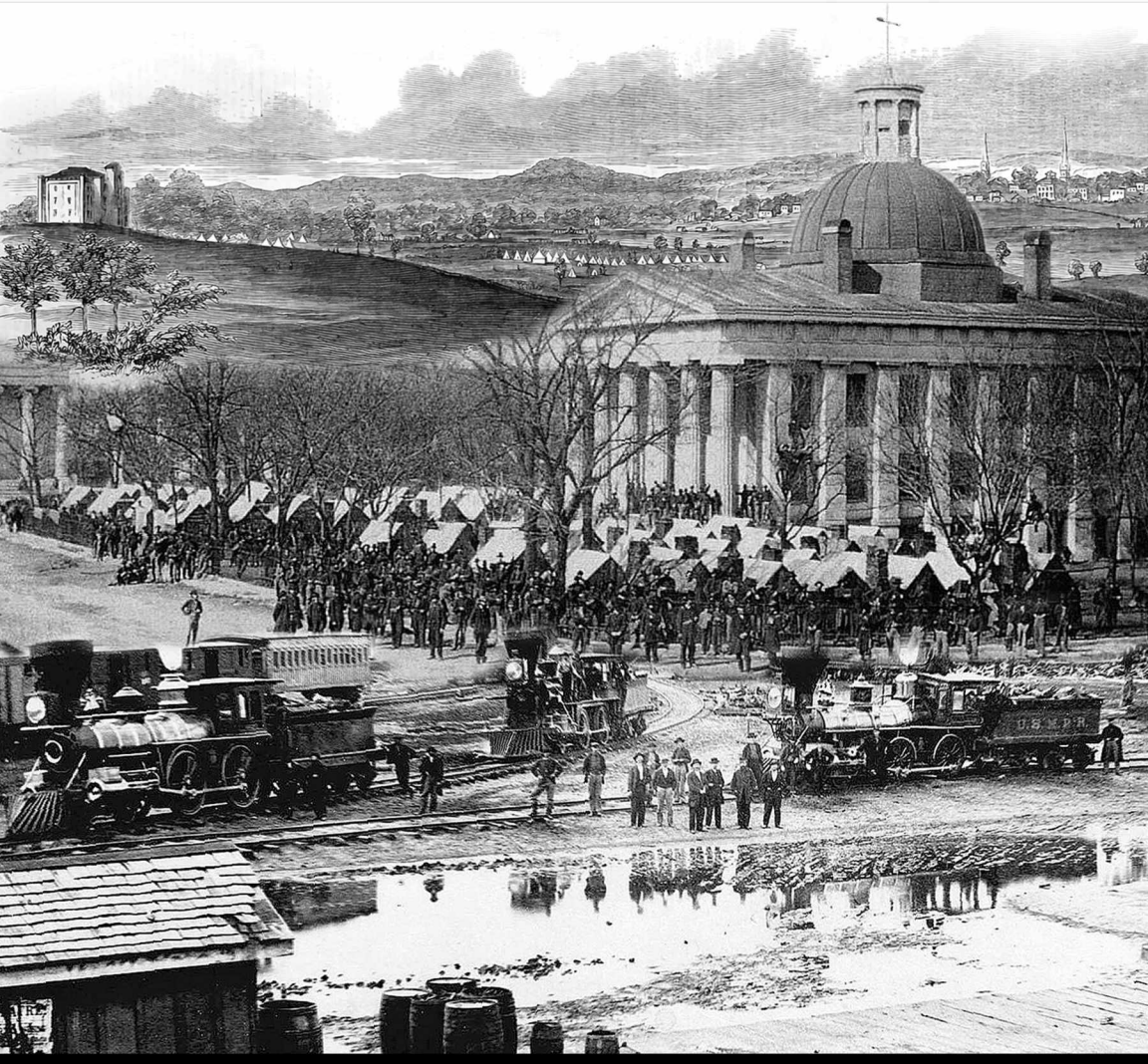
Rascality in Huntsville: 1861–1865

The Spies Among Us



Nancy M. Rohr

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Spies Among Us

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You'll find that historical research is extremely soothing. When you spend all day among old papers, the people come alive for you, and you begin to see the present through different eyes.

Ruth Reichl

Preface

This effort began with the exhilarating discovery of seldom-examined material covering events in Huntsville, Madison County, Alabama during the American Civil War. The source of this obscure material was a small notebook containing a compilation of reports which appeared to be written by three men at three separate times. Finding references to this notebook in past studies by historians, this editor's curiosity was piqued about its physical location. She requested a copy of the notebook from the Indiana Historical Society, who graciously acquiesced.

The exchange of command at Fort Taylor, Huntsville by Col. Gilbert Johnston occurred in the chaotic final quarter of 1864. Fearing the valuable contents of the notebook might be lost or, worse, discovered by the enemy, Lt. Edward Reid, AAAG, officially took possession of it, later bringing it to his home. The slim notebook was found among his papers.

The notebook revealed lists of names of specific people in Madison County in 1862-1863, accompanied by brief passages reporting each person's positions and actions regarding the War of Southern Rebellion. Such a valuable source, but who recorded these lists and why were they in Madison County at the time? In short, they were spies for the Union cause with access to classified information about civilian activities in a war-torn county. Today, who would not be excited to locate an actual spy notebook, much less notes, by at least two recognized agents? A closer look revealed what could possibly be three or four spies, with one acting as a double agent.

It became evident that the notebook's content went far beyond listing names and activities; it unveiled the social history of a Southern community in a unique way, offering a rare glimpse of those often left out of traditional War histories: ordinary people at home and at travel during wartime, including women, enslaved people, and those merely passed through. That said, the narrative is male-oriented, as societal strictures emphatically determined in those times. This work is not intended to represent the Civil War in its vast scope of military history and battles. Instead, it reveals economic, social, geographical, and kinship ties, along with the movements, work, and the day-to-day lives of households in the midst of an historical dilemma.

The men and women whose names were listed in the notebook moved within vastly differing social strata. In a county of 26,451 people, therefore, the close proximity of their names in these lists suggest connections between them of some sort, most likely professional, and possibly conspiratorial. Connections serve as the foundations of history. Revealing previously unknown connections between people can also reveal new events, at which point historical perspectives of long accepted and established sequences of events begin to change. Details and relationships create pictures on what were once blank pages. Connections, as it turns out, can bring us closer to

the truth. Prompting an examination of the activities and beliefs shared in common, this notebook reveals economic, social, and geographic changes, along with unprecedented contact between classes in the work and day-to-day lives of Southern households in the midst of the War.

Many citizens felt the deep reverence of their forefathers who created the great United States that allowed them the freedoms they held dear. The Union, they knew, must be saved. Just as many may have considered abolition – freeing the enslaved – to be their god-driven purpose. The incorporation of money, specifically cash rewards, with these beliefs, along with the scourges of hunger and famine, further complicated what already must have been heart-rending decisions for families and neighbors.

The unprecedented motion and disruption of people during this new time of war and crisis meant spies could be anywhere. Loose talk or unusual actions, however innocuous, could not only be misinterpreted by a neighbor, but also observed by a spy. Personal grudges sometimes accompany personal connections. Revenge for perceived past wrongs, for example, could be as damaging as political espionage.

The spy notebook is a centerpiece. Supplementary material retrieved from the National Archives, consisting of the daily military and personal correspondence of General Ormsby Mitchel, commanding Union officer in occupied Huntsville, provides present-day readers with daily details of two previously nebulous groups: civilians living in occupied territory, i.e., their own homes, and Union soldiers temporarily living in Madison County who served as the occupying forces. These accounts are, of course, from the perspective of Mitchel, his fellow officers, and those Union soldiers.

General Mitchel's son Frank assisted him during the War, and Frank later published memoirs of those days working with his father which offer yet another intriguing perspective of occupied Huntsville. In both sets of historical writings, Gen. Mitchel's conflicted feelings are revealed on topics such as his status as an outsider (however powerful) in a small town, local resentment and aggression toward him and the forces under his command, and frustration at the lack of food and supplies for both his own soldiers and the remaining residents of Huntsville (mostly women, children, and the elderly), for whom he expressed genuine sorrow. His letters show a man repeatedly frustrated by his fellow officers and surprisingly empathetic to the plight of Huntsville citizens.

In addition to the spy notebook and General Mitchel's papers, a few other crucial sources shed light on life in Huntsville during the Civil War. A particularly useful and detailed one was influential town figure John Withers Clay (known as Withers), who reported War-related events and fascinating stories at the neighborhood level in his newspaper, *The Huntsville Democrat*. His articles, announcements, and opinions provided the town of Huntsville (not to mention future readers and historians) with vital information at a time when news was almost impossible to come by. On at

least one occasion detailed in the following pages, Clay was forced to shut down operations, disperse his equipment, and flee as Union forces descended upon Huntsville. As a well-known newspaper editor, his readers knew his name, address, and, most importantly, his loyalties. These loyalties were clear: Withers Clay was the son of former Governor Clement Clay. His brother, Clement Clay Jr., a former U.S. Senator, now served as a powerful Confederate Senator. When Union forces invaded, Withers Clay became a target.

Research began by exploring the names listed in the notebook. Federal Census records were critical for locating surnames mentioned at the correct time period. Court records and library materials provided personal information about the parties involved, bringing them into focus as people worth investigating. These established but rarely referenced supplemental resources, woven together with the notebook names and data, set the scene of Huntsville as a town unhappily enduring the hardships and scarcities caused by foreign occupation. Family and marriage kinships, neighbor relationships, and business partnerships slowly took shape, uncovering an expansive web of interconnecting alliances in Madison County. For example, full profiles of families who used goods and services from others on the list emerged, revealing those others' social connections. Far from strangers, these people interacted frequently, aware all the while of surnames, kinship ties, and the implications thereof. The social architecture of Huntsville itself unfolded, revealing neighborhoods and enclaves ranging from rural farms to bustling, urban streets.

Editorial Decisions and Acknowledgments

The original material and punctuation have been kept intact for all quoted sources used herein, with a few exceptions for clarity. The reader will recognize the use of the Federal Census records when it is implied in the paragraph without being footnoted each and every time. The census material may seem monotonous at times, but the data it yields is priceless when little else is available. It offers information on age, marital status, family, and assets, which almost always proves essential. Unfortunately, that census material is not always accurate and, during those ten years, many births and deaths occurred without empirical notation in the family history. Combined with additional records, however, they come to life, and their stories take shape.

It seemed necessary to continue following newly found acquaintances after the War, at least briefly, to complete their stories, including failure and success, those who lived and died, those who stayed on or moved from Madison County, and those never heard from again. This editor suffered from simultaneous lack of information and the idea that she might know it

all. Past, present, and unintended mistakes are the responsibility of the editor.

Thanks to librarians Shalis Worthy, Heather Davis, Caitlin Monroe, Thomas Hutchens, and David Lilly at Huntsville-Madison County Public Library for all things, great and small. Thanks to Dr. Tom Reidy for giving me signposts, and thanks to John O'Brien, who saw it as it should be. Thank you to Abby Dunham for the dedication and the path to completion. Deane Dayton's *Huntsville History Collection* remains the place to go for a touch of everything Huntsville. Individuals and historical societies who gave such great clues include Donna Dunham, Linda Allen, Bob Davis at Wallace State Community College; Daniel Barron at Mitchell County History Society, Bakersville, North Carolina; the Fairfield Connecticut Historical Society; Sherri Tomerlin, Lincoln County, Tennessee Archives at Fayetteville, Tennessee; Chelsea Johnson, Marshall District Library, Marshall, Michigan; Veronica Sales at Tennessee State Library and Archives, and, of course the William Henry Smith Memorial Library, Indiana Historical Society for saving the Reid Papers, Regan Steimel, Reference Librarian.

Family added encouragement as Jim Rohr shared his ideas, and Kate and Torie Rohr sacrificed themselves for a day at the National Archives. Alex Rohr enhanced photographs and designed the cover, while Kathy Rohr researched and digitized pictures again and again and again. The reader must know that history is never finished. We instinctively try to record every new piece of data found along the way, but this is a tenuous trail that seldom stops with one lead often fortunately heading to a new one. The first lead quickly fades, and we can no longer remember where or with whom it started. They all became connected.

Prologue

The symbiotic relationship between town and country was no secret. As ever, country folk depended on town people for goods and services, and townspeople depended upon farmers and their families for business. Town visits were a regular part of life for country families. While city dwellers were accustomed to seeing local farmers and their employees in town. They knew exactly who these country folk were, and sometimes knew the precise reason for their town excursion.

For those living on farms on the outskirts of Huntsville, the Alabama countryside usually maintained a customary calm, only occasionally interrupted by the farm noises involved with hard work and little play. Trees were felled, corn was hoed, and cotton was picked, usually without causing much of a stir of sound. In 1860, only a few people were privy to the sound of a distant shrill whistle or the sight of a riverboat's towering smokestacks announcing its arrival at plantations along the waterfront. Horses snorted and reared at these unfamiliar clatters. When it was time to go to town for supplies or register papers at the courthouse, the entire family rode on a horse-drawn or mule-driven wagon, Ma holding the new baby as the youngsters dangled their legs and feet over the back. Once they arrived in town, a cacophony of accents might be heard: the highly educated voice of city and state aristocrats, Irishmen, Scotsmen, Prussians, and Frenchmen now citizens, and the inevitable rural twang. Teamsters often sounded crass, and ministers spoke softly until, from the pulpit, they spoke fervently. A voice raised in anger might lead to a duel on the square. Black men, women, and children spoke only when spoken to.

The strong odors of town sharply differed from the familiar smells of home fireplaces heaped with supper cooking and washing kettles filled with lye soap. Here the smells of locomotive cinders and the axle grease of wagon wheels hovered over the rail depot. Mercantile stores offered the scent of fabrics, some made locally at Bell Factory, and, if the tavern and doggery doors were open, a whiff of ciders and ales might drift out. The conventional wisdom of the time was to stay on the boardwalks, as horse droppings were not always picked up nightly and swine and dogs ran freely everywhere. On the other hand, a divine aroma near the bakery and the confectioner's shops lured the young and old alike.

Dusk fell, shops closed, and shopkeepers beamed at empty shelves, making notes to restock items as they tallied the day's receipts. The stockboy might stop and chat with the fellows at the billiard parlor on his way home. The Black people in town finished their chores early to enjoy Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning – usually spent at church – on their own. They knew to be home by sunset, or else. Those enslaved in rural areas likewise tried to finish work so that they might tend their vegetable patch, visit among themselves, and, with permission from landowners, stop at a

nearby plantation to pay court to a sweetheart or spend time with their wife and children.

The White rural family finished their day in town, loading goods and supplies as local news continued to spread and any last-minute gossip disbelieved or accepted as gospel, tsk-tsk. The children walked behind family wagons in the evening twilight because provisions now replaced them on the wagon. The oldest girl might hold the baby because Ma sometimes took the reins on the return trip so that her old man might sleep on the journey home.

Before the War encroached upon their world, or even commenced, these people were bound together by the rhythms of their lives – by their shared experiences and expectations. This was the setting among the mixture of rural and town folks as the clamor and violence of war rumbled closer to their once peaceful setting. Countless sons and husbands had already joined the army to fight the "warmongering Yankees." Neighbors talked and argued, attended political rallies, and talked and argued some more. Letters written from folks up north showed dismay and alarm at the events that occurred now one year into violent warfare. The news and influence of newspapers became vital for stories from the capitols Washington, D.C. and Richmond, Virginia and more so for battlefield results and casualties. Everyone knew some person who had departed in the name of saving their country – both countries.

Here, then, are those very blue bloods, poor Whites, Black hands, and a multitude of colorful characters of Madison County, Alabama who connected in such diverse ways to live, fight, suffer, and endure during the American Civil War.

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Chapter 1

The Invasion

Victory is at hand.

Brigadier General Ormsby M. Mitchel's Third Division of the Army of Ohio, some 6,000 to 8,000 men strong, marched from Fayetteville, Tennessee, at about noontime on April 10, 1862. They crossed the newly completed six-arch stone bridge up Wells Hill into Alabama. They continued along Meridianville Pike due south through the hamlets of Hazel Green and Meridianville, where the men rested as darkness fell. About midnight, Mitchel's advance formed into columns and started again, passing by the plantation home Greenlawn and the vast acres of former Confederate Secretary of War, General Pope Walker's plantation. They marched past Forrestfield, passing the Mastin Place. The Memphis & Charleston Railroad tracks soon appeared on the left, and the grand China Grove manor looked out on the roadway. They next passed the Quietdale and Oaklawn plantations. With the rising sun still shaded by mountains to the east at 5:30 am, they arrived at Huntsville, Alabama. Nary a dog had barked a warning.

After quickly capturing the railroad depot and telegraph offices, General Mitchel sent Colonel Turchin by rail west to capture Decatur, the rail link for the Decatur & Nashville Railroad and the very important rail bridge over the Tennessee River. Colonel Sill and his men advanced 70 miles by rail to the east to the railhead at Stevenson, continued afoot to come within five miles of Bridgeport and the river there. Mitchel submitted his report to Secretary of War Stanton:

> SIR: 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 captured about 200 prisoners, 15 locomotives, a large amount of passenger, box, and platform cars, the telegraphic apparatus and offices, and two Southern mails. We have at length succeeded in cutting the great artery of railway intercommunication between the Southern States.
> Very respectfully, your obedient servant
>
> O.M. Mitchel

Mitchel's report to Secretary Stanton was immediately printed on the front page of the *New York Times*. An article provided by a reporter of *The Cincinnati Gazette* glowingly described the departure from Murfreesboro earlier and the readiness of the men even before the trumpet sounded. "Regiments wheeled into columns and the bayonets of thousands of soldiers flashed brilliantly even in the midst of a cloud of dust."[1] And now, forces of the United States Army controlled 120 miles of extraordinarily important railway and telegraph communications along the only remaining rail link from Memphis to Charleston, in effect from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic Ocean. They forged a roadway into the very heart of the Confederacy.

The single casualty was a Southern fireman, Black and unnamed, who was killed as one locomotive escaped to the east. The train known as the "Look Out" headed for Stevenson with engineer John Glenn and conductor Preston Yeatman and picked up perilous speed as they passed through a gauntlet of Union soldiers and cannon. They reached Larkinsville and halted another train with 1,600 to 1,800 Rebel soldiers from Georgia on their way to Corinth. The "Look Out" reached Chattanooga by noon the same day, but officials there assumed it was merely a Union raid.[2]

In Huntsville, 200 Rebel soldiers were on leave at either the expirations of their first-year enlistments, or going home to recover from wounds sustained at Shiloh. Among them was Col. John Morgan's younger brother. At least 15 engines and some 120 rail cars, recently and unexpectedly moved to the Huntsville Railroad Shop, were also captured.

Union troops searched in vain for former Secretary of War Leroy Pope Walker, who earlier sent the telegram from Montgomery ordering the assault on Fort Sumter.[*] He was alleged to have said at that time that he would clean up all the blood spilled with his handkerchief.[†3] The Union army also failed to locate former presidential candidate John Bell or John Withers Clay, the outspoken owner and editor of *The Huntsville Democrat*.

Lieutenant Frank Mitchel accompanied his father and observed firsthand the thoroughness of the plan. The first action was to break to the left once within five miles range of Huntsville, cut wires, and tear apart the rail track. Next, they would perform the same action to the right side, and, once in

---

[*]General Leroy Pope Walker went by Pope Walker, save for official signatures. The usage of the day did not speak of the Southern hero as John Hunt Morgan. Union soldiers called him by other names, but his middle name was not given when referring to him at the time.

[†]Many Southerners felt assured that northerners would not enter into a war, much less one in the Lower South. Former U.S. Senator James Chesnut Jr. confidently promised to drink any blood spilled. After all, "a lady's thimble," as a common saying had it, "will hold all the blood that will be shed." (https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/110411-civil-war-150th-anniversary-fort-sumter-battle, accessed February 25, 2021).

town, seize the two telegraph offices. The general remarked that, after plans are formed and orders issued to be in readiness, "there is but one word to say, 'Go,' it is the hardest thing in the world to say it."[4] At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 11th, his "men were aroused without sound of drum or trumpet… and the line of march was taken up in perfect silence." The plan was executed and, after prisoners were taken, one regiment of infantry after another marching into town with drum and fife, playing 'Yankee Doodle.'"[5] General Mitchel "marched his men 57 miles in 48 hours" according to plan, "and the [rail] road did not cease to be operated; it simply changed hands." In acknowledgement, President Lincoln promoted Ormsby Mitchel to Major General.[6]

the fine athletic yeomen of Madison

How could this calamity, as the South saw it, have happened? The War was barely into its second year, and many Confederates remained confident of success. Union soldiers were also optimistic at the time, feeling sure they would be welcomed in north Alabama. The citizens of Madison County voted resoundingly against secession, after all. Both sides would be unpleasantly surprised. Within a year, four companies of Confederate soldiers formed, representing Madison County at the front. As 1862 began, Huntsville was without the eager young men Jeremiah Clemens later scoffingly labelled, "the boasted chivalry of the South… the braggarts who could kill two Yankees, and run away two more every morning before breakfast." *Where were they now?* he asked sarcastically.[7]

For Rebel soldiers and their families, the realities of War had grimly set in. They now understood life in the Confederate army, especially combat, to be complex and chaotic. Soldiers were extremely young, new to the army, and in possession of little or no training, while civilian workers served as clerks, telegraph operators, and railroad men. Camp-followers, hangers-on, women of doubtful reputations, and sutlers selling goods for vastly inflated prices, trailed along after the army, wherever it took them, for possible gain.

The residents of Huntsville, once numbering about 3,600, were now mostly women, enslaved Black people, children, the elderly, the injured, and those deemed essential to the War effort on the home front. Real men, everyone agreed, went to war. There might be a shirker about "but the village girls not only refused to speak to him, but sent him knitting-needles and bits of unfinished sewing and all sorts of gentle hints as to how a young man who didn't go into the army should occupy his time."[8]

Everyone was urged to support the fighting men far from home with words and deeds. Withers Clay set the scene at home within the pages of *The Huntsville Democrat*. The year 1862 began with a winter lull from active fighting, and Clay reported the ladies would be pleased because the soldiers of the New Market Rebels were restored to Meridianville. Independent militiamen, or Home Guards, continued their drills. Twenty-

five able-bodied men were needed to complete Company I of the North Alabama Regiment of Volunteers, to serve for only six months. Citizens were continually urged to support the Cause. From Montgomery, Governor John Gill Shorter declared:

> Several additional thousand troops enlisting to go North need arms, warm clothing and blankets for inhospitable climates. Will not every citizen, male and female, contribute to equip gallant men to meet the enemy? Guns are rusting; blankets are on shelves, give or sell them to your country. Will they [citizens] not lay them on the bleeding altar? God have pity upon the miserly wretch who will neither fight, nor labor, nor give his substance in the defense of his home and liberties.[9]

Withers Clay, in the meantime, offered sympathy to opposition newspaper *The Huntsville Weekly Independent*, operated by Dew & Young, when it stopped publication. "Better luck next time," he said.[10] Because of circumstances beyond his control, Clay was forced to reduce the size of his own newssheet. He reminded his readers that it would be thoughtful to submit a subscription for out-of-town friends and far-away soldiers. Clay shared a letter from Mooresville native Daniel Hundley, active on the Western Front, urging others with a clarion call on New Year's Day, 1862:

> Victory is at hand and who in the day of our final triumph and victory would have it said of him that he took no part in the struggles, bore none of the heat and burden of the day, but idly stayed at home while others toiled amid heat and cold, and hunger, and nakedness, amid hardships and privations, amid blood and death, to preserve our home and our priceless heritage of Liberty, from the ruthless grasp of the Northern Vandals? Not one! Not one! – We are all brothers.[11]

Citizens were warned that counterfeit five and ten-dollar Confederate bills had appeared in shops. Other recently arisen issues felt like ominous warnings of things to come. Merchant John Cooper, for instance, announced that circumstances compelled him to adopt a cash-only system. To public outcry, enslaved people sold on the steps of the Courthouse could now only be purchased with cash.[12]

In other news, Huntsville seemed honored with the visit of Barnwell Rhett Jr., editor of *The Charleston Mercury*, who sojourned in the vicinity for some days. (His father, newspaper publisher, politician, and fire-eater, led early efforts for secession.) Withers Clay wrote an article in response to the Trent Affair when, in November, a U.S. Naval ship boarded a British Royal Mail steamer and removed two Confederate diplomatic envoys. England protested vigorously at this breach of neutrality, and, for a time, it was an international crisis.[13] Meanwhile, whatever their opinions or

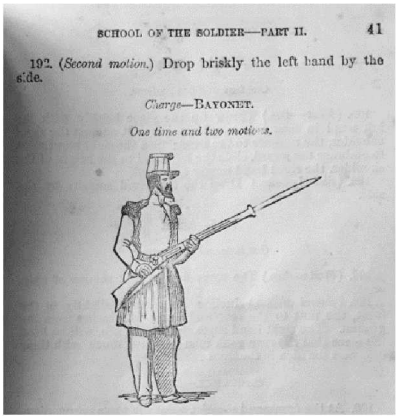
consensus, neither Great Britain nor France came to the rescue of cotton or the Confederacy.

By March of 1862, the city seemed overrun with escaped Confederate soldiers from prisoner-of-war camps at Fort Donelson, but troops commanded by Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston received a warm welcome. The General and his staff were hosted on Adams Avenue and entertained at the Fackler house. Just three days later, former presidential candidate Brig. Gen. Breckenridge made an appearance. High-level military activities were now regular occurrences in the area; Editor Clay and other civilians passionately urged the formation of organized guerilla warfare companies.[14]

Joe Bradley organized the Bradley Rebels for enlistment of 12-month volunteers, as deployment would soon expire for the 12-month men currently serving. He offered $500 to supplement and supply their equipment, but his Company was unable to fill the ranks from "the fine athletic yeomen of Madison." Governor Shorter issued a proclamation for the sheriff of each county to collect all muskets, rifles, pistols, swords, sabers, and small arms that belonged to the state. *The Southern Advocate*, a competing newspaper, reminded its readers that "sabers not sharpened, are of less use than a cudgel," while the raw militiamen in service needed better fighting equipment.[15] More impressive, the Madison Works owned by Young & Co. was engaged in casting six-pound cannons, while the Memphis & Charleston Railroad became a "vast military engine of prime necessity and usefulness. Indeed, her railroads are the salvation of the South." Not everyone appeared to be in support of the new nation, however: there had been fires which were "supposed to be the work of incendiaries." Farmers were warned never to leave dried hay in the fields.[16]

Dr. John Slaughter shared that the men of the 4th Alabama fighting in Virginia were well; no man had less than six blankets, and army rations were adequate. They'd "hired a man from Fredericksburg to deliver a load of turkeys and oysters, etc. every week, and they probably live better than any family of Huntsville." (There was no report from the soldiers.) In Athens, Daniel Coleman advertised for "VOLUNTEERS FOR THE WAR!" to raise

an infantry company, and he would provide "clothing, BEST STYLES of arms, a $50 bounty and all the necessary camp equipment." Editor Clay added Coleman was a fine young man "of a sterling worth, morally and intellectually," with 8 to 10 months of military experience. "Fill up his ranks and follow him to glory or to the grave." Clay urged "all who have relatives in the army – write to tell them to stay and serve." Better yet, urge them to reenlist. Greene Academy added a military course of study for its students. *Hardee's Tactics*, a two-volume drill manual for young men unfamiliar with military life, could be purchased for $2.50 by mail, including rifle and light infantry tactics. It also contained illustrations showing proper military positions, roll call music, and reveille.[17]


SCHOOL OF THE SOLDIER—PART II. 41

192. (*Second motion.*) Drop briskly the left hand by the side.

Charge—BAYONET.

One time and two motions.

Uniform of the Day
Hardee's Tactics

Young ladies at the Female College looked ahead to their annual term. To help ease entrance costs, Confederate Bonds and Treasury Notes, cotton, wheat, and bacon would be accepted as payment. Because local families were having difficulties finding supplies for their daily needs, the state legislature appointed a committee to investigate destitute families of volunteer soldiers who needed assistance. Basic essentials such as meal, bacon, and, most valuable of all, salt, were already in short supply and overpriced. In his *Southern Advocate* newspaper, William Figures had earlier alerted the community to prepare. "The day for luxuries, vain display, and foolish extravagances is over." He strongly suggested closing shops early so young men could drill in the evenings. The mayor asked citizens to take up all old muskets and put them in order for service. Vice President Alexander Stephens implored, "My friends forget not the soldier. Send him contributions to make him comfortable… Take care of his family… Employ your hands and your substance in doing works of charity… remember the orphan and the widow."[18]

The Huntsville Democrat contained public announcements of all kinds. Local delegates were assigned to assess the needy in outlying areas of the county. Huntsville citizens were fortunate because city fathers established a free market every Saturday for impoverished families. Citizens could contribute their surplus provisions and fuel to ease the hardships of soldiers' families remaining at home.[19] The Ladies' Association sought volunteers to make a large lot of clothing for the soldiers. They held meetings in the Presbyterian church basement to pick wool from scraps left after cutting soldiers' coats, which would then be spun and knitted into socks. Women could comfort men "away from home in the cold rains, frost, snow and chilling blasts of winter… They left home to secure your freedom from desolating invasion of Northern Goths and Vandals, their property from plunder, and their households from desecration, their woman and children from violence and butchery."[20]

Equipment 1861, *Sheppard*
Granger Historical Picture Archive

Meanwhile, *The New York Times* reported that General Don Carlos Buell, USA with 100,000 infantry, 11,000 cavalry, and 3,000 artillerists, were gathering for invasion. A large contingent of Union soldiers had advanced and were near Danville, Kentucky, destroying railroad and telegraph communications along the way. Fortunately, local reports were confident that Forts Henry and Donelson remained intact; military authorities considered it only a feint that the U.S. Navy came up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers.[21]

On February 15,1862, the one-year anniversary of Southern Independence was noted, but, as there was no gunpowder to spare, no demonstrations were held. Passionate secessionists urged citizens of this ambitious, seven-million-strong new nation to burn their cotton rather than

let Union soldiers have it. *The Richmond Inquirer* took matters a step farther:

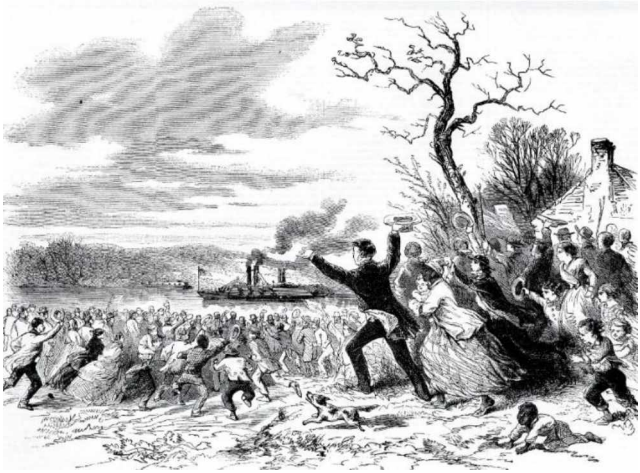
> Our enemy has exhibited an energy… which we hardly expected… The foot of the oppressor is on the soil of Georgia. He comes with lust in his eye, poverty in his purse, and hell in his heart… How shall you meet him? With death for him or yourself. Let every woman have a torch… Let blackness and ruin mark your departing steps, if depart you must… Let every city be leveled by the flame and every village be lost in ashes.[22]

One week later, Withers Clay wrote an effusive and fiery editorial leaving no doubt of his feelings:

> Can there be any in our midst, so unmindful or regardless of their duty to themselves, their country, the brave and self-sacrificing defenders of their lives, their homes, their rights and liberties as to refuse to contribute thus to the comfort and protection of these gallant men and boys? Are any persons of means so niggardly, selfish and miserly?

If mothers, sisters, and sweethearts had not cause enough for anxiety, *The Memphis Appeal* asserted that the analysis of medical quinine from the North was dastardly contaminated with morphine and other deadly poisons. "Yankees would do any depraved and infamous thing."[23]

A new report of Federal gunboats on the Tennessee River was not in error. After the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson to the west, gunboats easily made their way to Florence to destroy Confederate ships. Fortunately, the heavily-laden steamers were safely hidden or burned by their crew. The Union captain said he had the "greatest amiability and no intention to interfere with the good people of Florence." *Harper's* reported that many citizens cheered and waved as the Union boats were seen with the old flag hoisted above. Editor Clay crowed, "Thus ended the great Federal expedition – captured nothing and will go back without one trophy of their pillaging foray." Not one shot was fired by citizens at the "Lincoln-vandals." Nonetheless, Clay reminded his readers, "Hitherto people have reposed in fanciful security." This was fair warning, as the western forts were lost and the waterways were no longer secure.[24]



Union Southern Men Welcoming Gun-Boats
Harper's

> There is bloody work to be done. Let every heart be steeled and every muscle set for the danger at hand; the day of trial is upon us, and we must be worthy of the cause we have espoused or pay the penalty in the horrors of a prolonged contest brought nearer to our homes.[25]

Two weeks later, Clay extolled a new military curriculum to be enacted at Greene Academy. He wrote:

> We have greatly miscalculated the character of the Southern people, if defeat does not swell our armies, so that the enemy shall cower and retire before the terrible shock of our arms and the paeans of victory shall rise from our advancing hosts… trust in God, and we must triumph gloriously.[26]

General Walker set quotas for workers from each county to meet for the construction of fortifications; Madison's allocation was set at 62 enslaved people. Each worker would also "need a half bushel of sifted meal, 14 pounds of pork, an axe, and a spade or shovel, with cooking utensils for each mess and bedding for each fellow," supplied by his owner. Not simply to be turned loose, it was suggested that two citizens accompany the "Negroes" to supervise them.[27] This impressment of slave labor did not sit well with local planters who were already short of field workers. Complaints quickly followed that those owners had failed to adequately equip slaves with food or clothing for this work.

Patriotism flamed in many hearts. According to *The Daily Selma Reporter* one patriotic young miss from Huntsville wrote a friend ever so passionately and eloquently:

> Let no man smile at thee, for verily we believe that we will do the fighting when the men falter and refuse to defend them… Oh, poor Tuscumbia, poor Florence! When will you wash this stain from off your garments?' She suggested meeting the enemy in the front hall with a loaded pistol in each hand to defend the homesite where the Confederate flag was waving over the roof. As a matter of fact, she continued, there had been a sizable [Confederate] army in Huntsville, but 'if they kill all the men, a nation of Joan of Arcs will rise to take their places. P.S. I send you a hair that came out of the tail of General Beauregard's horse that he rode in the battle of Manassas. A friend gave me several and I send you one.[28]

Walker quickly requested an additional 3,000 troops to defend north Alabama, even though many would be poorly equipped because of a shortage of weapons and gunpowder. Clay wrote articles about manufacturing gunpowder from Jackson County saltpetre mines and suggested alternative weapons. It was calculated, he claimed, that only one Minnie ball out of 800 killed a man in battle, but a pike aimed straight for the heart was surprisingly effective, and a regiment of pikemen was bound to grow in favor.*[29] Most military units, however, continued to ask for and use more modern weaponry.

In March, Susanna Clay, wife of the former governor, wrote to her oldest son of supplies recently sent from Nashville. She was also aware that 4,000 to 10,000 Rebel soldiers were expected in Huntsville. General Gideon Pillow and his aides used the hotel as his town headquarters, which suggested to her that a battle was expected. If so, she knew where to go: "But alas! I can plan better than execute! If we stay here, we must submit to much insult," but if General Buell came, they could go to their cottage above town on Monte Sano. There "soldiers might molest us with impunity as your poor father is too deaf and weak to repel." If they stayed in town, however, they might have a chance of defending their property. Her brother, Maj. Gen. Jones Withers and his family were expected to arrive that night. "We too well know what it means! He will do his duty and trust to God!" (Susanna's brother, an experienced military man and former mayor of Mobile, was in charge of the defense of the entire Gulf Coast. He was leaving his wife and their six children in Huntsville for safety.) Susanna would do her duty and encourage others to have courage and faith. "God will enable me to be calm if we stay … We could only die but once."[30]

Two days later, Susanna wrote to Virginia Clay, her daughter-in-law, with gloomy updates that Nashville was captured, "and our own town is in danger of similar fate, it is too serious to contemplate with indifference… It

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*John Rayburn of nearby Marshall County raised the concept of "found tools as fighting weapons" to a new level. In a letter to his father, he wrote, "Let not public faith waiver. If you can't get guns fight with spades, picks, axes, and the Jaw-bones of asses." Qtd. in Snow, *Civil War Diaries*, 224, f 20.

is true I have strong hope in the valor of our soldiers, but not much in the military capability of the officers." She continued with commentary about the care of the many sick soldiers with few provisions. Wounded men in town were placed in decrepit houses with only blankets for warmth, leaving them exposed to the wind and rain which "cooled his fever or made his blood congeal, so that death interposed for his relief." She sent clothes for men to be buried in at the city cemetery.*

Susanna's brother and his family arrived and increased her workload, but the additional family relations in her home may have added to her comfort, as well. General Withers left in her hands his wife and five of their children; the oldest was his married daughter Harriet Huger, 22, expecting to be confined in April. Other family members went to their brother Augustine's home near Mooresville. They sought a quiet place for Hattie to gather her strength, only to find a large troop of soldiers nearby and no reassurances that skirmishes might not occur. Withers Clay, with his writing and editing duties, was busier than ever. He looked hollow and worn, Susanna reported. His wife, Mary, and their children were well. Mrs. Bate was in town with her husband, Col. William B. Bate, and Governor Shorter and his entourage. Unbeknownst to army leaders that evening, another hotel guest included a soft-spoken Frenchman making observations and lists of his own.

On March 31, Julia Bate, daughter of local attorney Samuel Peete, also wrote to Virginia Clay with news of arrivals and loved ones' scrambles for safety, including Mrs. Bate's arrival with the troops of her husband, Colonel Bate. He proved his worth on the Eastern front, so he and his men now requested reassignment to Western action.

Her husband's family also arrived as men of the 2nd Tennessee Regiment spent their furlough in Huntsville, "charmed" with the setting. "They will return for some of the young ladies after the war." She wrote that Colonel Bate already departed, and that his men would soon follow. As new rumors emerged by the hour, few knew what to believe. Many local families like the Lowes and Mrs. Weeden fled to the southern part of the state. Mrs. Bate also reported that General Walker left for parts unknown, and Mrs. Walker now resided with former Governor Chapman's family at the edge of town. Julia Bate planned to remain in Huntsville with her father unless she were to get word of depravations like those in Murfreesboro, where Union soldiers entered private homes and took jewelry as trophies.

A relative wrote Julia with word that 25,000 Union troops recently passed through on their way south, and a friend told a soldier that her husband and his four brothers were in the Confederate army. He replied, "Madam we will bring your husband back." Julia declared Huntsville a town much enlivened by the soldiers, especially Gen. William J. Hardee and his

*Huntsville maintained a burial ground which, after the turn of the next century, was named Maple Hill Cemetery. For the sake of consistency that name will be used hereafter.

staff, who were entertained by many. Apparently, the general was devoted to the ladies. A widower, General Hardee drove through town "in his calash and mules full of ladies, I guess you must infer that he must be very fond of ladies to have one on each mule." General Beauregard and staff stayed with poor Aunt Jane [Mastin], on whose land several brigades quartered in sight of the house. Young Charlie accompanied him as a volunteer aide. She reported that the church bells were taken down to be made into cannon. In the first week of April, the Episcopal, Methodist, and Cumberland Presbyterian churches of Huntsville were reported as having removed their bells to be melted down to make cannon.[31]

Everyone sent their love to Virginia, even Julia's younger sister who did not have time to write just then, for she was entertaining a soldier from Indiana in the parlor. Adieu.[32]

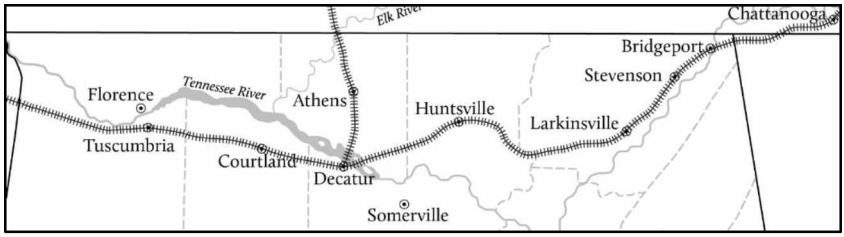
On March 9, a fire destroyed a large portion of the Williams Street home of Gen. Pope Walker, and high winds spread the flames to the Masonic Lodge across the street. For a time, blazes threatened the entire city. It was unknown as to whether the conflagration, which began in the kitchen, was by accident or design; fires had been set before. Pope Walker, now former-Secretary of War, left after the fire, attempting to take the people he enslaved with him, but it was later heard "that they all deserted him in Triana."[33]

For the most part, the civilian population attempted to live as normal, with a few restrictions. Huntsville's existing rail center made it a natural choice as the wartime supply and maintenance yard. The city bustled daily with communications from two telegraph stations – one at the depot and one uptown near the courthouse. For understandable reasons, a Confederate military order barred the sale of spirits to soldiers within five miles of a military station, and grog shops were closed down. Selling liquor to both enslaved Black people and free people of color was already illegal.

Local people were urged to do more during these stressful times. Farmers continued to be pressed to plant cotton for home consumption, and not one seed more. "Turn up the stiff clay lands to the sun and rain and air. Plough and plant deep. Corn makes bread, bacon, poultry, beef, fat horses, and mules – the staff of life for the South." The brave defenders need grain and livestock for subsistence of the grand armies. Two weeks later, Clay editorialized:

> It is a fact that the enemy is on the northern and southern borders of Alabama and war is closer: Your soil has been profaned! Your homes threatened, and our property endangered for the first time in the history of your State by the tread of an invading foe. Your manhood has been thus challenged at your threshold… Arise then my countrymen to the discharge of the duty of defending your homes from desecration.[34]

Clay also urged more guerilla companies, which he called "the most effective warfare for the CSA, under cool, bold, daring leadership." As the month came to an end, rumor had it that General Buell's forces were at Pulaski, then Fayetteville, Tennessee, a mere 35 miles away via the Meridianville Pike. Fortunately, the tale was only that. The up-to-date communication capabilities Huntsville enjoyed courtesy of the railroad line and telegraph offices gave residents of North Alabama a false sense of security.[35]



North Alabama Rail Lines

No sacrifice was too great, according to Senator Clay – brother to newspaper editor Withers Clay. He anticipated that the United States could not sustain the debt of the War:

> They must threaten and cajole our cotton and tobacco. I trust none in our valley will sell a pound of cotton to the enemy for any price… If our arms fail us, *fire will not. The torch can consume what the bayonet may not defend*! In blazing cotton and tobacco houses they will see their defeat and our heroism.

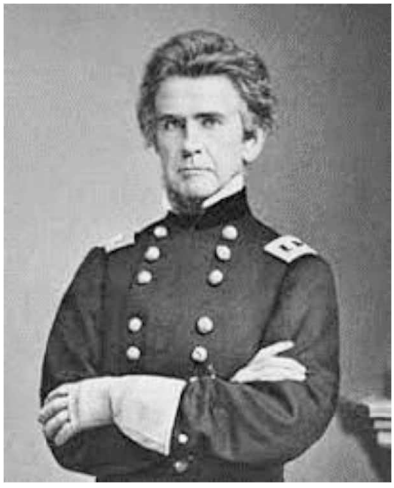
If necessary, he reasoned, burn crops. "Follow the noble Carolinas" and "armies will recoil and wither before our consuming wrath."[36] Clay urged those who were weak, foolish, disloyal traitors to the Cause, or spread gossip and lies on the home front, to desist because they needlessly frightened women and children.[37] It became everyone's duty to watch for and weed out these traitors, spies, and querulous "croakers" to show a united front.[38] *The Macon Telegraph* later pleaded in no uncertain terms: "There are too many 'croakers,' 'grumblers' and 'parlor generals' continually crying out… Let the 'bomb-proof individuals' who infest the fashionable hotels and cities… cease their cowardly attacks."[39]

With the invasion by General Mitchel and his troops of April 11, 1862, *The Huntsville Democrat* ceased publication for the foreseeable future, as Clay and many others fled town.

Old Stars

Brigadier General Ormsby MacKnight Mitchel embodied the successful 19th century American hero. He was born in Lebanon, Ohio. Fatherless by

the age of three, he attended school until 12, then worked for a local merchant. Through connections of his mother's family, Mitchel received an appointment to West Point where Jeff Davis and Albert Sidney Johnston were one year ahead of him, and his classmates included Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston.[40] He attended law school, then accepted a post as a professor of mathematics at West Point. During this time, he married, and he and his wife raised five children. Eagerly industrious, he served as chief engineer for startup midwestern railroads at least twice. Mitchel was passionate about astronomy, and was a world-renowned authority on astronomy and telescopes. His men, therefore, called him "Old Stars." (A Mars location, which he first identified in 1843, is called, "The Mountains of Mitchel.") Above all else, Ormsby Mitchel was a man of action who expected the same from others. In August 1861, Mitchel's wife Louisa died, and this, he felt, pointed him in a new direction, "I owe my allegiance to the government of the United States."[41] He took action.

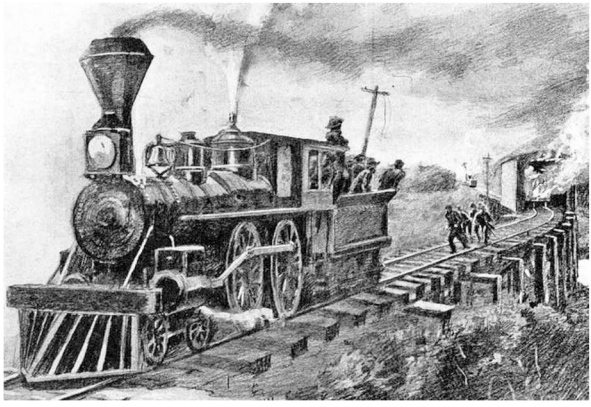


General Ormsby M. Mitchel

While other Union generals seemed to move slowly, gathering little forward motion, Mitchel planned ahead and took calculated risks. One of his biggest goals was to take the rail center at Chattanooga, which could serve as a gateway to the capture of Atlanta. Although little was written about it in official records, one civilian volunteer suggested a bold raid into north Georgia, disrupting Southern transportation lines. James J. Andrews, a known scout, rumored black marketeer, and contraband merchant, offered to lead a small group of volunteer soldiers and civilians in the endeavor. Their goal was to capture "The General," a locomotive near Big Shanty, Georgia, riding the train back westward toward Chattanooga, destroying the Western & Atlantic telegraph lines, the bridges, and the tracks as they went. This would isolate Chattanooga, previously well-protected by mountains

and the river. The plan dictated that, once General Mitchel captured Huntsville, he would continue eastward to lay siege to Chattanooga, which would expect neither help nor supplies from Atlanta.

Andrews met with and got approval from General Mitchel, and gathered volunteers from the 2nd Ohio, 21st and 22nd Ohio Infantry to form his unit. With two civilians, the group of 22 left Shelbyville, Tennessee on April 7, planning to capture the train on April 12 (one day after the attack at Huntsville and Bridgeport). Captain S.S. Canfield later described a tender parting as General Mitchel took each man by hand, with a tearful eye, expressed that he might never see the men again after their dangerous mission within enemy lines.[42] The plan succeeded, but the results failed. "The Great Locomotive Chase" led to a brief disruption of the lines, but the men were captured, with eight hanged and the others imprisoned. In Huntsville, General Mitchel waited in vain for news of their success. Other military and civilian issues kept his attention, however.[43]



Andrews' Great Locomotive Chase
Deeds of Valor[44]

As a young officer, Frank Mitchel accompanied his father, serving as his aide-de-camp, or personal secretary. He noted that Mitchel's division stopped at dusk the night of the tenth and brought in any civilians found outdoors. They captured the daily mail coming out of Huntsville and it "disappeared within the bosom of the advancing army." The soldiers slept; General Mitchel did not. At about 2 o'clock in the morning, the men were aroused without the sound of a drum or trumpet by officers and the "line of march taken up in perfect silence." Like an "army of specters toward the city" they moved towards what they hoped was a still-sleeping town. This army had already marched 40 miles in 40 hours, completing the mission marching 57 miles in 48 hours.[45] In a front-page headline, the *New York Tribune* reported Mitchel's dispatch to Secretary Stanton, noting the capture of Huntsville: "This movement outflanks Corinth, and pierces the center of the new Rebel line of defense."[46]

Looking for some people who stole a country

On the home front, *The Huntsville Democrat* editor Withers Clay fled in panic, just a step ahead of Union soldiers' arrival. As soon as he could, he wrote his brother – former United States senator and now Confederate States Senator Clement Clay Jr. – about that morning's events. With little time to shut down operations, Clay stowed much of his type and materials in the "cuddy" in his brother's office attic. He took the job-press to Dr. Wilkinson's basement, then prepared a trunk with clothing and accounts to reorganize later in Guntersville. The heavy press and paper supplies would be transported by a hired wagon from the livery stable of John Robinson, a free man of color, and Clay would borrow Dr. Burritt's buggy and horse to get to Whitesburg. Around 4 o'clock that morning, Withers arrived at *The Democrat* office to find that his foreman, William Carothers, had not completed packing. Clay did not panic, believing there still might be enough time, even if the enemy appeared. "Everyone seem[ed] so incredulous of the enemy's approach & so unconcerned that I yielded to the general fatuity." He walked to John Fackler's house for recent news, but the family and three Rebel soldiers recovering from the Battle of Shiloh, including brothers of Colonel Morgan, were still asleep. Leaving there, he saw a group of "Negroes," some of whom ran toward him, "Dey done come, sir! Deys done come!" The blue coats were at the telegraph office and on the square. Withers Clay hurriedly fled town. Just a few days later, the Union found his presses and used them for their own newspaper, *The Huntsville Reveille.*[47]

Distrustful of the postal service's reliability, Withers wrote to his brother a second time from Knoxville to confirm his adventures. Clement may have been surprised that Withers did not depart sooner, but even as rumors flew in the previous weeks, no one around him took any action to save themselves. Plausible information from Fayetteville arrived on the night of the 10th of sightings of several regiments along the road. The consensus in Huntsville was that the people of Fayetteville would burn the new bridge across the Elk River to stop the enemy's forward progress, at least until Union soldiers were forced to rebuild it.

A courier arrived that night at 10 pm to report an enemy camp just two miles north of Meridianville. Clay walked uptown and talked with John Bell, Sam Morgan, Joe Bradley Jr., and Zeb Davis, who were arranging to leave. They compared stories, and Judge Bob Brickell, Joe Bradley, and another man rode out to investigate while John Bell and the others went home to bed, as did Withers. Clay continued. That night, Brickell and his party met advancing Union soldiers unexpectedly and detained them, commenting, "Gentlemen you are out riding rather late." "Yes, and so are you." "Where are you going?" "We're looking for a stolen horse," and the officer said they "were looking for some people who stole a country and it looks like we found them. Turn back with us. So, our scouts were brought back as prisoners."

The men were taken, but later released on parole. Now aware of his own danger, Withers quickly made his way out of Huntsville and up Monte Sano Mountain to friends. He was aware that, while Sam Morgan and a nephew escaped, one of Col. John Morgan's nephews got caught and given parole.[48]

According to Withers, Colonel John Coltart was already slightly wounded in the heel and Lt. Col. Russel got away, albeit injured with a broken arm. Joe Bradley escaped, although not quickly enough, and the Beirne girls hid him in their cellar until he fled to the river, crossed, and arrived at Bush's place. This most likely referred to David M. Bush, an active Rebel sympathizer. Later, Colonel W.D. Chadick and others also crossed the river to Bush's conveniently located home before escaping deeper into Dixie. Clay did not reflect on the astonishing number of locomotives – 13 or 14 – and the large number of railcars at the Depot when the enemy was expected any day. He *did* note, however, that the railroad superintendent of transportation at Huntsville, Mr. Hooper, was said to be a Pennsylvania man, and two railroad officers were pro-Union. "Maybe all right, but the coincidences were unfortunate," he added.

Before making his way out of the county, Clay and others watched from a nearby mountain as the invasion continued, quickly recognizing the hopelessness of their situation. He heard his wife had "fed two Yankees breakfast;" however, the vandals at least thanked her. He now suspected that stories he'd heard – that Pope Walker saw 100 enslaved Black people run away, taking 30 mules with them, and that former governor Chapman and his father lost people they, too, enslaved – may have been exaggerated. Perhaps the account of Gen. Benjamin Patteson's doors and windows being broken down, as well as the piano and furniture destroyed, was untrue, but soldiers took bacon, beef, and flour from townspeople. He heard that Jere Clemens and Nick Davis got drunk with the "flop-eared Dutch" (German soldiers), and that Davis was now badly bruised from a fight. Judge Lane currently approved or disapproved passport applications, as did D.B. Turner, Benjamin Jolley, and W.S. Figures who was "bound to make money" with his government printing contracts. Lt. Col. Pettus,* who married the niece of Governor Chapman, declared when Huntsville was

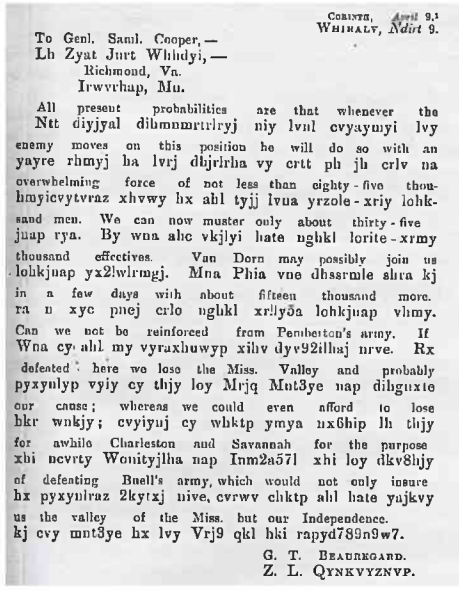
*Yes, *that* Pettus. Edmund W. Pettus found his power base later in state, then national, politics. His brother, John J. Pettus, had been elected governor of Mississippi for two terms before the War. Edmund Pettus helped organized the 20th Alabama Infantry, was captured three times, and rose through the ranks to become a brigadier general in the Western Theater in 1863. After the War, he lived and practiced law in Selma. He was known (and admired) for his anti-Black position, and these views bolstered his political ambitions, along with the fact that he served as the Grand Dragon of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan. Pettus was elected to the U.S. Senate where he served until his death in 1907, then the oldest living U.S. Senator. In 1940, those in Selma who voted (almost only White men) on the name of the new bridge across the Alabama River chose the Edmund W. Pettus Bridge.

retaken that he wanted to be provost marshal just to have the privilege of hanging George Washington Lane.

In this second letter, Withers Clay continued the account of his escape from Madison County. Rumor held that military pickets were to be extended four miles into the countryside, and they might be discovered on the mountaintop. Clay found his way down to Jack Esslinger's home in Little Cove, where he borrowed a mule and rode to Bill Robinson's plantation (embarrassing transportation for the well-to-do Clay). The next day he continued to Colonel Fleming's place, where two of the Christian brothers, John Young and Judge Everett were already hiding. That night Erskine Russel and Ned Mastin gave warning that cavalrymen approached Vienna. Clay and others made their way to Guntersville and took the steamer *Paint Rock* to Bridgeport before reaching Chattanooga. Withers, who had worn the same clothes for several days borrowed an undershirt from his brother Lawson. He was indignant to discover that the only item of clothing to be found at a store was a coarse domestic shirt missing its front bosom piece. It cost $2.50 – two times the usual amount, which was around $1.35.[49]

Capt. James Johnson of the 4th Ohio Cavalry, on the other hand, described his arrival into town on the same morning. He commented on the capture of the depot and the rail equipment as troops spread east and west. He wrote, "Black faces were at every door and window, blacks were at the gates and blacks were in the streets, but the 'chivalry' had evidently deserted the town. Perhaps it was too early for white folks to be out of bed… Perhaps they were too high-born to suffer the Yankees to look upon their noble faces."[50]

In Huntsville, General Mitchel established headquarters at The Grove, the wooded area surrounding the mansion of former General of the Alabama Militia Bartley M. Lowe. On Mitchel's return from Stevenson, he inspected the Confederate dispatches taken at the telegraph office. "One suspicious-looking document in cipher" was likely intended to be forwarded to the next telegraph station. The message was quickly translated using the format with the customary site of date and location, and the remainder of the alphabet fell into place. General Robert E. Lee saw the dispatch printed in Southern newspapers later, and dryly suggested that General Cooper change his code.[51]



Corinth, April 9,
Whitalv, Ndirt 9.

To Genl. Saml. Cooper, —
Lh Zyat Jurt Whlidyi, —
Richmond, Va.
Irwvrhap, Mu.

All present probabilities are that whenever the
Ntt diyjyal dihmnmrtrlryj niy lvnl cvyaymyi lvy
enemy moves on this position he will do so with an
yayre rhmyj ha lvrj dhjrirha vy crtt ph jh crlv na
overwhelming force of not less than eighty-five thou-
hmyicvytvraz xhvwy hx ahl tyjj lvua yrzole-xriy lohk-
sand men. We can now muster only about thirty-five
jnap rya. By wna ahc vkjlyi hate nghkl lorite-xrmy
thousand effectives. Van Dorn may possibly join us
lohkjnap yx2lwlrmgj. Mna Phia vne dhssrmle shra kj
in a few days with about fifteen thousand more.
ra n xyc pnej crlo nghkl xrllyδa lohkjnap vhmy.
Can we not be reinforced from Pemberton's army. If
Wna cy ahl my vyraxhuwyp xihv dyv92ilhaj nrve. Rx
defeated here we lose the Miss. Valley and probably
pyxynlyp vyiy cy thjy loy Mrjq Mnt3ye nap dihgnxie
our cause; whereas we could even afford to lose
hkr wnkjy; cvyiyuj cy whktp ymya nx6hip lh thjy
for awhile Charleston and Savannah for the purpose
xhi ncvrty Wonityjlha nap Inm2a57l xhi loy dkv8hjy
of defeating Buell's army, which would not only insure
hx pyxynlraz 2kytxj nive, cvrwv chktp ahl hate yajkvy
us the valley of the Miss. but our Independence.
kj cvy mnt3ye hx lvy Vrj9 qkl hki rapyd789n9w7.

G. T. Beaurkgard.
Z. L. Qynkvyznvp.

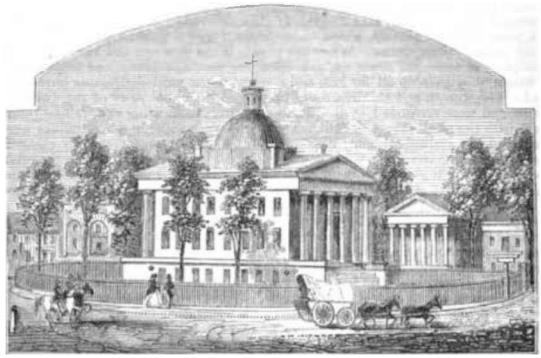
Here at headquarters, officers managed military decisions and attempted to establish order with help from citizens, some of whom were mentioned in the Clay letter.

For many years, Huntsville writers (including this editor) and local lore have placed Mitchel's headquarters at the McDowell house. Accounts by locals at the time like Rowena Webster and Mary Jane Chadick, however, mention being physically summoned to officers' tent headquarters. According to them, Mitchel strictly adhered to a policy of neither entering, much less commandeering, private homes. On his June 28 arrival, General Buell also refused to disrupt local citizens in their homes. Some of these citizens were more helpful than others. In an early report to President Lincoln, Mitchel spoke of the devotion and loyalty of Judge George W. Lane. Lane had "nailed the flag of this country to its staff in front of his dwelling, and boldly declared he would hold it a personal affront" by any man who tore it down. He performed important services by inducing the leading planters to sell their cotton to northern buyers. Lane managed matters connected with the provost marshal's office "yielding daily a powerful influence in bringing back disaffected citizens to their allegiance. I commend him warmly."[52]

Mary Jane Chadick, who kept a daily journal (later to become an, indispensable record of the War years in Huntsville), was married to the Rev. W.D. Chadick, now a Confederate Colonel. The responsibilities of her household and eight children rendered her unable to flee, but she sprang into action alongside several other local ladies. They spoke for citizens when they made calls at Mitchel's tent. The first mission for these ladies of town was to obtain permission to tend to the sick and wounded on the railcars.

Chadick's tone was always one of distaste, sometimes extending to open sarcasm, when describing any meeting with the Union invaders. Mitchel, she said, seemed surprised that the ladies of town gave his officers "the cold shoulder" socially.[53]

For both sides, the situation was unsettling. Colonel Jesse Norton, in a letter to his wife, reported that, while things appeared peaceful, they were not allowed inside of locals' elegant homes; instead, they made their camp at Blue Springs, the former training camp for Huntsville volunteers. At first, he wrote, "Some scare among the officers," remained and they did "not take off accoutrements, and guns are in stacks in front of the tents, all in fighting trim." He observed wryly that many farmers appeared not rebellious enough to burn their cotton. Three days later he wrote "the buildings, public and private reflected wealth and good taste, the streets were models of beauty, wide and shaded," finer than Lexington, with mountains "rising like a huge wave out of the plain which extends to its very base."



View of Huntsville Public Square c. 1860
Our Whole Country

Norton continued, "The people are told of victory after victory that never had an existence and, believing it, they cannot see why they should act otherwise. We must teach them a few more wholesome lessons." However, he believed many older citizens would voluntarily take the oath of allegiance to the United States soon, and he made many friends within the Rebel army. Norton became the new provost marshal – the police chief, as it were – of Huntsville.[54]

Union officers and enlisted men settled down. Huntsville stores were closed, but quickly re-opened for the soldier's business and convenience when General Mitchel threatened to burn the town. It was a seemingly casual arrangement; on the evening of the 15th, Lt. William Crane played billiards in the Huntsville Hotel with Confederate officers on parole. But in the next months, his men toured the countryside and gathered up weapons along with the particularly hostile civilians at Paint Rock. Bob Johnson, "a gray-headed old sinner" was taken as prisoner for the provost. At

Whitesburg along the river, Crane and now 2nd Lt. Johnson captured rifles, shotguns, mail, and a "very handsome Secesh flag."[55]

Some citizens visited headquarters to receive passes; others simply made friendly calls, such as Gen. Jere Clemens and Gen. James Hickman. Some men, however, "sit in their store doors… looking sullen and conversing in low tones, of the ladies – those who show themselves at all – pout their lips, throw up their noses and turn their heads indignantly away."[56] General Mitchel sarcastically noted interviews with ladies "whose lords are in the rebel army… They all claim the property of the concern to be their own, and not their husbands. Indeed, I begin to think the husbands a poor miserable set of beggars, for the wives own everything, horses, plantations, negroes, and all."[57] Mitchel was keenly aware that the position of women, whatever their class, was relatively low. Until 1849, they did not "own everything, horses, plantations, negroes, and all." Before this time, only single women and widows were granted the privilege of owning property and making contracts in their own names; the property of a married women became incorporated into that of her husband. Not only had married women been barred from owning property, but they could not legally sign documents or enter into contracts, either. Hugo Black wrote a dissent much later in *United States v. Yazell*, observing that "though husband and wife are one, the one is the husband." This was an accurate reflection of the reluctance of Southern men at the time to grant women property rights.

His coolness and daring

Other men made their way to Madison County alongside uniformed Union soldiers. On April 8, General Mitchel sent Ranger Corporal James Pike of the 4th Ohio Infantry ahead to scout conditions at Decatur and, if possible, destroy the railroad bridge under Rebel control. At Fayetteville, Pike rode smartly into town dressed in the uniform of the 4th Ohio Cavalry, stopped at the hotel, and asked for supper. Locals assumed he was a scout for Colonel Morgan in disguise, and asked to admire his latest issue, high quality rifle while he ate. They returned the rifle, and Pike departed, heading south. Beyond Fayetteville, at the peak of Wells' Hill, Corporal Pike encountered an unguarded mule-driven supply train which he single-handedly captured and burned; 4,000 lbs. of bacon went up in flames. Once down in the valley, he followed the rail tracks to a place near Mooresville, where he was taken in by Unionist Porter Bibb.

Pike made his way to Decatur, then as far west as Tuscumbia where a Black man helped him escape capture from the soldiers in homespun gray. Pike returned safely to Huntsville "just as men were raising the headquarter tents" in The Grove where he reported important information about Southern fortifications along the rail lines. General Mitchel's son, Frank, later wrote of this spy, "Corporal Pike was a character. He could go

anywhere in the enemy's lines… by his coolness and daring" and not attract attention.[58]

It is a splendid people. We cannot afford to lose them from the Union.

On April 14, General Mitchel assigned command of Huntsville to Col. William Lytle of the 10th Ohio. Lytle's duties were substantial; they included fighting guerillas and establishing order while protecting the civilian population. Lytle greatly admired General Mitchel and, during his time in Madison County, saw the general as abused by both the citizens and his own government. Lytle described Huntsville as one of the "most beautiful towns in America," with elegant private gardens and estates. To his surprise, he was not invited to any of these estates for social calls. Lytle found the women of Huntsville to be "venomous," but deemed the town and its people as worth saving. "Wise and paternal treatment can I think bring these people back to their allegiances. It is a splendid people. We cannot afford to lose them from the Union."[59] The correspondent for *The Nashville Dailey Union* described one singular aspect of Huntsville for his readers. "In the summer months the crème de la crème of the Alabama aristocracy makes Huntsville and vicinity their residence."[60]

Private William Clark of the 1st Michigan Engineers and Mechanics, correspondent for his hometown newspaper in Marshall, Michigan, wrote to relatives back home about walking uptown that first week to obtain food rations from the camp stores. Rationed ingredients meant that they would not have to eat the indestructible, dreaded "pilot bread." Young Clark was probably not aware that General Mitchel demanded Mayor Robert Coltart provide food for his men who out-distanced their supplies. The city aldermen allotted $500 for food, and the soldiers were reprieved from eating the hardtack, at least for a while. Clark's readers "could hardly appreciate how excellent corn 'pone,' johnny cakes, and griddle 'dodgers' tasted last night and this morning." Private Clark observed, "northern courtesies and attention to (paroled) Rebel officers were more than thrown away." Clark initially questioned General Mitchel's hurried objective position, but now said he could "see the General's head is all right" and "needs no fixing." The men felt "half relieved of our grievous sufferings and stop our murmurs."[61]

Captain Silas S. Canfield wrote:

> We were not long in Huntsville until some of the planters came into the camp of the regiment to recover fugitive slaves, who were often secreted in the tents of northern Democrats. There were very few men in the regiment who would deceive the slaves. (The slaves) were always told that we could not take care of them, and that the land of freedom was directly under the north star.

Colonel Norton allowed the enslaved people to be returned to their enslavers, to the surprise of both the planters and the enslaved people themselves. Colonel Norton showed:

> no clear convictions of the slavery question, his affiliation with pro-slavery men, who were also enemies of his government… worked his ruin… officers and citizens met on friendly terms, chatted, drank together and were merry… [and] citizens passed in and out of lines at will. [62]

Colonel John Beatty in Huntsville scornfully proclaimed:

> The gentlemen of the South have a great fondness for jewelry, canes, cigars, and dogs. Out of forty white men thirty-nine, at least, will have canes, and on Sunday the fortieth will have one also. White men rarely work here. There are, it is true, tailors, merchants, saddlers, and jewelers, but the whites never drive teams, work in the fields, or engage in what may be termed rough work.

He offered a view of merchants and the prestige of the town:

> Judging from the number of stores and present stocks, Huntsville, in the better times, does a heavier retail jewelry business than Cleveland or Columbus. Every planter, and every wealthy or even well-to-do man, has plate (sterling silver). Diamonds, rings, gold watches, chains, and bracelets are to be found in every family… One may walk a whole day in a Northern city without seeing a ruffled shirt. Here they are very common.[63]

Other officers disagreed with Colonel Norton. Colonel Beatty suggested just 10 days into their occupation:

> The white rebel, who has done his utmost to bring about the rebellion, is lionized, called a plucky fellow, a great man, while the negro, who welcomes us, who is ready to peril his life to aid us, is kicked, cuffed, and driven back to his master, there to be scourged for his kindness to us.

Beatty heard:

> A colored man was whipped to death by a planter who lives near here, for giving information to our men. I do not doubt it. We worm out of these poor creatures a knowledge of the places where stores are secreted, or compel them to serve as guides, and then turn them out to be scourged or murdered… There are not fifty negroes in the South who would not risk their lives for freedom. The man who

> affirms that they are contented and happy, and do not desire to escape, is either a falsifier or a fool.[64]

Union soldiers and officers clearly arrived with preconceived notions about slavery, while simultaneously admiring the impressive architecture in and around Huntsville. Local citizens knew architect George Steele built the courthouse, the bank, and several fine homes. Fearn's Canal, 11 miles long to the Tennessee River, was only now outdated by Garth and Cruse's railroad. Downtown streets were paved, and Macadamized turnpikes led to Athens, the Tennessee River, and Meridianville. It should be noted, however, that Steele, Fearn, Garth, and Cruse, who possessed ambition, funds, and a desire for more profits never touched a brick, laid a railroad tie, or paved a roadbed. They wore silk top hats and suede kid gloves as they conducted business in offices about town. Hundreds of Black hands dug the clay, molded and laid bricks, felled trees for cross ties, and put down the iron rail tracks. Still more Black men dug ditches for farmland drainage and slogged into mucky swamps to construct canal locks. They performed this exhaustive labor while generally allotted two to five pounds of scrap pork (such as fatback or sowbelly), a peck of corn meal per hand per week, and, in the summer, lard, molasses, field peas, and greens. Less food was allotted in the summer months, as well. These workers were fed, clothed, housed, leased out, and kept at the pleasure of those who enslaved them, treated as "In an economic sense, a domestic animal."[65]

Chapter 2

Slave Life

*The great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government. The foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests, upon, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. - Alexander Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy**

An overview of life for Southern Black people, who made up half of the population of Madison County during the Civil War, is crucial to this work. Most Blacks lived as enslaved people, kidnapped and trafficked descendants of those brought from Africa as property by White men to perform the backbreaking labor of daily plantation operations, along with those of businesses and town homes. Southerners had long disregarded the founding fathers' words in the 1776 Preamble to the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." As such, "independence" only applied to those who were White.

