. The assassin assigned to kill Secretary of State William H. Seward left a trail of blood behind him at Seward's house across from the White House on Lafayette Square. Lewis Powell attacked Seward's son, Frederick, so forcefully the young man's skull was shattered and the revolver broken. Now with his large Bowie knife, Powell attacked Fanny, Seward's 21-year-old daughter, in the hallway. Seward, in bed recovering from a carriage wreck, was stabbed repeatedly with the knife. While others tried to pull the assailant away, Seward's son, Major Augustus Seward, was slashed seven times and an attendant four times. A messenger who happened by also was stabbed. Fortunately all six victims survived, two with dreadful scars. Seward's traumatized daughter, however, died within the year. Vice President, Andrew Johnson, was an intended victim, but his assigned killer lost courage and got drunk instead. Secretary of War Stanton may have been a target also.

Although invited to join the Lincolns, General Grant and his wife did not attend the theatre that night. Mrs. Grant previously experienced the rudeness of Mrs. Lincoln at other social occasions, and the Grants chose to join their children in New Jersey.⁶⁰⁷

April 17th 1865 This morning Miss Ella Scruggs and Miss Edmonia Toney were arrested and taken to the Courthouse on a charge of having rejoiced at the late news. Col. Horner read them a lecture and dismissed them.

Miss Ella Scruggs and Miss Edmonia Toney were 22 and 18, respectively.

April 18th 1865 Today was set apart by the Federal authorities as a day of mourning for President Lincoln. A cannon was fired at 6 o'clock this morning and repeated at an interval of every half hour during the day until sundown. All business was suspended, and the business houses draped in mourning. The schools were all closed and every mark of respect shown for the day by the citizens. The troops marched through the principal streets with arms reversed, the flags tied with crepe and

the band playing a funeral dirge. Mrs. Sheffey, the Misses Withers and Sue Jolley and Mrs. Hereford called to see the procession.

Kate Withers, 22, was related to former Governor Clay's wife, Susanna Withers Clay, and for a time she had stayed with them at "Clay Castle" on Clinton Street. Sue Jolley, 22, lived with her parents and four younger siblings.

April 19th 1865 Mrs. Pruitt returned from across the river today. Ran up to Mrs. Robinson's to see her the moment I heard she had arrived. She saw W. D. only 10 days since. He was well, but was on the point of leaving Marion, as there was a rumor the Feds were approaching that point. Gen. Forrest was collecting his forces to drive them back. When they first heard of their approach, Gen. Chalmers was sent forward with a force to check their advance, and was ordered by Gen. Forrest to move with all possible haste, but a party was given him in Marion and he stopped to attend it. The next day a dinner was given him and he stopped to attend that! In the meantime Gen. Roddey was sent forward for the same purpose, but proved inefficient to arrest their progress. I have not learned all the particulars, but it appears they took Selma, and Gen. Forrest was there at the time, but made his escape, and is now concentrating his forces for another effort. At a dinner at Dr. Cowan's. Mrs. Pruitt says he was sad and gloomy, and he feared he would not be able to hold that portion of the country, as he had not men enough.

Mr. Ridgely Cruse was not killed, but is a prisoner.

Willie Chadick came to the river with Mrs. Pruitt, but, as his business is not quite concluded, will not be home yet for two or three weeks. There is news today Mobile has fallen. Fear it is too true. Felt happy and buoyant tonight in the face of everything else, from having my anxiety relieved in regard to my dear husband and Willie.

At least Mrs. Chadick had an update on the last location of her husband—and learned that he was alive. Mrs. Pruitt was in Marion in south Alabama, probably with one of her two Robinson sisters or sister-in-law, Lucy (Robinson) Cowan. Mrs. Chadick retold Mrs. Pruitt's story in her journal about General James R. Chalmers, commander of the cavalry in Mississippi and West Tennessee, being delayed by a dinner. General Forrest had ordered Gen. Chalmers to get between the invading Yankees and Selma. He never received the message because the Union soldiers captured the dispatch from Forrest. Chalmers' men did arrive later in the day and attacked a parked wagon train in the Union rear. Roddey also came

on the scene, but the gap caused by the weak Confederate lines allowed the Federals to pour in, taking Selma and 2700 prisoners. Forrest told his remaining men to get out as best they could. Although Mrs. Chadick wrote earlier about rumor with her thousand tongues, stranger things have happened to affect the outcome of a battle than men stopping for dinner along the way.⁶⁰⁸ Mrs. Cowan noted, also at a dinner, how despondent Gen. Forrest seemed.

Captain Samuel Ridgely Cruse, who had assumed command of Ward's Artillery Battery, was captured at Mobile but did not die until 1883.⁶⁰⁹

Mrs. Chadick did not suggest she knew anything about her 19-year-old stepson's activities. The Federals evidently looked with suspicion on the business of Willie Chadick. In the journal kept by the informers Bourlier and Larcombe they also noted his return from Dixie: "He should be granted no favors. He professes to have a lot of tobacco across the river for which he wanted to obtain a permit to bring here. It is strongly suspected that he is here to gather information from our army and inform the rebels if he can get back to them."⁶¹⁰

April 28th 1865 Just arisen from a two days' spell of nervous headache.

Trying to get my garden in order with the assistance of Frances, an intelligent contraband, who offered her services for a home and board. A coarse, bawling, loud-mouthed Negro. I hope however she may prove a help in the garden.

April 29th 1865 Mary and myself are lonely today. Clara, George and Davie have gone fishing with a party of children with Mr. Figures' protection. I fixed them off with a basket of refreshments. I made them a dish of tictac-parched corn, with molasses candy poured over it, of which they were particularly proud. They went off in high spirits, and I hope their enjoyment may equal their anticipation. They have been shut up inside the picket lines so long they were perfectly jubilant at the thought of escaping for one day.

Both of the servants are at work in the garden trying to get it in order. Busied myself washing and dressing my butter. Sold Mrs. Figures two and one half pounds at 50 cents per pound. Have two splendid cows, having raised one of them through all the perils of the last 2 years to which called "are heir to" in times of War and scarcity of food. Said calf took up quarters in the smoke house every time a Yankee raid visited Huntsville.

We have news this morning Gen. Johnston has surrendered to Gen. Sherman upon the same terms that were offered to Gen. Lee. It appears Sherman's first propositions were so generous it aroused the indignation of the authorities at Washington, and they were not recognized at that point, and Johnston has been obliged to submit on their own terms. This has ended the military power of the South Confederacy.

Went to Mrs. Carters this evening for my new bonnet and there met Capt. Turner who had just received a letter from his daughter Mrs. Williamson just married to Capt. Todd. Speaking of him in his letters she said "she had only one objection to him and that was that he was a half brother of Mrs. Lincoln!"

Stopped to see Mrs. Irby on my return. Many of the boys belonging to Lee's army are arriving daily. It is a sad sight to see them coming into the Yankee lines, under the circumstances, after fighting them for four years and leaving the bones of three fourths of their brave comrades bleaching upon the battle field. Can it be this great struggle for independence is at an end?

Mr. Figures, the next-door neighbor, took Mrs. Chadick's older children fishing. Her contribution was a sweet treat of cooked green corn that had been allowed to dry earlier and then was reconstituted with water and topped with molasses.

Generals Sherman and Joseph Johnston met on April 17 at Durham Station to discuss peace and eventual settlement between the North and South. Sherman offered general amnesty for all Southerners and recognition of state governments as soon as the oath of allegiance was accepted. Apparently Sherman exceeded his authority and President Johnson and the Cabinet rejected that peace agreement. CSA General Johnston was told the truce would end in 48 hours, and more peace discussions would be necessary. On the next day Johnston signed an armistice and surrendered his 30,000 men on the 26th of April.

Susan Searcy Turner, daughter of wealthy merchant Capt. Daniel and Susan (Searcy) Turner, was born in Huntsville. The Turners lost a son, James, at Manassas in 1861. Their daughter, Susan, had married W. Henry Williamson and was widowed with two young daughters. They now lived at home with her parents. In April 1865 while staying in Marion, Alabama, she married David Humphreys Todd, a Confederate officer. A Kentuckian, Todd was commandant of Harwood Prison, a prisoner-of-war camp at Richmond. Todd and Susie most likely met while he was at the military hospital there in south Alabama. He was a half-brother of Mary (Todd) Lincoln and naturally this caused a little chagrin within the family.⁶¹¹

Mrs. Mary G. Irby lived with the family of widow Mary Mastin at the corner of Gates and Greene Streets.

April 30^h 1865 *Went to church this morning to hear Dr. Ross for the first time since the last occupation of Huntsville. After dinner, borrowed a "Nashville Dispatch" from Mr. Figures to read the news. It appears Booth, the murderer of Lincoln, has been caught and shot, and his remains are now in Washington. He would not be taken alive, but before he died he said, "Tell my mother that I died for my country!"*

President Lincoln's remains have been carried to his home in Illinois, and the demonstrations during the whole route have been a perfect ovation to his memory. Since the news of the surrender of Johnston, the North begins to feel she has the South in her power; and very severe measures are beginning to be proposed in regard to Rebel leaders and sympathizers. Every precaution is being taken to cut off Jeff Davis' return, and he is denounced as the prince of traitors.

The wife of Col. Horner arrived this evening, and they have taken up their quarters at Mrs. Bradford's, just opposite us.

John Wilkes Booth, the only one of the conspirators not to be taken alive and stand trial, was saved from the barn that was set ablaze to force his surrender. But an unauthorized shot fired by Sgt. Thomas Corbett proved fatal, and Booth died two and one half-hours later in the early morning hours of April 27, 1865. His message was, "Tell my mother I did it for my country—that I die for my country."

Lincoln's funeral procession by railway took two weeks to travel the 1700 miles back to Springfield, Illinois, for burial. This was the reverse of the route over which he traveled to Washington previously for his inauguration. Throngs of people came to show their respects along the route.

Confederate President Jefferson and some members of his cabinet fled after meeting in Charlotte, North Carolina, and continued still farther south to Yorksville, South Carolina. They agreed to try and get across the Mississippi River. Davis, for a time, hoped to continue the struggle from west of the Mississippi. Johnston and Lee were opposed to this "second stage" of war.

Abbie Bateman married John W. Horner in 1862 in Lenawee County Michigan, and now she joined him in Huntsville with their young child at Martha Bradford's house.⁶¹²

May 1st 1865 *Unusually cool for the first of May, and we have had fires all day. Went to see Mrs. Donegan, who is quite ill. John Young called today,*

one of the returned soldiers from Gen. Lee's army. It was like seeing one from the dead, as he was reported killed in one of the battles before Richmond a year since, and it was probably recorded in this journal.

Received a visit this evening from Mrs. Horner's baby. A grum looking little creature of five months, the very image of its papa. Used all the arts and fascinations at my command to win from it one smile but failed. It would not smile upon a Rebel! It certainly bears a striking resemblance to its papa and is a sweet little creature as most babies are. Gave it a large bouquet of choice roses and sent it home.

A bright moonlight night. The band is serenading Col. and Mrs. Horner and the street is full of contrabands and children listening at the music.

Elizabeth, wife of James J. Donegan, was about 60 and lived at the end of Randolph Street. Private John W. Young, 31, formerly a printer, was not only alive and well, but earlier he had enjoyed a moment of retribution against a Northern citizen. Perhaps reminded of his own family's humiliation at the hands of the enemy, while marching through the village of Greencastle, Pennsylvania, Young plucked a new felt hat from the head of an elderly gentleman bystander. At the same time he threw away his own well-worn Confederate woolen one, donned his new hat, and just kept on marching out of town with his regiment.⁶¹³

Perhaps Mrs. Chadick did not enthusiastically hold Colonel Horner's gloomy baby on her lap. But neither would she have been rude to a guest, another woman far from home; Mrs. Chadick sent her guests home with a bouquet of her finest roses.

May 3rd 1865 *Went out this morning to make some visits. Heard Gen. Granger had gone to Decatur to meet Gen. Roddey to submit the terms of surrender.*

Apparently men of Roddey's cavalry had been sending truce flags to Decatur since February.⁶¹⁴

May 4th 1865 *Mrs. Ross called this morning for me to assist her in cutting out some sleeves and mantle. Clifton Elgin, a returned soldier, called, and Frank Peebles and some other visitors, Col. Scruggs and Mr. Holden. Our returned soldiers look sad. For the most part, they have a noble bearing. Far superior in their personal appearance to the Federal soldiers who now occupy our town. The latter do not manifest the right feeling towards the Southern boys. Clifton said some of them were walking behind them (he and Col. Scruggs) yesterday and he*

heard one of the say, "There goes two of them fellows!" Two or three days since, one of them attacked young Cochran and taunted him with having been whipped. He gave him a retort courteous and scathing, and there is no telling what might have grown out of it had not an officer come along and taken the soldier into custody.

Transportation home for the surrendering Southern soldiers was to be provided by the Federal government—when it was available. Because the Southern rail system was almost nonexistent, most of the returning soldiers straggled home after their surrender at Appomattox as best they could. From northern Virginia the most common route led the walkers through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama. However, four Huntsvillians and members of the Alabama 4th Regiment—Doctor J.J. Dement, William F. Karsner, Robert T. Coles and Col. Lawrence H. Scruggs—went back to Petersburg and then by water to Baltimore. Aboard a boat loaded with Federal officers, the men had to stand the entire route with the horses on the lower level, amid the party atmosphere of the celebrating Federals on the upper decks. The men had a difficult time in the Federal city Baltimore until they met Robert Herstein, formerly a merchant in Huntsville, who loaned them money for the rest of the trip home. Mr. Holden may have been Col. William D. Holden returning home, a member of the 17th Mississippi who was at Petersburg and at Appomattox, as was Colonel Scruggs.⁶¹⁵ Lawrence Houston Scruggs, previously a cotton merchant and now 29 years old, had been wounded at the battles of Malvern Hill and Chickamauga. This was probably 3rd Sergeant James Cochran, about 28, a lawyer, who had enlisted with Edward Tracy's North Alabamians.

Confederate General Richard Taylor, hemmed in by Gen. Wilson to the north and Gen. Canby in the south, arranged to discuss surrendering with Canby on the 30th of April about twelve miles north of Mobile. The meeting place at Magee's Farm was conveniently along side the railroad tracks. Canby arrived with his troops, neatly attired in crisp uniforms—a full brigade as a guard of honor—with the band playing. Taylor and one aide—in dusty, worn uniforms—arrived from Meridian, Mississippi, on a handcar "pumped" down the line by two soon-to-be former slaves. The two Generals agreed to observe a ceasefire until their governments arranged a formal truce. This would be equal to the terms given twelve days earlier by General Sherman to General Johnston. The officers then shared champagne while the band played in turn "Hail, Columbia" and "Dixie." However, the Sherman-Johnston agreement had been disavowed, and fighting would begin unless Taylor surrendered. General Richard Taylor would yield the last of the Confederate troops east of the Mississippi, 42,000 men including Col. W. D. Chadick, at Citronelle, Alabama, on the 4th of May.

(General Taylor was the son of President Zachary Taylor and brother of the first wife of President Jefferson Davis. Not surprisingly it is thought he interceded with President Johnson for the release of Jefferson Davis after the War.)⁶¹⁶

Unfortunately for the citizens, with the surrender of General Taylor, Alabama was left with no semblance of civil government for almost 70 days until the appointment of provisional governor Lewis E. Parsons by President Andrew Johnson.

May 5th 1865 *Sue and Mary have gone to Mrs. Matkin's to spend the day. Had my dining room carpet taken up and a general cleaning up. Heard Col. Horner had been to Maysville to settle the terms of surrender with Colonels Johnston and Mead and would not allow them to retain their horses. His terms were rejected.*

Mr. Mayhew returned this evening after an absence of nearly three years.

One of those fortunate to return early, Sidney Mayhew rode on an army freight train to the Huntsville depot. Mayhew noticed his gray overcoat seemed out of place in the throng of blue coats everywhere. He had to ask a former neighbor if his wife and son were still alive and where he might find them.⁶¹⁷

May 6th 1865 *Sick in bed.*

May 7th 1865 *It is said Col. Horner and an armed force have gone to take Colonels Mead and Johnston.*

The United States government has offered a large reward for the apprehension of Jeff Davis, Breckinridge and other so-called prominent leaders in the rebellion. They are also accused of participation in the death of President Lincoln, which bears a falsehood upon the face of it, and shows the vindictive spirit at Washington now operating against the unfortunate people of the South. They had better take the advice of such men as Gen. Lee, who tells them "unless they pursue a mild, generous policy toward the South, the war is not at an end!"

Colonel Mead may not have been aware of a Union directive against him, but he understood that his life was still in danger. USA Gen. William D. Whipple, under the authority of Gen. Thomas, wrote, "The general hopes you will kill Mead and his party and not capture them." Initially Mead refused to surrender and escaped across the Tennessee River

where he hid on Brindley Mountain in Morgan County for a while. The Yankees felt he had deserted his troops, but Mead fled for his life. He finally took the oath of allegiance in Montgomery.⁶¹⁸

President Andrew Johnson offered a \$100,000 reward for the capture of President Davis. The Rebel fugitives passed through the Carolinas and into Georgia. For a time they considered surrendering to Federal authorities or seeking sanctuary in a foreign country. But President Davis apparently still wanted to try to direct war efforts from the west. There was no reward for General Breckinridge. Those exact words could not be attributed to General Lee, but he did say, "I believe it to be the duty of everyone to unite in the restoration on the country and the reestablishment of peace and harmony."⁶¹⁹

May 8th 1865 *Received a letter this morning from Nashville, written in a strange hand. Looked at the signature—Austin! Who is he? Light breaks. Oh, yes, one of the three Federal soldiers who called and asked for music. Fears that he was neglectful in thanking me sufficiently for my courtesy and hospitality, which he will ever remember. Offers his services in doing anything for me in Nashville, where his brigade is quartered.*

Billy returned last night. He brings no new tidings of my best friend.

May 9th 1865 *Heard last night that our kind and disinterested friend, Capt. Fordyce, was lying dangerous ill in Nashville. Feel the deepest regret. Wrote him a note this morning, thanking him for all his kindness and generosity to Edwin, and expressing our sympathy for his illness. Wrote also to Mr. Herrick, asking him to show brother Dave the note and requested him to hunt up Capt. Fordyce, and show him every attention in his power.*

May 10th 1865 *Brother Mitchell and wife from Athens called to see us this morning. He says that there is news that Gen. Forrest has been killed by one of his captains, whose son he had executed for desertion. It has been confirmed by several persons from across the river. It is rumored Gen. Roddey will surrender after a few days. There has been a "truce" for 20 days, which will be out day after tomorrow. The "grapevine" also affirms that Jeff Davis, with 3,000 men, is safe across the Mississippi River. What Southern man or woman would not devoutly pray this might be true?*

Eliza, 40, and Rev. George W. Mitchell, 49, lived at Shoal Ford, near Athens, and he and some of his children had visited Mrs. Chadick before.

The dire and negative rumors of the last few days were unfounded. Forrest was alive and on May 9th finally disbanded his troops. President Davis was not safely across the Mississippi. Roddey surrendered with about 600 men on May 12th in Decatur.

May 11th 1865 Col. Johnston and his men came in today and surrendered to Col. Givens. He declined surrendering to Col. Horner, but said he would surrender to a gentleman. Their request to retain their horses, which were their own private property, had been refused by Col. Horner. They came in on foot, and every man had sold his horse, and they had only a few old muskets, which, when they were ordered to "ground arms," they threw down with curses and imprecations. The report of the death of Gen. Forrest has been contradicted.

Major Milus Johnston and 150 Confederates surrendered on May 11th to Col. William Given. Bands of the 18th Michigan and the 102nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry played patriotic tunes at their meeting at Cold Spring on Monte Sano. After the speeches ten gallons of apple brandy appeared to help relieve the stress of the occasion. Tension arose, however, when the tee-totler Rev. Johnston refused to drink with the assembled group. The day was saved when Dr. John Debow announced he was authorized to do Major Johnston's drinking. As it began to rain and the paroles had not been written, Col. Given suggested the men move into town. Major Johnston objected, but "old Uncle Ben Jolley" urged them to retire to his place where there was meat and bread and two rooms to sleep in. And besides, he said, "I've got the best Rebel gal in all America."

Because they knew their guns would be turned in, the Southerners "[h]id our best guns in caves for safe keeping. And we are of the opinion that there were no better arms of the kind in all the United States than those we hid away. On the other hand we doubt whether a sorrier set of guns could have been gathered up in all Dixie than those we surrendered." ⁶²⁰

May 12th 1865 Mrs. Bradford and Miss Hattie Figures returned last night from "Dixie." Went over today to see the former, but she could give me no tidings of W. D. Feel very anxious as to his whereabouts and his return home. Mrs. Bradford says she heard he had gone to Texas to hunt him a home! Billy left yesterday morning, without letting us know he was going to start South, or telling us goodbye. Expected to be gone all Summer. Perfectly in keeping with his eccentricity!

Mrs. Chadick still waited for news about her missing husband. In her distress the week before she took to her bed, but continued anxiety forced her to search among the returnees for news. How much longer would her uncertainly last, and how long could she keep going? Meanwhile her stepson, Billy, went off on his own without telling anyone. It is unclear if she writes of him in anger or disappointment.

May 14th 1865 *Have been very ill for the last two days. All restrictions in trade have been removed, and we can now buy with "permits." Can go where we please without "passes" as there are now no pickets out. The Federal authorities say there are now no insurgents in North Alabama, and the necessity no longer exists.*

Col. Horner issued an order requesting all Confederate soldiers to lay aside their uniforms and urging the people to bury their animosities and try to be united; promising them protection and asking them to assist him in putting down thieves and robbers, etc.

News last night that Jeff Davis had been caught. News that causes the heart to ache.

Night *It has been confirmed in tonight's paper he was taken with his family and staff and sent North heavily guarded.*

President Davis had arranged to meet his wife, Varinia, in Dublin, Georgia, on the 9th of May. On the next day they, along with the few senior Confederate leaders, were captured near Irwinville, Georgia, and escorted to Nashville under heavy guard. From there Davis was sent to Richmond and Fortress Monroe. Jefferson was put in chains and solitary confinement.

May 16th 1865 *Archie Mills called to see me. Just from Camp Chase. Tells me Eddie has been released and is on his way home.*

Archie Mills, 25, and his brother William, 29, a lawyer in town, had lived with their widowed mother and seven siblings. They were members of the Madison Rifles who left for Pensacola, Florida, in March of 1861. According to the stories told later, Archie's mother, Almyra, rushed quickly to hide her valuables when the Yankees approached her house. But the Federal detachment arrived too quickly and Mrs. Mills stuffed what she held in her hands inside the front of her dress. Even though a portly lady, the knives, forks and spoons did not quite fit smoothly within the bosom of her dress. She swore to the officer that there were no firearms or even a silver spoon in the house. Although the lumps and sharp angles were obvious, the officer and gentleman winked to his companion and said, "Well lady, you are such a fine old liar, we'll spare your spoons this time."