*In an early, powerful oration known as the "Cornerstone Speech," Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens defined the Confederate union as one based on the foundation of slavery.

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 offered up 530 million new acres of fertile American soil. This, coupled with the invention of the cotton gin, opened the door to profits in previously unheard-of amounts. Promoters from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia purchased huge expanses of this land at inexpensive prices. Wealthy "blue blood" landowners like LeRoy Pope, his son-in-law John Williams Walker, and the brothers Bibb found their way to Madison County – an area in north Alabama containing land soon to be dedicated to the growing of cotton. These landowners and their class-adjacent families, friends, and business partners converged to create a monopoly of power over thousands of acres of new cotton fields. Cotton production in the U.S. increased tenfold between 1810 and 1840. This enormous plantation network, consisting of men who now owned millions of dollars in assets, soon controlled an entire industry. They soon seized political power in the Southern states, as well.

Who would work these new fields? White men from working class backgrounds viewed field work as both a financial and social step backward. They refused to work the long hours and appalling labor often demanded by plantation owners, nor would they consider working alongside Black enslaved people as equals. The cruel answer landowners decided upon was a simple one: bring more slaves South. As the Civil War began, about one in every seventy households in the United States legally enslaved at least one human being.[66]

A new network of enslavers and traffickers emerged to fill the demands of plantation owners. Traffickers in the upper South (particularly Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky) canvassed the countryside, travelling from farm to farm to offer cash for Black people. Virginia had a surplus of enslaved people, a central location, and coastal access, so it quickly became the center of dispersal. More than one million people were eventually gathered there to be trafficked South. Having been bought or kidnapped from farms and brought in chains, these people were kept in holding pens until sold. Plantation overseers travelled north to Virginia to buy enslaved people, organized them into coffles (shackling them into lines of pairs) for the long trek South in what would become known as the Second Middle Passage.[67] By 1860, production in the "Lower South expanded three times faster than the agricultural output of the Upper South," and "slaves in the Lower South nearly quadrupled as the Upper South exported two-fifths of its African-Americans" southward.[68]

Huge numbers of Black families were suddenly separated in the new Diaspora – husbands from wives, children from parents and siblings. The possibility of being sold became a reality of everyday life[69].

The traumatic outcome of these broken family ties either did not occur to slave owners, or they simply refused to acknowledge them. Few appeared to even consider that Black people might have feelings of attachment to their families and homes, however this hardly seems possible, given the obvious connections between White and enslaved people which could be observed daily.[70] Marriages, for example, required an enslaver's permission, although these unions were not legally recognized.

The blinders White owners and their families donned when it came to the emotional well-being of the enslaved people working on their plantations did not extend to male-female sexual relationships. Childbearing was of the utmost importance to slave owners, who were intent upon increasing their enslaved population. Thomas Jefferson acknowledged, "A child raised every two years is more profit than the crop of the best laboring man."[71] Black mothers, however, were quickly separated from their infants to return to work. Someone else, usually an older female slave, cared for enslaved children during the long working hours.

Many slave owners purported the human trafficking system which made them rich to be paternalistic, rendering even their most ruthless actions as "for the good of" the "ignorant" Black people. These White men considered themselves to be "masters," protectors of enslaved people and even their friends.

At the same time, White people of modest means understood that:

> The slave was a class below all others. His master was his protector and his friend… The white man without means was reminded that, though poor, he was above the slave, and was stimulated with the pride of position as contrasted with that of the slave. His political, legal and social rights were unrestrained and equal with those of the wealthiest" man, and "he gloried in his independence.[72]

It was both necessary and convenient for Whites to view Blacks as weak and unable to live without guidance. Bible verses were often quoted to justify the enterprise as benevolent and moral. Ephesians 6:5, for example says, "Obey your earthly masters with respect and fear, and with sincerity of heart." Sales, migrations, and births raised the Southern Black population to over four million, almost one million of whom lived in Alabama. This amounted to 45.1% of the total state population by the start of the War. In 1860, Huntsville numbered less than 4,000 people in total, essentially divided in half, with 1,980 Whites and 1,739 Black people, including 85 free people of color.

Human Capital

A landowner's surplus of enslaved Black people was just one of the many reasons he might have to sell them. This supply of human capital as

an investment commodity became "capital goods, a store of wealth, and object of speculation."[73] Enslavers looked to cull unproductive workers such as elderly and infirm enslaved people were expensive to support. The sale of slaves who showed unruly behavior like thievery, drunkenness, or habitual escape attempts, was justified in landowners' minds.

Enslaved people were most frequently sold, however, to pay debts, divide and settle estates, and to be given as gifts. As newlyweds began a household together, a young White bride might be gifted with a former Black playmate and her children. Loving grandparents were known to gift an enslaved person at the birth of a new grandchild. It was not unusual for this enslaved person to spend their years sleeping on a pallet on the floor or at the foot of their bed.

It was a relief for some landowners to sell away their own "social embarrassments" – offspring of the land holder or his sons.[74] Not every landowner was embarrassed, however, and not every "mulatto" (a person with heritage of two or more races) was sold away. In the 1860 Madison County census, 93 people were listed as mixed race among the free people of color and 1,967 mixed-race people were among the slave population. Desired or not, these 2,060 people recognized as "mulattoes" revealed a strong White presence among the total population of 14,765 Black people as one out of every seven Black people was of mixed race. How this came to be, or even the acknowledgement of the fact, was not a topic of polite society – publicly or privately.

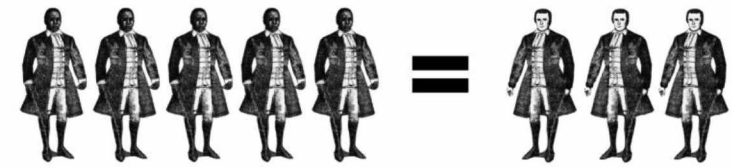
This closed-mouth policy surrounding household dynamics of enslavers and the people they enslaved all but guaranteed that the inherent sexual violence rooted in the Southern slave system would remain an open secret. Perpetrators could continue assaulting enslaved people, never face consequences, and, in some cases, flaunt their own biracial children by making them serve in their homes and on their land. Mary Chesnut wrote:

> God forgive us, but ours is a monstrous system, a wrong and iniquity. Like the patriarchs of old, our men live all in one house with their wives and their concubines; and the mulattoes one sees in every family partly resemble the white children. Any lady is ready to tell you who is the father of all the mulatto children in everybody's household but her own. Those, she seems to think, drop from the clouds… A magnate who runs a hideous black harem with its

> consequences under the same roof with his lovely white wife, and his beautiful and accomplished daughters? He holds his head as high and poses as a model of all human virtues to those poor women whom God and laws have given him… you see, Mrs. Stowe did not hit the sorest spot. She makes Legree a bachelor.[75]

Mrs. Chesnut braved an unmentionable topic, but, even in this lamentation, she could muster no empathy for Black women who became impregnated by landowners, the very men who often claimed to be "friends" to enslaved people. The distastefulness and incongruity of the system existed, to her, only in the plight of White women.

Slavery already assumed enormous influence in national politics. The 1787 Constitutional Convention (Article 1, Section 2, clause 3 of the United States Constitution, known as the Three-Fifths Compromise), declared that every five enslaved Black people would, in effect, count as three White people for taxation and representation purposes.



The Three-Fifths Compromise of 1787

The taxes levied upon owners for enslaved people in each state became an important source of income to legislatures, along with county & city revenues. Taxes in 1860 were assessed at a basic rate of about 25 cents to $1.00 or more per person, according to age, until the enslaved person reached the age of 60. The owner of a 15 to 30-year-old field hand, for example, would be taxed for $1.10. These amounts served as the largest single revenue source within most Southern states. There would be no return to the worthy contemplation of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" for the four million who continued to labor on farms and in cities.

The work, for some, might appear less demanding in town, but they remained enslaved. Those who served merchants might spend their days loading stock in the store. City-centric work enslaved people were made to carry out included that of livery stables, hotels, or tasks required in an expanding town like road-maintenance, carpentry, masonry, and building. Enslaved labor supported affluent town homes, as well. A fine house might require a butler, maids, servers, a cook, a laundress, a midwife, or a nanny (child care was always a necessity for large families).

Lewis-Clay Slave Quarters
HABS

Beasts of the Field

Plantation slavery was cruelly labor intensive. Successful agriculture and cotton production were essential in order to pay the master's debts. The painful labor performed by enslaved people often provided landowners and their families with lifestyles of rarely-seen luxury, a picture not unnoticed by northern visitors. "We rouse the wheat, Dey gib us de corn. We bake de bread, Dey gib us the cruss. We sif the meal, Dey gib us de huss. We peal de meat, Dey gib us de skin."[76] In her memoirs, Rebel spy Rose O'Neal referred to Union troops as those whose goal was to "liberate those beasts of the field."[77]

Many plantations were, in essence, large farm businesses that can be compared to small towns. Field work consisted of planting, hoeing, and picking cotton in the cruel southern heat and humidity with minimal food and water, and few breaks. The picking of one cotton crop alone took weeks, painfully and meticulously carried out by men, women, and children.

The cotton gin and press were timely inventions for White plantation owners, but it was enslaved Black people who were forced to operate, maintain, and repair the precarious machines. The safety risks of working with gins and presses were numerous – slaves encountered daily hazards from fire, noise, and a "dusty unwholesome atmosphere" with its related diseases. Operating crude machinery from sunrise to sunset, six days per week, carried risks of brutal, sometimes horrific injuries.[78]

Slave spaces, consisting of "quarters, fields, gardens, barns, out buildings," however, became "Black landscapes" that offered a sense of togetherness. They were the home of Black people, just as landowners' and their families'.[79] Adding to their work load, some enslaved people were allowed and encouraged to plant their own cotton patch, vegetable garden, or keep a few chickens.

Black women performed arduous field work alongside the men, and were sometimes expected to bring their newborn babies along. They were

expected to perform at least three-fifths of the work of a male fieldhand. They washed clothing and bed linens for the entire plantation population, spun and carded thread, cooked for Whites and Blacks, performed all household cleaning and chores, and looked after children both White and Black. Enslaved Black women were also made to stay up until all their house work was complete.

Provisions for enslaved Black people on plantations, including food, shelter, and health care in general were minimal at best. Appalling living conditions from subpar food (sometimes in troughs) to dirt floor beds served a sole purpose: preserving a labor source at a bare financial minimum.[80] Records of extensive injuries incurred through work and punishments reveal some landowners' tendencies to harm those in his care rather than provide adequate living conditions, preventative medicine, or emergency aid. Alfred, a 39-year-old man enslaved by Albert Erskine, had a scar running the length of the side of his face and a scar on the palm of his right hand. Isaac Clemm, age 27 or so, lost all of his left-hand fingers, except for the forefinger, and bore one scar on the right side of his face and one over his left eye.[81] In the 1850s, life expectancy for Whites was 39.5, but only 23 years for Blacks.[82]

equal to whites in aptness to learn and skill to execute work

Beyond crop production and farm work, enslaved people were allocated to work in factories to manufacture thread and yard goods. They would be trained for "manual dexterity, quickness and stamina."[83] At Bell Factory, for instance, machinery belts, rollers and weighted threads required constant maintenance and repairs, along with frequent waste removal in order to keep spindles and looms in working order.[84] Enslaved workers became "equal to whites in aptness to learn and skill to execute work."[85] It was often reported that "Bondsmen took to factory work more readily than poor Whites,"[86] and were "more efficient and less costly." Their market value increased as they learned new skills. It was a mercy, however small, for those who could avoid the worst of the oppressive Southern heat by working indoors.[87]

Cotton mill owners received a bonus benefit from enslaved people: employing them did not present the nearly constant problem of staff turnover. White workers, of course, had the choice to leave jobs they did not want. Hence, cotton mills run by slaves maintained an enviable work force stability. Enslaved people, of course, cost less to feed, as well. As the skills and dependability of enslaved workers were noticed and scrutinized, mill owners began offering incentives such as pay – real wages – and holidays. These same owners, nonetheless, saw an ever-present menace of sabotage along with the possibility of damage to valuable or irreplaceable equipment.[88] In 1841, bondsmen set fire to Bell Factory. It was "consumed by fire Wednesday night last, 100 bales of cotton, lost, worth $30-40,000

and only covered by $20,000 insurance… The fire was found at a late hour of which induces the belief that it was communicated by an incendiary."[89]

Moreover, landowners in central and northern Alabama could lease the people they enslaved for bridge and railroad construction projects with the understanding they would be "returned" during cotton harvest. Each worker's $20 wages went, of course, to the enslaver.[90]

Committees of safety

The 1830s saw notorious slave rebellions in Virginia, after which laws over and control of Black people, both enslaved and free, became harsher for, as officials said, the public's "safety." Local Committees of Vigilance and patrollers increased, and Huntsville employed its first watchman to nightly patrol the streets within three months of the Nat Turner Rebellion. Any Black person caught out after dark resulted in jail time, "fifteen lashes on the bareback" for both men and women, and a fine of one dollar against the owner.[91]

Free people of color were suspect, as well, and after 1833, newly freed slaves were required to leave the state within one year. Attempting an escape from a plantation or town home was a dangerous risk of life as Madison County deputized patrollers to ride each night ensuring that Black people were in their quarters. Sheriffs jailed runaway enslaved people, then used them for road labor or leased them out for a profit until they were reclaimed.

As the War progressed, large numbers of Black men successfully escaped slavery. Whether they intended to come back for family members or not, more work fell on the enslaved women left behind. Occupation by northern forces depleted already diminishing food supplies, and increased restrictions and dangers for these women. Some owners sent enslaved people south or west toward Texas and Arkansas to keep them from being impressed, or worse, purposefully joining the Union army.

Conditions for those who had fled showed few improvements over those they experienced on the farm. Many were sent to contraband camps which housed women, children, and elderly people at the rate of four to every soldier or male laborer. Hunger, disease, and infant deaths were rampant in contraband camps while women labored, once again, as laundresses and cooks.[92] Black men employed as soldiers by the Union were treated unequally and unfairly, their units segregated from those of White soldiers. Their weapons and equipment were subpar, and most were given menial labor tasks such as digging or building fortifications rather than fighting. They were also underpaid: they were told to expect $13 per month, but received $10 or less. Unlike White soldiers, $3 were deducted from their wages as a clothing allowance. Should they be captured by Confederates, punishments and conditions were terrible, and many experienced retaliations.

The foulest blot

John Randolph of Virginia minced no words in his comments regarding the lands of the old southwest:

> Alibama [sic] is at present the loadstone of attraction: Cotton, Money, Whiskey & as the means of obtaining all those blessings, *Slaves* – the road is thronged with droves of these wretches & the human carcase-butchers [sic] who drive them on the hoof to market.[93]

Several prominent early critics of slavery lived in Huntsville, Alabama. In 1818, Dr. Thomas Fearn wrote to his friend Clement Clay Jr. from London about slavery: "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." At the time he wrote the letter, Fearn was a young medical student, and he suggested emancipating enslaved people gradually. On his return from abroad, however, he became a planter and entrepreneur who enslaved 85 people by 1860.[94]

James G. Birney, who owned a Triana river plantation in 1818, was known as a fervent abolitionist. He and others formed a branch of the American Colonization Society to return slaves to Africa, but his views were not appreciated locally. Birney eventually moved his family back to Kentucky, and in the 1840s, he was a U.S. Presidential candidate for the Abolitionist Liberty Party. Reverend William T. Allan, son of Huntsville's highly-respected Reverend John Allan, also moved north, and gave testimony for an abolitionist project. Allan observed the cruelties of slave life and said, "they pant for liberty."[95]

While their levels of commitments to the cause may have varied, these men at least *spoke* of abolition. Landowners were the acknowledged and accepted ruling class, therefore their families, business associates, and other beneficiaries of the system (including businessmen and tradesman in town) refused to consider freedom for trafficked enslaved people as massive profits poured in.

White farmers and workers of modest means also allowed themselves to be convinced of the legitimacy of the slave traffic and labor system. For many, the status quo was all they knew or remembered; ending the slave trade and plantation system would upend a way of life. Playing on the pervasive racism and classism of the day, Daniel Hundley asked yeoman and working-class Whites: "Would you be pleased to see four million of inferior blacks suddenly raised from a position of vassalage, and placed upon an equality with yourselves? Made the sharers of your toil, the equals and associates of your wives and children?"[96] He painted a portrait of yeomen as salt-of-the-earth workmen, more solid than the impetuous gentry, telling them they were each a man who unflinchingly "marches right on to where duty and honor call… meets death face to face," a useful trait in the

battles to come.[97] The affirmations, flatteries, and blatant fearmongering sustained most of the South on a firm course of pro-slavery. This was the environment General Mitchel and the Union armies encountered head-on as they advanced into the Lower South and now Madison County, Alabama.

President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862 to free all enslaved people in the Confederate states; it would take effect on January 1, 1863. The order was contingent upon the Union's ultimate military victory and, therefore, did not technically end slavery, but changed the ideology of the Civil War by making the ending of slavery a specific goal.[98] Meanwhile, Blacks and Whites at home during wartime must now to reconcile their own civilian views of liberty with an invading army and its opposing military agenda.

One may surmise that enslaved peoples' involvement in varied positions as field workers, household servants, and care-givers for White children made them aware of the social and political settings of the community. It is clear that many possessed a keen awareness of the personal activities and lives of the White people of Madison County – those whose bidding they carried out. These positions certainly tied people of all colors together as the War progressed. Some of these went unrecognized publicly, but the enslaved population monitored political actions as they waited and prayed for their chance for freedom.

Chapter 3

Life under Union Dominance

Answer my dispatch immediately... Is Everyone Asleep!

The Huntsville citizenry may have detested General Mitchel (as any occupied territory would have detested any invading commander), but many officers under his command admired him. Captain Silas Canfield described General Mitchel serving "among the rest, in the mud and water" with the engineers as the railroad bridge was being restored at Mud Creek in Jackson County. Canfield added later:

> I am safe in saying the officers and enlisted men of the regiment who were in favor of the vigorous prosecution of the war, regretted his departure. By his kind manner, by his untiring zeal, by his energy, activity and perseverance, by his watchfulness, his impetuality [sic], his firmness, and I may add his method of discipline, he had endeared himself to every lover of his country; every true patriot under him. The seductive arts of southern hospitality had no charm for him.[99]

Mitchel's son, Frank, noted that the bridge across Mud Creek, made with cotton bales "spliced together in the form of an arch to resist the current... was completed in twenty-four hours and twenty minutes... (when) two regiments of cavalry first passed over it" followed by a company of cavalry.[100]

It was crucial that communications by train and wire were secure and well-maintained for the Union to succeed in north Alabama and to maintain this advance position. Secretary of War Edwin Stanton sent orders for General Mitchel to make daily telegraph reports to him in Washington while warfare continued all around them. Had the enemy entered Tuscumbia? "Keep me constantly advised." From Mitchel: "20 minutes pass 3 A.M., Why is my dispatch to the Commanding Officer not answered?... Answer my dispatch immediately if possible. Is everybody asleep?"[101]

Several other issues erupted simultaneously. A committee rode into town from Fayetteville, Lincoln County, Tennessee to complain about earlier "gross outrages on the citizens and property." These claims followed Union soldiers everywhere in varying degrees of indignation. In Decatur, Colonel Lytle

ordered, "You will please detail a Lieutenant as Provost Marshal of the camp and send him across the river among the wagons to make inquiries concerning and returning all property that has been obtained without authorization to the rightful owner." He was to appoint a provost for the army post to patrol and protect citizens and their property from pillage and plunder. "Arrest any promptly," confine them in jail, and report each case. These kinds of actions were seen as truly shameless after the May 2 "Sack of Athens" by soldiers under Colonel Turchin. Turchin became a constant source of irritation to Mitchel, who sent him the following orders: "Do your utmost to preserve order among troops." It was already too late, however.*[102]

Union soldiers were generally pleased with Huntsville, but not always happy with its citizens. Captain Silas Canfield considered Huntsville to be undemocratic because they welcomed proslavery officers, but enlisted men were not included in their social gatherings. Smaller towns offered few enticements; places with names like Greasy Cove and Lick Skillet were belittled. Tuscumbia appeared to the invaders to be "a small dilapidated village," and Decatur "a shackly [sic] dirty little town." In the northeast corner of the state, Bridgeport was rated as the "ugliest spot around." "Ten thousand people reportedly lived in tents in the vicinity… the lazy, good for nothing *White-trash* live in their miserable excuse for houses… starving to death." At the same time, Union soldiers "took pride in having wrecked a corrupt social order dominated by those they saw as rich traitors."[103]

Railroad and telegraph operation duties were given to soldiers. Mitchel asked Captain John Yates of the First Michigan Engineers, "if tracks to Decatur [were] clear because the lines were threatened by squads of Rebel cavalry and guerillas, pickets stationed at bridges were fired on, and the lines constantly were cut." Colonel Kennett and his men were on continuous duty, once under attack for five consecutive nights. A civilian, Mr. J. Howard Larcombe, working in Huntsville, was essential to the success of the Union invasion. General Mitchel wrote, "You will hold a train in readiness but will not send out the train to Decatur unless you receive orders. The train to Bridgeport will go as usual." Larcombe was clearly very important to both the telegraph and railroad systems.[104]

Private Clark and his unit, protected by soldiers, worked around the clock to repair the downed telegraph lines. Trains were constantly fired upon, while the most serious damage occurred at night. One attack began on April 28, as guerillas came down from the mountains to destroy the covered railroad bridge at Paint Rock in nearby Jackson County. Soldiers of the 26th Wisconsin guarded the bridge, but the Rebels, who brought turpentine and

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*General Mitchel ordered cotton bales to be sent by rail car from Decatur where they had been used to strengthen Rebel protective fortifications on that railroad bridge. The bales were then encased in wood and used as floats for the pontoon bridges at Mud and Crow Creeks. The same cotton bales were later sold to northern dealers. F.A. Mitchel, *Mitchel,* 309.

kindling, had other ideas. They burned the bridge at both ends. Six or seven Union soldiers were wounded and one Rebel "left his horse riderless." When Private Clark recounted his adventures repairing telegraph lines, one civilian continually stood out: Mr. Larcombe. Larcombe was a former Pennsylvanian and known Union man. He and his wife were in charge of telegraph communications before the invasion. (It was rumored that Larcombe benefited from the influence of powerful friends to shield him from Rebel wrath in the first year of the War.) Clark also wondered about Mrs. Larcombe, who, on the night before the invasion, have been "ordered by the mayor to destroy all copies of Confederate messages. She burned all except some that happened to be 'mislaid.'"[105]

General Mitchel, a recent widower, pushed aside the stresses of his duties and ongoing grief to invite his daughters to join him and his two sons already residing with him in Huntsville as members of his staff.

Mitchel urged Colonel Lytle to invite his two younger sisters to Huntsville, as well. Lytle rejected this idea outright, writing to his sisters in early June advising them not to consider coming south in the uncertain setting, "between *ourselves* don't think" of such a thing "for a moment." The trip would be long and perilous and far from peaceful, "surrounded by enemies – on the opposite bank of the Tenn. – and only ten miles distant swarms with rebel cavalry." A bachelor, Lytle noticed that the local ladies seemed "handsome and elegantly dressed and there is no rudeness of manner, yet neither had there been approaches toward hospitality… Besides, they are *afraid."*

At one time, unable to overcome illness, Lytle took a room at the Huntsville Hotel while he slowly recovered. The wife of the owner kindly brought him special foods and sent "a delicious silver goblet full of catawba sangaree – the last and only bottle of wine she had in the world." Lytle received attention of the first order. The owner of this elegant, newly-refurbished hotel knew that it would not serve him well if a leading officer of the enemy died while residing there. The wife of a Southern Colonel sent over "two large bowls of straw & raspberries & a pitcher of cream and little Miss White a beautiful bouquet." This was most likely Mrs. Addison White, whose husband was already noted as a leading Unionist, along with Joe Bradley and Robert Brickell. General Jere Clemens called and insisted Lytle come to his house to recover. "Poor" Mrs. Goodman, whose family he knew in Ohio, sent notes with well wishes. Although Captain Goodman served in the Rebel army, Lytle noted Mrs. Goodman appeared wealthy, "they kept a carriage, and she was both a *lady* and a *thoroughbred*… Even the women are not *all* fiends." He appreciated being treated as a gentleman.[106]

The Mitchel daughters, Louise, Harriet DeWitt, and Virginia Hook, arrived and were housed in "a little cottage" – a structure known to locals as the home of former governor Clay's son, Hugh Lawson Clay.

The distasteful Union occupation brought out the worst in many civilians whose Cause remained sacred and whose homes and private lives were invaded. Retaliation by those who were able and dared to risk the dangers became everyday occurrences. General Mitchel complained that even the local women were disrespectful to his soldiers, both in Fayetteville and Huntsville.[107] Entirely unacceptable, however, were the guerilla attacks on the railroads and bridges, the telegraph lines, outlying garrisons, and isolated out-lying picket stations. After two weeks of pleading for cooperation, this notification was issued:

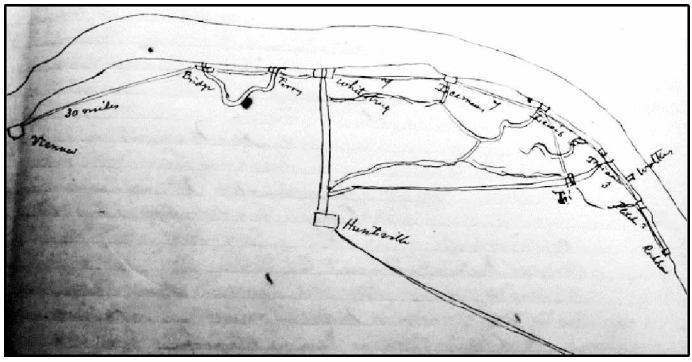
> **To the citizens of Alabama North of the Tennessee River**
> Armed citizens fired onto and burned bridges, attempt to throw engines from tracks, have attacked guards, cut telegraph wires. All these acts will be punished with death if the perpetrators can be found. And if they cannot I will destroy the property of all who sympathise [sic] with the Southern rebellion in the neighborhood where these acts were commenced. Unorganized bodies of citizens have no right to make war. They are outlaws, robbers, plunderers and murderers and will be treated as such.[108]

Guerilla attacks persisted, then intensified as they cut the telegraph lines, fired on rail cars, and tore up rail tracks for the remainder of the War.

Twisted Railroad Ties
Encyclopedia of Alabama

General Mitchel understood the need for trust and cooperation from local enslaved people. He spread word encouraging their help, promising them protection within Union lines for reliable news and information as Union soldiers investigated and explored the territory. On May 2, mounted scouts rode south to explore the ferries from Vienna (present day New Hope) to Decatur. The soldiers, of course, did not know the local citizens or their sympathies, but enslaved people were keenly aware of these details. Mitchel became familiar with most sources of danger around the river and Rebel opportunities for advances. He gave orders for two to four volunteers, "men of courage," to float down the river to find out if attempts had been made to

cross at any point between Bridgeport and Lamb's Ferry. Scouts were now learning information from enslaved people. They hastily mapped the southern boundary of the river, marking smaller towns and ferry crossings. Their map revealed 120 miles of extremely exposed and unprotected riverfront.



Early Map, from Vienna (New Hope) to Decatur
Mitchel Letterbook

Noted in the written report were the hotspots of Vienna, the riverport Triana, Leeman's Ferry, the Flint River Bridge near Owen's Mill, White's Ferry, Lewis Ferry, Watkins's dock, Rockham, and Fletcher's places, with the estimated distance between them and Huntsville. The wetlands and bottomlands of the Southwestern side of the county did not appear to be crossed by any known roads.[109]

Rebel horses stepped on the fallen Yankee soldiers dead or alive

An unexpected personal development arose for General Mitchel when his son, Edwin, was captured on his way to Huntsville by their nemesis, Col. John Morgan, along with 15 officers, 250 prisoners, and vast quantities of supplies near Pulaski, Tennessee. Both sides seemed embarrassed by the situation, and young Mitchel was quickly released. Lieutenant Mitchel and Colonel Lytle, along with all of Rebeldom, clearly admired Colonel Morgan, his manners, and his military style.[110] Morgan's younger brother, Lt. Charlton Hunt Morgan, was recovering in Huntsville from wounds received at Shiloh. On April 11, he was "detained" by Mitchel. Young Charley Morgan, about 23, previously served as U.S. Consul to Messina and was wounded in the fight for Italian independence.) Morgan's letter to his brother, censored of course, described his wounds with one ball still to be extracted, but he was grateful to have the use of his broken arm. He was now at liberty to be exchanged to recover at the home of his Lexington family.[111]

The Union Army's biggest issue in Alabama was the breakdown of its supply line by Morgan's unexpected attack. No quick repair was available,

and security could not be guaranteed for future delivery of much-needed ammunition and supplies. Actions by some Rebel men were reported as deplorable. The outlander Henry C. Magruder wrote his biography, before being hanged as a murderer, which described his participation on the attack of the guards of 350 wagons loaded with stores, clothing, and ammunition. The Rebels first helped themselves to the goods before burning the wagons and paroling 235 Union soldiers. Magruder bragged, "I captured the stage with the Lt. [Mitchel] on the way to Huntsville. I gave him a fright and sent [him to] Morgan" who paroled him. Magruder's men allowed their horses to step on the fallen northern soldiers "dead or alive" and they robbed the bodies of men on both sides. After that, they shot and killed a young Black boy who appeared to be robbing bodies, as well. Morgan's raid at Pulaski, Tennessee also captured[112] 250 unarmed privates returning from sick leave and 15 officers. Moreover, no reinforcements, scouts, or cavalry arrived as promised in Huntsville. Mitchel would now be forced to locate food, forage, and animals, which would only mean one thing: local citizens

Morgan's successful raid on the wagon train included repercussions for the mail service, as well. Colonel Beatty wrote:

> My letters from home have fallen into the hands of John Morgan. The envelopes were picked up in the road and forwarded to me. My wife should feel encouraged. It is not every body's letters that are pounced upon at midnight, taken at the point of the bayonet, and read by the flickering light of the camp-fire.

On the other hand, Beatty suggested that Morgan's raid gave the Union a reason to cheer. Morgan, he thought:

> imagines, doubtless, that he is inflicting a great injury upon our division; but he is mistaken. The bread and meat we fail to get from the loyal States are made good to us from the smoke-houses and granaries of the disloyal. Our boys find Alabama hams better than Uncle Sam's sidemeat, and fresh bread better than hard crackers. So that every time this dashing cavalryman destroys a provision train, their hearts are gladdened, and they shout "Bully for Morgan![113]

He never swerved from loyalty to the tattered old Federal flag

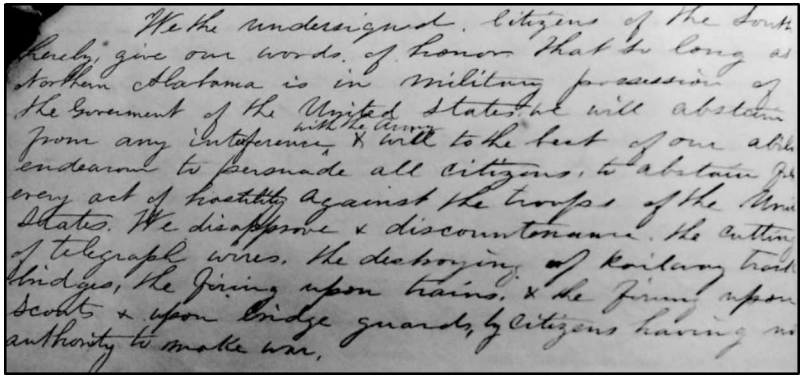
General Mitchel continued to acknowledge the assistance of enslaved people and wrote to Secretary of War Stanton of those who helped the United States. He stated that the Black population were their only allies, and he owed his personal safety to their faithfulness on at least two occasions.[114] One New York newspaper suggested that enslaved people were the Union's truest friends in the South, and perhaps a slave with a manual skill might be a better candidate in a free society than some plantation owners.[115] General

Mitchel scrutinized the Tennessee River with the aid of one enslaved man he mentioned by name, Sam Gardner, who arranged more lookouts among other people enslaved on the plantation.

Two local slaves were placed at every plantation from Bridgeport to Florence under Mitchel's promised government protection. Enslaved people, particularly those located near battle sites, noticed where Rebels and their sympathizers hid and overheard useful information, including advantages and disadvantages of the terrain. They were often regarded so poorly by those who enslaved them that no one suspected them of the daring required to spy, much less relay the information to Union authorities.

There were also disadvantages to hiring enslaved Black people. Union soldiers quickly realized that the general lack of education of slaves meant they'd never learned to tell time or count to high numbers. This rendered them unable to accurately estimate the numbers of enemy soldiers involved in troop movements or amounts of gun placements.[116]

General Mitchel again recommended Judge G.W. Lane "who never swerved from strict duty and loyalty to the tattered old Federal flag [that] still waves," for appointment as District Judge. At the same time, Mitchel "was in a rage," according to Huntsville diarist Mary Jane Chadick, arresting 12 of the most prominent men in town. In the eyes of locals, this was an extraordinary action of uncivil behavior on the part of the military, never to be forgiven or forgotten. The men were held in the damp basement of the county courthouse until they signed a letter decrying guerilla-like activities against Union soldiers. The following statement was first offered for their signature:



Proposed Agreement of May 4, 1862
Mitchel Letterbook

> We the undersigned citizens of the South give our words of honor that so long as North Alabama is in military possession of the government of the United States, we will abstain from any interference with the army will to the best of our ability endeavor to persuade all citizens of Alabama from every act of hostility against

> troops of the United States. We disapprove and discountance [sic] the cutting of the wires, the destroying of railroad trains and the firing upon Scouts and upon bridge guards by citizens having no authority to make war.

Today, this reads as a mild request akin to a formality. At the time, however, the arrest and demand of a documented signed oath from these men was seen as an afront to all.[117] Mrs. Chadick was proud that none of the men consented to sign the document. The next proposal from Mitchel began "To Sam.l Cruse, Esq. and others… for your consideration." As these local events occurred, Mitchel wrote a letter to Secretary Stanton expressing surprise "at the bitterest feelings among the citizens. I arrested prominent citizens and hold some against whom the Northerners will prove charges of unauthorized war." Mitchel made a request for authority to send the more nefarious citizens to a northern prison.[118]

Citizens of Huntsville were appalled at the arrest of the 12 men, who were non-combatant, older, and well-to-do. Their only crime seemed to be their roles as town elders. They included Reverend Bishop Henry Lay, John C. Wilson, George Beirne, Sam Cruse, William McDowell, Dr. Tom Fearn, Stephen Harris, William Moore, Gus Mastin, Thomas McCalley, and William Acklen. Each of these men would continue to influence Huntsville civic life through and after the remainder of the War.

Two weeks after their arrest, Mary Jane Chadick cried tears of shame, writing, "Who would believe it!" when the men signed a less forceful version of the statement.[119] Other problems, in the meantime, plagued the northern army and its leader.

General Mitchel, known to be a man short on patience, regarded his superior officer, General Buell, to be "the slowest person I have ever had the misfortunate to be associated with and [he] tires my patience in the severest manner almost daily."[120] Unfortunately for the vulnerable soldiers watching for guerillas behind every tree, Buell's laggardly five-mile-long column inched its way across northern Alabama. Mitchel revealed his frustration in a letter to the General, telling him he had little command of anything with less than 500 able cavalrymen at hand. Morgan previously captured the division wagon-master, and the countryside could not be relied upon for supplies. Moreover, before the April 11 invasion, 5,000 Southern troops passed through Huntsville on their way to Shiloh, using up any available surplus food or provisions.[121]

Compounding the existing shortage, 1861 was a bad harvest year. Most planters only grew enough corn, forage, and hay for their own use. Two weeks earlier, Confederates in Madison County "levied contributions" of any surplus, with no expected harvest until late summer. Food supplies were now truly depleted.[122] As a temporary expedient, General Mitchel sent an expedition to Paint Rock "to ferret out" the situation at "the farm of old Clay

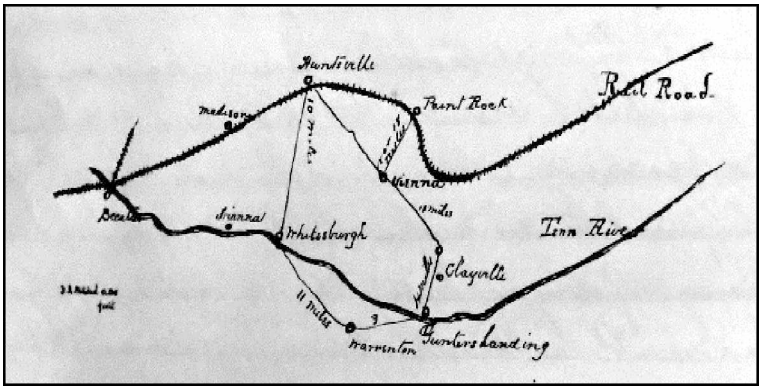
(former Gov. Clement C. Clay Sr.) with orders to seize forage, horses, and mules" for their quartermaster. This was only the beginning.[123]

Shelbyville, Tennessee was designated as the depot for essential food supplies, which would first reach General Mitchel, then General Buell. This plan proved to be ill-conceived, as Shelbyville was located 57 miles from Huntsville. In 1862, the United States army considered about 3,000 calories per day adequate nutrition for one soldier. The protein would consist of 0.75 lb. pork or 1½ lb. of salted beef, 22 ounces of bread, or 16 ounces of hard tack. Work animals required their feed of hay and grain, as well. One supply wagon could carry approximately 2,000 pounds over rough dirt roads at a rate of only 2.5 miles per hour. It required 110 wagons *per day* to feed the men and animals of Mitchel's Third Division. This did not include wagons for baggage, cooking gear, ammunition, and medical supplies. Leadership also failed to consider muddy, washed-out road conditions along mountainous terrain. This strained horses and mules, making it necessary to constantly lighten their loads.[124]

Meanwhile, General Mitchel did not sit idly by. Noting that the south side of the river seemed unprotected by Rebels, he requested reinforcements. With more men, he could cross the river at Gunter's Ferry and march 75 miles to the east against Rome, Georgia, bypassing Chattanooga, if he could obtain permission. Secretly enlisted enslaved people kept watch along the riverfront, and Mitchel once again offered them protection for their indispensable services. One enslaved man, Ed Morris, saw 100 cavalrymen cross the river the previous week in the Holloway's Ferry neighborhood, some 20 miles above Whitesburg village. This was, he reported, near the plantation of Drew King. Several soldiers were hiding out at Jimmy Hill's place, and more were waiting in the mountains.[125] A Black man named Aaron brought news of activities on Colonel King's land, as well, including the eight or nine men he saw sneak into camp at night. King previously announced that he and his son would "kill any Yankee in sight" and take their wagons. King told Aaron that Tyson Moore had gone to Chattanooga to bring Gen. Kirby Smith downriver to Huntsville. If true, this would constitute a genuine threat.

Mitchel was already authorized to enlist the enslaved people of noted secessionists for labor to remove cotton near Decatur, repair damaged bridges, and erect telegraph poles. Additional confirmation arrived in a telegram:

> the assistance of slaves is an element of military which under proper regulations you are fully justified in employing for your security and the success of your operations. It has been freely employed by the enemy and to abstain from its use …would be a failure to employ means of suppression of the Rebellion and protection to those who furnish information or other assistance is a high duty,
>
> Edward M. Stanton, Secretary of War.[126]



Railways and River, May 4, 1862
Mitchel Letterbook

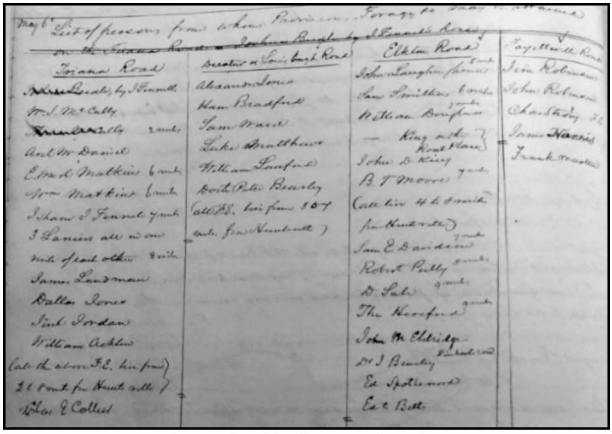
Better, more accurate information showing cutoff roads and distances appeared on the next map (shown above). New information indicated the hiding site of one particularly noted Rebel soldier. Written as "Pheon Erskine," Thomas Fearn Erskine (called by his middle name) was a lieutenant in the Rebel army. He was at home in Huntsville at that time recovering from arm and abdominal wounds sustained while scouting for the North Alabama Cavaliers.[127] Erskine decided to raise a company made up in part of a few Vienna men, to be led by a man named Vaughan. Many believed at the time that newspaper editor Withers Clay, Gen. Pope Walker (the former Confederate Secretary of War), and Gen. Benjamin Patteson (former U.S. Marshall) were in hiding at Erskine's place, in constant communication with Paint Rock guerillas while Vaughn communicated with those in Vienna.[128]

General Mitchel heard of a sighting of Colonel John Morgan near Elkton, Tennessee; "What efforts have been made to seize him? It would seem it is no one's duty in particular to drive Morgan out of the country or to capture him." Mitchel's cavalry was scattered from Stevenson to the Elk River, and he decided to obtain horses from the countryside and mount riflemen for pursuit.[129] The whereabouts of the supply train was unknown, as the wagon-master was captured on the first of May. Mitchel's correspondence presented the results of his next step.

List of Persons from Whom Provisions, Forage, etc. May Be Obtained

Four neatly-written columns revealed names of people residing along Triana, Decatur, Elkton, and Fayetteville Roads, covering major routes leading out of town to the north and west. The list in General Mitchel's correspondence book gave the names of at least 43 men who owned farms and plantations along those roadways where supplies could be located and

impressed. Receipts would be issued, of course. If townspeople were angry about having their meager food and forage taken, county dwellers had even more supplies to lose. In these instances, very few local enslaved people would have known people living and working outside of their own areas. This list was supplied by men who knew of the exact resources available, and where to find them.[130] Rebel sympathizers complained about the assistance given to the Union by such men as Gen. James Hickman, former U.S. Senator Clemens, and of course, Judge G.W. Lane.



Mitchel's Letterbook

promised to use him well

George Washington Lane's loyalties were, for the most part, steadfast to the Union. Lane was born in Georgia, but came to Limestone County, Alabama at an early age. He studied law and married Martha Davis, a daughter of Nick Davis Sr., and served terms in the state House of Representatives. The couple moved to Huntsville, and resided in a home on Adams Avenue at this time.

Lane earlier assumed ownership of an enslaved man named James Fisher who worked for him as a house servant and coachman. Judge Lane "promised to use him well," allowing Fisher to visit his mother, a free woman of color who lived in Nashville, but reneged on the promise. This incensed James Fisher, and inspired him to learn to write in order to produce a forged pass. Mrs. Lane, seeing his writing materials, reported this to her father, Old Captain Davis, who said that, had the slave belonged to him, "He would cut his right hand off." Fisher believed George Lane to be somewhat kind, and Lane attempted to reassure the young man, "If you had your freedom, you would not be so well off as you are now... I have all the trouble of planning and thinking for myself and the rest of you." James replied that he "greatly wished to relieve his master from the task of thinking for me." Lane smiled "and said I was a fool."

Fisher continued his penmanship exercises. He found Mrs. Lane, to be "crabby." On one occasion, when Lane was away, Martha called for her brother, young Nick Davis, then a student in Huntsville, to flog James. Davis brought a heavy board for the task but ended up being pushed against a wall himself. James admitted he might have "choked him a little." Martha wanted to call an officer of the law but Nick Davis took the blame for the incident. James Fisher, who was about 20 at the time, was still denied permission to visit his mother, and continued to practice his penmanship until he developed a "tolerable hand." The pass James Fisher finally produced was accepted; he boarded a Huntsville stagecoach and was never seen or heard from again.[131]

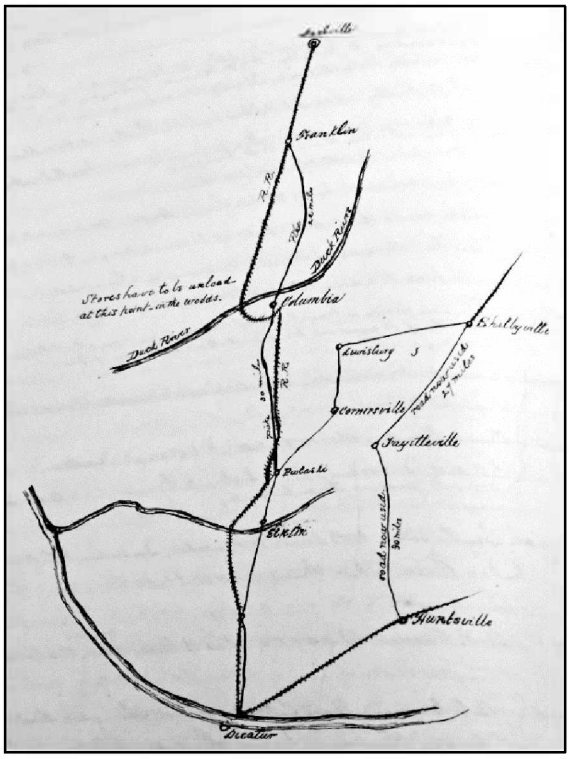
The 1850 census showed Lane as enslaving 14 Black people and owning $33,000 in real estate. He may have already shown outward signs of difficulty because, according to a financial agent, Lane was "broke and used up." His investment in the Bell Tavern failed when the building burned in 1855, and he was insolvent.[132] During this time, it is possible that Lane was forced to sell the people he kept enslaved, as none were listed on the 1860 census, nor any assets. Martha showed $10,000 in personal property.[133]

Speaking from a kindlier time, historian Willis Brewer recalled Lane "...as a judge he was lenient but sound and reliable, as a man he was always popular because of his kind and humane nature."[134] This would be quickly forgotten in the hostilities that followed.

Just five days after the firing at Fort Sumter, Judge Lane displayed a brief twinge of agitation as he eloquently spoke with several other leaders at a rally.[135] Even Lane's household was divided; his oldest son Robert joined the Confederate army under General Forrest's cavalry and was wounded. Robert Lane managed to return home, but died two days later. When President Lincoln appointed Lane to serve as a federal judge for the Northern District of Alabama in April of 1861, local agitators were distressed and demanded his resignation, surrounding his house on Adams Avenue. Lane attached the Union flag to the roof of his house and dared anyone "over his dead body" to remove it. General Mitchel admired Lane for flying the flag in such times, and the two men conferred often. Mitchel heeded Lane's advice and recommended him for the position of Military Governor of Alabama. Locally, Lane became known as "the rankest traitor and vilest wretch" and worse when Withers Clay printed his personal financial details in the *Democrat* for all to read: "Lane did not tell the truth; he had not paid his butcher, his children's school tuition, or the rent for his pew at church."[136]

Two days after the loss of his supply train, General Mitchel garnered local support to seek out other provisions. This list added over 30 surnames complete with first names and initials of those residents. For instance, Jno. R. Drake was on the list because he possessed meat both in town at his livery stable and at his home. A large brick house near the railroad depot belonging

to the M & CRR was noted as being full of bacon. There were a few more names near the northern edge of town that included Daniel Johnson, O.D. Sledge (who had plenty of bacon, both in the country and town), and Meredith Calhoun's supplies at the northeast edge of town. Five names were listed along the Somerville Road, as well, "send 50! Wagons" to the farm of R.J. Kelly.[137] The personal, specific nature of this information implied that it was reported by multiple spies or Unionists. The citizenry might give up names when pressed, but "collaborator" was not a flattering descriptor for anyone, on any side, at this time.



Supply Route, May 6, 1862
Mitchel Letterbook

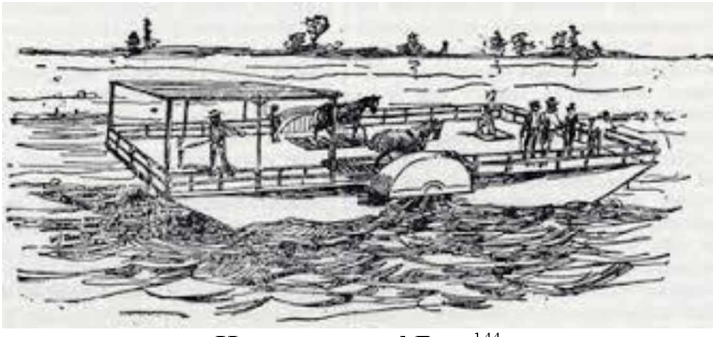
Yet another problem for the military involved compensating civilian employees performing valuable mechanical and railway work; Mitchel observed that they were never once been paid their full promised salaries. Many of his Ohio Volunteers also suffered from want of money, with some receiving no wages for their previous seven months of service while food remained in short supply.[138]

Considering that merchants were often unwilling to sell goods to Union civilians or soldiers, the news of rampant food thefts such as nighttime smokehouse raids, drawing "extra" milk from the milch cow, or loss of early

spring vegetables now ripe from Southern gardens, came as no surprise. Times were dire for average citizens; they suffered the "most terrible outrages, robberies, rapes, arsons, [and] plundering being committed by lawless brigands and vagabonds connected with the army." Mitchel continued his coded message written to Secretary Stanton, "I desire authority to punish the guilty of perpetrating these crimes with death by hanging."[139] Mitchel negotiated for and exchanged prisoners, which offered some relief, as the Union army was feeding both sets of men.[140] Medical needs were also lacking, and Mitchel wrote to B.P. Baker, Secretary of the U.S. Sanitary Commission. He said, "men are sadly in want of sheets, pillow cases and pillows & for ones who are sick and wounded in the Hospital, can you not help us? We are so far off I fear you have forgotten us."[141]

Some local citizens who still possessed money were allowed to go north to conduct business, but there were conditions: they must be loyal, peaceable, and willing to condemn illegal warfare. Before they were allowed to travel east or west, some were made to give their word of honor to abstain from interference. Anyone might go south who took an oath to abstain from action, but prisoners were denied all travel passes except for those issued by headquarters.[142]

General Mitchel pondered the exposed river area around Whitesburg village. From a 52 ft. by 12 ft. horse-ferry found along the shore, his engineers constructed a large mule- or horse-powered boat armed with a mounted gun; its sides packed with cotton bales for protection. A steam sawmill engine from a nearby plantation provided power. Mitchel took a trial outing on the *Gunboat Tennessee*, which was powered by mules and possessed the ability to plod upriver at two miles per hour and downstream at six miles per hour. He expected the boat would be powered by steam in a few days.[143]



Horse-powered Boat[144]

Rebels scoffed at General Mitchel's mule-driven, cotton-armored boat, but improvements were made, and, just one month later, John Wyeth offered an account. John, then just 16, was "following a mule and a turning-plow" on June 8 when a hurried rider came up to tell him the gunboat was coming,

and everybody who could shoot a gun was rallying. The gunboat, now steam-powered and armed with two Parrott cannons, was known to be a "slow tub" and there was plenty of time for local teenagers and old men (the only men left at home) to meet. Around 20 men gathered and planned, knowing they had approximately six hours to plot an ambush a few miles north of Guntersville.

Sixty blue-coated warriors on the water seemed to be enjoying a leisurely summer outing when Rebels, hidden in the trees, began firing their double-barreled shotguns and muzzle-loaded rifles. In response, the six-pound Parrot fired back, filling the air with shrapnel. When they reconnoitered farther ashore, all the Rebels were accounted for, with the exception of one, who'd "run out from under his hat. Thus ended "The Battle of Law's Landing."[145]

Southerners Firing on a Union Boat

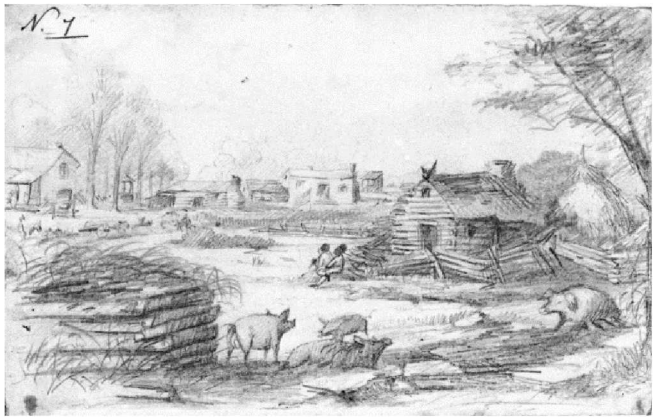
Mitchel received the citizens' committee report from Limestone County detailing the depravations by troops under his command. After the "Sack of Athens" there were worse accusations, and a committee submitted a claim of $154,689.80 for damages.[146]

His soldiers remained nameless, but Russian-born Col. Ivan Vasilyevich Turchin was and would henceforth be seen, as the fiend of uncontrolled warfare in north Alabama. Turchin was disliked by most, including some fellow officers who found personal attributes that they refused to disclose at the time to be distasteful.

One commander later wrote, "General Turchin, as a cavalry officer was not a success." He personally demonstrated bravery, but he was "physically out of place on horseback, the circumference of his body being equal to his height." Another complaint implied that his entire entourage, including staff, orderlies, and escorts, numbered nearly 400, far too many to be managed, much less fed, on a daily basis. In his memoirs, General Stanley

wrote that Turchin was a "dumpy fat Russian with short legs, he could sit on a horse as upon a chair, but when it came to a gallop or full charge, he was afraid of falling off and of being run over."[147] These may have been exaggerations written long after the events took place, but it shows how poorly Turchin was regarded by some fellow officers.

Damage, meanwhile, was already inflicted upon the local countryside. By mid-May, Rogersville, a hamlet 20 miles east of Athens, used up more time and resources than most involved felt it was worth. The "Sack of Athens" of the previous weeks alienated any feelings of loyalty among the citizens there, and they made it clear that Turchin's men were not welcome to establish a campsite anywhere nearby. Lamb's Ferry, four miles to the south of Rogersville, was a major port along the Tennessee River and an extremely important crossing, allowing easy access downstream. To the dismay of local residents, Turchin's men prudently fell back to establish camp at Rogersville. The soldiers were just as dissatisfied with the arrangement.



Rogersville, Alabama
Adolph Metzer
Library of Congress

General Mitchel anticipated a smoothly-run military operation, but this expectation would never be met, as lines of communication and supplies proved impossible to keep secure. Small groups of soldiers, including the pickets on duty at their outposts, always found themselves at risk from guerillas. To mitigate the dangers, mounted scouts were sent out in pairs to cover the roads and patrol the river.[148] One month into the occupation, Rebel guerilla actions remained a constant and deadly problem, particularly along the railway. Work parties were easy targets for Rebels, who knew where they the lines were cut. Locals, of course, knew every nook, cranny, hill, and hollow with the potential to receive supplies and safety among friends. Union troops were more open to attack than ever. Mitchel ruefully observed,

"My force is totally insufficient to do anything more than to guard the extensive region over which they are spread from hostile citizens and small bands of the enemy." Tellingly, he wrote, "I wait our orders with anxiety."[149]

Union forces were clearly spread too thin over the vast area. In late July, Colonel Beatty wrote, "Our forces are holding the great scope of country between Memphis and Bridgeport, guarding bridges, railroads, and towns, frittering away the strength of a great army, and wasting our men." Picket duty became too hazardous, as "we put down from fifty to one hundred, here and there, at points convenient to the enemy, as bait for them." He continued, "They take the bait frequently, and always when they run no risk of being caught. The climate, and the insane effort to garrison the whole country, consumes our troops, and we make no progress." Unhappy, as soldiers often are, with orders from superior officers, Beatty continued:

> May the good Lord be with us, and deliver us from idleness and imbecility; and especially, O! Lord, grant a little every-day sense – that very common sense which plain people use in the management of their business affairs – to the illustrious generals who have our armies in hand![150]

The difficulty of General Mitchel's position led him to demand clarification from Secretary Stanton, "You order me to report to you directly. Is my command independent or am I to look for orders from General Buell?" He inquired of Buell, in cypher, "Am I responsible for defense of Nashville and middle Tennessee as well as north Alabama?" It appeared for a time that General Mitchel directed all Union troops from Nashville to Decatur, the Stevenson railroads, and his own division already established along the Memphis & Charleston Railroad.[151] After his initial successful campaign, Mitchel offered Secretary Stanton the names of officers he recommended for promotion to Brigadier General, including Colonels Turchin, Lytle, and Sill. He included other names for promotion, including those of Lt. E.B. Mitchel, ADC to become Inspector General with the rank of Major and Lt. F.A. Mitchel for promotion to Captain.[152] It was not unusual for senior officers to be accompanied by family members; who better might they trust?

General Mitchel's daughters, chaperoned by Mrs. Jeremiah Clemens, Mrs. Nick Davis, and Mrs. G.W. Lane, joined him and their brothers in Huntsville. They used Lawson Clay's house, furnishings and linens from the hotel, and artwork borrowed from the vacant home of Meredith Calhoun. A select group of like-minded friends and officers entertained their guests with afternoon teas at homes and picnics on Monte Sano. Many joined a July Fourth outing on the mountain overlooking the city. Lunch was tip-top, the band at its best, the view unsurpassed, it was all-in-all a delightful day.[153] In return, the officers entertained the ladies with supper at their headquarter tents, served on a "found" clean white tablecloth, and the band played gems

of opera."[154] "As there are a good many ladies here who wished to be present," General Rousseau insisted on another military review and parade. Colonel Lytle was visited a day or so later by Gen. and Mrs. Clemens who in turn invited him and a few others to dine at their home.[155]

At that time, companies A and K of the 1st Michigan Engineers were relocating to the highest part of the downtown area across from the graveyard, where a dozen or more Union men were buried. As Correspondent Clark wandered about the gravel paths, he noticed that the elaborate iron fences seemed a bit ornate to his northern sensibilities, and he wrote that he was disheartened that "one only of the nation's defenders" had flowers.[156]

The lovely Corrine Goodman gained Colonel Lytle's attention again. He had yet to be introduced formally, but wished to be in order that he might appropriately thank her for her politeness and her encouraging note cards during his illness. "Poor woman! In addition to her mother's death, she has lost an only brother before Richmond." (Mrs. Goodman's brother William died at Gaines Mill on June 27 and her mother Louisa died within that week, as well, on July 1, 1862.)[157] Attempts at socialization filled this quiet period, but those times were becoming fewer. Into early August "the enemy was very saucy and prowling all around us."[158]

There were matters of business to handle, particularly those determining what to do with the captured local cotton. Very early in the occupation General Mitchel received orders from Maj. Gen. Buell to encourage trade in cotton. Bales stored from previous years could easily be transported to market; there was no reason for Union north-bound supply trains to return empty. Local cotton was stacked at the freight depot and dealers bought it up as fast as it came in. Military wagons carried the bales to Shelbyville, with much of it sent north by train from there.[159] Three-hundred forty bales of captured cotton made its way to northern markets by early summer. Mitchel's son-in-law, William Hook of New York, was one of the prospective buyers; this soon led to accusations of illegal sales. All accusations were eventually withdrawn and resolved, however.[160]

Chapter 4

War Comes to the Homefront

The woman is stronger and more enduring than the man as a general thing. We must suffer and be silent. Men are wrapped in their own strength and proud self-consciousness of superiority.[161]

Much of the warfare burden now fell onto the shoulders of women at home, many already overworked. The lives of women and girls of the Civil War South, regardless of status, were already dedicated to duty. Every young girl was expected to follow her mother and older sisters in performing the duties befitting her particular class and lifestyle. The allure of marriage included stability, security and, if one was fortunate, affection. Women, particularly among the upper classes, were considered to be the weaker sex. They were protected as the centerpiece of the home, at the side of a Southern man, whether it was her father, brother, husband, or even servant. Middle-class woman had less protection, and working-class women received less of everything except for drudgery and work; they received far more of that. As the War began, strict social codes controlled the movements and daily lives of Southern women, who were never seen on public streets unaccompanied. To do so was considered unladylike, and that woman was therefore no lady at all.

In the South, women were also far less likely to attempt to join or be accepted into the paid labor force. Their northern counterparts might respectably teach or work in factories. In the South, however, factory work and almost all teaching and nursing positions were available solely to men. Southern girls of the lower and yeoman classes received little education, and could expect to work alongside their husbands and any people their husbands might enslave, as well as perform all household duties and childcare.

Upper class Southern women would never work in any arena outside the home of their fathers and, later, husbands. Their education most often focused on French, music, delicate stitchery, art, and literature – subjects meant to attract a gentleman of their class. For a woman of wealth, marriage would decide her entire future, and she would hopefully live the rest of her life in the manner to which she was accustomed.

Women who married plantation owners required knowledge far beyond finding a good match. As the lady of the main house, a plantation wife's

duties were to manage household servants and laborers. If she did not already possess these skills, she learned them quickly as she acclimated to plantation life. Because enslaved people were part of a wealthy White family's financial assets and social status, the War quickly disrupted established patterns of daily interactions between Blacks and Whites.

Women were property of their husbands once they married; this was the accepted cost for marriage. "Husbands and slave owners thus controlled the labor, property, children, and the bodies of their wives and those they kept enslaved."[162] According to social norms of the day, a wife would be her husband's mate and perform daily duties of household management. There would be no negotiation over this role, nor could she expect to receive any credit or recognition of a job well done. Her role was negligeable – everything, including herself, belonged legally to her husband.

As the War progressed, and women were left behind to run farms and plantations alone, military impressment took many enslaved Black men for the War effort. Plantation work slow-downs were not unusual, but now the attrition of enslaved people caused entire work stoppages. Many slaves saw the opportunity to run, or simply, walk away. The plantation wife also experienced so-called crimes committed by plantation slaves. An enslaved person's "borrowing" of food supplies was considered theft, a crime resulting in a harsh punishment in pre-war years. Enslaved people sometimes left their cabins to visit nearby plantations, once previously forbidden, and never returned. The fear of intentional fires and poisoning by enslaved people became more intense, while rumors circulated about outrages and murders committed on other plantations. Women had no real power, which many enslaved people recognized full well. Their only confirmed authority figure – the "master" – was gone. More complicated feelings arose when White women watched enslaved people, whom they often considered to be family, simply walk away. These women, who spent their lifetime making and organizing provisions for Black families, were stunned at what they saw as ingratitude.

The women are marvelously bitter.

As average young couples came of age and married, they were fortunate if they could establish and maintain an independent household. Marriage "depended on real wages, any inheritance, and the relative cost of purchasing land, farms, farm machinery, and homes." Couples could expect to have six to nine children, averaging about one birth every two years. The death rate surrounding childbirth, with its risks of illness, miscarriage, and delivery complications, was often devastating to the family. These risks were exacerbated by the era's norm of continuous childbirth. However, even before the War began, there never seemed to be enough single men in a population dominated by women. A study of 1860 census records show that White women "between 20 through 24 years outnumber white men from 25

to 29 by 13 percent."[163] Combined with the onslaught of the Civil War, which emptied entire counties of eligible men of all ages and backgrounds, hopes of a prosperous married life were dashed for scores of single women and girls in the South.

The uncertainty of many young men manifested itself in their choice to propose and marry as they prepared to leave for battle. Soldiers, it was widely believed, would quickly return; no one foresaw the long, horrific years of war and occupation. Young men feared losing their sweethearts if they waited too long to propose, along with the likelihood that they might not find wives of their choosing when they returned. Furloughs offered a brief window of time to secure a young woman's affections and marriage, with or without her family's blessing.

As the War limped on, women attempted to manage the homeplace filled with children, elderly relatives, and enslaved people for the ambitious effort of the Cause. Ladies and young women gathered to sew flags and uniforms; blankets and bandages quickly took precedence. Empty hands would not do, and women entered their part of the fray, "Our needles are now our weapons."[164] Funds were raised with bake sales, concerts, and fairs, but cash and goods rapidly fell into short supply. Ladies' Aid Societies quietly disappeared as the War years dragged on. Women became worn from exhaustion and grief, their dwindling resources now spent saving their own homes and loved ones.

Unfortunately, most women in the progressive years of the early 1860s no longer knew how to card wool or cotton, produce thread, or weave cloth. They bought thread and fabric from women whose chores were traditionally allocated to the lower-class and slaves. Grandma's spindles were dragged out of attics and looms were resurrected from sheds. Once again, the whirling spinning wheel, the clatter of the shuttle, and the thump of the loom could be heard in homes, first to make uniforms and undergarments. As the War continued, women were forced to make clothing for themselves and their children. It was considered far beneath well-bred Southern ladies to spin or weave, but War conditions forced them to re-think those niceties. They soon joined other ladies of the neighborhood or church to make bandages out of rags and lint.

Some few nursed the wounded in the Calhoun House and Oaklawn as the numbers of sick and injured grew; this was previously a male-only occupation. Young ladies assumed the role of teaching children, whether at home or in a school setting. Local schoolboard officials came to accept female teachers because they were available and because they accepted less pay, and many women were in dire need of income.

A new generation learned these old-time skills in order to survive and contribute to the Cause. Upper-class husbands, away at war and oblivious to the hardships women of all social classes faced back home, were sometimes embarrassed to learn of their wives toiling at manual labor.

Plantation wives still possessed and used the source of unpaid labor they always had: enslaved people.

Many women were forced, for the first time in their lives, to produce food, prepare meals, wash and iron laundry, and manage their children. Lower class women and girls who resided in town were lucky to find paying work making buttons or sewing corn sacks and uniforms. In 1862, the state provided individuals with the raw materials to earn 50 cents or 75 cents for each pair of knitted heavy cotton or wool socks they could produce.[165] Black women in cities went from door to door, looking for room and board in exchange for their now essential services as cooks and cleaners. Their children could be put to work at menial tasks like chopping wood and waiting at the dinner table.

Union soldiers' journals reported, meanwhile, rudeness from some Huntsville women. As Provost Marshal, Col. John Beatty noted, "The men of Huntsville have 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." Beatty continued "The foolish, yet absolute, devotion of the women to 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." Capable of great understanding, he offered a note of empathy, as well:

> 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; of men, even, who hold cabinet positions at Richmond, and of many young men who are clerks in the departments of the rebel Government.

He continued, "their wives, daughters, sisters, and sweethearts feel, doubtless, that the honor of these gentlemen, and possibly their lives, depend upon the success of the Confederacy."[166]

Almost 620,000 men of military age were killed in battle or as a direct result of the Civil War. Among the Confederate army ranks, about one out of every five White men died, which was three times the rate of northern soldier deaths.* How would the young woman waiting patiently at home for her young man and their anticipated marriage take this? The lives of Southern women at that time, as decreed by social norms, held meaning only in terms of their place within hearth and home: marriage. She was now bereft of the person who would guide, protect, and shelter her. Women were

*J. David Hacker suggests the numbers more likely ranged from 752,000 to 851,000 deaths in his study "Census-based Count of the Civil War Dead" in *Civil War History*. Vol. 57 No. 4 (Dec. 2011) 307-348. via Gale Academic OneFile.

now forced to face the very real possibility that they might remain single for life. Spinsterhood meant dependence upon relatives for care, livelihood, and a home.

Vanity Fair

By the summer of 1862, all women – single or married – who resided in Union-held territory were required to swear a formal oath of allegiance to the United States in order to receive the protection of the government. Only then could they travel, trade, buy supplies, or have their corn ground at the nearby mill. The Union army, which would return to occupy Huntsville in the fall of 1863, relentlessly enforced this oath.

We haven't got nothing to eat

"Men went off to worship at the altar of ambition while women were relegated to the altars of sacrifice."[167] Women fought as fully as men, although in a different manner, and suffered the same losses. As the War progressed, life on the home front was fraught with increasing chores and illnesses, and the lack of money, clothing, and food. Most families suffered from outright hunger at some point during the War. Worry over these problems, coupled with worry over the well-being of fathers, sons, and brothers at war, was cause for severe anxiety that usually went unacknowledged.

Reports of military causalities continually arrived by official reports and word of mouth, but there was no official account of women and children who died in the winter cold, starved to death, or succumbed to illness. Strangers and stragglers roamed towns and the countryside, answering to no law or authority. Life, even for people who were once well-off, fell into

chaos as those left at home struggled to decide who could be trusted. Could one believe once-beloved neighbors and family? Enemy troops passing through? Town leadership (no matter which side held the reins of power at that moment)? The strangers who now roamed the streets each day? Everyone seemed to be looking to steal from one another and use other people for profit or gain. Patriotic fervor fell to the wayside as many poor and working-class women wrote to their husbands and sons, urging them to come home to rescue their families before it was too late. Weary women grew tired of holding back emotions as their lives fell apart. Men were needed at home to defend them and protect their households from the War, which now moved to their very own countryside.

Adding to difficulties for women was the possibility of pregnancy. Moral or medical support during child delivery was rare even then, but it became nonexistent while the men were away at war. During this long and frequently painful nine months, delivery, and recovery, women and the babies they carried were weakened by poor food availability, and for some, outright malnutrition. Birth defects and infant mortality rates rose as a result. The new mother, when she survived, was hardly out of danger because "childbed" fever, puerperal sepsis, could occur even weeks later. New mothers still must tend to their other children while nursing a newborn day and night.

Lower and working-class women struggled to find help with tasks as small as composing letters to family or friends and authorities who might offer relief from suffering. These poorest women, who already spent their lives laboring for the few necessities they had, could seldom read or write. Few spoke up for the poor, but some desperate letters found their way to the desk of Gov. Thomas Watts in the last years of the rebellion. "The cries of the starving people are coming up to me almost every day."[168] One woman's letter to her husband read

> Everything me and the children's got is patched. Both of them is in bed now covered up with old comferters and old pieces of karpet... and they got no clothes neither... We haven't got nothing in the house to eat but a little bit of meal... I don't want you to stop fight them Yankees... but try and get off and come home and fix us all up some and then you can go back... my dear, if you put off a-coming, 'twont be no use to come, for we'll all hands of us be out there in the garden in the old grave yard with you ma and mine.

Another letter: "And before God, Edward, unless you come home we must die." Both men deserted to make their way home to save their families.[169] General Joseph E. Johnston understood that most soldiers were family men of the laboring class, "who were compelled to choose between their military service and strongest obligation men know – their duties to their wives and children."[170]

Of the eligible men who returned, many were not sound financially, physically, or emotionally, and women were told to lower their standards. President Davis suggested they at least consider, "the empty sleeve of the mutilated veteran preferable to the 'muscular arm' of him who 'staid at home and grew fat.'"[171] Considering the prospect of marrying a wounded soldier with loss of an arm or leg, one wise young woman rationalized that her situation could be far worse: "I fear it will be my fate to marry one who has lost his head."[172] The shortage of potential spouses in the post-War years led some women to postpone marriage or choose less likely husbands. The city of Huntsville now offered so few marriage prospects that soldiers from the enemy camp might be considered, including northern scalawags with steady incomes. Fortunately, the results of one study reveal that women's post-War fears of spinsterhood failed to materialize in the long term. The vast majority (approximately 92%) of Southern White women who came of marriage age during the War married at some point in their lives. The marriage squeeze Southern women felt at the time of the 1870 census was no longer evident by the 1880 census 10 years later.[173]

protectors not despoilers of home and family

When War first broke out, a sunny picture of a speedy Southern victory briefly emerged. A few wives joined their officer husbands during those splendid months. Warfare then drew uncomfortably close to Huntsville, with some wealthy families receiving invitations to join (or, in some cases, they simply invited themselves to join) extended family and friends in the deeper South or far west. Crowds of people – refugees – appeared everywhere, looking for a safe space to reside until forced to move on. These crowds consisted of entire displaced families with little protection from strangers and few means of defense from insult or violence. For the first time in their lives, rural and small-town women still living at home encountered large numbers of unknown men, including guerillas, deserters, Loyalists, Rebels, and outlaws. Men were supposed to be "protectors not despoilers of home and family." Defending women was the "chief function of masculinity" even for the "noble outlaw." These were now harsh times, indeed. Any woman could quickly find herself the victim of insult, robbery, or assault.

> This moral framework applied to White women only: black women and Indian women were beyond the pale for fighters on both sides. Indeed, one might argue that all white women were treated with respect in part because other nonwhite women were available to be trampled… Raping and beating black women, sometimes beating them to death, were intrinsic parts of slavery, an institution which gave superhuman powers to the owners.[174]

As a result of the chaos and constant threat of danger, women often led their families to move in with neighbors or kinfolk. Towns became crowded, which, in turn, increased demands for supplies of every sort, and War shortages of food and goods in Southern towns would stretch well into post-War years. In northern Alabama, while looking for food, the poor and those without protection, mostly women and their children, swarmed into militarily occupied locations at Stevenson, Scottsboro, Brownsboro, and Huntsville. Conditions in these camps were appalling, and in the last chapter of the War, General Sherman ordered women and children in refugee camps not to be fed because, he said, they ate as much as a soldier.

They were the victims

Most citizens believed President Davis's claim that any war would be waged on Northern, not Southern soil. As a result, Georgia and Alabama were ill-prepared for what lay ahead. As the War continued, the problems of refugees became heart-rending as they were driven out by the danger from nearby battles and skirmishes. Faced with military occupation, or sent into exile because they refused to take the "Oath of Loyalty," it has been suggested that as many as 175,000 to 200,000 Confederate sympathizers at one time or another refugeed during the War.[175]

When war first broke out, it seemed that only wealthy Whites managed to flee to relatives in better, more secure locations. As the tide of war changed and Union forces plunged farther into the state of Alabama, however, one woman revealed her belief that that the great masses seemed worse off than enslaved people. "Driven from their homes in the most forlorn and destitute conditions," no kindness was shown if it was known that their menfolk were in the Rebel army." And "a conscripted rebel was as much a rebel as those who had willingly taken up arms." Some refugees were "too poor to emigrate as danger came closer and they were driven forth like cattle to the slaughter, leaving their families behind... compelled to wander friendless." Who would blame them for sharing information with authorities or soldiers offering shelter and food?[176]

White Refugees Fleeing
Encyclopedia of Virginia

British novelist Bella Spencer was with her husband, Brig. Gen. George Spencer, Chief of Staff for Gen. Granville Dodge, who was stationed in Decatur during the harsh winter leading into 1865. She described families whose menfolk entered the Union army. Their homes were burned, animals slaughtered, and they had only the clothes on their backs.

> They came through our lines weary, foot-sore, ragged with babes dying upon their breasts, and little children famished for want of food. Surely it was not on those poor ignorant, lowly – the burden of treachery should have rested. They were the victims. The refugees were more pitiful than the Negroes.

"The men who have dared to remain loyal, cannot go back to their homes in peace, though peace has been declared."[177] No kindness was shown to families whose husbands and sons served in the Rebel army.

Black families were on the move at that time, in even more desperate circumstances. Dr. F.E.H. Steger received a letter from his friend Dr. Thomas Madden in December 1864 from Maysville (just north of Huntsville). Madden observed all enslaved Black men were conscripted by one side or another, a few joined the Union army, and some simply fled. This left behind the ill-prepared, unprotected, unskilled women, elderly, and children in circumstances worse than their White counterparts. As the Union army and their shielding army moved out, Doctor Madden described to a friend the scene that overfilled the road in front of his house.

> About 8000 soldiers and baggage wagons – almost beyond number left the valley, refugees and slaves alike moved in a cavalcade past his house from 8 in the morning to 4 in the afternoon.... Negroes are in great confusion since the retreat of the army. Refugees and contrabands astonishing in number moved in the slow cavalcade.

> Cotton and feather bedding were discarded and tracks of the caravan could be followed by the litter left behind. Women gave birth to children in 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. Several cases of this kind were reported on the banks of Paint Rock. Other children were left behind, running about hunting their mothers who had left them to their fate.

Dr. Madden noted, "'tis said that they are dying by multitudes since the cold set in."[178]

Former Slaves and Refugees, c.1862
Library of Congress

After multiple years of waiting for news of loved ones' whereabouts, the worst nightmares of many women came true: their husbands died. Losing a husband, no matter a wife's social status, was catastrophic. War widows were so numerous that they made up a new demographic of single women whose challenges were different than those of younger single women. Children still needed care, and by this time in many women's lives, aging parents needed attention as well.

Questions remained for almost any woman who lost her husband in the War, for how many men possessed the foresight to write wills providing for wives and children? Furthermore, if the now deceased landowner bequeathed his assets to his children rather than his wife, would these children care for their newly widowed mother or step-mother?

Widows did have common law expectations of receiving their dower share, one-third of his assets, if a husband left no will or excluded her. All wives were entitled to that legal relief in order to provide for herself and her children without him. (This did not apply to Black woman, as they were not legally considered wives, much less widows.) Newly-widowed, uneducated

women living in rural areas, however, would have no way of knowing about these provisions or dare make their way to the county courthouse – a public space and male domain – to maneuver their way through a system unwilling to offer advice or resources. In 1867, the state of Alabama finally began granting pensions to Confederate veterans who lost limbs. Not until 1886 did Alabama begin granting pensions to War widows. In 1891, the law was amended to include indigent veterans and widows. Widows quickly remarried, whether they wanted to or not, in order to survive. Widowers remarried as well, usually to younger women, who, in turn, steadily gave birth to more children. Most women worked as hard as the menfolk, pausing only briefly to deliver babies. Daniel Hundley was one of the very few eyewitnesses who chose to comment about women as a group, noting they "almost without exception, are worthy of our admiration and respect."[179]

Stress grew steadily worse for residents, whose population was now made of mostly women, but also included children, White and Black, young, old, and those simply unable to avoid the hostilities. Meanwhile, what were military authorities to do with enslaved people, men or women, voluntarily offering information, seeking to run away and become "contraband," so to speak? Those in authority moved slowly and offered few guidelines that suited the reality of the time and place.

I have nothing to do

General Mitchel placed several issues ahead of slavery in importance at this time, and most involved his superior officer. General Buell arrived in June to inform him that his requisitions for ordnance stores would require his (Buell's) approval. Mitchel asked in disbelief, "Can this be true?" During one period, he did not received communications from General Buell for two full weeks. In frustration, General Mitchel submitted his resignation and asked for an active assignment. To Buell, he wrote "will you do me the kind favor to forward to the President of the United States my unconditional resignation." To Secretary Stanton he asked for active duty and transfer with a division on the Potomac, "I have nothing to do," and find it "impossible to serve my country longer under my present command." General Mitchel departed, amid rumors, for the nation's capital. His sons joined their father, but the Mitchel sisters stayed in Huntsville until mid-July. When they finally departed, Mrs. Chadick sarcastically offered, "Joy go with them."[180] To add to the chaos at Fort Taylor, a strongbox with at least $20,000 was stolen on the night of June 30. The empty safe was quickly recovered at a nearby spring. One man was convicted of the theft, but the money was never found.[181]

After his resignation, General Mitchel was called to Washington to respond to an investigation of the unauthorized sale of cotton. He showed proper orders which were validated, given a new reassignment, and in July, Mitchel was promoted to Major General. From there he was reassigned to

command the X Corps, Department of the South, headquartered at Hilton Head, South Carolina. Southerners who lived at Hilton Head fled plantations, and local enslaved people declared emancipation for themselves with the help of abolitionists and soldiers stationed nearby. This became the Port Royal Experiment for self-determination, the first northern assisted program of its kind. Mitchel's two sons accompanied him to South Carolina; they arrived on September 15. Among other official acts, Mitchel issued a formal order freeing slaves there and setting aside land for a town. One quarter of an acre was allotted to each family for crops. These newly freed men were allowed to purchase land, vote, and farm for wages. The new town was set up with elected officials, a tax system, street cleaners, stores, and, for the first time in the history of the South, compulsory education for children. At the time of General Mitchel's arrival, there were about 1,500 residents.

Mitchelville, South Carolina, c.1861[182]

The arrival of General Mitchel and his military entourage were "received with great honors, and as their vessel passed up the harbor, the ships of the navy and the batteries ashore fired the customary salutes." Unfortunately, yellow fever also landed on the island, and he and both of his sons fell ill. Mitchel became sick on November 28 in Beaufort, South Carolina and at the age of 52, died two days later. General Mitchel and "his Aide de Camp Capt. J.C. Williams were in their coffins… and the rest of us were a cadaverous set of fellows" as they were escorted away. The *New York Times* wrote of the Union hero that his death "will fall upon the country as painfully as the loss of a great battle." There was a sense of "heavy calamity" and "shock of sharp surprise… "We had not thought of him as one who would die. His very nature was instinct with life." The loss of "his gaze grown dim that never blinded before in gazing among the stars, as the film of death settled forever on his earthly vision." The newly-created village of formerly enslaved people, now free men and women, was named Mitchelville in his honor.[183]

worn and weary

Huntsville was once again shrouded in uncertainty. General Buell's army was earlier comprised of 40,000 soldiers and camp followers crawling

slowly across the state. Like most armies of the Civil War, it was a massive and chaotic one, requiring constant food and supplies for men, horses, and mules. At the time "long trains of cars, or of wagons… formed an immense moving cavalcade [that] for a standard army corps of 30,000 infantrymen required 700 wagons drawn by at least 4,200 mules." Horses for officers and general artillery were necessary, as well. "During the march, each wagon occupied 80 feet of space or more if muddy, a train of 700 wagons needed 56,000 feet coming to 10 miles" at a minimum. Ambulances needed one mile of space, batteries and accompaniments three miles; in one single column 30,000 troops spread out for six miles and longer as the day and heat wore on. One corps would be 20 miles in length followed by the necessary cattle herds, bridge building equipment, and other supply wagons."[184]

That year, the land would yield even less. Hog cholera and anthrax-infected pigs and cattle, both in Alabama and Tennessee, caused a previously unseen scarcity of meat. In the summer heat of 1862, some saw what they were convinced were signs of a drought. There was hardly enough food to feed the Black and White civilians and the additional army of thousands, much less stock animals.[185] In response, General Buell ordered half-rations of sugar and coffee, crackers, and beans, for his troops. Local farms, gardens, smoke-houses, out-buildings, interior closets, and even cupboards became attractive to men who would otherwise never have considered stealing. All the while, guerilla attacks remained constant and vicious.

Union soldiers continued to report in sick; as many as 1,000-1,500 were ill, and more arrived daily, according to a Camp Taylor *Chicago Tribune* reporter. The reporter expected these ailing men would receive "the kindest attention under Dr. Marks and his assistants," yet provisions for those just taken off the cars were clearly insufficient, "worn and wearied… exhausted in the service of the country, pale and emaciated from disease or blushed and burning with active fever… the American soldier never staggers along… no matter how hard has been his toils and what distances." In that reporter's view, it was simply too much. He witnessed 200 sick men painfully struggling to march to the public square from the rail cars, "sick fain to rest upon filthy pavement or stretch on dusty pavement, full length, a sad spectacle that a company of sick Americans lying there in the street at that hour of the night, in the rich and aristocratic city of Huntsville." They were there still on the streets one hour later, according to his report.[186]

Lawless assaults on Union soldiers continued, and General Rousseau later offered a simple solution. Rousseau's Order 54, printed in *The Athens Tribune* and *The New York Times*, offered free-of-charge rides on the train cars to wealthy and influential civilians. "Almost every day murders are committed by lawless bands of robbers and murderers firing into the railroad trains." In order to prevent this:

> Let guilty suffer with the innocent, it is ordered that the preachers and leading men of the churches be arrested and in custody of armed soldiers take the trains from Huntsville to Athens and Elk River and back while a second load of leaders go to Stevenson and return. See how they fared against guerilla warfare!

It is unknown as to whether or not this order was carried out, but it was also described in an essay by Maj. Frank J. Jones in a collection of personal War experiences.[187]

Colonel Lytle received orders to withdraw on August 29 as fears of vicious cavalry attacks increased. His "instructions called for breaking the railroad and destroying any engine in the shop." He was told that this was to be a "profound secret" from citizens and even his own officers. Mrs. Chadick, "only" a civilian housewife, noticed a great stir among the soldiers on August 29, and was suspicious when she observed them cooking extra rations. "Perhaps they are going to leave us at last," she wrote. The army, in addition to destroying railroad materials, burned corn, meat, and supplies to keep it out of Rebel hands.

By August 31, Colonel Lytle and his 10th Ohio set out with a 27-day march ahead of them to Louisville. Private Clark, writing for his hometown newspaper, felt this action to be a disgraceful retreat. He was mortified to leave behind all they had gained after the men suffered so many hardships to obtain it.[188] One officer expressed relief however, noting it was time to move on. "The whole army is concentrated here, or near here; but nobody knows anything, except that the water is bad, whisky scarce, dust abundant, and the air loaded with the scent and melody of a thousand mules."[189]

With that, they were gone. But how was General Mitchel's invading army of vandals and goths able to take Alabama and Huntsville so easily in the first place? True, he was no ordinary officer; his many skills, firm leadership, and planning abilities made him exceptional.

Other men with other plans had been secretly placed in Huntsville before the Union military advance was made.

Chapter 5

Scouts and Spies

Rascality at Huntsville

The people of Huntsville were rightfully nervous on the night of April 10, 1862. The town was undefended, with most local men fighting in northern Virginia or on the western front. A rumor circulated that the Union army might be as close as Fayetteville, Tennessee, only 35 miles to the north. In Huntsville the unprotected headquarters of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad included a fine new 3-story brick depot with "workshops, rolling stock, offices, books, materials and valuable property, including 18 engines, 100 freight cars, 6 passenger, 2 baggage, and a large number of smaller cars, shop tools, cross-ties and other property."[190] There were also large quantities of commissary stores and a considerable number of wounded Confederate soldiers. The rail line was the first (and now the last remaining) railroad linking the Mississippi River to the Atlantic Ocean within the Confederacy. After the Confederate losses in Kentucky, General Walker wrote in February 1862 to Judah Benjamin, Confederate Secretary of War, "The line from Memphis to Virginia must now be defended at all hazards… The M & C Road is the vertebrae of the Confederacy, and there are no troops for its defense." The unexpected evacuation of Nashville was a shock, but indictive of the immediate situation for north Alabama. According to one observer, after the fall of Fort Donelson, the Tennessee River was high and "you may hear any morning that the enemy are here." [191] Still, the only additional troops to arrive in the passenger cars were a few newly-furloughed men and recently wounded soldiers from Shiloh.

An April 29 inquiry and report to General Beauregard, CSA, was sent by a Southerner named L.F. Zantzinger, offering a thorough account of events that transpired. The regular Huntsville telegraph operator Martin Pride requested and received personal leave to visit his parents in Shelbyville. He was also ordered to watch for suspicious Federal activities along the way. On April 9, Mr. A.J. Hopper, superintendent of the railroad's Eastern Division, sent Pride out earlier than planned. He also sent John Heap, whom Zantizinger now knew "was employed as a spy or scout for information of the enemy's movements." At Fayetteville, the two were captured and detained for a few hours by Federal pickets before being released. To sound the alarm, Pride took a work-train north to Stevenson, the important juncture of the Memphis & Charleston and the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad

lines, while John Heap found his way back to Huntsville. More than one source gives this account, which has generally been accepted as the way events transpired. It seems totally unreasonable, however, that John Heap, even if under the oath of a parole, did not run through the streets of downtown Huntsville to alert the citizens of the imminent danger.

In hindsight, any unusual activity falls under suspicion. For instance, Mr. Hopper ordered Jonathan Webb, chief Huntsville telegraph operator, to Corinth on the 10th, where he would supposedly be more useful as telegraph operator, and Webb packed his bags to depart the next day. J. Howard Larcombe, a clerk in the machine shop, and his wife, both capable operators, would now be positioned to maintain Huntsville's two telegraph stations – communication lines essential to railroad and troop movements. Mr. W.T. Ross, general superintendent of the M & C Railroad, telegraphed Mr. Hopper, ordering him to send all rolling rail stock from Corinth to Huntsville immediately. As a result, the Huntsville train yards were full – *overfull*, in fact – with Confederate rail equipment and men.[192] On that same night of the 10th, operator Webb received news that Federals were eight miles away, steadily advancing toward Huntsville. He prepared a telegraph and submitted it to be dispatched to General Beauregard for immediate action. At that post, Mrs. Larcombe received the hand-written statement but did not send it; she also appeared to have failed to send several other telegrams. Citizens later recalled that the Larcombes were notorious Lincolnites.[193] Authorities swiftly connected these events, and suspected them of playing a part in a long-prearranged plot.

Another source later confirmed the ability and position of the Larcombes at Huntsville. General Mitchel sent a telegraph to an officer of the M & C Railroad at Huntsville asking J. Howard Larcombe if it was safe to send trains. The response, "It is perfectly so," was accepted with confidence by Mitchel.[194] Before and after the events of that April night, spies on both sides were clearly working busily, and at least one man may have been a double agent.

Another account from 25 years after the events was that of A.A. Gildersleeve, who wrote a brief column for a Washington newspaper about the "Capture of Huntsville." He telegraphed from Huntsville, identifying a man only as O.L.K. Superintendent of the Telegraph at Huntsville, "a native of Philadelphia, and loyal blood ran in his veins." The weather was bad the night a scout report seeing Union troops at Meridianville. Mr. K. complimented the scout on his service and offered him a comfortable bed in the upstairs depot bunkhouse for the night. The information went no farther. Mr. K. allowed more Confederate trains from the west to arrive in the yard, then "locked up the office, went home and told his wife that they would wake up in the United States in the morning, and so they did."[195]

Necessary for the public service

In a sense, spies *were* everywhere. A local might pass along information to their neighbor, who might then share it with colleagues in the service of one of the armies. Education was not a necessity, but knowledge of the neighborhood, a bit of daring, and a good seat in the saddle could be useful. Many people of varying ages and stations in life possessed all of these qualities.

It could be dangerous to leave one's own neighborhood at this time, but far more so to enter enemy territory to live and gain access to worthwhile information. Both the Union and the Confederacy maintained vast networks of informants, although there are very few official records of espionage actions. It is known, for instance, that 70 different people received cash payments from the U.S. Secret Service at Corinth, Mississippi, including one Mary Malone who was paid $800 for her three trips. This data covered only six months between December of 1862 and June of 1863. Payment amounts varied from $6 for James Weaver to $500 for John Coleman.[196]One agent named Joseph W. Palmer made several trips for the U.S. Secret Service from 1862-63. He was paid $100 to scout as far away as Savannah, Cherokee, Eastport, Pikeville, and Bay Springs.[197] Another trip from October 13-29 of 1862 brought Palmer to Huntsville for which he received $300 on completion. He next ventured to Russellville between November 14 and November 23 by way of Tuscumbia, then back to Bay Springs. These expeditions "were necessary for the Pubic Service," and Mr. Palmer, who could not sign his name, earned a total of $875.[198] Nonetheless all spies, couriers, or anyone accused of being a spy might expect, if caught, to be summarily tried and executed without any necessary paperwork being filed.

In October 1863, the scout Cpl. James Pike, once again at Huntsville, was sent to deliver a crucial message from General Grant to General Sherman in Iuka, Mississippi. Pike was escorted to Whitesburg by a squadron of cavalrymen and used a canoe to begin this adventure through guarded enemy territory on both shores. He traveled alone through the dangerous rocky shallows at Muscle Shoals, past Florence, coming ashore at Tuscumbia. General Blair arranged for him to be taken by a fast-moving ambulance to Cherokee, where he was sent on a special train to Iuka. His speedy and successful three-day trip of over 100 miles led Sherman to initiate his campaigns at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.[199]

Inside information was always sought. What were the prevailing local sentiments, including who was for which side, who might be persuaded to change sides, locations of stationed troops, food sources and forage? Who might one turn to in an emergency, and who might need protection? The Union army had its own set of detectives. Special agents, scouts, and occupying troops gathered information in exchange for favors or goods or cash. The very first recognized infiltrator at Huntsville may have spent at least two years gathering information. Both he and his wife possessed

distinct access and expertise in two essential specialties: the railroad and the telegraph.

J. Howard Larcombe, Spy

Have stood in peril here for their known national sentiments

J. Howard Larcombe had a long head-start in his position in Huntsville at the time of General Mitchel's invasion, and this was evidently no accident. He and his wife, Elizabeth, had already acquired the skills necessary for their work as a telegraph operators. Larcombe was born in 1820 in New Jersey of French parents. He learned his trade of telegraphing in Pennsylvania in the 1840s and early 1850s for the Atlantic & Ohio Telegraph (which also employed a young Andrew Carnegie). Larcombe practiced and honed his skills in the Altoona and Bedford Offices.[200]

Subsequent events may reflect a sense of daring J. Howard inherited from his grandfather. Thomas Larcombe, a Revolutionary War privateer, was captured twice by the British during runs to Havana. Later, after a 7.5-hour battle with a British cruiser, Captain Larcombe was forced into Bermuda, his ship half-sinking. He lost all and lived in reduced circumstances until his death in 1823. His son Robert was a minister in Philadelphia, and John Howard was the oldest of Robert's four children.[201]

It is unknown whether Larcombe was a fervent abolitionist or a man with passion for a united country, but one thing is certain: he was a capable telegraph operator. In 1855, Larcombe carried a letter of introduction written by James D. Reid, "The Grand Old Man of the Telegraph," for the company that would soon become Western Union.[202] Larcombe's letter indicated that he moved South due to his family's ill health. He was previously employed in the office of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and served for several years at the Atlantic & Ohio Telegraph Co., even managing two offices when needed. He was regarded as one of the company's best operators, and most active and industrious agents. Experienced in both telegraphy and railroad communications, he was doubly valuable. His credentials described his irreproachable character and genuine integrity.

> "I bid him 'God Speed' with all my heart and desire success for himself and health to his household."
> James A. Reid, Superintendent Atlantic & Ohio Telegraph

Should there be any doubt of Larcombe's authorization after the events to come, this letter of introduction was included in the records of the U.S. War Department, one single sheet of paper in the Union Provost Marshal's File Relating to Citizens.[203]

Larcombe and his family may have first stopped over in Nashville in 1856 to visit his brother, Augustus Larcombe, an ambrotypist and photographer of some note. The results of his work offered such advantages,

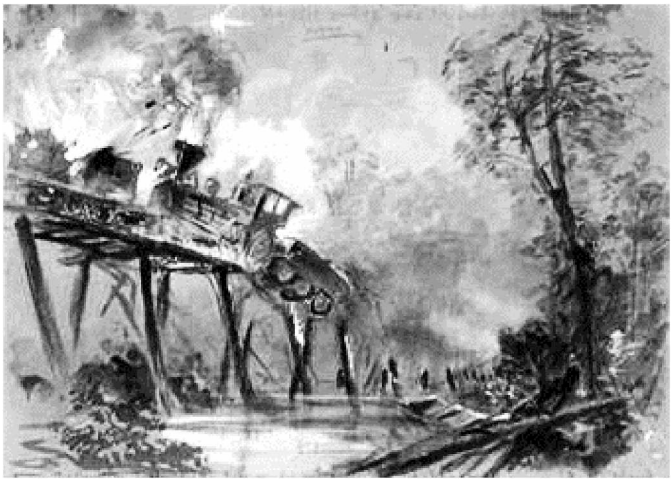
"Time cannot change them, Light cannot fade them, Dampness cannot mould [sic] them, dust cannot reach them, Rust cannot corrode them," and his was "tip-top style" offered with Eastern prices.[204] J. Howard Larcombe kept a photography shop in 1856 and 1857 on Memphis' Front Street. (Memphis was the headquarters for the M & C Railroad at this time, serving, among other towns, Huntsville, Alabama.)

Larcombe relocated from Memphis within two years, opening his new photographic and ambrotype gallery on Franklin Street in Huntsville. Advertising his skills as a "photo graphist" in the city directory and local newspaper, he announced he could be found in the shop, "ready to wait upon his friends and who may favor him with a call."[205]

Larcombe's Huntsville "facility had a sky-light and every facility for taking beautiful and life-like likenesses." According to the 1860 census, Elizabeth and Howard Larcombe, both aged 39, from Pennsylvania, lived on the corner of Clinton and Gallatin Streets in Huntsville with their children Howard S. about 11; Ann, 9; Mary Z., 6; and three-year-old twins, Agnes and Ethel.

Once Huntsville was captured, Union railroad and telegraph men quickly entered north Alabama to repair the damaged tracks and lines. Private William Clark of the 1st Michigan Engineers thought poorly of the "lazy rebels," who simply cut the telegraph wires rather than take the time to pull them down and completely remove them. Every morning, Clark's group was sent out to repair the previous night's damage. Each crew was accompanied by soldiers because they were often fired upon. In an early May incident, a convoy of three trains departed Athens for Huntsville. The first train, with General Mitchel aboard, safely crossed the bridge at Limestone Creek. Rebels emerged, and quickly set fire to the wooden bridge over the steep gulley. The second train's work cars sped up as the engineer attempted to go through the burning bridge with "all steam," making its way across. It was too late for the third train, however. The scaffolding collapsed in flames, and the engine, several cars, and three men fell to the bottom of the ravine as the flames were strengthened by guerrillas. One soldier named Jenkinson

was trapped there, "suffocated by the flames and smoke, while appealing piteously to be got out or shot dead at once… The bushwhackers refused his pleas for help and threatened any blacks who offered to try to extricate him." The horrors, Clark said, were hard to describe. One soldier died of his burns and injuries. Clark was confident that the injured would be well-tended by a nearby physician, Dr. Bibb.[206]



Train Wreck
Alfred R. Waud
Library of Congress

Clark recounted another occasion in which, "Superintendent Larcombe who was with us on our business, and one of the most gentlemanly of men," assisted two captured Rebels and a woman with her child to be escorted across the river into Confederate territory. Larcombe was "attentive to their comfort in crossing in a frail canoe, taking the woman's child in his lap," and set himself in the bottom to steady the boat. Larcombe put cotton in the bottom of the canoe to keep the woman's skirt from being soiled, but she offered, "no word or even look, of thanks." Clark was impressed. Larcombe was a great manager, and clearly did not view himself as above assisting with physical labor. When Larcombe sent for and shared rations during the noon break, it was the first light bread and butter the men had enjoyed in quite some time. Clark made no secret of the fact that he found Huntsville to be a attractive place. He considered the passenger house, where Mr. Larcombe and his clerk, Mr. Angell, kept their office among civilian and military staff to be a particularly splendid building. He described Larcombe and Angell, "both are sterling Union men and have stood in peril here for their known national sentiments." Clark remarked, "this is a business – and lively enough. The constant ingress and departure from these rooms of officers and others, the comings and goings of cars, and the march of guards

and soldiers as they enter or leave the trains, greatly differs from the comparative monotony of camp life."[207]

View of Huntsville Shops c.1864
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

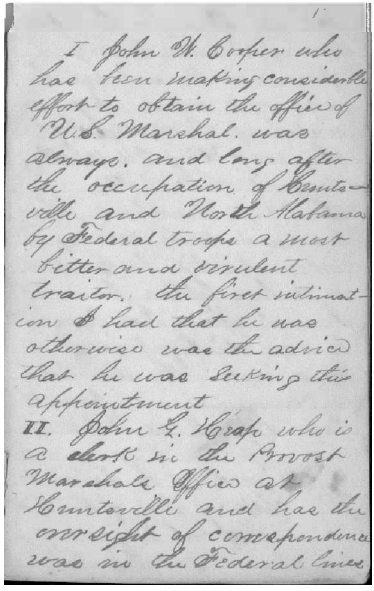
For unknown reasons, J. Howard Larcombe, who may have, in effect, handed over much of north Alabama to the Union forces, with lives saved on both sides, was discharged on July 6 from his duties as assistant superintendent. This order was issued by Capt. John B. Yates, who directed all traffic between Decatur and Stevenson, as military superintendent of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, and commander of a battalion of engineers. His message to Larcombe read as follows: "I am ordered to inform you that your services are no longer required on the Memphis & Charleston Railroad. The order can be seen by calling at my office."[208] The directive came down from higher channels. One possible explanation discussed at the time was that the often-controversial Col. William Innes may have taken exception to the salary of J. Howard Larcombe. "Innes did not consider 'his services adequate to the pay he received.'"[209] As a result, Larcombe, clearly a prewar employee of the railroad, was released. Just about one month later, as prominent Union supporters such as Judge Lane's family and General Rousseau's sick son exited the South, the Larcombe family departed, as well. On August 25, "They all rode to the depot in a wagon, such was their panic."[210]

During their years in Huntsville, the Larcombes endured stares, harsh words, and death threats. Their children were young, but may have sensed the impending harassment from Rebel neighbors; the family escapes during the night on a train filled with evacuating soldiers. The military presence most likely kept the family safe from retribution, but they knew the time had come to leave. The only place certain of any safety for Larcombe and his family was north. According to the 1863-1865 U.S. Draft Records,

Larcombe registered for the draft in Washington, D.C. at age 41. He served as a clerk in the government printing office, having received a Class 2 deferment because he was above the age of 35.[211]

Larcombe Notations

He was out spy watching



I John W. Cooper who has been making considerable effort to obtain the office of U.S. Marshal. was always. and long after the occupation of Huntsville and North Alabama by Federal troops a most bitter and virulent traitor. the first intimation I had that he was otherwise was the advice that he was seeking this appointment

II. John L. Crapp who is a clerk in the Provost Marshals Office at Huntsville and has the oversight of correspondence was in the Federal lines

Reid Collection, Indiana Historical Society

The railroad-telegraph agent and infiltrator, J. Howard Larcombe, wrote just a few sentences. One man he labeled as bitter and virulent, another was clearly spying, and the third was disloyal in heart and act. J. Howard Larcombe, whose name appears after these brief statements, appeared to know most of the people in the small town of Huntsville through interactions with them as photographer, then telegraph officer. His first entry in the notebook began with a terse description.

I John W. Cooper who has been making considerable effort to obtain the office of U.S. Marshal was always and long after the occupation of Huntsville and North Alabama by Federal troops a most bitter and virulent traitor. The first intimation I had that he was otherwise was the advice that he was seeking this appointment.

The life of John W. Cooper appeared to be a mundane one as reflected by local newspaper advertisements and his shop windows: "Staple & Fancy Dry Goods, Boots, Shoes, Hats, Capes &c all available on Commercial Row."[212]

In 1860, Cooper was a 33-year-old merchant married to Eliza (Thomas), and father to four young children.[213] His value of $10,800 real estate and $40,000 personal property, including 14 slaves, indicated a comfortable living and bright future. Cooper's aspirations quickly turned to concrete plans as he watched Huntsville fall under occupation. An appointment as a marshal, he knew, would be an immediate gain of considerable power and wealth, as marshals were tasked with apprehending, arresting, and managing the assets of any person unlucky enough to be detained. Larcombe clearly suspected John Cooper's true sympathy was with the Confederacy. Outside of the fact that Cooper sought the U.S. Marshal title, he gives no reason for these suspicions. In this entry, and future ones like it, what Larcombe chose *not* to say may be as important as the information he wrote down. Unfortunately, the extent of his thoughts on John Cooper remains unknown.

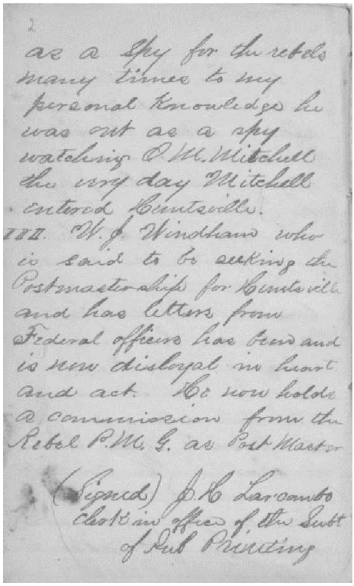
II. John G. Heap who is a clerk in the Provost Marshals Office at Huntsville and has the oversight of correspondence was in the Federal lines as a spy for the rebels many times to my personal knowledge he was out as a spy watching O.M. Mitchell [sic] the very day Mitchell entered Huntsville.

The 1860 census revealed John Heap, the next man on the list, as a 35-year-old tinner born in New York, living in a boardinghouse run by widow Agnes Yeatman. Among the other boarders listed were Lizzie, 22, and 3-year-old Mary Heap. John Heap prospered by this time, showing a financial worth of $4,000, with $2,500 in real estate and $1,500 personal property, which likely included the contents of the shop he operated with Daniel Farnum, "Dealers in Stoves, Tin and Sheet Iron Ware, Tin Roofing, House Furnishing Goods" on Jefferson Street. He owned no slaves. The family of tinner Elisha Clapp also resided at the boardinghouse, and he and John Heap would soon form a business partnership. This statement by Union agent Larcombe indicates his suspicion of Southern spy activity on the part of Heap. Subsequent testimonies outlined in a future chapter cause one to wonder, was Heap talented at manipulating others for his own advancement, or is it possible that, at times, he acted as a double agent?

III. W.J. Windham who is said to be seeking the Postmastership for Huntsville and has letters from Federal officers has been and is now disloyal in heart and act. He

now holds a commission from the Rebel P.M.G. as Post Master.

A position reporting to Confederate Postmaster General John H. Reagan at that time was one of great distinction. Reagan was known as a masterful executive, having made the U.S. Postal Service profitable for the first time in its history.[214] Windham's ambition to become postmaster at Huntsville under the Federal occupation was a logical one. He grew up in Huntsville, son of Irwin Windham, who was listed in the 1850 census as a brick mason. In 1860, the senior Windham became a family grocer and provision-store owner with $2,500 and $6,000 in property, including five slaves.[215] That same year, his son William was 29 years old, single, and owned no real estate but had $11,000 in personal property which included four enslaved people. Before mid-April of 1862, William achieved his goal of working as postmaster, but was removed from that position by Union authorities. In the time of their first occupation (while Larcombe was in Huntsville, through August of 1862), it is unlikely that Union officials assigned any local person to run and distribute mail. They censored both outgoing and incoming mail outside their picket lines, as reported by Mary Jane Chadick and others.



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III. W. J. Windham who is said to be seeking the Postmastership for Huntsville and has letters from Federal officers has been and is now disloyal in heart and act. He now holds a commission from the Rebel P.M.G. as Post Master
(Signed) J. H. Larcombe
Clerk in office of the Asst of Sub Printing

Reid Collection
Indiana Historical Society

This and the following chapters examine both the pre-and post-War lives and north Alabama connections of those named on the list. Some of these men were relatively young by present-day standards; where, exactly, did those who left Huntsville after the War turn up? Did any of them see a future for their families in Huntsville? This examination is an opportunity to

observe how espionage work may have affected their careers, the remainder of their lives, and those of their descendants. Did the time these men spent in Huntsville during the War impact their later life successes and failures in any way?

It is unclear as to how long J. Howard Larcombe worked at the printing office, but in 1869, he was listed as Superintendent of the Fire Alarm Telegraph Company. The 1870 census revealed that his family lived in Beltsville, Maryland, with Larcombe holding $8,000 in real estate and $650 of personal property. The family included his wife, Elizabeth, and children: a son named Howard who worked as a government clerk, and daughters Ann, Mary, Agnes, and Ethel, all of whom lived in Huntsville during his tenure there. Larcombe's next position, which he held well into his eighties, was that of a clerk in the Pensions Bureau office with a yearly salary of $900.[216]

Elizabeth and daughters Annie and Ethel died in June 1898, most likely as a result of the yellow fever epidemic that year. The three were buried on the same day at Rock Creek Cemetery, to be later joined by Mary (Larcombe) Higgins in 1938.[217] John Larcombe's 1900 census listing named him as a government clerk residing at the home of his daughter, Mary, noted as a stenographer, and her husband, John Higgins, a farmer. Larcombe's pension was $600 a year. It was not much to live on at the turn of the century, but in1903, philanthropist Andrew Carnegie revealed that, as a boy, he learned the telegraph trade from Mr. Larcombe. "He was always kind to me," he remembered. Carnegie established a pension for J. Howard Larcombe (one of hundreds he endowed). Amounts reported varied between $65 and $100 per month for life. At Larcombe's death, articles were carried in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *San Francisco Evening Sentinel*, and, two years later, *Cosmopolitan* magazine. The stories focused on Carnegie's legacy of generosity.[218] J. Howard Larcombe was buried in Rock Creek Cemetery alongside his family.

John W. Cooper

In 1870, with seven children still at home, John Cooper was listed as a dry goods merchant with $8,000 in real estate and $2,000 in personal property. The family was comfortable enough to employ a live-in nurse and a cook. The next year, he was commissioned sheriff. Ten years later, at age 52, he was a retired merchant living on Randolph Street with Eliza and two adult children still at home. John Cooper died in 1893 and was buried in Huntsville. Eliza was buried next to him 12 years later.[219]

John Graves Heap

Unlike most, John Graves Heap emerged from the War years quite profitably. Although he was not a cotton planter, he managed to accumulate 18,137 pounds of cotton at the tax assessment of 1866, for which he paid

$362.74 cash in taxes. His business partner, Elisha Clapp, sold 6,972 pounds of cotton and was taxed at the same rate: two cents per pound. There was no shortage of buyers in northern markets looking for bargains. Heap's family stayed in Huntsville for some time, and he played a significant role in the community's attempts to recover. In 1867, he was one of five prominent local men to write a "Memorial of Citizens of Alabama" letter to the 30th U.S. Congress thanking them for sending supplies to the needy and the suffering in the famished countryside of north Alabama.[220]

As the years passed, John Heap sought change and new business opportunities. In North Carolina in 1877, his name was included in a committee formed to send a memorial to Congress recognizing an Internal Improvement Pamphlet for the Tennessee River. The 1880 census showed the Heap family, including six children, residing in Bakersville, North Carolina. Heap and Elisha B. Clapp became enormously successful, as an innovators and miners of a mineral found naturally in Michell County known as mica. Previously considered unusable, they discovered that mica could be formed into windows for stoves. In 1871, theirs was the only company in the U.S. making these windows.[221] At his 1891 death, one newspaper identified him as "Colonel," but did not say on which side of the War he'd served.[222] John Heap travelled far and experienced an incredibly eventful life in his 57 years.

William J. Windham

In 1870, W.J. Windham was listed as a manufacturer. He lived as a boarder in Decatur with $3,500 in real estate and $300 in personal property. He died in 1880 and was buried beside his parents at Maple Hill Cemetery. He also shared drug and insurance businesses with John L. Rison. William Windham's substantial estate was worth over $57,000; it was to be divided among his three sisters.[223]

Chapter 6

The Lull – August 1862-1863

They paved the streets with roses

Citizens of Huntsville woke around midnight on August 31, 1862. At first, diarist Mary Jane Chadick was filled with dread at the "heavy tramping of feet, the sound of voices, uttering the most dreadful curses, the rattling of wagons." Townspeople leapt from their beds with excitement, but that turned to unease and apprehension when they spotted the blazing fires of burning supplies as Union troops departed. Both Blacks and Whites were seen running about, gathering up what they could save. Although they could scarcely believe it, General Buell and his detested army were gone! The much-admired local hero, Capt. Frank Gurley, heard the news, and his small group of Rebel soldiers arrived to "such a meeting with the citizens I have never seen. The streets were crowded with ladies and they paved the streets with roses and clothed the soldiers with flags and bouquets." Women and girls decorated Captain Gurley and his men with ivy and greenery.[224]

Gurley's first item of action was to turn over the large amounts of cotton and abandoned Union supplies to the Confederate authorities when they appeared. Nor was anyone surprised when Gurley promptly arrested John King and General Hickman for aiding and trading with the enemy.

John Dixon King was a 65-year-old widower from Virginia. The Agricultural Census of 1860 showed that his farm was valued at over $46,000 and on hand were 61 bales of cotton, each weighing 400 lbs. The price for cotton was still low at only about 10 cents per pound, but he must have sold it to Union buyers nonetheless, as implied by Mary Jane Chadick in her journal. At the time of his death, King's "perishable property" was valued at $23,650, the apparent price for 38 enslaved Black people. King died in September 1862, never to face Confederate courts as James Hickman would.[225]

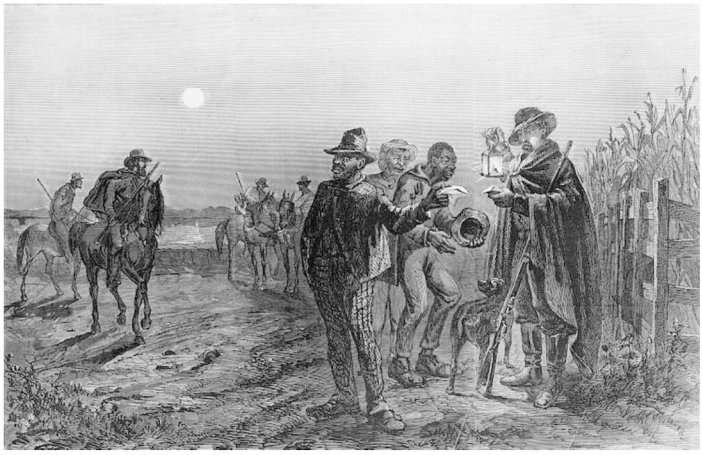
Few residents remained on the home front in Madison County at this chaotic time. Several families were currently taking refuge in lower Alabama and Mississippi with relatives. The majority of able-bodied men continued seemingly endless tenures in the Confederate army while a few quietly joined the Union army. Perhaps the remaining neighbors joined forces to care for one another, except, of course, for those families suspected of being Loyalists. Food was short, and money more so. People bartered and traded for supplies, and comforted one another on bad days, which would become even more frequent as the War limped on.

One year earlier, President-elect Jefferson Davis briefly stopped at Huntsville Depot on the way to his inauguration in Montgomery. He disembarked to prolonged cheers and spoke to a throng of admirers, telling the crowd that he "desired no hostilities," on the contrary he wanted to "cultivate amity, peace, trade and commerce in all quarters of the world." He added that he certainly felt "no hostilities in any section of this great continent. Should the dreaded alternative be present… to enforce recognition of our independence, the North would find, while their best customers in peace, we would become their worst enemies in war." After quick refreshments, he resumed speaking as he boarded his train car. Davis compared the South to those very train cars, beginning its journey, but on "the right track. It was freighted with patriotic chivalrous sons, who knew their rights, and were prepared to maintain… while a drop of Southern blood remained, it would never cease to flow in the defense of our rights." He said that the War would be "waged on Northern, not Southern soil," which most Southerners believed to be true at that time.[226] In the autumn of 1862, however, the majority of those who would most appreciate his words were away fighting. Some would never return to their loved ones, or would return forever damaged, physically and emotionally. During what would become known as a lull in War activities, the citizens kept the dangers of the past five painful months of Union occupation fresh on their minds. They saw this quiet time as an opportunity to re-establish normalcy by reaffirming slavery, continuing the fight against northern aggression, stabilizing the economy, and punishing the guilty who had aided and abetted the Union enemy.

A large number of enslaved people fled during the occupation, and those remaining almost certainly considered following suit. According to the official slave codes, each county maintained its own nighttime patrols to police the "misbehavior" of enslaved people such as visiting family at other plantations without a pass, stealing, or simply running away. Daniel Hundley of Mooresville explained:

> The 'beat' of each Southern overseer is the plantation on which he resides; and the collective body of overseers in every neighborhood, constitutes a regularly organized patrol – called by the negroes 'Paterollers,' and upon set times these men form a troop and gallop from plantation to plantation during the whole night, arresting and punishing all slaves found off their proper premises without a permit from their master or mistress.[227]

Both enslaved and free Blacks were painfully aware of these nighttime riders, and now, with the departure of the Union army, were forced to be more careful than ever.



"Patty-rollers" Stopping Slaves

Fourteen companies of Southern volunteer soldiers previously left the area, and still more were called. At the same time, Confederate authorities recognized that 148 regiments, nearly half the army, would be lost as their enlistments of one year ended in March. On April 21, 1862, the Confederate States of America enacted conscription, the first national draft law in America. The conditions of this new law were that men between the ages of 18 and 35 must serve a military term of three years. This action was unpopular; many viewed it as openly unconstitutional. As it became apparent that the War would be a long one, the age limit of conscription was extended in September of 1862 to men of 45 years. Exemptions were allowed for essential workers, such as government employees, industrial and agriculture workers, teachers, farmers, ministers, and those otherwise employed in the War effort. To the great disgust of many, particularly the poor, a man could buy a substitute for his service in the army. This was an extremely unpopular statute that was revoked in December 1863. What may have been the most offensive Confederate regulation was the Twenty-Slave Law of October 1862. It allowed any owner or overseer of 20 slaves or more an exemption from military service. For those not born to privilege or wealth, the conflict truly became "A poor man's fight and a rich man's war." A sign of how desperate the Confederacy was for manpower in early 1864, it instructed men from 17-50 years to prepare for reserve duty. When considering lowering the age of conscription still younger, President Davis feared it would "grind the seed corn of the nation."[228] By 1865 the Confederacy even considered allowing enslaved people to take up arms to defend the homeland. While this did not come to pass, the fact that it was even raised and debated upon shows how far the labor pool had diminished by this time. As more men departed for the army, or hid out to avoid the draft, women were forced to assume their roles. In rural areas, women learned to take the corn to the mill for grinding, harness the mule, and plow

a row along with the multitude of chores she already carried. Children grew up quickly as they took over responsibilities of their absent fathers and brothers.

Cotton, the nucleus around which all Southern life revolved, remained a major issue during this Rebel resurgence. In 1860, cotton comprised half of the United States' exports. Alabama led the nation in that year to produce 23% of the crop; Mobile served as the third-busiest port in the nation. Residents saw it as the state's life-blood, and sought to protect it under all circumstances.[229] As the Rebels made a comeback, locals who sold cotton to northern buyers during the Federal occupation would now be prosecuted in the Northern District Court of Alabama. Few records kept by Confederate officials survive of those proceedings, but questions most people previously pondered silently about friends and neighbors were suddenly spoken out loud: who was disloyal to the Confederacy? Who was *suspected* of being disloyal? For both groups, it would soon be payback time. Meanwhile, winter approached. The usual preparations for cold weather and spring planting were aggravated by worries over preserving the few remaining resources to do so. Essential services were not yet re-established, damaged structures in town badly needed repair, and good workmen, or really any workmen, were hard to come by. Local civil and Confederate authority had yet to be reasserted.

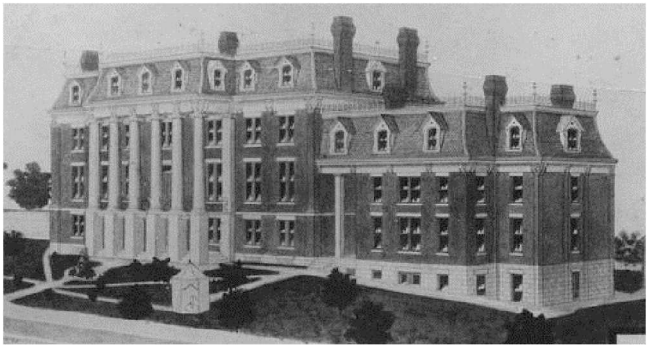
The north Alabama citizens who initially disagreed with secession in the War's first year now wisely kept their opinions to themselves. Would the Confederates, now back in power, punish them? Loyalists were legitimately fearful; would the "new" old order strip them of their hard-earned property, exile them, or possibly kill them? Some known Loyalists, for instance, such as Judge George Lane, fled. The court system was reestablished, and trials were set for men like James Hickman, who was alleged to have sold cotton to northern dealers.

News was not all bad for Huntsville Rebels. One issue of Withers Clay's newspaper gloated in bold type with news of the death of General Ormsby M. Mitchel, a man of "**detestable lowness**." **"No man ever had more winning ways to excite people's hatred than he. We have not space to do justice to his vices – virtues he showed none, in his dealings with the people of North Alabama."** Clay smugly continued

> **He was an undevout astronomer who cannot be otherwise than 'mad'… a military cockscomb without skill, theoretical or practical – proud, vain, vindictive, vile, barbarous, who made war on women and children, and was of course, a coward, who skulked from the presence of armed men.**[230]

I done this under duress.

From its beginnings up until this post-occupation lull, Huntsville was never a typical Alabama town. It was the seat of Madison County, and served as a place where both country and town people exchanged news and opinions. These views were frequently and openly shared, discussed, and sometimes disputed. Children in town could walk to the local common school for their early education, while county students attended "old-field schools" or might board by the week or month with Mrs. Lewis, William McCay, James Neely Jr., or Dr. Carlos G. Smith.



Huntsville Female College
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

Many girls attended either the Methodist Huntsville Female College or the Presbyterian Huntsville Female Seminary. A number of young ladies went on to finishing schools, giving preference to those in Philadelphia. Boys with expectations attended Greene Academy, then schools of higher learning such as the University of Virginia, Yale, Harvard, the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), and the well-known medical school of Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia.[*231]

Parents at that time may have held high aspirations for their children, but everyone knew their social rank within the community, and were expected to adhere to them. Children of mechanics or clerks were likely to enter the workforce at a young age, but children of local professionals attended

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[*]Many of America's first families and striving political leaders turned to the University of Virginia to educate their sons. Huntsville's elite followed suit. Among the young men of Huntsville heritage who attended the University during these years were three of Senator Walker's sons, Edward Betts, two Bibb sons, three Erskines, one Ewing, Daniel Hundley, three Clay sons, five Mastin sons, three Cabaniss sons, one Beirne, Robert Lane, Theo Lacy, Chris Donegan, David Drake, two Watkins, two Hortons, David Lewis, two Humes sons, Robertson, Lowery, Nick Davis, Turner, Lowe, Manning, Sam Hickman, Dan Coleman, Jesse Jordan, one Weeden, Oliver Patton, and Augustine Withers. *Students of the University of Virginia*. Baltimore: Harvey & Co, 1878. *Passim*, eBook.

Greene Academy in preparation to become professionals themselves. This group of professional men resided in town, and included lawyers, doctors, dentists, clergymen, architects, editors, and schoolteachers. Their children would likewise be educated and trained for unique services. These men existed on a higher social level than merchants, although the two groups maintained long-standing business relationships. This professional class contributed to the community, encouraged civic improvements, and volunteered as aldermen and trustees on boards for churches and schools. Improving the community was in their own best interests, and they were keen to make esteemed connections by marriage or kinship. This often resulted in large displays of wealth with imposing houses, swifter horses, finer carriages, more slaves, and larger families than non-professional households.[232] The men gathered to form social groups like Masonic chapters, Odd Fellows, and Good Templars.

In the Huntsville population of 3,624 with 423 households (reported in the 1860 census), 88 of those were considered professionals, or 21 percent. These professional men were the largest slave holders who lived within the town (where 1,654 slaves lived within the one square mile). Within 423 households, the average was 3.9 enslaved people per household.[233]

With investments and significant existing income, some men in this social stratum managed to expand their finances. When the nascent Episcopal church endured its "discouraging years," Dr. Robertson moved to a plantation in Jackson County. Locally, Dr. Patton and his siblings invested in Bell Factory and the Bell Factory Store. Many others expanded their spheres and became plantation owners like Dr. David Moore and William McDowell. On a level above other locals, some married into families of similar wealth, uniting preexisting ties of neighborhood and kinship. A few advanced to serve as state legislators, governors, and judges, following the paths of Judge Dox and former Governor Clement Clay. Tommy White turned the income from his successful plantations into mercantile and rental properties. Dr. Thomas Fearn's endeavors were quite diverse; his medical research led to the first official use of quinine as a malaria treatment. He worked with his brother to develop the city waterworks, created the Indian River Canal, and became one of the largest plantation owners (and hence, enslavers). The sons of these town leaders would follow in their fathers' footsteps, and daughters would marry into comparable families.

Citizens of Huntsville were fortunate. Most of the state of Alabama maintained a low level of school attendance and appeared to undervalue literacy. "According to the 1850 census, there were 33,757 self-reported illiterate adults, or about eight percent of the total white population."[234] The census went on to report that "just over 62,000 eligible in the state reported being in school, [or] 35.6 percent of the population between the ages of five and twenty," compared to the national average of 53.8 percent.[235] Even as a small urban hub, Huntsville counted a comparatively large number of well-

educated men among its leadership – men who encouraged education and opened schools to educate their children. Teachers were brought in from New England under the auspices of Catherine Beecher. Daughters of professional men were sent off to become educated in the refined talents of music, art, literature, needlework, and attracting a husband of high standards. Once married, these women became mistresses of their homes and hostesses for guests and gatherings. They were granted the luxury of continuing to practice their refined talents because the enslaved people their husbands owned performed most household tasks. "In 1860, nearly 35% of all free families in the state enslaved Black people, but the percentage held by slaveholding professional families in the 10 largest cities and towns was well over 50%."[236] As a result, the professional elite remained more confident in their positions of leadership. Lawyers were particularly numerous in 1860; they occupied 32 out of 432 homes, one could be found at every 13th residence in Huntsville.[237]

The handsome courthouse was barely 25 years old. For a time, three lively newspapers allowed citizens to consider political events from different viewpoints. The Methodist church was the prevalent faith, but five other denominations, and one African church, also held sway. It was required by law to expect a White man to be present in all services, listening to the sermon and watching over the congregation's behavior. The *Williams Directory* boasted in the first year of its publication that Huntsville contained 26 attorneys offering their services, 12 physicians, and two on-call undertakers. The nearby jail contained three rooms for prisoners, although jailbreaks were not unheard of. At least three fine hotels welcomed visitors and local guests, offering social gathering space, including a ladies' parlor. A multitude of carpenters, painters, repairmen, mechanics, druggists, bakers, confectioners, grocers, merchants, clothing stores, and up-and-coming manufacturers provided much-needed services to citizens of both town and country.[238] Enslaved Black people made up almost half of the population and performed most of the physical labor. What appeared to be great wealth was displayed throughout the booming downtown district of Huntsville, but it belied much hidden debt.

Huntsville's pre-War leadership adhered to the vigorous trade patterns and independent political values of middle Tennessee. Northern Alabama bank notes came from Tennessee banks, while those in the south were often from Georgia banks. North Alabama, for many such reasons, held more in common with middle Tennessee than the cotton-intensive, central Alabama Black Belt. A trip to Mobile took a grueling three days, and this notoriously slow contact between the northern and southern parts of the state exacerbated its already increasing sectionalism. In the earliest months of Union occupation, civil courts and Madison County commissioners continued official functions as best they could. When Union troops

evacuated, they attempted to reassemble local government to its fullest effect.

The new post-occupation Confederate authorities soon took over, and their highest priority seemed to be immediate and severe reckoning with traitors. Among those perceived traitors was the prominent slave trader, tobacco merchant, cotton dealer, and alleged speculator, General James Hickman. By the end of the Union occupation, Hickman had resided in the area for about two years. He was born in Tennessee in 1810, and, by 1860, closed his tavern in Jefferson County, and moved to Huntsville with his wife and daughter. In Tennessee, he was elected sheriff, and therefore became familiar with law complexities that laymen did not. His tavern was evidently profitable; he owned real estate worth $20,000, and personal property valued at $10,000, which included two enslaved people. Now in Madison County in the early 1860s, a local man named Daniel Bradford needed cash, and he offered Hickman a mortgage on the Southern Hotel, which Hickman financed with promissory notes owed to him by other men totaling $1,000, along with his personal property, which included the two enslaved women, Betsey and Martha. Hugh Lawson Clay added capital into the venture. James Hickman may have shared this enterprise with a member of an elite family, but his name would never appear alongside those venerated aristocratic families of town such as Pope, Walker, Fearn, or Clay.

Entrepreneur James Hickman put his own interests first on several occasions. As talk of secession first began, Loyalist Hickman suggested raising the stars and stripes over the courthouse as "he would rather die than 'see the old flag dragged underfoot.'" His opinion changed in a matter of months. In May of 1861, newspaper editor Withers Clay commended Hickman for his passionate pro-Confederate stance, embodied by his statement that he "determined to go to war if he has to go alone." Hickman searched the county for Rebel army recruits to join the existing men he'd previously gathered in town, but he was unable to raise a full company. He expressed disappointment when he was not elected captain of the corps, even declaring the recruits ungrateful. He next applied to be appointed Confederate postmaster general then became a candidate for major general of the Alabama State Militia, losing both bids. He served in Florida and the Mexican War with the rank of lieutenant, but not all citizens appreciated his profession as slave dealer. Many refused to mix socially with him, much less vote for him.[239]

"Ground to the earth in debt" after one year of warfare, by the time of the invasion in April 1862, James Hickman decided to join with those faithful to the United States. The Union army readily accepted his offer to volunteer as a scout to search for guerrilla bands hidden in the countryside. Most importantly, he was issued a permit to trade in goods, although he only received this after signing the loyalty oath. Protected by uniformed soldiers, he travelled the county looking for planters willing to sell their cotton to the

Union army. The pressure of financial woes mounted on Hickman. He still had the $5,000 mortgage on the purchase of the hotel, and it was due in June, just a few short weeks away. This led him to planter Ferdinand Hammond, who also happened to hold a note for $5,000 against the hotel. Hammond was willing to take advantage of the times and sell his cotton to available buyers. Both men were aware that this was illegal in the Confederacy, but they were unable to pass up the chance for profit to pay off their loans.

Hickman later stated that, during this time, he continued passing himself off as a loyal Confederate. He managed to pay off his creditors on time and opened a dry-goods store, where business flourished. Less than three months into the Union occupation, James Hickman managed to reverse his financial distress and maintain a thriving business. From his store counter he sold hard-to-find items like tobacco and salt. Throughout the eleven Confederate states there were shortages of grains, cloth, and, most noticeably, salt. In October of 1862, lawyer Septimus Cabaniss wrote a letter to Governor Shorter urging citizens who had smokehouses to leach the soil to collect salt.[240] But many did not have a smokehouse, and their only choice was to try to purchase that commodity. Hickman only accepted cash; his harsh policies neither offered credit nor accepted Confederate script.[241]

Inflation became rampant and rejection of Confederate notes as legal tender became common. The Richmond government enacted laws regarding universal conscription, confiscation of property, tax-in-kind, and even withdrew the safety of the law for civilians by suspending the writ of habeas corpus. Dissatisfaction and discontent were common as roles suddenly reversed. Some took the opportunity to avenge old resentments under the cover of the legal system. Using the platform of his newspaper, Editor Clay called for harsh retaliation against residents who aided the Union army or refused Confederate currency. Only a traitor, he declared, would refuse to accept Confederate notes, "His avarice is superior to his patriotism." According to Withers Clay, speculators like James Hickman were to blame for everything. Hugh Lawson Clay complained to his brother Clement in late 1862, "I am sure the disloyal element is in the ascendant there, and that it will make little difference with them whether the South triumphs or is subdued, provided their purses are plethoric." In the meantime, Clement wrote to the Confederate Secretary of War George W. Randolph that "disloyal [residents] stand in open defiance of constitutional authority." James Hickman continued his business trading in cotton, slaves, and salt. He sold bacon to the Confederate quartermaster, so "people knew that Hickman was 'disposed to make money out of both sides.'" Still traumatized by the occupation, many Huntsville citizens rightfully expressed fear that Union troops would return. In the meantime, Senator Clement Clay called for the Confederate military to arrest the disloyal.[242]

As they shook off the constraints of occupation, Huntsville civilians became aware of vast changes within Confederate leadership. The newest

power, the Confederate Bureau of Conscription, District of Tennessee, opened its headquarters in Huntsville. Rather than create a united front, the Bureau began its relationship with locals on a sour note. Having endured horrific treatment from the Union, citizens expected no worse from the Bureau than confiscation of their stock and forage. Instead, the Bureau immediately drafted civilian men for army service. Some locals took offence, viewing this as a stifling of civil liberties. William Figures of *The Huntsville Advocate*, an astute politician, previously questioned secession organizers that excluded the public from deliberations. Did "they" distrust the public? Why had they "ostentatiously cloaked their proceedings in mystery?" From his perspective, "We have at length drifted on the shoal, and our fate is to await the next tide."[243] Earlier, Figures supported Gen. James Hickman in his candidacy for Major-General of the Militia. Hickman arrived in Huntsville with the admirable reputation of a courageous veteran, having raised and led a company of soldiers in the Texas battle for independence. It was also no secret that he was twice honored with a seat in the Tennessee Legislature. "In social life he was kind-hearted, liberal and generous and his courage, often tested is beyond dispute."[244]

One year later, William Figures once again used his newspaper to speak out for civil liberties: "We would have submitted to loss of property, banishment, imprisonment in a Northern dungeon, rather than suffer ourselves to be made an instrument of oppression to our own fellow citizens, kith, & kindred."[245] Many were afraid of this expansion of Confederate government powers. Conscription agents now held power over individuals and their freedom, and even over individual state court jurisdiction. Did not self-preservation become essential to offer a balance with the enemy? And who now *was* the enemy? Editor Figures declared that a citizen owed loyalty first to his interests and those of family, community, state, and then the federal government. Drastic changes occurred, however, when Brig. Gen. William Bate CSA, an "ardent nationalist," returned to Huntsville.

With valiant action in Virginia, Colonel William Bate and his men of the 2nd Tennessee Regiment requested reassignment on the western front. After furlough, they planned to reunite in Nashville, but Huntsville became their new location after the evacuation of Nashville. Next, they proceeded to Corinth. Bate recently lost both a brother and brother-in-law at Shiloh, and considered himself fortunate to be injured "only" with a Minnie ball below one knee. The wound shattered both bones. As a surgeon prepared to amputate his leg, Colonel Bate drew his pistol and threatened to shoot the doctor. Bate kept his leg, but used a crutch for many years. His valor and leadership were rewarded with a promotion to brigadier general. Having lived through physical wounds and personal losses, Bate was in no mood to be gentle or forgiving. Citizens should watch their neighbors for signs of disloyalty and report it to authorities. In his words, "neutrality is treason." His intention was to "exhibit to this people, the power of Confederate

government to protect its citizens, to encourage the loyal, and to discourage, frown upon, and punish disloyal sentiments wherever it may be reached." All evidence of disloyalty "by word or deed" would be dealt with by military authorities.[246]

The Clay brothers urged General Bate to find traitors and make them pay, thereby displaying the authority of the Confederate government to any who might bend the rules. As *The Democrat*'s rants continued, even Clement suggested that Withers ease his public tirades against James Hickman and rival newspaper editor William Figures. Clement, a perceptive politician, knew that *The Advocate* also had a significant readership. Should Withers' scathing attacks go too far, he could alienate a potential majority who saw no wrongdoing on Hickman's part. Withers ignored his brother's advice and continued his newspaper's harsh indictments; what better precedent to set than to punish an obvious offender whose schemes yielded huge profits? While General Nathan B. Forrest indeed issued Hickman a permit to buy salt in Tennessee, transport it to Huntsville, then sell it to soldiers' families, Hickman had apparently refused to accept Confederate money as payment. In addition, he sold the salt for $75 per barrel in gold. In December of 1862, General Bate placed Hickman under military arrest on charges of speculating. Bate detained him at the courthouse.

Townspeople discussed these events with escalating outrage: was this not an overt attempt at military tyranny? When appealed to, Gen. Braxton Bragg acknowledged the military could only arrest civilians for military offenses, and later that month, he ordered Hickman to be released.[247] Senator Clay protested, and Bragg replied that President Davis had not yet declared martial law in Alabama, but "if evidence of military offenses were found, he would arrest Hickman."

As 1863 began, both sides (fervent Rebels and impassioned civil liberals) bitterly argued in public and in the newspapers. After all, by this time, peace societies and Reconstructionists – known to sympathize with civil rights – were working quietly and diligently. James Hickman endeavored to rally public opinion to his side by publishing a broadside. Local citizens needed to be informed, he reasoned, and these citizens would serve on the jury in any civil court action. The circular reminded readers that Hickman once attempted to raise Confederate troops, but the nature of his livelihood was precarious. He denied speculating in salt, and claimed that he'd always contributed to soldiers and their families when he could. He treated Union soldiers respectfully because, he said, "I was in their power… We were powerless and had nothing to defend ourselves." He reported that he was forced to trade in cotton to pay his debts; all honorable men met and resolved their financial obligations. He was helpless when the United States army occupied his home, as everyone else was. The Union men would have taken the cotton had he not sold it to them, he said. "I am a Southern man, born and raised with all the feelings of a Southern man."[248]

Hickman and his advisors offered one final, powerful point in the circular: the wealthy elite and their politics were to blame for the entire case. Everyone in the community knew who he meant. Hickman claimed to be only "a simple working man" and that Union soldiers would have "turned him out of his house and home, without money, rich friends, or kindred." Citizens knew who engineered his arrest: "I must be hunted down by a man that has never done anything that I know of to help the war, but a great deal to bring it on." The circular criticized the Clays and others for their part in the undemocratic secession, which, he helpfully reminded readers, most north Alabamians voted against. His accusers seemed "unwilling to sacrifice their personal wealth and comfort for the Confederacy. To think of a man sitting at home by his fireside, sleeping on a feather bed and downy pillows while the poor soldiers are marching through mud and water… and they say $11 per month is enough, [he] ought to blush when you see a soldier, with shame." Senator Clay had just voted down a pay raise for Confederate soldiers. He would lose the next election.*[249]

The newssheet was a success. Undaunted, Withers Clay continued his barrage, alleging that James Hickman played a part in a Union raid against the Confederacy. In July, General Bragg ordered General Bate to once again arrest Hickman. According to Hickman, "Bate abased me, struck me with his fist," and jailed him. In addition to this alleged assault, Bate failed to specify Hickman's crime. Civilians demanded to know if their suspicions were true – was the Confederate army now a force for punishing political opponents and silencing critics? How, then, was anyone to take action to keep what they rightfully owned? In what may have been a surprise to Confederate authorities, many men took exception. Former Confederate Secretary of War Pope Walker and politician Nick Davis, two prominent attorneys, took up the defense for Hickman. Davis spoke for many when he wrote, "No non-secessionist dared speak or assert their rights as defined by Confederate law because 'a *class* held in their hands the civil and military power.'"[250] The community knew that General Bate had already arrested some civilians who discouraged enlistments and exiled others for disloyalty. Any citizen might be accused and arrested next. On January 23, 1863, the Court of the Confederate States of America, Northern Division of the District of Alabama impaneled a grand jury to determine whether Hickman should be charged and tried. Attorney Walker proposed to "enlighten the audience upon the sacred rights of the citizens and the patriotic duty of protecting them from the tyranny of military usurpation."[251]

A dozen men served as jurors in this legal proceeding – men who would use their own life experiences and backgrounds to determine James

*Most Alabama soldiers were fighting out of state and, unlike northern soldiers, were unable to vote in the elections of 1863. They would most likely have voted against Clay, further widening his margin of loss. Qtd. in McMillan, *Disintegration of a Confederate State.* (Macon, GA: Mercer Univ., 1986), 82.

Hickman's fate. As the jury was announced, the faces of Hickman and his sympathizers most likely fell; the jurors all lived within the one- and one-quarter square-mile city limit. Calling these men "prominent" was an understatement. Everyone in the small town of Huntsville, down to the least boy at the livery stable, knew their names. The jury included Stephen Harris, Thomas McCalley, Sam Mathews, Edward C. Betts, James Mastin, John Cooper, Samuel Coltart, and five others.[252] Most of them saw property, forage, and supplies seized by Union soldiers, and two were among those arrested and imprisoned by General Mitchel. Angry, powerful, and financially secure, one might predict each man would judge Hickman harshly. Among the many charges against Hickman, he was censured for levying war against the Confederacy when he accompanied enemy troops "arrayed in a warlike manner" to purchase cotton in opposition to the needs of the Confederacy with "traitorous intentions." The jury returned the expected indictment and the judge denied bail. He stated in "open court," however, that the "evidence was insufficient to convict Hickman of treason." A speedy trial was impossible because the judge acknowledged he lacked expertise in criminal cases.[253]

James Hickman languished in the county jail for five months (until mid-May), where he was held financially responsible for his own meals and attorneys' fees. Fortunately for him, his attorneys were dedicated. He said it cost him over $20,000 just "to save my neck." Another political prisoner, C.C. Sheats, was also imprisoned there for a time. Sheats was expelled from the Alabama House of Representatives and had already spent a great deal of time in jail for his Unionist activities.[254]

Hickman's enemies succeeded in locking him away, but people in Huntsville spent this time mulling over the points Hickman made in his newssheet, along with their past actions. Who among them would not try to protect their possessions? "Did words alone constitute treason?" In the midst of this public outrage, Confederate political power had grown, along with the people's distrust, and inflation. Conscripts fled in large numbers and the impressment of individual supplies worsened. Was this the Confederacy's idea of liberty?[255]

On May 18, 1863, the case of *Confederate States of America v. James Hickman* began. For this trial, the jury was selected from small farmers and merchants; these men were not as involved in the political skirmishes of town. Editor Clay derided the jury, who might be "marred in its character." Hickman's defense alleged that he purchased cotton within the presence and power of Union soldiers to recover losses and pay debts. He did not take up arms or wage war against Confederate troops. Hickman earlier accompanied David Humphreys to Decatur to organize a Rebel brigade, serving as its quartermaster for only two to three weeks. Hickman testified that, after that brigade dissolved, "I done this under duress and much against my wishes."[256] Defense attorney Nick Davis said, "While Confederates were

here, Hickman was a good Confederate, and while Federals were here, he was a good Federalist." The jury deliberated for five minutes before James Hickman was found *Not Guilty*.