May 18th 1865 *Mr. Matt Steele came tonight. Saw him as he passed and ran out to inquire of W. D. Knew nothing about him. Where can he be? Some say he has gone across the Mississippi. This we do not believe, but feel anxious and impatient for his return.*

May 20th 1865 *Capt. Fordyce returned to Huntsville last night, and this morning sent down a package of books and papers. Went this evening to see Sandy White to learn some tidings of W. D., but he could give me none. Capt. Fordyce called during my absence and left word that Ed had gone up to Lebanon to see his relatives.*

May 21st 1865 *Mrs. Matkin came in to spend the day. After dinner, we went on the Square, shopping. Saw several returned soldiers, but could learn nothing of my best friend.*

May 22nd 1865 *Jim Matt Robinson called this morning, but had no late news from W. D. How anxious I feel. Heard the state authorities had surrendered. What then keeps him from returning? Perhaps he is ill.*

The soldiers are still coming in every day, and the War begins to seem like a frightful dream. We have no news. The papers continue to speak of Davis' capture and arrival at Fortress Monroe, but many doubt the truth of the whole affair. The papers also announce the capture of Clay and Gen. Wheeler. Gen. Kirby Smith has not yet surrendered, and the Federals are beginning to doubt whether he will do so.

The Hon. Jere Clemens died on Sunday morning, the 20th, rather suddenly. He had just returned from the North, and has been in bad health for some time.

General Joseph Johnston did not surrender until April 26th and General Kirby Smith until the 26th of May. Huntsville's Clement Clay, Jr., had at first considered leaving for Texas with Congressman Louis T. Wigfall; however, a \$120,000 reward was offered for Clay who was considered to be implicated in the assassination plots. Clay delivered himself into Federal custody on the 10th of May. He was imprisoned with President Davis at Fortress Monroe in solitary confinement. The Yankees captured General Wheeler in May and sent him to Fort Delaware. General Kirby Smith fought until May 26th when he surrendered the armies west of the Mississippi River.

Jeremiah Clemens died May 19th at the age of 51 after a life of hard living. He had been a hero during the War with Mexico and later a US Senator. However, his father's reputation and wealth in Madison County could not sustain him during the War. His anti-secession sentiment

generally made him unpopular with Huntsvillians, and he had been living in Nashville and Philadelphia.

May 26th 1865 *A memorable day, for with it, ends all my suspense and anxiety with regard to the absent ones. Soon after the whistle of the evening trains, Sue came in and said, "Ma, Eddie has come and is on his way here in the omnibus!"*

It was no surprise, as we were looking for him; but we were not looking for W. D., who got out of the omnibus at the same time, to our very great surprise. The meeting was one of great joy, mixed with sadness. When we thought of the painful weeks and months of separation, borne with patience and fortitude for the sake of the Cause, and then the unfortunate result! He was surrendered by Gen. Dick Taylor and was paroled in Memphis, returning home by way of Nashville. He there met Eddie and thus they came together.

The War being over and the dear ones returned, there will be little more of interest for these pages. Therefore, you and I, dear journal, close friends as we have been, united by every bond of sympathy, must part. "We have shared each other's gladness and wept each other's tears." Whenever my eyes rest upon you, it will be with feelings of gratitude and affection for the consolation you have afforded me in these days of trial. Farewell.

EPILOGUE

The Tennessee Valley of Alabama was ravaged by the War. Athens was in shambles; Decatur was ruined with streets still filled with trenches and military earthworks. Other areas like “Bridgeport, Stevenson, Bellefonte, Scottsboro, Larkinsville, Woodville, Paint Rock—in fact every town in northern Alabama...had been wiped out by war policy of starvation by fire.” Dr. John Wythe wrote that veterans returned home to a “forest of chimneys marking the site of Vienna,” symbolic of tombstones in a graveyard.⁶²² Because Huntsville was used as a garrison, officers utilized the houses for living quarters, rather than destroying them. Although it seemed dreadful at the time, Mrs. Chadick’s Huntsville incurred less damage than most other north Alabama places.

Reconstruction and Rebuilding

It was no surprise that the remaining and the returning defeated people were devastated, too. Many in Alabama were already destitute by the winter of 1864 when meal and salt were furnished to 38,772 families totaling 139,042 white persons. Alabama Governor Parsons spoke to the General Assembly in November of 1865 about the impoverished population. Moreover when this calculation was also applied to the state’s almost 440,000 black people a total of 1/4 million people in the state would need to be provided with food until they were able to produce it themselves.⁶²³

Nearly thirty percent of white Southern men had died from wounds or illness during the Civil War. No less than 81,000 of Alabama’s men served in the Civil War. No less than 20,000 died as a result; probably as many became disabled during the four years of conflict. In 1866 William Figures’ newspaper, the *Huntsville Advocate*, stated that during the War 147 men from Madison County had been killed in action, 214 died from sickness, and 28 men were disabled.⁶²⁴ In the years to come men would continue to die from the injuries they had received.



During the War rural women who managed to remain at their homes learned to deal on some level with separation from their menfolk, at first. The normal community resources that might have offered support in bad times soon fell apart. But in the countryside there were already fewer community resources. Schools and churches closed, and shortages often led to hunger and famine. Families in the mountains of northeastern

Alabama were no better off, just more isolated, than families in town. This breakdown of social ties often left the elderly, women, and children helpless in their isolation, making them easy victims. In early 1862 James A. Garfield wrote of the guerrilla warfare surrounding the mountain people whose land had already become “a home of fiends, and converted this war into a black hole in which to murder any man that any soldier[,] from envy, lust, or revenge, hated.”⁶²⁵

For the four years of the War, farmwomen and their children who attempted to remain at home sites took over the work of the absent men with the few remaining horses or mules to pull the plow. As hard as they tried, however, women could never cultivate as much land as a man—especially not while keeping up the home, too. Farm implements broke, fences were down, and they could not split rails. Difficulties with maintaining the farm became worse as gristmills broke, plows and wagons wore out, and food and cash became scarcer. Moreover, women were unable to really to take any substantial crop to the marketplace. One writer asked, “Were these the same people—these haggard, wrinkled women, bowed with care and trouble, sorrow and unusual toil?”⁶²⁶ Many families finally moved in with relatives or moved to town hoping to ease their struggle.

Alabama farmers who returned at war’s end found one half the number of the cattle, mules and hogs as they had in 1860. Even less livestock was to be found in hard-hit northern Alabama where Federal troops had lived off the land. Farms suffered still more, as most men who returned after the surrender arrived too late to plant crops in the spring of 1865. To add to the distress, the next summer cotton crop was poor because of a drought that followed an unusually wet winter and spring of 1866.⁶²⁷

Unfortunately activities of small landholders were not usually recorded or noted in history. However, the journal of aristocratic Mrs. Otey told more than she might have wanted others to know. Mrs. Chadick’s friend, Octavia (Wyche) Otey of Greenlawn Plantation, was widowed in 1865 and forced to sell her estate on the courthouse steps in 1868. The court granted her a dower of the house and some 200 acres. Mrs. Otey, with an invalid husband and her family of ten, had often seen them near starvation. The wartime Union vouchers worth \$100 could not be redeemed unless she or her husband pledged allegiance to the Federal government. She chose to take the oath, but she received criticism as a traitor. She defended her actions in a poignant letter: “I subscribed to their oath to keep my husband, brother, or father from taking it, and to keep my family of ten...from beggary and starvation...I thought it more honorable and less degrading to take the oath in the manner I did, than to beg, to fawn on our enemies, or borrow, when we saw no way to pay our debts.”⁶²⁸

Others in the community must have noted her grit. Mrs. Otey described her first visit from the Ku Klux Klan in November 1868 as the cloaked men filed in by twos through the lower lot gate on a moonlit night and entered her home. The men asked her two young daughters to play the piano for them. After the men remounted their waiting horses, the leader said, “ ‘Three cheers for the ladies which they gave!’ And then rode off by two’s...It all seems so strange and unreal, I can almost fancy it a dream.”

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By 1870 Octavia and the six children were still living at Greenlawn, and she had managed to hold onto real estate valued at \$5000 and \$700 personal property. That year Octavia (Wyche) Otey was a wearied 39 year old who had learned to endure. Debts continued to mount for the rest of her life, and she often felt depressed at her perceived lower social standing. She did not remarry and died in 1890 at the age of 59.⁶³⁰

Along with the previous social and economic order, the old work system also changed. The War freed over 437,000 slaves in Alabama alone, and they could now settle in town or country or go to the North.⁶³¹ Throughout the years of the War, thousands of impressed black men and black soldiers were killed fighting for freedom. Black families became divided and separated, many never to be reunited. Numerous former slaves fled to liberty with the Union army, not to return; many joyously left behind the names of their former masters and took on surnames of freedom leaders. Some returned to the South, as the Jubilee proved more tenuous in the North than expected. Slaves who had kindly masters often chose to stay on the plantation and worked for hire with room and board in their old quarters. Many former slaves settled in towns where the armies had been stationed and took jobs as servers, cooks, laundresses, or any labor to be had. However, many that remained did not immediately understand the need to go to work because they expected to receive both free land and a mule from the Federal government.

Often ignored, black children fended for themselves much of the time. Although local schools were begun in towns by the Freedman’s Bureau, they were sparsely attended. Within a year Northern missionary societies established eleven schools in Huntsville, Athens and Stevenson.⁶³² But rural black children in the county received little or no attention from these sources.

Of the Chadick slaves who took their freedom in varying degrees, Corinna, her son, Jim, and Vienna fled north. If they returned there is no trace. “Old Tom,” 72 in 1870, was listed as Thomas Chadick, and was keeping a laundry in Huntsville.

Zenia Pruitt, the trusted slave of the Pruitts of Meridianville, also remained. Her mother, Betsy Brown, and her father, Ben Simmons, two

brothers and four sisters likely had been slaves in that community, but Zenia Pruitt moved to town by 1870. She lived with the family of Samuel Wesley Fordyce on Randolph Street where she worked as a nurse, accompanied by her three-year-old daughter, Adeline. By that same year she felt confident enough to open an account at the Freedman's Bank, signing her own application. She remained in town and used skills that she continued to develop.⁶³³ Zenia Pruitt next appeared in the 1880 census, listed as 38 and working for Samuel H. Moore as a servant. Moore inherited the mansion on Adams Avenue previously owned by Robert Watkins, where General Mitchel stayed and General Logan made his headquarters during the War. Zenia later garnered the most praise as General Moore's cook and caterer for the events surrounding the festivities for Lily Flagg.

This affair became one of those singular hometown stories that local people still delight in telling. Moore enjoyed entertaining, and after his prize Jersey cow, Signal's Lily Flagg, was awarded the 1892 Chicago World's Fair Prize, Moore gave a reception for the cow. Over fifteen hundred invitations were sent out and the attendees, dressed in evening clothes, mingled while an Italian orchestra from Nashville entertained. Wine and champagne were served and tables were arranged with a variety of foods. One board alone displayed fifty different kinds of cakes. The food and drink was prepared and arranged by Moore's cook, Zenia Pruitt. She also made the arrangements at Monte Sano Hotel for a banquet and dance given by the citizens of Huntsville to honor Lily Flagg. In 1902 Zenia Pruitt was noted in the newspaper as a "respected caterer and wedding coordinator."⁶³⁴



The War truly destroyed any trace of civil government that had become more noticeable in the towns. During Reconstruction law-and-order issues still were unresolved as occupying soldiers were stationed in many locations. Carpetbaggers, "Black" Republicans, Federal troops, scalawags, and Freedman's Bureau workers continued to fight for and hold power that belonged in each community. Theft and cotton-stealing were common, as were acts of violence against federal officials and contentious neighbors. Complaints about unruly soldiers were so prevalent that the commander of Federal troops in Huntsville refused to allow alcohol to be sold to the soldiers.⁶³⁵

It appeared that outsiders dominated any attempt at local law enforcement. In September of 1865 to help protect the citizens the Alabama

Constitutional Convention passed a resolution to establish county militia units to assist civil authorities to restore order. Mayors in Huntsville, Athens and Florence were given additional police powers because of excessive lawlessness. Not that they had actually been threatened, but several “good Union men” were entitled to extra protection from the Federal authorities. They included men noted by Mrs. Chadick like Benjamin Jolley and some new names—G .W. Atwood, John Pickard, John Moore, Francis Rebman, John Patterson, Dr. Patton, Conrad Beeman, the jeweler E. W. Cole, and James Cross, a saddler.⁶³⁶

In November of 1865 the community elected Frank Gurley as sheriff of Madison County, and the County and City Courts were reestablished for hearing minor cases. However, Gurley was removed to face the old murder charge against him in the death of Gen. Robert McCook. The new Sheriff, John Coltart, was also removed by the military and a “loyal union man” replaced him.⁶³⁷

Adding insult to injury, Reconstruction required a loyalty pledge by white citizens in the South. In order to receive rations, to participate in legal ceremonies including weddings, and to restore citizenship, former Confederates were required to take the oath of allegiance. This was more than some fervent Rebels could tolerate. Many Southerners chose to move on westward. The place names of Huntsville, Old Alabam, and Alabam in Madison County, Arkansas, and Huntsville, Texas, suggest a few new locations. A small number exiled themselves farther to Mexico and the jungles of Brazil to form colonies of like-minded dissatisfied Southerners.

A few prominent families from Huntsville traveled and spent time abroad to recover. This might suggest they had not lost all their money during the War and could afford traveling overseas. Mrs. Mary Rice, Bishop Henry Lay’s elderly friend, noted in her diary that she visited some Huntsville friends while she was in Paris in 1866 and 1867. She visited with the Calhouns several times, Judge and Mrs. Perkins, Mrs. Walker, Dr. Charles Pope, Mrs. Pope, Mrs. John Walker and Major Walker.⁶³⁸ Although Mrs. Rice did not mention seeing him, G. W. Jones of Maysville also went abroad. His credit reports of the late 1850s had made mention of his profitable steam sawmill and lumber production. He was “a man of good business qualifications, shrewd and energetic....” But in November of 1865 the report noted, “Not good. Was quartermaster for Confederate government and made a large fortune, but now off for Europe. Dare not show his face here now.”⁶³⁹ These families did return to town in more settled times.

The difficulty facing many citizens involved more than merely picking up the pieces or starting all over again. Money and property could be replaced. For some, much, much more had been lost. The three Clay

brothers were typical. Even without the death of their parents immediately after the War, these men were also devastated at the loss of finances and of status that took an emotional toll. Lawson wrote with despair to his brother, Clement, who was still imprisoned in Virginia: “You and I, [are] homeless and almost penniless....” Huntsville now “is no place for a poor man to reside in, especially one who has heretofore lived there as a man of fortune and been so regarded by the community.... But to be conscious that we live among those who were our inferiors, socially, mentally and pecuniarily, and that they now take the lead in society and in public affairs, is enough to make each day of life less supportable than the preceding one.”⁶⁴⁰ The returning men were crippled and broken in many ways. Hugh Lawson Clay and his wife did not return to live in Huntsville until 1867.



In Huntsville the Federal government built barracks, a quartermaster office and commissary at the Depot, which among other things lightened the burden for those homeowners still boarding soldiers in their houses. By 1867 government rations ended except for hospitals, orphans homes and extreme cases. However, Soup Houses opened in February of 1868. The increasing number of both Negro and white destitute led the city fathers to establish the first Alms House and Hospital in December on a farm owned by Robert Brickell, south of town.⁶⁴¹

After the black Federal troops stationed in Huntsville were ordered away, a calmer attitude seemed to return. Troops from the Federal Reserve Corps began the work of Reconstruction. The soldiers sometimes took part in the community activities, and there was interaction with baseball games and help with construction of the Catholic Church. Even in peacetime Union soldiers continued to die and were buried in the town cemetery for at least two years after the War. Still stationed in Huntsville, Union soldier Private Pomeroy of the 18th Michigan now spent his time fishing, cutting wood, complaining about the food, and listening to his buddies gripe about army life. He noted, “an election was held on June 3 to elect town officers so to begin the work of reconstruction.” Still a year later, Mayor Robert Coltart announced it was impossible to balance the financial books of the city, but he and the eight new aldermen would begin. They were elected in December of 1866 and the city books showed a beginning balance of \$34.12.⁶⁴²

Stock prices of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, so highly valued by local investors earlier, suffered after the War. In 1866 Mayor Coltart went to Philadelphia with the city’s 1600 shares for sale hoping to

replenish the town's finances. The face value of \$25 per share did return 85 cents on the dollar. The new Huntsville Gas Light Company that had such good credit reports in 1860 was in 1868 simply rated "busted."⁶⁴³

Progress was being made slowly for some companies. By November 1865 the Memphis & Charleston Railroad reported the entire rail line operating except for the Decatur Bridge. Within a year the Northern Bank of Alabama reopened, J. J. Donegan, president. The Female College reopened in the fall of 1866, and the Female Seminary a little later.⁶⁴⁴

School and church buildings needed to be rebuilt. Fundraisers to benefit education in local communities included calico balls and tournaments. Although it was illegal to wear Confederate uniforms, veterans wore "costumes" that looked a lot like full Confederate regalia with plumed hats to compete in competitions of jousting and horsemanship: "The knights were riding for the rings the first day, and on the second they had sabre exercises. They were beautifully dressed.... Mr. Joe Bradley was champion.... The Florentines and Tuscumbians are going to have a Tournament next month." Huntsville's Grove Spring Tournament served as an eagerly anticipated annual summer social event for two days on Monte Sano for years.⁶⁴⁵



Many local men mentioned by Mrs. Chadick established leadership roles again. William Figures, next-door neighbor to the Chadicks, survived the War with Confederate contracts for printing and good management on his part. During the Federal occupation he was given, or forced to accept, Union printing jobs. Either way, Mr. Figures in 1865 managed to have a personal value of about \$20,000 according to his credit report. After the War he tactfully renamed his newspaper, the *Southern Advocate*, simply the *Huntsville Advocate*, "The Official Journal of the U.S. Government for the Northern District of Alabama." He also served as mayor two times during Reconstruction.⁶⁴⁶

Citizens of Madison County had elected Frank Gurley sheriff in late 1865 in spite of the fact that he had been sentenced to hang for the death of Gen. Robert McCook. However, the War Department now ordered Gurley arrested and prepared for his execution. Old acquaintances came to his aid. Nick Davis volunteered to defend him, and Joseph Bradley wrote letters to his friend, President Johnson. David Humphreys made trips to Washington and finally met with General Grant. Gurley's sentence was revoked, and he

was released in April 1866. He returned to Madison County and his many supporters, living to the age of 85.⁶⁴⁷

Former Secretary of War, Leroy Pope Walker, resumed his law practice in town and purchased the former Samuel Matthews' house on Patton's Hill in 1867. Perhaps his most famous legal case locally was the defense and acquittal of Frank James, accused of a bank robbery in Florence, Alabama. Walker's law partner, Robert C. Brickell, later became chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court.

Mrs. Chadick noted the marriage of Kate Lane to former Union Col. Robert Townes. This couple first settled in Illinois. In 1879 they moved to Athens, Alabama, and three of their five children were born there. Townes practiced law until he died of pneumonia in February 1890. Kate and her sons moved to Huntsville where she still had family. She died in 1919 and was buried beside her husband in the Athens City Cemetery.⁶⁴⁸ Perhaps no surprise to the community, Susan Bradley married Brevet Gen. Gilbert Johnson in June of 1866. He died in 1871 at the age of 33, of wounds received in the War.⁶⁴⁹

Not every Southern girl married a Yankee soldier met during occupations. In 1868 Juliet Elgin, who attended Chadick's church, married Thomas Duncan, a Southern soldier who had been stationed in town.⁶⁵⁰ However, Southern women faced another area of disquiet. Nearly a quarter of the Southern men of marriageable age had died in the conflict. A generation of Southern women would remain unmarried in the face of fewer choices. For instance, none of the two widowed and four single daughters at home with Mrs. Lewis married. They remained single serving as tutors and schoolteachers as did their four unmarried nieces, the daughters of John Withers and Mary Clay. Maria Howard Weeden and her sister remained single making a meager living with Howard's artistic talents and poetry writing ability.



Some families managed to maintain their standing and increase their financial position in the community; however, holding on to these often proved more difficult. By use of the federal censuses and the Dun credit rating, there are some figures available to compare economic success for a few of the citizens mentioned in the journal. For instance, William Powers, merchant and neighbor of the Chadicks, did not suffer financially as a result of the War. His worth in 1860 was estimated at \$15,000. In late 1865 his credit rating amounted to between \$25,000 and \$30,000; however, by 1870 his holdings were reported at about \$6800. (Two years after his death

in 1875, his widow, Tulliola, who had shared some bad moments with Mrs. Chadick, married wealthy merchant Thomas S. McCalley.)⁶⁵¹

Oliver Sledge and James Laurence Watkins managed to preserve and expand their assets. In 1866 they had ready cash to buy a commercial building on the South Side of the Square. In July 1866 their credit report noted they began business again as Sledge, Watkins & Co. and on a large scale. Sledge and Watkins “are monied men worth at least \$150,000 each.” Their new business concern was reported to be valued in 1866 at \$500,000, a considerable sum.⁶⁵²

Robert H. Herstein, one of several Jewish merchants forced out of town, returned from Baltimore to begin business again. His partnership with Robert Smith was described as reliable, solid and energetic.⁶⁵³ James Venable, owner of the Railroad Depot Hotel and Tavern, struggled before the War according to the credit reports, but by 1866 he was doing a large business and worth more than \$10,000.⁶⁵⁴

The new Huntsville Hotel, just completed in 1860, maintained its value of \$60,000 and survived with no outstanding debts. However, with the withdrawal of so many Federal men, military and civilian, by 1867 the hotel was ranked as doubtful. In 1873 Reuben Chapman purchased the property. Apparently cash was not a problem for him, as Chapman also purchased the home of former Governor Clay, “Clay Castle,” from Clement Clay, Jr., for \$10,000. Clay retired to the family plantation, Wildwood at Gurley, Alabama.⁶⁵⁵

John Vogel, whose wife died so tragically in the train collision, changed from selling candy and baked goods to selling boots and shoes after the War. He continued to work and in 1874 owned real estate and personal property and was known to be an honest and hardworking citizen.⁶⁵⁶ Grocer John Erwin, who passed through the Federal lines to do business in Nashville, continued to be successful. By 1866 he was worth

*Thomas
McCalley
House -
Occupied by
Federal
troops in
1865.
HMCPL.*





*Dr. Charles
Patton House
H.A.B.S., HMCPL.*

about \$10,000.⁶⁵⁷ The Rebmans, who tangled with the unruly Federal soldiers in their confectionery store, remained industrious and attentive to business, and were worth \$6000 by 1866.⁶⁵⁸



Generally plantation owners in the countryside suffered the greatest financial losses because their capital was in slave ownership and land improvement. But Reverend and Mrs. Chadick's friends and activities centered on town. They would have noticed the individuals who were succeeding and those less fortunate.

Matthew Steele, who had such great possibilities, suffered financially because of the War. Before he had worked as an architect and builder with his own a brickyard, a steam planing mill, real estate in town, six to eight slaves and was worth about \$16,000. In 1868 he was "not in business, very much embarrassed, very much in debt."⁶⁵⁹

Dr. Anthony, a man of fine ability, recovered with difficulty. At some point he transferred his house into his wife's name for financial reasons. Apparently another problem existed also. The Dun report for him in 1872 noted, "Think he is too fond of opium."⁶⁶⁰ Britain Franks, town constable, whose wife kept the boarding house, struggled to make ends meet. Although he was sober and reliable and owned some real estate by 1869, his credit report showed he was "slow to pay and much embarrassed."⁶⁶¹ By 1868 the unfortunate Jesse G. Jordan, who had lost his wife and son during this time, moved to Aberdeen, Mississippi. Before his death in 1877 he was insolvent and unable to give his daughter, Julia, her share of her mother's estate.⁶⁶²

After the War Joseph C. Bradley helped lead the community to financial recovery by assisting many of his neighbors prepare recommendations to the authorities for their pardon. Bradley sent proposals to both Gov. Parsons and President Johnson. But in these difficult times, he was unable to preserve his own financial holdings. Many in the community were unable to pay debts owed to Bradley; and although his company, not including property and real estate, had been valued at one million dollars, his business quickly suffered. Bradley's partner, Fackler, had died, and by 1867 Bradley was "insolvent paying only 25 cents on principle."⁶⁶³ By 1870 the Federal Census showed his financial worth as zero, totally bankrupt from his total worth of \$250,000 in 1860.

John G. Wilson, considered energetic and efficient as manager of the Female College, suffered dramatically from the effects of the War. In September 1866 he still owed on the notes of his mortgage. No one doubted his honesty, but the deficit remained and he was slow to pay. A Methodist preacher, "poor of course," his debts continued to mount. In 1868 Dun & Co. rated him as "Broke, but still carrying on the college." Later that same year he was in bankruptcy and managing the debts badly. By 1871 he was insolvent and salesmen were warned to only do business with him by C.O.D.⁶⁶⁴

Certainly these men were only the more notable cases. There were more men and women who owned so little it was not reported or noticed.

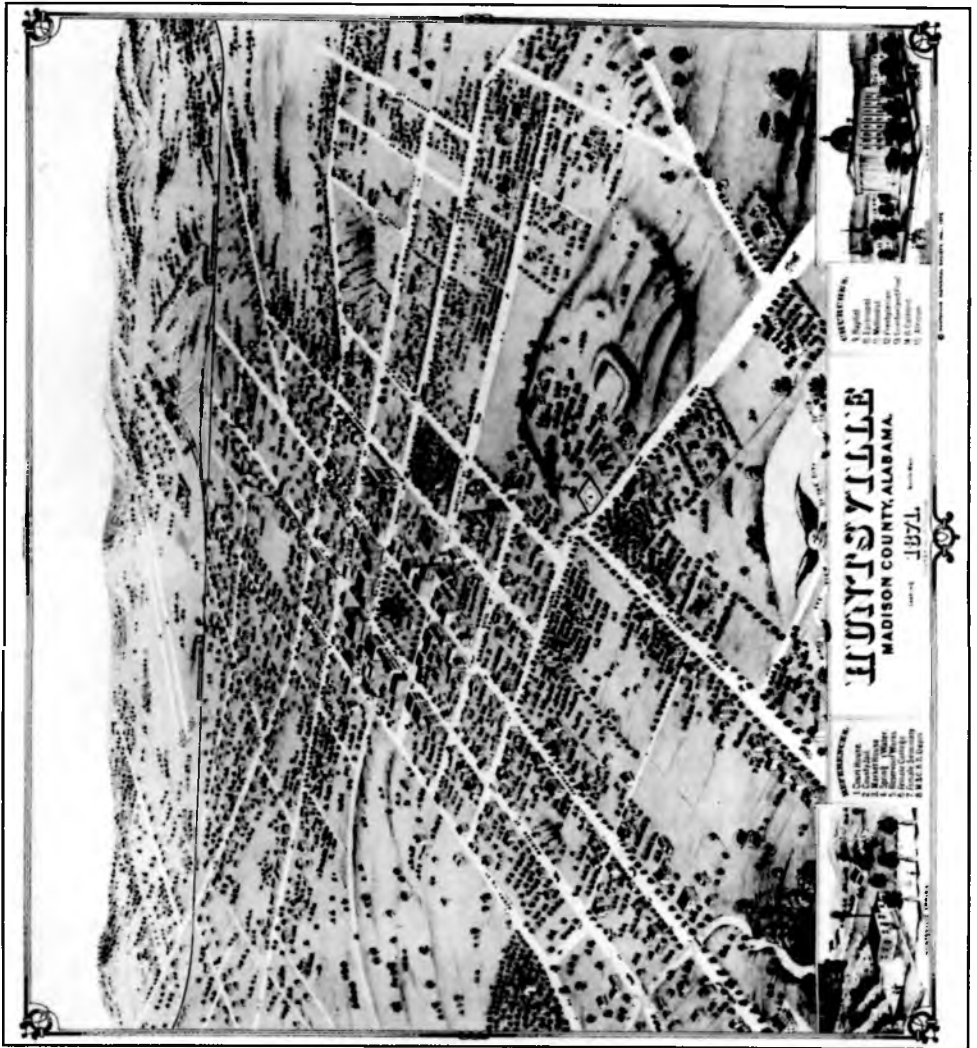


Some noteworthy men noted in the journal continued to attract attention—good or bad. General Joe Wheeler returned and married an Alabama widow. He served Alabama in Congress for eight terms after the War and then as a major general in the Spanish American War. Wheeler and Gen. Fitzhugh Lee were the only men to serve as a General in the armies of the Confederate States of America and the United States of America.

Lemuel Mead, for a while, enjoyed a prosperous law career and local politics in Scottsboro, Alabama. However, in the still unsettled times of 1878, Mead was killed by two shotgun blasts from an assailant while he and Frank Gurley were walking together in Gurley, Alabama. Mead's killer fled to Texas but was returned for trial. With the help of his defense attorney, Leroy Pope Walker, the man was found not guilty because Mead was also armed.⁶⁶⁵

Kinch Britt, the despised traitor who was killed at the incident at Forrestfield Plantation, left a young widow and son. Louisa (Bradley) Britt realized she and her stepson, Jim S. Britt, were total outcasts. She saw her

Bird's eye view map of Huntsville
- 1871, post Civil War: HMCPL.



opportunity and escaped the hard feelings of the community. She cruelly abandoned the boy to become a ward of the county. In 1931 Jim Britt, 72, died; he was the first, the longest, and last resident of the Madison County Poor House.⁶⁶⁶

Yankee Col. John Horner, the provost marshal, moved with his family to Chetopa, Labette County, Kansas. There he established a newspaper in 1869 and lived with his wife, daughter, Alice (likely the “grum” infant Mrs. Chadick held), and an infant.

Many citizens of the Tennessee Valley might have felt a certain satisfaction to know that the hated Gen. Basil Turchin died in 1901 in the Southern Illinois Hospital of Insane.⁶⁶⁷ General James Abram Garfield, who served on Turchin’s court-martial board, survived the War and became the 20th President of the United States, only to be killed by an assassin.

Emil Frey, while still a Swiss citizen, had marched into Athens and Huntsville with the 24th Illinois Volunteer Regiment on April 11, 1862. He astutely observed that a mania for activity swept the army: “Ambition as Satan rides through our camps and takes possession of our generals and colonels and majors. Each wants to perform a feat, and be it only the capture of one man or taking of one flint-lock gun. It is considered an act of bravery to have shot a Southern gentleman off his horse or off a locomotive.” A humble man and unsure of himself in this setting, Frey was embarrassed that his orderly, a contraband, called himself Tom Frey.⁶⁶⁸ Emil Frey had had enough of army life in America and returned home. There he entered politics and later became the first President of the Swiss Confederation in 1894.

Colonel William Lyon, who Mrs. Chadick noted as their best Union friend, may well have saved Huntsville from the flames in December 1864. He continued to serve the Union army, fighting mosquitoes and malaria in Texas. Later, on the occasion of delivering an oration at Oakhill Cemetery in Wisconsin, he spoke for all who had survived the preceding four years. He first gave honor to the fallen soldiers. He then spoke about the obligations to the living: “The dead are at rest, but the living, who have been bereft of their stay and support, have yet to suffer and mourn. Upon the brave hearts and strong arms of these men, aged parents, loving wives, and helpless children leaned and relied. The strong arms are nerveless, the brave hearts have ceased to beat, and parent, wife and child are treading the dark pathway of life in sorrow and alone. They need our warmest sympathy....” Many needed financial support also: “It is our duty and our high privilege to give them both. They have suffered much.”⁶⁶⁹ One feels the Colonel did his part. Judge Lyon and his wife, the intrepid traveler Adelia, were well and living in Eden Vale, California in 1907.



Mary Jane Cook Chadick's kinfolk remained in Lebanon, Tennessee, where the family was generally regarded as substantial and influential citizens. For a while Mrs. Chadick's brother, Clark Cook, had worked as a sutler selling supplies to the soldiers during the War. For a brief time in 1864 he tried a different lifestyle and clerked in a drug store in New York City. In early 1865 he returned and clerked for his brother, David, in Nashville. Later that year Clark Cook, with a business partner, opened a dry goods and grocery store in Lebanon. They were able to bring the first goods brought into that town after the War, likely because of his brother's connections in Nashville. He also farmed, married and raised a family in Wilson County.⁶⁷⁰

Her brother, George Warren Cook, died on January 10, 1862, and was buried in Lebanon. The timing certainly suggested death due to activity in the War, but if so, which side he served on is not mentioned. (Mrs. Chadick did not mention her brothers Pardon—who died serving with the Federal army, George, or Clark in her journal.) George left a wife (who later remarried) and two children, George W. Cook, Jr., and Alice Cook in Tennessee.⁶⁷¹

In 1869 Julia Jones, who had accompanied young Davie Chadick to Huntsville, purchased the Masonic Hall in Lebanon with her father, David Cook, Sr. This building had been the first site of the local Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the first classroom for what later became Cumberland University. It now became Mrs. Jones' School for "small boys and girls." She died about 1896. Little is known about the other sisters. Clara Cook Stockton died in September 1890 in Lebanon. Sister Hannah Cook King lived in Charleston, South Carolina, and was alive in 1899.⁶⁷²

The 1870 Census shows that David Cook, Jr., returned to Lebanon and was living at home again with his father and mother. His assets were listed at \$55,000, no small amount considering the times. David Cook, Jr., continued as a druggist with a drug store in the more modern sense. His stock included books and stationery, tobacco, garden seeds and the like. Not involved in military action during the War, he had a few skirmishes with the local law agents later. On one occasion as a druggist, he issued a customer a prescription for a pint of whiskey, and it was known that Dr. Cook would give such prescriptions for almost anyone who asked. David was also indicted for betting on a political election. Otherwise, he was considered a valued citizen and was active as a Mason. At his death in 1872 David Cook, Jr., was able to leave an annuity of \$2000 to his parents.⁶⁷³

Mrs. Chadick's mother, Mary Colburn Cook, died in Lebanon at the age of 77 on Nov. 27, 1876. Her father, David Cook, Sr., 83, died two years later. They were buried at Cedar Grove Cemetery with three of their sons and two daughters. The mayor gave the eulogy for David Cook, Sr., with warm tributes. Cook had been known for his clear sound judgment, his moral upright walk, and his active industrious life. The mayor requested businesses of the city be closed for four hours in Cook's honor.⁶⁷⁴



In Huntsville the rebuilding continued. Not only were buildings in disrepair, most organizations were financially ruined. Dr. Ross discovered that debt for their fine-looking new Presbyterian Church was \$27,000—double the amount of the first subscription. Moreover the congregation was simply unable to raise the amount due during these hard times. Elder Sidney Mayhew wrote many years later that time had “dimmed the handsomest building; a storm overturned the tallest spire; the biggest bell...became cracked and its metal...melted into cannons; the finest organ is finest no longer...the richest bronze chandeliers...were turned over as scrap metal; and the highest priced pews have become ashamed of their arrogance.”⁶⁷⁵

The congregation of the burned-out First Methodist Church also began anew. Under the leadership of Rev. Thomas Moody, rubbish was cleared from the property and rebuilding began slowly. The new sanctuary was dedicated in June 1874. The Episcopal Church of the Nativity did house Federal troops but fortunately not their horses according to tradition. Mrs. Chadick recorded that the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, occupied by the soldiers, had been left with broken windows, a leaking roof and floorboards carried away. The financially ruined congregation appeared unable to improve the dilapidated condition of the building. Mary Jane and other members begged money to purchase stoves and start repairs. For a time, Reverend Chadick assumed his church duties without pay. But he had a large family to support, and he finally advised the membership to call Rev. M. B. DeWitt to the pulpit because DeWitt had no family.⁶⁷⁶



Mary Jane Chadick never wrote again in that particular journal, although there were empty pages. Perhaps it would have been too painful. Many years later, when asked by the church historians, she wrote about life with

her husband. Her “Reminiscences” offered hints of their next years together

Reverend W. D. Chadick had returned to Huntsville on May 26, 1865. He was a worn 48 years old, with a wife and eight children to support. The community, still occupied by victorious soldiers and freed slaves, was filled with dissention, anger and hostility, and little means to survive. The four older Chadick children were considered adults, but with little real education or training. Sue was 22 and Jennie 21. Both girls had tutored in the community and briefly taught school. Willie, 19, the seeming free spirit of the family, had no real education or skills. Before joining Jordan’s Life Guards, Eddie worked in the bakery and clerked at Mr. Hereford’s store for a brief time. He had been sent to the Ohio prison camp, and returned at the end of the War at the age of 17. In different ways both boys had been on their own, and it would be difficult to settle down to the old family routine. Of the younger children Georgie was 15, Clara, 12, Davie, 9, and Mary, 6.

Perhaps no surprise to readers of the journal was the marriage of the eldest girl, Susan Elizabeth, to former Captain Fordyce of Ohio. He wrote in his autobiography, “I was in the Federal service during the War and have been in the Confederate ever since.”⁶⁷⁷ Fordyce certainly proved to be exciting to trace. Their life together was perhaps the most prosperous of all the family and is well worth the telling.

Samuel Wesley Fordyce was born February 7, 1840, the second oldest son in a family of eleven in Senecaville, Ohio. His childhood was not marked by the signs that might have indicated the trailblazer he would become. In fact he was considered to be one of the worst boys in town. Mrs. Gibbons, a neighbor, predicted he would be hung before he reached 21. He began school at the age of four and always was in trouble. The whippings he received produced welts that lasted months. At sixteen he went to the Methodist College at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, but was expelled for taking a fireplace poker away from his schoolmaster. It did not help that the master was going to punish Fordyce with it, and he knocked the teacher down. In disgrace Fordyce returned home to be admitted at Northern Illinois University.⁶⁷⁸

With the outbreak of war Fordyce, 21, offered to raise a company of cavalry that led to the formation of the 1st Ohio Volunteer Cavalry. Those twelve companies trained at Camp Chase, a location young Eddie Chadick became familiar with later. Fordyce was a member of the cavalry attacking Winchester, Tennessee, as Sue Chadick fled Mary Sharp College. His men had fired into the caboose of the train as she and other students left the station.⁶⁷⁹

If Mrs. Chadick's account in the journal of October 1863 about the events when Sue shot herself in the hand seems stilted, there were apparently different versions of the story later. Mr. Fordyce always said he was not in command of the Northern Cavalrymen trying to capture Colonel Chadick that day. Like the gentleman he was, Fordyce never said what he saw or did, or even if he was actually there when the event occurred.⁶⁸⁰

Clearly the romance between Sue and Samuel had already begun in Huntsville, but Fordyce, like many men, first tried business ventures to advance his prospects before settling down. In partnership with a friend, he first opened a commission house in Savannah in September of 1865. The two men, along with an ex-Confederate associate, chartered a broken-down schooner in New York that they loaded with cotton, hides, and turpentine from the backcountry and sold. The two netted about \$90,000 but lost much of that when the new associate wrecked the ship on a trip to Havana without them. The partners next opened a small hardware store in Minneapolis in the early spring of 1866. However, Fordyce returned to Huntsville because he said, "affairs of the heart know no North or South."

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On May 1, 1866, Samuel Fordyce and Susan Chadick married. The long-time Chadick family friend, Rev. M. B. DeWitt, performed the ceremony in Huntsville. Not only were some local acquaintances dismayed at the marriage, but Susan's aunt, Jane Fulton in Fayetteville, turned the pictures of Confederate heroes to the wall when she heard that Susan had married a Yankee. The couple went to Ohio to meet his family and then to Niagara Falls. They visited in Minneapolis and from there hired a carriage and toured to the very edge of the hostile Sioux country before returning.⁶⁸²

The Fordyces settled in Huntsville, and he decided that those who thought poorly of Sue for marrying a Yankee would just have to be won over. He also found many friends, former foes, who remembered his acts of kindness



*Susan Elizabeth Chadick Fordyce-
circa 1865. Fordyce Family*

while he had been stationed there. During the War Fordyce often had obtained food from the army commissary for families with no food and sickness in the house.⁶⁸³

He entered the banking business with John Rison who had been a bookkeeper at the old Northern Bank of Alabama. Fordyce furnished most of the capital of about \$50,000. At first few townspeople banked with them, choosing to go with the completely Southern owned National Bank. As he told the story, Fordyce threw out a rude Inspector for the Internal Revenue Service who cursed and swore at him about releasing customer information. The Inspector next asked a United States Marshall to collect the books and papers of the Bank. Fordyce threatened to open fire on anyone with the Inspector who set foot inside the Bank, and he proposed to die right there defending the rights of the Bank and his customers. Meanwhile the Inspector fined customers at the National Bank for various violations after seeing their records. Subsequently, business at Rison and Fordyce's bank picked up with depositors who wanted to do business with men who would protect them and their accounts. Fordyce was later taken to court, defended by Leroy Pope Walker and his brother Richard Walker, and acquitted. Deposits at the Bank really began to increase as citizens made a hero of him for winning against the Federal government.⁶⁸⁴

Fordyce purchased a house and acreage in March of 1867 about four miles from town. He bought the property of the unfortunate widower Jesse Jordan who then left for Aberdeen, Mississippi, with the remaining members of his family. Trying to use the example of Northerners' farms that he was familiar with, Fordyce stocked a more select variety of cattle, hogs, and poultry than traditional Southern farmers maintained. Personally Fordyce found it offensive that many of his investors were moneyed men who hired blacks to do all their farm labor. He felt they thought it beneath them to work or to associate with the small-time white farmers—it was not dignified. With this in mind, in 1870 he helped organize the 1st Huntsville Agriculture Fair and Mechanical Association, a county fair. Fordyce was elected president.⁶⁸⁵

Unfortunately the first Fordyce baby, Mary Alice, who was born in November of 1867, died in June of 1869. The next child, John Rison was born November 7, 1869, at the house on Madison Pike.⁶⁸⁶ As business at the bank picked up, the young couple moved to town and lived in the former Chadick house on Randolph Street with the baby by 1870. Fordyce served as a member of the Democratic State Central Committee in 1874. That he was not a Republican served him well in those Reconstruction days. Three more children were born to them—William Chadick and Jane in Huntsville and later Samuel Wesley Fordyce, Jr., in Arkansas.