After the verdict, disgruntled Confederate soldiers and Rebels continued to threaten civilians; crowds attacked two jurors. Pope Walker found himself defending a few civilians who had been arrested for selling cotton to Union officers. Well-known and esteemed citizens like John G. Wilson, president of the Female College, were charged with disloyalty. Nick Davis defended him through local newspapers.

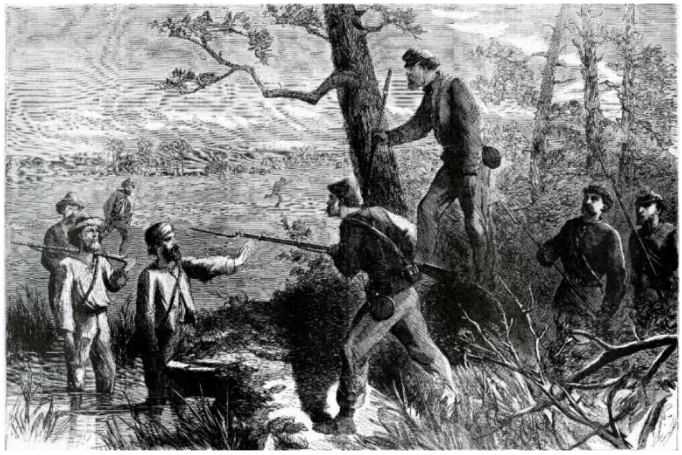
Hickman reopened his mercantile business as the Confederate army withdrew. Unfortunately, he was relieved of a great quantity of "the best quality Virginia tobacco" by Capt. Charles C. McCormick of the 7th Pennsylvania Cavalry, under General Stanley. Soldiers took both smoking and plug tobacco, which cost him $2 per pound and he sold at $2.50 to $3 per pound. Hickman was given a receipt, but $4,000 was lost.*

Corn is pork in the rough

During this post-occupation lull, newspapers continued to report on the daily goings-on of wartime Huntsville. Quartermaster Major G.W. Jones advertised the need for 50 good shoemakers for government work in which non-conscripts and Black people were preferred. Conscription numbers never reached the Confederacy's expectations, much less its needs. Gen. Gideon Pillow, however, quickly enrolled conscripts, having mustered over 2,000 new soldiers at that time. Thomas H. Hewlett, Matthew W. Steele, and Major B. Matthews ably assisted the General. Colonel W.D. Chadick appealed to the public in Somerville, Courtland, and Moulton to organize a company of State Guards within their counties for the defense of North Alabama. With most able young men away fighting in the Confederate army, volunteer or conscript, who would defend Alabama? The governor asked for men, ages 16 through 20, to voluntarily enroll, but the response proved slow.[257] The Confederacy offered additional rewards at this time for the apprehension of deserters, who posed nonstop problems. Huntsville newspapers ran names, ages, descriptions, and the home counties of 27 men who were identified as deserters. Desperate or vindictive neighbors who suspected the man next door was home illegally could apprehend him and claim a $30 bounty. Two-hundred names appeared within a 30-day

*The Southern Claims Commission replied to Hickman's claim for $5,014, the cost of the tobacco for which he was been given a receipt. Its contention was that he helped organize Rebel soldiers and spent 2-3 weeks as quartermaster. He gave neither the nature of the duress, nor any proof of its occurrence. He also smoked hams for the Rebels in his house, and the tobacco taken was not part of an ordinary army supply. His loyalty was not proven, and the claim was rejected. SCC, Hickman, No. 15062.

timespan; it was only 18 months into the War. General Pillow suggested there were "so many that shooting them appears to be out of the question."[258]



Deserters Crossing into Union Lines,
Harper's

One advertisement in *The Confederate* offered a significant amount of money for a paid substitue; the name of the man buying his way out of service was not included. Also, "WANTED 75 Negroes to go to the quartermaster at Dalton, Georgia to work as teamsters and cooks. Wages would be between $18-20 per month, including rations." These enslaved people were not actually to be hired in the traditional sense; they were to be rented out by their owners who viewed this as a return on money from their original investment. Slave holders at this time were required to submit counts of the people they enslaved for impressment in Confederate service. The loss of these unpaid workers left a far depleted labor force to produce the corn and grain intended to feed the army and civilians. With the home workforce drastically reduced, enslaved women were now called upon to pick up the slack.

Shortages were rampant. Now two full years into the War, the front page of *The Huntsville Confederate* offered detailed instructions for ladies about the production of colored dyes from natural sources – pine bar, guinea corn, maple trees, and beech trees, for example. Garments and linens had long since become threadbare. Those with the means could mend and rework extra clothing, (turning the dress inside out, or adding a new front, for example), but the poor had no extra fabric or clothing to rework. President Jefferson Davis urged Southern women to wear homespun cloth dresses. Even this proved almost impossible because weaving and cloth making were tasks previously performed by enslaved Black women (now either fled or performing far more urgent chores) and lower-class White women (now

tending to their own families' desperate needs) Material for fine dresses could not be found in any country or town stores.

Soldiers were entitled to the first call on food supplies, but transporting these supplies to them remained a huge problem throughout the War. Battles had destroyed large amounts of farmable acreage, while foragers from both sides scraped neighborhoods bare of food for themselves and their animals. Food, drink, household needs, farm tools, next year's seeds, medicines, crucial salt – everything was scarce. All eleven states passed legislation to aid destitute families of men in the army, with Alabama enacting the first such law on November 29, 1861. It sounded beneficial, but no real allotment or funding was established; the bill only permitted the county court or commissioners to use any part of the funds they held to care for the poor.[259]

Ten states actually enacted measures to prohibit the distillation of liquor. In a time of frantic scarcity, alcohol was viewed as a gross misuse of corn needed desperately for food for animals and individuals.[260] Citizens, in the meanwhile, were reminded of the law which prohibited the distillation of grain for spiritous liquors. Penalties could range from the steep rate of $100 to a jaw-dropping $20,000 per day.[261] The long-held Southern tradition of operating a distillery for home use could now ruin a man and his family. The appeal for cultivation of more corn generally went unheeded, even with the jingle "corn is pork in the rough."[262] Mealtimes were meager for everyone. Susanna Clay, the former governor's wife, said they were eating the same food as their Black family, milk and cornmeal, and were grateful for it. Mrs. Chadick enjoyed supplies brought in by her Union boarders and gifts from friends, but she began her first garden the spring of 1865 trusting in Providence to make it grow.[263] Resourceful women discovered that almost-tolerable coffee could be made from rye seeds, okra, corn, dandelion roots, and even potatoes if first parched, ground, then brewed.[264] Still, there was some reason to be grateful: the poorest in Huntsville never reported circumstances like those in long-besieged Richmond where "dressed rats hung alone in the butcher shops," a bargain at $2.50 each.[265]

There is no danger in coming home if you wish.

Local letter writers shared news and a bit of gossip during this lull following the enemy occupation. On May 31, 1863, Withers' wife Mary (Lewis) Clay, wrote to her sister-in-law, Virginia Clay, thanking her for the cloth she sent – a godsend. Mary nearly "sewed herself to death" making shirts for Clemmie and Willie, a skirt for Sue, drawers for Mary, underbodies for the children, and five shirts for Withers. Mary continued with news that they were spared from the scarlet fever epidemic, but Mrs. Norvell had just lost little Lucy, and the baby was recovering. Whooping cough was also rampant. Mary was thankful as she had little strength for nursing others. (Although two of their children died, seven remained in the Clay household at that time.) She attended a wedding at church and there

were no "waiters," or ushers to escort the groom when Hattie Cruse married John Logeman.[266] Because Mary was in the seventh month of pregnancy, she discreetly watched from the church dressing room as social norms dictated. Samuel Cruse, father of the bride, served a handsome supper table afterwards, brilliantly lighted with paraffin candles. There were no meats but ice cream and strawberries, Charlotte russe, fruitcake with everything in abundance, including sponge gold and silver cakes were served. Bishop Wilmer planned to confirm Mary and Withers' oldest boy, Clement, and she would have to miss this meaningful service, as well.[267]

The price of every day commodities ended her part of the letter. Cornmeal for soldiers' families was $1.25 and citizens $2, coffee cost $5, tea $8 and $10, while sugar was 75 cents; perhaps Virginia might find them cheaper where she was. All joined Mary in love to Virginia and their dear brother, Senator Clay. Withers added a footnote to the letter with a message for his brother, and gave an accounting of Clement's bank statements – not much in either account. He added, "There is no danger in coming home if you wish."[268] If Senator Clay made it home during this time, it was only a brief visit. He and Virginia remained in Richmond for the legislative sessions, then found their way to Macon, Georgia where "we were delightfully situated & had every comfort that wealth & taste could supply." The couple travelled throughout the South to visit friends in various places before returning to Richmond for the December legislative session.[269] As hard as many women worked to aid the Cause and give comfort to their soldiers, Virginia Clay was not noted among them. Her sister-in-law, Celeste, wrote, we "deserved no credit for anything. We have done as little for our country as any other two worthless women I know."[270]

Casualties and deaths in faraway locations continued to increase. Bodies of the fallen were so far away and coffins were so costly.[271] Editor Clay, a man with no immediate military causalities in his family, urged readers, "Why not let them rest where God has put them to sleep."[272] Those who lost beloved sons, husbands, and fathers, found it unimageable to leave their remains in a foreign land among strangers. This callous statement by Withers Clay may have offended more than a few of his readers. A writer who certainly experienced the effects of war first-hand was Bella Spencer, who finished her novel *Tried and True or Loyalty and Love* while in Decatur. She wrote with compassion of "uncoffined and unknelled" graves, "unmarked and unhonored." Several Huntsville residents travelled north to retrieve the bodies of their loved ones, both during and after the War ended.[273]

Speculation and Extortion

The longest and most damaging local newspaper article during this hiatus was an investigative report by an anonymous writer for *The Democrat*: "Speculation and Extortion." It did not reflect well on local

merchants. The article revealed discrepancies in certain contracts to make soldiers' clothes, corn sacks, and to procure 180,000 pounds of leather for the government. These transactions showed, at the least, misuse of funds, and at the worst, embezzlement. In addition, the leather was hauled by wagons that officials impressed from local citizens, compounding the theft. The writer gave evidence to back up his claims. There would be more reports later by authorities.

A second story appeared, identifying Jewish retailer Robert Herstein by name. He obtained a government contract to furnish cloth and was paid for cutting, making, finding thread and buttons, and paying the female employees. Women sewed coats, jackets, pantaloons, shirts, drawers, and corn sacks. Clay's article published the wages the women were paid and how much the retailer received – more than double the usual amount. Not only was this speculation, but local women workers were exploited, as well. The article included exact financial figures and names, witnesses, signed, and sent to Confederate authorities in Richmond.[274]

To see the old flag

Relief from the Union invasion and occupation continued from fall 1862 through late autumn 1863. Absent from Huntsville, Clement Clay Jr. protested (in a letter dated October 1863) the many Union supporters who "openly defied the Confederate government, threating loyal (Confederate) citizens, buying and selling cotton to the enemy, acting as spies and informers." He even suggested some Confederate officials in Huntsville were disloyal, even evading conscription by claiming an essential occupation to the war effort. Clay noticed there were never so many skilled laborers in the South as now. Furthermore, what about those whose timely deferrals because of "chronic disease that their neighbors never suspected." If no exemption could be found, perhaps "an offending toe or finger was severed" in order not to serve in the army.[275] Consideration and talk for the peace movement lingered and lured an exhausted set of voters. In this election, Clay, a Rebel fanatic who recently voted against a pay raise for the soldiers, lost. Richard Wilde Walker, moderate brother of Pope Walker, won the state legislative seat. W.R.W. Cobb, the unwavering Loyalist from the hill country of Jackson County, also won. He did not appear in Richmond to take his seat, however, and his election was not accepted by the Second Confederate Congress, which expelled him by unanimous vote. Cobb died by accident, suicide, or murder while working the fence line of his farm in November 1864.*

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*It was often hinted that Cobb was been appointed by President Lincoln to serve as Military Governor of Alabama and on the government payroll. His recently located estate file in Jackson County revealed an uncashed voucher for $5000 signed by President Lincoln. HCC, Cobb, W.R.W. at Huntsville History Collection.

The War and its divisive politics continued in the hill country surrounding Wills Valley of Jackson County, where "people suffering by the rebells" [sic] many who were loyal but poor. "Men, women, and children shot and hung by the number." Women were hanged until they told where their menfolk were hiding out. One was forced to dig her own grave, the writer said. They come here for safety and "to see the old Flag." They are "poor, all loyal, but ignorant." The men will take "the Oath of Alejians."[sic][276]

James Hickman moved to Nashville in the spring of 1864 and began to prepare suit against the grand jury, the judge, the marshal, and other local Huntsville men for his indictment, arrest, and imprisonment "maliciously and without probable cause." He asked $100,000 in damages. Among the "et al" sued by James Hickman were Judge Jones of Mobile, Clerk Moore of the "pretended court," District Attorney Regan, who conducted the trial, Deputy Marshal Robert Coltart, and John Withers Clay, editor and publisher of *The Huntsville Democrat*, who allegedly incited the original prosecution with malicious attacks on Hickman. That "Tribunal had clothed itself in the garb of the law gave no protection to persons who, assuming to be its officers were the instruments by which it acted… and had no rightful jurisdiction."[277]

Chapter 7

Return of the Yankees, August 1863

They are not all corrupt

After the previous autumn's evacuation until summer of 1863 when Union forces hovered around Brownsboro Station, calm prevailed in northern Alabama. Their raids throughout the countryside, which were usually unchallenged, edged ever closer to Huntsville. Once again, Withers Clay gathered his presses and materials. He travelled to Marietta, Georgia to remotely publish *The Huntsville Daily Confederate*. Unfortunately for him, the distance from Huntsville meant his paper now published only second-hand news.

Clay heard and printed that one or two regiments of Union soldiers camped along Deposit Road, which led to the Tennessee River. Squads were stationed every few miles along all of the dirt roads to and from New Market, and along the railroad. Forces of five to 30 soldiers held positions at messenger stands on the roads, but the railroad bridge at Brownsboro was not yet rebuilt since its destruction the previous year. Captain Frank Gurley, who passed through Marietta while Clay was there, corrected a discrepancy in a report that Mr. Pres Dodson had been killed – Dodson was alive and well. Kib Daniel was the man who was shot. Clay wrote that Kibble T. Daniel, a respectable citizen of Madison County, heard an enemy column might be near his farm along the Paint Rock River, and decided to investigate for himself. As he and a friend approached, Daniel was "shot in the breast by one of two traitors in ambush… He was a true and staunch Southerner, and his death is deeply to be lamented." Daniel enlisted in the Rebel army in August 1862 at Paint Rock.[278]

Martha Jane, wife of the above-mentioned misidentified James P. Dodson, was likely relieved to know he lived to see another day. In fact, he saw many more; his will was filed in Jackson County in 1881.[279] Dodson, his wife, and four children, lived in the Paint Rock community in 1860, where he farmed on $5,000 worth of real estate and held $9,000 in personal property.

Kibble Terah (or Terry) Daniel and his family lived comfortably in the Maysville area with $20,000 real estate and $75,000 personal property, including eight enslaved people, in 1860. Daniel's wife Harriet (Lewis) died in 1855, making him a 45-year-old widower with four children still living in the household, as well as Susan Daniel, age 67, most likely his mother.

His Madison County connections ran deep. His daughter, Susan, married Col. Lemuel Mead, and one of his sons, Capt. James E. Daniel, led Company C of the Alabama 50th Infantry. Upon his death on August 8, 1863, he was buried near Harriet in the Daniel-Lawler Cemetery.[280] According to the account, the assassination of Daniel could be attributed to the smoking guns of "home-made Yankees," in this case Captain Latham's Home Guards and Scouts.[281]

Ephraim Latham was born in 1838. His father, Jonathan Latham, was an early settler and modest farmer whose neighbors elected him to represent them in the state legislature. Ephraim enlisted in Mead's Confederate Company and was elected 1st sergeant in September of 1861 in the Paint Rock Rebels, then elected junior 2nd lieutenant. His position seemed secure, with advancement in action ahead at Corinth led by Col. W.D. Chadick. Latham then served in Kentucky, but the company muster roll read, "Left at Chattanooga, under arrest."

This did not bode well for his mid-December court martial. He was accused of falling "behind his command and remaining in the rear of the wagons" rather than lead as an officer. He was convicted, "suspended from rank and command" for one month, and forfeited one month's pay. The final straw for Latham's Confederate career was likely the official reprimand administered by Col. John Coltart before the entire 26th Regiment. It consisted of at least 1,000 men, many of them local friends and neighbors. As the armies regrouped into winter quarters, he returned to Jackson County with the supposed intention of recruiting more soldiers for the Confederacy. However, once he returned, Latham mulled over his perceived injustices. Added to these indignities, he noticed the suffering his family and rural neighborhood were forced to endure in his absence. He wrote a letter of intention to his superior officer, James Daniel, that he "concluded to join the Yankees." In August, Latham was commissioned a 1st lieutenant in the 1st Tennessee and Alabama Vidette Cavalry. He recruited 72 armed and mounted men to serve as scouts along the railroad near Larkinsville. The ambush of Kibble Daniel occurred nearby. Not only was the soldier-officer court-martialed, he became a deserter and in the eyes of his outraged his neighbors the "Jackson County Traitor."[282]

The newspaper's account of John B. Hancock's Maysville demise was no better and reflected the treachery of the invaders. Hancock carried a shotgun loaded with squirrel shot while checking his melon patch simply "from the depredations of thieving boys in his neighborhood." Union authorities arrested him and charged him with bushwhacking; he denied the allegation. They took Hancock four miles away, and shot th "quiet, inoffensive citizen" shot several times – undeservedly murdered, according to Clay.[283]

Gathering news from men passing through, Withers Clay reported that Union troops continued to make raids into Huntsville. On the 24th, 200-300

cavalrymen raced in, and on July 31, two or three brigades once again advanced and left at their own will. While on August 11th, 3,000-7,000 mounted infantries arrived, unchallenged. They arrested and took Thurston Lumpkin, George W. Kennard, John Spence, Mr. Thurber of Huntsville, and Archie Carey (described as "the dentist's son who lived in the county"). Kennard was taken to Winchester. Four men were arrested for allegedly serving in the Rebel army at one time. Lumpkin "offered one soldier five dollars to tell him who had taken the oath," which brought about a dispute when Lumpkin remarked: "I know why you d---d Yankees have been stealing our men. It is to improve the breed of Yanks." He was arrested and made to drive a wagon to Winchester. On this same "Yankee" foray, Mayor Robert Coltart was placed in the guard house to face a long list of charges including inadequate care of the Union soldiers too injured to transport when they left.

Earlier during their hasty retreat in the summer of 1862, 90 wounded and sick Union soldiers of the 37th Indiana Infantry (previously hospitalized in five different locations throughout town) were sheltered at the Calhoun House. While under the care of Dr. John R. Goodwin, the men heard the last bugle call of their rear guard as it marched out and left them behind. The darkness of night was replaced by flames burning abandoned equipment and supplies, and they knew full well they would soon be imprisoned or killed. Fortunately, as they recovered, many of the men were sent by wagon to Nashville. On November 29th, the last ten departed for Paducah, Kentucky, some on invalid beds. Dr. Goodwin regretted to share the news that 38 of the men under his care died and joined the 180 soldiers in the Huntsville City Cemetery. He complimented the citizens of Huntsville who "furnished everything in their power to render the sick and dying comfortable."[284] Now according to Clay's news report, Mayor Coltart, after his one-day arrest, returned home after Union soldiers left, uninjured but, indignant.[285]

There is not enough information to identify the "Thurber" on the list of those arrested and taken. By the time Withers Clay received the news, it had been told multiple times from no reliable sources or witnesses. The news might have been misprinted, mispronounced, or simply wrong. Union surgeon Dr. Goodwin also remains unidentified, but he was clearly a doctor with one of the last Union companies to evacuate Huntsville. Mary Jane Chadick commented on the 90 or so sick and wounded soldiers left behind as patients in the Calhoun House, expressing surprise at the cleanliness and comfort the enemy offered ailing soldiers.[286]

George W. Kennard, 16 years old in 1860, lived with his father Lewis, a butcher, his mother, and eight siblings. In his young life, he worked as a printer for the *Huntsville Democrat*.[287] John Spence, the man of his house, was only 13 in 1860. He lived with his mother, Abigail, a mantuamaker originally from New Jersey who managed the other three siblings and six boarders. At the age of 15, John enlisted in the 41st Alabama Infantry, but at

this time was captured, according to Clay's report, seemingly at random, with other men. What two young men were doing out at the time remains unknown; they may simply have been out riding or patrolling as part of the Home Guards. In December of 1862, George Kennard married Martha Pryor's daughter Maggie, adding more to his responsibilities.[288]

Archie Cary, about 16, was the son of Albert Archibald and Catherine (King) Cary. The Cary family, hailing from Virginia, was one of great prestige during Revolutionary times. Colonel Archibald Cary was a famous botanist and politician who corresponded with Thomas Jefferson, to whom he was related by marriage through the Randolph family.[289] It remains unknown as to how Cary found his way to Alabama, but in 1833, Archibald Cary attended the University of Virginia, and was first in his ancient languages, Italian, Spanish, and modern languages classes. Another Madison County student, S.D. Cabaniss, took First and Second in mathematics.[290] The father of young Cabaniss established Alabama's first cotton thread mill in Madison County and represented a secure, successful family. Perhaps young Cary visited during vacations because in 1846, Albert A. Cary married Catherine T. King in Madison County.[291] Catherine's family was no less financially endowed. Her father, John Dixon King, a planter, appeared in the 1860 census with more than 800 acres of land valued at $46,505, and $42,379 value in personal property, that included 33 enslaved people. Catherine and her husband moved to Arkansas, but in 1860 (perhaps now widowed), she lived with her father and two sons, both of whom were born in Arkansas. The boys' grandmother, Mary (Cheatham) King died in 1859, and grandfather King, already noted as suspected of selling cotton to the enemy, died in late 1862.[292]

Another local Virginia family held decidedly less palatable connections. Thurston Lumpkin, one of the local men arrested by the Union, was born in Richmond, Virginia around 1809 and found his way south. The 1860 census listed him as a "Negro Trader" rooming at Lavinia Vincent's boardinghouse. His personal property, valued at $1,000 at that time, did not list any enslaved people.

In a community as dependent on the unpaid labor of enslaved people for almost all manual work, it is no surprise that Lumpkin was not the only slave trader. The city directory listed no less than five companies operating as slave dealers. These men were not necessarily the auctioneers who completed sales to distribute this human property. For that work, there were three auction and commission agents: Daniel Johnson, S.J. Shanklin & Co., J.W. Weaver & Company. The buying and selling of human beings created an entirely new market governed by its own rules. Whether locals were looking to buy large numbers of people from other places, or sought to sell off a small number in order to settle estates or debts, these traders and commission agents represented their interests.

The trafficking of Black people could be incredibly lucrative: the census of 1860 listed Jacob Certain, Slave Trader as holding $4,000 in real estate and $8,000 in personal property with seven enslaved people, and James Hickman as holding $20,000 in real estate, $10,000 in personal property, with two enslaved people. The enslaved people of partners Moseley & Spragins were listed only with one man: Thomas Moseley, who held $4,000 of real estate with $50,000 of personal property and 14 enslaved people; while Elias Spragins held $1,000 of real estate, $20,000 in personal property, and no slaves. The partnership of Studdard & Wells allowed William J. Studdard to list himself as a farmer with $15,000 in real estate and the availability of 43 enslaved people to use as he saw fit. His partner James Wells showed $1,500 in real estate, $10,000 in personal property, and no listed slaves. According to the directory all these men held business addresses along Holmes Avenue and Jefferson Street, in addition to home addresses. Thurston Lumpkin occupied Lot 2 on the Huntsville deeds book.[293]

While these traffickers operated businesses, paid taxes, and lived among urban citizens in Huntsville, the question comes to mind as to how their profession was regarded by the general public. Author Joshua Rothman's recent book *Ledger and Chain* indicates that two of the most prolific slave traders in the U.S, Isaac Franklin and John Armfield of Alexandria, Virginia, enjoyed associations with elite families. Armfield, in particular, gave a "fine appearance" and "graceful manner." His associates viewed him as an honorable man.[294]

This, however, was a minority opinion. In his writings on travels to the American South, British traveler G.W. Featherstonehaugh described traders as "sordid, illiterate and vulgar" men.[295] Daniel R. Hundley, the verbose Madison County lawyer who himself enslaved people, wrote of the slave traders in his region as, "the worst of men preeminent in villainy and a greedy love of filthy lucre… in every respect as unconscientious a dog… as ever drank raw brandy by the glassful, or chewed Virginia tobacco, or used New England cowskins to lacerate the back of a slave." Lest he go too far, Hundley noted: "They are not all corrupt, or ignorant, or ill-bred… Some of them, we doubt not, are conscientious men, but the number is few."[296] Even well-known and prominent citizen like Alabama Senator John Williams Walker saw himself as poorly used by a human trafficker. Among a group of people he purchased from Chapley Wellborne of Fayetteville, intending to enslave as workers, one man was discovered to be toeless (his shoes were stuffed with cotton). "I traded with you as an honest man; and you have practiced on me a base & Monstrous imposition," declared Walker in his indignant letter to the dealer.[297]

An overview of Thurston Lumpkin's life reveals that Hundley's description was accurate. Lumpkin clearly brought trouble upon himself if the account was true that he has been forced to drive a wagon of Union

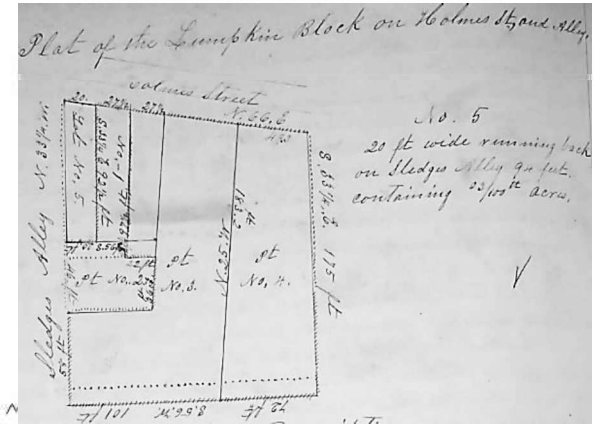
soldiers to Nashville, then find his own way home. Thurston and his brother John James Lumpkin previously (1850-1855) purchased property in Huntsville's downtown center. After overextending himself financially, however, an 1856 deed note reveals that Thurston was indebted to his brother, Robert, for $14,105 plus interest. In 2025, this total comes to over $500,000. Robert Lumpkin repeatedly rescued his brother financially in hopes to "aid and encourage a thriftier" man.[298]

Thurston entered the human trafficking trade via his family. His oldest brother, Robert Lumpkin, resided in Henrico County, Virginia, and in 1827, sued to sell four enslaved people in order to receive his inheritance and that of three "infants" (underage) brothers, John, Wilson, and Thurston from the estate of his long-deceased father, Thompson Lumpkin. His mother and step-father, George Lumpkin, became part of the petition to sell the four slaves, and the appeal was granted.[299] Robert went on to become one of the largest slave traders in the United States at that time. Historian Phillip Schwarz suggested that Robert began as an itinerant businessman who bought up slaves, then purchased a building in the Shockoe area of Richmond already used as a "gaol" or holding-pen, where he moved his headquarters in the 1840s.[300] Robert Lumpkin took a 13-year-old enslaved mixed-race girl named Mary to live as his wife, and she bore him at least five surviving children. Two of their daughters were deemed fair-skinned enough to be sent to boarding school in New England. Robert Lumpkin stood out among other traffickers in the region, offering a "kind of hotel or boardinghouse for negro traders and their slaves" where he housed and "fixed up" enslaved people to be sold. Bob Lumpkin's "barracoon," as it was referred to, included a courtyard "with a large open tank for washing… opposite was a long, two-story brick house," the lower floor for men, the second floor for women. One visitor recalled dining at a large table with perhaps twenty other speculators and traders at a time.[301] Robert Lumpkin died in 1866, with his will appointing Mary F. Lumpkin, listed as his wife, as executrix.

Lumpkin Slave Jail, Richmond
Washington Post

While Clay's newspaper reported that Thurston Lumpkin died in a Nashville penitentiary, "It is said that he was a 'rebel' to the last, and denounced Unionists almost with his dying breath."[302] He was mistaken. Lumpkin survived, but in reduced circumstances. He owned no slaves in 1860, but according to the 1865 census of Black people in Huntsville, six formerly enslaved Black people with the surname "Litchfield" gave their former master's name as Lumpkin.[303]

In 1873, Thurston Lumpkin was forced to sell his holdings consisting of a quarter acre known as "The Lumpkin Block" on Holmes Street. The property, which sold for $1,500, was considered prime land.[304] He made multiple attempts to salvage his possessions, but found that they were no longer his to possess. Thurston's brother Robert Lumpkin died in 1866, and it took five years for his executrix, wife Mary, to arrange his affairs in both Virginia and Alabama. Mrs. Lumpkin received extensive property in Richmond and Pennsylvania, stock, and the bond of debt due her husband Robert from Thurston for over $14,000. Thurston may have recognized a chance to take advantage of his sister-in-law, a formerly enslaved woman with little education. He travelled to Richmond in person, and, according to her deposition, asked Mary to set aside the deed of debt which Robert originally made. She refused. His other debts at that time were sent to Robert and paid, but records reveal Thurston was already insolvent when he bought Lot 2 in Huntsville. It appears that Thurston sold this lot to his younger brother George, his sister Frances and her husband Robert Oliver, with neither a legal record of the sale nor notifying Mary that the sale took place. In 1875, Mary and her children filed an extensive lawsuit in Madison County Chancery Court, including 16 counts of fraud against George, Thurston, the Olivers, and Sheriff James H. Brown. The judged ruled in Mary's favor.[305]



Lumpkin Block, 1873
Madison County Deed Book UU, 312

Thurston Lumpkin died four years later, listed as "one of the oldest citizens" at the age of 70. His heirs consisted of his brother George and sister Frances, who, in 1860, resided with their mother Elizabeth (listed simply as "gentleman's widow," with assets of $15,000 real estate and $19,000 personal property).[306] That same census recorded Robert Oliver as a "tobacconist" with no assets and George Lumpkin, age 27, as "gentleman," with personal assets of $1,000. At the time of his death in Huntsville, Thurston Lumpkin's inventory of possessions, estimated to be worth $118.75, included two oil paintings, one coffee pot, scrap metal, and household items. The sale produced $99.30 – not enough to cover his debts. His real estate sold for $400, which paid for his coffin, a newspaper death notice, and outstanding medical bills of $260.50 owed to druggist John L. Rison and Dr. J.J. Dement. The winning bid "knocked off" at $400 to Mrs. Cornelia Dement.[307]

Newspaper editor Clay's out-of-state news reports were not always reliable or accurate. To some degree, he'd maintained his network and contacts with his home community, but even those sources soon dried up.

Chapter 8

Hardships and Hard Times

A negro cavalry company rode noisily through town with their canteen, haversack, swords and pistols.

Withers Clay returned to Huntsville in October of 1862 to publish his newspaper, now called *The Huntsville Confederate;* it later became the *Huntsville Daily Confederate.* With increased threats of invasion, however he was once again forced to flee in July 1863, this time to Chattanooga. There, he published reports and mail shared by north Alabamians passing through. In September, he fled to Marietta, Georgia in order to continue publishing, and he stopped publication altogether on February 16, 1864 in Dalton, Georgia.[308]

The characteristic stifling heat and humidity of the deep south settled in for the late summer of 1863. Union troops now raided freely, while Rebel soldiers looked for opportunities to slip home undetected, visit family, and restock their thinning supplies. In Huntsville, Union soldiers plundered without cease for an entire five-day period. They showed no discrimination "between the rich and the poor, high or low." There were "no horses, mules, cattle, hogs, corn, or meat leaving men who were sick penniless beggars at their own doors." Some few slaves "returned to their devoted masters," and thousands of others followed the army when they could.[309]

Reports of offensive Union soldier behavior continued, although by that time, it was old news or proven as only marginally true. "Mrs. Turchin (who we are told has a major's commission) passed through town with the cavalry dressed in blue costume, with hat and feathers, and sword and pistols by her side and was greeted, I heard, with enthusiasm by the soldiers." *

According to Clay's sources, the "spirit of the colored citizens rise and fall with the ebb and flow of this tide of blue devils," yet some seemed to be depressed and go about like mourners. It is the coming evil all dread – fear of starvation and violence." He repeated an account he heard from Mrs. Lane's servant of the departures of some Black people from Huntsville:

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*While it is well-known that Mrs. Turchin traveled with her husband, this particular episode has never been confirmed.

> Wagons, ambulances, carryalls, buggies, old carriages were all full, principally yellow women, and then came the colored cavalry of men, women and children on fine horses, female mules and donkeys. Then the plantation women, barefooted with bundles on their backs and dragging dozens of babies and little children along. Many went on the spare of the moment, without extra clothing or provisions. All of the blacks were expected to follow this caravan and leave town. In the meanwhile, there was no market and nothing from the country had come in to be sold. Planters who previously refused to sell their bacon for $1 a pound and lard for 75 cents, had it all seized. Provisions were pricey and hard to be found.[310]

Clay reported with derision the actions of Capt. Ike Clem, a Black man who struggled to keep the drive for freedom alive among the slaves. Clem's message was clear:

> Black women say they will not marry, go fight for our liberty. You have no masters – no mistresses. Go on to Nashville, be free and send your husbands to war. … Feller citizens: We must crush disebellion – de bile [boil] is ris and busted, and we must git out de cure before de wound is healed. Dat wound was slavery. You is all free. Fight for your freedom.

There was more news as "a negro cavalry company rode noisily through town with their canteen, haversack, swords and pistols." In the county, Mr. Theo Lacy's plantation was ruined – all his hogs, potatoes, turnips, and provisions were taken. Likewise, Mr. Richardson, who lived at the edge of town, was robbed of almost everything.[311]

Union soldiers appeared to be absent from Huntsville. Unfortunately, they were seen at Brownsboro Station, along with squads on all the roads from New Market to Guntersville. The informant passed along that Thomas McCrary, Russell, J. Kelly, Dr. Fleming, Dr. Jordan, and Mrs. William Robinson were all victims of pillage. Mrs. Robinson, a widow, decided to flee to her plantation in Big Cove, but was discovered by Union soldiers, who then stole her silver. Clay later learned first-hand from a visitor that James Hickman, Benjamin Jolley, and William Hall of Maysville returned to North Alabama. Portions of two brigades, about 8,000 soldiers, were stationed at Maysville, Brownsboro, the Brick Church, and Bell Factory with headquarters at old Mrs. Hall's in Maysville. The factory was standing still, "the dam having been broken, and 30 – 40 operatives having been taken off."[312]

Bell Factory
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

On September 16, 1863, Clay was delighted to report the success of 15-20 men under Jim Matt Robinson who killed two and captured 15 Union soldiers. Robinson was asked to cease his activities, however, because some of his neighbors, Southern men once "thought to be true" to the Cause, asked him to stop, or they would report him to the Union. "Strange patriots who place their property and personal conveniences above their country." According to reports the Jackson County traitor Captain Latham laid waste and burned down Robinson's father, James B. Robinson's corn crib and supplies in retaliation. By September 25, large numbers of bluecoats had been in and out of Huntsville for ten days before returning to camps near Brownsboro. At the same time "a number of citizens vamoosed the ranche" with them. The group, Clay said, may have included George Kennard, Bill Hill, the Pickard boys, Farmer, Clapp, and others.[313]

More news reported that enslaved people continued their exodus, searching for shelter in the refugee camps nearby. Among them was former Governor Clay's "waiting boy." In a destructive mood, according to Sgt. Robert Wilson, who left Huntsville on the 11th, Union troops entered the courthouse, broke furniture, opened the large iron safe in the Probate Office, and destroyed papers. Fortunately, the most important records had already been moved across the river. According to Clay, just one week later, Capt. Charles Shepherd's North Alabama Cavaliers were at General Pillow's headquarters of the Volunteer and Conscription Bureau bringing in 1,000 conscripts. General Pillow continued to make it "too hot for deserters, Tories and bushwhackers."[314] Two years earlier, in September of 1861, Shepherd helped form a Company for the 12th Alabama at Byrd's Spring, just southwest of town. Fearn Erskine was elected Second Lieutenant and the men trained only until early November before being called away.[315] Now the Conscription Bureau urged local men to enlist "to avoid and to save the state from the humiliation" of more forced recruitment. There was, after all,

an encouraging bounty offered by the Confederate Congress of $50, their family would be fed and clad during their absence, and the men would have the best arms and ammunition procured by the government.[316] Men not in uniform performed official recruitment duties rounding up avoiding or deserting neighbors. It seemed to these neighbors that "their main business was to keep from going to the front themselves and to do as little as possible and stay about home."[317]

Withers Clay gathered news for the October 13, 1863 edition of the paper, including a story about the family of Judge Lane, who returned to Huntsville in September, escorted by 60 Federal cavalrymen. It was reported that, "*en route* for Huntsville, Lane was too drunk to proceed." Editor Clay was cautious about wording and often used "it was said" or "I was told" to avoid accusations and suits of libel for defamation of character. Shortly after their arrival, Mrs. Lane travelled to Nashville or Louisville for supplies not locally available. Winter was quickly approaching, and wood and coal prices steeply rose. Wood was now $10 per load, and coal was $18 per load; both were hard to come by.

Adding to the difficulty of obtaining supplies was the complication of learning the values of multiple types of money. Coal, for instance, could be purchased for $45 per ton in Confederate money, $15 in Bank notes for the same amount, or $8 per ton in Federal greenbacks. By this time, local planters were almost completely stripped of horses, mules, oxen, and even the wagons to haul wood or coal, among all the other hardships.[318]

The next issue (October 19) reported that the enemy had been in and out of Huntsville, but not recently. Meanwhile, the community lost three of its foremost elders: General Benjamin Patteson, former Marshal for the Northern District of Alabama; James "Uncle Jimmy" Crawford, master railroad machinist, "a more honest, faith, energetic and efficient, esteemed for probity honesty and liberality"; and John T. Yeatman who left a young family and circle of friends. All were devoted to the Cause. The news continued: in November, Union soldiers were located at the Fort Deposit Ferry, intending to cross, but were prevented by Col. W.D. Chadick and his regiment of State Troops.[319]

I had liked to have went to the Boneyard

A Union soldier and former preacher arrived in December of 1863, according to the paper, and gathered large numbers of Black men, women, and children from various parts of the county to hear his message. Pvt. James T. Ayers' mission was to recruit Black men for the 17th U.S. Colored Infantry. Ayers was a fervent abolitionist and poet who had given up his calling as a traveling Methodist preacher and lied about his age (57) in order to join the Union army. He was unwelcome in Huntsville. Ayers posted billboards of encouragement and held rallies urging Black men to enlist and fight for liberty and their still-enslaved brothers. Inducements included ten-

dollar-per-month wages, food, and clothing for the new soldier.[320] From his place of safety in Georgia, Withers Clay could not, or would not, face what Ayers observed and expressed: "The Destruction and Ruinous Effects of the war in the south" prevailed. Hardly could words describe the "Complete Destruction, farms made Commons, Houses torn down, Burnt down, Hauled Away for shantys, Towns, Cittys Evacuated and only tenanted by soaldiers, Churches boath in town Country and Citty Deserted ... once A prince, now A beggar, once at home now an Exile and Reb and what all this for?"[321] Ayers noted "many of the common and porer classes are more ignorant and Less Cultivated than the Pore Slave. Many don't or Cant Read or write." In his experience, "the slaves makes the bread and the Master eats it and spends it in Riotous Living for bad whiskey," and other Southern vices only hinted at.[322]

Ayers delighted in Huntsville's natural beauty and surroundings, "All nature is Laughing and Joyous. The little songsters are Singing Away. Earth has dresst up in her green mantle the Little streams are patter pattering and moving onward to the mighty oceans."[323] Accompanied by a fife and drum, his poetic words broadcast aloud were most likely hard to resist. The subject of exactly how long those recruited Black people would stay in the army was another question. Ayers stayed at his post and remained in Huntsville through the spring of 1864, frequently offering assessments. He stated that some of his worst critics were: "the Stinking heiffers Here in Huntsville will go and Draw their grub of us and with their mouth filled with our bread treat us with utter Scorn and Contempt." He preferred to "Clean them out" with "kicks instead of huggin and kissing." Yet he considered, "We feel that Cecession is gasping its Last now."[324] He approved of the new command because "our shouldered straped men [officers] are all powerful in hunting after Crinoline," possibly to the point of "Forgetting their duty."[325]

1863 Civil War Recruiting Poster

In late July, Private Ayers, accompanied by Lt. James Hull and 10 armed Black soldiers, marched to Whitesburg. They examined 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." The round trip was long, with the heat of summer and Ayers' age most likely taking a toll. "I find myself very tired of this business. Several stockades had been erected along the river as far down to Limestone Creek," and he'd seen them all. He did not admire Triana, which he called the "Little Stinkhole place," after staying there for 10 days.[326]

By now, evangelist Private Ayers suffered "Bad Luck Enough" and was sick with a severe chill followed, three hours later, by a high fever. "I had liked to have went to the Boneyard." Ayers made his recovery and was sent to Chattanooga. This "reassignment" may have been made by local Union officers who wanted Blacks to remain as a workforce for local labor. Men were put to work repairing railroad damage and building the fort. Women cooked and washed soldiers' laundry. Recruiter James Ayers wrote he:

> came to crush out this unholy and Hell deserving Rebellion, as they waged war on us About the Nigger, why, in Gods name give them niggers, and on this wise, You know the oald Adage is that the Hair of the dog is good for the bite, so they are so Exceedingly tender about their blessed institution and would Rather than be prevented from Raising, and Producing slaves for market as we do Mules and Horses and cattle… lawful to market there Chattles in shape of Human soals. … Rather they will tare down this oald Government And build one just to our mind, with Slavery for the Chief verry Pillers.[327]

Huntsville in November 1863 was a town occupied by 4,000-5,000 Union soldiers and struggling harder than ever for basic needs. Able-bodied Black men were been impressed, farm animals had been taken, and food was in short supply. Some of Brig. Gen. Crook's men were assigned to operate the mine on Monte Sano and distribute coal to the poor as December brought a sharp winter throughout the countryside.[328] Editor Clay called attention to needy orphans of Alabama. Civilians must collect money for these poor children "to improve them in body, mind, and heart …The dying soldier, as he falls in defense of our liberties, even while the cold ground drinks the warm blood from his heart, is heard amid the roar of battle to say, 'Oh! My poor wife! Oh! my poor children what will become of them?'"[329]

The year 1864 began with news from *The Daily Confederate* of "several citizens of whom we did not expect such conduct." They were "selling goods to Yankee Sutlers and several others (who have not disappointed our expectations) resuming their friendly relations trading with and otherwise giving aid and comfort to the enemy, as they did Summer before last." Clay

wrote that his "dwelling house" was occupied by Yankees, and that his family resided in one room.[330] Clay did not own the house. His wife and six children resided at the home of his mother-in-law, Mary Lewis, along with her six unmarried daughters, on Eustis Street. Mary Lewis and her daughters earned a living operating a day school for many years.

Clay wrote that seven gentlemen and their families were banished outside the lines; their belongings were searched at the border, and now, in the dead of winter, they were forced to cross the river in canoes. The Union appeared not to be completely heartless, allowing four to be detained because of illness. Mr. Beirne's house was now appropriated, occupied by the government as headquarters for the soon-expected General Sherman.[331]

George Beirne House
300 Williams Street

According to Clay, the Union had not fully settled into a second occupation of Huntsville as of December of 1863, but they committed several incursions which caused catastrophic damage to local farmers' land and property. Some even resulted in the arrest of prominent citizens, who were taken to Nashville for trial. After the incident in which General George Crook required 12 of Huntsville's leading citizens to take the oath of allegiance to the United States by the start of the new year, or, leave the lines, fortune looked kindly upon the men; the date was postponed due to weather, and Crook's cavalry moved out shortly after.[332] The death of Judge Lane was announced earlier, but his remains had not reached Huntsville and were assumed to be buried somewhere along the roadside. Lane's family, with no other place to go, returned permanently to Huntsville. Next in what may have been an attempt to remind readers to the danger of arming slaves, Clay reported that Green, a former slave of Mr. Geron's, became a captain of the Black recruits and shot a Union lieutenant. He was now held in custody awaiting trial. A Nashville newspaper reported that at least 300 families were drawing rations from the enemy, including the senior Clay family. Withers asserted this news was no more than an unfounded rumor.[333]

As the year 1864 began, soldiers settled in to stay. They built indoor quarters out of empty structures, and used fences from locals' homes for building materials. General Logan gave a 48-hour notice for a select group of men, "quiet citizens, ages 48-68 and not connected with the Confederate army" but "all to the manner" born and loyal to the Confederacy to sign the oath to the United States. To illustrate the crudeness of their captors, Withers reported that poor Thomas McCalley, who, having been robbed of nearly all he owned, went to the provost for protection. Rather than receive compassion, he was bitterly cursed as a ferocious Rebel who wished the black flag raised everywhere.[334] Even for the time, this was a vile accusation; "to raise the black flag" meant no prisoners would be taken; all enemies would be shot and killed, even the already wounded. It sounded suspiciously like guerilla warfare.

The extreme January cold made the lives of Huntsville citizens and soldiers miserable; it was the coldest weather anyone in Huntsville could remember. According to Private Davis, it was far closer to Wisconsin weather than a deep south state should have. "The ground was so frozen it will [not] bear wagons and teams except in very deep mud and holes." Pvt. Thomas Jefferson Davis of the Wisconsin Badax County Tigers and his mates were among those constructing shanties from local materials.

Stripping a Rail Fence
Alfred R. Waud
Library of Congress

They were happy to receive mail for the first time in months, and each man received a bounty of $302 and a furlough for reenlisting. There were plenty of places to spend their salaries: "Many of our men became intimately acquainted with some of the ladies of Whitesburg." Four months later, one soldier wrote about the "used-to-be town of Whitesburg," once a thriving steamboat landing. Now there were only four or five churches and perhaps that many houses. Conditions at Whitesburg were terrible. Four families lived in one out-building and there were "forty wee children, half naked,

half starved, all the men in the Confederate army… two or three other families staying here, seem to be very friendly to soldiers, especially the young ladies."[335] Private Davis remarked that Huntsville was a pretty town, but "the largest portion of the citizens have left it." Simultaneously, Rebels deserted in large numbers and crossed the river into their lines to take the Oath under Lincoln's grant of pardon. The soldiers' time was marked by routine as they answered roll call five times each day, drilled two hours in the forenoon, and two hours in the afternoon. Stationed at Whitesburg, Davis could see the fortifications across the river and often heard the exchange of shots. He observed local farmers

> "preparing to farm in February, but so many farms will have to be refensed [sic] before a crop can be put in, and in most cases, no niggers to do it. So let the world jog as best it can and let the Confederacy get out of its own hobble or else fall and give in… Many plantations are fenceless, houseless, slaveless and no horses wherewith to farm as in the proud days of southern chivalry."[336]

Desolation, devastation and demoralization would fill a volume.

Private Davis recorded an account of a hardship beyond reckoning. While warm Southern temperatures and humidity were important in the growth of healthy cotton, they produced poor pasture grasses for feeding stock. Unlike northern farms, fencing was required to keep animals out of maturing crops. Fortunately, free-range farm animals fared well, feeding on mast of nuts and forage in the nearby forests, which minimized time and money spent caring for and feeding them. The main effort involved rounding up livestock and penning them for fattening, selling, or fall slaughtering.[337] By autumn, beef cattle, horses, oxen, and swine (range animals) were fed fodder of cut corn blades pulled from corn stalks. This arrangement was so common and well-recognized that, if cattle got into a farmer's field and caused damage and "the farmer failed to provide an adequate fence, he bore responsibility for harm done by invading stock."[338] It did not matter whose animals did the damage; the violation was poor fencing. New wood rails were suddenly in high demand as soldiers tore fencing down and stripped forests.[339] The removal of so much timber depleted mast to feed the free-ranging stock.

In addition to the need for fences, thousands of railroad ties were destroyed and needed replacing. Still more trees were cut for stockades, breastworks, and forts, while campfires burned railings for cooking and warmth. During this harsh 1864 winter, soldiers from both sides tore down any remaining fencing and old buildings to provide shelter and keep fires burning for food and heat.

In these winter months, farmers were typically not involved in planting, hoeing, or picking cotton; December through March was considered a

"slack-time" or "lay-by months." Workers traditionally cleared and cut trees, dug drainage ditches, and burned brush and cotton stalks still standing from the previous year. This was the time to repair wooden fences and build new ones for the ever necessary "new fields."[340] With the exception of the fertile Black Belt, Alabama topsoil easily weathered and remained poor due to overplanting, resulting in abandoned overworked fields left to become weedy, eroded, and unusable. The new fields created were far less fertile. Poor topsoil, less timber, fewer crops, and undernourished stock devastated countless Alabama farms. Madison County was no exception.

The fine groves of Mrs. Barnard, Henry Miller, Meredith Calhoun, Nick Davis, and others, were denuded of trees. Scarcely a fence remained intact. Even the cemetery fences were taken, leaving it to become overrun with stray horses and cattle.

The misery of the cold and almost universal property loss was compounded by a February 1864 smallpox outbreak among soldiers, who now strained the capacity of the military pest house. John Robinson's house absorbed the overflow, becoming a dedicated smallpox hospital. Union soldiers continued moving in and out, all in need of every possible supply.[341] Private Davis was from a farm himself, and clearly recognized what might lie ahead for farmers and planters.

Davis made observations of Huntsville citizens and their daily lives. He commented on the Big Spring and the water power supplied throughout town from the reservoir. He admired two churches, whose spires rose up over 100 feet, and noted that the Union used the seminary as a hospital. The female college was a splendid three-story building he described as an institution for rich men's daughters, but "as there was no public school in the South, poor men's children grow up like Negroes, uneducated and the lower-class people were thought even less of in the South than in the North from the fact that they were less profitable." They were, however, "used as dupes by the rich who induced them always to vote for men and measures contrary to their own interest." He continued, "Huntsville was also a very fast place in the days of Slavery the King when the rich were rocked in the cradle of luxury, vice, idleness and crime when no Yankee would dare to say that a nigger had a soul and wasn't a brute or say that slavery was anything less than a divine institution." Davis said a great deal more – none of it complimentary. The rich man had "servants and maid servants and more especially maid servants who, by a bell in each room in the house, they could at any time be summoned to do any servile labor for her sainted lord that might promote his comfort or lust… Many of the maid servants… by an admixture of blood from one generation to another, are about as fair as their white owners."[342]

By June 1864, Private Davis tired of the continual guerrilla warfare. "The guerrillas and bushwhackers are getting somewhat saucy and troublesome around here since the woods have got so green." Three were captured near

Woodville and refused to tell where their gang hid. "So, the guerrillas was [sic] placed on the heads of three barrels under a limb of a tree with ropes attached to the limb and their necks. The barrels were shoved from under them." Of course, they died, "so bully for them. That is the way they all [will] be served." One month later, General Sherman issued a general order: "Show no respect or mercy to guerrillas or persons threatening our road or telegraph."

Some outsiders spoke highly of Huntsville. One newsman from Nashville observed, notwithstanding the horrors of war, the town "truly the Gem of the Southern Confederacy" remained imposing and attractive. "Mansions of the wealthy nabobs vie in picturesque splendor with the residences of European aristocrats." One can only guess as to whether writer had truly travelled to Europe for comparison, but this town was "charming and delightful." He admired Mr. Plummer, president of the Methodist Female College; the most "learned and eloquent preacher" of his denomination in the South. Presbyterian Dr. Frederick Ross was outstanding, and he admired Father Tracy, "highly esteemed for his Christian charity, in ameliorating the condition of the sick and wounded soldiers who had accompanied General Rosecrans." He complimented the "brilliant lawyer and voluminous author" Jeremiah Clemens and the patriotic Nick Davis. This was the "home of noble [G.W.] Lane who kept the grand old flag… He was the noblest Roman of all. Peace to his gallant soul."[343]

The reporter also included an unfortunate story which reflected the sobering realities of army life in Rebel country. Three men, members of Company A from Clermont County, Ohio, went outside the picket lines to see lady acquaintances. They were pounced upon by Rebels, thrown into a well, and covered with dirt. After a two-day search, a neighbor of the women reported the facts, and the bodies were discovered, their pockets emptied. One of the murdered Union soldiers was reported to have $135.[344]

Some local civilians attended the Loyalist Union Meeting described by *The Chicago Tribune*. Unlike earlier meetings, which might have seemed forced, military leaders under General Logan took no part. The local attendees were men, generally beyond middle age, wealthy and well-respected. Jeremiah Clemens and Judge Humphreys gave speeches and called for a convention to rescind the Ordinance of Secession. Clemens offered the rebuke, "If a man owned 20 niggers, he was exempt from military duty. If a man had ten starving children he was not." Humphreys asked, "Has there not been enough bloodshed? Have not enough widows and orphans been made?" Huntsville Loyalists, surrounded by Federal soldiers, could speak freely; perhaps central and coastal Alabama were ready to listen now. It is among "our inherent rights to act for ourselves." They adopted the resolution unanimously.[345]

In early summer 1864, Clay reported four soldiers shot for desertion. All deserted twice before, not to the enemy, but simply to return home. Twelve men from their companies formed the firing squad, and three of the men declined to be blindfolded. One soldier named Dogget chose to be blindfolded, and was badly wounded. A reserve of four soldiers shot him a second time, but he lingered an hour still.[346] All soldiers knew the penalties for desertion, and these served as an example. These soldiers lived and fought alongside one another for months. They may have grown up together, with some related by marriage or blood.

News from home was slim, but the "desolation, devastation and demoralization would fill a volume. The rich have been made poor indeed, and the poor reduced to want".[347] Sally Bartee Payne later recalled the destruction caused by soldiers stationed along the railroad tracks in the Paint Rock Valley. All food was taken – corn, wheat, meat, turkeys, hogs, and cows. Residents were forced to remain outside while their houses were set afire. It was a snowy morning when Sally's house was burned to the ground, cribs, barns, corn in the wagons. As the soldiers left, the family all ran to the nearby branch for water to dowse the fire. They swept up the ashes and hung quilts around the remaining wooden frame for what would be their shelter that night while supper "cooked on the coals of their burned-out house." The family consisted of father James Bartee, Tom, Jesse, Ann, young Sallie, the baby, a nurse, and her mother's young sister – all children from two to eight years old. The next day, the family walked seven miles to stay with their grandfather, Dr. Isaac Sullivan. Sally's father, went to town to receive protection from Union authorities, and they remained at grandpa's until after the "new boy" was born. Sallie recalled that Union soldiers shot or hanged the old men of the neighborhood – they shot Mr. Ben Branum and Old Man Sibley. They hanged John Allison, who did not perish – his toes reached the ground. After the War, farmers had nothing to make the next crop with. Sally's father wrote to relatives in Illinois asking for help in the destitute countryside, and railcar loads of corn and other supplies were sent to the care of James Bartee.[348] Sally's memories may have been reinforced by family retellings; she could not have been more than two years old when Union soldiers burned her home. That did not make the recollections any less painful.

Spies among us

The opposition, in blue or grey uniforms, could be readily identified as warfare continued around the countryside. Factual news, for citizens and soldiers, remained hard to come by and often in outdated newspapers or by the grapevine. Listening ears gathered what they could. A small group of people weaved in, around, and through these events, attempting to go unnoticed, while making reports to their supervisors. Danger during the War took many forms, some known only to a select few. During the seeming lull

between periods of occupation in north Alabama, "unsung heroes," whose "slightest blunder, the smallest misstep… meant certain death," moved about the region observing and reporting what they detected.[349]

"The soldier is sustained in battle by the excitement of the moment, by ambition and thirst for glory, by the expected plaudits of his fellow-soldier… but what of him who has no such spurs?[350] …Scouts, the spies, if you will, too often referred to as such with ignominy, and ignominy borne for their country's sake" were occasionally suspected, but often unknown if they were successful at their assignment.[351] Philip Henson was such a man. According to Maj. Gen. Grenville Dodge, head of the Union Secret Service, Henson was possibly the first Special Secret Service Agent, and certainly recognized as the best, "most colorful spy."

Henson was born at Gunter's Landing, still Indian Territory in 1827, and educated there at the Cherokee Mission School. At the death of his father, Philip took his first job at around 12 years old, riding horseback delivering mail on a route from Huntsville south to Elyton, later to become Birmingham. After adventures on his own in Texas, Henson settled and made a home in Mississippi. He realized, as a friend said, "The South particularly was agitated from center to circumference; men, women and even children were fired with a common impulse," that of secession. Henson's heart, though, was given to the "National Compact."[352] His first impulse was simply to avoid conscription, but he soon decided to offer his skills at Corinth in July 1862, to determine the intentions of Confederate Gen. Sterling Price. After taking the oath as a spy, administered by General Rosecrans, he was sent out in October to learn the whereabouts and plans of General Bragg's forces.[353] His Southern accent served Henson well as he traveled through Sheffield, Cherokee, Guntersville, and other towns in Alabama. Colonel Roddey captured and released him multiple times. In later days, he was known to feign sleep in enemy tents, such as that of General Gholson, CSA, as Rebel officers discussed plans.

February 1864 found Philip Henson in Guntersville. With help from other Loyalist family members, he managed to avoid John Whitecotton the notorious guerilla outlaw and others from his gang. Henson made his way through mountain passes to the Tennessee River across from Whitesburg, then manned by Union soldiers. Still on the south side of the river, he met Joseph Bradley, "wealthy refugee and thorough gentleman," who called for a slave to take Henson across in a canoe. Bradley paid $100 to the slave, Dick, to take Henson across in winter weather on the swollen waterway fraught with hazards unseen in the night. Once on shore, they heard, "Halt," and the click that followed as a picket raised his weapon to shoot. Henson was taken to Colonel Hall at the Whitesburg outpost; soldiers then escorted him to Huntsville and General Logan at Fort Taylor. Logan refused to accept his account and arrested Henson, only to apologize the next morning.[354] General Logan then sent Henson to Athens with a heavy cavalry escort to

meet General Dodge. On one occasion when Henson arrived to reveal his information, Logan announced, "The damn rope has not been made yet to hang you," and sent him to his next assignment. Philip Henson was eventually caught, arrested, and imprisoned under harsh circumstances but fortunately not hanged as a spy. Informers and infiltrators may have reported information from the disgruntled, from refugees, slaves, prisoners, and even enemy newspapers, but the scout, "who ate and rested and walked and rode in danger as a constant companion" worked unnoticed and was seldom rewarded for his heroism.[355]

Chapter 9

Emile Bourlier, Spy

The Pasha of Egypt had just sent an Arabian steed as a gift to Jeff Davis

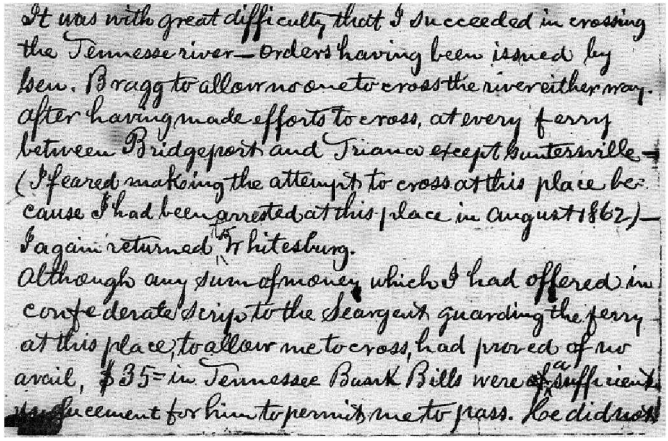
One historian recently raised the possibility that Emile Bourlier was a character in Cyrena Stone's spy novel *Goldies' Inheritance*. Bourlier was known to have visited the Stone family, who were long suspected of catering to Loyalists in Atlanta.[356] The events of his life, both during and after the War, could fill multiple narratives. His adventures may read as the stuff of myth or folk tales, but most of the information known about him has proven true.[357]

Census records recorded Emile Bourlier's birth in the United States, but he was born in France in 1832, arriving in the U.S. at the age of 10 with his parents, Elizabeth and Calixte Bourlier, and his 12-year-old brother Alphonso. Both boys attended public schools, certainly speaking French at home. According to credit reports from the time, Madame Bourlier was clever and business minded; she managed the family millinery and fancy goods store in Louisville, keeping all the accounts. In 1851, a credit agent suggested that her husband Calixte was weak, and "is of but little worth himself." Another credit report, from 1858, claimed "Calixte drinks too much" and had little to do with the shop while Elizabeth ran the enterprise and did her best to control his poor behavior. At his death in 1860, his estate consisted of $100 real estate and $5,000 worth of stock which all rose in value, without him, to $8,000 and $10,000 by 1867. At the time of his father's death, Emile was employed as a shipping clerk for the John Thompkins & Company.[358] The two brothers lived with their mother, who continued to manage her "Fancy Store."

It is impossible to know when Emile began work as a U.S. secret agent, but a later statement showed him in Huntsville during the winter of 1862, when the town was under Confederate control. His byways included rail cars, horseback, ferry, steam boats, and afoot gathering information about Confederate fortifications and conditions while quietly compiling opinions and political viewpoints. The pursuit of the latest information led him into the deeper, more hostile South.

Emile Bourlier's assignment, according to historian Thomas Dyer, was "to assess the military and civilian conditions in a large swath of the South from Mobile to Richmond." Bourlier submitted an extensive report of

activities on one mission that began in Nashville on August 1, 1863, when he received a telegraphic dispatch from General Rosecrans to report at Winchester, Tennessee for official orders and passes for his assignment. Five days later, he found himself between Bridgeport and Triana, Alabama searching for a safe ferry-crossing at the Tennessee River. He took care to avoid crossing at Guntersville, where he was arrested the previous year. Bourlier wrote that the Rebel sergeant guarding the ferry at Whitesburg would not accept any sum of Confederate script. Fortunately, thirty-five dollars in Tennessee Bank Notes proved sufficient after Bourlier showed official divers [sic] papers and passes.



It was with great difficulty that I succeeded in crossing the Tennessee river—Orders having been issued by Gen. Bragg to allow no one to cross the river either way. after having made efforts to cross, at every ferry between Bridgeport and Triana except Guntersville—(I feared making the attempt to cross at this place because I had been arrested at this place in August 1862)—I again returned to Whitesburg.
Although any sum of money which I had offered in confederate Scrip to the Seargent guarding the ferry at this place, to allow me to cross, had proved of no avail, $35= in Tennessee Bank Bills were sufficient inducement for him to permit me to pass. He did not

National Archives

The next leg of Bourlier's travels included several incidents of near-capture. He followed orders from the guard to report at nearby Lacey's Spring to Lt. Col. Jack Prather of the 8th Confederate Cavalry. He was questioned, then given a pass to get access to the person who would give him his next permit to travel south: the Gadsden provost marshal. This put Bourlier at great risk because the provost was an aide of General Wheeler, who previously arrested him in Kentucky during Bragg's raid. Bourlier chose to go by way of Valhermosa Springs where he encountered a refugee named Bibb from New Orleans. Bibb "made himself very officious," demanding Bourlier be arrested as a "spy." Others there, including former Governor Chapman's two daughters, believed they recognized Bourlier from their time Huntsville. They voiced their suspicions, sending him to the commanding colonel. While there, he encountered a young Huntsville man named William White who indicated his own status as an active secret agent under Colonel Prather.[359] Bourlier was questioned extensively but finally allowed to proceed to Talladega, arriving on August 12 under the cover of night. He visited the conscript training camp the next day in order to obtain a passport for the next leg of his journey. There were 300 trainee conscripts in the camp, including many deserters, all under the command of Major

Walthall. Bourlier wrote that, throughout the South, he witnessed many instances of despondency and dissatisfaction within the Rebel military.[360]

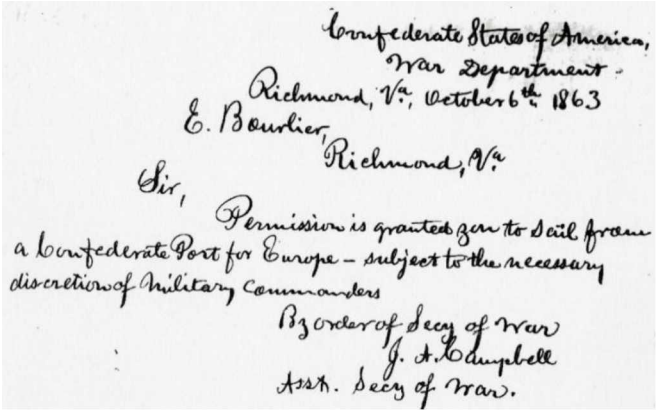
Bourlier was in Selma by mid-August, finding himself the target of Confederate recruiting officers for the first time; it would not be the last. They informed him that his purported exemption (keeping him from field duty) by nationality and illness did not excuse him from service in the Alabama or Confederate armies. Bourlier responded with a generous offer of $20 for a subscription to the soldiers' widows & orphans fund. It was discreetly accepted, and he was once again on his way.

Bourlier next was advised to go to the French Consul in Mobile for formal protection papers. Once there his observations of Mobile proved valuable to the Union, as it was one of the South's most fortified locations. Two forts – Gaines and Morgan – were nearby, as well as residences of high-ranking commanding officers. This provided Bourlier with the opportunity to observe real-time Confederate movements and armaments. The U.S. army would certainly be interested to hear of the floating battery, two steam vessels, and one transport barge Bourlier saw there. He noted that, though fortified, Mobile struggled financially, and markets had been pillaged by destitute women seeking food and supplies. Enslaved people, he wrote, also suffered from want of food, and began to show signs of insubordination in many places.

Within this two weeks' time, Bourlier travelled to Rome, Kingston, Selma, and, after two more arrests by September 9, back to Atlanta. He stayed at the Trout House long enough to describe conditions of both civilians and troops. According to his sources, President Jeff Davis emphasized to his officers the need to repossess Tennessee and Kentucky while holding Richmond became a secondary consideration to Davis. Other schemes centered around the capture of Baltimore as a base of operations while a captured Washington would become the capitol of the Confederacy. Bourlier's notes on Atlanta described citizens and merchants fearfully leaving as deprived troops halfheartedly arrived. He also described the conditions of the railroads and gun placements, and the numbers of soldiers there. As the city of Atlanta held out, Loyalists remained quietly active, sharing information when possible, regarding supplies and the strength of Rebel forces. Bourlier resided there in the late summer and early fall of 1863. He revealed information about the city's defenses, and added that there was "great despondency and no little uneasiness for the safety of Atlanta."[361]

Bourlier was next stopped and conscripted by Troup City offers as he left Atlanta for Federal lines before he could make his next report. He escaped on foot to Talladega, making his way to Newman, Georgia, then to Montgomery by railcar. On his way back to Talladega, he met an embittered Samuel Morgan, the refugee uncle of guerilla fighter John Morgan, who Bourlier knew had been in Huntsville. He moved on to Selma and

Montgomery by railroad, leaving on the 26th for Richmond by way of Atlanta, with more observations. Once in the Confederate capitol of Richmond, among thousands of Confederate soldiers, he managed to obtain an official declaration for his safety from the office of the Confederate Secretary of War.

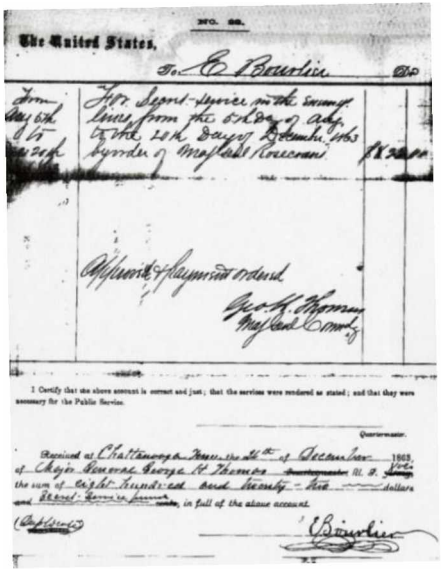


Confederate States of America,
War Department.
Richmond, Va., October 6th 1863
E. Bourlier,
Richmond, Va
Sir,
Permission is granted you to sail from a Confederate Port for Europe – subject to the necessary discretion of Military Commanders
By order of Secy of War
J. A. Campbell
Asst. Secy of War.

Confederate Passport
National Archives

The purpose of this pass, he maintained, was to allow his safe travel to France to claim an inheritance. Travelling south once again, he stopped at Atlanta, to gather information about Bragg's forces of over 116,000 men. Once back in Mobile, Bourlier was arrested, questioned, and jailed by the Rebel army. He refuted the accusations against him, but refugee civilians recognized him as having delivered a message to General Buell in Huntsville the previous summer. Bourlier fortunately was rescued by Rebel military friends, freed, and allowed to go to Wilmington, North Carolina by a series of rail cars. He sailed from there on November 14, 1863 on the blockade runner *Havelock*, newly renamed *General Beauregard*, to Nassau, Bahamas. From there he sailed to New York City – not France.

It is unknown as to whether Union officers received Bourlier's report in time to be of use, but he was almost certainly successful in his mission. In less than three and one-half months, he travelled almost constantly, straight into the heart of the Confederacy, and made keen observations of Confederate movements and armaments. All told, he traveled to Montgomery, Selma, and Atlanta three times, twice to Mobile, and made stops at Richmond, Nassau Island, and finally New York. As a spy, he was both "articulate and sophisticated," with contacts and friends nearly everywhere he travelled. His strong "knack for survival," enabled him "to win the confidence of officials and citizens."[362] For his time and adventures within enemy lines, from August 5 to December 1863, Secret Service Agent Bourlier was paid $822.[363]



The United States,

To E. Bourlier

For Secret Service with the Army lines from the 6th day of July, to the 20th day of December, 1863 by order of Major Genl Rosecrans

Approved & payment ordered

Geo. H. Thomas
Major Genl Comdg

I Certify that the above account is correct and just; that the services were rendered as stated; and that they were necessary for the Public Service.