In the autumn of 1872 Fordyce suffered again from his old War injuries and seemed to be in constant pain, his weight down to 120 pounds. Under advice from his doctors who suggested he only had six months to live, Fordyce went to “take” the waters at Hot Springs, Arkansas, in April of 1873. He was so ill that he rode in the train car on a pallet and the last 25 miles into the town by the only available means: propped up by pillows in a stagecoach. Once there he recovered in a second-rate hotel that had meager supplies because everything had to be hauled into the village from Little Rock over 60 miles away. He made a second trip, again for his health, in 1874. Still not a well man, Fordyce recognized the effect of the waters and the climate. He decided to sell out his interests in Huntsville and move in January of 1876 with his family to Hot Springs. Many tears were shed at leaving the Huntsville family and friends.⁶⁸⁷

Fordyce discovered on his previous visits to Hot Springs the healing value of the Springs but the inaccessibility of getting people or supplies there. He invested and rebuilt the major hotel, Arlington House, and created Fordyce Bath Houses. At the same time he began building a railroad to bring people and supplies there. He became involved with public utilities so needed in this mainly rural state. The county seat for the newly formed Dallas County became Fordyce, Arkansas. He helped establish Hot Springs National Park and the Army-Navy Hospital there. He continued to spread his interests and eventually “promoted, financed, and built over 10,000 miles of railroads in the southwest.” His many pursuits led him to mingle with industrial giants such as Jay Gould, Harriman, and Carnegie. Fordyce declined to be minister to Russia when asked to by his friend, President McKinley.⁶⁸⁸

An older Fordyce, who as a young man had fought in the mud at Shiloh and spent the night between the furrows in a cornfield with broken ribs after the battle at Murfreesboro, donated money for Civil War monuments for both President Lincoln and President Davis. The Fordyces raised the four children in Little Rock. (Jane Fordyce later married Col. David Sheridan Stanley, son of Gen. David S. Stanley who commanded the forces that had invaded Huntsville again in 1863.) Many years later Fordyce wrote, “To my mind, as it should be, this dear girl was then and is now one of the loveliest women in the world. For more than 53 years we have enjoyed a happy life together.” The Fordyces maintained the house at Little Rock and one in St. Louis, Missouri. They were in St. Louis when Samuel Fordyce died in 1919 and was buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery. Susan Chadick Fordyce died in 1935 and was buried beside him.⁶⁸⁹



If the young Fordyces quickly prospered, the Chadicks seemed to slowly struggle. Reverend Chadick and Mary Jane tried to rebuild their lives in Huntsville, as they had known it. Nevertheless the Cumberland Presbyterian Church found itself unable to pay for the services of a minister with a large family to support. The congregation took up Chadick's suggestion and hired Brother DeWitt as their pastor. Having no alternative he thought, Rev. Chadick went into the grocery business in 1866 while still preaching each Sunday at the church in Meridianville. At first the store showed promise and did good business. But by July of 1867 Chadick was out of business and "much in debt." In February 1867 Reverend Chadick and his family had moved to a plantation of 320 acres nine miles north of town on Meridianville Pike. He was able to put down 1/3 of the amount due of \$8990. Mrs. Chadick noted the purchase was "in company" with Fordyce.⁶⁹⁰

Because the rural site was "unhealthy and the family all contracting chills," the Chadicks did not stay long. Perhaps to remain would have been too heart-breaking. While there, the youngest of the children, Mary Stokely Chadick, the "song bird" of the family, died at the age of eight in July of 1867. Her mother said, "She was a remarkable child having a wonderful talent for music.... Her lovely disposition too gave promise of a character as sweet and attractive as the music of which she was so passionately fond. She died of a congestive chill after an illness of only two days. Her death was a great shock to every member of the family, but seemed to be particularly so to her father, and I do not think, that he ever fully recovered from it. He was wont to say that 'he had a mocking bird in Heaven.'" ⁶⁹¹

Reverend Chadick now ministered to the Meridianville church and the one at Fayetteville, Tennessee, 18 miles to the north; however, the cares and worries of the plantation left him little time for his real calling. He said, "I am heartily tired of this; no man can successfully preach the Gospel, and at the same time attempt to make a living some other way, and I have promised the Lord that if he will open up the way for me, I will henceforth, wholly devote myself to his service." He soon received a request from the church at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, where the members unanimously "called" him to serve their congregation in December of 1867.⁶⁹²

The family was cordially welcomed there and made new friends. The active congregation supported a Sabbath school and prayer meetings as well as the Sunday service. And, most importantly, the board members "paid their Pastor's salary regularly and promptly." For the three years they were there the ladies of the church saw to it that, "on every Thanksgiving morning, a wagon came to the back gate, loaded with venison and grocery supplies to last several weeks."⁶⁹³

While in Murfreesboro their friend, Brother Provine, asked Reverend Chadick to help with a revival in McMinnville, Tennessee. The revival was so successful that the congregation then “called” Reverend Chadick. The family left with regret, but they settled in a pleasant home in the lovely mountain town. The location was healthy and in the summer served as a resort “for men and women of refinement and culture, so that our association here were of a very pleasant character.” Soon a new ambitious church site and building program were underway. Although Reverend Chadick cautioned the congregation about the debt owed for such plans, the building project had to be suspended. He offered to resign so that a “cheaper man” could be in his place and they could pay off the debt.⁶⁹⁴

While in McMinnville, the second Chadick daughter, Jennie, married a local lawyer, William V. Whitson. In 1873 the couple “married only 18 short months, when Death, who it is said ‘loves a shining mark’ claimed her for his own. She was a noble sympathetic and lovely character—brilliant and attractive and greatly beloved by all who knew her personally—this left another sad vacancy in the family circle.” Mrs. Chadick wrote, “her remains were latter taken up and carried to Huntsville and laid beside her little sister Mary, whom she loved so much.” In her memoirs Mrs. Chadick could not bring herself to write all the words on Jennie’s tombstone: “Her infant son rests with her.”⁶⁹⁵

This seemed like a good time to answer the “call” from a church in Chattanooga and they moved again the next spring, 1874.⁶⁹⁶ The church there had been rather unfortunate in one or two instances in their choice of a pastor and had gradually declined in membership. The building needed repairs and there was no organist to accompany the choir. Their daughter, Clara, who had been in Huntsville with the Fordyces, was invited to come and take charge of the music. Soon the congregation increased and the building was filled with joyful praise again. Among the new members were young men of good standing in the community, and one, W. L. Gillespie, courted Clara. The young couple were married and proved to be a great comfort to the Chadicks.

Unfortunately in the spring of 1877 Rev. Chadick was violently thrown from his horse, striking the end of his spine on a rock. He apparently recovered, but continued to suffer with back pains. Even after taking a vacation he was unable to walk to the church on some days, and his doctor suggested a trip to Hot Springs to visit with the Fordyces. However returning to Chattanooga, Reverend Chadick seemed no better. A leave of absence from his church duties took them back to McMinnville and serenity in the fresh mountain air with old acquaintances. Although he rested, Reverend Chadick never really recovered. Confined to bed, family

members, including Mrs. Chadick's father and two sisters, came to visit fearing the worst. He began to fail rapidly and on the night of September 4, 1878, William Davidson Chadick passed away peacefully and quietly at the home of their friend, Mrs. Meade. Because of fear of the yellow fever epidemic, Mrs. Chadick chose to bury Reverend Chadick, with Masonic honors, among friends of many years at Riverside Cemetery in McMinnville, Tennessee. His tombstone reads, "In labors abundant." One of his fellow-preachers said of Reverend Chadick, "He was as logical as Paul, fearless as Peter, and loving as John."⁶⁹⁷

After the yellow fever subsided and it was safe to travel, Mary Jane Chadick visited her father's home in Lebanon, Tennessee, for the winter. Most of her remaining siblings were there. Mrs. Chadick returned to McMinnville in the spring and made her home with her daughter Clara Gillespie. The next winter she visited with the Fordyces in Hot Springs for the season. Clara joined them there, enjoying the baths. Unfortunately in July, Clara Chadick Gillespie developed a severe cold and never recovered. She lived until April of 1882, and knowing death was imminent, she asked her sister, Sue, to care for her little Janie as her own. Clara, 29, was buried beside her father. Mrs. Chadick wrote, "She was a beautiful and accomplished woman and a lovely Christian character and her loss can never be replaced." Clara's only child, Jane, was raised with the Fordyce children. Jane Gillespie later married Tom H. Cunningham, and they lived in Chatham, Washington.⁶⁹⁸

Charles William (Willie) Chadick, the independent stepson, remained in the Tennessee Valley and made a comfortable place in the community. In 1870 he was in Morgan County, working as a merchant. In November of 1872 he married Charlotte Clarinda Bell, daughter of Elisha and Sarah Bell from New Hope. By 1880 Willie, his wife, and their first two sons were living in Madison where he was a dry goods clerk. Some time after that they moved to the rural community of Taylorsville near Whitesburg where he became a farmer. The couple had five more children. Willie must have had a genuine affection for his father's family and that of Sam Fordyce. The choice of names for their children is very telling—Edwin Davis, Francis Bell, Samuel Fordyce Bell, William Davidson, Isaac Stokley, Sophie Christine, and Charles Paul Chadick.⁶⁹⁹

Willie Chadick died in December of 1902, "a prominent citizen...a good citizen, deeply mourned." This was a sad time, his son Samuel Fordyce Bell Chadick had died earlier in October of that same year. The only record of Willie's children who could be identified locally was a marriage between F. B. Chadick and Etna Dunlop on October 18, 1899.⁷⁰⁰ This son, Francis or Frank, later moved to Texas. Perhaps still displaced by

the War, this generation of children seemed unable to find a place for themselves in Alabama.

Unlike their father, most of these grandchildren of the Chadicks moved westward. Young Edwin Davis, the oldest of Willie's sons, served as a railroad agent in Beaumont, Texas in 1900. He married twice and had by his first wife two sons, Aubrey and Joseph VanRonkel Chadick. Edwin died in New Orleans in 1919.⁷⁰¹

When Willie Chadick died in 1902 his son, William Davidson, apparently assumed leadership of the family. About 1910 this young W. D. Chadick moved with his mother, Charlotte, and his younger siblings, Isaac, Sophie Christine, and Charles Paul, to Mercedes in Hidalgo County of the Rio Grande Valley of Texas. Older brother, Frank, joined them later. There the family continued to mix and move around. Sophie Christy and Frank were enumerated together in Galveston County, Texas, by 1920, associated with a cotton firm. Christy, as she was called, married A. M. Cain. Isaac located in Hidalgo County by 1920 where he was a farm foreman.⁷⁰²

These family groupings may have centered around their brother, William Davidson, who had become very successful. Between raising cattle and cotton farming, he never had less than 5000 acres a season in production. He served at least eight years as County Commissioner of Hidalgo County. He also became director of the largest cotton gin and buyers combine in the area. The children's mother, Charlotte Bell Chadick, died in 1912 and her body was returned to Madison County. She was buried beside her husband at Ebenezer Presbyterian Church Cemetery on Hobbs Island Road. Frank, Isaac Stokley, Charles Paul and W. D. Chadick are buried at Ebony Grove Cemetery, Mercedes, Texas.⁷⁰³

Edwin (Eddie) Davis Chadick, who in Huntsville had joined Jordan's Life Guards at 15, continued to seek a faster-paced life. Edwin married in Brooklyn, New York, on November 5, 1874, Sophie Rose Groschel of Luzerne, Switzerland. She was a concert pianist, and according to family tradition, was the first female piano soloist with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. Edwin had been living in Denison, Texas, and was a cotton commission merchant there. Their son, William Hegar Chadick, was born in 1878 in Brooklyn, and the 1880 New York census listed Edwin as residing in Brooklyn with his wife, Sophie, and young son. They moved for a time to Denison, Texas, where Edwin was associated with the railroad. Edwin was considered quite adept at handling finances, but according to family stories, Sophie's investments performed so well the local bank borrowed money from her. His business activities grew, and Edwin summoned his half-brothers, George and David, to join him in Texas. However, Sophie really did not care to live in the west and she

returned to New York. She and his son, except for one visit by the boy, stayed at the homestead in Suffern, New York.

About 1885, while hunting with a group of financiers in the Choctaw Nation, Edwin Chadick became interested in the fine grade coal deposits and high-level iron ore of Pittsburg County. He also noted the lack of railroads necessary to transport these minerals. As a result he formed the Choctaw Coal & Railway Company with headquarters in South McAlester, a town he founded. In 1902 Edwin informed his household back east that he was going to England on business. Although his son later spent considerable sums of money with the Pinkerton Agency to locate him, Edwin disappeared. Apparently Edwin remained in Oklahoma, because he was listed in the McAlester City Directory in 1907. A city recreation area there is named Chadick Park. He did reappear once in 1917 in New York City at his lawyer's office. In the meantime, his wife, Sophie, moved to upstate New York with their son. Sophie Chadick was enumerated in Rockland County, New York, age 63, in 1910. She died in 1934. Edwin Chadick's family treasures a story of a very elderly, chauffeured man visiting and walking the grounds of the Suffern homestead in 1947.⁷⁰⁴

The eldest of Rev. Chadick and Mary Jane's four children was George Colburn Chadick, born c1850. Mrs. Chadick does not mention him in her recollections except on one occasion, and apparently they were not in close touch with one another. He was able to travel to McMinnville when the news came of his father's anticipated death in 1878; his half-brothers, Willie and Ed, or his brother, David, did not attend.⁷⁰⁵ However, George and his younger brother had gone west at the urging of their half-brother, Edwin. The first notations in the Federal census about George located him boarding and single in Morris County in northern Texas in the years 1900 and 1910. In 1920, about 70 years old, he was still there with a wife and son, George, Jr.

David Cook Chadick, the child separated from the family for the first of the War years, also left few references to follow. He was located in Hot Springs, Garland County, Arkansas, single and working as a clerk in 1880.

Little Mary Chadick, "The Light of our home," had already died in 1867 at the age of eight before the Chadicks left Huntsville. She was buried at Maple Hill Cemetery. Beside her is baby Mary Alice Fordyce, "our first born," who died of acute enteritis.⁷⁰⁶

An Ending

If the Southern men returned broken and crushed from the effects of the last years, Mrs. Chadick and many women of the South certainly had suffered as well. None of them would ever be the same again. Although not Southern born, Mary Jane Chadick was strongly aligned with those who offered their allegiance to the Cause. At the start of the War Mrs. Chadick, and ladies like her, generally supervised the work of their slaves and did not participate in the kitchen or nursery drudgery. Privileged Southern women were enabled to enjoy leisure time, reading or visiting, because slaves performed the basic housework chores. Moreover until the War began, Southern men offered women their protection—physical, emotional and financial. In effect the “helplessness” of women had been glorified. As a result, generally speaking, women were less valued than men. The myth of feminine helplessness existed, but the price had been dear. Many women were left with few resources and skills to cope.

The American Civil War forced on Southern women the necessity of learning to perform duties and replacing the men and servants who were unavailable. While he was home, Mrs. Chadick and the children always abided by Reverend Chadick’s decisions. There was only one occasion when she wrote that she thought it unwise, in that case to leave town in July of 1863. In his absence she faced issues and decisions about money, selling the house, whether the children should go or stay, threats of the town set afire, and the dreaded Yankee boarders. However anxious she was, Mary Jane Chadick did the best she could.

Clearly Mrs. Chadick and the children began making the necessary adjustments. In February 1864 she noted the servants were eager to wait on the Yankee boarders, but none had started the family’s morning fires. She and the children would have to dress in unheated rooms in the morning cold. As the slaves continued to leave, Mrs. Chadick was the only one who knew how to prepare the biscuits for breakfast. The older girls began to iron and clean the house. Unfortunately, even with two teen-aged boys in the house, she had to hire someone to chop the firewood. By August of 1864 she and her sister and the older girls “resolved to put shoulder to the wheel and get things straight.” Mrs. Chadick, as she sat down to work on her embroidery that evening, exclaimed she had nearly scrubbed the skin off her fingers.

Mrs. Chadick was a lady of her age. She exercised decorum and self-control in the face of what the world had now violently thrust upon her family and neighbors. However, a belligerent face was not hers—it would be in bad taste. Moreover she did not appear to be filled with hatred or vengeance toward the occupying soldiers. The Southerners were God’s chosen ones, and like Job, they were being severely tested. Perhaps the

failures of the Cause were a warning to rid themselves of wickedness. As the days passed the cold contemptuous silence she might have shown her enemies *became replaced* with the realization of necessity. It would be she who accepted reality; there were no choices.

Critical money concerns had not appeared serious for the family during the War years. For instance Mrs. Chadick was able to buy a new hoop skirt and have her hat altered to the latest fashionable “waterfall” style. However, ready cash or an income of some kind became a deepening concern. She sold butter, although her neighbor, Mrs. Weaver, probably continued to milk the cow. In the past sewing for upper class women was likely to be mending or “fancy work”—adding braid and embroidery to clothing—but now Mrs. Chadick proudly wrote she had sold, for \$1.50, a newly fashioned bridal pincushion. She made black cloth gaiters for sale in the country. She sold vegetables and milk to Yankee soldiers, and as spring arrived the family planted peas, radishes, lettuce and potatoes. With God’s help the corn would survive. But she knew they would still have to hire a man to seriously tend the garden. Former slaves came looking for domestic work and a white girl, likely in from the starving countryside, came in to ask for work.

During the War, however, the fear of violence had not decreased as more soldiers occupied town. For instance a black soldier fired his weapon at the family dog in their very own back yard where the children and a slave were present. Four soldiers burgled a servant’s room at night and stole food. Other soldiers, allegedly searching for weapons, ransacked the house and stole provisions. In spite of the reassurances by the Federal officers, the threat of danger was always present.

Added to the daily anxiety and perils of warfare, Mary Jane Chadick dared to jeopardize her own welfare and safety and that of the children. For instance Mrs. Chadick showed great forethought and courage to attempt to stall the Federal men as they looked for her husband, giving him time to escape and hide in the Mayhew basement. On other occasions, at risk to herself, she smuggled items of clothing, canned oysters, silk handkerchiefs and a bottle of homemade wine, under her hoop skirt. She left the younger children with their older siblings, and bravely crossed the Tennessee River in an open canoe on at least two occasions. Once there she, most unladylike, rode double behind her husband on horseback. Moreover, it is likely she shared with him information about the enemy troops stationed in Huntsville. She was well aware of and wrote clearly about the number of soldiers garrisoned in town and their preparations. It seems only reasonable that she would tell Colonel Chadick this news when she visited him. If caught by the Federal officials under these circumstances, she could be considered a spy.

The reader may perceive a certain amount of stiffness in Mrs. Chadick; after all, she had spent some years of her childhood in the North. However Mrs. Chadick's writing was not always formal or fearful as she took time to record moments of droll diversions. Her sense of humor appeared with the description of the "horse panic" in town and that Richmond had been taken again. She noted that Mrs. Turchin's refusal to exchange visits with the conquered ladies of Athens "smacked of good taste." She, and probably others in town, enjoyed the play on the names of the Federal officers, Little Jackey Horner, and Colonels Dolittle and Do-much, and Colonel Fish who was becoming a shark. She really enjoyed the practical jokes she played on the children and the April Fool's Day joke on her neighbors.

By January 1864 Mrs. Chadick had decided to treat kindly the family of a Federal officer she was being forced to board in her home. At some point she must have realized the necessity to accept what was in fact a reality. These unwanted guests, in turn, repaid the Chadick household with kindness by bringing food and medical supplies from the commissary to them. She commented that her later boarders were gentlemanly men and gave as little trouble as possible. They also, in return, gave the family provisions. She acknowledged she would miss them. She called some of them her friends, a strong statement considering all they had been through. Certainly there was no hostility displayed when she described the letters and visits from Samuel Fordyce, the ex-Yankee officer who courted Sue. Moreover the death of Yankee soldiers occasioned her to write with sympathy at their death and the loss for their families back home. She showed compassion to the wife of the Yankee minister, Mrs. Foote, in the loss of her 18-month-old child. As much as she disliked Yankee Colonel Horner, her greatest moment, perhaps, was trying to wheedle a smile from the Horner's baby while she held him on her lap.

The threat of violent destruction of town and personal confrontation became replaced over time with a softening of Mrs. Chadick's attitude during every day activities. Her early emotional extremes ranging from anger and hope seemingly lessened to indignation and hopelessness. Finally her account spoke of little more than mundane daily events and waiting. The sentiment that seems to slip in, even though she tried to be patient, was her feeling for her husband, Reverend Chadick. She yearned for the pleasure of writing a letter that would be uncensored. After all he was, she said, her best friend, and she delighted in receiving his mail. When she wrote, she never knew if he received the letter or how many of his letters never reached her and the family at Huntsville. The months of separation were made worse because of the unknown. "She was heartsick and yearning for news" Where was W. D.? Was he alive, wounded, or

worse yet lying dead somewhere? The months of separation were intensified because of the unknown. “The greater burden of war was borne not by the ragged followers of Lee and Johnston, but by the poor wives and mothers at home who strove valiantly to provide a livelihood for their dependents... Those humble women who did remain steadfast in labor and loyalty to the end—and their number was considerable—were indeed the greatest heroes of the Lost Cause.”⁷⁰⁷

The journal became a running account of families still prominent in the life of Huntsville. The early pioneers who founded a hamlet first called Twickenham could little have visualized the future and what Huntsville might become. The descendants of these people, many of whom were within Madison County for the period of Incidents of the War, suffered untold daily calamities that Mrs. Chadick only hinted at. However, it was many of these same people who remained to build together for the future. Although some moved away, a core of people remained to rebuild. It might have been easier to flee and start anew somewhere else, but they chose to rebuild together. Six and seven generations later descendants quietly go about the business of maintaining the town nestled at the foothill of Monte Sano, the sense of community and togetherness has prevailed.

Readers of the journal suggested that Mrs. Chadick was unaware that she wrote for posterity. She never appeared to try to sway any reader’s opinion of the events, she just wrote. As the journal came to a close, change was at hand, literally. There was little money and no hope of obtaining any except by their own hands and actions. In spite of the fact that the Chadick family did not really know how, these hands began to cook, sew, and plant the seeds. They would harvest something.

Mary Jane Cook Chadick died October 28, 1905, at the age of 87 at the Fordyce home in St. Louis after an illness of some weeks.⁷⁰⁸ She had out-lived her husband by 27 years but joined him and their daughter, Clara, at Riverside Cemetery in McMinnville, Tennessee.

In 1855 when the family moved here, Mary Jane Chadick saw Huntsville as a “beautiful little city, with a refined, social and cultured population, which made it a very pleasant place to live.”⁷⁰⁹ Now no known descendants of the Chadick family have been located in Madison County, Alabama. How unfortunate. These were hard working, God-fearing, conscientious people who lived by their honor as best they could in unfortunate times. The Chadick years in Huntsville was limited, but because of the journal the reader has an inner knowledge and feeling for the times.

If there are no Chadick descendants, there are, however, numerous offspring of those families Mrs. Chadick mentioned in her journal. They and the unnamed citizens have had untold influence. One local resident

noted that Huntsville has never been merely a “sleepy cotton village,” “a mill town,” or more lately “the rocket city” as it progressed since pioneer days. She suggested that more than meets the eye has always been apparent in this community. Huntsville was, and still is, a city of great energy and passion, committed to educational improvement, economic growth, and cultural development for its citizens. Huntsville has always absorbed successfully new people who chose to succeed by hard work.⁷¹⁰ Perhaps it is because of this cultural diversity and the desire to tackle challenges and move forward that Huntsville has survived so well. One hopes Mary Jane Chadick, and her neighbors, would approve.

Notes

ENDNOTES

- ¹ *Huntsville Times*, November 2, 1937.
- ² *Williams Huntsville Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror*. Vol. 1 (1859-1860). (Huntsville: Coltart & Son, 1859; Repr. Strode Publishers, 1972), 9. (Hereafter cited as *Directory*.)
- ³ Timothy Flint, *Condensed Geography and History of the Western States or the Mississippi Valley* (Cincinnati: E.H.Flint, 1818), Vol. I, 494.
- ⁴ Charles Lanman, *British American Provinces*. (Philadelphia: John W. Moore, 1856), Vol. 2, 150-155.
- ⁵ 1860 Madison County Federal Census; 1860 Alabama Slave Schedule. A great deal of information regarding ages and occupations has been gathered from the 1860 and 1870 Madison County, Alabama Federal Census. This material will not be cited separately, but incorporated in the text after this first citation.
- ⁶ *Directory*, 2-30 passim.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 2-30 passim.
- ⁹ Huntsville/Madison County Public Library, Heritage Room, Civil War Files, Box 1, f41.
- ¹⁰ *History of Tennessee* (Giles, Lincoln, Franklin, and Moore Counties), (Nashville, TN: The Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1886; Repr. Southern Historical Press, Easley, SC, 1988), 1086, 1087.
- ¹¹ William D. Chadick, *A Genealogy of the Chadick and Chaddick Family Lines of the United States* (Yonkers, NY: Oracle Press, 1979), 83; 1840 Jefferson County, Ohio Federal Census; Wilson County, Tennessee 1850 and 1860 Federal Census.
- ¹² Jefferson County, Ohio Circuit Minutes, 1835, 238, 362, 363, 378.
- ¹³ Charlotte Forgey Shenk and Donald Hugh Shenk, *History of the First Presbyterian Church. Huntsville, Alabama* (Huntsville, AL: Town Paragon Press, 1968), 91.
- ¹⁴ Wilson County, Tennessee Marriage Records, Marriage Book #8, 180 and #20, 187.
- ¹⁵ Frank Burns, ed. *History of Wilson County, Tennessee* (Lebanon, TN: n. p., 1987), 187, 188.
- ¹⁶ Jackson County, Alabama 1850 Federal Census.
- ¹⁷ William Chadick, 82, 83.
- ¹⁸ Confederate Military Records, microfilm M374, roll 8, William Davidson Chadick; Reverend W. E. Ward in *Cumberland Presbyterian*, December 26, 1878, 2.
- ¹⁹ Misc. Records, Minute Book of Mt. Hebron Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Bellville, n. p., located at Fayetteville/Lincoln County, Tennessee Public Library.
- ²⁰ Rev. W. E. Ward, *Cumberland Presbyterian*, December 26, 1878, 2.
- ²¹ William Garrett, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama* (Rept. Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Co., 1975), 752; Mary Jane Chadick, *Reminiscences of Marriage*, 1-3. Fordyce Family Papers (MC 1311), series 1, box 6, folder 7, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville; Chadick, *Genealogy*, 83.
- ²² Timothy R. and Helen C. Marsh, *Cemetery Records of Lincoln County, Tennessee* (Shelbyville, TN: Marsh Historical Publications, 1972), 192; Fordyce, "Old Tennessee," MC 1311, B 7, f5, p9.; Mary B. Scoggins, comp. *Banner of Peace and Cumberland Presbyterian Advocate* (Decorah, IA: Anundsen Publ. Co., 1988), 85; Historical Collection of Annie Coleman Proctor, Scrapbook, located in Heritage Room, Huntsville Public Library, Vol. 14, 90.
- ²³ Ward, *Cumberland Presbyterian*, December 26, 1878; Fordyce, "Old Tennessee," MC 1311, B 7, f5, p9.
- ²⁴ William Chadick, 180; Mary Jane Chadick, 1.

- ²⁵ Wilson County, Tennessee Marriages, 1841-1850, 95; *Banner of Peace*, December 8, 1849.
- ²⁶ Rev. G. W. Mitchell in *Cumberland Presbyterian*, October 24, 1878; Chadick, 7, 3, 4.
- ²⁷ Alice Nolan McCravey, *History of the Central Presbyterian Church, 1800-1900*, n. p., n.d., 5, 10.
- ²⁸ McCravey, 10-13; Vertical File, Huntsville/Madison County, Alabama Library, Churches, Cumberland Presbyterian Church.
- ²⁹ Mary Jane Chadick, 12, 13; Ward, *Cumberland Presbyterian*, December 26, 1878.
- ³⁰ *Directory*, 33.
- ³¹ William D. Chadick, 84, 90.
- ³² Thomas Fearn to C. C. Clay, July 29, 1818. Typed MSS located in the Clay Papers, #692, Collection in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.
- ³³ 1860 Alabama Slave Schedule, 476.
- ³⁴ Malcolm C. McMillan, *Disintegration of a Confederate State* (Macon, GA: Mercer Univ. Press, 1986), 28.
- ³⁵ James T. Ayers, *The Diary of James T. Ayers, Civil War Recruiter*, ed. John Hope Franklin (Springfield, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1947), 122.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 122, 123.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 124.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 124-126.
- ³⁹ James Record, *A Dream Come True*, Vol.1 (Huntsville, AL: Hicklin Printing, 1970), 116; Frank Westmoreland, "George Washington Lane – Patriot or Traitor?" in *Old Tennessee Valley Magazine & Mercantile Advertiser*, Vol. 120, 34.
- ⁴⁰ Fordyce Papers (MC1311), subseries 1, box 4, folder 8. Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville.
- ⁴¹ Milus E. Johnston, *The Sword of "Bushwhacker" Johnston*, ed. Charles S. Rice (Huntsville, AL: Flint River Press, 1992), 87.
- ⁴² Robert H. Walker, Jr., *History of Limestone County Alabama*. (Athens, AL: Limestone County Commissioners, 1973), 96, 97.
- ⁴³ McMillan, *Disintegration of a Confederate State*, 16.
- ⁴⁴ Ada Sterling, *A Belle of the Fifties*, ed. Virginia Clay-Clopton (NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1905), 147; Cited in Victor B. Haagan, *Pictorial History of Huntsville, 1805-1865* (Huntsville, AL: n.p., 1963), 17, 18. When notified of his election as president of the Confederacy, Davis was at his plantation near the Mississippi River. His route to Montgomery began as he rowed to the middle of the Mississippi River in order to flag a steamboat to Vicksburg. From there he took a train to Jackson where he transferred to a train going north. Then at Grand Junction, Tennessee, he caught an eastbound train to Chattanooga passing through Tusculumbia, Decatur, and Huntsville. At Chattanooga he took another train to Atlanta. From there he boarded another train to West Point, Georgia, and finally took the final leg of the trip to Montgomery. (Leah Rawls Atkins, "Montgomery, First Capital of the Confederacy" in *Alabama Moments in American History*, in correlation with *Alabama Course of Study: Social Studies, 10th Grade Content Standard 29*, 57.)
- ⁴⁵ C. Vann Woodward, ed. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War* (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1981), 74.
- ⁴⁶ Ada Sterling, *A Belle of the Fifties*, 163; Sarah Lowe Diary, MSS, Alabama Department of Archives and History, SPR 113, 4.

⁴⁷ Alabama, Vol. 15, 153, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School (hereafter cited as Dun); William C. Harris, *Leroy Pope Walker, Confederate Secretary of War* (Tuscaloosa, AL: Confederate Publishing Co., 1962), 25.

⁴⁸ Charles Rice, *Hard Times: The Civil War in Huntsville and North Alabama* (Huntsville, AL: Old Huntsville Publishing, 1994), 10-14; Brannon Jeffery Buck. Diss. "Huntsville, Alabama and the Civil War: An Untold Story." Dept. Of History, Davidson College, Davidson, NC, May 1994, 20.

⁴⁹ Cited in Malcolm C. McMillan, *Alabama Confederate Reader* (Tuscaloosa, AL: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1963), 98; *Ibid.*, 114; *Ibid.*, 115.

⁵⁰ Rice, *Hard Times*, 10,11; *Ibid.*, 36, 37.

⁵¹ Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1905; repr. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1949), 224.

⁵² Larry J. Daniel and Riley W. Gunter, *Confederate Cannon Foundries* (Union City, TN: Pioneer Press, 1977), 59; Rice, *Hard Times*, 55.

⁵³ Mary Jane Chadick, 17, 18.

⁵⁴ Col. Hugh Lawson Clay, writing from Lynchburg, asked Secretary of War, Leroy Pope Walker, to appoint Reverend Chadick the rank of captain. Along with his ministering duties Clay said Chadick worked hard at mustering in troops who were "raw, wild, undisciplined Democrats, on a frolic, as many of them think." *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1890-91) (hereafter cited as *OR*) ser. 4, vol. 2, pt. 1, 305; Steven E. Woodworth, *While God Is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence, KS: Univ. of Kansas Press, 2002), 146.

⁵⁵ Mary Jane Chadick, 15-16, 18; National Archives, Confederate Service Record, Microcopy #M311, Roll 440, William D. Chadick. (Hereafter cited as CSR.); *OR*, ser. 2, vol. 52, pt. 2, 203.

⁵⁶ Samuel W. Fordyce, "Patriotism in the South" in *Confederate Veteran*, VI (1899), 325.

⁵⁷ Fordyce Family Papers (MC 1311), b. 6, f10.

⁵⁸ Fordyce, "Patriotism," 325, 326.

⁵⁹ J. Withers Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., March 30, 1862, in Clement C. Clay Papers, Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, NC (hereafter cited as Clay MSS.)

⁶⁰ J. Withers Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862, Clay MSS.

⁶¹ Cited in Norman M. Shapiro, "Invasion and Occupancy of Huntsville, Alabama, by the Federals, April 11 to August 31, 1862," in *Huntsville Historic Review*, Vol. 27 (W/S 2000) #1: 2.

⁶² Cited in Margaret M. Storey, *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 2004), 88; Martha B. Gabel, "General O. M. Mitchel's Occupation of Huntsville," in *Huntsville Historic Review*, Vol. 1 (Oct. 1971) #3, 14, 15.

⁶³ McMillan, *Alabama Reader*, 140; McMillan, *Disintegration*, 35.

⁶⁴ Lowe, 5.

⁶⁵ Edward Dorr Tracy to C. C. Clay, Jr., Feb. 22, 1861; Susanna W. Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., March 5, 1862, Clay MSS.

⁶⁶ Leroy Pope Walker to J. P. Benjamin, February 14, 1862, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 52, pt.2, 273; Leroy Pope Walker to Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard, *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 52, pt. 2, 152.

⁶⁷ Lowe, Diary, 5-9.

⁶⁸ Susanna W. Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., March 5, 1862, Clay MSS.

⁶⁹ Gabel, 15.

⁷⁰ John W. Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862, Clay MSS.

⁷¹ Kay Cornelius, “Old Stars in Alabama: General Ormsby M. Mitchel” in *Alabama Heritage* 34 (Fall 1994), 20.

⁷² Cited in Shapiro, *Invasion*, 2.

⁷³ P. C. Headley, *Ormsby MacKnight Mitchel, Astronomer and General* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887), 208.

⁷⁴ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, April 23, 1862.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ M. J. Solomon, Scrapbook, undated newspaper clipping, 269, 270, Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.

⁷⁷ Samuel Wesley Fordyce, *Autobiography*, Fordyce Family Papers (MC1311), subseries 2, box 6, box 1, 83, typed manuscript. Special Collections Division, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville.

⁷⁸ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 10, pt. 1, 643. The Federal troops under General Ormsby M. Mitchel consisted of the Seventh Brigade of the 42nd Indiana, 15th Kentucky, 3rd and 10th Ohio; the Eighth Brigade composed of the 19th and 24th Illinois, 37th Indiana, and 18th Ohio; Ninth Brigade of the 2nd, 21st, and 33rd Ohio, and 10th Wisconsin; Artillery of the 5th Indiana, 1st Michigan, and 1st Ohio, Battery E.; 1st Michigan Engineers, and 4th Ohio Cavalry.

The capture of Huntsville was only part of Mitchel’s military strategy. While still in Shelbyville, Tennessee, General Mitchel planned to have Capt. James J. Andrews and 21 others cut the military railroad link that served as a supply line between Atlanta and Chattanooga. This daring plot centered on the capture of the CSA locomotive, “The General,” in north Georgia. The disguised Union men would next drive the engine toward Chattanooga, burning all the bridges behind them to escape capture and sever the line. Then, they would be able to rejoin Mitchel, who having captured Huntsville, was hopefully on his way to Chattanooga. But Mitchel did not make it as far north as Bridgeport, and due to several miscalculations Andrews’ men fared badly. The raiders were captured in civilian clothes, and 16 of them were hanged as spies. Mitchel continued to wait for news of the mission at his headquarters in Huntsville at the William McDowell residence, his desk in the southwest corner of a front parlor. Of course Huntsvillians would not have been aware of the likelihood and importance of this plan.

⁸⁰ *Cincinnati Daily Confederate*, April 23, 1862.

⁸¹ Hedwig Rappolt, ed., *An American Apprenticeship: The Letters of Emil Frey* (New York: Peter Lang, 1986), 126.

⁸² William E. Crane, April 11, 12, 1862. MSS. *Daily Journal of Life in the Field during the War of the Rebellion*, #980, Cincinnati Historical Society, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁸³ Solomon, 169.

⁸⁴ Cited in McMillan, *Reader*, 68; Harris 25, 26; Lowe 4; Sterling, 182.

⁸⁵ Lowe, 3; J. W. Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., March 30, 1862, Duke MSS; *Huntsville Confederate*, November 12, 1862. Although editor J. Withers Clay was able to publish a daily paper for a brief period of time in 1863, the citations here will be dated but without the word “Daily.”

⁸⁶ Pauline Jones Gandrud, comp., *Marriage, Death and Legal Notices from Early Alabama Newspapers, 1819-1893*, (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1981), 473; Diane Robey, Dorothy Scott Johnson, John Rison Jones, Jr., Frances C. Roberts, *Maple Hill Cemetery, Phase One* (Huntsville, AL: Huntsville-Madison County Historical Society, 1995), 91; Dun, Vol. 15, 150.

⁸⁷ Kathleen Paul Jones and Pauline Jones Gandrud, comps., *Alabama Records*, 245 vols. (Easley, SC: Southern History Press, 1980), 165: 73.

⁸⁸ Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the War* (Cincinnati, OH: Moore, Wilstach and Baldwin, 1868) Vol. 1, 246.

⁸⁹ Major McDonnell's H Company of the 1st Florida participated at Shiloh, Farmington, and the siege of Corinth. Means was captured again at Perryville, Kentucky and sent to Camp Chase and Forts Monroe and Norfolk. He later resigned and served in the Confederate Congress from his district in Florida. After his exchange Capt. Bird fought at Perryville where he was wounded again and left for dead on October 8th and then captured. He was later promoted to Colonel under General Beauregard. (McMillan, *Reader*, 156; David W. Hartman and David Coles, comps., *Biographical Rosters of Florida's Confederate and Union Soldiers*, Vol. I, (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing Co., 1995), 2; Stewart Sifakis, *Compendium of Confederate Armies, Florida and Arkansas*. (New York: Facts on File, 1991), 3; Combined Service Record, M251, Roll 28 (Hereafter cited as CSR); Janet B. Hewett, Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Part II, Record of Events, Vol. 5, Serial #17 (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing, 1995), 183.

⁹⁰ Ruth Sykes Ford, *A History of the First United Methodist Church* (Huntsville, AL: Board of the First United Methodist Church, 1984), 49.

⁹¹ Lowe, 9.

⁹² Elizabeth Humes Chapman, *Changing Huntsville, 1890-1899* (Huntsville, AL: Historic Huntsville Foundation, Inc., repr. 1989), 168.

⁹³ Information about name, rank, and military organization was taken from National Park Service Website <<http://www.itd.nps.gov/cwss/soldiers.htm>>. It will not be cited again.

⁹⁴ Brian Hogan, "My Very Dear Wife: The Letters of a Union Corporal, Part I" in *Huntsville Historical Review*, 28 (Summer-Fall 2002) #1, 35.

⁹⁵ <<http://www.bgsu.edu/colleges/library/cac/ms0800t03.html>> Robert S. Dilworth Papers, Personal Journal, April 13, 1862.

⁹⁶ Gabel, 19.

⁹⁷ Crane, April 14, 15, 1862.

⁹⁸ Dilworth, April 14, 1862

⁹⁹ Frances Roberts, *Sesquicentennial History of Church of the Nativity, Episcopal* (Huntsville, AL: Church of the Nativity, 1992), 38, 40.

¹⁰⁰ Dilworth, April 21, 22, 1862.

¹⁰¹ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 10, pt. 1, 878; Robert Dunnivant, Jr., *The Railroad War* (Athens, AL: Pea Press, 1994), 40. Citizens and storeowners claimed \$54,000 in damage; no value could ever be placed on the physical and emotional damage.

¹⁰² Don Carlos Buell, "Operations in North Alabama" in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War Great Battles*, eds. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buell (Secaucus, NJ: Castle, 1956) Vol.. 2, 703.

¹⁰³ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 10, pt. 2, 482.

¹⁰⁴ *Huntsville Times*, January 29, 1933; *Dun*, Vol. 15, 153.

¹⁰⁵ Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue, Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1964), 279-280; Joseph Howard Parks, *General E.K. Smith, C.S.A.* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1954), 176, 177.

¹⁰⁶ *Huntsville Confederate*, February 8, 1864; Ruth C. Carter, *For Honor Glory and Union. The Mexican and Civil War Letters of Brig. Gen. William Haines Lytle* (Lexington, KY: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1999), 28.

¹⁰⁷ J. W. Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862; James A. Ramage, *Rebel Raider; The Life of General John Hunt Morgan* (Lexington, KY: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1986), 43, 273 f.4; Headley, 263, 264; Carter, 115; Brian Hogan, "Norton Versus Mitchel" in *Huntsville Historical Review*, 28 (Spring-Summer 2003) #2, 24.

¹⁰⁸ Rice, *Hart Times*, 302, 303.

¹⁰⁹ Archives, Heritage Room, Huntsville Public Library.

¹¹⁰ Hogan, *Dear Wife, I*, 35.

¹¹¹ Flossie Carmichael and Ronald Lee, *In and Around Bridgeport* (Collegedale, TN: College Press, 1969), 35, 36.

¹¹² Ford, 23.

¹¹³ Clayton was furloughed with disability June 26 and resigned November 13, 1862. The doctor wrote, "He will never make a good infantry soldier again." (CSR M266, Roll 460, A-C1.)

¹¹⁴ Solomon, 365, 366.

¹¹⁵ T. Harry Williams, *P.G.T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray*. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1955), 153.

¹¹⁶ Carter, 117.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*; John Beatty, *Citizen Soldier or, Memoirs of a Volunteer* (Wilstach, Baldwin & Co., 1879), 144. Miss Rowena Webster later recalled her first encounter with Yankee soldiers on the streets of town. She was walking with her friend Mrs. Mastin, and Rowena shut her eyes tightly as she passed the men. Mrs. Mastin kindly said, "Miss Row it is all lost on them for they will think that you are a blind woman." So much for this single woman's single protest (Webster, 6).

¹¹⁸ Cited in Hogan, "Norton," 25, 26.

¹¹⁹ Solomon, 365, 366.

¹²⁰ Rev. Emmett Gribbon, "An Excerpt from 'Civil War Adventures of Bishop Henry C. Lay'" in *Huntsville Historical Review*, 17 (Spring-Summer 1990) #1, 8-9.

¹²¹ Solomon, 365.

¹²² Gribbon, 4, 9.

¹²³ Colonel Harris died at Baker's Creek, Mississippi, on May 16, 1863. Lillian Henderson, *Roster of the Confederate Soldiers of Georgia 1861-1865* (Hapeville, GA: Longino & Porter, Inc., c1958), Vol.1, 405. Originally the city had purchased the burial ground, now called Maple Hill Cemetery, outside the city limits. Formerly it was known only as the white burial ground until after the early 1900s. However, the site has always been considered particularly pleasing to the community and a source of pride.

¹²⁴ Thomas Pickens Drake, *X+ Y=Z Or The Sleeping Preacher* (Owens Cross Roads, AL: Drake Publications, 1981), 345, 346.

¹²⁵ Beatty, 144.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 144, 145.

¹²⁷ Carter, 118.

¹²⁸ Cited in Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ.of North Carolina Press, 1995), 26; *Cincinnati Gazette*, July 6, 1862. John J. Crittenden lived in Huntsville for a brief time where his son, US General Thomas L. Crittenden, was born. Another son, General George B. Crittenden, served in the Confederate army.

¹²⁹ Gandrud, 277; Hogan, "Dear Wife, I," 66.

¹³⁰ Daniel E. Finn, "Union Paper, the *Huntsville Reveille*, Published in Offices of the *Huntsville Democrat*, 1862" in *Huntsville Historical Review*. 17 (Winter-Spring 1990) #1:10.

¹³¹ Fordyce, 325, 326.

¹³² Mary Boykin Chesnut hinted, "Montgomery's uncomfortable hotels will move the Congress." She may have understated Montgomery's charms. William Howard Russell, who was a correspondent of the *London Times*, wrote to his readers on May 4, 1861. He submitted that flies and fleas in the overcrowded filthy hotels, a bill of fare that seemed to include such "odd dishes as ever I saw, some unknown fishes, oyster-plants, 'possums, raccoons, frogs, and other delicacies...." The food was served on "dirty plates on a vile table-cloth...." The summer heat might have also played a part in the decision to move.

- “Montgomery has little claims to be called a capital. The streets are very hot, unpleasant, and uninteresting. I have rarely seen a more dull lifeless place.” Woodward, 62; McMillan, *Reader*, 71-73, 79.
- ¹³³ Warner, 455-457; Mark Mayo Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, (New York: David McCay Co., rev. ed. 1991), 769.
- ¹³⁴ Williams, 153.
- ¹³⁵ Clinton, *Encyclopedia*, 80; George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism*. (Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1989), 15; Female nursing was such a novel notion, Miss Dix suggested the volunteers be over thirty and “plain in appearance. *Ibid.*, 31.
- ¹³⁶ W. Jerry Gist, *Story of Scottsboro, Alabama* (Nashville, TN: Rich Printing Co., 1968), 57; John R. Kennamer, Sr., *History of Jackson County, Alabama* (Winchester, TN: Southern Printing and Publishing, 1993), 52, 53; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 10, pt. 1, 270. James Frank Skelton, married to Martha (Patsey) Chadick, was likely the brother-in-law of W. D. Chadick.
- ¹³⁷ *Huntsville Confederate*, October 19, 1863; Robey, et al., 24.
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, August 11, 1863.
- ¹³⁹ D. Frederick Williams, ed., *The Wild Life of the Army: Civil War Letters of James A. Garfield* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State Univ. Press, 1964), 119, 121, 123, 125.
- ¹⁴⁰ Hogan, *Norton*, 53.
- ¹⁴¹ Carter, 120, 121.
- ¹⁴² Celeste Clay to Virginia Clay, August 19, 1862, Clay MSS.
- ¹⁴³ Dilworth, April 17, 1862; Hogan, *Dear Wife, I*, 35.
- ¹⁴⁴ Ash, 25, 26.
- ¹⁴⁵ Hogan, *Norton*, 26, 27.
- ¹⁴⁶ Williams, 153.
- ¹⁴⁷ James V. Drake, *Life of General Robert Hatton* (Nashville, TN: Marshall & Bruce, 1867), chapters 1, 2, 10 passim; Rev. G. W. Mitchell “In Memoriam,” *Cumberland Presbyterian*, October 24, 1878.
- ¹⁴⁸ Storey, 115.
- ¹⁴⁹ John Fitch, *Annals of the Army of the Cumberland* (Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, 1864), 282.
- ¹⁵⁰ Dilworth, April 24, 1862; Rowena Webster, *Memoirs of a Southern Girl*, typed MSS Tennessee State Archives, Webster #68-183, Mf. Ac. No. 726, Reel 9, 8.
- ¹⁵¹ James A. Ramage, *Rebel Raider; The Life of General John Hunt Morgan* (Lexington, KY: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1986), 91.
- ¹⁵² Hugh Lawson Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., July 1862, Clay MSS; Finn, 12; Shapiro, “Invasion,” 11.
- ¹⁵³ Dilworth, May 7, 1862; Carter, 124.
- ¹⁵⁴ <www.thejacketts.com/civilwar/june311862.htm>.
- ¹⁵⁵ Williams, 157.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Nashville Daily Union*, March 27, 1864.
- ¹⁵⁷ Webster MSS; Bessie Russell, “Rowena Webster’s Recollections of Huntsville during the 1862 Occupation” in *Huntsville Historic Review*. Vol II (April 1972) #2, 36-47.
- ¹⁵⁸ Beatty, 148.
- ¹⁵⁹ *OR*, ser.1, vol. 10, pt. 2, 204, 294, 295; Ash, 44.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Directory*, 28.
- ¹⁶¹ Robert Thompson Coles, *From Huntsville to Appomattox*, ed. Jeffrey D. Stocker, (Knoxville, TN: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1996), 42; Rice, *Hard Times*, 36, 37.
- ¹⁶² Dilworth, April 24, 1862.