Quartermaster.

Received at Chattanooga Tenn. the 25th of December 1863.
of Major General George H. Thomas U. S. A.
the sum of Eight Hundred and Seventy - Five dollars
and Zero Cents in full of the above account.

E. Bourlier

National Archives

According to military records from this time, Emile Bourlier was employed as a secret service agent assigned to gather and report observations regarding the Wilmington-Cape Fear, North Carolina fortifications. He submitted his 36-page report to the Headquarters Department of Cumberland at Chattanooga on December 25, 1863. He reported valuable details, such as the number of mounted guns, their calibers, locations of batteries, and the regimental numbers stationed there. He assessed the strength of Forts Phillips and Johnson, the rising tide of the Cape Fear River, the speed and frequency of boats entering the harbor, and places with fewer fortifications and thereby vulnerable. There was little doubt, he reported, that ships laden with goods originating in New York City were regularly running the Union blockade through Nassau and Bermuda. He added a tidbit that the Pasha of Egypt had just sent Jefferson Davis the gift of an Arabian steed.[364]

On January 19, 1864, Bourlier could be found in Washington at the Willard Hotel, where he addressed a letter to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. He wrote of his concerns about the treatment of loyal citizens in Huntsville, Alabama, who were left vulnerable by a military system failing to protect them. "Many men," he contended, "truly loyal to our government, and who, literally speaking, have suffered martyrdom at the hands of rebel tyranny in many ways… had hoped to find protection under the old flag." He continued, "some of the officers and men at the head of the military affairs in their district, are either blind to justice, or careless, and even heedless of the true principles of patriotism." Furthermore, he was certain that Secessionists who offered smiles and false pretenses were receiving protection from officers as Loyalists continued to be victimized. Bourlier

offered three Huntsville examples. A guard was stationed to protect the house of Matthew Steele "one of the vilest of the rebels in existence." Steele was an energetic Confederate conscription officer. He was, at that moment, "within rebel lines, plotting the destruction of our government, while ample protection is given to his property in his absence, through the influence of his friends." Guards were assigned to protect the property of the Robertson family members, "numerous and wealthy… with the strongest Secession proclivities… to the disgust of unionists and the great discontent of our soldiers." Those soldiers should not, under any circumstances, be protecting Rebels or their property. Bourlier called Secretary Stanton's attention to Meredith Calhoun, a strong Secessionist worth a rumored twelve million dollars. He was actively providing aid and property for the Cause, and he distributed paintings, statuary, and other chattels worth $100,000 for safe keeping to his Rebel friends. Bourlier suggested those works of art should be confiscated by the Union provost marshal.[365]

Bourlier knew of other Confederates receiving unwarranted protection. Senator Clement Clay disposed of cotton belonging to Rebel Colonel Hambrick, who rode with Frank Gurley's men. Their go-between, a man named Buchanan, took the oath of allegiance, but proved himself to be a poor excuse for a Union man. Social connections and allegiances once again played a part in a scheme: Joseph Buchanan, the man in question, was married to Colonel Hambrick's daughter Martha. As usual, marriages, kinship ties, and profit ruled.[366]

Bourlier showed equal concern about the limited picket defense system which allowed Rebels to have free ingress and egress of Union lines. He believed the Tennessee River to be insufficiently guarded; no one should be allowed to cross whose papers were not given a thorough review. Few travelers at that time were ever asked to show passports or military papers. Meanwhile, across the river, Rebel pickets and scouts stopped anyone attempting to cross, immediately taking them to Rebel headquarters. Bourlier reported at this time that he could no longer safely return to Confederate lines, but would be available for further communications at his address at 605 Washington Street in Philadelphia.[367]

Reluctant to give up his lifestyle of travel and service, Emile Bourlier offered to go to Mexico. He could observe firsthand the Emperor of France's plan to violate the Monroe Doctrine by establishing European domination there. In his letter to Stanton, forwarded to General Grant, he acknowledged his French birth and arrival to the U.S. as August of 1842. The love of his adopted country guided all his motives, and he was willing to support its government in any capacity.[368]

In his letter, Bourlier revealed that he entered the employment of the United States to gather information, and that he was behind Rebel lines in January 1863 after General McClellan withdrew from Richmond. Bourlier shared a narrative that implied questionable actions by Union officers. He

visited Richmond, where he met with Confederate field officers Colonel Gayle and Lt. Colonel Pickens of the 12th Alabama. Gayle mentioned several large containers that had been mysteriously hidden until very recently, telling Bourlier that they were recovered stores of buried guns, known to the Rebel War Department. When Bourlier asked about the guns, he was told that the guns had been hidden and left on purpose to be "found" by Confederates. One of the officers added, "Mac was all right," referring to the General. There was more: Colonel Pickens pointed out 210 ambulances, complete with accompanying horses quartered nearby. They were apparently part of the "bargain." Colonel Pickens said "I don't see what else they could be for." As whiskey was handed around, Bourlier and the Rebel officers drank a toast to Gen. McClellan. These were unthinkable allegations.

It may have taken Bourlier time to adjust to post-War civilian life after the constant risks involved in his years of espionage. The 1870 census found him living in Louisville, Kentucky with his mother, Elizabeth. She was a milliner, aged 47, who owned $8,000 worth of real estate and $10,000 in personal property. Business was good in the late 1860s; a Dun & Co. agent suggested Mrs. Bourlier was good for $30,000. A report the next year mentioned she was paying some of her sons' debts, and she now owned their galvanized iron business, Bourlier & Bro. By 1877, she had "lost considerable" financially, but still lived respectably.[369]

In 1880, Emile resided with his brother, Alfred, and his wife. The two men were now agents for their mother's Bourlier's Galvanized Iron Works. Emile, not yet 50 years old, held many irons in fires about town. He became secretary of the Louisville Fire Department and was recognized for his efficiency and concern for the brotherhood of firefighters.[370] He and his brother, Al, were charter members of the Legendary Louisville Elks Lodge #8 which held from 1877 until 2013.[371]

Emile Bourlier
Fire Engineering Magazine

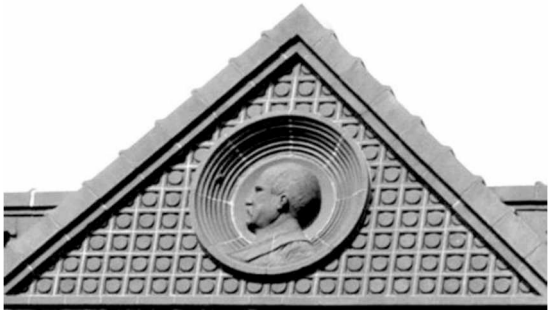
How else might he compensate for the missing excitement of his earlier career? As a spy, Emile Bourlier almost certainly represented himself in many different roles in order to hide his identity. Now he supported acting and became involved with the theatre and musical worlds. Vaudeville comic and songwriter Gus Williams dedicated a song, "Pretty Little Dark Blue Eyes," to him. A Spring 1866 issue of *The New York Times* reported that Emile Bourlier, owner of the Louisville Jockey Club Pool Rooms, acquired the Turf Exchange Pool Rooms. Auction pools, the system used at that time for bookmaking on horse races, were handled there. The Exchange was one of the most popular gambling rooms in the country with "tremendous betting and bravest plungers" who sat beneath the persuasive elegance of the enclosure. One season's pool aggregate was $1.5 million, with the house making at least $100,000 profit. Emile Bourlier was now the sole owner.[372] Six weeks later, in June of 1886, 62-year-old Elizabeth Bourlier died of apoplexy, and a Dayton newspaper notice called her the "venerable mother of Al and Emile Bourlier."[373]

Emile looked to new endeavors. In 1894, he incorporated with two other men to become two-thirds' owners of the Turf Exchange. Making money was the primary goal for owners; winning money was the goal for the betters. Neither, it seemed, were concerned with the glory of fine horse racing at the time. Within one year, a new grandstand was constructed at the cost of $66,000 in order to seat 1,500 fans and provide room for 2,000 more to stand. It also boasted a free field for servants and workers to enjoy the races. Twenty bookmaker stalls operated at the newly established Churchill Downs, home of the Kentucky Derby.[374]

Bourlier's Jockey Club: Churchill Downs

According to a Louisville newspaper, Emile Bourlier's death on the night of November 4, 1898, at the age of 66, was sudden and unexpected. His passing was noted in *The New York Times*, declared him a man "well-known in theatrical and sporting circles." It described his role as Secretary of the Fire Department, and, then bookkeeper for the Louisville Sinking Fund Building, Firehouse 2. He was a politician, financier, and one of the most

influentially, shrewd men in the state of Kentucky. When the building for Fire Station 2 was constructed, Fire Chief Benjamin Bache was memorialized in one bas relief and Emile Bourlier on the other.



Emile Bourlier
Fire Station No. 2, Louisville, Kentucky

It was said that Bourlier was given his choice of any city administrative position, but declined. He was described as quiet man whose word was his bond. He avoided public displays despite the fortune he amassed in horse racing and his penchant for theater. The *Times* stated that Bourlier began his career as a shipping clerk who worked his way up to hotel clerk at Louisville's old Galt House, followed by three years during the War, at the Cincinnati Burnet House (his work as a Secret Service agent never came to light). Two days later, at least 4,000 people of all classes attended his funeral service. During the procession to Cave Hill Cemetery, the fire department bells tolled and continued one hour after his burial until seven o'clock that night.[375]

Chapter 10

Edward F. Reid, Spy

Much Beloved Professor

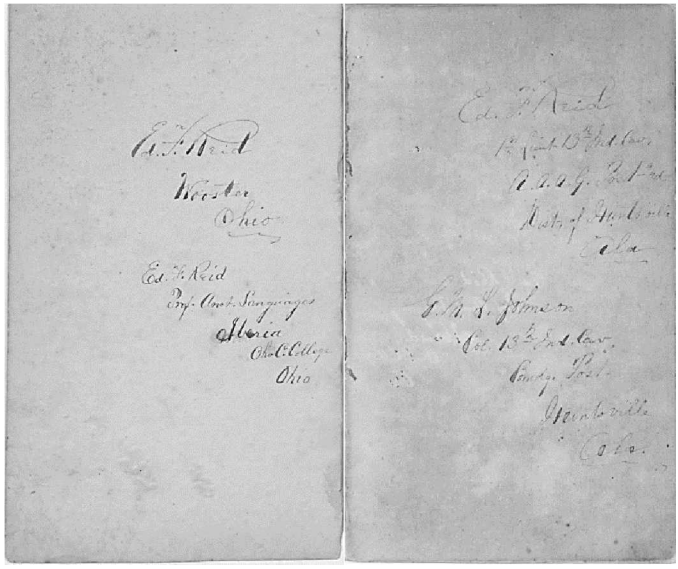
The exact point at which Larcombe's and Bourlier's entries in the notebook end and Edward Reid's begin is unknown. Several of their sources –people who knew which Rebels made trouble, who could offer aid to the Union, or be in danger – probably overlapped. Except for a small number, all the notebook entries appear to be copied by one person. First Lieutenant in the 13th Indiana Cavalry, Edward F. Reid, held duties as Acting Assistant Adjutant General of the Post District of Huntsville when he arrived. As such, he served as the chief administrative officer in charge of maintaining records.

Of the three men who reported on the citizens of Huntsville during the Civil War, Edward F. Reid possessed fine credentials for work as a secret agent, although he lived an extraordinarily adventurous and tragically short life. Edward Fortescue Reid was born in Kinross, Scotland on Christmas day in 1836, but his family moved to Belfast, Ireland soon afterwards. His mother died there, and his father died eight years later. Young Edward was provided with arrangements for education, but he left school to tour the continent. He entered college a second time, at Liverpool, only to run off to become a cabin boy on a ship sailing to Calcutta. As an iterant sailor he signed up with the East India Company, returning to Ireland to enter school once again, then sailed to New York City. From there he traveled to Virginia, Boston, and west to Cincinnati, where he was robbed of all his belongings. He hired himself out to a local farmer to earn his keep and developed typhoid fever. Later, he received a severe axe wound, but was rescued by a friend from the Presbyterian Church.[376]

Reid was an avowed abolitionist; he enlisted as a private in the Indiana Cavalry, rising to the rank of captain, fighting in battles at Franklin and Nashville in November 1864. His assignment at Huntsville may have allowed him to do undercover work when he served under Gen. David Stanley as record keeper.

McCrary House
General Stanley's Headquarters in Huntsville
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

Colonel Gilbert M.L. Johnson arrived to assume command of the post in Huntsville in June of 1864, and Reid later served as his Chief of Staff. It is likely that the notebook existed in several different sections at that time, and Reid compiled and assembled the records in preparation for the September attack on Fort Taylor by Colonel Buford and General Forrest. It was crucial that this notebook remain protected from the enemy if Huntsville surrendered. Certainly, the notebook documented J.H. Larcombe's first opinions, those of Emile Bourlier, and lists of Rebels in Huntsville, guerillas, those harboring guerillas, those deserving of protection as loyal to the Union, and other categories of names. Reid's meticulous collection and care of records in his position as AAAG is the sole reason this notebook exists. The threat of attack lasted less than 24 hours, and revealed itself to be a clever Confederate feint to divert attention from the advance of General Hood into Tennessee. With its citizens anticipating the worst, Huntsville fell into total disarray. The pages in the following chapters consist of names of people of Huntsville and Madison County, interconnected in diverse ways in the midst of a bitter war and its catastrophic effects.



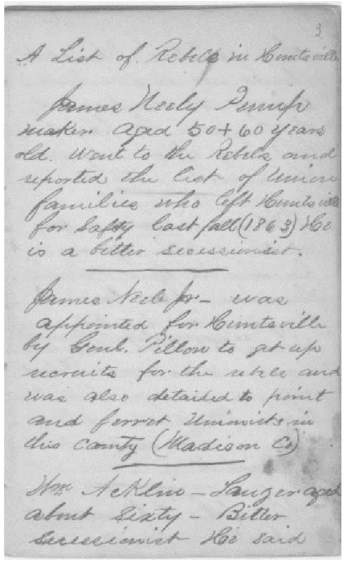
Courtesy of The Indiana Historical Society

Edward Reid mustered out of the army at Vicksburg in November of 1865. He returned north with a few of his papers, including this notebook. He became a high school principal, then a classical scholar, in Wooster, Ohio. He assumed the Latin Chair at Ohio Central College at Iberia, Ohio, and there in 1871 he married Matilda Clark. They moved to Monmouth, Illinois in 1874 when Reid accepted a professorship of Latin and Greek at the small, mid-western Monmouth College. He was a "much-loved professor," but while travelling for the school in 1889, he became ill with erysipelas of the face. He died at the age of 53 following several bacterial infections related to his illness.[377]

Prof. Edward Reid and the city of Monmouth, Illinois[378]

Appendix A

Rebels in Huntsville


A List of Rebels in Huntsville

James Neely Pump maker aged 50 + 60 years old. Went to the Rebels and reported the list of Union families who left Huntsville for Safety last fall (1863) He is a bitter secessionist.

James Neely — was appointed for Huntsville by Genl. Pillow to get up recruits for the rebels and was also detailed to point and ferret Uniunists in this County (Madison Co)

Wm. McKlin — Lawyer aged about Sixty — Bitter Secessionist He said

The spy Bourlier showed little compassion for the men he listed as "Rebels." One man was a "bitter secessionist" while another was a "bitter, bitter secessionist;" the conscription officer would "ferret out the loyalists;" one merchant was "deceitful and a smuggler," "boisterous" or "insulting." One was only "contrary," but another merited "treacherous." He knew one suspect would swear to anything to obtain favor, another gave diverse aid, and still another was "most violent and aided and abetted the Rebels." More than one citizen thought Loyalists should be exiled at the very least; some felt their property should be confiscated, and the offenders hanged. To be sycophantic to the Union army was not acceptable nor to swear to anything to get favor. One man was noted as a grapevine circulator to the enemy while one had in-laws who were murderers. These notes took little consideration of women and children and the possible threats they might pose. No matter: they all needed watching.

James Neely, Pump maker aged 50 + 60 years old. Went to the Rebels and reported the list of Union families who left Huntsville for Safety last fall (1863). He is a bitter secessionist.

James Neely possessed mechanical knowledge and skills related to water pumps. He arrived by way of North Carolina as early as 1830; by 1850, his real estate holdings were valued at $3,000. James, originally from Virginia,

was 54. He resided on Greene Street near Meridianville Road, with his wife Sarah and their six children. Neely increased his assets to $10,000 in real estate and to $6,800 in personal property, including seven slaves. Of his two older sons, James taught at the Select English and Classical School, and George served in the Confederate army. There were two younger children in the Neely household, as well. These pieces of information tie Neely to the greater Huntsville community in the years following the War.

James Neely died sometime before 1870, leaving considerable assets: $30,000 in real estate and $400 of personal estate, which now appeared in Sarah's name. She most likely rented rooms to boarders, as working men were reported at the address, and she employed at least two servants. Sarah died in 1883.[379]

James Neel, Jr. - was appointed for Huntsville by Genl. Pillow to get up recruits for the rebels and was also detailed to point and ferret Unionists in this county (Madison Co.).

James Neel's (no relation or known connection to James Neely) is one of the few names in the notebook not firmly identified. While "Neel" was not a common surname locally, the spelling "Neal" was known in Madison County. None of these Neals used the Christian name "James," however two Neels lived in nearby Marshall County.

arrest and enroll

If James Neel's duties included flushing out men avoiding conscription, it was necessary for him to be familiar with the local countryside. It is possible that he worked on the staff of Gen. Pillow, recording names of recruits and suspected deserters.

At this point in his military career, General Pillow was in a state of disgrace for a second time. Now, appointed by Gen. Braxton Bragg, Gideon Pillow was the head of the Volunteer and Subscription Bureau of the Army of Tennessee. This group, established on January 16, 1863, was commissioned to hunt down deserters and refill the ranks of the deteriorating Southern army by almost any means necessary. "Three field officers and two companies of cavalry from each corps, a captain and six lieutenants from each regiment, and surgeons to examine recruits and conscripts" were assigned to Pillow's task force. Veterans on leave or furlough, perhaps without units returned to their home counties to urge enlistment and confirm proper exemption status. The Bureau was to arrest "all stragglers and absentees without leave… who may come into your reach." The first strike in Tennessee proved so successful he expanded his work into nearby counties. General Pillow crossed into Alabama, and established his Huntsville field office in February 1863. He continued to demand clarity and proof of exemptions as "some of the 'disabled' citizens

were as fit as their examiners." Should they experience even a hint of doubt, Confederate recruiters and soldiers were ordered to bring suspects in.[380]

General Pillow also recognized the desperate need for teamsters to support the ongoing military action. He suggested that more enslaved people be released for that purpose, freeing as many as 2,000 soldiers for fighting. In a Huntsville speech reported in *The New York Times* on March 21, 1863, Pillow reaffirmed to Southerners, "No one can preserve his property from ravages of the foe. Their object is to destroy the whole South, respecting the rights of and property of none," and the Union would make slaves out of every White man. Citizens, both rich and poor, who had given up their sons now needed to give of their property (enslaved people) for teamster duties. Pillow reassured his audience that their property would be "well fed, well clothed, and well taken care of in the army." He concluded by gathering excitement with cheers for President Davis.

Pillow's recruitment results, though quite successful, were not met with approval by the Confederate Bureau of Conscription in Richmond. That entity preferred that Pillow stick to his given mission: finding absentees. Officially, he was ordered to leave their conscription and exemption status to the Bureau. General Pillow responded by quickly opening more offices in Alabama, then Mississippi. Able-bodied men who held exemptions at the time were seen by many as hiding behind these orders, shirking their duties. These men now faced a new order: "enroll all justices of the peace, constables, and deputy sheriffs of the proper age." They would be allowed to remain at home until the next emergency, when they would be called to battle. General Bragg's army ranks promptly swelled with former deserters, absentees, volunteers, and men who otherwise would have avoided military duty. Pillow's efforts made those of the Richmond bureau look miniscule: Pillow sent 8,000 to 10,000 men into the army in one period, while Richmond mustered in a grand total of 19 enlistees. Pillow's greatest success was also his greatest mistake; the eye-raising numbers he brought to the army made enemies. Some within the Richmond bureau were threatened by his efforts, and, unfortunately for Pillow, held positions above him. These men now looked to limit his authority.[381]

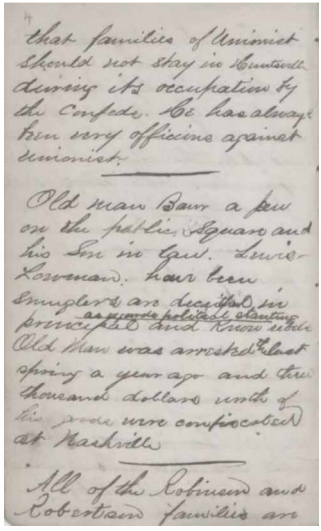
By mid-1863, some men were more determined than ever to avoid service in the Confederate army. The mountains of north Alabama now contained thousands of men in hiding: Loyalists or Tories, mossbacks, and dissenters. Some formed bands to pillage and murder, spreading fear among the unprotected elderly, women, and children. Among these were men who'd deserted numerous times, keeping their army-issued supplies, weapons, and ammunition. General Pillow's first recommendation was to assign the newest conscripts to duties in places as far away as Virginia, from which it would be much more difficult to return home.[382] Pillow was allowed to continue his mission for a short time longer. "Conscription" remained a dreaded word for men and their families who did not want to

serve. Where was the line between 'arrest and enroll?'" The once unknown phenomenon of press gang sweeps through the country with "little deference to law" became the order of the day. Approaching state election made these issues even more sensitive. Civilians appeared to listen carefully to the words of the previously dismissed Peace Society; the War had grown long.[383] Pillow's ruthless enforcement of the draft finally resulted in the cancellation of his operations. He was relieved of command on December 16, 1863. What part, if any, the actions of recruiter James Neel, Jr., played in this saga remain unknown.

William Acklen - Lawyer, aged, about sixty - bitter secessionist. He said that families of Unionists should not stay in Huntsville during its occupation by the Confeds. He has always been very officins [offensive] against Unionists.

William Acklen was noted in Huntsville as the grandson of town forefather John Hunt, and for working his way into a prominent community position. His brother Joseph was known as "a man of energy and ability," serving as Federal District attorney for Alabama; John Acklen, a "useful citizen," served as sheriff; while William and his son Theodore opened their law office on the town square. By 1860, William was 59, and resided with his wife Louisa and their five children. His real estate was valued at $25,000 and eight slaves were included in his $45,000 of personal property. Acklen served in the Alabama House of Representatives four times, and once in the state Senate. He was described in the language of one who knew him as "hale and stout, although disabled some years by an accident… Physically he was well constituted with an intellectual head and cheerful expression, honorable and energetic." He was, in short, a likable and effective politician. On the other hand, the representative from credit company Dun & Co. suggested he was of moderate circumstances, solvent but "inefficient from indolence and political operations." William Acklen was among the 12 civilian town leaders General Mitchel arrested and held hostage in May of 1862. During this period, his son William King Acklen was killed at Gaines Mill on June 27, 1862, and the boy's mother, Louisa, age 47, died three days later.[384] The remaining children and property were now solely William Acklen's to protect. He advocated for the removal of Loyalists from their own homes, though many lived and worked in Madison County as long as his own family did. As the Union troops left in the fall of 1862, the threat of confiscation of property or, worse, exile, even death loomed over all known Loyalists.

William Acklen applied for Pardon after the War in November 1865, and, by 1870, was listed as a farmer, owning $15,000 in real estate. He died in 1872.[385]



that families of Unionist should not stay in Huntsville during its occupation by the Confeds. He has always been very officious against Unionists.

Old man Baur a Jew on the public Square and his Son in Law Lewis Lowman have been Smugglers are deceitful in principle as regards political standing and know rebels. Old Man was arrested the last spring a year ago and three thousand dollars worth of his goods were confiscated at Nashville.

All of the Robinson and Robertson families are

Old man Bauer a Jew on the public Square and his son-in-law Lewis Lowman have been smugglers; are deceitful in principle as regards political standing and know rebels. Old man was arrested the last spring a year ago (1862) and three thousand dollars' worth of his goods were confiscated at Nashville.

Henry Bauer came to the U.S. at the age of 32 in 1832 from Bavaria. He most likely arrived in New York City on the ship *Mercy*, having sailed from Le Havre, France. The 1860 Alabama census lists him as a merchant living with his wife, Sarah (also Bavarian), in Huntsville, their daughter, Nannie, and her 35-year-old husband Louis Lowman. Henry Bauer owned $2,000 in personal property. Son-in-law Lowman immigrated to the U.S. in 1843, at the age of 16, to join his brothers in one of the largest mercantile houses in Baltimore. In 1855, he married Nannie Bauer, after which the two families relocated together. Lowman owned no real estate in Huntsville, but maintained $5,000 of personal property. The Lowmans had two young children, one born in Maryland, and one in Alabama. Lowman's and Bauer's businesses suffered during the War years due to financial losses and military occupation, but it is likely that anti-Semitism also played a role. Both men were nearly cleaned out by Union solciers in July of 1863.[386]

The Bauer and Lowman families left Huntsville, perhaps for Mobile, where a large Jewish community resided. They most likely had cash in hand, as Lowman traded in cotton. In 1866, Lowman managed to locate 27,775 pounds of cotton, on which he paid $713.58 tax. The Bauers could not be located again, but Nanny and Lewis found their way to McCook, Nebraska, according to the 1890 census. Lewis lived until 1903, leaving behind Nannie and three grown children. Not every member of the family departed

Huntsville, "Simon Lowman our darling boy. Born March 20, 1859 – died Nov. 8, 1861" was interred at the city burying ground.[387]

All of the Robinson and Robertson families are disloyal to the government of the U.S. except Maj. Jim Robinson a lawyer. Some of the families by these names are living in the neighborhood of Huntsville and some have gone across the river.

Several Robinson families lived in Huntsville during this period, two of whom clearly felt no sympathy for the Rebel Cause. The Union agent identified the lawyer, Maj. Jim Robinson, as loyal. Jim Robinson was 55 years old in 1860, living with his wife, Sarah, and four children. His real estate amounted to $9,000 and his personal property of $33,000, included 11 enslaved people. James Robinson was described as a good attorney, trustworthy, with fine character, but rather lazy, inert, and in ill health on the credit report submitted with R.G. Dun & Co.[388] James R. Robinson was a law partner with the much-admired Egbert Jones who, in early 1861, helped form the 4th Alabama Infantry. By 1870, James R. Robinson retained $1,000 in real estate and $5,000 in personal estate. He could afford to employ a carriage driver, cook, and house servant to assist with the others living at his household. He died in 1877.[389]

John Robinson, livery stable owner, recognized as a fine judge of horses and a hardworking landowner, would have revealed his loyalty had anyone bothered to ask him. Like many who came early to Huntsville from Virginia, he arrived in shackles and in bondage. John Robinson was born a slave, but purchased his freedom in 1827 in Madison County, "to have and take possession and enjoy ingress and regress to any point or place in the world to which inclination may lead hm to act." This Robinson knew his place, according to Whites, "quick in replying to questions when propounded and very polite."

A Coffle of Slaves Brought South

Former slave John Robinson and his family continued to prosper. His claims for reimbursement through the Southern Claims Commission for supplies and animals used during the War (amounting to over $2,600) left little doubt of his Loyalist status. He purchased property in Huntsville and the surrounding county, and his sons' and daughters' families were active in politics. This Robinson died in 1881, at approximately 85, an esteemed and loyal citizen.[390] As a Black man in the South, he was not buried in the city cemetery; his remains, just as those of his family, are in an unknown place, most likely in the Old Georgia Cemetery located under parts of what is currently Huntsville Hospital at Governors Drive and Madison Street.

There were many other Robinson families in Huntsville to consider. A young widow named Mary, with two youngsters, was most likely not involved actively in the Cause. Could the 32-year-old carpenter, William, be a real threat? How much damage could Thomas Robinson and his wife, with their little Hattie, do? Caroline Robinson, widow of "Black Bill" Robinson, the former high sheriff of Madison County, lived only a stone's throw from the railroad tracks. She, her children, and the people she enslaved were most likely paying close attention for news of each action passing, whether Rebel or Union. As they arrived and departed from town, rail cars slowed in order to navigate Mastin's curve on the railway bed beside her home. Extraordinarily wealthy, worth over three quarters of a million dollars, but busy keeping up her home (Quietdale) and managing five children, she would not have presented a clear-cut menace to the occupying Federal troops. Nothing was ever recorded of her loyalties, nor those of the next Robinson in the census. The physician Pleasant Robinson had a comfortable living of almost $10,000; he resided in town with his wife and five daughters, while a son practiced as an attorney and lived independently.

The sons of two Robinson families openly supported the Confederacy. As an early revenue commissioner, John Jacob Robinson, age 47 in 1850, lived at the edge of Huntsville at his home, known as Oaklawn, with his wife Caroline (Otey) and six children. His assets were listed at $30,500; his skills as a merchant served him well. John Jacob expanded his business in town, joining White, Scruggs & Robinson. He enslaved 64 people in 1860, to work in his well-appointed home and extensive plantation.

Oaklawn
HABS

John Jacob's son John Robinson, Laurence Scruggs, and four other young men in their twenties shared a bachelor household in town. They each held a reported $2,000 and $7,500 in assets, which suggests that their fathers most likely gave them a start in business with a loan. Dun & Co., among the first commercial reporting agencies in the United States, made innovations in the field of credit reporting that played an important role in the development of American trade. The Dun & Co. files regarding Scruggs, Robinson, and A.L. Fletcher report upstanding young men with borrowed capitol.[391] Another son, John J. Robinson, served as a private in the 4th Alabama. He was born April 8, 1848, and attempted to enter the service in July of 1862 with Capt. Gurley. He was sent home after only four days when Confederate officers learned he was underage. He re-enlisted in February 1865, and served until the close of the War.

In 1870, John Robinson was 69 and Caroline 57. Caroline was widowed by 1880, residing in her home with son John, 32, and her 34-year-old daughter Carrie.[392]

James B. Robinson lived with his family at Forrestfield, a home reputed to be identical to that of John Jacobs, his brother. Known as "Jim," he also married an Otey sister named Mary. His real estate was worth $15,000 and his personal property over $31,000, including 20 enslaved people. During the War, he allowed several family members to refugee on his abundant Marengo County property. Of their ten children, sons Jim and Americus (called Mec) annoyed Federals the most. The much-despised local turncoat and scout Kinch Britt led Federal troops to the Robinson home, and was killed in the fray. After this exchange, Colonel Horner ordered the house set afire and destroyed.[393]

Mary and James Robinson maintained much of their real estate, valued in 1870, at $25,000, along with $10,000 in personal property. James B. Robinson died in 1877 and was buried at Maple Hill Cemetery, as was his wife Mary in 1887.[394]

Dr. Robertson took the oath of allegiance in 1862 when Gen. Mitchel was here - he is quiet.

One Robertson was denounced on the list as Rebels, along with the two Robinsons. The Robertson referred to was one of four brothers who came to Huntsville about the same time. Three brothers shared the same middle name, and all four remained in Huntsville to be interred on land that became part of Maple Hill Cemetery. These men, well-educated and clearly well-off, arrived from Cambridge, Maryland to find their own professional niches in the growing community, however they sustained large losses in the War.

Reverend John Murray Robertson arrived before his brothers to help establish an Episcopal Church in the early 1830s, a period referred to by the

church as "the discouraging years." Members met in the courthouse, but were forced to find other arrangements after local people complained about the constitutional separation of church and state. Some met at a theatre on Clinton Street, but were too few in number to form a church. In 1835, Reverend Robertson and his family departed Huntsville for his Jackson County plantation. A congregation later formed, made up of prominent citizens, enticing him to return to serve at the Episcopal Church of the Nativity, until Reverend Henry Lay arrived. By 1850, Robertson, his wife Rebecca, and their six children lived in Huntsville with his given worth listed as $30,000. The family lived in the Hayes Store area in 1860, and John Murray's value increased to $57,000, including five slaves. During the War, Reverend Robertson offered his personal sentiments in prayer. When he led the congregation in prayer for President of the Confederate States of America, he was arrested, imprisoned, transported across the river, and ordered not to return. Once gone Federal authorities confiscated his property. John Murray Robertson's son, Captain William, served for four years in the Confederate army.[395]

Another brother, Vans Murray Robertson, was a barrister, keeping an office on the town square. He also served alongside other prominent Huntsville men as a vestryman on the emerging Episcopal church board. He managed his single household and owned no slaves. At the age of 48, in 1860, his real estate totaled $6,000, with another $6,000 in personal property.

Their brother, Dr. George James Robertson, practiced medicine in the northwest division of Madison County, having married Rhoda Simmons in 1823. In 1860, he was listed as a single head of household owning a total value of $68,000, including three slaves. Dr. Henry Murray Robertson, aged 54, boarded at Venable's Hotel in 1860, while his wife remained in Maryland with their one remaining son. In 1860 his values were given as $500 real estate and four slaves included in $7,000 personal property.[396]

After the War, Reverend Robertson applied for pardon in the fall of 1865. By 1870, he maintained $3,500 in real estate; he died in 1878. Vans died in 1881 at the age of 70. George held $2,000 in real estate and $63,000 in personal property. George Robertson died in 1890, joining his brothers in the family plot. Dr. Henry Robertson died in 1868: "an old physician and citizen of this place was found dead in his office having died during the night" and was honored with tributes from other doctors in Huntsville. He was 62 years old.[397]

The notebook presents a fascinating conundrum. "Dr. Robertson took the oath of allegiance in 1862 when Gen. Mitchel was here – he is quiet." Was it Dr. George or Dr. Henry Robertson that took the oath? One brother swearing allegiance to the Union may have led to a family falling-out – not an uncommon occurrence. The American Civil War often has often been described as "brother against brother." This may explain why Doctor Henry

was buried at the cemetery, but was not noted as being interred in the plot with his brothers and their families.[398]

Anderson Burrow keeps a Billiard Saloon in the Huntsville Hotel - a very boisterous secessionist when the Rebels are about, is very insulting and threatening to Unionists but sycophantic when the Federals are about. His father James Burrow same charge. He had a son in the rebel army.

Anderson Burrow refers to Wyatt Anderson Burrow. The 1850 census reported him as a 22-year-old carpenter living in the household of his father, James H. Burrow. Anderson's mother, Susannah Lee Burrow, originally of Lincoln County, died two years earlier, leaving behind seven children – Anderson's siblings – under 21 years of age (considered "infants" by law). Anderson's father remarried in 1849, and in 1850, James H. was listed as a carpenter with $1,500 in real estate. Anderson resided at home with the family until he married Mildred Barker in 1858, The 1860 census showed him as head of household, employed as a grocer. His father prospered, showing assets to include $12,000 in real estate and $6,500 in property value, including five enslaved people who worked on construction jobs. James' son James H. Burrow Jr., was just a few years younger than Anderson; it is likely James Jr. that Bourlier referred to as entering the Rebel army.[399]

By 1870, Anderson and Mildred showed no assets. Anderson's occupation was noted as a bar keeper, and he and Mildred lived with her mother, Lucy, a dressmaker with $2,000 in real estate and $1,500 in personal property. In 1880, he still kept a saloon, but he, his wife, and mother-in-law moved into a boarding house at that time. Twenty years later, he and Mildred owned their own home on East Holmes Street. Anderson died in 1904; Mildred passed away five years later.[400]

Pittman ex-express agent not very rabid, absent at present but expected to return soon.

His employment at the Post Office indicated that Joseph J. Pittman was well-known in Huntsville in 1850. By 1860, at age 51, he owned the successful Huntsville Omnibus Line, which provided horse-drawn services between the railroad depot, downtown hotels, and nearby residences. He also represented the Adams Express Company. He boarded with Agnes Yeatman (along with John Heap, already mentioned as a Rebel supporter).[401] Pittman's business allowed him a personal relationship with almost every merchant and businessman in Huntsville. With his work, he was understandably in and out of town often on business – but whose business might he be tending to or sharing news about?[402]

Joseph Pittman did not remain in Huntsville, apparently. In 1870, he had no family remaining in the area, and he may have returned to North Carolina where his niece, Nanny Speight, resided.[403]

Samuel Coltart used to keep a book store - has a son in the rebel army - a contrary rebel very treacherous and would convey information beneficial to the rebels if it was in his power.

Scotsman Samuel Coltart sailed to Philadelphia in 1819 with his brother John, where they declared for U.S. citizenship, and by 1824, received their papers. Samuel married 17-year-old Jane Wilson, and the newlyweds made their way south to Huntsville where his apparent education and ambition earned him a position as a community leader. With his Scottish brogue, he added to the many accents one could detect in Huntsville at the time. By 1828, Samuel joined the Presbyterian church, served as treasurer of the Tract Society, worked with the Bible Society, and, at one point, served on the town Board of Aldermen (similar to Irvin Windham and William Acklen, listed in the notebook as Rebels).[404]

Samuel Coltart was well regarded by Dun & Co. in 1855; they reported his estate as valued at $5,500, and "was one of our oldest and most trustworthy citizens, honesty and integrity has never been questioned, son Robert will carry on business." In 1860, Coltart and one son maintained a shop selling clothes books, stationery, and fancy articles, in addition to Coltart's "Gents Furnishing Goods," selling readymade clothing. In 1859, Coltart & Son published the ever-useful *Williams Huntsville Directory City Guide and Business Mirror, 1859-60*. Coltart enslaved six people who most likely performed a large amount of work for these enterprises, as he and his two sons were involved in many community activities. Robert Coltart served as the mayor of Huntsville at the start of the War. Son John enlisted in the Madison Rifles, fought as a captain at Shiloh, and sustained serious injuries there. He returned to Huntsville for his recovery, serving detached duty as a conscript officer. In 1863, he was back in action at Chickamauga Bridge, but he became sick near Atlanta in 1864. While he rose to lead the 50th Alabama with the rank of colonel, John had apparent issues with interpersonal relationships that he never overcame. One fellow-officer recalled:

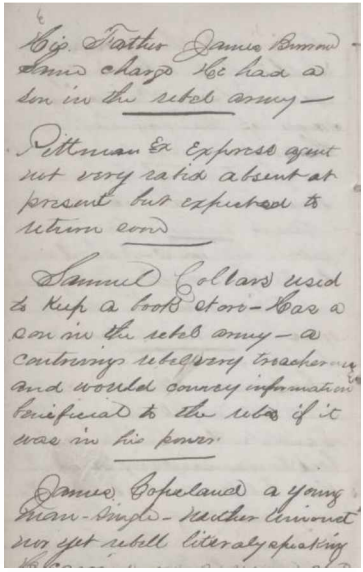
> Coltart's unpopularity doubtless weighted heavy in the failure of the (men of the) 7th to re-enlist, but I think a great many of the men would have overlooked many of his caprices and personal lack of suavity and social allurements because of his coolness, strict ideas of everyone doing his full duty, and his recognized courage. In other words, I think his military accomplishments would have placed him above the minor elements of dislike.

The perceptive contributor of this information, C.A. Todd, added, "I hope I have not written to a worry. An old Reb's tongue is in keeping with his fighting – hasn't sense enough to stop." At the time of the invasion, General Mitchel demanded that Mayor Coltart supply and feed his hungry troops from local stores with city funds until their supplies arrived. Later, fearing Huntsville might be burned in retaliation, Mayor Coltart urged citizens not to cheer or show emotions as those same soldiers evacuated town in August of 1862. In the following year, with the absence of occupying troops, Robert Coltart served as the Marshal for the Northern District of Alabama in court cases against Union sympathizers seen as traitorous profiteers who had wickedly levied war against the Confederate States of America. General James Hickman was the most prominent among them.[405]

Robert Coltart applied for pardon in September of 1865 and restarted his political career. John briefly served as Madison County sheriff, but he was soon replaced by a Reconstruction appointee who was known to be a loyal Union man. Jane Coltart, wife of Samuel, died in 1868, just three years after the end of the War. Jane was an adolescent when they married and left the northern urban landscape to join her Scottish-born husband in the unknown frontier; five of their babies died young. Four daughters grew to adulthood, and the two adult sons emulated their father as successful community leaders.

John Coltart died at the age of 42 in Tuscaloosa in 1869; his body was returned for burial in Huntsville.[406] In 1870, 75-year-old Samuel Coltart could be found representing a fire insurance company selling policies to people in Huntsville who was fortunate enough to retain cash throughout the War. At his age and position, he was a solid hire for any insurance company. (Post-War, former CSA President Jefferson Davis, Sen. Clement C. Clay Jr., and Gen. Nathan B. Forrest, represented insurance companies. When all else was gone, name recognition among Southerners, especially within their own communities, gave them an advantage.)

Samuel held his real estate valued at $1,000, and he maintained a cook, a gardener, and a hostler in the household. Although one daughter, Gracie married the next year, three single daughters (Hattie, Belle, and Helen) resided at home. Few acceptable suitors remained after four grueling years of war. Not every man returned, and many who did were severely wounded, both physically and mentally. Reid Mitchell wrote, "Being a man meant risking horrors that might unman an individual – not by feminizing him but by making him inhuman."[407] Robert Coltart's wife, Martha, died in June of 1879, followed that September by Robert. Two of his children had died earlier but four children remained, now orphans, with few assets. Samuel Coltart died in 1873 to generous tributes of respect from citizens and city officials.[408]



James Copeland a young man, single, neither Unionist nor yet rebel literally speaking. He carried on a wagon shop for the rebels - now buys mules from the Federals. Soldiers & sells them again - requires watching in this particular.

In 1860, 21-year-old James J. Copeland boarded in Huntsville. The census from that year showed he held no assets, but this quickly changed. In the first year of the War, Huntsville was a staging ground for numerous Confederate troops. After the Union retreat in August 1862, the business of supplying and outfitting Confederate soldiers resumed. Much of that equipment was already at least one year old, heavily used, and in dire need of repair. James Copeland was in the right place with the right skills to keep men and animals on the move as he refitted, outfitted, and salvaged battered equipment. Copeland submitted a statement to the Confederate Quartermaster, Maj. G.W. Jones, for linch-pins [sic] and 355 horseshoes in the second quarter of 1863. Other business accounts of Copeland show that he provided such essentials as axle trees, shackles, handcuffs, blacksmith work, general wagon repairs, and even a donkey. One bill alone showed charges for six months of work, amounting to well over $1,200. This was a large sum for a young man of the time. Secret agents were everywhere, reporting suspicious conversations and activities. As it happened, Post Commander Major John Claiborne, who was among those men who signed Copelands' receipts, later served as a spy for General Hood's unsuccessful Confederate invasion into Tennessee.[409]

James Copeland invested some of his earnings and perhaps managed to avoid Confederate money altogether. The 1870 census showed him

employed as a carpenter with a wife and young daughter, holding $5,000 in real estate.

James Venable, Hotel keeper - Plays union but is a rebel at least - has a son employed by the government - I believe in the telegraph office or some other such employ, the son's name is James Venable (Jr).

James Monroe Venable Sr. was the proprietor of Venable's Hotel and Tavern, conveniently located across the street from the new M&C Railroad Depot. The entire Venable family resided there, including Monroe's wife Matilda and two sons, James and Victor, who worked as clerks among other responsibilities. Mr. Venable, about 50 years old, owned no real estate but maintained $5,000 personal property, including one slave. He did extremely well, considering that, 10 years earlier, he was listed as a tinner with three occasional employees. Back then, his output was worth approximately $2,500 for the year, he owned no property (as of 1854), and, it was noted, he "often was hard-pressed." Venable's Rebel son, James Jr., was 5'11", was fair in appearance with gray eyes, and light hair, according to his enlistment papers. He was at the 1st Battle of Manassas, then Seven Pines, and in June of 1862 was paid and discharged. James Jr.'s pay from March until June of that year was $37.77, topped off by a $50 bounty. He was the lucky son. His older brother Victor enlisted in Co. C, 7th Infantry Regiment on April 1, 1861 under Captain Coltart for twelve months. On June 19 of that same year, he succumbed to typhoid fever while training in Pensacola, Florida. It is unknown as to what, exactly, Union agent Emile Bourlier meant when he wrote that one Venable man worked for the government. It is likely that authorities needed local clerical help for the endless amounts of paper work they produced.[410]

By 1866, business for James M. Venable flourished, he held $10,000 in personal property, and he owned a home and lot. Venable's hotel was full in 1870, and his household consisted of himself, his wife Matilda, son James, 43 residents, and four servants. Among the assorted hotel guests was the entire family of former governor Reuben Chapman. James Venable died in 1873, and his son James lived until 1897.[411]

Wm. McDowell very very bitter - used to be foreman of a rebel grand jury and did all he could to endite the unionists about this place. This man was arrested and kept as hostage last fall for a Mr. Sheats as unionists and he was confined in jail at Huntsville. Our authorities having notified the Confed authorities McD was under arrest and would be treated as Mr. Sheats was treated by

the rebs. The rebs then paroled Sheats and the Feds paroled McD. He is here now and will be

If any civilian had the right to be "very, very bitter," it was William McDowell. Born in Greenbriar County in western Virginia, he made his way to Alabama and wed Priscilla Withers of an old and wealthy family. McDowell was described by an admiring relative as "a tall, spare built man with a high, square forehead, and pronounced brow," with clear blue eyes "that looked squarely at you, and sometimes glittered like steel; a full jaw and chin, indicating the utmost resolution and force." Furthermore, "his bearing impressed all who met him as those of a man absolutely impenetrable… absolutely incapable of falsehoods or any kind of meanness." By1840, McDowell became involved in commerce and, in 1848, he accumulated enough resources to build a stately house on Adams Street, later affectionately referred to by Huntsville residents as "the backwards house." Among his new Withers in-laws were Susannah and her husband, C.C. Clay Sr. (later governor of Alabama); Augustine Withers, who had married into the Woodson family of *The Huntsville Democrat* fame, Ann Eliza, married Francis Levert; and Jones M. Withers, a newspaper editor in Mobile who served as a Confederate War general. Most of Priscilla's family remained in the Huntsville area and provided support for one another during the unsettling times ahead.[412]

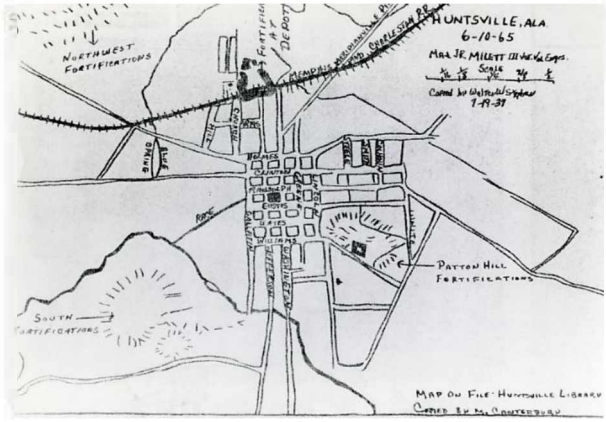
As a commission merchant, McDowell sold cotton and earned the accepted 2% transaction fee on purchases for clients. Business was successful; in 1860, he owned $12,000 in real estate and $142,000 in personal property, keeping offices in Huntsville and Mobile. He'd reported ownership of five enslaved people 1830, and 12 in 1840, but none were listed under his name in the 1860 U.S. Federal Slave Schedule. (Either he no longer enslaved people, or this was an oversight. If this was an oversight, it was a curious one, considering the importance of the 3/5ths compromise of 1787, allowing three out of every five enslaved people to be counted as individuals. As a result, Southern states enjoyed a third more seats in Congress and a third more electoral votes than their northern counterparts.)

Much to the dismay and indignation of local civilians, William McDowell was one of the 12 town leaders Union invaders arrested on May 2 and imprisoned in the courthouse basement. It was an attempt to force the men to sign a statement disclaiming irregular warfare, which might lessen the constant threat of guerilla retaliation on the Union outposts, telegraph lines, supply conveys, and railway lines. Federals saw the guerilla actions as breaking the rules of warfare, while Rebels saw the arrests as warfare committed upon civilians. Both were considered uncivilized acts by standards of the day. The Federal statement was revised to more acceptable terms 16 days later, and the men were released after signing this watered-down version.[413]

During Huntsville's Federal hiatus, McDowell served as foreman of the jury at the trial of General Hickman (Mayor Robert Coltart was Marshal). Later in November of 1863, McDowell wrote to his daughter in Marion County, describing a skirmish in town when Confederate soldiers came up Whitesburg Street to the square. The squad of 15-18 men fired between 25-30 shots near the square, and the Federals fled toward Brownsboro. McDowell suggested she send her next letter to Lacey's Spring, where mail delivery might be more secure.[414]

The second incident of McDowell's imprisonment also occurred through no fault of his own. In August of 1862, Christopher Sheats from Winston County, a passionate Unionist leader, was arrested, charged with treason, and imprisoned in Montgomery. When Federal troops returned to North Alabama, General Thomas arrested the 63-year-old so-called "violent rebel" William McDowell, holding him as a hostage for Sheats. McDowell was released a few weeks later, but was arrested again soon after, in January of 1864. This time, he was sent to the Nashville Penitentiary, where, according to the former Governor Chapman, "they intend to murder him… this old heroic soul."[415]

William McDowell died in 1865 at the age of 64, having fought on many fronts and after serving multiple times as a prisoner of war. Because he left no will, McDowell's widow, Priscilla, submitted legal papers in both Huntsville and Mobile. His assets included the house, a vacant pasture lot in Huntsville, a small bit of land in Iowa, and, unfortunately, "an unsettled and undetermined interest" in the "late firm of McDowell & Hopkins which was insolvent and indebted." The widow Priscilla returned to Huntsville, where she applied for a presidential pardon. she lived for twelve more years, most likely among her many friends and relatives in Huntsville.[416]

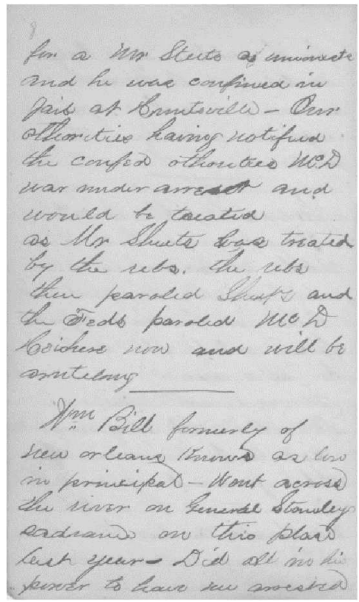


Union Fortifications, Huntsville, 1865
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

Wm. Bill formerly of New Orleans known as less in principle - went across the river on General Stanley's_____ on this place last year. Did all in his power to have me arrested as a Yankee spy [when] I crossed our lines last August. He had me searched for papers and I would have been sent as a prisoner to the rebel Col. Prather 8th Confed cavalry mostly his influence and that of the daughter of the ex-governor Chatman [Chapman] of this place had it not been for the interference in my behalf of Dr. Williams of Morgan's cavalry command. This was at Vallehermoso Springs. He also dammed Mr. Giers the proprietor of the Spring as a unionist.

Few facts are known about William Bill. The Federal Census of 1850 verified Bill as a resident of New Orleans with his wife, Johanna, born in Germany, and their infant son Samuel. William Bill was born in Virginia in 1827 in Virginia, and he worked as a printer, holding $1,000 in real estate. Ten years later, he possessed only $400 in personal property and another household resident, 72-year-old Angelina Deboer, from Hanover, Germany was with them. This depletion of assets reflected Bill's financial situation at the advent of the Civil War; his printing business did not flourish. The spy Emile Bourlier clearly encountered William Bill on an earlier trip through Huntsville, although Bill's connection to Madison County, Alabama or the Confederacy remains unknown.

By 1870, the New Orleans census reported Johanna, Samuel, and Angelina Bill living there together. In 1880, only Johanna and Samuel, a carpenter, remained. Joanna was listed as a widow.



for a Mr Sheets as minister and he was confined in jail at Huntsville – Gen Officers having notified the confed authorities McD was under arrest and would be treated as Mr Sheets had been treated by the rebs. the rebs then paroled Sheets and the Feds paroled McD Both now and will be exchanged

Wm Bell formerly of New Orleans known as Lee in principal – Went across the river on General Stanley advance on this place last year – Did all in his power to have us arrested

There was a great deal more in this notation leading to other connections. Union General David Stanley was a proven War hero, having "defeated Rebels scurrying out of Tennessee and into North Alabama." He made several incursions in and out of Huntsville in July of 1863 while the Confederacy tried unsuccessfully to hold onto the area. General Stanley returned to Huntsville from January through July of 1865.[417] Col. John S. Prather, originally from Chambers County, was known to often lead his men of the 8th Confederate Cavalry inside enemy lines. It is uncertain where Prather and Emile Bourlier met, or which of former Governor Chapman's four daughters recognized and reported Bourlier as a spy.[418]

It was unusual for a regimental surgeon (Dr. Williams of Morgan's cavalry, and an old friend of Morgan's) to accompany small groups of men on a raid. Soldiers and friends of Gen. John Morgan were known to fall short of the strict military protocols, however, and Morgan's guerilla warfare tactics proved so successful that he often made his own rules. The raid in question happened to take place in Dr. Williams' neighborhood. Why not invite the doctor to accompany them on one of their "visits?"[419] Dr. Robert Williams "participated in partisan activities with Morgan around Nashville," but his connection to Valhermosa Springs, remains obscure.

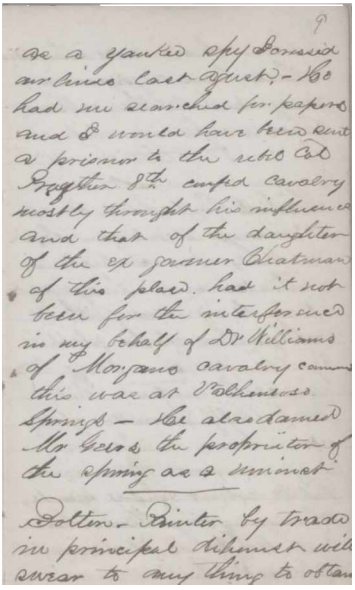
Valhermosa Springs was a cluster of seven mineral springs in Morgan County where "The accommodations offered an ample table and excellent prices to meet the times." This "Vale of Beauty" entertained, at different times, Alabama Governors Thomas Bibb and Chapman, Rufus King later elected vice president, and President Zachary Taylor. In 1856, John Joseph Giers, a German immigrant and outspoken Unionist, bought Robert Manning's three-story Cedar Hotel at Valhermosa Springs. Giers may have

been a stranger to the community, but he married Mary Lucinda Gooch, whose local connections included Theodore Acklen and later Reconstruction Governor Robert Patton. Giers was a successful and renowned artist, musician, music teacher and writer, acting as a correspondent for the *Washington Post* at times. (His brother, Carl Caspar Giers of Nashville was a noted photographer.) In the winter of 1864-1865, he served as a liaison between the growing Alabama Peace Party and General Grant to realize a peace agreement.[420] While the Confederate William Bill may have spoken out against him, Giers' opinions were common knowledge; few people in his community seem to have raised objections against his views or his presence.[421] At General Roddey's surrender, Unionist J.J. Giers served as his emissary.

Bolton: painter by trade in principle dishonest will swear to anything to obtain favor from our authorities. Has been engaged in giving aid to the rebs in diverse ways.

From the standpoint of Federal agent Emile Bourlier, there was little good to say about Bolton, but he did not specify *which* Bolton. Fortunately, only one Bolton, Andrew J., was listed as a painter in the city directory. The 1860 census listed Andrew Bolton as a railroad agent, 27 years-old, married to Viola, with two young children. His assets were solid: $2,000 in real estate and $5,000 in personal property which included two enslaved people. Bourlier suspected Andrew of not only assisting the Rebels, but also lying and exaggerating to receive Union favors. He was not to be trusted.[422]

Later, in August 1869, Viola Bolton suffered unnamed health issues and arranged to visit a doctor in Louisville, but her condition worsened and she died two months later. Viola, it would seem, did not trust her husband any more than Bourlier. Before her departure to Louisville, Viola wrote a will in which she left her house and lot on Mill Street to her sister Ann E. Stubbs for the care of her two children, Charles and Edwin. In 1870, Andrew Bolton was listed as a carpenter. While his assets were diminished, he was comfortable with $400 of personal property and $4,000 in real estate when he married Mrs. Mary Duke that year.[423]



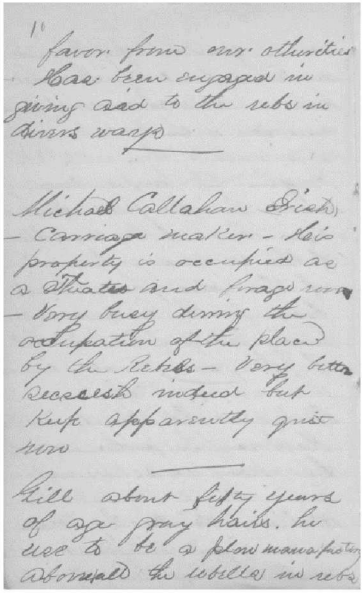
as a yankee spy Dismissed
on bail to Court - He
had no search for papers
and S would have been sent
a prisoner to the rebel Col
Forgeson 8th confed cavalry
mostly through his influence
and that of the daughter
of the ex governor Chairman
of this place. had it not
been for the interference
in my behalf of Dr Williams
of Morgans cavalry comm
this war at Walkers
Springs - He also damned
Mr Goss the proprietor of
the spring as a simonist

Dalton - Painter by trade
in principal dishonest will
swear to any thing to obtain

Michael Callahan, Irish, carriage maker. His property is occupied as a theater and forage room. Very busy during the occupation of the place by the Rebels. Very bitter secesh indeed but keep apparently quiet now.

Michael Callahan was employed as a carriage maker in 1850. Later the 1860 census taker recorded his occupation as a grocer, with $4,500 real estate and $7,000 personal property, including four slaves. Callahan was poised to see significant business growth with first Confederate, then Union customers. Like James Copeland, wagon maker turned blacksmith and entrepreneur, the War presented Callahan with unusual opportunities for expansion.

In 1870, Michael Callahan remained at home with his Irish-born wife, Jane, two adult children, and two servants. As Bourlier suggested, Callahan seemed to keep a low profile. Few records remain of him or anyone in his family, but the 1870 census valued his real estate at $20,000. He had done well.



favor from any other this has been engaged in giving aid to the rebs in divers ways

Michael Callahan Irish Carriage maker - His property is occupied as a Theatre and Stage runs very busy during the occupation of the place by the Rebels - Very bitter Secessh indeed but keep apparently quiet now

Gill about fifty years of age gray hairs. he use to be a plow manufactory above all the rebels in Huntsville he is the most violent officious aids abettor and informer in favor of the rebs.

Chamberlain Gill was 62 years old in 1860, maintaining the boot and shoe shop he owned for a decade. He and his wife, Lucinda, married in Virginia in 1830, and resided in Madison County by 1840. At the time, they had three children,[424] but little else is known about the Gill family.

Gill may have been violent as a secessionist, but there are no recorded instances of this. He registered to vote in June of 1865; this may have served as an acknowledgement of the error of his ways, at least to Reconstruction officials and to regain citizenship.[425]

Baman [?] Shoemaker about 40 or 50 years of age has been harboring and feeding rebel soldiery free of charge. Now feeds Federals for pay. A Grape vine circulator in favor of the Rebs.

This man could not be identified with certainty. His "Grape vine circulator" behavior implied spreading false rumors and perhaps acts of espionage.

John and Wm. Rison, one keeps on the public square. The other was clerking in the northern Bank of Alabama. When Gen. Mitchel's forces came here both of these men, though now quiet, have used the expression that men who expressed

Union sentiments [should] be hung and their property confiscated etc.

Many Rebels believed confiscation and exile to be too lenient for cooperationists. Fire-eater William Yancey declared at the vote for secession that cooperationists were traitors, and hanging should be the fitting result. Rison men settled in Madison County early on. They possessed valuable skills that local farmers and planters would soon need – mechanics and machinery. John and William Rison's father, Archibald, became one of the first industrialists in Madison County as a manufacturer of water-powered cotton gins. Archibald married a local woman Martha Bibb, who gave birth to three sons: John Lewis, William Richard, and Wilson. By 1860 Archibald was 57-years-old with acquired real estate worth $10,000 and $10,000 in personal property. He may have shared his largesse with his two older sons, as William and John owned two enslaved people (Archibald owned five). Archibald Rison's first successful enterprise, Rison & Hobbs, allowed him to diversify and partner with Pleasant Robinson as Robinson & Rison in the drug store business. Robinson & Rison's Bank Row shop sold drugs, paints, oils, perfume, and fancy articles. Dun & Co.'s 1853 assessment of Archibald was that of a sober, industrious, and prospering man. His house and lot were worth approximately $2,000, and he held from two to five slaves and other various properties. They described him as "very good for all his contacts."[426]

William Richard Rison, age 25, worked as bookkeeper, with $4,900 total values in the 1860 census. William married Marie Jones, and they had a one-year-old son named Archie. Marie's family, like that of his mother Martha, operated a construction business. John Lewis Rison began his career at age 14 as a drug salesman or clerk on the square. In 1860, he married Martha Tennessee Erwin, whose father, Rev. A.R. Erwin, was the highly respected Methodist College president. Archibald's third son, 18-year-old Wilson, clerked at the post office.

Huntsville offered many possibilities at the time for well-connected young men who also happened to be highly motivated. The War, however, changed immediate plans for everyone. In April of 1861, youngest son Wilson signed on for 12 months in Co. F of the 4th Alabama Infantry, along with many of his friends. He rose to the rank of 1st Sergeant, and he was promoted again, reaching 2nd Lieutenant by mid-year. The 4th Alabama fought successfully at First Manassas, but, early in 1862, Wilson Rison fell ill and came home on furlough. His term expired at that date, so he was discharged and paid $80, less forage of $26.82. No records can be found of his reenlistment, but as of April 1862, he was at Yorktown. In the coming months, Wilson's health failed, and the Maple Hill Cemetery family marker lists his death date as June 12, 1863. He was 21 years old.

Father Archibald Rison died on April 10, 1862, the very day before the Union invasion. During the War, William Richard Rison served as a civilian

bookkeeper for the Confederate States Nitre & Mining Service, headquartered in Larkinsville for a time and then Guntersville. He advertised for all kinds of lead window weights and bars – anything which could be molded into bullets. This was not considered full-time service, and for his first month of service, he received $75 and, later, $30 for 20 days' service.[427] No records indicate that John Rison served the Confederate army in an official capacity.

Drumhead Court Martial

The Civil War years proved almost disastrous for one Rison cousin, William Leedy, of Mississippi. His widowed mother, Sarah Bibb Leedy, died in 1862, and William and his brother, both adolescents, were sent to Huntsville to reside with their mother's relatives. The growing number of soldiers and supplies produced, as always, additional paperwork in North Alabama and created a demand for bookkeepers. Leedy and several of his schoolmates took jobs as clerks for the Union quartermaster under the condition that they would not be forced to take the Oath of Allegiance. When Federal troops evacuated, Leedy and a few friends mustered into the military as Company I, 4th Alabama Cavalry. He rose to the rank of 2nd sergeant, but, after General Hood's defeat, was among the stragglers taken in as deserters by Yankees in December of 1864. The Union military considered Leedy and 18 others to be spies, trying them immediately before a "drum head" court martial, "Charged in being an employee in the QM Department USA and deserting to the enemy." With the sound of snare drums calling the court to order in the very field of war, officers intended to show all soldiers the seriousness of their situation. If convicted, they would be sentenced to death or exiled north. In later accounts of events, it was reported that General Forrest sent a message protected by the white flag informing the Union that he would shoot an equal number of northern men for each of the young men killed. Leedy was paroled under "special exchange" in March of 1865, and transported home to Huntsville.[428]

The two remaining Rison brothers were determined to rebuild their lives after the War. In 1866, Dun & Co. deemed both John Rison and Frank Neal "very industrious and energic doing a large and safe business. Rison is worth $10,000 outside of this business… We think them very good." The next year's report found them "sober and industrious" with good stock. After a brief move to Mississippi, William Rison returned to Huntsville and, with an associate, established an independent bank. Rison & Fordyce was founded in 1866 with a capital stock of $40,000. (The fortunate Rison cousin William Leedy and his wife resided in their own household in 1870, and it is not surprising that he entered the family enterprises of drug sales and banking. Shortly afterwards, he moved to Elyton, which was experiencing explosive growth; he became a successful realtor in what would become Birmingham, "The Magic City.") In the 1868 report,

Fordyce and banker William Rison were worth $7,000 - $8,000 in property and "safe for what they want."[429*]

By 1870, William Rison was a county commissioner. He later held the important positions of director of the Huntsville Cotton Mill and Vice President of the Dallas Mills.[430] The mills took locally grown cotton and produced fabric, saving time and money in transportation at the same time offering employment for local men, women, and children. In 1880, William Rison was listed as a banker, living with his wife, Maria, their son Archie, age 11, and his mother, Martha, now 54. His financial values totaled $27,000 in personal and real property. Their son Archie was a clerk in the bank in 1880 and later married Rena Lanier of a family whose wealth was similar to that of the Rison family.[431] (Their daughter Louise married Harry Rhett, son of Barnwell Rhett, Jr. from South Carolina who also owned interest in Huntsville's new business of cotton textile production.) At its peak in 1900, the newly formed Dallas Mills employed 1,200 people in over 300,000 square feet of floor space, all managed by William Rison and his son who succeeded him.[432] Martha resided with William and his family until her death in 1903. William died just one year later.[433]

In 1870, druggist John Rison and his wife Tenny lived in a household with two of Tenny's younger siblings. No money values were recorded for John, and in 1896, at the age of 58, he died of heart disease.[434] The Rison family used their connections and energy to recover from devastation, eventually helping to lead Huntsville into the 20th century. Mills and mill villages offered former tenant farmers from the countryside employment and an opportunity to have a home, medical care, and to educate their children. The much-beloved Dallas Mill Village School was named in honor of Archibald Rison, the younger.

Tom Strong a young man is now under Bond for having committed on a government plantation - known as Moore's plantation needs watching.

Tom Strong, 23, was listed as a farmer in 1860, and resided in the household of Jonathan Mayhew. Mayhew was a 65-year-old schoolteacher from Massachusetts, and his wife Elvira, 58, was from Virginia. The household also included Mildred Dwyree [Duryee], Joseph, 29, a druggist, and two children, Joseph and Mary Duryee. It was not uncommon for multiple families to share one house, but this household's glaring dichotomy of financial assets distinguished it from others. Mr. Mayhew and Mr.

*The Risons formed a friendship and partnership with newly retired Union Capt. Samuel Fordyce who shared their initiative and his available capital. Fordyce married Sue Chadick, later mentioned in the spy's record book, and settled in Huntsville for a time. The attachment led the Fordyces to name their first son "John Rison" and suggest the name for a new town where Fordyce later opened a business: Rison, Arkansas.

Duryee showed no assets. Tom Strong's property, however, was vast: $21,300 in real estate and $37,436 in personal property, that included 39 enslaved people.

These families were connected through Elvira. Elvira Nunnally married Thomas B. Strong in 1833; his assets at that time included 21 slaves.[435] He died in 1839, leaving Elvira with two sons, Robert and Thomas Strong Junior. Elvira then married Jonathan Mayhew in 1847, bringing her share of the Strong inheritance (which included $10,875) into their marriage. Ten years later, the Mayhew household included Elvira's son Tom Strong, who also inherited ample assets from his father's estate. In 1860, young Thomas married Williametta Ellett whose father, Alfred Ellett, held $37,000 in assets. One or more of the couple's parents or guardians may not have approved of the match, however; Tom and Williametta stole across the state line to marry in Fayetteville, Tennessee. Now, midway through the War, Tom Strong was under suspicion.[436]

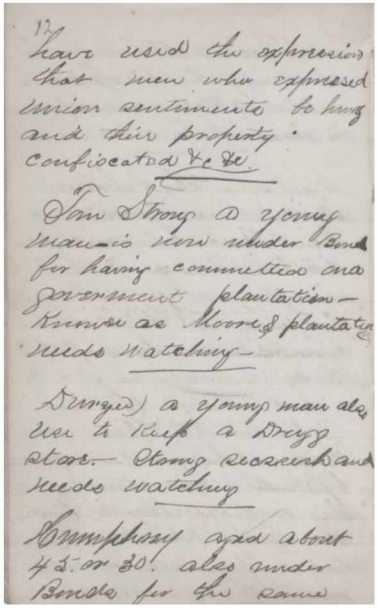
Agent Bourlier's reasoning for distrusting Tom Strong is not clear. It is possible that the bond on Strong was for a criminal offense, but it is more likely that he put up bond in order to lease "Dr. Moore's" planation. If this is the case, Strong possessed a shrewd understanding of the recently passed U.S. Confiscation Acts, which gave Union authorities the legal right to seize Rebel property. Many local land owners, both Loyal and Rebel, fled further south during the invasion, leaving their estates unoccupied. Under President Lincoln's Acts of March 1863, private property outwardly deserted by fleeing refugees could be taken by the United States government. It was a way for the Union to systematically remove assets from the South while, of course, adding to its own war chest. An entire plantation including cotton, animals, and food supplies could be seized and then leased for profit. Special agents were appointed to collect the property (exempting arms or ammunition), which was given for public use or, after appraisal, forwarded to loyal states. The monies would go to the U.S. Treasury Department. This forfeiture initially applied to possessions of all persons in the Confederate territory. Supervising agents were appointed to work alongside local agents within enemy territory to seize goods, particularly cotton. Confederate civilians watched with disbelief and horror as secret raids were carried out; some citizens burned their cotton bales rather than let them be confiscated.

Acquisition of this new source of Federal money required its own chain of command. The U.S. government offered 25% of the baled cotton proceeds to the shipping agent who instigated the consignment. The Confiscation Acts provided legal permits for agents to pass through enemy lines, seize property, and keep 75% of the proceeds. Southerners saw this clearly as Union-authorized robbery. They were even more incensed as irregularities arose under this system. Long-time neighbors turned against one another as networks of locals revealed hidden sites in fields, barns, and even nearby swamps for a percentage of the proceeds. The Federal

government raised almost $30 million with confiscation of cotton alone. Plantations were placed in the hands of bonded tenants hired to cultivate the crop, usually cotton.[437]

Which Moore property had Tom Strong leased, and whose cotton might he be selling? There are no Federal records of these local transactions, unfortunately. The owner may have been any one of several farmers, including Dr. Davis Moore of New Hope, widow Mary Jane Moore, or Harriet Barnard the widow of substantial plantation owner Dr. David Moore. Longtime resident Tom Strong was probably familiar with all of these farms, their occupants, and which were available for lease.