- ¹⁶³ L. P. Williams & Co., *Nashville City and Business Directory, for 1860-61* (Nashville, TN: Williams & Co., 1860), 162, 264.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 147.
- ¹⁶⁵ Shelby Foote, *Civil War: A Narrative* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1986) Vol. 1, 562.
- ¹⁶⁶ Ward in *Cumberland Presbyterian*, December 26, 1872; Patricia E.A. Lindquist, *Pictorial History of Fayetteville and Lincoln County, Tennessee* (Fayetteville, TN: Donning Co., 1994), 20, 25; Proctor, Vol. 14, 90.
- ¹⁶⁷ Solomon, 269, 270.
- ¹⁶⁸ Jewell S. Goldsmith and Helen D. Fulton, *Medicine Bags and Bumpy Roads* (Huntsville, AL: Valley Publishing Co., 1985), 117-119.
- ¹⁶⁹ Finn, 13.
- ¹⁷⁰ Francis A. Kiene, *A Civil War Diary, The Journal of Francis A. Kiene, 1861-1864*, ed. Ralph E. Kiene, Jr. (Kansas City, MO: Yearbook House, Inc., 1974), 105; Ashbury L. Kerwood, *Annals of the 57th Regiment Indiana Volunteers* (Dayton, OH: W. J. Shuey, 1868), 82.
- ¹⁷¹ Beatty, 149.
- ¹⁷² Kiene, 105.
- ¹⁷³ Carter, 128; Beatty, 143.
- ¹⁷⁴ Westmoreland, 35, 36; Dun, Vol. 15, 250; *Huntsville Southern Advocate*, April 17, 1861; Elva Bell McLin, *Madame Childs, The Lady and the Legend*. (Athens, AL: Athens State College, 1992), 260.
- ¹⁷⁵ McLin, 28, 256-260; Headley, 228, 229; *Huntsville Southern Advocate*, April 17, 1861; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 10, pt. 2, pp.475, 479; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 10, pt.2, 163; Shapiro, "Invasion," 5; *Huntsville Confederate*, Nov. 22, 1862. Jere Clemens, still active for the Confederate cause, wrote harshly in early April of 1861 about Lane accepting the judgeship: "I suppose he calculated the value of his neck before he did it...His acceptance is treason." (*OR*, ser. 1, vol. 52, pt. 2, 35). However one person was really impressed with Lane's loyalty and proudly waving flag. A report in the August 2, 1862 edition of *Harper's Weekly* noted that General Mitchel, surprised to see any Union flag flying, asked G. W. Lane for the flag from his house as a memento. (This story was never noted in any other source.)
- ¹⁷⁶ Finn, 13.
- ¹⁷⁷ Goldsmith and Fulton, 139.
- ¹⁷⁸ Beatty, 150.
- ¹⁷⁹ Warner, *Blue*, 464, 465.
- ¹⁸⁰ Carter, 130, 131.
- ¹⁸¹ Kiene, 102, 104.
- ¹⁸² Beatty, 153.
- ¹⁸³ CSR # M311, Roll 440, William D. Chadick.
- ¹⁸⁴ CSR # M311, Roll 441, James A./Joseph A. Coffey.
- ¹⁸⁵ *Heritage of Madison County, Alabama* (Clanton, AL: Heritage Publishing Consultants, Inc., 1998), 367; Goldsmith 125, 126.
- ¹⁸⁶ Sterling, 13; Robey, et al., 39, 40; Dun, Vol. 15, 201.
- ¹⁸⁷ J. Withers Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862, Clay MSS.
- ¹⁸⁸ Kerwood, 84.
- ¹⁸⁹ *Huntsville Times*, November 20, 1932. James Edward Horton was the grandfather of Judge James E. Horton, who would later preside over the courtroom during the infamous trial of the Scottsboro boys in the 1930s.

- ¹⁹⁰ Sydney J. Mayhew, *Notes of Historical Interest Relating to the First Presbyterian Church*, Typed Manuscript, Vertical Files, Huntsville Public Library, 11; Dilworth, April 27, 1862; *Record*, 129; Beatty, 155.
- ¹⁹¹ Evans, Clement A. *Confederate Military History*, Vol. 8. (Confederate Publishing Co., 1899; Repr. Wilmington, NC, Broadfoot, 1987), 347.
- ¹⁹² Cornelius, "Old Stars," 24.
- ¹⁹³ 1850, 1860 Madison County Census; Madison County Naturalization Certificates, 1847-1906, 338.
- ¹⁹⁴ "An Alabama Mother" in *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. 5, 523.
- ¹⁹⁵ Drew Gilpin Faust's "The Civil War Soldier and the Art of Dying" is an excellent survey in *Journal of Southern History*, LXVII (February 2001) #1, 3-38.
- ¹⁹⁶ Goodspeed, *Lincoln County*, 784; Thomas Drake, 187, 188.
- ¹⁹⁷ Edward Chambers Betts, *Early History of Huntsville, Alabama, 1804-1870* (Montgomery, AL: Brown Printing, 1916), 65.
- ¹⁹⁸ Beatty, 155, 157.
- ¹⁹⁹ Kiene, 102.
- ²⁰⁰ Kerwood, 75.
- ²⁰¹ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, August 12, 1862.
- ²⁰² *Huntsville Confederate*, October 8, 1862; McMillan, *Disintegration*, 48; *Ibid.*, 20.
- ²⁰³ *Directory*, 94.
- ²⁰⁴ Gandrud, 31, 108, 426.
- ²⁰⁵ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, August 13, 1862; Carter, 135, 136.
- ²⁰⁶ Jan Furman, *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms*, John McCline, ed. (Knoxville, TN: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1998), xix, xxiii; Phyliss LaRue LeGrand, diss. "Destitution and Relief of the Indigent Soldiers' Families of Alabama during the Civil War" Auburn; Auburn University, 1964, 21.
- ²⁰⁷ Cited in Buck, 84.
- ²⁰⁸ Dunnivant, *Railroad War*, 112; Headley, 319; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 10, pt.2, 62; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 16, pt.2, 585.
- ²⁰⁹ Walker, 114. Nelson commanded the Army of Kentucky when he was shot and killed at the Galt House Hotel in Louisville by Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis (the other Jefferson Davis) because of an alleged insult by Nelson.; Warner, *Blue*, 343.
- ²¹⁰ Dun, Vol. 15, 181.
- ²¹¹ J.A. Caldwell, *History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties* (Wheeling, WV: Historical Publishing Co., 1880), 519, 442; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, August 11, 12, 1862.
- ²¹² Dorothy Scott Johnson, *Cemeteries of Madison County*, Vol. 2 (Huntsville, AL: Johnson Historical Publications, 1978), 126; Gandrud, 549; *Huntsville Confederate*, November 11, 1862; Rice, *Hard Times*, 94, 95.
- ²¹³ Conversation with and family letter of Gladys Skelton, February 11, 2005; J. Watson Chadick's memorial to his father was printed in the *Banner of Peace*. W. D. Chadick wrote movingly about their father's passing. Although he was "denied, by distance, the privilege of catching the last whispers of the mortal tongue," their father died in "full prospect of a blessed immortality." Obituary in *Banner of Peace*, May 9, 1851, Vol. XI; Scoggins, 115.
- ²¹⁴ Beatty, 170, 171. The 51st Indiana, 41st Ohio, and 89th Illinois rested at Byrd Spring in December 1864 and January 1865. They called it Silver Lake and named their winter quarters, Camp Green. William R. Hartpence, *History of the Fifty-first Indiana Regiment* (Harrison, OH: by the author, 1895; repr. Salem, MA: Higginson Book Co., 1998), 285-287.
- ²¹⁵ Hartpence, 68.

- ²¹⁶ C. C. Briant, *History of the 6th Regiment, Indiana Volunteer Infantry* (Indianapolis, IN: Wm. B. Burford, 1891), 142.
- ²¹⁷ *Huntsville Democrat*, April 2, 1862; William B. Sipes, *Seventh Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteer Cavalry* (Pottsville, PA: Miners' Journal Printing, 1904), 16.
- ²¹⁸ William Drake, 142.
- ²¹⁹ Hartman and Coles, 2.
- ²²⁰ Ramage, 106, 111-114.
- ²²¹ William H. Jenkins and John Knox, *The Story of Decatur, Alabama* (Decatur, AL: Mayor and City Council, 1970), 113; O'Brien, 97.
- ²²² William C. Davis, *Breckinridge: statesman, soldier, symbol*. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1974), 318-320.
- ²²³ <www.anythingarkansas.com>.
- ²²⁴ Gandrud, 441; Coles, 283; J. Gary Laine and Morris M. Penny, *Law's Alabama Brigade in the War between the Union and the Confederacy* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publ. Co., 1996), 98.
- ²²⁵ *Huntsville Times*, February 5, 1933; *Huntsville Confederate*, March 26, 1863.
- ²²⁶ McMillan, *Reader*, 176.
- ²²⁷ Susanna W. Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., March 24, 1862, Clay MSS.
- ²²⁸ Celeste Clay to Virginia Clay, August 6, 1863, Clay MSS; Gandrud, 538.
- ²²⁹ Webster, 8.
- ²³⁰ Dilworth, August 21, 23, 27, 1862.
- ²³¹ Fitch, 240, 241.
- ²³² J. Withers Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862, Clay MSS.
- ²³³ Warner, *Blue*, 287, 288.
- ²³⁴ Ramage, 80; J. Withers Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862, Clay MSS. Gypsy must have made quite an impression on the soldiers. Lt. Colonel Basil Duke wrote Miss Fackler's commission in verse: "Commanding them all to pay attention/To matters I herein mention/ I straightway perform the pleasant duty /Of adding Rank to You and Beauty. /Therefore let this commission show /And give all men concerned to know /That in camp, or yet without, /Upon the march or on the scout, /On Drill, on guard, or in the battle, /When killing hogs or stealing cattle,/ Among the woods or on the road/ On Miss Fackler is bestowed /Of Adjutant the style & rank /With pay galore & powers blank./ Henceforth let every cavalier.../If any dares presume to thwart her /He starves a month on bread and water." Cecil Fletcher Holland, *Morgan and His Raiders*. (NY: MacMillan, 1942), 89; While there General Johnston issued a statement to the local press and the editor noted that the General "seems determined to redeem his losses at no distant day." *Huntsville Democrat*, March 12, 1862.
- ²³⁵ Larry D. Smith, *150th Anniversary History of Blair County, Pennsylvania* (Apollo, PA: Closson Press, 1997), 515; *Huntsville Democrat*, January 16, 1861; OR, ser.1, vol. 10, pt.2, 441.
- ²³⁶ Brian Hogan and Jacque Gray, "Spies among Us" in *Old Tennessee Valley Magazine & Mercantile Advertiser*, #100, 26,27; Record, 129. Mr. Hopper and Mr. Larcombe were from Washington County, Pennsylvania, and it is hard to believe that they did not know one another. One wonders, then, about the timing of Mr. Pride's convenient errand out to town, and the subsequent capture of Huntsville.
- ²³⁷ Coles, 243.
- ²³⁸ H.H. Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray: The Confederate Medical Service* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1970), 40; Bessie Martin, diss. "Desertion of Alabama Troops from the Confederate Army: A Study in Sectionalism" NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1931; Wiley, 31; cited in Cunningham, 39-40.

- ²³⁹ Nancy M. Rohr, ed. *An Alabama School Girl in Paris* (Boaz, AL: SilverThreads Publishing, 2001), passim.
- ²⁴⁰ *Chattanooga Daily Rebel*, September 18, 1862.
- ²⁴¹ Carter, 138, 139; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 16, pt. 2, 442.
- ²⁴² Rice, *Sword*, 96, 97.
- ²⁴³ McMillan, *Reader*, 172, 180; *Huntsville Confederate*, September 16, 1863.
- ²⁴⁴ J. Withers Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., February 1, 1863, Clay MSS; *Huntsville Confederate*, September 16, 1863; McMillan, *Reader*, 170; Christine Dee, "Trying James Hickman: The Politics of Loyalty in a Civil War Community" in *Alabama Review*, Vol. 58 (April 2005), #2, 91-112. After the War, Hickman brought suit against all those involved – the grand jury, judge, marshal, and John Withers Clay for his "indictment, arrest, imprisonment and trial." He asked \$100,000 in damages for their acts taken "maliciously and without probable cause."
- ²⁴⁵ Record, 131; *Huntsville Confederate*, October 22, 1862; Brian Hogan, "Yankees in Sacred Southern Soil" in *Old Tennessee Valley Magazine & Mercantile Advertiser*, #112, (n.d.) 6; Raneé Pruitt, comp. "Union Soldiers – Deaths – August, 1862" in *Valley Leaves*, Vol. 21, #3 (March 1987) 148.
- ²⁴⁶ Cited in McMillan, *Reader*, 180.
- ²⁴⁷ Hugh Lawson Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., August 6, 1863, Clay MSS.
- ²⁴⁸ Catherine Clinton, *Tara Revisited* (NY: Abbeville Press, 1995), 153.
- ²⁴⁹ Cited in Ash, 51, 53.
- ²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 57, 60.
- ²⁵¹ Ellen Virginia Saunders, "Wartime Journal of Alabama's 'Little Rebel'" in *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. 27 (December 1919) #12, 452; cited in Ruth Ketring Nuermberger, *The Clays of Alabama* (Lexington, KY: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1958), 214.
- ²⁵² Mary Jane Chadick, 19, 20; CSR, # M311, Roll 440, William D. Chadick.
- ²⁵³ *Huntsville Confederate*, October 8, 1862.
- ²⁵⁴ Mary Jane Chadick, 20, 21.
- ²⁵⁵ CSR, #M311, Roll 440, William D. Chadick; cited in Bell Irvin Wiley, *Plain People of the Confederacy* (Columbia, SC: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 2000), xxxiii.
- ²⁵⁶ Alabama State Militiamen, 1820-65, Roll 2.
- ²⁵⁷ *Huntsville Democrat*, January 28, and February 4, 1863.
- ²⁵⁸ Mary Jane Chadick, 20, 21.
- ²⁵⁹ Henry McCalley, *Northern Alabama, Historical and Biographical* (Birmingham, AL: Smith & Deland, 1888; rpt. Spartanburg, SC, 1976).
- ²⁶⁰ Hogan and Gray, 30; *Valley Leaves*, Vol. 6, #3 (March 1972), 144.
- ²⁶¹ *New York Times*, July 27, 1863; *Harper's Weekly*, March 19, 1864.
- ²⁶² John W. Rowell, *Yankee Cavalrymen: Through the Civil War with the 9th Pennsylvania Cavalry* (Knoxville, TN: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1971), 139, 140.
- ²⁶³ Samuel W. Fordyce, *Autobiography*, 85.
- ²⁶⁴ Crane, July 13, 1863.
- ²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, July 14, 15; October 31, 1863.
- ²⁶⁶ *OR* Series I, Vol. 30, pt. 3, 106.
- ²⁶⁷ Goldsmith, 125, 126.
- ²⁶⁸ Rev. James Monroe Mason, *Civil War in North Alabama*, 5, Miscellaneous Files, Zeitler Room, Huntsville/Madison County Public Library.
- ²⁶⁹ Reid, Vol. 2, 444.
- ²⁷⁰ 1860, 1870 Marshall County, Alabama Federal Census.
- ²⁷¹ *Huntsville Confederate*, October 8, 1862; Henry McCalley, *Northern Alabama*.

(Birmingham, AL: Smith & Deland, 1888; repr. Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Co., 1976), 278, 279; *Huntsville Times*, May 7, 1933.

²⁷² Marsh, 193. Proctor, 14, 89.

²⁷³ Beatty, 133; Mary Wallace Kirk, *Locust Hill* (Tuscaloosa, AL: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1976), 3; Jenkins and Knox, 67. USA Colonel Beatty had stopped at the Rathers one afternoon along with Colonel Keifer. The officers were received cordially, and Mrs. Rather served them homemade wine. This Morgan County plantation, home of General Rather and his father, Capt. John T. Rather, was later burned during the War. In the late autumn of 1865 with \$3000 in gold they were able to purchase Locust Hill in Tusculumbia, Alabama. The General's wife and maid had sewed into their belts and stockings gold that was then concealed by their hoop skirts. The other part of the gold, perhaps more comfortably for the women, had been buried in the ground.

²⁷⁴ John Rison Fordyce, "Old Tennessee," 8; Brian Hogan, "Yankees," 8; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 31, pt. 3, 638.

²⁷⁵ Mayhew, 16, 17.

²⁷⁶ *Huntsville Confederate*, Nov. 12, 1862; cited in H.E. Sterkx, *Alabama Women in the Civil War: Partners in Rebellion*. (Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970), 170; *Harper's Weekly*, May 10, 1862.

²⁷⁷ Elise Hopkins Stephens, *Historic Huntsville: A City of New Beginnings* (Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, 1984), 59.

²⁷⁸ Henry Campbell, "Campaigning through Tennessee" in *Civil War Times*, 3 (August 1964), #5, 46-48.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 47, 48.

²⁸⁰ *Huntsville Confederate*, November 2, 1863; October 26, 1863; October 30, 1863. J. Withers Clay, editor of the newspaper, fled town again taking with him the printing equipment to set up wherever he relocated.

²⁸¹ Rice, *Hard Times*, 124; Rohr, 221.

²⁸² Eugene Marshall to sister, October 19, 1863.

²⁸³ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 31, pt. 1, pp. 567-569; *Huntsville Confederate*, December 12, 1863.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, December 8, 1863.

²⁸⁵ Samuel W. Fordyce, *Autobiography* 94; Warner, *Blue*, 102, 103; Later one of the most audacious episodes of the entire War occurred in February 1864 at Cumberland, Maryland, and involved Crook. Surrounded by his entire command of 10,000 soldiers, 60 Confederate partisan rangers kidnapped Generals Crook and Benjamin Kelley and took them to Richmond's Libby Prison where they were later paroled and exchanged.

²⁸⁶ Rable, 50, 51, 203.

²⁸⁷ <http://www.clanewing.org/jim_book.html>.

²⁸⁸ Sipes, 88-90.

²⁸⁹ J. Withers Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., January 7, 1864, Clay MSS; Susanna W. Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., September 19, 1863, *Ibid.*; H.E. Sterkx, 132, 171.

²⁹⁰ James H. Wiswell to father, December 17, 1863 in James H. Wiswell Papers, 2nd 83:C, Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.

²⁹¹ Eugene Marshall to sister, December 21, 1863 in Eugene Marshall Papers, 2nd 58:C, Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ Dun, Vol. 15, 161; cited in Haagan, 18.

²⁹⁴ Norman Shapiro, "Pardons of Madison County" in *Huntsville Historical Review*, Vol. 22 (Winter-Spring 1995) #1, 20; *Glimpses into Ante-Bellum Homes, Huntsville, Alabama* (Huntsville, AL: American Association of University Women, Huntsville Branch, 1976, 7th edition), 55, 56.