Strong signed the Oath of Allegiance to the United States and registered to vote in 1867. By 1870, he was a farmer in Brownsboro who lived with his wife, Willie, four young children and held $1,800 in assets. Ten years later, there were three more children. His farm was modest compared to his father's estate, but it was more productive than most of his neighbors. He maintained 100 acres of tilled land, 20 acres of woodland, and 30 acres of "old fields."* The 1880 census reported his farm animals, crop yields, and $450 from the sale of wood products. Thomas Strong Jr. died in 1896.[438]


We have used the expression that men who expressed Union sentiments be hung and their property confiscated &c &c

Tom Strong a young man is now under Bond for having committed on government plantation — known as Moore's plantation needs watching —

Dungin a young man also use to keep a Drug store — Strong suspected and needs watching

Humphrey aged about 45 or 50 also under Bonds for the same

*These fields consisted of unproductive tracts of used-up land which the federal census had already accounted for. The need for fresh soil was a constant problem for Southern farmers, many of whom moved to new areas when they could.

Duryee a young man also used to keep a Drug store - strong secessech and needs watching.

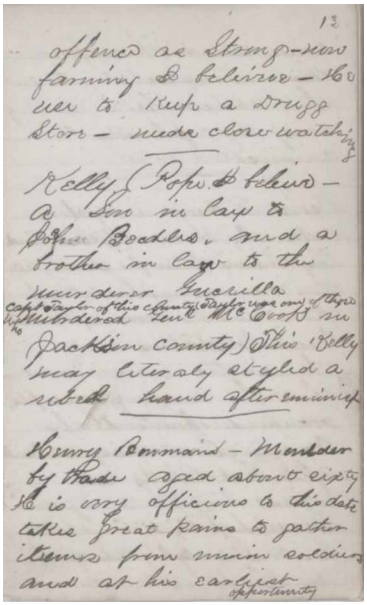
Emile Bourlier may not have known of the ties between Tom Strong and young Duryee, but he connected them on some level, reporting them as suspicious. Here again seemingly unrelated at first, a deeper connection linked two men whose families lived in the Mayhew household. Joseph W. Duryee clerked in J.L. Cooper's Drug store – it sold staple and fancy goods, boots, shoes, hats, and more. Duryee's father was a successful druggist of great wealth in New York City, but the young man relocated on his own in the South. In 1860, Duryee, age 33, was married to a local woman named Mildred ("Millie") Nunnally, with two young children. He entered Co. I of the 4th Alabama for a one-year term under Capt. E.D. Tracy as a 1st Sergeant. Enlistment papers, dated May 7, 1861, described him as 6 feet tall with a fair complexion, blue eyes, and auburn hair. He was detailed as a regimental medical dispenser and was paid by Captain (soon to be Major) G.W. Jones. Duryee was discharged on April 30, 1862 by reason of a surgeon's certificate of disability. He was paid $43.63, which included cash for rations on the trip home that amounted to $8.33. Thus, he departed for home with about $33 in Confederate money on what was most likely a series of overcrowded railroad boxcars.[439] Joe Duryee did not take this opportunity to visit his New York family because, as hostilities started, he write to his brothers and sisters, breaking off ties with them. When he returned to Huntsville, Agent Bourlier saw fit to note that he should be observed for suspicious actions.[440]

After the War, Joseph Duryee and family moved to Selma in what may have been an attempt to start a new life; he died there in 1866. His son, Joseph Jr., died in Huntsville in 1870 at the age of 18, leaving behind his widowed mother and two younger sisters. The census located his mother at the household of her own twice-widowed mother Milly. One year later, Mildred (Nunnally) Duryee married James Austin, a planter with two adolescent children. Her daughter, Millie, age 19, also resided with the family. These women saw tragedy and history before their eyes as they struggled daily at the home front. It is unfortunate that a record of these events from their perspective was never taken; it would reveal far more than a list of names could. Mildred Duryee Austin died at the age of 58 in 1886.[441]

Humphrey aged about 45 or 50. Also under Bonds for the same offence as Strong - now farming I believe - He used to keep a Drug Store - needs close watching

It is uncertain as to which Humphrey the agent referred. The farmer in question was not attorney David C. Humphries. There were six farmers listed in the 1860 city directory named Humphrey between the ages of 26

and 87, another listed as "collector," and Thomas I. Humphry, a lumber dealer, age unknown.



offence as Stong-now farming & believe – No use to keep a Drugg Store – made close watch

Kelly (Pope I believe – a Son in Law to John Beadle, and a brother in Law to the murderer Guerilla Capt. Taylor of this County. Taylor was one of those who murdered Gen.l McCook in Jackson County.) This Kelly may literally styled a rebel band after emancip

Henry Bowmand – Member by trade aged about eighty He is very officious to this date takes great pains to gather items from main soldiers and at his earliest opportunity

Kelly (Pope I believe a son-in-law to John Beadle and a brother-in-law to the murderer Guerilla Capt. Taylor of this county. Taylor was one of those who murdered Gen.l McCook in Jackson County.) This Kelly may literally [have] styled a rebel band after emancipation.

James W. Pope Kelly, known as "Pope," used marriage connections for a comfortable setting. In 1860, he clerked at the mercantile establishment of his father-in-law Joshua Beadle and resided in that household, along with his wife, Cornelia. They were young newlyweds: she was just 16 years old, and he was 20, with only $124 in personal property.[442]

Pope's father-in-law Joshua Harris Beadle, at 2 Commercial Row, was a successful dry goods merchant. He participated in the life of a growing town where he served as an alderman and briefly as president (the title of "mayor" at that time) of Huntsville. With other leaders he organized the turnpike over the mountain into the Big Cove community, and he served on the new Board of the Huntsville Gas & Light Company. (Union soldiers appreciated these two convivences when they arrived.) Beadle married Paulina Landman of a plantation family in the southeast end of the county, and the 1850 census showed the Beadle family with four young daughters and a large collection of clerks and others within the household. Ten years later, at the age of 46, Beadle held assets of $25,000 and the value of at least eight or nine enslaved people with their own houses included in his $80,000

personal property. One daughter, Mary Ann, remained at home along with the young Kelly couple.

After conscription laws were enacted, Pope Kelly entered the army in 1862 as a private in the 4th Alabama Cavalry for one year; and that may have been too long. Military officers were unable to control or relieve the hardships on the men under their command. Down-time, alcoholism, and gambling filled the empty hours while venereal diseases often spread among the men stationed near larger towns. Religion could not cure those ills, no matter how much one studied the Bible or attended divine services. Soldiers often were shoeless with bleeding feet, ragged uniforms, few blankets, and underpaid or not paid at all. If the men survived or happened not to contract measles, malaria, pneumonia, typhoid, smallpox, and tuberculous which ran rampant, they were fortunate. Days of marching could be long and punishing; opportunities to bathe properly while suffering with lice, intestinal worms, dysentery, untreated wounds and, inadequate food, were few. Rations for a typical Confederate soldier included "one pound of beef or one-half pound of bacon and not more than one and one-half pound of flour or meal per day." This grew far worse as the War ground on, eventually reduced to "one and one-quarter pound of meal and one-third pound of bacon per day" if it was available.[443]

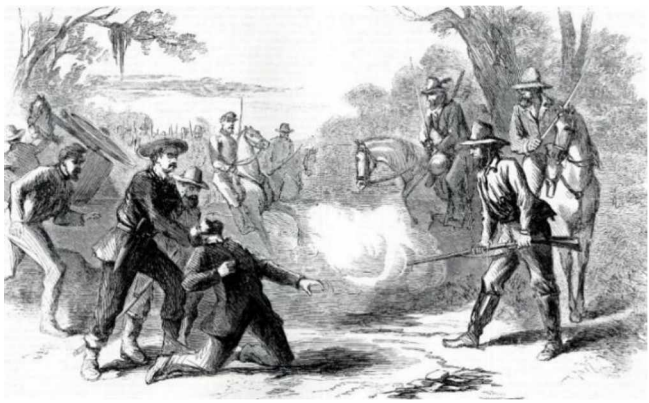
When his one-year enlistment period ended, Pope Kelly left the army, and hired a substitute to take his place. His father-in-law, Mr. Beadle, most likely helped with the required fee; Pope's army pay would not have provided enough to buy a substitute, which cost $100 at the time. The substitute law was abolished in December 1863, but it would not to be forgotten by those unable to buy their way out of the fight. For many slave owners, President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863 drew the line in the sand. Although this gave the north an additional moral force for the War effort, Southern assets so defined with their enslaved property of almost four million workers would become an immense economic loss. Many Southern men, perhaps Pope Kelly among them, became more active than any previous time.

Slip in and out of the War at their convenience

Another son-in-law residing within the Beadle household stirred the anger mentioned by Bourlier. Miss Frances Beadle married Felix Phelen McConnel Taylor from a very well-regarded Madison County family. Felix and his wife enjoyed a comfortable living at the start of the War when he volunteered.* Felix rose to the rank of Major and served with the group of

*Within the Taylor family, one brother named Sandoval enlisted, became sick and was later wounded. He was unable to recover and died in September of 1862, buried near Richmond. Brother Thomas Jones Taylor, a teacher (entitled to an exemption because of his profession), joined the 40th Alabama Infantry. He was captured at Fort Hudson, Louisiana, and held until the end of the War.

fighters led by local hero Col. Frank Gurley. In April of 1862, the Confederacy ratified the Partisan Ranger Act, allowing irregular or guerilla groups military status, or "independent companies." They armed themselves and would be paid for subsistence and forage. This allowed the men to "slip in and out of the War at their convenience," but it resulted in unstructured and violent attacks on citizens as well as the enemy. The act was repealed in February of 1864 – too late to save many soldiers, civilians, or their possessions. Gurley gave his account later of an incident occurring in August of 1862 near Maysville: a small group of his men, comprised entirely of partisan rangers, shot, and wounded an unidentified soldier assumed to be part of a Union cavalry unit. The victim turned out to be the very popular Ohio officer Gen. Robert McCook, who they did not recognize as a senior officer. McCook was very ill at the time. He wore his shirt sleeves, was only accompanied by his bodyguards, and rode in a two-horse drawn ambulance wagon.



Death of Gen. Robert McCook
Harper's

General McCook was taken to the nearby home of widow Jane Word who tended him as best she could. The mortally wounded McCook was aware of his fatal injury and thoughtfully proceeded to write his will, and in Gurley's account, McCook did not blame him for the incident. Immediately after his death, McCook's Ohio troops, however, rode with rage and burned nearby houses, including that of the Mrs. Word, killed livestock, and at least one civilian. Northerners said this most heinous murder was beyond the pale. Northern Agent Bourlier recognized the family relationship and listed young Pope Kelly as being implicated. Bourlier did not offer the information, and probably was unaware of youthful James Mason, one of Gurley's soldiers involved in the shooting.

James Monroe Mason, Age 16[444]

Paulina Beadle died in 1886, leaving behind John, who lived until 1896. He continued operating his dry goods store and, by 1870, held onto real estate worth $20,000, with $3000 in personal property and lived until 1896. After the War, Felix Taylor continued as a cotton merchant, and he and Fannie had four children by 1880. Felix Taylor died in 1885, one year after his wife Fannie. Her funeral was held at the Beadle house as was mostly likely the major's. They were buried in Maple Hill beside her parents, Paulina and Joshua Beadle.

Pope and Cornelia Kelly also lived with the Beadles in 1870, yet showed no assets, but 10 years later they managed to live in their own household. Cornelia died in 1907 and was buried near her parents. Pope appeared in other censuses, boarding or in a hotel, always listed as a cotton buyer, and he was included in the Census of Confederate Soldiers of 1907 and 1921. James W. Pope Kelly died in 1927, some 64 years after the end of the War and was buried at Maple Hill Cemetery. Felix Taylor's brother Thomas Jones Taylor, teacher and surveyor, became county tax collector, clerk of the court, and probate judge living until 1894. In the 1880s he began to assemble the story of Madison County as he knew it from childhood memories, acquaintances, survey work, and court records. His remarkable account was published in *The Huntsville Weekly Independent* as part of a series throughout 1883 and 1884 and later published in book form.[445]

Henry Bowman - Moulder by trade, aged about sixty. He is very officious to this date takes great pains to gather items from union soldiers and at his earliest opportunity

circulates it and communicates it to the rebels. He is a very sycophantic to unionists.

Henry Bowman appeared older than his 50 years in 1860 to the writer of these notes. He worked in a foundry making molds for liquid metal to be poured into castings used in manufacturing. Bowman was from Tennessee, married to Amy and with a son Worley, age 15, an apprentice. He showed no financial assets.

No members of Henry Bowman's family could be located post-War.

David T. Knox - watch maker by trade - (E. Bourlier has known him for years.) At the commencement of the war, he was most loud and boisterous and enthusiastic secessionist. When the Union forces first occupied Huntsville, he became a stooping unionist. After Gen.l Buell's retreat he was again secessionist A "No.1." On Gen.l Stanley's advance on Huntsville he took two mules and a wagon and went with "his duds" to the Tennessee River following the tracks of the rebs. I met this man at Winchester when Gen.l Rosecrans had his headquarters there. I saw him at the Provost Marshal's office asking for favors. I warned Capt. Caspar. Capt. C. told me that this man had good papers of recommendation as a Union man. Knox said he wanted to go north, but instead of that he made his way to Huntsville and so he is hither, He was pillaged by Guerillas of some provisions for which he obtained a permit to take with him.

This entry reveals a new agent now logging information – a writer who clearly knew Emile Bourlier. Larcombe the telegraph operator was gone, and Bourlier left the area, as well. This new writer was probably Lt. Edward Reid at the Huntsville Post. His duties included handling correspondences and keeping records. Reid was also a much younger man who might use slang terms like "A No. 1," and "duds."

The account paints David T. Knox as a scoundrel. Whatever Knox' actual inclinations, the writer was correct in his observation that he was busy. To be a "stooping unionist," then to be a secessionist when it benefitted him, was particularly despised behavior among the Union soldiers. The writer's implication that he deserved to be robbed is an interesting personal touch. Knox, not a young man for such an active role, was born in 1793 in Delaware. He arrived in Madison County by 1816, joined the Presbyterian Church and, by 1824, married Susan, a niece of fellow (and competitor) silversmith Thomas Cain. According to one meticulous historian of early Huntsville history prospects for the sale of expensive goods in the community were sound, with many prosperous

clients. Knox became the eighth silversmith and watchmaker in Huntsville between 1818-1825 to compete with the prominent Cain.[446]

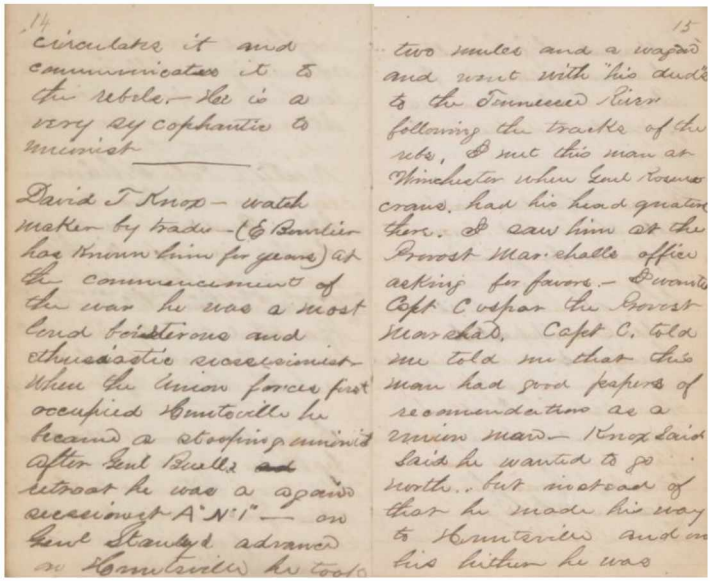
In 1825, Knox placed an advertisement in *The Southern Advocate* as a watchmaker. The following year's ad announced that he had "on hand, and intends keeping a constant stock of silverware, made in the most workmanlike manner." As the danger of Native American uprisings still unnerved communities in 1828, David Knox served as an ensign in the state militia. (He would feel secure enough 20 years later to purchase a one-half acre lot in the prospective town at Marathon.)* Knox's weekly ad in the *Democrat* became more extensive by 1836, but a national silver shortage made materials hard to obtain. For a time in 1839 he worked in William Aiken's Triana cotton gin factory. After the Tariff of 1842, import taxes on goods arriving into United States were required to be paid in gold or silver bullion. Consequently, those metals became available for artesian workmen everywhere, and Knox returned to his chosen vocation in Huntsville. In 1840, his family grew to seven, and Knox held three people in bondage. By 1850, he and Susan had four children at home and there were ten enslaved people. His business was assessed in the Industry Census of that year, which listed him as a watchmaker with materials totaling $100 in value. His yearly production value was $1,700, and he employed one man whose average wages were $50.[447] Ten years later, he showed $8,000 in real estate and a modest $100 in personal property. By 1860 there were no slaves listed; he may have sold them and reinvested those profits into real estate, sensing the possibility of misfortune from the coming War. By any measure he was a successful businessman with a shop on the public square.

The man who wrote this note already knew or previously met Knox and Captain Ernst Caspar, who served with companies of the 14th Michigan Infantry under Gen. David Stanley. Mary Jane Chadick mentioned how distressed townspeople were when Stanley and 5000 troops arrived in July of 1863. Stanley and his staff took up residence in Dr. Thomas Fearn's house where, among other things, they took advantage of fresh linens, gave orders to the servants, and availed themselves of the wine cellar. "Such presumption!" On Stanley's second stay in March of 1865, he and his wife occupied the Watkins house. Mrs. Chadick and friends admired Mrs. Stanley for urging her husband to reopen the churches.[448]

David Knox suffered few repercussions from his wartime activities, whatever they may have been. In 1870, he showed $1,000 in personal property and a prosperous $15,000 in real estate. His daughter Mary Ann married Capt. John T. Patterson in 1860; Patterson was earlier married to her sister Josephine, who died in 1855, just two years after their wedding. Patterson did well, showing $1,400 in personal property and $13,000 real

*This site was on the south side of the Tennessee River developed with great expectations by Generals Andrew Jackson and John Coffee. When the seat for Lawrence County became Moulton, Marathon failed to flourish.

estate. Knox and Patterson somehow managed to retain enough cash or credit to buy property at what were most likely reduced prices. On December 20, 1872 *The Huntsville Advocate* announced, "We are pained to acknowledge the death of our old and respected Citizen, David T. Knox… who died after a short illness. He was a jeweler and watchmaker by trade and as such occupied a truly enviable position for his thorough workmanship, honesty, and integrity… Peace to his ashes." Susan Cain Knox lived only three years longer.[449]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circulates it and communicates it to the rebels. He is a very sly copperhead secessionist

David T Knox – watch maker by trade – (& Bartlett has known him for years) at the commencement of the war he was a most loud boisterous and enthusiastic secessionist. When the Union forces first occupied Huntsville he became a drooping secessionist after Genl Buell's retreat he was a spare secessionist A. N. I. — on Genl Stanley's advance on Huntsville he took

15

two smiles and a wagon and went with his dupes to the Tennessee River following the tracks of the rebs, I met this man at Winchester when Genl Rousseau's cavalry had his head quarters there. I saw him at the Provost Marshalls office asking for favors – I went to Capt C. Oshar the Provost Marshal. Capt C. told me told me that this man had good papers of recommendations as a Union man – Knox said said he wanted to go north – but instead of that he made his way to Huntsville and on his arrival he was

Brown - a Tailor, out and out rebel but now quiet.

Daniel A. Brown of Irish parents, was born in Maryland, and at some time looked for his future in Alabama. He married a local girl, Mary Webb, in 1848, and by 1860 they had four young children. He was 46-years-old and worked as a tailor. For such a growing family, he did not appear to acquire many assets. He claimed $100 in personal property.[450] There were no other references to Mr. Brown – he may have learned his lesson and remained quiet.

In the next 10 years the children of Daniel and Mary Brown still resided with them. No assets were declared, but the family employed two servants. Daughters Mollie and Mattie still lived at home in 1880, and Daniel Brown died in 1887.[451]

All of Winstons - rebels suspected smugglers and engaged in running gold to the rebel lines - require careful watching.

Isaac and Nancy Brandon Winston were a settled couple living in Rutherford County, Tennessee, where they had eleven children. Now a

widow, Nancy Winston and at least three of her sons resided in Huntsville. These Winston brothers (Isaac N., Thomas B., and Joseph W.) formed the company J.W.W. & Bros., Brick Manufacturers, in Huntsville, most likely because they held close building trade contacts through maternal family ties. A daughter of Josiah H. Brandon, Nancy Winston had many siblings in Huntsville who were well established by the time her sons relocated to open their business. Nancy's brothers, Thomas and William Brandon, had a fine reputation as house builders in early Huntsville. Traveler Anne Newport Royall commented in 1818 that Huntsville contained at least 260 homes, mostly brick, with workmanship of the best quality she'd seen in all her travels.[452]

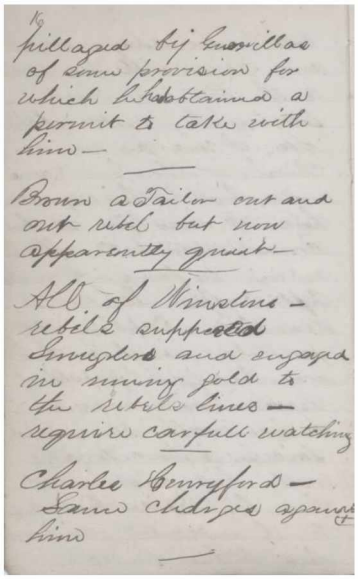
Nancy Winston's son Isaac was born in 1822 in Wilson County, Tennessee. He briefly attended LaGrange College in 1843 with young men from Madison County, including Charles Toney, H.C. Wyche, William Leslie, and Ferdinand and Tom Madden. The 1850 census listed Isaac Winston as a resident of Wilson County, Tennessee. He married Mahala E. Hunt there, and they had two babies and his younger brother, Joseph, in the household. At that point, Isaac, now 38, relocated his family to Huntsville. Two brick masons also lived in the household, along with a mechanic and his wife and child. Isaac's financial values were given as $2,500 in real estate consisting of farmland around the Meridianville area; 36 enslaved people were included in his $45,000 personal property. Thomas Winston, Isaac's brother, was born in 1828, marrying Arabella Coyle in Huntsville in 1858. By the start of the War, they had a one-year-old daughter named Belle. The 1860 census recorded him as a brick manufacturer with $2,500 in real estate and $9,000 personal property, including four enslaved people. Joseph Winston, a third brother, was born in 1834, and, in 1860, he and his wife lived in Huntsville with their two young children. He held $3,000 value in real estate and $2,500 in personal property including 12 slaves. The prospects for their brick company in a growing and healthy economy were promising, but the War and its aftermath proved otherwise.[453]

If there was truth to the writer's assertions that the Winston brothers ran gold across Confederate lines, those endeavors would have been incredibly risky. It brought the possibility of large rewards, but some refugees learned the hard way that not only was gold heavy to transport, it was difficult to conceal. Smaller items were far easier to smuggle into and out of the South. President Lincoln's "paper blockage," of northern and foreign-made imports to Southern seaports, ridiculed by many at first, slowly took its effect. What began as minor inconveniences to Southerners became hardships as well-off citizens first longed for silk, lace, satin, fine wines and whiskeys, cigars, hairpins and even buttons. The working manufacturers needed iron, steel, copper, and machinery parts for factories. Medical supplies were also essential for people at home as they needed quinine, morphine, medicines, and bandages. There were scarcities of other

irreplaceable items, including cotton cards, coffee, tea, sugar, flour, and, crucial to everyday life, salt. Any available supplies supposedly went first to soldiers, then to the few factories producing materials for the soldiers. The 1862 summer drought piled misery upon already bad conditions. As a result, most states offered soldiers' allotments for "needy families" of salt and supplies – but only while they lasted. Women whose husbands served in the Union army or were hiding in the hills were not eligible for state-allotted rations, nor would county assistance be available to them or their children. These people would soon be worse off than many enslaved people, and some resorted to seeking help within enemy lines when they could. Most of the population found the adage "use it up; wear it out; make do; or do without" become the rule of the day. Prices became exorbitant for what were once common necessities.[454] The shortages quickly led to hoarding for those who could and speculation for those who dared.

If the Winston brothers indeed smuggled goods and gold, the ventures did not leave them in a prosperous post-War position. Their brick manufactory changed names a few times with different investors who were most likely relatives, but the business filed for bankruptcy in September of 1868. In 1870, Isaac showed real estate worth $1,500 and personal property of $300; he lived with his wife and four children at home. The Winston brothers' mother, Nancy Brandon Winston, resided in Meridianville at the home of Isaac, until her 1883 death at the age of ninety "after a life of devotion and beautiful Christian deeds." Isaac died that same year, and his widow, Mahala, the following year at Bell Factory, noted as "an exemplary wife and mother and Christian in the communion of the Methodist Church," at the age of 57 years old.[455]

The 1870 census showed Isaac's brother Thomas, his wife, and their three children living in the same household with two servants. In 1880, Thomas and his wife had six children at home. Thomas died of pneumonia in 1891 and was buried at Maple Hill Cemetery. Youngest brother Joseph Winston was listed as a brick mason in 1870; he and his wife resided with four children. No assets were given, but there were three servants in the household. The next census showed him living on Winston Street as a widower, Caledonia having passed on the previous year. Five children resided at his home with him. There is no notation to be found about his death, but he was most likely buried at Maple Hill Cemetery with his family.[456]


pillaged by guerillas
of some provision for
which he obtained a
permit to take with
him —

Brown a Tailor out and
out rebel but now
apparently quiet —

A.B. of Winstons —
rebels suspected
Smugglers and engaged
in running gold to
the rebels lines —
require carfull watching

Charles Berryford —
Same charges against
him

Charlie Herryford - same charges against him.

The writer makes unclear insinuations. Did Charlie Hereford display suspicious behavior, or was he actually engaged in smuggling? Herford maintained what would be considered a hardware store on the public square with a partner, Jabez Leftwich. They sold stoves, tin, copper and sheet ironware, steam and water pipes, lighting rods, &c. The census of 1860 listed Hereford as a 26-year-old tinner, worth $7,000 in real estate and $10,000 in personal property which included one enslaved person. Charlie and his wife, Louisa (Elgin) had two young daughters, Mary and Loula. Tinner John Hudson, plasterer Frederick Elgin and his wife Minerva (most likely Louisa's parents) lived at that residence, as well. Just before the invasion, toddler Loula Mastin Hereford died in March of 1862, "Lone is our home and said [sad] the bowers, Whence Lula's smile is gone, But Oh! A happyer [sic] home than ours In Heaven is now hers now." In addition to his familial woes, times quickly became very difficult for hardware businesses, as merchandise was in short supply. Had the partners hoarded and speculated on higher prices? It is worth noting that the Hereford family was very close to the Chadick family, offering support to Mary Jane Chadick when her husband, Colonel Chadick, was away.[457]

Recovery required effort. In 1867, Dun & Co. identified Charlie Hereford and his tin business partner David Timberlake as "good as gold, both men sprang up from poor stock." Just three years later, Hereford was a merchant with $400 personal property, $1,500 real estate, and three children living at home. Louisa Hereford 'beloved consort of Charles Herford, age 44, died from a painful and lingering illness," in 1878, leaving a husband and two daughters (their son Charlie died earlier). Two years

later, widower Charlie married the widow Mrs. Nannie Binford, but he died one year later at the age of 45, a "prominent merchant and lifelong resident" escorted to the cemetery by the Knights of Honor.[458]

Wm. Windham - same charges

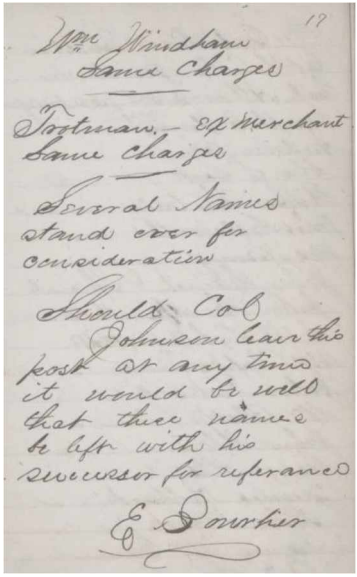
William Windham was mentioned earlier in the notebook, suggesting a third observer who wrote his suspicions. What, exactly, was William Windham suspected of doing, however? Running gold for the Rebels? Smuggling goods into town? And if any of this was true, who now possessed cash, Confederate money, or even Yankee greenbacks, much less gold? Mrs. Chadick received an offer for her house during that time, without her husband present to make the decision. She was unsure as to whether she should risk taking any type of paper money; had the offer been in gold, she would have immediately accepted she said.[459] As the blockade strangled the South, inaccessible goods were in even higher demand than before; smuggling almost certainly occurred on both sides.

If William Windham engaged in nefarious activities during the War, it appears he left them behind for the world of real estate. The 1870 census showed $100 in personal property and $12,000 in real estate.

Trotman -ex merchant. Same charges

John Trotman's father Thomas passed through the countryside on his way to New Orleans as had many other Tennessee militia men responding to the call against the Indians and later in 1812 against the British. Thomas was mustered out in 1814 at Huntsville and like others he saw the wonderous, undeveloped countryside and knew it was worth a return. By 1818, John's father and his many aunts and uncles travelled by way of flatboats from Grainger County, Tennessee to Ditto's Landing at what would become Whitesburg. John, the first son, rode along as the newborn baby with the travelers. When his grandparents and most of his aunts and uncles later moved to Mississippi, his father Thomas chose to remain in North Alabama. Thomas became an ensign in the North Alabama State Militia in 1820 while citizens were still fearful of Indian uprisings. Now mature, John Trotman married the widow of Albert Jones, Mrs. Maria Clopton Jones, in 1846. The evaluator for Dun & Co. noted in 1851 that John Trotman married a woman whose father was wealthy, "however, she is not liable for his debts." The next year, Trotman served on the board of the Bascom Female Institute. By 1860, he owned a Staple & Fancy Dry Goods Store with William H. Nance under the name of Trotman & Nance. Trotman was 46, with values of $2,800 real estate, and three enslaved people were included within his $12,000 personal property. His household with his wife Maria in 1860 included four children under the age of twelve. Business for Trotman was good. Three years later, the Union spy called him an ex-merchant and a possible smuggler.[460]

Had John Trotman hoarded to speculate on price increases? Mrs. Chadick spoke clearly of the offensive stockpile of boots which Union soldiers discovered – boots which were unavailable to Southern civilians and soldiers. When Union soldiers broke into stores in late 1864, she was mortified to learn that there were plenty available for sale; Federal troops even tried to sell them to locals. In 1868, Dun & Co. suggested that Trotman and his partner Humphrey, commission merchants, were not worth much, although their reputation was one of honesty and capability. Trotman and his family stayed in Huntsville through 1870, where he was again listed as a merchant. Maria and the four children received help from servants, and John showed $2,000 in real estate. He was among the trustees who submitted a memorial to the House of Representatives regarding the fire and destruction of the Methodist Episcopal Church during the War. Part of a detachment of Union troops, many of whom were ill, were allowed to quarter in the church's basement. While there, they used fires to prepare their meals and keep warm during the severe winter of 1863-1864. In January of 1864, an uncontained fire spread throughout the entire building. Trotman's son Thomas began clerking at a local drug business at the age of 14 in preparation, but at some time around 1875, John Trotman, his wife, and some of their children moved to Dallas, Texas, where Thomas began a successful career as a traveling salesman. The 1880 census found John Trotman, Maria, and their daughter Tully together in one household. By 1901, Maria was listed as a widow.[461]


Wm Windham
Same Charges

Trotman. ex Merchant
Same Charges

Several Names
stand over for
consideration

Should Col
Johnson leave the
post at any time
it would be well
that these names
be left with his
successor for reference

E Dourher

Several Names stand over for consideration. Should Col. Johnson leave this post at any time it would be well that these names be left with his successor for reference.

Later in the notebook, an additional name, written in a different handwriting, should be included among these named in this group.

Jno. D. Chadwick - Huntsville from the north has relatives here - not to be trusted.

John Drum Chadwick came late to the Huntsville scene. One can only guess why he should not be trusted, and of course this was one man's opinion. Chadwick, born in Pennsylvania in 1835, earlier settled in Lafayette, Missouri, and in 1850 worked as a bookkeeper probably for his father, a merchant who also held $16,000 worth of real estate. John married a local girl, Fannie Cox, and in 1860 the couple was in Memphis living in the household of affluent merchant Hamilton Mask.[462] After Memphis surrendered to Union gunboats in 1862, the city remained in Union hands, and Memphis, on the river and a western rail hub, became a center of smuggling for both sides. For unknow reasons, perhaps safety or opportunities, John Chadwick found his way to Huntsville at least by the end of the War.

John Chadwick, now a cotton merchant, and his growing family remained in Huntsville for the 1870 census. There he was listed as a cotton merchant with no financial notations given. However, his wife Fannie showed $9000 worth of real estate that included a house on Randolph Street and $1,000 personal property. Fannie lived until 1912 and John Chadwick died in 1915, his estate of $1,750 was divided among his children.[463] Mr. Chadwick and his family remained, unlike the thousands, Black and White, who refugeed as best they could.

Emile Bourlier, or the agent who signed his name, finally ended the account of suspected Rebels in Huntsville. Today, we can only guess as to what passed between the spy and a suspect – simply a snarl while passing on the street, harsh words, or possible threats of harm.

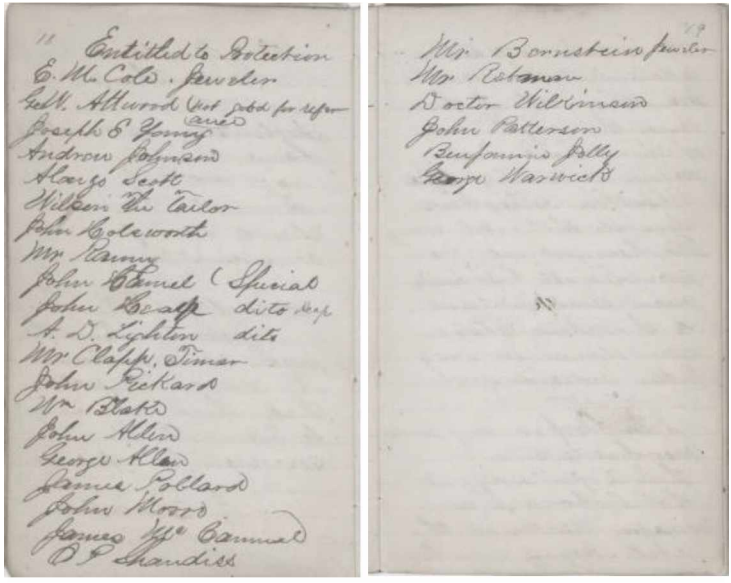
The young possessed ambition and hope; the older kept the knowledge of their hard work. Ages ranged from early 20s to well into their 60s, the latter group having far more assets. Four surnames showed family clusters who possessed great wealth and deep connections within the community. Among them, five men owned from 20 to 64 enslaved workers. These men were listed as farmers, but were truly considered to be planters. Most on the list enslaved a small number of people, and those who did not likely used Black workers hired by the day, week, or longer depending on the work. There were always enslaved people available for hire from other so-called owners, the bank, and the jail.

This was a diverse group, perhaps typical of any growing Southern town, almost all married with children and employed; some owned businesses.

There were professional men – lawyers, doctors, a minister, and one commission merchant. Several were merchants and druggists, one a saloon keeper, an omnibus owner, wagon maker, hotel owner, painter, printer, carriage maker, boot maker, moulder, watch maker, tailor, tinner – but mostly literate men with the ability to keep their accounts on some level. Were they really any different from the group on the list to follow, those entitled to protection? Bourlier believed so.

Appendix B

Entitled to Protection


Entitled to Protection
E. M. Cole . Jeweler
Gell. Attwood (Not paid for upper cave)
Joseph S Young
Andrew Johnson
Harge Scott
Wilbern the Tailor
John Colewell
Mr Penny
John Bemel (Special
John Beach ditto Dept
A. D. Lighton ditto
Mr Clapp, Tinner
John Pickard
Mr Platt
John Allen
George Allen
James Pollard
John Moore
James Mc Cannel
D P Sandiss
Mr Bonnstein Jeweler
Mr Rotman
Doctor Wilkinson
John Patterson
Benjamin Jolly
George Warwick

People were hung or driven off, their houses burned down while wives and children were driven off.

The fortunes of war forever changed Huntsville's collective landscape. Loss of property, money, manpower, and the demoralization of losing the War was evident for all to see in the burnt-out homes, ragged fences, and weary, grieving faces. Life was now clearly chaotic, even more dangerous, and often desperate.

The people named in the notebook above earned the right for protection by Union authorities. Alone or in league with other people on the list, they made their Union loyalty apparent, possibly placing themselves and their families at risk. Whether they performed an action of combat, given shelter to a hidden Union soldier, or shared a rumor or whispered word, they were to be safeguarded.

These civilians appeared to be middle to working-class families. For the most part, they were not members of the artisan class of blacksmiths, carpenters, wagon makers, tanners, shoemakers, printers, tailors, painters, or plasterers.[464] With the exception of one, they would not count themselves among the well-to-do, neither were they among the formally educated: doctors, lawyers, ministers, nor commission merchants of the professional class.[465]

The men were literate; they understood order forms, kept accounts, and demonstrated a willingness to work hard. Several were involved in industrial works as part of an emerging class of mechanics who understood specialized tools and techniques. As an urban stratum rising to the growing middle class, many of these men arrived in Madison County as established entrepreneurs or manufacturers. They were retailers, shop-keepers, clerks, government officials, and sales people looking for a stepping stone. None were listed in the censuses as a "laborer." Daniel Hundley looked down from his viewpoint as a "Southern Gentleman," to observe what he called the Middle Classes – "very numerous, very useful, and we will now add in my respects very worthy."[466]

E.M. Cowles

Jeweler E.M. Cowles was first on the list of citizens entitled to Union protection. Ebenezer Mix Cowles was 55 years old in 1860, married to Hannah Atwood, with three adolescent children. Ebenezer and Hannah were both from the north – he from Farmington, Connecticut, and she from New Hampshire. Cowles owned $13,000, including the value of three enslaved people. In her journal, Mary Jane Chadick described an instance in which she requested Cowles bring her items from Nashville on his way home from a business trip. His ability to travel by rail implied that he signed the Federal Oath of Allegiance.[467]

Cowles and his wife lost half their assets during the War and Reconstruction, but began to recover financially by 1870. In May of that year, however, Ebenezer died in the cholera epidemic at the age of 42. Hannah lived until 1905. [468]

George W.O. Atwood

Mr. Cowles and George W.O. Atwood were business partners; they sold watches, clocks, and jewelry on Commercial Row. At 25, Atwood, also from New Hampshire, was most likely the brother of Cowles's wife Hannah. He lived alone at the time, showing no assets.

Joseph E. Young

There is little to be learned of Joseph E. Young beyond the 1860 census data. He was a single 25-year-old man from Pennsylvania who boarded with Dr. Samuel Hunt. He owned $500 in personal property; his wife, Lizzie, was 20. He worked as a drug store clerk at Newman & Harrison, a common entry-level position for young men seeking to establish a career. It is interesting to note Daniel Hundley's words on clerks at the time, describing them as "delicate, simpering, weak-voiced, soft-handed, be-oiled, and be-curled... whose brains seemed to have all melted and run down in their shirt-collars… They knew no higher ambition."

Joseph Young's background identified him above all else as a Yankee. Hundley regarded Yankees no higher than clerks. Hundley, who considered everyone from north of Virginia to be Unionist, "A travelling Yankee usually associates himself with a Southern partner who is well known" and influential in the community. If he saved enough, he might go into business for himself. If honest, he showed common sense, and if he worked hard to become successful, he would become "deservedly respectable and well thought of."[469] It is apparent that few could reach Hundley's standards. Nothing more was heard about Joseph Young in Madison County.

Andrew J. Johnson

The next name might have been a liability in any Southern community at the time, but Huntsville's Andrew J. Johnson owned a moderately successful hat manufactory on the square. His census record showed $2,500 in real estate and $8,000 in personal property, including two enslaved people. He came to Alabama by way of Pennsylvania and was 44 years old in 1860. In 1844, he married Sarah N. Hill in Madison County, and by 1860, they lost two young children. Sarah was near the age of 39 and owned $2,000 worth of real estate, most likely inherited. Three children now lived with the family, as well as two older women who were most likely relatives of the couple. One, Lucy G. Hill, 66, from Virginia had $11,000 in personal property, including 11 enslaved people. Jane Spence was 70, originally from Virginia, and held no listed assets. The hat business appeared to be steady; in 1860, Andrew made $4,500.[470]

The war years and those immediately after were challenging ones for Andrew J. Johnson. He showed only $200 worth of personal property in the 1870 census, but his wife Sarah held $6,000 in real estate and $300 personal property. Four children also lived with them, including two adolescent daughters. The Johnsons probably already faced perils from the Union army when the men of the 5th Iowa Infantry were stationed in Huntsville between January and April 1864. Among those men, however, one returned to Madison County in 1867, to rekindle a friendship. Johnson's oldest daughter Lucy married Marquis Marcus Rublee that year. In 1870, they lived in the Johnson household with two babies. (Rublee had traveled extensively, making his way to Alabama from Vermont by way of Kansas before joining the 5th Iowa Infantry.) One year later, the newspaper announced the death of Andrew J. Johnson at the age of 61. The community was startled to learn of his sudden death, despite his frequent complaints of feeling poorly. "He was quiet, unobtrusive, liberal in his opinions and noted for his business integrity." Sarah was listed as a widow in 1880 with one daughter and two Rublee grandchildren residing with her; their mother Lucy died in 1875. With what were possibly few job skills, Marcus Rublee moved to Kansas with his father, and later died in 1923 in Colorado. Sarah Johnson died in

1884, having raised and cared for her own children and several grandchildren.[471]

Alonzo G. Scott

According to the city directory, Alonzo G. Scott was a confectioner, and the 1860 census gave his age as 40 years. Originally from Virginia, Scott was a merchant worth $1,000 in real estate and $5,000 in personal property. He earlier worked in a partnership with W.S.J. Shanklin as "Auctioneers with References." He married Miss Maria Black in 1841; they lived in the Southern Hotel. Maria died in late 1861.[472]

In 1867, widower Alonzo married Martha E. McKinney. The 1870 census showed Alonzo Scott as a 51-year-old grocer with real estate valued at $1500. Daughter Ellen was 21, Jean was six, Robert was four, and Sallie was a toddler of two. Martha was most likely the mother of these younger children. Life was not easy for the former Martha McKinney. She was the youngest child (three years old) of seven in 1850. That census listed her father as "insane," with no occupation. In 1860, Martha's brother David, a carpenter, appeared to support her, their mother, and siblings. Given her unstable childhood, a marriage that came with step-children may have offered her a possibility of comfort and family. Alonzo Scott died in 1871, and in the 1880 census, Martha was listed along with two adolescent children, noted as step-sons, and two daughters.[473]

George S. Wilson

Wilson the Tailor referred to England-born George S. Wilson, a merchant and tailor who offered "Gent's Furnishing Goods, cassimeres, vestings, business coatings adapted to the wants of Gentlemen of taste." When he arrived in Huntsville in 1848, Wilson roomed, along with other boarders, with the family of William Spence, a mantuamaker. In 1850, Wilson was 26 years old. He resided at the Spence home with three other tailors. Some in that household would prove to be lifelong friends, including Alice Spence, then 11 years old. Wilson's credit report for 1855 was good; the report referred to him as "industrious." By 1860, he was declared "good for any contract." Wilson held no slaves, and did well on his own with $9,000 in personal property.[474]

After the War, Wilson expanded his shop into a dry goods establishment. The 1866 census reported his payment of one dollar in tax for a gold watch he managed to keep safe. The year 1870 found him rooming with 12 other men – merchants and bar keeps – none of whom displayed financial worth. At his death in 1875, at the age of 50, his primary heir was his sister Ann in Chesterfield County, Derbyshire, England. Alice Spence, the daughter of his friend, was to receive $1,000, his personal watch, rings, jewelry, library, pictures, and furniture. The inventory of collected debts and auction of

merchandise totaled almost $6,500. Alice indicated that some of his personal possessions appeared in that sale; she sued for her losses.[475]

The writer of these names was likely an outsider, given his lack of familiarity with the local players of Madison County. Some of the men he listed merely passed through North Alabama to take advantage of the chaos of war, avoid conscription, or hide from authorities.

John Z. Hamel

It is unclear as to why John Z. Hamel was marked as "special." At the time, he was in a business partnership with John R. Young, Andrew Lighton, and Joe Armbruster in a business called Madison Iron & Brass Foundry and Machine Works. J.R. Young & Co. cast three iron six-pounder cannons; after they were bored and finished at the M & C Railroad Machine Shop, they were displayed for the public to admire.[476] Hamel was born in Canada, but resided in Huntsville in 1855, when he married a local woman named Martha Pickard. Martha's father, Greene Pickard died the year before at the age of 49, leaving behind a considerable estate and a large number of children. Martha Pickard was about 16 years old and John Hamel 10 years older when they married, but he proved well-suited to take care of her with $2,000 worth of personal property. Her brother Henry and his family lived next door. The Pickard boys were already noted by Editor Clay as leaving with other Union sympathizers.[477]

John Hamel disappeared from records, and none of the Hamels appeared in the 1870 census. In 1880, a widowed Martha resided in Humphreys County, Tennessee with six children. Her son William, age 16, worked in a marble yard, and 8-year-old John was a newsboy. Martha outlived two of her children, and her final years were spent at the home of a daughter in New Orleans until her death in 1922.[478]

John Heap

John Heap appears next on the list marked "special." J. Howard Larcombe identified John Heap as a spy for the Rebels in the early part of the War. Now it seemed that Heap was entitled to special protection. After his questionable actions on the night of the invasion in April 1862, was he a Union man? A double agent? It is possible that, as he became aware of vast Southern military losses, he simply opted to follow his own interests?

Years later, the account of a formerly enslaved woman mentioned John Heap. Viney Spotswood travelled from Virginia, was sold in Baltimore, and taken to Arkansas, when she made her escape. Viney slept in the day and walked at night until she reached Union picket lines at Huntsville. Hungry, exhausted, and afraid, she was taken in by Mrs. John Heap, with whom she remained to work as a nanny to the children. Spotswood had no doubt that John G. Heap was a Union soldier.[479]

Ms. Viney Spotswood with Alice Graves Heap[480]
Hodges Library
University of Tennessee

As the War began, a few insightful people urged plantation owners and farmers to plant cotton sufficient for their family needs, and no more. Now, in the second year of War, however, the chance to make money amid the chaos became of primary interest for some. The lure of easy money meant large-scale production would never actually stop. Vast amounts of cotton were already warehoused locally awaiting a buyer (supposedly the Confederacy), and as a result, cotton for northern and English factories was in short supply while prices increased with demand. Civilians on both sides rose to the occasion to illegally sell their own, or someone else's, cotton. Many people in the position to make money tried. Newspaper complaints at the time reflect the rampant issue of cotton profiteering and price gouging. The privately stored and baled Union cotton was available for purchase by anyone with the money, patience, and nerve to try.

Difficulties over stored cotton bales continued during and after the War, as reported by "brilliant and bitter journalist" Ambrose Bierce. He used his acerbic wit to recall "with apparently perverse relish the rottenness of American life, its political corruption, its moral debasement, its economic chicanery."[481] He was in the right place at the right time for such observations. Such were his comments of Southern life. As a 1st Lieutenant with the 9th Indiana Infantry, Bierce found himself in winter quarters in Huntsville in 1864, after the battles of Franklin and Nashville. Later, when fearful of capture while searching for hidden cotton bales deep in Alabama territory on behalf of the government, Bierce was tracked by dogs. He wrote in "Four Days in Dixie," "It is said that the State of Alabama has more dogs than school-children, and that they cost more for their keep. The estimate of cost is probably too high."[482]

In Huntsville, John Heap was neither a farmer nor planter, but he understood finding, buying, and selling. He paid bond and fees to receive a permit from the provost marshal in late August of 1864 to purchase cotton in Madison County. In 1866, Heap paid tax on 11,150 pounds of cotton at 24 cents per pound, tax paid, $225 in cash. This was the largest assessment on cotton in the county at the time, only surpassed in north Alabama by three planters from Athens and one from Mooresville.[483] That same assessment included a reference to his business partner, Elisha Clapp.

Andrew D. Lighton

Andrew D. Lighton, another man on the list marked as "special," was a moulder employed by the recently established J.R. Young Foundry. At that time, the new foundry would have escaped no one's notice, and there were likely many discussions of the possibilities of industry and technical innovations for Madison County. Residents saw the arrival of several companies making metal for construction, cotton presses, the railroad, and cannons.

In 1850, Lighton lived in Louisville with his family, but married Eliza Allen in Huntsville 1855. He was approximately 35 years old in 1860, 14 years older than Eliza, and showed $2,000 in assets. Their baby, Sam, was three years old. Eliza's father was Hudson Allen, and in her childhood years her family lived at the household of pump maker James Neely. Eliza had two younger brothers, John and George Allen; they, too, would make an appearance in the notebook. Daniel Hundley, ever perceptive, spoke of arriving capitalists, usually from the north, when he suggested, "The manufacturing interest is rapidly advancing in the South."[484]

The year 1870 found Eliza Lighton living in Huntsville with Sam now 13 and four younger siblings. There was no mention of Andrew. In 1880, Andrew was counted with the family in Louisville – there were now seven children. In 1890, Andrew Lighton and his wife could be found boarding in the booming industrial village of Elyton, 100 miles south of Huntsville; he continued his work there as a moulder, listed in city directories through 1903. Adult children were nearby, but in 1905, Eliza was noted as a widow.[485]

Elisha Bogue Clapp

The name of Mr. Elisha Clapp, a tinner and that of John Heap, already introduced, belong together for many reasons. Elisha Bogue Clapp was born in Massachusetts in 1835, and moved to Knoxville where, in 1859, he married Alice Jane Conley. Both Clapp and Heap relocated to Huntsville with their families. Clapp held partnerships, first with A.C. Ladd, Auctioneer, then alongside John Heap selling stoves, iron, and tin roofing. They owned and operated the business from a wooden building described as 25-feet wide, 75-feet long, two-stories high on busy Jefferson Street. In

1860, J.G. Heap & Co. did almost $50,000 worth of work while competitors, Leftwich & Hereford, did well to maintain $13,000 of business.

According to their later testimony, both Heap and Clapp were intensely loyal citizens who made their positions known. As Union soldiers left Huntsville in the fall of 1862, John Heap was ill, but afraid of personal violence, he "got up from his sick bed" to "follow the army." After he recovered, Heap offered his services as a scout and guide although he was a newcomer to the area. Elisha Clapp promised to take care of both families and the store as best as he could while Heap was away. A Confederate contract of $1,800 to $2,000 for essential goods, tin cups and canteens, allowed Clapp and two young employees to avoid army service for the immediate future. He urged his employees to prolong production; they agreed, stretching it from four to five months. These extra months passed quickly, and Clapp, facing conscription, took a new job. For five months, he worked as a foreman for the Morgan County Nitre Bureau, overseeing 30 men in the production of saltpetre. He earned $1.50 per day, plus travel, but was not compensated for room and board.[486]

When the Nitre Bureau job ended, Clapp hired a substitute, John Brooks, who the Confederacy rejected for disability after less than four months. Clapp implied that influential local men, one of whom most likely John Withers Clay, intervened to have his substitute returned. Elisha Clapp was humiliated to be arrested for fraud on the main street of Huntsville. A court date was set, but fortunately for Clapp, Rebel forces were forced to retreat before that date. Official records report a different account, however. Clapp hired John Brooks of Morgan County to be his substitute in March of 1863. Mrs. Brooks need not worry, according to the protocols, if Brooks was killed or died of disease, because his wife would receive $900 in Confederate treasury notes. Brooks appeared satisfactory on enlistment papers as 5'10" tall, red complexion, gray eyes, with dark hair. He was, however, a willing 65-year-old recruit. On the application for his release the army doctor reported him to be "totally worthless as a soldier." His health rapidly failed in his service. The same army doctor noted that this "old man toothless and decrepit ought never to be accepted." After the Rebel retreat, Elisha Clapp did not enlist in the Confederate army.[487]

Meanwhile, according to Clapp's statement, John Heap stayed with the Union army for a time, went to Massachusetts to visit his parents, and even visited Canada where he said there were many Rebels with whom, of course, he did not associate. At other times Heap refugeed with Union troops active in Tennessee. While he was away on one occasion Mrs. Heap's home was broken into and during another incident soldiers entered Clapp's house. Clapp could hear the voices from the crowd outside who wanted to hang him. As a result, both Heap and Clapp briefly removed their families to safety in Indiana.

According to his later testimony John Heap acted as a courier for U.S. General Morgan delivering dispatches to Gen. Daniel Cook in Athens, Alabama. Once on the railcars with General Hooker, Heap "was thrown off a train and became crippled. From that time, I did not know anything for four to five months. I was laid up for a year." General Crook sent an ambulance to bring him from Scottsboro to Huntsville. Here John Heap tended to army mail in the provost's office for which he said he never received pay, acted voluntarily, and was never in the service. As Union forces settled into town permanently, Heap's work included forwarding passes and orders to the quartermaster, and he also read and censored incoming and outgoing mail of everyone. Civilians who were arrested and brought before the provost for disloyal acts met him first as he determined the next step of action for his neighbors and townspeople. However, he could not protect all of his own property.

During the harsh winter of January 1865 General Stanley ordered the ambulance corps to tear down Clapp and Heap's two-story shop, valued at $1,772, in order that a hospital could be constructed on the site. For this financial loss the two men later filed claims for reimbursement.[488] In the meanwhile, the two families continued to live in this hostile environment, although Elisha Clapp already showed signs of poor health that would develop into consumption.

In 1865, the Union ticket listed Elisha Clapp as Alderman, and Gen John Pope appointed him mayor of Huntsville after removing the newly-elected Robert Coltart. Some irate citizens recalled that Clapp worked at the Rebel saltpetre mine during the War, for that or other reasons, and accused of malfeasance, he was removed from office.[489] Unlike others, he did not suffer a complete financial reversal. Taxes during Reconstruction in 1866 assessed E.B. Clapp $252 for 6,971 pounds of cotton that he sold.[490] Profit outweighed the minor inconvenience of taxes for the cotton sold at 24 cents per pound.

When John Heap and Elisha Clapp later submitted applications for damages due loyal citizens over their demolished building, familiar men such as Benjamin Jolley, Robert Herstein, Andrew Johnson, and John Rison testified on their behalf. The Commission approved the men's claim for damages and allowed $947 for the materials, but only half that amount was allowed, and only to John Heap. Clapp owned the other half of the building, but the Commission "did not find him loyal." Clapp was employed by the Rebel-owned and operated saltpetre mine.

Meanwhile, the partners found other activities. Heap and Clapp, became representatives in Huntsville for the Queen Fire Insurance Co. of London and Liverpool. They generously donated money to the Colored Fire Department. They entered politics in the community but unconcealed and unforgiving feelings lingered about them, their wives, and children. The two men, partners still, were fortunate to recognize the possibilities of a new

opportunity in Mitchell County, North Carolina. The 1880 census showed the Heap family with six children at home in Bakersville, North Carolina and he a mica miner, which is quite an understatement. Heap and Elisha B. Clapp, during their travels to Knoxville and in the countryside developed a use for mica, found naturally in Mitchell County and considered useless until then. Both men were tinners who knew house furnishings, and they invented a way to formulate mica for use as windows on stoves. In 1871 they were the only company in the entire country doing this and in 1870 sold 25,000 pounds of mined mica.[491]

In 1873, Elisha Clapp traveled to Mobile, hoping to find relief for his failing pulmonary condition, and later the family moved to California for his health. Elisha died the next year, and his partner John G. Heap assumed control of the business, not necessarily a good thing as it turned out for the Clapp family. There were laws suits about misappropriation of funds from the company, and Mrs. Clapp received a legal judgment of $30,000, but the U.S. government worked slowly, and very little money was received.[492]

John S. Pickard

John S. Pickard was one of the older children of Greene Pickard, as was his sister, now Martha (Pickard) Hamel. "Greene Pickard died in 1854 of typhoid fever, about 55 years old. He was thought of as a good man, a true man, an honest man and a Christian. He was respected and esteemed by all who knew him. Leaves a large family." The will of Greene Pickard was probated in 1860 in Madison County where one son, Henry, ran the livery stable on the square with the help of his adolescent brothers James, Peter, and William Pickard. John Pickard lived with his wife Cynthia and three young children in Hickman County, Tennessee. Pickard did not reside in Huntsville at the time; he was likely visiting the area to tend to his father's estate. He clearly stayed long enough to be included with this group in purported need of protection.[493]

John Pickard may have been glad to leave the turmoil in Madison County to return to his family (six children) and farm in Tennessee, where the real estate was valued at $1,500 in 1870.

William Blake

Little information could be gathered about William Blake. He was most likely Benjamin William Blake, who ran a local Huntsville saloon. Originally from New York, he was listed as 26-years old; he married Sarah Hall one year before the 1860 census.[494]

After the War, Blake was noted as a farmer with real estate worth $1,200. He was married to Sarah, and baby James was added to the census. An 1874 credit report exists for one B.W. Blake, "everything in name of wife."[495] There were no other sources until the 1900 census; he and Sarah lived on

West Holmes Street after 35 years of marriage. The enumerator noted that both of William's parents were Irish, and that he was a naturalized citizen.

John and George Washington Allen

John and George Washington Allen were brothers, adolescents in 1860, residing with their father Hudson Allen, a carriage maker. Army soldiers were commonly referred to as "boys," regardless of their age, and in 1860 these two truly were boys. John was 14 years old and George was a mere lad of around 12, but they were forced to grow up quickly. Feelings had most likely changed from 10 years earlier, when the Allen family lived in the household of James Neely, the pump maker known as a "determined and bitter Rebel supporter." In the 1860s, the Allens resided with Andy Lighton and his small family. What could the young Allen boys have done to receive Union protection? Like many other young people, could they simply have found themselves socializing with neighbors and people passing through who were reminded of their own brothers at home?[496]

In 1868, John Allen married Catharine Bootley and they remained in Madison County at least through the 1870 census, while George married in 1869 Miss Annie Ashworth. George and his wife were both 18 years old; he was listed as a Madison County farmer. In 1900, George and Annie lived at home with six children. George lived until 1916, and Annie died of malaria in 1918.[497]

James W. Pollard

In a time when almost everyone owned a horse and rode or walked on the city streets, it was an essential job to keep the streets cleared and clean. (In addition to the horse manure, pigs and dogs freely roamed on mostly unpaved streets.) James W. Pollard was securely employed when in 1859, he was elected Superintendent of Streets & Water Works. By 1860, he was 31 and married to Caledonia with four young children. He owned $1,500 in real estate, $500 in personal property, and worked for the city. While Pollard was the right age to enlist or be conscripted, he had already served and sacrificed in the military. "In early life he was at a grand muster of Colonel Blunt's militia regulars and lost an arm while loading a cannon."[498]

James Pollard was commissioned as tax collector for the city in 1868; he soon resigned. In 1870, he and his wife had six children at home, and he was Supervisor and Overseer of City Hands, with real estate worth $3,000, and personal property of $500. He was listed as unwell in 1880, sick with "phthisic." His wife, five children, son-in-law, and two grandchildren resided in the household. Captain Pollard died later that year, most likely from tuberculosis.[499]

John Moore

John Moore was a common local name; he could be one of two Huntsville men. Both were carpenters, and one worked for the M & C Railroad. John T. Moore, however, lived near John Hamel, Ed Pollard, and Henry Pickard – close enough for the men to quietly discuss matters of loyalty and war. John T. Moore was born in 1838 to Margaret (Compton) and Barnard Moore. In 1860, he lived with his mother and four younger siblings. (His father Bernard, listed as a shoemaker in 1850, no longer resided with them.) His mother held $800 in real estate and $2,500 in personal property.

John Moore married Emily Strong in 1865. Little else about them could be uncovered. One John T. Moore died in Denton County, Texas in 1919; his mother's name was Marguerite and his father's name was unknown.[500]

James McC_____ remains unknown.

Frederick O. Schaudies

Frederick O. Schaudies, a Prussian of about 33, appeared first on the 1850 census as a shoemaker, married to Ann from Tennessee, with two young daughters. The agent for the credit company reported in 1856 that Schaudies made French boots and shoes, was industrious, sober and prompt, having recently purchased a house, and was a hard-working man of German heritage. On the 1860 census, he was listed an owner and manufacturer of shoes and boots, employing ten men and two women in his shop. The men were paid $30, and the women$24. That year, they produced 1,000 pairs of shoes with a value of $9,000. He also owned seven enslaved people, with two houses for them, real estate valued at $6,000, and $10,000 in personal property.[501]

In 1870, Fred Schaudies' personal property value was $4,200, but he invested quite well and held $20,000 in real estate. The two Schaudies children were adolescents. Later in 1878, the Schaudies received heartrending news from Memphis that their son, Frederick Jr., died during the yellow fever epidemic. A Huntsville newspaper later reported more of the sorrowful story: their granddaughter, Mamie, whose father, Freddie, died just the month before, passed away in Huntsville at the age of three months. The baby "was brought back from Memphis and Mr. and Mrs. Schaudies took her camping and nursed her till its death, fearing it might be yellow fever." Camping out with infectious diseases was a common method people to avoid spreading contagion within cities. Monte Sano was a perfect place to seek the outdoors, and it was not far from home and friends. (During the 1918 Spanish Flu outbreak in Huntsville, families were shot at to discourage their camping without permission on private property.[502]) By1880, Fred and his wife were at home with their remaining son, Albert.

Mrs. Schaudies died in 1892, and Frederick lived until 1915, almost one hundred years old, when he died of senility.[503]

Morris (Mois) Bernstein

Morris (Mois) Bernstein, a silversmith, immigrated from Hanover, Germany to Baltimore in the 1840s. By the time he arrived in Huntsville, he had the means to pay cash for a building on the south side of the square and advertise his jewelry and watch repair shop. He and his wife Henrietta (or Jennetta), who was originally from Bavaria, married in 1855 and lived, as many store owners did, above the shop. In 1855, according to a credit report, he made a gift deed of trust to Henrietta of his interest in the store. The same report suggested that his brother-in-law, Newman, was the real power in M. Bernstein & Co.[504] At one time he enslaved two people, but that was not reflected in the 1860 census which gave his age as 35 years, $3,500 in real estate, $3,500 in personal property, and two young daughters.

Morris Bernstein was active in the small Jewish community of Huntsville and helped establish B'nai B'rith and the Temple B'nai Sholom, but he also contributed to the Catholic Church building fund. By 1870, the Bernstein family grew to four daughters, and Caroline Bernstein, a woman of 26 years from Hanover – possibly a relative of Morris – resided with them. Mr. Bernstein held $1,000 in real estate property and $3,500 in personal property. In 1874, the credit agency reported him as having "accumulated large fortune." At some time, according to family stories, during a flood downtown he was badly injured and as a result his leg was amputated and he used a wooden leg. Their daughter, Bettie, went on to marry Oscar Goldsmith, an immigrant from Bavaria who was also a silversmith. Mr. Bernstein lived until 1898 and Henrietta (Newman) Bernstein until 1897.[505]

Frances Rebman

Frances Rebman from Baden-Baden and his wife, Eve, from Bavaria resided in Huntsville in 1850. They sold footwear, but showed no assets that year. Rebman's credit rating in 1853 showed him to be a bootmaker and grocer, considered industrious and attentive to business. He had a house and lot worth $2,000, not yet paid for. The grocery business was increasing, and his wife was industrious and aided him in the business. They fortunately found their calling with a bakery and confectionary shop within the next 10 years. By then, he was 49, Mary Eve was 41, and their four daughters ranged in age from 13 to two years old. Henry was their new baby. Their business did well; Rebman showed $250 in personal property and $4,000 in real estate. Mary Jane Chadick reported gleefully on an incident at the bakery during the War. In July of 1862, the town was overrun with unruly northern soldiers moving in and out of shops. When Mr. Rebman became involved in a verbal altercation with one Union soldier, "Mrs. R. took another by

collar and made him 'see sight.'" Not to be put upon, the family entered into the fray, "Whilst the Misses Rebman 'cried Havoc!' they let fly 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."[506] Rebman was included on the list of people entitled to protection.

By October of 1865, many suffered financial reverses which typically took years to recover; Francis Rebman's credit, however, was "perfectly good, worth $6,000 and pays cash." The next census showed further increased assets of more than double those from previous ones. Francis, his wife, and the children had done well. By 1880, the elder Rebmans lived alone. He died in 1886, "My beloved husband." She lived until 1899: "She now sweetly rests."[507]

Algernon Wilkinson

In 1850, Huntsville suffered a fire that destroyed much of downtown including damages to the dental office of Dr. Algernon Wilkinson in a large three-story brick building on the square. Likewise, Schaudies's shoe shop, Pickard's livery stable, and the Rebman's house were all destroyed. Now, 10 years later, Huntsville engaged five dentists for their needs. While his next-door-neighbor, another dentist, advertised he was a "mechanic dentist," one might choose the more standard medical technique offered by Doctor Algernon Wilkinson. Dr. Wilkinson was 35 years old and his wife Laura was 28, with two remaining young children. Their first babies died: "In less than one week their two were cut down by death." Wilkinson showed $4,000 real estate and $4,000 of personal property in 1860; this included four people he enslaved. There were few doubts of Wilkinson's loyalty, as Mrs. Chadick mentioned walking past their house in July of 1862 as the Federal band serenaded the family, an honor to Loyalists who would appreciate the attention.[508]

Algernon Wilkinson's wife, Laura, did not appear on the 1870 census, but he lived in the home of his 65-year-old mother-in-law Susan Erskine, with her 30-year-old daughter and his children, Algernon 14, and Kate, 12. Wilkinson testified before the Southern Claims Commission for James Schrimsher who was enrolled in the Confederate army against his will by Matt Steele, one of the local conscription officers. Wilkinson noted several men known as loyalists at the time, including Elisha Clapp, John Heap, Benjamin Jolley, and James Pickard. Taking down the testimony for the Commission were Joe Bradley, Andrew Johnson, and William Figures, editor of *The Southern Advocate.* By 1880, Wilkinson lived alone as a widower, and his children were gone. There seem to be no local records of death or burial for him or his wife, but he died in Richmond, Virginia in

1895, remembered as a professional with "few peers and no superiors," genial and generous, leaving three children.[509]

John T. Patterson

In 1860, the family of John T. Patterson was listed as boarding in the household of the Rebel silversmith David Knox. Patterson was a 32-year-old tailor who'd been born in Alabama. John owned no real estate, but held $1,500 in personal property. Earlier in 1853 Patterson married Knox's daughter, Josephine, who died two years later, not yet 21 years old, and his infant daughter died two months later. In 1862, Captain Patterson married another Knox daughter named Mary Ann.[510]

In records of the following census, John T. Patterson was listed as a dry goods clerk with $13,000 real estate and $400 personal property. He and his family continued to live in the Knox household with two young children. In 10 years, the 1870 census listed him as a commission merchant. The family grew to five children, even though one child, Katie, passed away. John Patterson died in 1885, his casket attended "under the auspices of the Order of Odd Fellows, the Knight of Pythias, and the Knights of Honor. He was a veteran of the Mexican War where he contracted a chronic disease" and never fully recovered.[511]

Benjamin Jolley

Everyone understood Benjamin Jolley's attitude about secession; he proclaimed it loudly to anyone who would listen. It was not as if Jolley were a Northerner; he'd been born in Dinwiddie County, Virginia and settled here early enough to court and marry Eleanor, the only daughter of Sheriff Stephen Neal, in 1837. (In records, Eleanor would be referred to as Caroline E. Jolley.) He was listed as a farmer in 1840 in the southern half of Madison County. Perhaps he farmed in the county, but he and his wife enjoyed a social life in town. In 1846 his name was one of other distinguished names giving reference to Mr. Moulton's Dancing and Waltzing Academy. In the 1850 census he was 40 years old and his wife Caroline was 32 years old. There were four children and his mother-in-law, Frances (Green) Neal in the household. In 1856, an agent for the Mercantile Agency reported that Jolley previously sold his plantations in Marshall County and the people he enslaved there for $50,000. By 1860, Jolley was still listed as a farmer, but now showed $8,000 real estate and $61,000 in personal property in Madison County, which included the 20 people he enslaved; they lived in the five houses he provided. Also, in the Jolley household were Frances Neal, now 70 years old, and his son-in-law Bartley M. Lowe, Jr. who married Fannie Jolley in 1859.[512]

Benjamin Jolley opposed the 1861 actions of succession in Montgomery, protesting strongly because there was no actual citizen vote to ratify the Ordinance of Secession. At the first Union occupation, he and George

Washington Lane gave authorizations to allow some civilians to cross picket lines, and Union officers knew his house was open to them at all times. Mrs. Chadick disdainfully mentioned some of Jolley's actions during Union occupation. As Rebel power returned, James Hickman, Benjamin Jolley, and others who bought cotton were arrested by the Rebel provost marshal. Jolley himself fled town on one occasion when Confederates took seven of his horses and corn supplies. Friends sent word for him to stay away because he'd likely be hanged if caught. Later Jolley was bound over with bond set at $10,000 for treason and saved only by the approach of General Rosecrans and the Union army. In the late summer of 1863, the Union settled in to stay, and Jolley was "hand and glove with them trading as before," according to John Withers Clay. Regrettably this did not keep Jolley from losing some possessions to Union impressment. A former slave, Jordan Jolley, testified later that two mules were taken, one horse from a two-team carriage (the blind horse was not taken) for ambulance duty, and one mare in the vicinity of College Hill by General Stanley's men, "as good a horse as ever struck a lick," with a $150 value. In December 1864, Union soldiers entered Mr. Jolley's home on the corner of Madison Street and Williams Street, he "who has always been a good Union man, they took everything they could lay their hands on. They took children's clothes, jewelry, hoop skirts, and entered rooms where the young ladies were not yet out of bed."[513] Just one month later, however (January of 1865), Colonel Sawyerci, General Sherman's adjunct general, dined with the Jolleys. Ben Jolley managed to redeem himself in the eyes of some as the War ended. When bushwhacker Col. Milus Johnston and his men were forced to lay down their arms and surrender at Trough Springs on Monte Sano, it began raining and tempers became testy, perhaps a result of too much government paper work and applejack brandy. Emotions ran high when "Old Uncle Ben Jolley" urged everyone to come in out of the rain to his house in town. After all, "he had the best Rebel gal in America... come into town to his place for meat and bread and rooms to sleep in."[514]

When their daughter Kate Jolley married William Barham in 1868, old grudges may have begun to fade – her father, Ben Jolley, was referred to with the genteel Southernism "Colonel" Jolley.[515] Ben Jolley still held $8,000 in real estate in 1870, and his household was filled with the young Lowe family, including their four children, their daughter (now Kate Barham) and her husband, their infant daughter, and seven servants.

After the War, those in positions of leadership in Huntsville immediately applied for Federal pardon and amnesty. Benjamin Jolley's chances of receiving such a pardon were likely very good, giving his personal and political friendship with President Andrew Johnson. The local representative in charge, Joseph C. Bradley, wrote on behalf of Ben Jolley – he "first and throughout was unqualifiedly a Union man." There was never any doubt that Jolley was indicted by the "so-called" Confederate Court for

disloyalty "to Mr. Davis' concern." Jolley enthusiastically shared that it would be the "greatest pleasure in my life to restore the Federal duties and relations." Opportunities to apply for Federal restitution were a long time coming, and in the meantime, life was a struggle for most families who sustained major financial losses. Jolley's fears of harassment and retaliation for his fidelity to the Union came true; after the departure of Union representatives, he declared himself "entirely bankrupted and beggared." His name was included on a list of bankrupt Huntsvillians submitted to the Federal government for aid. One among them opined "we are all in a state of destitution." While he felt he might have the attention of some government official in Washington, Bradley maliciously added that General Roddey was "never in favor of secession and bitterly regrets it, unlike others pardoned I would not give a fig for." At the same time Bradley mentioned "Leroy Pope Walker was one of the best friends the government has in this state."

Benjamin Jolley's application to the Southern Claims Commission centered around the two horses and two mules valued at $600 taken by Union soldiers in the Spring of 1863 for which he was given vouchers. Even with eyewitnesses testifying that the animals were seized, he was unable to produce receipts because they were later taken by the very Federal soldiers who entered and robbed his house. Those testifying on his behalf included a Black man named Jordan Jolley, Joseph Bradley, the hatter Andrew Johnson, the local dentist Algernon Wilkinson, and Hiram Roberts, a former sheriff appointed by Gen. John Pope, governor of the Third Military District of Reconstruction.[516]

Jolley did not travel to Washington to make his case because of apparent "pecuniary inability to defray expenses of witnesses." Instead, he was forced to wait until agents came South to make inquiries. Under questioning, Thomas O'Riley (who arrived to begin construction on the Catholic church in September of 1861) observed that Jolley was a tall and prominent man, "one of the best loyal men." One agent attempted to question the witness Cyrus Statmate but found him under the influence and chose not to interrogate him at that time. Statmate was questioned later, painting a devious picture of Jolley, claiming he was a man "who shaped his actions to suit their circumstances surrounding him at the time… and tried to pull two strings, one for and the other against the government." Benjamin Jolley's claim, originally submitted in 1871, was reviewed and denied in 1874.[517]

Jolley applied for bankruptcy in 1870; his property was sold "at public outcry" on the steps of the courthouse. Three years later, at the time of his death in May, his widow estimated his estate to be worth $5,000, but she was unable to pay the tax assessment of $71 on town property, so it was sold, as well. Caroline, widow of Benjamin, was about 60 when she died in 1878, and her remaining possessions were ordered to be sold by the Probate

Court. Her piano, the stool, and cover began the list of her possessions to be auctioned off. At the death of another senior citizen, a Black man named "Uncle" Ben Jolley, who lived through those years, as well, "all white folks were up on the mourners' bench," and the "flowers particularly beautiful, the sermon fine, the music rendered by the Normal Choir perfect" as family and friends, White and Black, laid flowers on his casket. This Ben Jolley witnessed the events from a completely different perspective. Perhaps he shared his thoughts on all that had happened with his children.[518]

George Hand Warwick

The last name on the list of those entitled to protection in Huntsville was George Hand Warwick. If Warwick represented the upcoming middle class, his was a success story. Though he was born in Pennsylvania, he married Jane Gaston in Huntsville in 1845 at about 35-years-old of age; she was 13 years his junior. Five years later, Warwick and Jane had three young children at home. He owned $2,000 in real estate, and his cabinet making business thrived. He invested approximately $2,500 capital ($1,000 of that in lumber) and employed three men to whom he paid about $120 a month. He estimated his production to be $4,000 for that year, a successful output. The 1860 census reported him as a cabinet manufacturer with real estate worth $10,000, personal property valued at $1,000, and five children at home.[519]

For the assessment of taxes in 1866, George Warwick's income was estimated to be $1,078; he was taxed for $54.67, total. In 1868, he was chosen by authorities to serve as a city alderman. By the 1870 census, George grew his cabinet making business including real estate, worth $17,000 and personal property valued at $1,000. Although four children were shown at home, his wife was not included. In 1875, his daughter Maggie married a University of Alabama graduate who served as a captain in the Confederate army, Jasper J. Jones. At the age of 83, George Warwick "quietly passed, one of the oldest citizens… The soul of integrity," in 1893.[520]

The group of men listed as entitled to protection were not entrepreneurs in the same sense as those who developed the frontier land, canal, railroads, or bank. These Loyalists lived in town; they were not farmers, nor were they the second generation of outsiders to settle. From this group, the largest number were between the ages of 30 and 40. Five were born in Pennsylvania, three were from New England states, and five were foreign-born. Only three were born in Alabama, three were from Virginia, and one, John Pickard, was from Tennessee. Their occupations vastly varied, including jewelers, tailors, and tinners. The two adolescent Allen boys did not have occupations, but they most likely worked at their brother's livery stable. Eight of the men arrived in the 1850s and 1860s; only Ben Jolley arrived earlier, followed by four who came in the 1840s. Seven men in the

group no longer resided in Madison County at the time of the 1870 census. At least 12 remained to be enumerated, however. Records were difficult to maintain, and some of those unaccounted for had most likely died. The changes in their personal property values were extensive for a single 10-year period. Eleven of these men lost most of their assets with the forfeiture of people they enslaved. Eight men held onto and increased their real estate holdings, two men gained value, and three lost the value of their real estate. Before they relocated, partners Clapp and Heap made huge profits from cotton holdings. This, of course, is a slight sample and only reflects the statuses of those who answered the census, those who recorded their findings, and newspaper accounts.

These men represent a bigger picture of post-War fortunes for many White men, however. The September 1866 *New York Sun* recognized the temporary resurgence of business activities after the War as just that: temporary. Prosperity would not be speedy. "Unfortunately, time has proven that the wonderful business activity of the South was spasmodic, unnatural and transient… Trade is dull, money is scarce, times are hard, and a despondent feeling generally prevails."[521] Several of these families remained in Madison County after the War, the majority of whom managed to work themselves out of a sea of despondency and debt.

Appendix C

Special Attention

I would call special attention to the Mastin Families - All of them and the very last one of them have [been] most active in aiding in the rebellion. They have sons in the rebel army. They have not only been secessionists but have given material aid to the rebels. They are also known as very bitter secessionists.

Francis Turner Mastin

The number of Mastin relations almost constituted a complete company of men. As a family, there was a great deal to lose, which they did. Father and Captain Francis Turner Mastin arrived in Madison County as many settlers did: by a circuitous route. He was born in Port Tobacco, Maryland, but spent much of his early life in Fincastle, Virginia, where he married Arabela Hoge. She died in 1815, leaving him widowed at the age of 35 with five young children – Mary, Frank, James Hervey, Gustavus Lyle, and William John Mastin. The remaining family made its way south, stopping first in Maury County, Tennessee. Included in the group were niece and widowed aunt, Rebecca and Mary Mastin, respectively, who would also make their home in Madison County. Once settled in Huntsville in 1825, Francis Mastin married for a second time. His bride, Ann Elizabeth Caroline LeVert, came from a prominent family with Mobile connections. Aunt Mary Mastin gifted the couple with a house she paid to have built for them on Williams Street. Captain Francis and Ann had one child together, Claudius Mastin. Judge Thomas Taylor, who knew him well, wrote that Frank Mastin held a "fine business capacity; he accumulated a large property and enjoyed an enviable reputation in the community." Mastin men worked in the clerking trade for around 21 years, a Dun agent reported in 1858, "they are safe and reliable. The boys are energetic, of fine character, firm doing lucrative business, name synonymous with punctuality. The father is one of the most respected men in the community." Those traits passed to his descendants.[522]

Francis Mastin House
310 Williams Street

Mary Glass Mastin

In order to avoid confusion, it is necessary to differentiate between growing groups of separate Mastin families. The oldest child, Mary Glass Mastin, married Dr. Edmund Irby in 1833 in Huntsville; Doctor and Mrs. Irby had no children of their own. At his death in 1858, he bequeathed his gold watch to his nephew Edmund Irby Mastin. Mary inherited her husband's large estate which included 11 enslaved people. Mary (Mastin) Irby remained in Huntsville, and the next census showed her real estate to be worth $10,000 in addition to $12,000 in personal property. Mary Clark Mastin, wife of Mary Irby's brother William Mastin, resided with her in 1850. The household also included Mary Clark Mastin's fatherless children: sons William F., Gustavus Boardman, Edward, and daughter Mary C. Mastin.[523]

Frank Mastin

Listed unassumingly as a farmer was the oldest of Francis Mastin's sons, Frank Mastin, who married Eliza, a daughter of wealthy Benjamin Pope (unrelated to early Huntsville developer LeRoy Pope). Benjamin Pope served for one term as president of the town and, more importantly, served as Registrar of the Land Office for 12 years. For a time, Frank and Eliza raised Mary and Julia, the two children of Eliza's deceased sister Susan. (Julia Pope, who became Mrs. General Julia Bate, tended to her father at home in 1862, as previously noted.) By the start of the War, Frank and Eliza Mastin had three children. Frank enslaved seven people, who were included in the value of his $35,000 personal property. Mastin also held real estate worth $5,000.

Charles J. Mastin

Their son, Charles, was now 23 and living on his own as a merchant with $10,000 of personal property. He was eager to protect it. Charles was 5'11",

with a dark complexion, dark hair and dark eyes. He enlisted on April 26, 1861 into the 4th Regiment Alabama Volunteering for one year, in which he served at Manassas, he was later sent to Camp Law for hospitalization when diagnosed with "Debilitas." From there, he received a furlough and was paid what was due to him: $41.43 for three months and 23 days service, a $21 clothing allowance, and $6.10 for his mileage home for a grand total of $68.53, paid out by Capt. G.W. Jones. During that furlough, Charles Mastin met General Breckenridge who was staying briefly at his father's home. Young Mastin must have made a good impression, because the general asked him to join his staff as a Lieutenant. Mastin's previous war year was tranquil compared to what would follow. He was with Breckenridge at Shiloh, Vicksburg, and Baton Rouge, and with Gen. William Bate in the Georgia campaign. Charles Mastin was severely wounded at the Battle of Jonesboro and was discharged in 1865 with a limp that would be permanent. "Many a soldier with his afflictions would become a burden to the community. He overcame his disability as much as he could."[524]

James Hervey Mastin

Another son of Francis, James Hervey Mastin, graduated from the newly opened University of Alabama in 1834 after attending Greene Academy. Among the small number of graduates, there was another Huntsville native, young Clement Clay Jr., whose father would soon be elected eighth governor of the State of Alabama. James Mastin became one of the leading merchants in thriving Huntsville. In 1843, he married Mary Jane, eldest daughter of Susan (Russel) and Alexander Erskine, he a prominent physician.[525] Although president of the Madison Turnpike Company and president of the First National Bank, James Mastin was listed in the census of 1860 as a farmer, age 45, with $20,000 in real estate and 15 slaves included in his $35,000 personal property value. His sons were too young to serve in the army.

Gustavus Lyle Mastin

The children of Gustavus Lyle Mastin were also too young to be active participants in the War. Gus was one of the earliest students at the University of Alabama in 1833 and returned to Huntsville to enter the mercantile business. By 1860, he and his wife Mary Eleanor (Fearn) had five young children. The eldest, Arabella, was named for his mother. Gus Mastin's assets included $20,000 in real estate and four enslaved people were among the $40,000 value of his personal property. Mary Eleanor was one of seven daughters raised by Dr. Thomas Fearn after his wife died. Gustavus Mastin was arrested in the roundup of prominent civilians by General Mitchel as was his father-in-law, Doctor Fearn, who died midway through the War from pneumonia, purportedly as a result of his imprisonment in the basement of the courthouse.

William John Mastin

Great prospects lay ahead for William John Mastin, another son of Francis Mastin. Attending northern colleges added a certain luster to the families of wealthy young men, and William attended Yale, earning degrees in the Classics and Law. (Among others, three of LeRoy Pope's sons attended Yale in the very early years as did Albert Russel, and James Atwood.) William Mastin married Mary T. Clark in 1835 in Huntsville, and began his law practice. At one time the Dun agent noted William was in bad health with a swollen leg that later required amputation.[526] At his death in 1846, his will showed that he enslaved 10 people, owned property in Chattanooga, one-quarter of the mercantile business in Huntsville, a nearby rope factory, and a joint interest in land near Guntersville, all part of the firm Mastin & Brothers. There was no need for bond against his estate because he owed no debts. His will spoke with heart-wrenching sincerity:

> The confidence, naturally inspired by the ties of blood, has been so confirmed by an intimate acquaintance of the character of my brothers, that I merely authorize and instruct them to do all acts in reference to my estate which I could or would do myself... I commend my wife and children to their protection and love and enjoy upon my family as a dying request that they will always seek the counsel and friendship of my brothers.[527]

William Mastin never saw his sons reach manhood, but he would almost certainly have been proud. A year before hostilities began, the boys completed their education, and by 1860, young William, a merchant, was 24 years old, Gus was a practicing lawyer of 22 years, and 19-year-old Edmund boarded at LaGrange College as a cadet. Mary, 16, and her brothers lived in the place where their mother raised them. Mary Mastin, now 43, in the household of Mary (Mastin) Irby. They were financially secure; Mary Irby's values totaled $22,000, including 11 enslaved people; Mary (Clark) Mastin held $20,000 in personal property with three enslaved people; and William, Jr. held $10,000 personal property that included seven enslaved people.

Claudius Mastin

Francis' youngest child, Claudius, was born of his second wife Anne LeVert. Claudius graduated from the University of Virginia and attended medical school at the University of Pennsylvania. Like many young physicians of the time, he toured abroad to learn the newest techniques in his field. Claudius studied in France, England, and Edinburgh, Scotland before returning stateside to practice in Huntsville.[528] He married Miss Mary Eliza McDowell in 1848. Mary Eliza's mother, Priscilla (Withers) McDowell was a sister-in-law to former Governor C.C. Clay and a sister to

Gen. Jones Withers of Mobile. Dr. Claude and his wife made their home in Mobile among several notable members of the LeVert family. The 1860 census shows $18,000 in real estate and $25,000 of personal property, including 13 slaves. Doctor Mastin's three children would miss the support of their Huntsville cousins, aunts, and uncles during the troubled times ahead, as would the enslaved people who were forced to go south and leave their families behind.

Dr. Claudius Mastin became a volunteer surgeon. He was commissioned at Manassas, serving under Generals Bragg, Polk, and Beauregard. This youngest Mastin son may have settled in Mobile, but the other Mastin relatives remained in Madison County. Francis, their father, lived at his home place on Williams Street with holdings valued at $115,000 in real estate and $150,000 of personal property, including 77 enslaved people.

In his will, William Mastin implored his brothers to care for his family upon his death; they "would keep alive forever that warm attachment which now binds us all together." The siblings' bonds of kinship appeared to be strong, but they would be tested. In the next generation, Gustavus B., Edward, and William F. Mastin, among others, chose to protect themselves and the land they and their parents worked to hold. Given Frances' 1862 holdings, there was much to protect – vast family acreage and personal property, much of it the value of enslaved people. Mastin men fought in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and would now take their place in the War Between the States.

After the attack on Fort Sumter, Southerners prepared to fight for their independence as a new nation. Most Southern states always maintained standing militia units, but with the removal of Indians in the southeast, the number of active troops dramatically dropped. The Madison Rifles, formed in 1855 primarily as a social and semi-military group, began serious drilling and marching under John Coltart as captain and Robert, his brother, as the first sergeant. On March 24, 1861, the men gathered to hear a stirring sermon by Rev. David Kelly, then paraded to the courthouse. As they rode, seven young ladies presented a seven-starred silk flag representing the current states of the new Confederacy. Miss Mary Russel gave an address to those assembled, and Lucy Beirne presented William Mastin with an elegant sword and epaulettes. The men left the next day for Mobile, 130 strong. The Women's Association promptly sent them new uniforms, hand-sewn from wool cloth manufactured at nearby Bell Factory. No battles were yet fought, but the men suffered their first casualty when Victor Venable died from bilious typhoid fever while in training at Pensacola. Within the month, the Huntsville Guards formed, with still more volunteers enlisting. As this group prepared to leave, the men marched in formation to the Female College to receive a silk flag presented by Miss Sallie McKie, accepted by Gustavus B. Mastin "in a strong, manly and striking address, which was in good taste and well received." A third unit, the North Alabamians, formed

under lawyer Egbert Jones. Miss Carrie Gordon, attired in homespun, gave a flag to Pvt. E.S. McClung as citizens around them raised $1,000 for additional supplies and a medical chest.

The groups prepared to depart. Young Gus B. Mastin, about 23, was acknowledged to be a leader by his companions. He'd been elected 1st Lieutenant on April 26, 1861, and within one week, he was elected captain. Crowds came to see the new soldiers off at the railroad depot. Mothers and sweethearts cried and fathers offered a firm handshake or grasp of the shoulders. The newspaper wrote that scarcely a family was without someone in one of the three companies that Madison sent forth, "scores of slaves cried and begged to go" and 20 accompanied the men who enslaved them. The newspaper listed the names of the men going forth, mostly citizen-soldiers with little training, while the companies who called themselved Silver Grays, the Spring City Guards, the Minute Men, and the Pope Walker Artillery were at home enlisting new recruits.

Women gathered at the Methodist Church in these months to volunteer with the Ladies' Association in their efforts to supply soldiers with necessary clothing and supplies. Mrs. Frank Mastin served as the Ladies' Association chairman, assisted by Mrs. William Mastin, secretary, and other local women including Mrs. Jesse Jordan, Mrs. J.W. Duryee and Miss Rebecca Mastin. Huntsville's Aid Society received 375 yards of cotton and linen to make Great Coats with linings.[529]

William Mastin's eldest son, William, now about 25, served as a 2st Lieutenant under Capt. John Coltart. He was hospitalized during July and August 1861, and received a 25-day leave from Pensacola. Gus furloughed home in January and February of 1862 on detached service, most likely to raise more recruits before he once again joined his unit. He returned to the front; the military record of his death at Seven Pines on May 31, 1862 was marked simply "K'd." The silken flag presented by the girls of the College was removed from Gus Mastin's body, still neatly folded.[530]

Edmund Irby Mastin's war, like that of his two brothers, began with drills and training, followed by action on enemy soil. His story would put many men to shame once he could return home and share his adventures. Mastin served on the staff of Gen. J.H. Kelly as an adjunct with the 8th Arkansas Infantry. At the end of 1862, he was captured at Charleston, Tennessee and sent first to Louisville, then to Camp Chase, Ohio as a prisoner. Mary Jane Chadick shared in her journal that Mrs. Toney, who recently visited the prison, told the ladies, "They average 20 deaths per day… Poor Harris Toney said he had eaten many a rat since he had been there and a dog never escaped from the prison alive!"

In March 1864, Ed Mastin was transferred to Fort Delaware near Wilmington Harbor. There, he offered to trade his gold watch whether for the promised extra rations, blankets and clothing that never appeared, or for a praiseworthy sense of duty. He joined the group that would be remembered

later as the "Immortal Six Hundred" sent to Fort Pulaski within the direct line of fire from Union troops. This transfer was supposedly made in retaliation for the 600 Federal soldiers, including five generals and 45 officers, held as human shields at the city of Charleston in direct line of fire. By this time, General Grant declared there would be no more exchanges. Men on both sides suffered horrific hardships. "After picking out the lumps, bugs, and worms in this rotten corn meal there was not more than seven ounces of meal left for use." Capt. S.W. Branch, another prisoner, continued, "About December 10th scurvy made its appearance in our prison amongst the weakest of the prisoners. Most every man in the prison was suffering more or less with dysentery and a large majority were from the starvation diet, unable to leave their bunks." Two men from Huntsville, Lt. Paul H. Earle and B. Arnold, were among those 600 who suffered.[531]

After the War, the Mastin men (Francis, Gus, and James – the older brothers who did not go to War), applied for amnesty and pardons. Their father, Francis, acknowledged sympathies, like many locals, for those endeavoring to establish a Confederate government. "I tender all I have of personal character."[532] He was just a few days short of his 85th birthday.

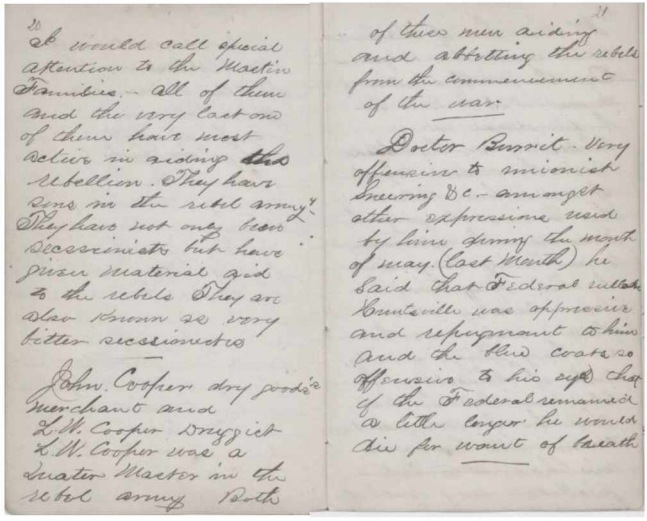
A few months later, his probated will reflected the clarity of an experienced businessman who arranged his affairs with the same fairness he was known to show to all. He divided most of the land along Meridian Pike, with notations of price per acre, among his children. He held shares in the M & C Railroad, the Madison Turnpike, two separate banks, and values further itemized at almost $8,000 in cash, five bales of cotton (valued at $328), and many promissory notes due him from other people. In these uncertain times, it took almost two years to settle his estate, and the cash value amounted to about $90,000. This did not include his former personal "property," the value of enslaved persons. He managed to hold onto the land during four years of warfare, family losses, and trauma.

Mary Glass Mastin Irby, the oldest child of Francis Turner Mastin, "relict of the late Edmund Irby," died in 1868. Of the children of William's widow Mary Mastin, one, Gus Mastin as noted, did not return from the War. His two brothers picked up the pieces as best they could, as everyone attempted to do at the time. William married Fannie Moore, and, in 1870, their household included Fannie, two daughters, his mother, Mary, and his siblings. Edmund continued the family mercantile trade and was considered to be a "genial and accomplished gentleman and deservedly popular with all classes."[533] As a note of further confidence, citizens elected William Mastin to the office of mayor, trusting that he would serve them well in the tumultuous post-War years.

Francis' son Gustavus Lyle Mastin managed to survive the War financially and, by 1870, showed $1,500 in personal property and $40,000 in real estate. His residence included his wife, six children and four servants. Another son, Frank, was listed in 1870 as a farmer at home with his wife

and three adult children. He served as a city constable from 1868-1882.[534] His son Charles fought in the War, and returned to continue farming with his parents. In addition, their home sheltered two unmarried sisters and the unmarried cousin, Rebecca, who made that first trip from Virginia with Captain Mastin.

James Hervey Mastin managed to keep most of his real estate, now valued at $9,000, and, in 1870, he was listed as a farmer, although by 1880, he would serve as a bank president. Their half-brother, Claudius, remained in Mobile; the 1870 census reported that his wife Mary maintained $12,000 in real estate. This was most likely her portion of the William McDowell properties, as her father died in June 1865. The Mastin men often listed their occupations as farmers, and, while they owned vast farmlands, they and their interrelated families established their true social and economic leadership positions in the growing urban setting of Huntsville.


It would call special attention to the Mastin Families - All of them and the very last one of them have most active in aiding this rebellion. They have sons in the rebel army. They have not only been Secessionists but have given material aid to the rebels They are also known as very bitter secessionists

John Cooper dry goods Merchant and L.W. Cooper Druggist L.W. Cooper was a Quarter Master in the rebel army Both

of these men aiding and abetting the rebels from the commencement of the war.

Doctor Bennett - Very offensive to unionists Swearing D.C. amongst other expressions used by him during the month of may (last Month) he said that Federal rulers Huntsville was offensive and repugnant to him and he (D.C.) was offensive to his eyes that of the Federal remained a little longer he would die for want of breath

John Cooper dry goods merchant and L.W. Cooper Druggist. L.W. Cooper was a Quarter Master in the rebel army. Both of these men aiding and abetting the rebels from the commencement of the war.

Brothers James and John Cooper came of age atthe center of Huntsville activities. Unlike sons of the professional men in town, the brothers most likely entered into the chores of running and maintaining their father's hostelry, keeping customers happy for repeat business. Their father Allen Cooper migrated from North Carolina and rented part of what was probably a pre-existing substantial brick building, most likely constructed as early as 1811. Rates may have been raised in 1819 when Cooper's Hotel announced it was opening a "House of Private Entrainment." Mr. Cooper's welcoming advertisement in 1821 declared "no exertion shall be wanting to render

general satisfaction to gentlemen travelers and others who may favor him with their custom." His "house" faced Madison Street on the main road, Whitesburg Pike, leading into town from Ditto's Landing. (The original Whitesburg Turnpike currently merges at Weatherly Road and South Memorial Parkway to continue the route to the Landing.)

The food was the best the county offered, stables were available, and he provided clean beds, "a great luxury." Moreover, prices suited the times. Allen Cooper showed no signs of the outward trappings of success in 1860. He was not living in the household of either son but, at age 63, lived with three younger men and was listed a clerk with $500 personal property.[535]

As boys, the Cooper brothers performed many vital hotel tasks – ran errands, swept floors, and served food and drinks. If there was not time for regular schooling, they got an education by observing how people of higher status – those well off enough to afford a hotel – spoke and behaved. Their educations as clerks allowed them to later establish their own successful businesses. James L. Cooper, about 35 years old, owned a pharmacy at 8 Commercial Row, facing the public square, at the start of the War. He was old enough to be drafted in the coming year, but, as a druggist-doctor, his was an essential occupation. His wife Mary Keziah (Winston) was from a prominent family in Tuscumbia, and her first cousin, John Anthony Winston, completed a term from 1853-1857 as governor of Alabama. James Cooper accumulated $5,000 in real estate and $32,000 personal estate that included 15 slaves. As the men of the Huntsville Guards left for training, he donated an ample medical chest to accompany them.

John Wesley Cooper, about 34, owned a Staple and Fancy Goods Store at 6 Commercial Row. In 1860, his assets included $10,800 in real estate, and personal property totaling $40,000, including the 15 people he enslaved. He and his wife Eliza (Thomas) had four children under the age of ten. The two brothers were also part of a group of store-owners who closed their shops by 5 p.m. each day so that young men could drill with their home guard units. The only apparent military service for the brothers amounted to John's election as a lieutenant in the Spring City Guards.[536]

James Cooper remained in the drug business, but his assets diminished. In 1870, he showed $8,000 in real estate and $1,000 of personal property. John Cooper registered to vote in 1867, and was the ninth man on the list of those who signed the Oath of Allegiance. (One of the three men on the board to give approval was Lafayette Robinson, formerly a free man of color who owned his own livery stable and served as the clerk of the Freedmen's Bureau Bank.) Both Cooper brothers were back in business and holding their own. In the same year, John owned real estate valued at $8,000 and personal property of $2,000. In 1871 John Cooper was commissioned sheriff, a reflection of acceptance from both the White and Black voters. The father of James and John Cooper did not live to see the next census; he died in 1869.[537]

Doctor Burritt - very offensive to unionists. Sneering &c - amongst other expressions used by him during the month of May (last Month) he said that Federals rule of Huntsville was oppressive and repugnant to him and the blue coats so offensive to his eyes that if the Federals remained a little longer, he would die for want of breath.

Doctor Burritt's sarcastic remarks reflected the security he felt that he would suffer no repercussions for expressing his lack of regard for "blue coats." Whether he whispered it to sympathetic ears or aloud within the hearing of a Yankee soldier remains unknown. His impertinent words made their way to someone who passed them along to his commanding officer, and, as it turns out, posterity.

Amatus Robbins Burritt arrived from his native Illinois with unusual medical skills. He was trained by his father, Dr. Alexander Burritt, as a homoeopathic physician, and studied at the new Western Homoeopathy College in Cleveland, where he graduated in 1853. The 27-year-old Amatus Burritt owned $5,000 in personal property which did not include slaves. It *did* include his practice and partnership with Dr. Samuel Hunt in 1860 in Huntsville. He successfully treated the sick during an outbreak of scarlatina and quickly earned a reputation for his ardent devotion to patients, his "intuitive perception of disease," a genial manner, and "irascible humor." What was taken as irascible humor by one side during hostilities did not amuse the other side. (There is no official record, but one source reported that Dr. Burritt served briefly in the Confederate army while his Union brother was held prisoner. Dr. Amatus was "instrumental in securing his release.")[538]

In 1866, Amatus Burritt married Mary King Robinson, a daughter of wealthy widow Caroline Robinson of the Quietdale plantation. They soon had two children, Carrie Boardman and William Henry Burritt. In 1870, the family lived in downtown Huntsville; Dr. Burritt showed $8,000 of real estate and personal estate of $1,500. At his death on August 23, 1876, the newspaper shared that that Amatus Burritt was, "a truly excellent citizen and popular physician." The city of Huntsville "mourned the loss… and sincerely sympathized with the bereaved family… Dr. Burritt had been a citizen of Huntsville for about 23 years… We do not know that we ever announced a death with more sincere regret."[539]

William White, son of old Tommy White aged 18 or 19 years - On the 8th or there about of August 1863 I met this individual at Whitesburg on the Tennessee river. We crossed together. I made him believe that I was dodging the Federals. He acknowledged to me having been sent by Col. Prather 8th Confed Cavalry whose headquarters were there at Lacy Springs 4 miles south of

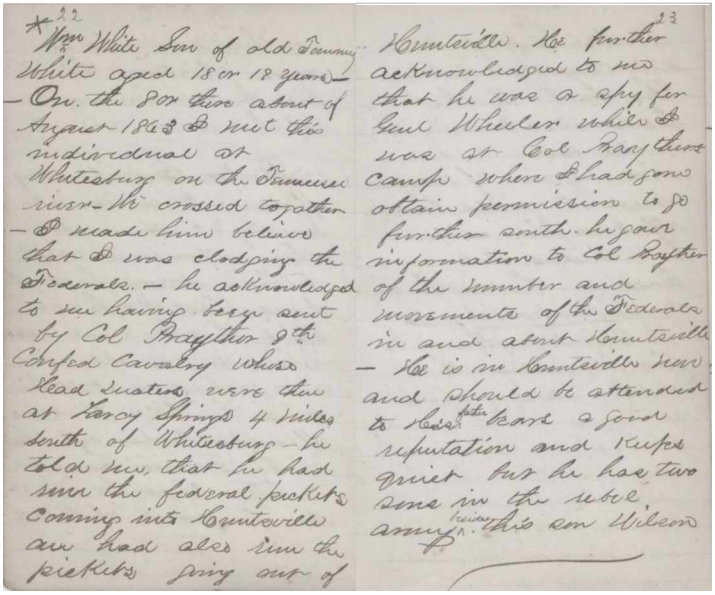
Whitesburg. He told me that he had run the federal pickets coming into Huntsville and had also run the pickets going out of Huntsville. He further acknowledged to me that he was a spy for Gen.l Wheeler while I was at Col. Prather's camp when I had gone [to] obtain permission to go further south. He gave information to Col. Prather of the number and movements of the Federals in and about Huntsville. He is in Huntsville now and should be attended to. his father bears a good reputation and keeps quiet but he has two sons in the rebel army besides this son William.

Emile Bourlier called the boy's father "old Tommy White" with what was probably no disrespect to Mr. White, about 44 years old at that time. He knew where Mr. White could be found, after all, when he named William Young Conn White as the culprit working against the Union. Bourlier did not mention the two older White sons who wore Rebel uniforms. If the Mastin family represented a successful merchant and planter class, the White men were no less successful.

The original Southern entrepreneur of the family, James White of Abington, Virginia was known as the "Salt King." He also heavily invested in iron bar production. He recognized the need to get his products distributed to prospective customers farther south. The Holston River provided transportation to the Tennessee River, and flatboats could float to Chattanooga, Guntersville, Huntsville, and sometimes later in the spring, past the Shoals, above Florence. James White made those early trips by barge. In 1817 – two years prior to Alabama statehood – White and a partner named Major John Read established a general merchandise "storehouse" on the town square of Huntsville. That site, a choice spot on the southwest corner of the square, would be known as the "James White Corner." The two-story building was made of brick, with a 32-foot front; it extended back for 70 feet. That same year his partner, Major Read, returned from a trip to New York with "an assortment of goods equal to any in the western country." The building was offered for rent in 1821, as was White's ferry, the tavern, and some cleared land at Ole' Man Ditto's Landing, which would soon become the village of Whitesburg. James White died in 1838 and left an estate valued at $700,000.[540]

Thomas Wilson White, educated back east, remained in Huntsville after he inherited shares of his father's many mercantile businesses and one of his father's three extensive plantations. His was approximately 3,000 acres of prime forest and cleared land both at Whitesburg and across the Tennessee River in Morgan County. In 1840 Thomas married the granddaughter of former Governor Thomas Bibb, Susan Bradley. He bought a house at the eastern end of Maiden Lane (now Eustis Street) in 1844 and immediately added more rooms for his growing family, which would eventually include 12 children. They entertained often and lived well, according to an 1857

account by Parson William Brownlow when his acquaintance, Tom Wilson, drove him around town in a buggy driven by a particularly fine horse at the heady rate of eight miles per hour.[541]



In 1860 Susan, 42-year-old planter Thomas White, and their children were comfortably settled, listing real estate of $85,000 and personal property of $75,000 including the value of the 34 people they enslaved. The three oldest sons were Alexander, called Sandy, age 16; James Bradley, 14; and 12-year-old William. (Bourlier's notes incorrectly listed William as a mature 15-year-old with treacherous missions to accomplish.) Susan White's mother, Adeline Bradley, also resided in the household with three children and modest means of her own.

All three White boys encountered combat in the War. James and Sandy were in Co. F of the 4th Alabama Infantry. Sandy was wounded in Virginia and returned home on crutches to recuperate. James' duties took him to Manassas in the first two years, Williamsburg, and all the Peninsular campaigns, where he was slightly wounded. After recovering he was stationed as a sergeant of the artillery in Mobile. There, he joined his first cousin, Gen. William Y.C. Humes, who led a brigade under Gen. Joe Wheeler's Cavalry. Now a captain, James White was wounded at Resaca and later captured near Macon, Georgia. He escaped after three weeks and found his way to rejoin General Humes. At Fayetteville, North Carolina when the general was severely wounded, Capt. James White carried him from the field and stayed with his cousin until doctors arrived.

Sandy White's experiences were not recorded, but he survived what must have been life-changing adventures, as well. No mother wanted to send her

children to war, but when questioned by a federal officer as to whether two of her sons in the Confederate army, Mrs. White replied in effect, yes, she had three, and if there were 36 more, she would expect them all be in the army.

Young William served briefly as a private in Co. G of the 4th Alabama Cavalry as the War wound down. Susan White later revealed that, while hiding Rebels in the attic of her home, she fed Yankees in the kitchen; sometimes men in gray were in the root cellar while the property was searched by soldiers in blue. Susan did her part as best she could, as did Mr. White, whom Mary Jane Chadick regarded highly. On the stormy night when Colonel Chadick hid in Mayhew's cellar as Union soldiers searched the Chadick house and combed the streets for him, "Old Tommy White" escorted the Colonel and Sandy White to safety over the mountain.

In May 1864, Union soldiers dug and tore up the White's yard to install rifle pits in the front, enclosing the house within Fort Taylor. That winter was severe, with Union troops stationed in town building "shebangs" for living quarters. They paid the younger White boys, among other local youngsters, to gather bricks and nails for them.[542]

Winter Quarters
Library of Congress

Young William White, however, was a spy who shared military intelligence with the enemy, as reported by Emile Bourlier in his official statement. After all, White lived within the confines of the enemy fort, and he, among all the young lads about town, would know that the Whitesburg Pike path through his father's acreage was the best way to cross the river, and specific spots where Colonel Prather and his men might hide.

Financial recovery took many years for Tom and Susan White. Their sons returned and took up residence in the Eustis Street house, known as "The Hill," with Susan listed as head of household. Tom was 53 in 1870, with $10,000 in real estate and $1,000 in personal property. Most of the adult children remained at home; two more children had been born since the previous census. Two older servants, Moses 50, and Jennie White, 75 years old, resided with the family.

Passing years added stability as people resumed social activities. The Whites held an 1880 "Parlor Concert" at their residence, featuring music and tableaus to benefit the Presbyterian Church; their spacious parlors could

entertain 200 people. The concert raised $50 for the church from their "recherche and elegant" entertainments, and a May celebration was planned.[543]

Mrs. White kept a diary of sorts during the War years, and later wrote briefly about her affectionate but maturing household. She prepared to plant corn, Willie installed a croquet set for the younger children, and an 1887 visit to Monte Sano Mountain offered a beautiful view and sad memories. In early February 1889, Mr. White brought her the first crocus of the season from the front yard; the grapes were good that year and she made 25 gallons of wine. In the spring of 1891, "…my beloved husband was passing from earth, but oh how can I live without him?" She did, of course, and "the boys" planted the garden along with Ed Mitchell, a hired hand. She did not seem surprised when afore-mentioned servant old Jennie, well into her late nineties, was for the first time unable to help cut the potatoes for planting. Remembering Tom's birthday on August 15, she wrote, "His old wife can truly say this is the saddest day of her life." She died one month later; the year was 1896. Susan Bradley White surely survived as wife and mother throughout every exceptional and painful day of the War as had "old Tommy White," the youthful spy William, and his brothers and sisters.[544]

Of the once young Rebel spy William White, there was little news. He lived at home, single, with sisters Bessie, Ada, and Jane, who were also unmarried and a single brother, Frank. Neither man listed an occupation. William may not have needed one because, in his will, his father, "Old Tommy," bequeathed the plantations across the river to his five daughters; those on the north side of the river went to his six sons. Furthermore, he left William the rental fees from properties in town and the Whitesburg ferry.[545] Will was never listed in a census as head of household; that position always went to one of the girls. In 1910, when sister Bessie was noted as a seamstress, Will was given as an invalid with no occupation. William White died on May 6, 1914, and was buried at Maple Hill Cemetery.[546]

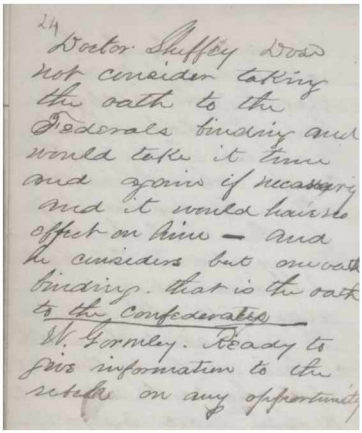
Tommy White House, 461 Eustis Street
HABS

Doctor Sheffey does not consider taking the oath to the Federals binding and would take it time and again if necessary and it would have no effect on him - and he considers but one oath binding. That is the oath to the Confederates.

There was hardly any doubt as to the feelings of Dr. Lawrence Brangle Sheffey. He graduated from Emory and Henry College in 1839, and the University of New York City in 1842, after which Sheffey sought a successful medical practice in the South. He came from Abingdon, Virginia by stagecoach in 1845 with his wife, Elizabeth White (Humes) and their baby, Jane Elizabeth. Elizabeth, a daughter of Princeton-educated John Humes and Margaret White Humes, was held to be "the prettiest girl in Virginia" and "rode a horse like a Valkyrie." She left behind a large family of brothers who may have strengthened her for what was to come.

After his young family resided in Mooresville for two years, Doctor Sheffey decided his chance for a truly successful practice could be found in Huntsville. They lived in the household of the hatter Andrew Johnson for a time, then boarded with Mrs. Fleming on Holmes Avenue. Sheffey later paid for a house to be erected on that same street while his office practice was on Eustis Street. In 1860, Lawrence was 41 with $10,000 in real estate and $15,000 property value, including 12 enslaved people. He and Elizabeth, 34, by this time had four young children at home. With the first invasion, according to family stories, she hid the silver in the garden and temporarily fled to Oak Place , taking cover in the wine cellar with the children. Although the doctor did not serve, six of Elizabeth's seven brothers were officers in the Confederate army.[547]

Dr. Sheffey died of cholera in 1865, leaving Elizabeth with six young children and no income. She was the Executrix of his will, with Thomas W. White as the Executor. A full pardon from President Johnson arrived in August of 1866, but it granted Elizabeth no financial relief. She was hard pressed to find the cash to pay the steep tax assessment of $60 for that year, as well as uncollected bills from her husband's practice. She was reduced to accepting shares of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad at par from Joseph Bradley, who was hardly better off than Elizabeth at the time. As the weeks went by, her children had few clothes, and the oldest boy, John, went without shoes for almost the entire winter. By 1870, however, perhaps with help from older brothers Milton and Thomas Humes, Elizabeth showed $18,000 of real estate in Arkansas (most likely from her father's estate) and $1,000 in personal property. With family support from her brothers who moved to Huntsville, they survived. One of those Humes brothers, Milton, married Ellelee, daughter of former Governor Reuben Chapman.[548]


24
Doctor Shuffey does not consider taking the oath to the Federals binding and would take it time and again if necessary and it would have no effect on him — and he considers but one oath binding. that is the oath to the Confederates
W. Gormley. Ready to give information to the rebels on any opportunity

W. Gormley. Ready to give information to the rebels on any opportunity.

William Moody Gormley, Irish by birth, arrived in Pennsylvania when he was about 12 years old. He learned to work with leather and became a saddler. He made his way south to Huntsville, married, and experienced a terrible loss when his wife, MaryAnn Feeney, and their two babies died of smallpox in August of 1837. He then married widow Louisa Spotswood (Grant) Hall, who had three children already; together they would have five more. Gormley was a well-respected community leader, rising to prominence when his colleagues elected him Master of the Helion Lodge from 1854 until 1862. He served as the city tax collector from 1862 to 1866 –unfortunate years for anyone holding that position, as there was significantly less to appraise and little to collect. His shop was located on the east side of the square while the family resided on Holmes Street; his son William Jr. clerked at J.W. Cooper's dry goods store. In 1860, the census showed William to be 52 years old, valued at $3,520 real estate, with $3,000 in personal property. He and Louise did not own any slaves, but hard work in his leather shop made it a success. He kept three hired hands, recorded as earning a total of $45 per month, and his annual value of products as a saddler was $2,600. When war was declared, young William, then about 21, enlisted on April 26 to join Company F of the 4th Alabama Infantry. He served at and survived Manassas, was discharged at Richmond in November, and returned home to reenlist in September 1862. The young man was captured in early 1865 and paroled near Macon, Georgia in April as the War drew to a close.[549]

One blue-clad soldier courted Margaret Gormley, the young daughter, who earlier played only *Dixie* on the piano when officers came to call. Major Jacob Crooker of the 12th Tennessee Cavalry, USA returned to marry Margaret in June 1865, and take her home with him. William Gormley Sr. registered to vote in 1867, and was still listed as a saddler in 1870. By that time, his personal property value diminished to $900, and the family resided

in Gurleysville. Now 65 years old, William Sr. and his family had experienced hard times.[550]

Appendix D

Good Union Men

Doctor Patton, Daniel Cross, saddler, Conrad Beeman

Charles Hays Patton

Dr. Charles Hays Patton's circle of friends and relatives truly embodied the web of Madison County family connections. It was no accident that this family settled and fared so well. His father, William Patton, arrived from Ireland with his wife and met Andrew Beirne. Beirne was a fellow Irishman who landed in Philadelphia with 30 shillings to his name; he would go on to create a mercantile empire. At the time of his death, Beirne's name and reputation as a deep-pocketed businessman and legislator lingered over the countryside of western Virginia. Perhaps with financial backing from Beirne, William Patton brought his family (wife, nee Martha Hays, and their first three children) to Madison County around 1812. The young family drove the wagon southward with their few possessions to Huntsville. Once there, Patton built the first cotton gin in town, a one-horse tread-wheel powered machine located on Walker Street. Horsepower in those days was produced by actual horses and mules. William Patton branched out into the county, demonstrating and constructing other cotton gins and presses.

His family grew, as well; William Patton's children remained in Madison County and made prosperous matches in the community.

Eldest son John was a planter and merchant who the Dun agency reported as wealthy and punctual.

Second son Charles attended Yale, the University of Pennsylvania medical school, and married Susan Bierne, the daughter of his father's successful business partner.

Son Robert married into the Brahan and Weakley families.

Daughter Jane married a son of LeRoy Pope, daughter Martha married merchant and Militia General J.B. Bradford, and sister Mary Ann Gooch, twice-widowed, lived in the cottage next door to Charles. Only Margaret Patton moved from Madison County when she married "Cotton King" Ned Richardson, reportedly the largest grower of cotton in the United States.[551]

In 1832, James J. Donegan, William Patton, and Patton's son Robert, pooled their fortunes for a new venture that was financially backed by Andrew Beirne. They formed the Patton Donegan & Company in order to establish the Bell Factory Mill. In preparation, they bought up small existing

mills with land along the Flint River; and the state legislature voted to incorporate their new mill. Andrew Beirne remained the major stockholder of the Bell Factory Store in Huntsville, selling cloth made at the factory. At the 1845 death Andrew Beirne and 1846 death of William Patton, Susan and Charles inherited from both of those estates.

In 1848, Dr. Patton purchased Poplar Grove, the former house of LeRoy Pope – the hill that looked down over Huntsville would now be known as Patton's Hill. Patton then commissioned local architect George Steele to add a classical revival portico to the front of the Federal-style house. Patton intended to remodel the front driveway entrance from Lincoln Street up to his home. (According to the family, building material was already stored on the site, and Union troops took advantage of the convenient supplies for their own use.) Susan and Charles Patton raised four children there as he prospered as a physician, investor, and planter, but Susan passed away in 1852. Dr. Patton owned the larger share of Patton & Donegan at Bell Factory Cotton Mill, half the shares of the first National Bank of Huntsville, and raised the cotton sent to his mill from his plantations.[552]

Dr. Charles Patton House from Lincoln Street
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

In 1855, the poorly kept secret came to light that widower Dr. Charles Patton, one of the wealthiest men in the county, courted and married Martha Moore. It is likely that Martha, widow of Dr. David Moore, was the wealthiest woman in the county at that time.[553] Five years later Patton owned two plantations that ran on the labor of 71 enslaved people. In addition, the firm Patton & Donegan held 147 enslaved people (most of whom were workers at Bell Factory Cotton Mill), and Patton's wife, Martha, enslaved 70 people in her own name.

At the time of the 1860 census, Charles and Martha lived with three of his children, Martha, William, and Oliver while Patton's real estate value was given as $120,000, with $400,000 in personal property. Martha Moore

Patton's three adolescent children chose not to live with her and their new step-father, but instead with their married sister, Harriett (Moore) Barnard. (There was little need to worry for them, however; they inherited real estate and personal property assets from their deceased father, Dr. David Moore, valued at over one-half million dollars divided among the four of them.)*

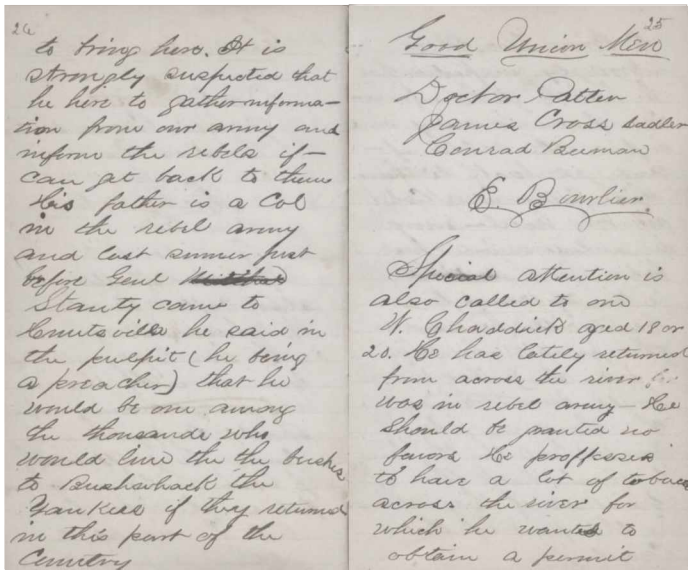
Moore House 603 Adams Street
HHC

Martha (Hays) Patton, mother of the extremely successful Patton men, died in November of 1861 as Huntsville was still under Southern control. Doctor Charles Patton's son William Patton, not yet 18 years of age, died of "camp fever" in August 1862 on his way to enlist in the Confederate army. Union soldiers who later occupied town eventually made their headquarters in the Patton house. Now known as Fort Taylor, the land included gun placements in the front yard. The cottage that belonged to Dr. Charles' sister Mary Ann Gooch was torn down in April 1862, and the entire area east to "Old" Tommy White's place now was inside the fort perimeter. Nonetheless, Emile Bourlier wrote that Charles Patton was a "good Union man."[554]

Doctor Charles Patton, who supported the grand old flag, applied for a pardon in September 1865 as he prepared the next steps for the people he enslaved. In a version later reported by the family, Doctor Patton informed each of the former slaves of their freedom, and also gifted each with a cow and calf. Charles Patton died in June 1866, but his estate was not settled until 1872. His three remaining heirs each received a first settlement of $36,000; after properties were sold, they divided more than $56,000 among them. Daughter Mary's husband, Major William Echols, was tasked with

*Dr. Moore served in the Alabama state legislature for 13 sessions and was known for sponsoring "the woman's law." It gave some degree of legal status for women, protecting them from financial mismanagement by their spouse. If a husband became bankrupt or ill-used his wife's assets, the wife and children did not necessarily lose their possessions.

reviving the Bell Factory Mills without enslaved workers; it operated until the late 1880s.[555]



to bring here. It is strongly suspected that he here to gather information from our army and inform the rebels if can get back to them. His father is a Col in the rebel army and last summer just before Genl Stanley came to Huntsville he raised in the pulpit (he being a preacher) that he would be one among the thousands who would live the life of a bushwhacker if they returned in this part of the Country

Good Union Men

Doctor Patton
James Cross Saddler
Conrad Beeman

E. B. Tomlin

Special attention is also called to one W. Chasteen aged 19 or 20. He has lately returned from across the river & was in rebel army. He should be granted no favors he professes to have a lot of tobacco across the river for which he wants to obtain a permit

James Daniel Cross

The two men who followed Dr. Patton on the list were blessed with neither his wealth nor status, but were considered to be among the best Union men. In 1860, saddler James Daniel Cross lived in town with his mother, Rutha. James, 30, held no assets according to the census, but Rutha had $1,500 of real estate and $150 in personal property which included the value of one 65-year-old enslaved woman. Daniel's brother Jonathan, who married Lucy Phipps in 1853, farmed nearby in the New Hope area.[556]

Daniel Cross registered to vote in 1867, as did many White men. The years of Reconstruction were not kind to him or his mother. The dire need for saddles, rigging, and saddle repair during and after the War was not enough to make Daniel's business a success. He still appeared to practice his trade, but neither he nor his mother showed any assets in 1870, and six formerly enslaved people lived in his household. Mrs. Cross died the next year, "an affectionate mother."[557]

Conrad Beeman

Conrad Beeman, originally from Germany, could be found in the southern half of Madison County in 1840, but later set up a blacksmith shop on Holmes Avenue. According to the 1850 census, he enslaved four Black men ranging in age from 22 to 24 who performed labor-intensive work at the shop. He showed no assets, but he lived at home with his wife Elizabeth and their four daughters. One daughter, Martha, resided at their home with her husband Sam, a stonecutter. Charles Cabaniss, a merchant with $5,000

in real estate holdings, and clerk John Higgins also lived there, paying room and board. Ten years later, records showed Beeman's shop with a capital investment of $1,200. He employed no machinery at the business for blacksmithing or miscellaneous repairs, though Conrad employed two men earning a total of $60 each month who produced $3,337 worth of products in one year. This amount was higher than competing blacksmiths Albert Bentley and Albert McDavid. At the age of 51 he owned $4,500 in real estate and $2,000 in personal property, although it appears that he held no slaves at that time.[558]

Conrad Beeman emerged from those painful years showing, yet again, no assets in 1870, although he still worked as a blacksmith at the age of 62. His wife was no longer listed, but two servants appeared to live in the household. His daughters married during these years; two of them lived with him, including Martha Blansford and her daughter. Conrad's daughter Mary Ann, her husband Jeremiah Murphy, and their newborn son also lived there.

Jeremiah Murphy owned $1,500 in real estate and $200 in property values; his occupation was listed as "gambler." Gamblers, it appeared, could do well. Jere Murphy's father was born in Cork County, Ireland, and settled in Huntsville to raise his family. In 1860, young Jere clerked in a mercantile store, worked in the printing office of *The Huntsville Democrat*, and rose to become County Clerk as the War began. In 1862, he was elected as a 3rd Lt. under Colonel Russell, and fought at Chickamauga. Next, he relocated to Nashville, then Memphis, as a civilian, working as a government auctioneer. He returned to work in a woodworking shop in Huntsville, and married Mary Ann Beeman in 1867. He was elected mayor in 1874, to be re-elected four times afterwards. One citation after his death offered that Jere Murphy was a "genial, companionable gentleman."[559]

Special attention is also called to one W. Chadick, aged 18 or 20. He has lately returned from across the river. Was in rebel army. 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 - can get back to them. His father is a Col. in the rebel army and last summer just before Gen.l Stanley came to Huntsville he said in the pulpit (he being a preacher) that he would be one among the thousands who would live [in] the bushes to Bushwhack the Yankees if they returned in this part of the country.

William Chadick

Young Charles William Chadick, called "Billy" or "Willie" by his stepmother Mary Jane, was 14 years old in 1860, living with his father's (Rev. W.D. Chadick's) family. Reverend Chadick married Malinda Davis, but she died in 1848, leaving him with four children under the age of six. He married Mary Jane Cook in Lebanon, Tennessee, and they had four children together. Chadick enslaved five people whose value were included in the report of his personal property of $4,620; Chadick also held $6,000 in real estate. At the start of the War, Reverend Chadick served as a chaplain with the 4th Alabama Infantry Regiment, but soon became a fighting colonel on the Manassas and Shiloh battlefields. He suffered from the resulting effects of those traumas and returned home to recover during the absence of Federal soldiers. Chadick then became Chief of Staff for Alabama Governor Shorter and commanded "home guards." This left his wife, Mary Jane, and children at home with Billy, his oldest son.

The boy was clearly under suspicion. Mary Jane reported in the diary she kept during the War years that Union soldiers once asked Billy's sister where her "bushwhacking brother" was during the invasion at the Ewing house on Whitesburg Pike.

Christmas 1863 was a lonely one for Mary Jane without her husband, Billy (now disappeared), and her youngest son Davie. While visiting relatives in Lebanon, Tennessee, Davie was forced to remain there indefinitely due to unsafe wartime travelling conditions.

Adding to Mary Jane's woes was the frightening thought that the enemy was still in their midst. The Chadick home was searched for her Rebel husband W.D. and for weapons. During these searches, however, other items were known to disappear. Likewise, as the intensity of the War continued, searches upon the clothing of women became more intense. "All manner of things… come over the border under the large hoops now worn… Not legs but arms are looked for under hoops, and sad to say, they are found."[560]

Searching Rebel Homes
Harper's

Davie Chadick finally returned from Lebanon thanks to Mary Jane's sister, who travelled to Huntsville during a lull in the War. Mary Jane, Davie, and Billy went to the river to visit with W.D., who crossed by boat under a white flag of truce. Mary Jane made the journey across the river at least twice in a canoe and rode behind him on horseback (a very unladylike fashion at the time) to his camp site. As a connected member of Huntsville society, Mary Jane was well aware of the number of soldiers garrisoned in town, and heard hints of their preparations. She almost certainly gave her husband this information. This, by definition, made her a spy.[561]

Billy Chadick was across the river in April 1864, when he mentioned to a friend that "his business was not concluded," and he would not be home for two or three weeks. Mary Jane either truly did not know his "business" or sensibly chose not to ask. On one trip across the river to Morgan County, Billy had an encounter with the spy Emile Bourlier. Young Chadick returned home in June to tangle with the provost but was allowed to stay. He secured a job at the railroad depot, where he purchased much-needed provisions for the family from arriving and departing soldiers. The Federals in charge did not seem suspicious of the boy, as he was allowed to go out into the countryside in May. With the War over, Billy left without telling anyone goodbye, "Perfectly in keeping with his eccentricity!"[562]

Given what is known of his career and history, the observation about Reverend W.D. Chadick bushwhacking with bands of thousands of other like-minded men does not ring true. Billy Chadick, on the other hand, seemed to obtain passes to cross picket lines easily. He always seemed to be in the best possible locations to spy, bushwhack, and, with a job at the epicenter of transportation, quickly report troop movements.

Of the eight Chadick children, only Billy remained in Madison County after the War. Reverend Chadick and Mary Jane moved on to other church congregations, and Billy's siblings relocated with work and marriages. Billy's sister Sue married the personable Union officer Captain Samuel Fordyce, who assisted the family in many ways. Billy farmed near Taylorsville along the river; some of his sons were named for his father and for the captain.[563]

Appendix E

Whitesburg Pike

On the right-hand side of the road

The agent made meticulous lists of people in need of protection and others who were Rebels. The Tennessee River was now secured, and the railroad and telegraph were generally maintained. The primary road from Fayetteville to the north continued to serve as a major roadway with protection for massive troop movements, as were the rail and telegraph lines to Stevenson toward Chattanooga. The need for food and forage for men and horses was critical to sustain the occupation.

Who was yet to be identified with certainty along the compacted, broken layers of road that made up Whitesburg Pike south to the Tennessee River? The writer did not offer the sentiments of the owners along that roadway. He offered the approximate mileage of the large land-owners who held the properties. The owners did not, themselves, live in these houses. Most maintained fine town homes, and some refugeed south across the river in the uncertain times.

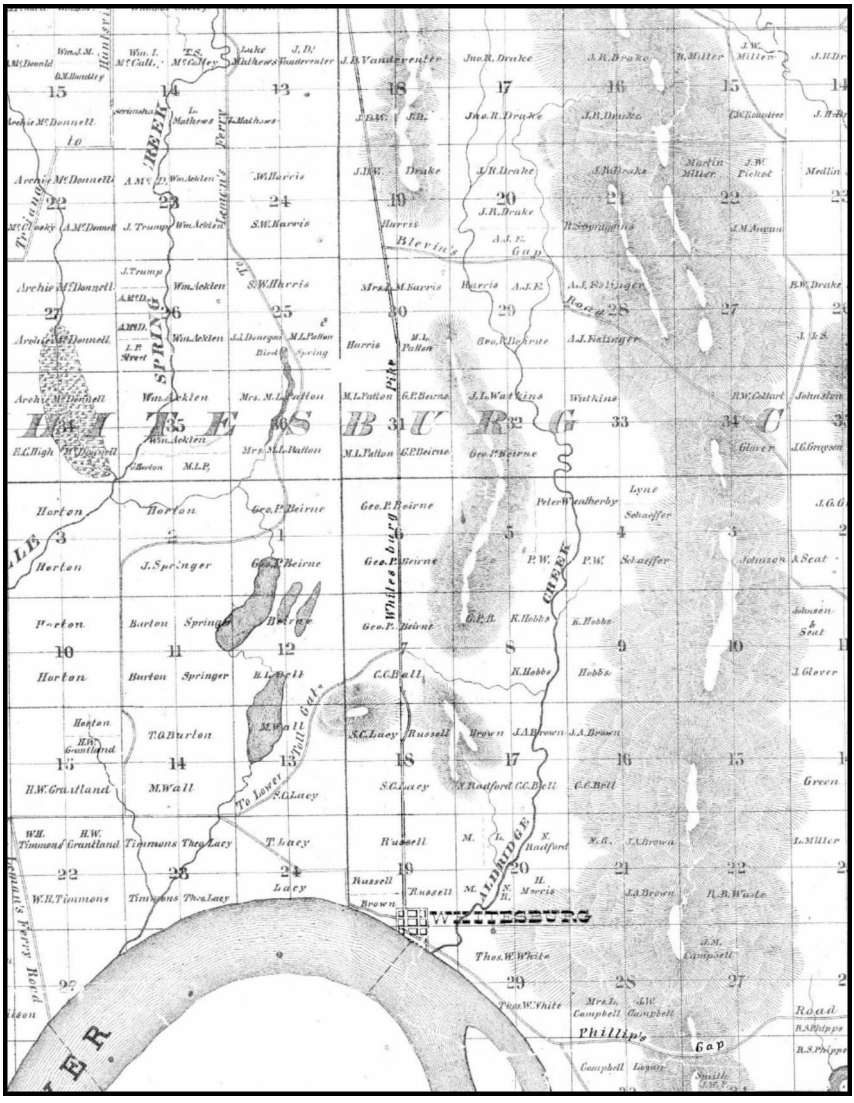
1. Right side of road	**1 mile**	**Mr. Barnard**
2. Left side of road	**2 miles**	**Mr. Steve Ewing**
3. Left side of road	**3 miles**	**Mr. Robert Bricket**
4. Left side of road	**5 miles**	**Mr. Steve Harris**
5. Right side of road	**5 ¾ miles**	**Mr. Charles Patton**
6. Left side of road	**5 ¾ miles**	**George Burns**
7. Right side of road	**7 miles**	**George Burns**
8. Right side of road	**7 ¼ miles**	**Mr. A.H. Lazee**
9. Right side of road	**8 ¼ miles**	**John Russell**
10.Right side of road	**8 miles**	**Mr. T. Lazee & Mrs. Wall**
11.Left side of road	**1 mile from Patton's plantation**	**Mr. Hayns, Mr. Witherly**

Jack Drake's Plantation occupied by Turner nearly east of Harris.

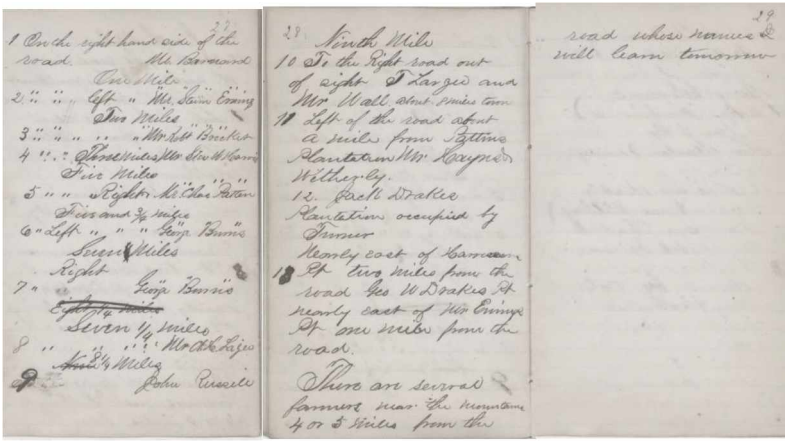
Rt. two miles from the road Geo. W. Drakes, Rt. nearly east of Mr. Ewing's Rt. one miles from the road.

The Huntsville city limits were far smaller in those days – not much more than the original boundary of the one square mile township. County laws required that mile markers be posted by the supervisor of the county roads in each district. Additionally, the supervisor was responsible for posted roadway signage, and a few remnants of names remain, like Four Mile Post

Road. The southern half of the county served as one enormous breadbasket, producing crops and livestock – supplies that were needed by both Rebel and Union armies alike. There were also well over 1,000 unprotected Black men, women, and children in bondage there. All were ripe for gathering – forage, crops, and former slaves – along the road south to the river.



1875 James Mayhew Map of Madison County 1875 Whitesburg Pike



John D. Barnard

The first name was that of Dr. John D. Barnard, a Huntsville newcomer. Locals learned of his background from his mother-in-law, the well-to-do Martha Moore. When her husband passed away in 1854, she sent their daughter, Harriet, to Mrs. Lamb's School in Philadelphia. Part of completing a young woman's education was meeting and socializing with others of the same class, and she met John Barnard from Savannah. He was "of noble character and one worthy of Miss Hattie." The young couple married in 1854 at the Huntsville Church of the Nativity, she 18 years old. In a letter to his brother Clement, John Withers Clay described the church setting and reception in a tone of amazement. (Hattie's mother Martha who married the afore-mentioned Dr. Charles Patton a few weeks after her own wedding.)

The Whitesburg Pike property noted by Bourlier belonged to Harriet Barnard as part of her inheritance from her father. At the beginning of the War, young Harriet had quite enough on her hands with the quick births of three babies, plus a new stepfather, and three siblings (one 22 years old and two adolescents) in her household. A sudden illness took her husband John Barnard in 1860.[564]

Stephen Saunders Ewing

Stephen Saunders Ewing showed great initiative and success with business on the public square of Huntsville while Alabama was still part of the Mississippi Territory. Born in 1789 in Virginia, he became an active participant in the Huntsville community, investing where he saw possibilities. Ewing and partner Martin Beaty purchased one of the best locations on the west side of the square in 1816 and built a two-story brick storehouse with 100-foot frontage, Ewing continued collecting property on the square. At one time, he was president of the Branch Bank of Huntsville, and financially successful enough to purchase over 350 acres of farm land

before 1820. In 1825, he added still more land and built on the site about three miles outside of town what would become his country seat, Cedarhurst. By 1840, the 90 people he enslaved cleared forest land in preparation to plant additional cotton.

In the next 10 years, however, a great deal occurred within the Ewing family as Stephen expanded his holdings in other areas and his adult children married. Ewing knew that much of his land was overworked and depleted by the one-crop system. It was becoming a widespread issue; one prominent leader noted "cotton has destroyed more than earthquakes or volcanic eruptions... constantly increasing deterioration of the soil… worn out leaving a desolate picture." Huntsville's own Clement C. Clay, a former governor and plantation owner himself, spoke before the U.S. Senate, "I can show you with sorrow, in the older portions of Alabama the sad memorials of the artless and exhausting culture of cotton… numerous farm houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent freemen… deserted and dilatated." Many like Clay, always in debt, recognized the loss of future profits in cotton and the need for more enslaved workers, but still could not, or would not, change their course. Ewing, no longer a young man, still looked to the future. Most of his adult children joined him in a move to Aberdeen, Mississippi. Although his wife Mary (Carter) Ewing died suddenly in late 1849, he kept some of her family's property – now his – in Madison County.[565]

One son, Alexander Ewing, married Mary Jane Malone in 1842 and decided to try fresh land to the west. In 1856, he moved his family to Texas, where he died the following year, as did two of their children. Mary Jane Ewing returned to Huntsville and stayed at Cedarhurst with her four remaining children. In 1860, her personal property, including 10 enslaved people, amounted to $8,289; she owned no real estate. Mary Jane Chadick's step-daughter, Jennie, stayed with Mary In November 1863, five Federal soldiers entered Jane Ewing's home around midnight, demanding to know where Jennie's "bushwhacking brother" and "pistol-toting sister" were hiding. Getting no satisfaction, they continued next door to the home of Mrs. Ewing's father-in-law Stephen Ewing, whose bravery "completely nonplussed the cowardly ruffians and they slunk away." Nonetheless the Ewings discovered 21 "servants" missing the next morning.[566]

Stephen Ewing joined his family in Aberdeen in 1865, selling Cedarhurst and much of his acreage to a neighbor on the Pike. The house has long been admired, and stories of visits from the ghost of Mary Ewing's sister, Sally Carter, are still told today. The ghost has apparently been seen by family members and visitors alike.[567]

Cedarhurst

Robert Coman Brickell

The next property owner listed was Robert Coman Brickell, a name that made many citizens of Huntsville proud not in his capacity as a merchant, planter, or politician, but as a noted jurist. He studied law and, in 1851, became associated with Septimus Cabaniss, a lawyer of sterling reputation in Huntsville. One associate who knew Brickell described him as "small of stature and delicate" but said he overcame "early career difficulties occasioned by his diffidence, a book-worm with great memory, his arguments were profound and he is sure to make the worse side appear the better." When Cabaniss retired, Brickell became the partner of Pope Walker, who was arguably the most prominent attorney in the state. Brickell's vast earnings as an attorney allowed him to invest in land and farming. By 1860, at only 35, Robert Brickell held $20,000 in real estate and $60,000 value in personal property that included 33 slaves.[568]

It appeared that Robert Brickell took no part in the Civil War. Immediately after the War's conclusion he purchased Cedarhurst from his neighbor, Stephen Ewing, who, in December 1865, was in the process of consolidating his assets. Brickell lived there with his mother and one brother. They were, according to city directory, 2.5 miles from town, residing next door to James Ware, the Whitesburg Pike toll-gate operator. Brickell was appointed in 1873 to the state supreme court and served there until he retired in 1884, however he returned to serve as Chief Justice in 1894. He died November 1900.[569]

Stephen Willis Harris Jr.