- ²⁹⁵ *Huntsville Confederate*, May 18, 1863; Dunnivant, *Railroad War*, 112; Hurst, 154. Citizens would have been disappointed to know the iron-gray gelding proved sluggish, and was not Forrest's first choice to ride.
- ²⁹⁶ Samuel W. Fordyce, *Autobiography*, 73.
- ²⁹⁷ James Wiswell to father, December 31, 1863, January 18, 1864.
- ²⁹⁸ H. S. Washburn and George F. Root, "The Vacant Chair."
- ²⁹⁹ Sipes, 88-90.
- ³⁰⁰ Vertical Files, Huntsville/Madison County, Alabama Public Library, "North Alabama College."
- ³⁰¹ Jefferson K. Scott, ed. *The 1864 Diary of Lt. Col. Jefferson K. Scott, 59th Indiana Volunteer Infantry*. (Bloomington, IN: Monroe County Civil War Centennial and Monroe County Historical Society, 1962), Jan. 2, 1864, January 8-11, 1864.
- ³⁰² Susanna W. Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., September 5, 1863, Clay MSS; Rowell, 137.
- ³⁰³ J. Withers Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., January 7, 1864; *Huntsville Confederate*, September 21, 1863.
- ³⁰⁴ Robey, et al., 14; Rice, *Hard Times*, 28.
- ³⁰⁵ *Huntsville Confederate*, February 6, 1864.
- ³⁰⁶ Jenkin Lloyd Jones, *An Artilleryman's Diary* (Wisconsin Historical Commission: Democrat Printing Co., 1914), 163, 164.
- ³⁰⁷ Alonzo L. Brown, *History of the Fourth Regiment of Minnesota Infantry Volunteers*. (St. Paul, MN: Pioneer Press, 1892), 280.
- ³⁰⁸ Gandrud, 225; *Huntsville Times*, October 2, 1932.
- ³⁰⁹ Sallie Independence Foster McDonald, unpublished typewritten diary in possession of Margaret Tietmeyer, p. 31.
- ³¹⁰ Jenkin Jones, 170.
- ³¹¹ Brown, 283.
- ³¹² Jenkin Jones, 172.
- ³¹³ *Directory*, 24; Jenkin Jones, 181.
- ³¹⁴ Jesse C. Sell, *Twentieth Century History of Altoona and Blair County, Pennsylvania and Representative Citizens*. (N.c., Illinois: Richmond-Arnold, 1911), 676.
- ³¹⁵ Scott, January 30, 1864, June 2, 1864.
- ³¹⁶ Sell, 676; <<http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/pa/blair/bios/wiley/wiley17txt>>
- ³¹⁷ Ayers, xvi, xvii.
- ³¹⁸ Jenkin Jones, 173, 176, 180, 184.
- ³¹⁹ *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. 5, 523.
- ³²⁰ "Pat" Jones, *Huntsville Times*, February 5, 1933.
- ³²¹ Robey, et. al., 14.
- ³²² Sue F. Dromgoole Mooney, *My Moving Tent* (Nashville, TN: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South, 1903), 112, 113.
- ³²³ Brown, 284; *Confederate Veteran* #5, 523.
- ³²⁴ Ruth Sykes Ford, updated by Nancy Wilkinson VanValkenburgh, *A History of the First United Methodist Church of Huntsville, Alabama, 1808-1983* (Huntsville, AL: First United Methodist Church, 1984), 58; Lowe, Part II, 1.
- ³²⁵ Jenkin Jones, 185, 186.
- ³²⁶ Hugh Lawson Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., August 6, 1863, Clay MSS; Robey, et. al., 38. Samuel Cruse served as treasurer of the M & C Railroad. Two days after the first Federal invasion, Cruse was escorted under armed guard to the provost office. The Federals demanded he turn over the cash and books of the company that were in his possession. Fortunately he had already hidden them and convinced the officers that the sum he did possess was ear-marked for the poor and needy railroad employees. The remainder of the

- currency he said had just been sent out as dividends. However, by his quick thinking, “many thousands in his possession” were saved from the Yankees.” (Shapiro, *Invasion*, 4.)
- ³²⁷ Cited in Buck, 6.
- ³²⁸ *Nashville Daily Union*, March 16, 1864.
- ³²⁹ Norman M. Shapiro, “Pardons of Madison County” in *Huntsville Historical Review*, 24 (Winter-Spring 1997) #1, 6.
- ³³⁰ Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 82.
- ³³¹ Jenkin Jones, 188, 189.
- ³³² James L. Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Civil War* (New York: William Morrow, 1995), 29.
- ³³³ *Ibid.*, 190.
- ³³⁴ *Harper's Weekly*, March 19, 1864; Stephens, 50.
- ³³⁵ Jenkin Jones, 168.
- ³³⁶ Huntsville Public Library, Civil War in North Alabama, box 1, f46.
- ³³⁷ Thanks to Patricia Ryan for locating this in the *Huntsville Democrat*, November 13, 1907.
- ³³⁸ Jenkin Jones, 193.
- ³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 193.
- ³⁴⁰ Letter from the Hon. Jere. Clemens written from Philadelphia, Oct., 1864. Cincinnati Historical Society, 973.712, C625
- ³⁴¹ Jenkin Jones, 195.
- ³⁴² Rice, *Hard Times*, 303.
- ³⁴³ Jenkin Jones, 196; *New York Times*, April 13, 1864.
- ³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 197.
- ³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 197.
- ³⁴⁶ Johnston, 124; Jenkin Jones, 197; Dunnavant, *Railroad War*, v.
- ³⁴⁷ Lester Z. Horwitz, *The Longest Raid of the Civil War*. (Cincinnati, OH: Farmcourt Publ. Co., 2001), 344-361.
- ³⁴⁸ Westmoreland, 36; *Confederate*, October 13, 1863; air.fjc.gov/servlet/uSpage, Lane; Louisville, KY *Weekly Journal*, November 17, 1862.
- ³⁴⁹ Madison County, Alabama Marriage Book, Vol. 4B, 533; Faye Acton Axford *To Lochaber na Mair: Southerners View the Civil War* (Athens, AL: Athens Publishing Co., 1986), 227. Although Federals and their wives were likely invited to the Huntsville nuptials, probably few local citizens attended Mattie's wedding festivities. Emotions ran high. C. C. Clay, Jr. had written in October of 1862, during the Federal absence, that rumor expected Mrs. Lane might return to Huntsville. The Judge was in Washington, D.C., but she was “as disloyal as her husband, and much more dangerous.” (*OR*, ser.4, vol. 2, 142.)
- ³⁵⁰ Jenkin Jones, 199.
- ³⁵¹ Scott, April 28, 1864; *Ibid.*, April 29, 1864.
- ³⁵² Jenkin Jones, 192.
- ³⁵³ *Glimpses*, 7th edition, 9.
- ³⁵⁴ Virgil (Pat) Jones. “The First National Bank” in *Huntsville Historical Review*, 5 (April-July 1975) #2 & 3, pp. 24, 25.
- ³⁵⁵ Jenkin Jones, 202-204.
- ³⁵⁶ *Huntsville Confederate*, June 30, 1863.
- ³⁵⁷ Adelia C. Lyon, ed. *Reminiscences of the Civil War* (San Jose, CA: Muiron and Wright, 1907), 119, 125, 126, 137.
- ³⁵⁸ Jenkin Jones, 184, 204-205.

- ³⁵⁹ Ayers, 5, 6.
- ³⁶⁰ Jenkin Jones, 205.
- ³⁶¹ Ibid.
- ³⁶² Oscar L. Jackson, *The Colonel's Diary* (Sharon, PA: n.p., 1922), 112.
- ³⁶³ Brown, 290.
- ³⁶⁴ Cited in Ash, 88.
- ³⁶⁵ Jenkin Jones, 206.
- ³⁶⁶ Lyon, 138.
- ³⁶⁷ Ayers, 71, 25, 26.
- ³⁶⁸ Scott, May 7, 8, 1864; Lyon, 139.
- ³⁶⁹ Ayers, 34.
- ³⁷⁰ Jenkin Jones, 207, 208.
- ³⁷¹ Ibid., 208, 209; Scott, May 10, 11, 12, 1864.
- ³⁷² Heritage Room, Civil War in North Alabama, box, f26; Huntsville Public Library; Dunnavant, *Railroad War*, 112.
- ³⁷³ Jenkin Jones, 209.
- ³⁷⁴ Ibid., 209, 210.
- ³⁷⁵ Ibid., 210.
- ³⁷⁶ Dr. Lavern John Wagner, "Huntsville in May-June, 1864, Through the Eyes of a Wisconsin Bandsman" in *Huntsville Historical Review*, 17 (Spring-Fall 1990) #2:1; Jenkin Jones, 210.
- ³⁷⁷ Hogan and Gray, 31.
- ³⁷⁸ Jenkin Jones, 210, 211.
- ³⁷⁹ Rice, *Hard Times*, 201-206; Madison Centennial Historical Record, 1, 2; Scott, May 17, 18.
- ³⁸⁰ Jenkin Jones, 212.
- ³⁸¹ Goldsmith and Fulton, 135-138.
- ³⁸² Jenkin Jones, 213.
- ³⁸³ Ibid., 213.
- ³⁸⁴ Warner, *Blue*, 36; Scott, May 23, 25, and 26, 1864.
- ³⁸⁵ Jenkin Jones, 213, 214.
- ³⁸⁶ Ibid., 214, 215.
- ³⁸⁷ *Huntsville Confederate*, September 16, 1863.
- ³⁸⁸ Scott, May 27, 1864; Wagner, 2.
- ³⁸⁹ Jenkin Jones, 217.
- ³⁹⁰ Ibid., 217.
- ³⁹¹ Ibid., 218.
- ³⁹² Laine and Penny, 68, 253; John Pannick, ed. "A Tragedy of the Civil War: Lt. Henry Stokes Figures, 48th Alabama Adjutant" in *Huntsville Historical Review*, 11 (January-April 1981) #1 & 2:16,17; Robey, et. al., 33.
- ³⁹³ Cited in Rice, *Hard Times*, 23; cited in Coles, 265.
- ³⁹⁴ Jenkin Jones, 218,219.
- ³⁹⁵ Ibid., 219.
- ³⁹⁶ Wagner, 5.
- ³⁹⁷ Jenkin Jones, 220, 221.
- ³⁹⁸ Scott, June 2, 9, 11, 15, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 1864.
- ³⁹⁹ Warner, *Blue*, 413.
- ⁴⁰⁰ Wagner, 5.
- ⁴⁰¹ History of the 12th Indiana Cavalry, <<http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Hills/4957/12thcav1.html>>.

- ⁴⁰² Storey, 123; Warner, *Blue*, 182.
- ⁴⁰³ Hogan and Gray, 28.
- ⁴⁰⁴ *Huntsville Democrat*, October 9, November 6, 1861.
- ⁴⁰⁵ Lyon, 147, 152.
- ⁴⁰⁶ Kennamer, 55, 56; Lyon, 148.
- ⁴⁰⁷ Lyon, 149.
- ⁴⁰⁸ Warner, *Blue*, 306, 307.
- ⁴⁰⁹ Ayers, 43.
- ⁴¹⁰ Caldwell, 518.
- ⁴¹¹ <www.9thprvc.com/bios/richard_colgate_dale.htm>.
- ⁴¹² Macon, Georgia Public Library, jacksonm@mail.bibb.public.lib.ga.us.
- ⁴¹³ *Confederate Military History Extended Edition, Vol. VIII, Alabama*. (Confederate Publishing Co., 1899; repr. Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing, 1987), 336.
- ⁴¹⁴ Rice, *Hard Times*, 207-223.
- ⁴¹⁵ Rice, *Hard Times*, 219-222; Lyon, 155.
- ⁴¹⁶ Charles S. Rice, "Prison Memories" in *Huntsville Historical Review*, 22 (Winter-Spring 1995) 1: 31-38; *Huntsville Times*, September 18, 1932.
- ⁴¹⁷ Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray, Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1964), 332-333.
- ⁴¹⁸ Lyon, 159.
- ⁴¹⁹ John W. Andes and Will A. McTeer, *Loyal Mountain Troopers: The Second and Third Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry in the Civil War*. (Maryville, TN: Charles S. McCammon, 1992), 110.
- ⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 161, 162; Gandrud, 389; Lyon, 164. Actually the Colonel's measurement was a little short. Known affectionately in town as the "Spite House," the walls of the first floor are 14 feet high and in Lyon's room on the second floor the walls are 16 feet high. Supposedly the house was built to obscure the scenic view of town from the house on the bluff behind it, the home of Huntsville's founder LeRoy Pope, known in 1864 as the Patton house. In the 1880 Census, Mrs. Rice's occupation was listed simply as that of a "lady."
- ⁴²¹ Ayers, 47.
- ⁴²² *Ibid.*, 48, 49. Although the subject must have been discussed among the northern men and confirmed by what they saw, Ayers gave, one of the very few written observations, about one serious concern of slavery. "...and seemingly for fear they would not breed fast Enough to supply the Demands in there own way the whites, many of them there master at that, have pitched in and help Sambo and Diner [Dinah] Along A little in the Line of Stalk [stock] and the Effect is one fourth or say one half of the Darkies are now a mixture of African and white stalk and they have in many instances kept crossing the Blood untill you Could Hardly tell there is Any African there." Ayers described a second-hand account of bidding at auction in Huntsville by "Rich oald Betchellors" for pretty female slaves who sold for over \$3000. The implication in his account was that she would also be, "A snug bedfellow of A coald night." Ayers, in an almost titillating tone, wrote more describing the auction and about exciting carnal appetites, but he knew "God would visit this People for Such sins as thease." In this long entry, Ayers noted the freed slaves appeared to be successful making corn and cotton crops. "And my convictions are this that the Slave will Do better without the master than the Master will without the Slave, if there is danger of Starvation in the Premises the Master is the man in danger."
- ⁴²³ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 33, pt. 2, 85; Cited in Clinton, *Encyclopedia*, 84.
- ⁴²⁴ Mickey Maroney, "The Civil War Journal of Octavia Wyche Otey," in *Huntsville Historical Review*, Vol 18 (Winter-Spring 1991), #1, 3.

- ⁴²⁵ Laurie Lanzen Harris and Cherie D. Abbey, eds. *19th Century Literary Criticism* (Detroit, MI: Gale Research Co., 1983) Vol. 3, pp. 12, 13.
- ⁴²⁶ Rice, *Hard Times*, 220-222.
- ⁴²⁷ Lyon, 162, 163.
- ⁴²⁸ Maroney, 3.
- ⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.
- ⁴³⁰ Dunnivant, 113; Lyon, 163.
- ⁴³¹ Maroney, 5.
- ⁴³² Dunnivant, Jr., Robert. *Yankee Foothold in Dixie, 1861-1865*. (Athens, AL: Pea Ridge Press, 1995), 108-111; *OR*, vol. 39, pt.1, p. 694; *OR*, vol. 52, ser. 1, pt. 1, p. 684.
- ⁴³³ Ann Williams, *Wealthy Planter Families in Nineteenth-Century Alabama* (Storrs, CT: Univ. of Connecticut Press, 1978), 14.
- ⁴³⁴ <http://www.9thprvc.com/bios/richard_colgate_dale.htm>.
- ⁴³⁵ Maroney, 6.
- ⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.
- ⁴³⁷ Record, 128; Rice, *Hard Times*, 28.
- ⁴³⁸ McCammon, 127.
- ⁴³⁹ Maroney, 9.
- ⁴⁴⁰ Robert H. Walker, Jr., *History of Limestone County, Alabama* (Athens, AL: Limestone County Commissioners, 1973), 124-128.
- ⁴⁴¹ Maroney, 9.
- ⁴⁴² Fernando E. Pomeroy, "The Civil War Diary of Fernando E. Pomeroy" in *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, Vol. 19 (October 1947) #4: 146, 148, 167; Lyon, 166.
- ⁴⁴³ Boatner, 794; Warner, *Blue*, 473-475.
- ⁴⁴⁴ Maroney, 10.
- ⁴⁴⁵ Lyon, 166-168.
- ⁴⁴⁶ Maroney, 11.
- ⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ⁴⁴⁸ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 39, pt. 1, 516.
- ⁴⁴⁹ Warner, *Gray*, 39; cited in Dunnivant, 114; *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 39, pt. 1, 516.
- ⁴⁵⁰ Cited in Dunnivant, 114, 115.
- ⁴⁵¹ Walker, 127, 128.
- ⁴⁵² Cited in Haagan, 26.
- ⁴⁵³ Maroney 11, 12.
- ⁴⁵⁴ Lyon, 169-171.
- ⁴⁵⁵ Wiley, 37.
- ⁴⁵⁶ Maroney, 13.
- ⁴⁵⁷ Rice, *Hard Times*, 239-244.
- ⁴⁵⁸ Maroney, 13.
- ⁴⁵⁹ Gribbin, 6; *Huntsville Confederate*, November 11, 1863; *Atlantic Monthly*, 1932, Vol. 149, 172.
- ⁴⁶⁰ Wagner, 3,4.
- ⁴⁶¹ Gandrud, 453, 235.
- ⁴⁶² Wiley, 26, 27.
- ⁴⁶³ *Heritage of Madison*, 377.
- ⁴⁶⁴ James H. Wiswell to sister, February 17, 1864.
- ⁴⁶⁵ Maroney 14, 15.
- ⁴⁶⁶ Robert T. Bentley, *Forestfield* (New York: Grafton Press, 1903), 285.
- ⁴⁶⁷ Maroney, 115, 116.
- ⁴⁶⁸ Lyon, 172.

- ⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷⁰ Hurst, 221, 222; Boatner, 291.
- ⁴⁷¹ Madison County, Alabama Marriage Book, Vol. 4B, 548.
- ⁴⁷² Ibid., 18, 19.
- ⁴⁷³ Jenkin Jones, 201.
- ⁴⁷⁴ Maroney, 19.
- ⁴⁷⁵ Lyon, 173.
- ⁴⁷⁶ Maroney, 19.
- ⁴⁷⁷ Dunnavant, *Yankee Foothold*, 117.
- ⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 20.
- ⁴⁷⁹ Jenkin Jones, 119-122; Frederick H. Dyer, *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Dayton, OH: Press of Morningside Bookshop, 1908), 667.
- ⁴⁸⁰ Pomeroy, 148, 149.
- ⁴⁸¹ Maroney, 20.
- ⁴⁸² Pomeroy, 149; Lyon, 175.
- ⁴⁸³ McCammon, 165, 166.
- ⁴⁸⁴ Maroney, 4.
- ⁴⁸⁵ Pomeroy, 149; Jenkins and Knox, 122. The *Official Records* called the action of Oct. 26-29th a siege.
- ⁴⁸⁶ LeGrand, 44, 45.
- ⁴⁸⁷ McCravey, n.p.
- ⁴⁸⁸ Lyon, 176, 177.
- ⁴⁸⁹ Samuel W. Fordyce, *Autobiography*, 96, 97.
- ⁴⁹⁰ MC1311, subseries 2, box 6, folder 3.
- ⁴⁹¹ Robey, et al., 104.
- ⁴⁹² Hogan and Gray, 29, 30; G. W. Jones to C. C. Clay, Jr., March 14, 1864; J. Withers Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., January 7, 1864, Clay MSS; Jones to Clay, Jr., Ibid.
- ⁴⁹³ Pomeroy, 149; Lyon, 178.
- ⁴⁹⁴ Bishop Andrew was a large man and rather rugged in appearance, but considered kind, benevolent, and a gentle, but forceful speaker. Andrew, in his own way, had a deep relationship with the issues of the day. Bishop James O. Andrew had married a widow who owned slaves and that offended northern Methodists. Many of them felt he should disqualify himself from his position within the church hierarchy. Andrew stated, according to Georgia law, it was illegal to free slaves; furthermore they belonged to his wife not to him. At the yearly conference meeting in New York in 1844, northern ministers called for his resignation. However his Southern supporters pointed out if he resigned it might acknowledge wrongdoing, perhaps he even might be unfit for spiritual leadership. The nation's largest denomination could not resolve this dilemma. The church divided to become the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Bishop Andrew, however, was fearful of the consequences of secession. He wrote in early 1861, "Confederate flags are flying everywhere; may God have mercy on us and save us from war and bloodshed." Mooney, 75; Woodworth, 20, 21, 119.
- ⁴⁹⁵ *Directory*, 15.
- ⁴⁹⁶ Lyon, 178, 179.
- ⁴⁹⁷ Faust, *Mothers*, 223, 224.
- ⁴⁹⁸ *Directory*, 88; Robey et al., 11.
- ⁴⁹⁹ Dyer, 667; Rice, *Hard Times*, 307.
- ⁵⁰⁰ Pomeroy, 149, 150.
- ⁵⁰¹ Lyon, 180, 181.

⁵⁰² Rice, *Bushwhacker*, 119-12; Strong, his wife Mary, and eight children, lived first in a log cabin he built on his property on Meridianville Road. While hauling cotton to the river at Whitesburg for shipment to New Orleans, he noticed a boat run aground which he was able to purchase cheaply. Thereafter every delivery to the river with his wagons empty for the return, he hauled the dressed lumber from the wreck to his farm. The family's resulting fine new house was much admired in the community. Obviously a thrifty man, in 1860 Strong had land valued at \$36,330 and personal property worth over \$45,000. During the War, it was said, his wife and daughters fed Yankees in the main rooms while quietly feeding Confederates in another. The four Strong brothers—Charles, Pleasant, Hopson, and Robert—were all well respected in the county. (Virgil "Pat" Carrington Jones, *True Tales of Old Madison County* (Huntsville, AL: Johnson Historical Press, n.d.) 37-40.)

⁵⁰³ O.C. Skipper, "Huntsville's Greene Academy, 1812-1862," in *Huntsville Historic Review*, Vol. 2 (Oct. 1972), #4, 16-26.

⁵⁰⁴ McCammon, 186.

⁵⁰⁵ *Heritage*, 136.

⁵⁰⁶ *Chattanooga Times*, August 27, 1933 located in Vertical Files, under Maysville, in Heritage Room, Huntsville Public Library.

⁵⁰⁷ *OR*, Supplement, vol. 7, Addendum, vol.45 (Serial #93), 685; Willis Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record and Public Men from 1540 to 1872* (Montgomery, AL: Barrett & Brown, 1872), 681.

⁵⁰⁸ Maroney, 20, 21.

⁵⁰⁹ *Confederate Veteran*, #5, 523.

⁵¹⁰ National Archives, CSR #M311, Roll 13, Alabama 4th (Roddey's) Cavalry, Edwin Chadick.

⁵¹¹ McMillan, *Disintegration*, 42.

⁵¹² *OR* ser.1, vol. 32, pt 3, 817; Sean Michael O'Brien, *Mountain Partisans: Guerrilla Warfare in the Southern Appalachians, 1861-1865* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), xvi.

⁵¹³ Lyon, 183.

⁵¹⁴ Madison County Marriage Books, #5, 57.

⁵¹⁵ McCammon, 177, 178.

⁵¹⁶ Lyon, 184; McCammon, 179.

⁵¹⁷ Maroney, 21-23.

⁵¹⁸ McCammon, 189.

⁵¹⁹ Cited in Storey, 163.

⁵²⁰ Rice, *Hard Times*, 164-168.

⁵²¹ Cited in Ash, 128.

⁵²² Lyon 185.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁵²⁴ *19th Century*, Vol. 3, pp.498-500.

⁵²⁵ *Huntsville Confederate*, September 16, 1863.

⁵²⁶ McCammon, 191; Lyon, 186.

⁵²⁷ *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Wisconsin*. (Madison, WI, William J. Park and Co.: 1866), 219, 224.

⁵²⁸ Martin, 24.

⁵²⁹ McCammon, 179, 180; *OR* ser. 1, vol. 45, pt 2, 342; McCammon, 193; *Ibid.*, 181.

Nancy Jones and her husband, Marshall Jones, were slaves who belonged to Alexander Jones. Their master allowed any of his slaves to keep livestock of their own, and the couple owned hogs and cattle at the start of the War. By 1862 Nancy had a successful

milk and butter trade with the occupying Union soldiers. She also baked bread, did their washing, knitting, and sewing for cash. (Storey, 122).

⁵³⁰ Hurst, 241-243.

⁵³¹ McCammon, 191, 195, 199.

⁵³² *OR*, ser. 2, vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 86; Nuermberger, 212.

⁵³³ McCammon, 181.

⁵³⁴ Warner, *Blue*, 240,241.

⁵³⁵ McCammon, 194, 195.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁵³⁷ Jenkins and Knox, 122.

⁵³⁸ *Huntsville Democrat*, Nov. 23, 1872.

⁵³⁹ Rice, *Hard Times*, 256-262.

⁵⁴⁰ Rt. Reverend Henry C. Lay, "Sherman in Georgia" in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 149 (Feb. 1932), 168.

⁵⁴¹ Conversation with Susan Bzdell, Archivist, Morgan County, AL, April 2, 2005.

⁵⁴² Lyon, 188.

⁵⁴³ L.W. Day, *Story of the 101st Ohio Infantry* (Cleveland, OH: M.W. Bayne Printing, 1894), 318, 320, 322.

⁵⁴⁴ McCammon, 194, 195; Shenk and Shenk, n.p.

⁵⁴⁵ *Huntsville Confederate*, September 25, 1863, September 21, 1863.

⁵⁴⁶ McCammon, 216, 217.

⁵⁴⁷ Hogan and Gray, 33.

⁵⁴⁸ Rice, *Hard Times*, 272; Pomeroy, 151.

⁵⁴⁹ Lyon, 189.

⁵⁵⁰ Robey, et al., 8.

⁵⁵¹ Cited in Haagan, 25.

⁵⁵² Shapiro, *Pardons*, 10.

⁵⁵³ Hogan, *Yankees*, 6; Rice, *Hard Times*, 308.

⁵⁵⁴ Laura F. Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2000), 66; O'Brien, 87; McMillan, *Disintegration*, 116, 59.

⁵⁵⁵ Rice, *Hard Times*, 263-268.

⁵⁵⁶ *Louisville Daily Journal*, January 11-14, 1864.

⁵⁵⁷ *Huntsville Confederate*, November 25, 1863; *Louisville Weekly Journal*, November 17, 1863; McLin, 259; Robey, et al., 39.

⁵⁵⁸ John Rison Jones, Jr. , "Do We Purposefully Forget?" in *Huntsville Historical Review*, Vol. 18, (Summer-Fall1991),#2: 4.

⁵⁵⁹ Reid, vol. 2, 308.

⁵⁶⁰ Day, 338-346.

⁵⁶¹ Martin, 96; McMillan, *Disintegration*, 80, 88.

⁵⁶² <www.famousamericans.net/josephivesfoot/>; <www.wisconsinhistory.org/wni/searchResults.asp>; <<http://genforu.genealogy.com/cgi-bin/print.cgi?lovejoy>>, September 28, 2004.

⁵⁶³ Charles Dickens mentioned this remedy for bruises in *Nicholas Nickleby*; Patrick O'Brien used the cure along with Venice treacle for Mr. Palafox in *Golden Ocean*; and the second verse of *Jack and Jill* calls to mind that after his fall, "Up Jack got and home he ran/ As fast as he could caper./ There his mother bound his head/ With vinegar and brown paper."

⁵⁶⁴ CSR, #311, roll 13, Alabama 4th (Roddey's) Cavalry; James E. Bailey, Cited in Haagan, 26.

⁵⁶⁵ Maroney, 23.

⁵⁶⁶ Dorothy Scott Johnson, comp. and ed., *1907 Confederate Census* (Huntsville, AL: Johnson Historical Publications, 1981), 25; Cunningham, 85.

⁵⁶⁷ Lyon, 196.

⁵⁶⁸ Maroney, 24, 25.

⁵⁶⁹ <www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/SS/fst12.html>;

<www.geocities.com/maulanie2001'dss.html>.

⁵⁷⁰ Lyon, 195.

⁵⁷¹ Boatner, 731.

⁵⁷² For an in depth study of the political scene after the War, see Norman Shapiro, "John Benton Callis: Madison County's Republican Congressman" in *Huntsville Historical Review*, Vol. 29 (Spring –Summer 2004), #2: 7-56.

⁵⁷³ Maroney, 25.

⁵⁷⁴ Shapiro, "Invasion," 14; MC 1311, B4 f1 1; Samuel W. Fordyce, *Autobiography*, 4.

⁵⁷⁵ Cited in McMillan, *Reader*, 357, 360; cited in Wiley, 56.

⁵⁷⁶ Cited in Faust, *Mothers*, 239. The complete words tell a story in themselves:

"This sad war is a bad thing./ My pa-pa went, and died in the army./ My brother-er went too and got shot. A bombshell took off his head./ My aunt had three sons, and all have died in the army./ Now she and the girls have to work for bread./ I will work for my ma and my sis-ters./ I hope we will have peace by the time [I] am old enough to go to war./ If I were a man, and had to make laws, I would not have any war, if I could it./ If little boys fight old folks whip them for it; but when men fight, they say 'how brave!'"

⁵⁷⁷ *OR* ser. 1, vol. 45, pt. 1, pp. 194, 195; Rice, *Hard Times*, 269-279.

⁵⁷⁸ *OR* ser. 1, vol. 35, pt. 1, pp. 194, 195; *Ibid.*, 94-99.

⁵⁷⁹ Chapman, 169.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*; Reminiscences by Mrs. Lillie Bibb Greet, Civil War in North Alabama, Heritage Room, Huntsville Public Library, 95.1, box 5, f6 and 17.

⁵⁸¹ Maroney, 25.

⁵⁸² Janet B. Hewett, ed., *Roster of Union Soldiers, Ohio, Volumes 3 and 4*. (Wilmington, NC, Broadfoot Publishing 1999), vol. 3, 193, 204; vol. 4, 177.

⁵⁸³ Hogan and Gray, 31; Chapman, 168.

⁵⁸⁴ Lyon, 199.

⁵⁸⁵ <http://www.littleflowers.biz/slippy_elm.htm>.

⁵⁸⁶ Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*. (Columbia, SC: Univ. of South Carolina Press), 1993, 12. This is the definitive volume about shortages of food and supplies in the civilian population and the substitutes on the Southern homefront.

⁵⁸⁷ The writer of the history of the Cumberland Army offered a Union perspective of Father Treacy. When Treacy first arrived in Huntsville "he found many of his people, who were scattered and neglected, and resolved to stay there for a long time and aid them in building a church." The edifice of cut stone "had progressed to the windows of the main story" when the War began. Except for three families his congregation all held Union sentiments. After the fall of Fort Donelson, the wounded and sick Southern soldiers were sent for recovery to Huntsville where Father Treacy was in constant attendance. "Alas that the same cannot be said of the rebel ministers and the secession ladies of that city! His complaints respecting the filthy condition of the hospitals met with no response" from the citizens. They were apparently afraid that this was an attempt to "Romanize the hospitals"! Referring to the arrest of town leaders in the spring of 1862, the writer continued: "To the eternal shame of the rebel Protestant ministers of that city be it here recorded that while Father Treacy was visiting the sick and attending the funerals of the dead, they were, for the public security, kept under close guard at the court-house, as the only means of restraining their rebellious tempers." As the Federal troops evacuated

Huntsville in late August of 1862, Treacy had to flee for his life to the lines of General Rosecrans. Thereafter he “remained with Major General Rosecrans as his constant and faithful friend and spiritual adviser” (Fitch, 326-329). On the other hand Withers Clay wrote in the *Confederate* on Aug. 12, 1863 from Georgia, “None of the residents of Huntsville, who went off with the Yankees last Summer, returned with the new swarm of Vandals, except a mulatto slave name Joe McCay and the Roman Catholic priest, who ministered in Huntsville before the war, Father Treacy.” Editor Clay continued with some disparaging comments and wrote, “Treacy after the battle of Shiloh, went there, professedly, to nurse Confederate soldiers, returned to become familiar with the Yankees, and was permitted to remain in Huntsville,” and later voluntarily became the Father Confessor to General Rosecrans (*Huntsville Confederate*, August 12, 1863).

⁵⁸⁸ Boatner, 697.

⁵⁸⁹ Crane, October 21, 1863.

⁵⁹⁰ The father of Robert McCook, Major Daniel McCook, had immediately sought revenge for the death of his son. It was assumed in the North that Frank Gurley, who was held personally responsible for the death, was a member of the dreaded Morgan’s “guerilla” outfit invading Ohio at that time. Seeking revenge, McCook’s father joined the chase after Morgan’s band even though no one knew really what Gurley looked like or could much less identify him. Daniel McCook, the father of eight Union army sons, fell in the first volley at the Battle of Buffington Island on July 19, 1863, age 65. He was buried beside his son. (Robert Horwitz, 230; Joseph B. Doyle, *20th Century History of Steubenville and Jefferson County, Ohio and Representative Citizens* (Chicago, IL: Richmond-Arnold Publ. Co., 1910), 1096.)

⁵⁹¹ Rice, *Hard Times*, 222.

⁵⁹² Madison County, Alabama Marriage Book, Vol. 4B; *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Medical Association of the State of Alabama* (Montgomery, AL: Brown Printing Co., 1890), 180.

⁵⁹³ Maroney, 26.

⁵⁹⁴ McCravey, n.p.

⁵⁹⁵ *Annual Report*, 220.

⁵⁹⁶ *Louisville Daily Journal*, March 8, 1865.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*; Warner, *Blue*, 252.

⁵⁹⁸ *Louisville Daily Journal*, March 8, 1865.

⁵⁹⁹ Lyon, 203-205, 217.

⁶⁰⁰ Hogan, *Yankees*, 10.

⁶⁰¹ McDonnold. *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, 284.

⁶⁰² Samuel L. Webb and Margaret E. Armbruster, eds., *Alabama Governors, A Political History of the State* (Tuscaloosa, AL: Univ. of Alabama Press, 2001), 76; Rogers, William Warren, Robert David Ward, Leah Rawls Atkins, and Wayne Flynt. *Alabama the History of a Deep South State*, (Tuscaloosa, AL: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1994), 222.

⁶⁰³ Naval History Division, Navy Department, comp. *Civil War Naval Chronology, 1861-1865*. (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1971) V-81, V-83, V-95.

⁶⁰⁴ *OR*, ser. 1, vol. 49, pt. 1, 510.

⁶⁰⁵ McCravey, n.p.

⁶⁰⁶ Pomeroy, 152.

⁶⁰⁷ Richard Bak, *The Day Lincoln Was Shot* (Dallas, TX: Taylor Publ. Co., 1998), 72.

⁶⁰⁸ This kind of story was prevalent during the War. Those suffering at home just knew that the people far away from the action were living it up. Susanna Clay wrote to her son, Clement, Jr., in July of 1863 about the rumor that General Hardee and his staff were attending a ball when they were outflanked. Mrs. Clay’s friend Thomas McCauley

reported this from Selma where he saw and heard complaints of commands frolicking with their families and large parties of friends living well, taking from the country necessaries.... The officers attending dancing parties.” (Susanna Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., July 24, 1863, Duke MSS).

⁶⁰⁹ Robey, et. al., 38.

⁶¹⁰ Hogan and Gray, 31.

⁶¹¹ Shapiro, *Star*, 3-8. For a more detailed account of David Todd, see Norman Shapiro’s article “Captain David H. Todd: A Brother of Mr. Lincoln’s Wife” in *Huntsville Historical Review*, Vol. 28 (Spring-Summer), #2, 54-81.

⁶¹² <www.FamilySearch.org>; IGI Individual Record, Bateman.

⁶¹³ Laine and Penny, 74; Coles, 204.

⁶¹⁴ Dunnivant, *Yankee Foothold*, 144, 145.

⁶¹⁵ Laine and Penney, 336, 337.

⁶¹⁶ Shelby Foote, *Civil War: A Narrative*, 999; Warner, *Gray*, 299.

⁶¹⁷ Mayhew, 14.

⁶¹⁸ Cited in Johnston, 163; Rice *Hard Times*, 290.

⁶¹⁹ Randall Bedwell, ed. *May I Quote You, General Lee?* (Nashville TN: Cumberland House, 1997), 68.

⁶²⁰ Johnston, 164-166.

⁶²¹ Reminiscences by Mrs. Lillie Bibb Greet, Civil War in North Alabama, Heritage Room, Huntsville Public Library, 95.1, box 5, f6, 17; cited in Stephens, 57.

⁶²² John Allan Wyeth, *With Sabre and Scalpel* (New York: Harpers, 1914), 313, 314.

⁶²³ LeGrand, 264, 265.

⁶²⁴ Edwards, 80; Marjorie Howell Cook, “Restoration and Innovation: Alabamians Adjust to Defeat, 1865-1867” diss. University of Alabama, 1968, 79; Sarah Etheline Bounds, “Reconstruction in Huntsville and Madison County, Alabama, 1865-1869” in *Huntsville Historical Review*, 3 (October 1973) #4: 4.

⁶²⁵ Cited in Kenneth W. Noe and Shannon H. Wilson, eds., *The Civil War in Appalachia*, (Knoxville, TN: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1997), xxiv.

⁶²⁶ Martin, 131; Clinton, *Tara*, 113.

⁶²⁷ Cook, 77; Wyeth, 319; Bounds, 8.

⁶²⁸ Maroney, 5, 19-21.

⁶²⁹ Octavia Aurelia Wyche Otey, November 29, 1868, Wyche and Otey Family Papers, #1608, subseries 3.2.

⁶³⁰ Synopsis found at <www.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/w/Wyche_and_Otey_Family>.

⁶³¹ McMillan, *Reader*, vii.

⁶³² Bounds, 17.

⁶³³ Thomas H. Kenny, *Slave Genealogy: Problems Concerning Slaves and Plantation in the Early Years of Madison County, Alabama* (Huntsville, AL: N. p., 2000), 83.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, 83; Carrington Jones, *True Tales*, 97, 98; Chapman, 64, 64; *Huntsville Times*, May 17, 1902.

⁶³⁵ Mary G. Tumlin, “Criminal Justice in Madison County, Alabama: April 1865 to December 1874” in *Huntsville Historical Review*, Vol. 19 (Summer-Fall 1992), #2, 4.

⁶³⁶ Cook, 138; Bounds, 12; Edward F. Reid Papers, 1863-1888, 17 located in William H. Smith Memorial Library, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, IN.

⁶³⁷ Tumlin, 5.

⁶³⁸ Diary of Mary P. Rice, Lay MSS, University of North Carolina, #418-2, #6.

⁶³⁹ Dun, Vol. 15, 168. In the correspondence of the Confederate authorities, it was acknowledged that profiteering was an additional temptation to those in control of supplies particularly when the enemy was nearby and had silver or gold to exchange (OR,

- ser. 1, vol. 39, pt.3, 860). For specific activities see Harold S. Wilson, *Confederate Industry, Manufacturers and Quartermasters in the Civil War*: Jackson, MS (Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2002).
- ⁶⁴⁰ Hugh Lawson Clay to C. C. Clay, Jr., April 23, June 14, 1866, Clay MSS.
- ⁶⁴¹ Bounds, 11, 4-8.
- ⁶⁴² *Ibid.*, 12; Hogan, *Yankees*, 8; Pomeroy, 153; Bounds, 5.
- ⁶⁴³ Bounds, 5; Dun, Vol. 15, 215.
- ⁶⁴⁴ Cook, 119, 128; Bounds, 14.
- ⁶⁴⁵ Cook, 144; Clinton, Tara, 177; McDonald, 43; Bounds, 18, 19.
- ⁶⁴⁶ Dun, Vol. 15, 179; Bounds, 13.
- ⁶⁴⁷ Rice, *Hard Times*, 113, 114.
- ⁶⁴⁸ Conversation with researcher Brian Hogan, December 12, 2004.
- ⁶⁴⁹ Hogan and Gray, 33; John Rison Jones, 3-5.
- ⁶⁵⁰ Thomas D. Duncan, *Recollections of Thomas D. Duncan, A Confederate Soldier* (Nashville, TN: McQuiddy Printing, 1922), 194.
- ⁶⁵¹ Dun, Vol. 15, 150; Robey, et al., 91; Madison County Marriage Index, H-R, 1810-1928, 32.
- ⁶⁵² Sarah Huff Fisk, *Civilization Comes to the Big Spring: Huntsville, Alabama 1823* (Huntsville, AL: Pinhook Publishing, 1997), 135; Dun, Vol. 15, 159.
- ⁶⁵³ Dun, Vol. 15, 160.
- ⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 191.
- ⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 216; Nuremberger, 304.
- ⁶⁵⁶ Dun, Vol. 15, 295. The name Vogel is still cut into the curb where his shop was located on Eustis Street.
- ⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 197.
- ⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 191.
- ⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 209.
- ⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 211.
- ⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 170.
- ⁶⁶² Gandrud, Vol. 131, 17.
- ⁶⁶³ Shapiro, *Pardons*, 5; Dun, Vol. 15, 161.
- ⁶⁶⁴ Dun, Vol. 15, 193.
- ⁶⁶⁵ Unpublished biographical material by Charles Rice, <www.ehistory.com/uscw/features/regimental/alabamconfederate/mead.cfm>.
- ⁶⁶⁶ Rice, *Hard Times*, 244.
- ⁶⁶⁷ <www.FamilySearch.org>; Warner, *Blue*, 512.
- ⁶⁶⁸ Rappolt, 121, 122.
- ⁶⁶⁹ Lyon, 255.
- ⁶⁷⁰ Frank Burns, ed. *History of Wilson County, Tennessee* (Lebanon, TN: n.p., 1987), 229; Goodspeed, 1087.
- ⁶⁷¹ Wilson County, Tennessee Chancery Book, 237.
- ⁶⁷² Burns, 98; Thomas E. Partlow, comp., *Wilson County, Tennessee, Deed Book, 1853-1875, Part I, n.d., n.p. 58*; Bedwell, *Wilson County, Tennessee, Chancery Court Minutes, 1873-1905*, 237.
- ⁶⁷³ Thomas E. Partlow, comp., *Genealogical Resource Material, Wilson County, Tennessee* (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1997), 107; Burns, 135; Wilson County, Tennessee, Miscellaneous Records, Wills, R 196, 61.
- ⁶⁷⁴ Cedar Grove Cemetery, Wilson County, Tennessee (n.p., n.d.); Goodspeed, 1086.
- ⁶⁷⁵ Mayhew, 11,12.
- ⁶⁷⁶ Ford, 61; Chadick, 22, 23.

⁶⁷⁷ Samuel W. Fordyce, *Autobiography*, 104.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid*, passim.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

⁶⁸⁰ John Fordyce, Trip, 8. In his autobiography Fordyce offered Sue's account of how her hand was shot: Seeing that he did not have time to mount his horse Reverend Chadick ran across the street to the Mayhew house as the northern troopers charged down the street. One of her Morgan cousins had given her a souvenir pistol found on the Shiloh battlefield. Sue thought there was going to be a fight and she wanted to help defend her father. She tried to load the gun, but in her excitement the gun discharged and the bullet went through her hand (*Autobiography*, 93).

Their son, John's account is similar: While Reverend Chadick fled to the Mayhew house, Sue prepared to defend him. She got out an old pistol that a cousin had picked up at Shiloh battlefield and had given her. She loaded it and as she tried to put on a cap, it exploded and the bullet went through her left hand. (John Fordyce, Trip).

In a story published in the *St. Louis Republic* much later, the version was romanticized but still second-hand: Fordyce with a half dozen men under his command arrived at house in the late evening to capture Reverend Chadick. As the Yankees rushed in the door, Sue, "a beautiful girl of 18 summers picked up her father's pistol that was lying on the bureau in plain sight. Fordyce seized the gun to disarm her. When the gun misfired, she was shot in the hand, but Reverend Chadick escaped. The young officer returned again and again to inquire about her injured hand, and continued until he carried her hand away in his (*St. Louis Republic*, Mar. 28, 1907).

Another newspaper account, the *Hot Springs Record* published an account also much later: Fordyce was one of the officers who entered the house. "She was shot in the hand during the struggle. He returned in a few days to check her injury, he came again and again...." (*Hot Springs Record* 194, 1905).

⁶⁸¹ Samuel W. Fordyce, *Autobiography*, 103-105.

⁶⁸² John Rison Fordyce, "Old Tennessee," 9; Miscellaneous papers, Fordyce Papers (MC 1311), box 3, f3; Samuel W. Fordyce, *Autobiography*, 78, 104.

⁶⁸³ Samuel W. Fordyce, *Autobiography*, 95.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁶⁸⁵ Madison County, Alabama Deed Book FF, 517; *Ibid.*, 106-109.

⁶⁸⁶ Robey, et al., 51; Jon Rison Fordyce, "Old Tennessee." Fordyce Family Papers (MC 1311), subseries 3, box 7, f5, 8.

⁶⁸⁷ Samuel W. Fordyce, *Autobiography*, 119-124.

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁸⁹ Fordyce Papers (MC 1311), subseries 1, box 5, folder 5, scrapbook, 16; Samuel Wesley Fordyce, *Autobiography*, 78, 104; "Hot Springs Township History, Part I from 1880," copied by Capitola Glazner, in *The Record*, Garland County Historical Society, Vol. XVIII, 1977, 197.

⁶⁹⁰ Mary Jane Chadick, 23; Dun, Vol. 15, 228; Madison County, Alabama Deed Book FF, 517; Mary Jane Chadick, 23.

⁶⁹¹ Mary Jane Chadick, 23-25.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, 25, 26.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*, 27-29.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 30, 32.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 31-33; Robey, et. al., 50.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 30, 32.

⁶⁹⁷ Fordyce Papers (MC 1311) subseries 1, box 4, folder 7; Proctor, 14: 91.

- ⁶⁹⁸ Mary Jane Chadick, 54, 55; Martha Holt, Almetia Cunningham and Betty Majors, comps., *Warren County Tennessee Cemetery Book* 4, 116; Mary Jane Chadick, 56; *The Record*, 197.
- ⁶⁹⁹ William D. Chadick, *Genealogy*, 90, 91.
- ⁷⁰⁰ *Huntsville Mercury*, December 31, 1902; Madison County Marriage Book, 25: 217.
- ⁷⁰¹ William D. Chadick, *Genealogy*, 90, 98.
- ⁷⁰² *Ibid.*, 98.
- ⁷⁰³ William D. Chadick, *Genealogy*, 198; Dorothy Scott Johnson, *Cemeteries*, 3: 71; <<http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/tx/hidalgo/cemetery/ebonyac.txt>>.
- ⁷⁰⁴ William H. Chadick, "Edwin Davis Chadick, A Man with a Vision" in *Tobucksy News*, Vol. 9, #2 (May 1992), 1-5; Telephone conversation with Annie and William H. Chadick, April 4, 2004.
- ⁷⁰⁵ Mary Jane Chadick, 46.
- ⁷⁰⁶ Gandrud, 25; Robey, et al., 51.
- ⁷⁰⁷ Wiley, 68, 69.
- ⁷⁰⁸ Lebanon, *Tennessee Democrat*, November 2, 1905.
- ⁷⁰⁹ Mary Jane Chadick, 12, 13.
- ⁷¹⁰ Conversation with Dr. Eleanor Hutchens, January 11, 2004

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INCIDENTS OF THE WAR

The Civil War Journal of Mary Jane Chadick

The Civil War diary of Mary Jane Chadick of Huntsville, Alabama, has been a popular source for historians since it first appeared in serial form in the *Huntsville Times* in 1937. Soon after this, it was printed in a small book, and in 1947 was reprinted in the *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, a selection so popular that surplus copies were quickly depleted. Chadick's witty observations of life under military occupation and the social and cultural tensions of southern women living in a wartime world are quoted by writers of many books about the Civil War. Nancy Rohr's edition is the first attempt to place the diary in context and interpret Mrs. Chadick and the wartime world in which she lived. Rohr's extensive annotations make this new edition an even more valuable primary source on women, northern Alabama and the Civil War.



Dr. Leah Rawls Atkins
Auburn University