Georgia-born Stephen Willis Harris Jr., who graduated from the University of Georgia with honors, was a planter residing near his well-off relatives on Randolph Street. In 1841, Harris married a cousin, Louisa Watkins from Petersburg, Georgia. Harris "was a lawyer of fine abilities, and would have succeeded well in his profession but his estate was too large for success in the legal profession."

Through Louisa, Harris' web of connections, wealth, and influence expanded and thrived. They lived in Courtland, Lawrence County for a time, near the plantations of Louisa's parents, Prudence (Oliver) and Robert Watkins, her sister, Mary Frances, and brother-in-law James Saunders. Louisa's siblings possessed great wealth, and a few married into even more. Her sister, Sarah Independence Watkins, married industrialist George Washington Foster. A third sister, Virginia Watkins, married another Foster brother, Thomas Jefferson. This family's assets existed in land value and that of the people they enslaved, who would soon be gone.

The girls' brother, James Laurence Watkins, called Laurence, married Eliza Patton, sister of Dr. Charles Patton; they lived in Huntsville near Patton's sister, Mary Ann Gooch. Brother Robert Watkins moved his family to Huntsville in 1861 to Adams Street, "caring for his young motherless children, and his aged mother." Family connections could be found everywhere, especially in this neighborhood.[570]

In 1850, Stephen Harris managed $15,000 worth of real estate, and, 10 years later, he and his small family were respected enough locally for him to be elected to the Alabama State House of Representatives. Now 42 years old, he and Louisa had two sons. His real estate was valued at $52,000, with at least 1,600 acres along Whitesburg Pike and $118,000 in personal property, including 79 slaves. On the April 11 evening of the Union invasion, Louisa was one of the ladies who "called" on General Mitchel asking permission to visit the wounded Southern soldiers held at the depot. Permission was granted and the women returned there with food and bedding for the injured men and recently captured prisoners.[571]

Louisa Harris wrote to her mother Prudence Watkins on May 11, 1862 sharing news that her husband had been arrested and was currently in the custody of General Mitchel:

> I don't know when we shall meet again, as the Federal forces are here, probably for the rest of the war. My nephew, Robert T. Saunders, has been a prisoner here two weeks today. Is out on parole, and spends his nights with brother Robert H. There are in the African Church forty prisoners taken at Bridgeport; and forty others in the Court House, brought in from this and Jackson counties, said to be accessory to burn bridges, tearing up railroad tracks, firing on pickets, etc… [hostage are] Bishop Lay, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Beirne, Mr. Gus Mastin, Mr. Tom McCauley, Wm. Moore, Mr. Withers, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Wm. Acklen, Dr. Fearn, and lastly my husband. [Mrs. Chadick noted twelve men but did not include Mr. Withers nor Reverend Banister or Sam Cruse. After all Mrs. Harris was rightfully distressed.] These twelve were arrested on the second. They are required by the General to sign an instrument in writing before they can be released…. When we heard from our plantation the negroes were all at work, but the Yankees had been there, broken open some houses, and distributed all the salt and meat among them, and fifteen

> wagon loads of corn. We have not heard from my dear son in two months, but I am trusting in God that all things shall work together for good to them that love Him.[572]

Louisa's brother Robert Watkins died in January 1864, and, after Union troops ransacked his house, his elderly mother and children stayed with the family of Laurence Watkins. During this occupation, the wife of a Union officer obtained keys to the Harris house and went inside to determine if it might be suitable for her stay in Huntsville. Throughout the dreadful day and night of bombardment, Louisa discussed what the next action should be with the equally beleaguered Chadick and Harriet Figures – flee to the country or stay and protect their homes? The women, who were entirely alone in these dire circumstances, made the painful decision to send their children to stay with the Steele family at Oak Place while they remained to guard their homes and possessions.[573]

The Harris son, Watkins Harris, was no more than 18 years old and a student on April 24, 1862, when he mustered into the 4th Alabama. Likeable and showing leadership abilities, his comrades quickly elected him 3rd Lieutenant, next a 2nd and then 1st Lieutenant, before he was promoted to Captain of his company in September. He fought at Manassas and several of the northern Virginia campaigns. He returned home briefly as a recruiting officer, but rejoined his unit in Virginia. Watkins Harris was hospitalized at Culpepper Station, Virginia with a spinal affliction, and again in September of 1863, when he was sent to Forsythe, Georgia to recover.

During his six-month convalesce from what would be a fatal scrofulous disease of the vertebrae, official notices were not sent to his commanding officers who recommended that he be "Dropped from Rolls." At a Georgia hospital in November of 1864, officers wrote expressively for his reinstatement. One medical officer, the surgeon in charge of the facility, considered him to be a brave and intelligent officer who was unreasonably penalized with "great injustice" because of the Confederate mail irregularity instigated by War. He wrote on "behalf of a patient who has sacrificed his health and most probably his life in his country's cause." Signed, D.D. Saunders. Dr. Dudley Saunders probably recognized that this young officer, who just happened to be his first cousin, would never recover.

Watkins Harris made what must have been an excruciating trip home in early 1865 to his family, after which he was bedridden. He now rested in peace and comfort at home, tended by loving family, rather than suffering in a far-off place among strangers.

Stephen Harris wrote a painful, undated letter to his sister:

> To Mrs. James E. Saunders: MY DEAR SISTER Mary,
> My precious, boy is gone where he shall hear of wars no more. He died in triumph at 1 o'clock Tuesday. I have been present at the death of several who have passed from earth to heaven, but none have left

brighter assurance of happiness beyond the grave. It was not until Sunday morning that he showed signs of speedy departure. We had been conversing cheerfully on historical subjects, but when I came back into his room, after a late breakfast, he told me he had great difficulty in breathing. I gave him stimulants, his pulse being very feeble, and he rallied. After church, the Methodist minister, Mr. Parks, came, at his request, and administered the sacrament of baptism to him and to me, and then the Lords Supper to all the family… Just before his death he asked Colonel Hardeman for a prayer, and after this he said Sing. His mother and all of us sang the old chant of the Christian, "On Jordan's stormy banks I stand," and when we reached the lines, No chilling winds, &c., he exclaimed, Glory to God!... Don't cry, father; there is no cause for grief. At 12 o'clock, in the midst of great suffering from the oppression in breathing, he said: I am going now; good-bye, mother; meet me in heaven! clasping her hands and kissing her; and so to all of us. To Allen, his faithful servant, who had accompanied him in all his weary marches and nursed him so lovingly in his illness, he stretched out his hand and said, Good-bye, my good and faithful friend; meet me in heaven! And when beyond the power of speech, he smiled and lifted his hand, pointing to Heaven. And so, passed away our precious boy.
Affectionately, your brother
S.W. HARRIS

The anguish of their loss was made only slightly less heartbreaking because their boy was at home among friends, and family, who helped prepare him for his final journey. His was "The Good Death," and they would meet again in a better place.[574]

Stephen Harris died in December 1869. Louisa, the wife he left behind, requested a pardon from President Johnson. She would also have to manage their property of over 1,600 acres, which was registered by authorities as abandoned. During Reconstruction, Federal Treasury authorities could confiscate and sell "captured and abandoned property," unless one could prove they never gave aid or comfort to the Confederacy.[575]

Charles Patton

Dr. Charles Patton, recognized as a good Union man (Bourlier earlier pronounced him to be loyal), owned vast amounts of productive farmland down Whitesburg Pike. Patton served in the Mexican War as a surgeon, and in 1860 his residence was listed as the house on Patton's Hill, his occupation a physician. If he held regular office hours, it is impossible to imagine them taking place at this mansion.

Patton searched for good overseers for his plantations, but they were hard to come by, much less keep. According to one observer, overseers as a class were much abused and slandered… owing to the drunken habits, libertinism,

coarse brutalities, and general bad conduct of many of their number." On the other hand,

> there are to be found among them men of sterling worth and incorruptible integrity – good citizens, intelligent managers, kind disciplinarians, and even sometimes they evince gentlemanly instincts, though but little polished in speech or manners.[576]

Dr. Patton's true calling transitioned to management of a different kind – Bell Factory Mills. Although there were already local mills spinning cotton thread, Andrew Beirne, Robert Patton, and James J. Donegan truly established the first significant manufacturing mill in Madison County to produce cloth on a large scale. Although trained as a physician, Dr. Charles Patton now owned the largest shares of Bell Factory Mills, and he inherited more as he assumed the active partner role to become business manager, supervisor, and president of the Mill.

On the Flint River near Three Forks, the water forced down a mill race powered a water-driven mechanism to operate the machinery. The mill remained the largest textile mill in the state for many years running 3,000 spindles and 100 loams, all operated by enslaved people. Across the river, a distillery, grist mill, and housing for the many mill workers were built.[577] Bell Factory Mills produced, from locally-grown raw cotton and wool, goods that were needed everywhere at the time – yarn and cloth, for instance, and sheeting, plaids, and ticking on a large commercial scale. The local housewife no longer needed to work a loom because her husband could trade any surplus cotton at the mill for fabric already woven. There was always a demand for cheap goods for almost half of the county –clothing and bedding for enslaved people. With 435,080 slaves, or 45% of the population of Alabama and 41% of Madison County, the need was enormous.

Farmers and planters who grew cotton locally no longer needed to ship it by circuitous and expensive routes to northern factories. The alternative was 1,500 miles by keel boat down the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans, taking four months, before it was shipped overseas to Liverpool, England. In 1851, the popular route from Whitesburg to Charleston, South Carolina was hardly an improvement. Shipping to South Carolina by freight cost $638 per bale by way of the Tennessee River upstream to Chattanooga, through Georgia by railroad to Charleston, then abroad.[578] J.J. Donegan directed the commercial end, selling fabric at the Bell Factory Store in Huntsville. (In 1829, Robert Patton moved to Athens to set up his own merchandising enterprise.) Meanwhile, the mercantile side of the Patton-Donegan partnership performed efficiently. Augustus Moen, the traveling agent for a leading tool manufacturer, Collins Company, passed through the larger towns along the Tennessee River in 1831. He realized "The Counties of Lauderdale, Limestone, Madison, Morgan,

Lawrence and part of Franklin contain some of the best lands, wealthiest merchants and planters in the site of Alabama… *most particularly* Huntsville." He admired the wealth of these men and their sense of business responsibility. Moen spent an entire day "among the principal merchants, 1st Patton Donegan & Co., 2nd F.T. Mastin & Company… Now all these merchants are said to be as good as the B[an]k of England." This was no less true as the War began.[579]

Patton, the "good Union man," may have offered the Federals insider information, but it is certain that they appropriated his Bell Factory and Whitesburg plantations as sources of supplies for their troops – with or without his permission.

George Plunkett Beirne

The next name was given as Burns, but he was well known locally as Beirne – George Plunkett Beirne. His father was, of course Andrew Beirne, the Virginian who traveled the old southwest buying up acreage and selling goods to newcomers. Andrew's children were raised in Monroe County in what is now West Virginia, but at least two – Susan, wife of Dr. Charles Patton, and George Plunkett – settled in Huntsville. George owned at least 2,880 acres on both sides of Whitesburg Pike soon after his college graduation. He also maintained one or two fine town houses including, for a time, the Bibb-Bradley house on Williams Street. He served as an alderman, then mayor of Huntsville, as a bank director, and sat on the board of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad.

George Beirne married Eliza Carter Gray in Virginia; they were now long settled. In the 1860 census, he was listed as approximately 50 years old, residing with his wife and six children, all daughters (among them was 19-year-old Lucy, the young woman who gave Will Mastin the sword and epaulettes as the men of the Madison Rifles left for war). George Beirne was listed as a farmer who held $55,000 in real estate and $235,000 in personal property which included the nine people he kept enslaved at his home and 80 more held in bondage to work his acreage. One older daughter, Ellen, married Yale graduate George Gordon in 1854; the couple kept a household of their own. George Beirne had "a striking personal appearance, a tall commanding figure… His face was an index of the candor and frankness of his character as a man." At the beginning of the War, he donated wheat to the poor families of men who were in the army, and he was remembered in his eulogy as one who showed "unswerving devotion to the people of this area in the line of political and pecuniary disaster."[580]

Beirne was one of the 12 town elders held hostage by General Mitchel in early 1862 as an attempt to quell Rebel guerrilla violence. While George Beirne was known to be "anti-secessionist," in January 1864 the family was given a generous 24 hours' notice to vacate their home on Williams Street for General Sherman's headquarters.

The Beirne family, and that of Stephen Harris, soon found their way across the river to become refugees in Dixie. Six months later the Beirne house became the provost marshal's domain and all civilian-military interactions were conducted there.[581]

The 1870 census showed Beirne and Eliza with more children. Sadly, however, their daughter Ellen died in 1867 leaving her husband – Colonel Gordon – with eight children, including a set of twins and a newborn baby. Gordon and the children lived with the Beirne family who, fortunately, could afford eight servants. George Beirne was glad to fall back on his profession as a lawyer and, while he owned only $2,000 of personal property, he held $20,000 in real estate values. George lived until 1881, "blessed are the pure in heart." His wife, Eliza, died in 1900, "the golden evening brightens in the west."[582]

Alexander Henderson Lacy

Still further down the turnpike was A.H. Lazee, referring to Alexander Henderson Lacy, or "Lacey," as it became written across the river. The surname lived on through many families and several variant spellings. Hopkins Lacy was in Huntsville as early as 1819, the time of statehood. Three more Lacy brothers, John, Theophilus, and Thomas arrived and settled in what would become Morgan County and Madison Counties along the fine alluvial soil of the Tennessee River. Alex Lacy's father John died in 1826, followed by the deaths of Hopkins and, in 1831, Theophilus Lacy. Alex Lacy probably lived in Madison County for some time at that point because, in 1839, he ran for the office of sheriff (he lost the race).

As the older generation passed, family members began moving to new land in Arkansas. In 1840, John Lacy's widow, Mary (called Polly), joined her son Alexander in south Madison County. Two years later, Alex married Sarah C. Wall, the daughter of his next-door neighbor. In 1850, he was 35 years old and she 26. There were no children, and Mr. Lacy held $1,000 of real estate which. By 1860, his real estate holdings were valued at $10,000 and his property at $67,000, including 49 slaves who lived in 12 houses. Four years later, Alexander's will revealed the unfortunate fact that he was in feeble health; he died in Talladega in November 1864. His body was returned and his probate was settled in December of the following year. He left his property to his wife, stipulating that, were she deceased at the time, one half of his property, personal and real estate, would go to his niece Elizabeth McLeod and the other half to Thomas H. Lacy of Arkansas.[583]

John Hooe Russel

John Hooe Russel, 17 years old, was not listed in the 1860 city directory, but by some error he was noted twice in the 1860 federal census, once on the day the census-taker visited the plantation, and again as living in town with his widowed mother, Martha, his brother Albert, and his sister Mary.

John's father, Dr. Albert Russel was a Virginian by birth, according to his registration in the Yale class of 1822, and his home was given as Huntsville. From there Albert attended Transylvania College in Lexington, Kentucky for medical training. Dr. Russel remained in Madison County, as had his father, Col. Albert Russel, with at least five other men of the same surname who settled in the southernmost part of the county on both sides of the lower Green Mountain range. Colonel Russel bought property along the major road to the river in 1816, then another 900 acres, including a prominent knoll, just west of Huntsville known as Russel's Hill. His son, Doctor Russel, married Martha J. Lacy, daughter of Hopkins Lacy in 1835; they lived in town and raised three children to adulthood. Doctor Albert Russel died in 1844 leaving his family comfortably fixed. The estate remained unsettled, although the enslaved people were distributed and annual settlements were set up for his heirs. Martha (Lacy) Russel kept 52 people enslaved on her southern property and four others to serve in her town home.[584]

After the shelling at Fort Sumter, men throughout the South gathered to form military units to defend their new country. John's sister, Miss Mary Russel, spoke to the assembled townspeople in April 1861 as they prepared to send the Madison Rifles to Pensacola for training. This was a home-grown company; Bell Factory manufactured the coarse uniform material which the ladies hurriedly sewed into uniforms. After an official visit to Pensacola by President Jefferson Davis, the men received fine new uniforms with gray Zouave-style jackets, pants, caps trimmed in green. White leggings completing the fashionable military look. Like Victor Venable, the young law student, Albert Russel Jr. succumbed to typhoid fever and died there before ever seeing the enemy.[585]

John Russel's mother, Martha, died unexpectedly as the new year of 1864 arrived; it was among the coldest winters people could remember. As Union soldiers from the 6th Wisconsin Battery trudged their way into town from Larkinsville on January 9, their animals and wagons were coated with ice. At approximately 4 o'clock in the afternoon, one unit came around the bluff to see the sun three miles ahead in the distance, shining brightly on the snow-covered roofs of a beautiful town. They marched through town with colors flying and bands playing, turned, and continued less than a mile west joining other units camped on Albert Russel's hill. Stationed there would soon be 16 artillery pieces, all aimed down at Huntsville. By the end of the month the 4th Minnesota Infantry arrived from New Market herding 700 sheep, cattle, hogs, four-five ox teams and wagons loaded with poultry, sweet potatoes, and corn – all taken from residents along the way.[586]

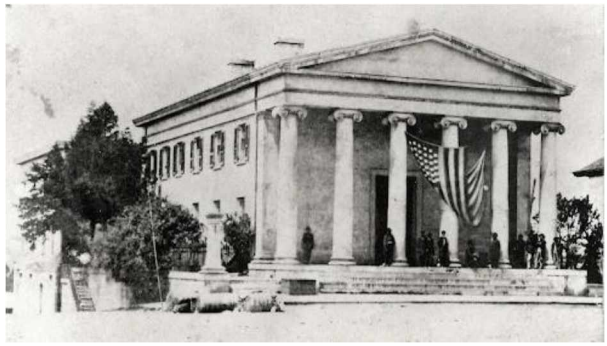
According to one source, John Russel, who did not join any recognized military branch, returned north in May 1865 from Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Although the family lost much personal property, Russel managed to secure his own assets. One later biographer reported that he herded a pack of mules

to Mexico, sold them for $3,000 in gold, and later hid the gold somewhere on the plantation.[587]

Russel later attempted to set up several businesses, made his way to Texas, then to Virginia, returned to Huntsville, Cincinnati, and finally settled in the newly-established Huntington, West Virginia. He made it his true home and became the youngest bank president on record for the entire nation at that time. On one occasion Russel formed a posse to chase bank robbers and reclaim his stolen set of matching pearl-handled pistols. He later sold much of the Madison County land along Whitesburg Pike, minus the property his mother gave to the Presbyterian Church in 1892. Little remains of him along Whitesburg Drive save for unnoticed and neglected Russel Cemetery below Farley where six grave stones can still be seen. At least two people are buried there, David and Rosa Chunn.[588]

Theophilus Lacy

Just south, before the two sections of Bell Mountain, lay a nearly invisible road on the right. Leading to the west was the Lower Toll Gate Road; it would take a traveler to the river plantations with loading docks, ferries, and eventually to the abandoned port of Triana. One branch leaving Lower Toll Gate Road veered to the southeast and went through acreage belonging to the man next named on the list. Theophilus Lacy was an older brother to Alex Lacy by 10 years. He maintained over 640 acres of land that edged to the river, near his brother. Theo's education must have been more than that of a country lad because he served as cashier for many years at the Northern Bank of Alabama, located on the west side of the Huntsville square. In 1860, Theo, his wife Frances, and their eight children lived on the bank premises as required by the laws of the time.[589] They resided on the upper floor while, in the below-ground area, enslaved Black people were held in cells as collateral for enslavers who could not pay off bank loans. At any time, those slaves, male, female, old or young, could be hired out or sold on the auction block for payment of their owner's debts. Theophilus and Frances, with the children, now nine in number, remained in danger throughout Wartime actions. Troops camped in tents on the grounds of the courthouse directly across the street; parades and cannon fire were not unusual events.



Union Troops Encamped at First National Bank
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

There are contrasting accounts of whether Theophilus Lacy hid bank notes in the bank's brick chimney as Union troops entered Huntsville. In another unconfirmed tale, Lacy's young son waved a Confederate flag on the bank's front steps as Union troops marched by. It was said that a "servant" quickly pulled the boy inside and asked, "Does you want to git us all killed by the Yankees?" An older son, Theo Lacy, Jr., joined Russel's 4th Cavalry just in time to become a prisoner of war when he surrendered at Citronelle; he was later paroled.[590]

Madison County Courthouse during Occupation
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

Little information remains about Theo Lacy's family after the War, but he continued as a bank cashier in 1865 as it reorganized. The new order established James Hervey Mastin as president with leadership of other local men like the Risons, Mastins, and Pattons. Aided by an influx of northern cash, it became the National Bank of Huntsville. In 1870, Theo was listed as 65 years old, residing at home with his wife and seven children. His real estate was valued at $18,000, and $1,500 was given as the amount of his personal property. Just four years later, "Theophilus Lacy, beloved and

worthy cashier" died February 2, 1874 "at his residence within the walls of the bank."[591]

Mrs. Wall

Directions continued down Lower Toll Gate Road to the property of Mrs. Wall. Mary Conrad Cooper, born sometime around 1799 in Virginia, had family nearby including two sisters and one brother, James Cooper, who built his brick mansion just one mile north of the river. In 1820, Mary Cooper married fellow Virginia native Alexander Gray Wall, who settled nearby four years earlier. Wall likely received some legal training because he served as Justice of the Peace in 1827 and 1829. The next year, 1830, the census showed a household with nine White people, 21 enslaved Black people, and one free person of color. After Alex Wall died in 1834, Mary continued to rear their five children, manage the plantation, and supervise the slaves. The children's guardian managed her finances, paid the expenses for tuition and board at the boys' boarding school and Helen's tuition and board at Madame Child's Academy for Young Ladies in Huntsville.[592]

With the exception of Helen, who died in 1852, the Wall children grew up and began families of their own. The next year, Mary Wall married Kennon Harris Steger of a distinguished Madison County family. The Francis Epps Harris families had moved with all their goods in a caravan across the mountains of Virginia and down the valleys into Alabama. In 1806, Harris built his brick residence on a sweeping hill at the foot of Chapman Mountain, four miles from Huntsville. The marriage gathering and festivities for Mary Elizabeth and Kennon Steger must have been quite grand to include eight large decorated cakes and assorted candies prepared by Charles Schlack, confectioner, $15.06 for his services. Two years later, Sarah Wall married Alexander Lacy from the next plantation; they would have no children. Mary Wall's son, Alexander Alfred Wall, educated first in "the common schools," attended Huntsville Academy, and then began to read medicine locally with Dr. H.F. Newman. Wall obtained a medical degree and began a practice with patients along the Tennessee River near Whitesburg. He married Amanda Ross, probably a cousin, in 1850 and by the 1860 census, they resided in a household of 14 people in town with her father's family. Amanda and Albert had four children under the age of seven.[593]

In 1862, Mary Wall's son Albert married Mary McLeod of Huntsville. Mary was a sister of Margaret Humphries, wife of the well-known Union man David Humphreys. One wonders if the sisters talked between themselves, sharing secrets. Each must have held opinions about the circumstances around them. Would they lie or hide their opinions from one another or their husbands? Many mothers, daughters, sisters, and female in-laws faced painful dilemmas like these. (One such example is the long-held rumor that a Roden sister-in-law reported the location of the four Roden

men shot at the massacre on Buck Island. Was she a sincere abolitionist, had she been offered a reward, or was she simply a woman trying to stop the endless war? In the end, it probably did not matter; she would live in close proximity to blood relatives and in-laws for the remainder of her life.[594]) Mary Wall's son, James Tazewell Wall, studied law at Lebanon, Tennessee although he never practiced. He worked as planter, likely managing his mother's property. James married Mary Cawthorn in 1855, but he died in 1859 at only 24 years old, "taken in the prime of life."[595]

Mrs. Mary Wall remained on the plantation after the death of her husband, even as Union troops invaded. She owned 640 acres; the house most likely faced the Lower Toll Road, with its slightly higher elevation. Her marshy wetland property was valued at $7,500; she held personal property worth $61,000, including 17 slaves. Her son, Dr. Albert (sometimes written as Alfred) Wall first served in the Confederate army as a surgeon although he later served as president for the 2nd District of Alabama, Board of Conscripts, which, by this time, was a thankless and often reviled task. Her son-in-law, Kennon Steger, exempt from service because of his age, helped manage Mary Wall's property. Adjacent to Mrs. Wall, the Russel acreage listed next in the census of 1860 showed no White person living on the property, although the census suggested as many as 52 workers lived there in bondage. The adolescent John Russel may have stopped in to check on the property. Next recorded on the census page was the small household of Mary Wall's daughter, Mary Lacy.

During the Union subjugation, this may have been a lonely and frightening situation for a 61-year-old widow; intruding Union soldiers were about. Indiana Sgt. Benjamin McGee described chasing "greybacks, guerillas and regular army" into south Madison County in 1863, "the horses' litter still smoking" only to be thwarted as they entered swamp land, "oozy with mud and water black as night and up to their horses' bellies." It became obvious to the soldiers that, if the Union forces were going to keep "the Rebels out of this rich country… we must move *into* it." On a successful foray in November of 1863, Sergeant McGee knew that the same guerillas could be lingering on the mountain tops looking down, helpless and "exasperated beyond endurance" to see Yankees gathering up the fat of their land. He wrote cheerily:

> Such floundering and flouncing – men and horses… Oh, What a head! We had 500 hogs, 550 sheep, 250 cattle, and nearly 1000 negroes, counting men, women and children and a lot of horses and mules… The hogs waddled along and grunted; the sheep tripped along, panted and bleated; the cattle dragged along and lowed; the mules kicked along and brayed; the negroes followed, the older ones singing and the babies crying; women carried babies on their backs and bundles on their heads; the men carried the larger children and all sorts of cabin traps.

Union soldiers drove the herds directly through Huntsville and camped on a large plantation four miles southwest of Huntsville, an estate large enough to have barns and stables for 200 horses and mules, likely that of Thomas McCalley.[596]

Mary Cooper Wall died at the age of 70 in 1869, but her estate was not settled until 1880. Her adult children and grandchildren chose to sell their shares of the land along Whitesburg Pike. Her son Dr. Albert Wall and his wife moved briefly to Maysville and later to Tuscumbia after the War, where he continued his practice. One of Kennon Steger's sons, John A. Steger, who lived to be 102 years old and died in 1948, held the title "General," as he'd served as commander of the local Egbert J. Jones Confederate Veterans Camp.[597]

Left of the road about a mile from Pattins plantation Hais and Witherly

Stephen Haynes

The census taker of 1860 spelled one surname no better than the agent did on this occasion. The enumerator recorded "Hais" a name spelled Haynes in most other available records. Virginia-born Stephen Haynes, age 57, held $4,000 worth of real estate and kept 15 slaves valued at $9,000 in personal property. His wife, Casandra was 33 years old; of their children, Ann was the oldest at 16, followed by William, James, Eugenia, Cleopatra, and a two-year-old toddler, Theresia. He was most likely married to a woman in Virginia who died, never to appear in Alabama records. He married Rachael Scott in August 1839; she also passed away. Haynes married Cassandra Mitchell in 1843.[598] Now in 1860, their neighbors in the county included Peter Weatherly and A.J. Esslinger.

As the War wound down, Stephen Haynes's daughter Anna married Felix Sibley and Haynes' son, William, married Eliza Sibley; William and Eliza were probably siblings from the Big Cove area. Anna died after a long illness at the age of 23 in 1869.[599] In 1870 Stephen and Cassandra stayed in Madison County with their remaining family, James, Fecie, Joseph, Stephen, and a newborn, Pada. Stephen Haynes owned no land at this time and held $250 in personal assets.

Peter Weatherly

Scotsman Peter Weatherly first declared for citizenship in 1824 in Loudoun County, Virginia. Weatherly came south and purchased acreage in the southern half of Madison County in 1833, adding more land in 1835. Within seven years he purchased five people to keep enslaved, eight by 1840, and, by 1850, there were 14 slaves on his property. He was single and lived alone except for a period of time when his nephew, James, from the

old country lived with him. A brother, David Weatherly, settled in Marshall County, and in 1860, held $4,000 worth of real estate and $16,700 worth of personal property that included seven enslaved people. As the War commenced, Peter Weatherly's approximate 600 acres were out of sight, over the small mountain that still bears his name, largely unseen from the pike with its constant flow of troops and guerillas. His part of the cove allowed an alternative route to the river that locals knew well, and Union troops soon discovered.[600]

After the War, the 1870 census listed Peter Weatherly, 74 years old; Anne Weatherly, 55, a woman of mixed race; and, two Black farm workers. His real estate was valued at $3,500 and personal property at $300, which may not have been completely truthful. Mr. Weatherly died at his residence in 1872, having already written his will. His obituary notice shared, "He was an old, honest and respected citizen of the county who attended to his own affairs and never meddled with those of his neighbors." His will stated, "To Ann Weatherly, mulatto, my servant in consideration of her attention and care of me," he left $1,500 in gold, 100 acres of land, and one-third part of all his stock – farm implements, crops, and animals. The land was to be rented out for two years, and one-half of the profits were designated to Benjamin Jolley, one of his executors. After that time, it would be sold, and his nephew James Weatherly, then living in Scotland, would inherit the property. At the death of James, it would go to James' son, Peter Weatherly.

Predictably, relatives challenged the will. The arrangement did not sit well with Margaret (Weatherly) Todd, daughter of his brother David in Marshall County. Margaret married Pleasant Todd, a mill owner in 1838, likely one of the brothers for whom nearby Todd Mill Road was named, and she was recently widowed. She contested the will in 1877. Margaret stated that she always maintained a paternal and tender relationship with her uncle, but her testimony alluded to his excessive drinking; he was often drunk, she said. Her deposition, furthermore, suggested that Ben Jolley brought him liquor the very day his will was written. Her lawsuit went all the way to the Alabama State Supreme Court, where it was firmly dismissed. It did not help Margaret Todd's case that a document written in 1873 with the letterhead of the Executive Mansion noted that Weatherly was a fine man "his reading much more than common for his station in life." It was signed by David P. Lewis, who, between 1872 and 1874, served as the 23rd governor of Alabama. The property, located on both sides of Aldrich Creek, was bounded by the road still bearing his name in the 1880 agricultural census. It contained 200 improved acres and 260 acres in woodland valued at $2,500 with $60 worth of machinery, $200 livestock, and swine. Sixty acres were planted in Indian corn to produce 800 bushels, 16 acres in oats for 200 bushels, 28 acres of wheat for 180 bushels, and 88 acres were planted in cotton producing 24 bales of cotton. It remains unknown as to whether or not the formerly enslaved woman Anne Weatherly, now 85 years

old, lived on that property with her daughter Margaret (Weatherly) Jolly, age 40, and her 38-year-old husband Tom Jolly who was recorded as a farm laborer in the 1880 census. All were listed as people of mixed race.

Ann Weatherly died in 1888; a petition was made to probate her will, which listed her heirs. (These papers are not in the Madison County Probate Office.) The land was farmed by his namesake, Peter Weatherly who remained and raised his family there. We can only speculate as to if or where, during hostilities, Peter Weatherly hid the $1,500 of gold he bequeathed to Anne, and if she ever came into possession of the gold or land.[601]

Nearby, whether it was called Drake's Cove, Garth's Plantation, or Jones Valley, this land was bordered on the north by an edge of Monte Sano Mountain, the west by piedmont hills, and the east by the Green Mountain range, opens up and is led downstream by Aldrich Creek to the Tennessee River. Around 1807, Capt. John Drake sent his sons James and William Drake and son-in-law James Neely down the Tennessee River by flatboat to stop at Ditto's Landing; father John followed as they settled into the cove. Technically, they were squatters until 1815, when two of the Drake men rode to Nashville to purchase the land at $2 per acre. Five more Drake sons, all with large families, arrived and began the business of clearing and farming the land. Some crossed through Blevins Gap to settle in the Big Cove area while John Drake continued his old ways in his valley. Captain John spoke often in the English folk manner which certainly matched his knee breeches and buckled shoes. He was memorialized at his death "as one of our best citizens… unimpeachable character… universally esteemed as a truly just, pious, and good man." He left behind 68 grandchildren and his good name.[602]

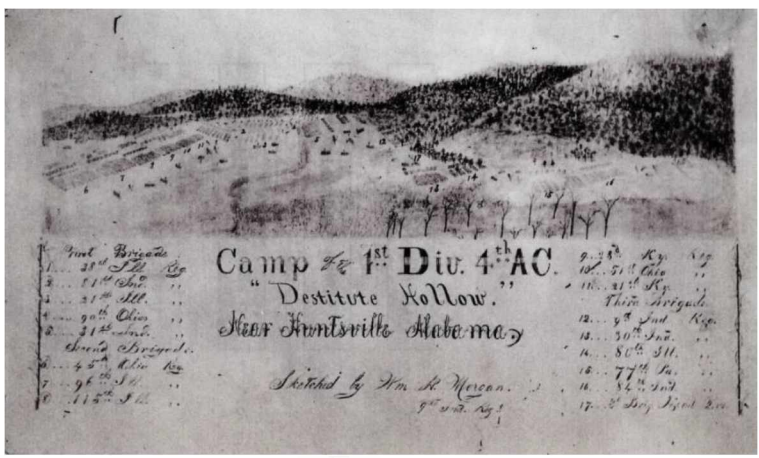
George Whitfield Drake

George Whitfield Drake, born in 1814, grew up in the forested upper edge of the cove with the family of his father, Andrew Joel Drake (one of the many sons of Captain John Drake). Andrew's brother James built his family home, a raised cottage, two or three miles south, in approximately 1823. George Drake held property in both Madison and Limestone Counties, but he chose a career in town as a merchant. He married Virginia Ann Drake in 1843 and, at the time of the 1850 census, he was 35 years old and in possession of $9,000 in real estate. He and Virginia had sons James, Edwin, and George Junior.

Andrew Drake, a clerk, lived in Huntsville at the home of his Uncle James and his stepmother, 65-year-old Agnes. George's wife, Virginia, died at the age of 27 in May 1851; three months later, their infant daughter, Virginia, passed away, not yet five months old. Several years later, George met Miss Melvina Jones in Sumter County, Georgia, where they married on January 12, 1859. Tongues most likely chattered when he returned with his

bride, 21 years his junior and only seven years older than his son James. By 1860, they lived one mile north of town on the Meridianville Road while he and Aaron J. Moses partnered as cotton factors and commission merchants. His assets were given as $10,000 in real estate and $13,000 in personal property which included one enslaved person. Now with Malvina, there were three adolescent boys in the family and two-year-old Percy. During the War, three Union companies were sent from town to scour Drake's property. Sergeant Benjamin McGee noted, however, that nothing surpassed the richness of the cove, eight miles long by one mile wide, with a beautiful stream meandering through. Forgetting the natural beauty of the country during hostilities, they chased guerillas to the river, who eventually alluded them.[603]

The Drakes knew their landscape well, as would the Union soldiers who arrived in bitter winter weather. The men had no equipment after making the long trek from Pulaski, Tennessee with all they could fit into a knapsack. Perhaps grumbling to themselves as they passed through the safe and warm town, the soldiers continued to the cove at the head of what is now Jones Valley. The men first named the site Destitute Hollow, but the location sheltered from north winds at the foot of Monte Sano Mountain supported "several fine springs of pure soft water" and three brigades (containing as many as 12,000 men) made camp in a semicircle. With few tents available, it appeared "there was no little suffering among our men." They quickly brought in lumber to build quarters, comfortable huts for all "at the expense of the plank fences and outbuildings of the country for a distance of six to eight miles in every direction to make shanties, huts, and nondescript affairs of various kinds."[604]



Destitute Hollow
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

In 1866, George Drake paid the assessed value on his gold watch and the family piano for $3, but apparently not much more. According to the census of 1870, George, now 54, and 30-year-old Melvina housed Edwin, Percy, Charles, Bernard, and Mary Drake. His personal property was valued at only $600. He died at his residence in 1875 with lists of debts against the household inventory; his estate was declared insolvent. He was buried, as were many of the early Drake family, at Drake Cemetery, now inside the Huntsville city limits. Much of the property once held by Capt. John Drake was sold in 1881 to William Garth, then to the Jones family.[605]

Jack Drake

The person listed as Jack Drake on the agent's log was probably one of the several Drake cousins whose given name was John. He may have been a grandson of Captain Drake, John Calvin Robin Drake, or Jno. R., J.R. Drake, or Jack Drake – the same man on different records. In 1860, John R. Drake lived on his farmland, listed next to that of Mr. Ewing. Jack enslaved 25 people whose value was included in his $56,141 personal property. He owned $35,000 of real estate. His wife, Agnes Shannon, whom he married in 1841, died, but he and their seven children lived in the household they shared with his step-mother Agnes Neeley Drake, whose assets were recorded as $8,500, including eight slaves.[606]

Jack Drake married Mary Louise Tennant in 1869, beginning a second family with the birth of their son Horace. By 1870, he was 58 years old; Louise was 29. His property was valued at $2,500 with $22,500 in real estate. His second family grew to include Horace, Lucy, Erlina, and Charles by 1880. Jack Drake died in 1887, and Louise followed in 1894.[607]

At the time of the War, Drake's plantation just east of the Harris property was occupied, according to the Union agent, by a man named Turner. Not discounting the years of the war, times were chaotic during the 10 years of the census recording. No first name is given for Turner; his identity is lost to the chaos of the unsettled times. The only person to be traced with confidence was the stepmother, Agnes Drake, whose records hinted at the surname Turner. In 1850 and 1860, Agnes lived with the families of her step-sons. In 1870, however, at the age of 80, she resided not with Drake relatives, but Elmira Turner, 34, and two young girls, Agnes Turner, age 9, and 6-year-old Ida Turner. In the 10 years since the previous census, Elmira of an unknown surname married a Turner and they had two daughters. All the women managed to endure the horrors of the War years.

Although the agent never explicitly reports it, he appears to have given someone directions to the gap in the mountains between what was then Drake's Cove as it crossed into Big Cove and "the farms on that side." He wrote that he would learn the names of the residents the next day. For reasons one can only guess, if he went through Blevins Gap, he did not record names.[608]

Mr. A.J. Esslinger east of Harris's, Rt about two miles south of Jack Drake place

Andrew Jackson Esslinger

The name Andrew Jackson Esslinger on page 31 of the notebook was probably intended to be included in the list of citizens who lived along Whitesburg Turnpike. The two names, Harris and Jack Drake, were nearby land owners along Blevins Gap Road. After planning their move to Huntsville from Tennessee, the Esslinger family arrived in Madison County circa 1838. Revolutionary War veteran Robert Wright led the way, arriving early enough to be counted on the "Squatter List" of 1809, waiting for his chance to purchase land in the Allreds (Aldridge) Creek district. He would be allowed to remain there legally as "a tenant at will" until the sale of land became legal. At that time there were six males under the age of 21, one male over 21, two females under 21, and one slave in his household.[609] Robert Wright settled on 160 acres near the Flint River in the area of Little Cove, and his brother, William Wright, settled nearby.

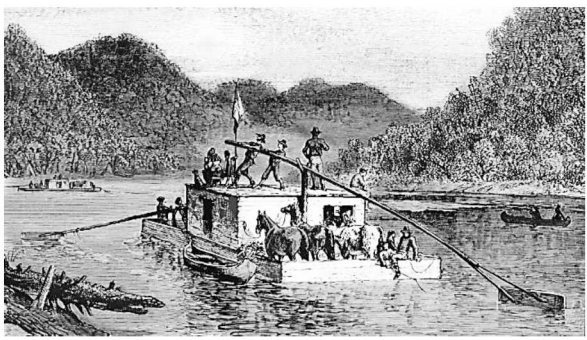
Robert Wright married Keziah Bibb in 1784, a third cousin to both Alabama governors William and Thomas Bibb. This branch of the Bibbs would not become politicians or wealthy plantation aristocrats, but they were considered solid farmers admired for their hard work and steady character. Their oldest daughter Elizabeth Wright married Andrew Jackson Esslinger in Tennessee, which became their staging ground to resettle in the newly opened southern lands. Elizabeth's father, his brother, and her oldest son traveled back to Tennessee to help with the arrangements. None of their plans, however, anticipated the death in 1837 of Mr. Esslinger. Everything was put on hold while his estate was settled in December, and Elizabeth waited to receive her dower allowance: yearly supplies that included ten head of hogs, 275 bushels of corn, 3½ bushels of wheat, and one milch cow. She bid at the "public outcry" on the goods, items from the inventory of his estate that included a chisel for 47 cents, one collar and traces, a large pot, a small pot, an oven with lid, a smoothing iron, oxen, heifer, cow and calf, eight hogs, geese, a table, two beds and trunk, and six chairs. The chisel, the housewares, and the livestock had no idea of the miles ahead.[610]

At the prow watching for sand bars and hazards in the water and Indians

One can only guess as to how pioneers arrived into the old southwest. Some, like the Walker and Pope men, scouted first on horseback, then returned and transported their families. Mr. Patton brought his family in a wagon that he drove himself. The Harris family groups came from Virginia in a convoy of family wagons. Grandson Judge F.W. Esslinger, who heard the exploits many times during long winter months, offered the following

narrative of the Esslinger journey. The two Wright brothers, along with Elizabeth Esslinger's oldest son, Andrew, left Tennessee in autumn and were already in place in Madison County in preparation for spring planting the next year. Among others, the widow Elizabeth, well into her fifties, traveled on a 30-ft. flatboat down the Tennessee River to Madison County. The center of the flatboat was roofed for protection from rain for supplies and sleeping, and a stone hearth was under the roof with an iron tripod for the kettle to hang. Among the crew a lookout was always stationed at the prow watching for sand bars and hazards in the water and Indians along the wayside. Two long poles pulled the boat toward the shore or shoved aside floating trees and logs. At the back was the steering pole with a wide broad section that swiveled to steer. A stout (as it would need to be) barge left Dandridge, Tennessee that day to float at first where the stream willed. At water's edge, there was a hurried rush to leave because the currents and the weather were just right. The flatboat was poled out into the mainstream of the French Broad River; it headed west to join the Holston River and from there to Knoxville and the swifter stream of the Tennessee River. From there they went southwest to Ross's Landing, and took onboard a guide for what lay ahead – The Sucks, The Boiling Pot or the Skillet as this treacherous area was called.

With luck, the group safely passed Nickajack. They floated into the beginning of open lands of the upper Tennessee Valley, and the guide went ashore to walk back to Ross's Landing, later Chattanooga. The current carried the barge through the Sequatchie Valley and down into the beginning of the Great Bend, the river lined with dense forests on both sides. Once in Alabama, Crow Creek, Mud Creek, Pine Island, and Gunter's Landing were unexpectedly busy with barges and canoes as the Cherokee were leaving for their forced march to the Oklahoma Territory.



As the barge floated past Honeycomb (known then as the Painted Rock Bluff), they knew they were near. From a cabin on the north side of the river, they found someone to ride into the valley with a message for the Wright brothers and Andrew Esslinger. The barge was pulled and poled up the Paint Rock River to a landing near the village of Vienna, now New Hope. This

was the south end of General Jackson's Trace, blazoned in 1813, as he sent supplies and militia men to Fort Deposit and then on to Horseshoe Bend. The Wright brothers and Esslinger came with a two-ox team, a carry-all for the girls, and a wagon pulled by two mules to carry their possessions. The trip took the entire day as they went up the Paint Rock River Valley along the still well-marked Jackson's Trace. The journey was rough through Cedar Ridge Gap, past Cave Springs, Little Mountain, Hinds Spring, Goose Creek, Horse Cove at the foot of Keel Mountain, Raven Bluff, and finally to Uncle William Wright's house, where they stopped.

Adjustments would have to be made because Elizabeth's mother Keziah died by 1811 and, that same year, her father married a woman named Peggy Calvert in Madison County. Records also reveal that Robert Junior married Nancy Calvert, perhaps Peggy's daughter. There was another set of half-siblings for them to meet. Elizabeth Esslinger later bought 160 acres and farmed next to the property of her father, Robert Wright. As they settled and established homes, the Esslingers would take up "the most important labor of man that of farming." They were industrious farmers, admired by their neighbors and, later, by their descendants. Subsequent family took advantage of available education; many Esslinger boys became professional men in the county. They married into neighboring families and, for generations, resided around the settlements of Berkley and Esslinger Cove.[611]

Andrew Jackson Esslinger

Elizabeth Esslinger's oldest son, Andrew Jackson Esslinger, was most likely the man the Union agent referred to in the list of Whitesburg Pike residents. Most of the other family members held modest savings and acreage, however Andrew's wife inherited one-fourth of an estate from John Hunt, a landowner and lumberman with several business in deep South states. Esslinger successfully invested in enslaved people and land in Madison County; the 1860 census reflected the good fortune for Andrew, age 45, and Sarah, 35 years old, with seven children, held $15,000 in real estate and $45,000 of personal property that included 30 enslaved people. Furthermore, a person named R.H. Hughes was listed as a school teacher. While it's possible that he tutored only their own children and those of neighbors, he probably taught them in an old-field school. These were common at the time, built on land no longer useful for farming, or "old fields." Subscriptions could make up part of a salary, but schooling only lasted about three months in the winter. During the War, *Johnson's Elementary Arithmetic* offered lessons to fit the times. For instance, "A Confederate soldier captured 8 Yankees each day for 9 successive days; how many did he capture in all?" Or, "If one Confederate soldier can kill 90 Yankees, how many Yankees can 10 Confederate soldiers kill?"[612]

The South took pride in its oral traditions and story-telling. "Like all people much given to talking, Southerners, as a people are little given to reading. Our education…is derived chiefly from conversation and verbal discussion."[613] Perhaps that was fortunate for the new nation. There were, at the start of the War, few paper mills and few facilities to print maps; they were unable to make wood-pulp paper and therefore unable to print newspapers and magazines. Thus, the readers' news was often accounts from the previous weeks or months, and could not be relied upon for accuracy.[614]

Textbooks were seldom available, and slate and chalk remained the common tools for rural schools. Many schools in both towns and counties closed as warfare continued. Few students possessed the means or opportunity to continue to higher education.

In Southern universities, Confederate national policy was the curriculum of the day, the guiding principle of which was to sustain the righteousness of the Cause. For instance, in the newly released collegiate textbook *System of Modern Geography*, the author clearly defined the five races in the world; one was the Black or "Negroid" race. Brought from Africa, once "in America they were compassionately reduced to their proper normal condition of slavery." Clearly adding religious rightness "the South was the most desirable country in North America within the Confederate states… where the people are the freest, most enlightened, and prosperous in the world. The independence of man is here asserted, and the Christian religion has full sway." Students were taught that they might rescue the ignoble Black man and maintain religious morality in one fell swoop.[615]

Elizabeth Esslinger's second son, William Wright Esslinger, married Martha Neal in 1843; they made their home in the Berkley community. Their son Jack joined the Confederate army at the age of 17, but saw little action. His first enemy was a case of pneumonia, made worse by chills, fever, and a body rash that was most likely measles. He joined Company K under Capt. Thomas J. Taylor only to be captured at Port Hudson, paroled, and returned home not to serve in the army again. His brother James Wesley, born in 1847, enlisted in January 1864 at Dalton, Georgia, and was wounded at Atlanta six months later.[616]

Whether local boys chose to fight for states' rights, the African slavery system, or to protect their invaded homeland, they did not have to go far afield. There was action to be found locally, though not on a grand scale. Charles Rice's book, *Hard Times: the Civil War in Huntsville and North Alabama 1861-1865*, identified 18 military actions in Madison County during the War. These included skirmishes at the Mill at Three Forks, two at the Paint Rock Railroad Bridge, "a brisk little skirmish" at Cobb's Mill, Clark Hollow, and Hollowell's Landing on the river, in Big Cove, at the Yellow Bank, Moore's Hill near Cave Spring, and again at Cave Spring just south of Cherry Tree Road.[617] Rice's account does not include episodes from

nearby Jackson, Marshall, or Morgan Counties. Unrecorded incidents probably included an outlying Federal picket that vanished, and the attack of an unescorted supply wagon. No clash seemed large enough for either side to document, but stories abound of Union soldiers killed, their bodies crammed in crevices along Green and Keel Mountains.

You will never marry one that would treat you with more sincere love and affection, with more tenderness and attention

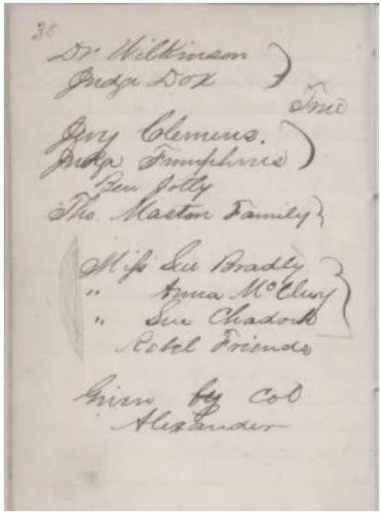
Martha and William Wright Esslinger's son, Jack, played a part in a lovely story that took place just after the War. He met Cassie Fennell, the daughter of Dr. J.W. Fennell, from nearby Marshall County. With her auburn hair, Catherine "to returning soldiers she appeared the embodiment of everything lovely and desirable." For a time, the couple wrote back and forth as he courted her. One letter offered her his heart and he waited for her reply, "You may discard me or bury me in the vortex of past recollections, but you will never marry one that would treat you with more sincere love and affection, with more tenderness and attention… let me know with a happy heart that I live in the sunshine of your affections." They married in December of 1866 at her home in Marshall County. She wrote him from her mother's home, where travelled to deliver her first babies, "Oh, darling, it makes me sad to think how long it will be until I get to see you again. You feel nearer, dearer now to me than ever." After a third son was born, they farmed near Berkley, Madison County not far from several scenes of violence at Vienna. They had seven children when Cassie died in 1883 from pneumonia; she was 42. She was buried in the Beason-Esslinger cemetery nearby, "a kind and affectionate wife, a fond mother and a friend to all."[618]

Their oldest son, William Francis Esslinger, wrote of these days and his father's remarriage in a household of six boys, ages ranging from five to 17, and a girl of only three. Of their new stepmother "We welcomed and obeyed her…" and the "home was one of happiness" as three more children were born. The Andrew who appeared on the list, according to family stories, lost everything during the War except one house on Whitesburg Drive. He applied for a claim with the Southern Claims Commission, which was barred.[619] The 1870 census suggested he still had assets, however. His holdings were valued at $1,000 personal property and $10,000 real estate.

Appendix F

True

I see very plainly the storms that are gathering.



Peter Myndert Dox

The next group offered six names as "true." Dr. Algernon Wilkinson, a dentist, was mentioned as sincere to the Union with an earlier notation. With his distinguished background from Seneca County in upstate New York, Judge Peter Myndert Dox unsurprisingly, held as a Union man. (His grandfather, John Dox, served as a U.S. Congressman from Virginia under Presidents Washington and Adams before moving to New York.) Trained as a lawyer, Peter Dox served in the New York State Assembly in 1842, and, from 1855-1856, as a judge in the county court. In the mid-1850s, Judge Dox took a southern tour as a vacation. He was probably entertained socially with the company of other refined citizens in towns along the way. He visited Madison County at least once; in 1854 he married Matilda Pope, daughter of wealthy Huntsville native Benjamin Pope. As expected, Peter Dox proudly took his bride to meet his family in New York while he completed his judicial year. Matilda may not have cared for the harsh northern winters; the couple settled in Madison County permanently by late 1856.[620]

Political discourse at this time grew increasingly heated as anger and resentments occurred among friends. Not even outsiders could stay non-partisan for long, within the environment that surrounded him in his new-found role as a Southern "agriculturalist." The 1860 census showed Peter Dox, 44 years old, worth $20,000 in real estate and $20,000 personal property. No enslaved people were listed among that property, but his wife, 30-year-old Matilda, enslaved 26 people. Matilda's mother, Eliza E. Pope, resided with the couple. Her real estate assets valued $20,000, and 39 enslaved people were included in the $28,000 of her personal property value. During the years of hostility, Dox was assumed to be a Union man, not a comfortable position, but not a surprising one considering that he was both a northerner and personally held no slaves.

Union Gen. Emerson Opdycke, whose troops kept winter quarters for three months of 1865 in "beautiful" Huntsville, used Jere Clemens' house as his headquarters, the home of Clemens' deceased father-in-law, John Read. On one occasion Opdycke visited with Judge Dox, who shared his most current newspaper with the general. (It was only one week out-of-date.) Later the Judge stopped by for a chat with the general who thought Dox "very interesting and amusing in conversation full of incidents of the rebellion and its leaders." That night the general and his officers dined on a "large roast turkey and a 'possume' for supper! Sweet and tender like roast pig."[621]

Peter Dox's application for clemency after the War – one of the first two sent from Madison County to President Johnson – received early and special attention, as did that of the well-known Secessionist David C. Humphreys. Dox assumed an active role in state politics and became a delegate to the Alabama Constitutional Convention of 1865. He was elected to the 41st and 42nd Congresses of the U.S. Neither Matilda nor Peter Dox could be located in the 1870 census, and Matilda died in 1871. In 1876, Peter married Margaret Simpson. Madge, as she was called, was the daughter of Margaret and John Simpson, both Irish-born and living in Florence. Simpson became a financial success, with the 1850 census showed him to be a merchant with $48,640 in real estate. Ten years later, that amount rose to $211,500 and $137,000 in personal property including 117 enslaved people.[622]

Madge's sister, Mary Ann Simpson, married Pope Walker's brother, Richard Wilde Walker. Both men were sons of Alabama's first U.S. Senator John Williams Walker, and grandsons of LeRoy Pope. Richard and Mary Ann Walker lived in his father's old brick house in Huntsville, "a mecca for the intellectually weary. They could not be jaded long in such an atmosphere." Richard Walker, a lawyer who attended Princeton as had his father, became an associate Justice of the State Supreme Court. Judges Walker and Dox now brothers-in-law, both understood the need for a recovery within the prevailing legal system of Reconstruction. They and their friends would have a great deal to discuss while the sisters enjoyed

their social status – just one generation away from Irish immigration – among the wealthy elite. Walkers' children received superior educations in the north and made notable marriages in the South. Although Richard W. Walker died in 1874, his widow maintained the house near her sister Madge and Peter Dox. There on McClung Street, Judge Dox and the two Walker brothers lived next door to one another. Across the next newly-constructed street on the hill from Patton's place was Major Echols at the home of LeRoy Pope (the original Poplar Grove). Peter Dox died in 1891as a "respected citizen, a gentleman of the old school, of strong social qualities... high Christian character and eminent usefulness."[623]

Jeremiah Clemens

The small group listed as "true" to the Union were already well-known as such. The background and life story of author and Senator Jeremiah Clemens presented the perspectives of a man that frequently swayed with seen and unseen currents. Although already a nationally-known figure, Jere Clemens, at times, revealed the distressed soul of a man caught in a world of his own making. His father, James Clemens, established two plantations, Mill Brook and Brandon Place, as well as a brick "storehouse" on the square. In addition, he and his growing family maintained a fine home in town.

James Clemens married Minerva, a sister to the Honorable Archie E. Mills of Limestone County and to John Mills, sheriff of Madison County for three years. It was from Clemens's place in 1813 that traveling evangelist Lorenzo Dow "spoke to several hundred in the dooryard" before going on to his next stop. Minerva and James Clemens lost three babies, but at her death in 1826 he was left with four young children at home. Jeremiah, the eldest trained for the law. Son Archy became a doctor and settled in Mississippi, where he died in 1850. Isabella married Robert Brandon and remained in Huntsville. The youngest daughter, Nancy Ann Clemens, caused great family tension with her elopement to William S. Turner which led her father to disinherit her.[624]

The second merchant involved in the Clemens' narrative was John Read, known earlier as one of the two Receiver of Monies at the Huntsville office for the federal land sales of 1817; he received 1% of the money collected from lands sales, plus a salary of $500 per year. The sales amounted to $7 million, although only one-fourth of that amount was collected. John Read's wife died in 1828, leaving him with four young children.[625] Merchants Clemens and Read, were already in place with their "storehouses" when the land rush for the newly opened Indian lands began. Huntsville suddenly found itself overcrowded, in short supply of provisions, and exorbitant prices for the limited lodgings and food that were available. General John Coffee wrote his wife during the dreary winter of January 1814, "I am yet confined at this loathsome place." Phillip Foote in Huntsville wrote his father William in Fauquier County Virginia, "I never saw such a Migration

in my life," and *The Niles Weekly Register* of April 5, 1817 alerted would-be travelers: "The sudden and very numerous immigrations into Alabama country threaten many with absolute starvation unless they are shortly relieved by supplies from other parts."[626]

It was, however, a fine time to be a both a merchant and an indispensable agent of the federal government. This was not to say that Indians no longer appeared. In the early years, according to Judge Taylor, "it was not uncommon for forty or fifty Indians… to march into the city and spend a day or two trafficking and bartering with the merchants." In order to have available merchandise merchants travelled as far as Philadelphia and New York. "They swam their horses across the swollen and unbridged watercourses, and traversed the Cumberland ridge in parties, as a precaution against robberies that sometimes occurred in the mountain solitude." They were lauded as a "remarkable race of men, wise, prudent and courageous, never discouraged by difficulties nor dismayed by toil or danger."[627]

James Clemens understood the advantage of merchandise shipped quickly and cheaply to consumers. The new railroad would allow easier transport than Fearn's Indian River Canal or the 10-mile wagon-trip to the port of Whitesburg. The best locations along developing rail tracks must be chosen for way-stops and depots. In the late 1850s, Clemens paid several thousand dollars for land west of Huntsville near his plantation, which happened to be located on the proposed railcar connection of Decatur and Huntsville. Clemens laid out lots for a town to be called Clemens Depot, Alabama. The stop, however, became known as Madison Station and then Madison, Alabama.[628]

Jeremiah Clemens, born in 1814, did not face the same dangers as his father, but he proved to be a "player," enjoying the good life in the manner of many young wealthy Southern men. John Withers Clay wrote his brother Clement Clay in the winter of 1833 that Jere "had abandoned his religion already, having gone to the race" where he won "a pretty large sum on money." However, while Jeremiah's boyhood friends, the Walkers and Clays, enjoyed aristocratic, prominent backgrounds, Clemens' father was only "in trade" as was the father of his fiancée. Clemens opted for an esteemed career in law; it was a choice with many existing competitors, among them the same Walkers and Clays.

In 1834, both adult children of these two powerful merchants (Mary Read and Jeremiah Clemens), married. Mary Read was fortunate never to have worked behind her father's store counter. She anticipated a life of comfort with servants at her call, light duties of supervision, and visits to church with friends like herself. Her associates were chosen from the elite of town, often members of the nascent Episcopal Church including the Bibbs, Brahans, Fearns, McClungs, Pattons, and Clays – the upper-class blue-blood families. Poet and early admirer of Mary, Alexander Meek, mused that Mary was an "amber-haired, blue-eyed sister of a friend & truly

a pretty girl!... such a girl as I could fall in love with, if – if – she were rich." Jeremiah Clemens knew Mary's love would "cheer him in the rugged paths of fame… and point the way which leads to Heaven above." He hinted, however, that certain people in Huntsville – perhaps their own childhood friends – might warn her against him as "too wild." Neither such a controversy nor hatred seemed possible for a young bride's rosy future.[629]

Jere Clemens must have seemed charming to his young wife. Descriptions called him handsome enough, "cavalierly his hair gave a poetic expression." All privileged Southern men displayed good manners as a given, while also active in the manly arts of hunting, racing, robust drinking, and, it seemed, flirting. Virginia Clay recalled meeting Clemens in 1840, as an impressionable teenager and gushed, "Never had my eyes beheld so pleasing a masculine wonder!... In his eyes there burned a romantic fire that enslaved me from the moment their gaze rested upon me." She "wept passionately throughout the night and much of the following morning" after being told he was married and a father. [630]

Jeremiah Clemens raised a volunteer company in 1842, marching for the defense of Texas; James Hickman raised a second company. Clemens returned to military action in the Mexican War in 1847, where he rose to the rank of colonel. During these times he formed friendships with northern officers that he recalled and honored in later years. He and his wife most likely did not have a house of their own; census records and city directories for those years show them living at either his or her father's home – not an uncommon arrangement for the day.

Clemens entered the political arena and was often away from home for days at a time while campaigning. With his personable manners, striking looks, and fiery rhetoric, Clemens easily attracted supporters. He served in the Alabama State House of Representatives from 1839 through 1843, and eventually took his seat in the U.S. Congress at the unheard-of, youthful age of 35. There he was considered brilliant in manner and oratory.

In 1849, however, he revealed himself to be self-serving and conceited, which many did not forget, nor later allow *him* to forget. He praised the cause of temperance in print in *The Huntsville Democrat*. Those who knew him must have winked at one another. One associate described Jere Clemens as:

> polished and elaborate in his language... and fascinating to persons of culture… He was dissipated at times, and, when Mr. Yancey urged him in private to forsake his habits while they were electors in 1856… he replied that he was obliged to drink to bring his genius down to a level with Mr. Yancey's.[631]

The family circle became smaller when his brother Archy Clemens died in 1850, followed by their sister Isabelle in 1853. The 1860 census showed Arch's widow and four youngsters living with grandfather James in

Huntsville, along with Jeremiah. (Jere's wife, Mary, was not listed among that household.) James Clemens aged quickly as he developed blindness and became disabled. While he filed an application in 1855 to emancipate four slaves, James Clemens was still shown to enslave 83 people five years later. Jeremiah Clemens, amidst his military, legal, and political duties, published *Bernard Lyle*, "a romance couched in gorgeous diction and abounding in thrilling episode" and later *Mustang Gray* and *The Rivals*. During these periods, his wife Mary may have been glad to be with him at home. He moved his family to Memphis briefly to edit a newspaper, but returned and reentered politics. As tensions increased, Clemens declared Southerners should unite to protect slavery but not begin a revolution. As a Cooperationist, he would "not be pulled into treason."

James Clemens House
Pratt and Meridian Streets

James Clemens died in June 1860; Mary's father, John Read, died in 1862. The Clemens estate at Mill Brook housed 91 enslaved people valued at $81,410, Brandon Place with 35 enslaved people valued at $30,000 along with $5,000 for the town property. Clemens' 1855 will instructed that his estate be divided into three sections of real and personal property – one-third to his son Jeremiah, to the three children of his deceased son Archy, and to the four children of his deceased daughter Isabella Brandon. His daughter Nancy Clemens Turner was disinherited. Clemens expressed the wish that his executors would continue to pursue the emancipation of slaves Gabriel and Sophronia, along with her two children.

Clemens added a codicil to the will which stated his heirs – Jeremiah, the children of Archy, and the children of Isabella Brandon – could receive their inheritance only when the youngest grandchild reached the age of 21. Consequently, everyone would have to wait until 1869, when young William Brandon reached maturity. In the meanwhile, they could share the annual proceeds after expenses as managed by Jeremiah. Foreseeably, the arrangement did not suit all of the heirs. Only a part of Jeremiah's legal

objection is available, but his father "died in a fit of absolute insanity of mind," he attested. Archy's young son James Clemens produced what appeared to be a different will. In February 1861, a jury of 12 men declared this document to be fraudulent. Regrettably James Clemens was remembered at his death as "a man of sound judgement, fine business capacity and imposing appearance... success due more to native talent and thrift than to personal popularity."[632]

At John Read's death in March 1861, his memorial recalled that he served for two years as an ensign under Gen. James Wilkinson before settling in Huntsville as an official of the land sales. "He was a man of strong sense, unbending integrity and warm social disposition, he engaged the confidence and respect of the entire community of which he was a good citizen." Mary's quarter share of this smaller estate included 13 enslaved people and property that was to be kept "free from use, possession or control of her husband & in no way to be used or enjoyed by him, or to be liable to the payment of his debts." Mr. Read's will, written much earlier in 1847, remained unchanged and clearly reflected his opinion of his son-in-law, Jeremiah Clemens.[633] There were more pressing things to consider now, however, as the spirit of war took over the region.

Many Alabamians were against secession from the United States for various reasons, and were generally called "Cooperationists." Jeremiah Clemens wrote to his friend Senator J.J. Crittenden in late 1860, explaining that outsiders did not understand the difficulties for Union men in Alabama, "Our hands are in the lion's mouth, and we must get them out as easily as may be." Clemens hoped, he said, "to gain time to reach the popular ears" of north Alabama. He continued with strong words, "I do not admit the *right* of secession at all. I do not admit the *right* of a majority to lead me into treason."[634]

The citizens of Madison County sent David P. Lewis, Jeremiah Clemens, and Nick Davis to the Montgomery Convention in February 1861 to campaign against secession. Seven of the men who were considered to be Cooperationists unexpectedly changed their votes; secession won the day in Montgomery. Madison County's Jeremiah Clemens was one of those seven with his known pattern of absorbing the color and tone of those around him. It would not bode well for his future. If the spirit was not upon the entire land, however, it prevailed upon those men assembled to vote for secession, and the citizenry's votes were never counted. Clemens defended his actions in a letter to his friend in Huntsville, George Neal. "I am a son of Alabama; her destiny is mine; her people are mine; her enemies are mine… calmly and deliberately, I walk with you into revolution." His letter was written he said amid the celebration of firing cannons and excited bonfires, "I see very plainly the storms that are gathering." He acknowledged tears at the moment of the vote and again as he currently wrote, we "bid adieu to the stars and stripes… There is no hope of peace and invasion will follow."[635]

After the vote of secession on January 11th the state officially became the Republic of Alabama. Ladies enthusiastically entered into the design for a state flag. Virginia Clay suggested red silk with a gold olive wreath in the upper left corner, pierced by a golden spear. This was rejected as too expensive to mass-produce and not clearly visible in the field of combat. A flag was selected, but in less than month, Alabama joined to become a partner in the Confederate States of America with a flag of its own.

Republic of Alabama Flag

The Madison men of the delegation must have engaged in serious discussions as they made their way home. How would all this be justified to the friends and associates who sent them as representatives of cooperation? Yet, Davis and Clemens attended the Montgomery inauguration on February 18th of Jefferson Davis as President of the Confederate States of America. Mary Boykin Chesnut wrote in her diary of seeing the "two social curiosities," anti-secession leaders, Nick Davis and Jere Clemens, at the inauguration.[636]

Secession was now a fact and Clemens may have aspired for a seat in the new Confederate Senate, but his true intentions were already suspect. An unknown Democrat said Clemens was, "as dead as a stinking and putrefying mackerel." With his military background, however, Clemens was appointed major general of the state militia in what may have been an effort to keep secessionists from using the state or local militia to martial law on citizens who disagreed.[637] While all men of military age would soon be required to serve, the existing state militia resided mostly in the statute books. A community needed a general who stood tall in his fine and elaborate uniform and led a military company to represent them for public ceremonies and inaugurations. Huntsville's distinguished citizen was 60-year-old General Bartley M. Lowe and, now, Major General Jermiah Clemens.

Clemens' considerable miliary experience led him to anticipate an even higher appointment within the Confederate army. When those hopes were

not met, his attendance at Confederate events and meetings seemed to take a different turn; in 1862, he resigned.

Not long afterwards, Clemens, George W. Lane, William B. Figures, Nick Davis, David C. Humphreys, and others took the Oath of Allegiance to the United States. Davis went to Nashville to talk with Andrew Johnson, then Federal military governor of Tennessee. Jere Clemens cooperated so completely when General Mitchel invaded Madison County in April 1862, that he was appointed, along with Judge G.W. Lane, to serve as a provost marshal. This occurred to the dismay of many locals, friends, and voters of years past. If they had not before, most Alabamians now considered him a turncoat. In a letter to his daughter, Mary, Clemens justified his actions, as only socializing with old friends of Mexican War days. He never pretended, he said, to have any extravagant love for the Confederacy and was "forced into it." Furthermore, he "acted to protect himself, his family, friends and property." After all, "They" were the law. Clemens needed protection at the house as the back yard was filled with people wandering around and some staying for lack of a better place to go. The "kitchens & servants' rooms... nurses, free negroes, convalescing & straggling soldiers" were everywhere. Clemens' daughter may have felt particularly vulnerable; she would soon be widowed with two young son, after her husband, Confederate Thomas King, was killed at Chickamauga in 1863.[638]

General Opdycke Headquarters
Read-Clemens House

The Clemens family was not alone in its experience of duress during the Union occupations; civilians constantly relocated. William S. Hoole described Huntsville as the "center of refugees" for Unionist "traitors, deserters, renegades, mossbacks, and marauding outlaws who terrorized the countryside, destroying property, raping, murdering and committing other atrocious crimes."[639] If the Clemens home was protected, how did other citizens manage their daily lives without security of any kind? All the same, a sense of civility prevailed for a few citizens.

Those of affluence attempted to hold social gatherings, even as the Union military made themselves at home throughout town. When General Mitchel's three daughters arrived, Mrs. George W. Lane assumed duties of hostess with other Loyalist wives. In early July she and her daughter Kate took the girls on an enjoyable excursion to Monte Sano Mountain. In two carriages they dashed though town, "right in front of a funeral procession of a poor soldier shot on picket duty." Union officers enjoyed a "tip-top" lunch with the ladies. Were there any doubt, it was clear to the people of Huntsville where Jeremiah Clemens' political loyalties lay as officers, particularly Colonel Lytle, enjoyed dinner with the Clemens.

In August, Mary Jane Chadick called on Mary Clemens to use her influence to intercede for a Dr. Hadden, who was arrested for throwing a brick-bat at Jeremiah, Mary, Colonel Burke, and Mrs. Burke as they walked near the Big Spring. Mrs. Clemens promised to do what she could. Later, after General Buell's army left Huntsville to Confederate control, a Mobile newspaper later reported that Clemens was "beaten within an inch of his life… disfiguring him frightfully." *The New York Times* reported that Clemens, Nick Davis, and G.W. Lane were hanged in effigy in Huntsville. Moreover, Jeremiah Clemens, not a well man, bleeding from the stomach, afraid of cancer, and "feeble in body" made his will in June 1863.[640]

The fall 1863 return of Union soldiers to Madison County most likely sealed Clemens' belief in the Confederate defeat. Jeremiah gave an oyster dinner for a select group of officers, and he and a few other men openly attended Peace Society meetings. Huntsville now appeared to be the center for Union activity in north Alabama. The speeches and discussions concerned possibilities for re-entering the United States and rebuilding for the future. If Alabama possessed the right to leave the Union in the first place, they could now surely leave the Confederacy.

At that time, perhaps recalling his father's difficulty with blindness, Jeremiah sought medical opinions for his own failing eyesight. Mrs. Chadick, ever hopeful for "The Cause," noted in April 1864 that Jere Clemens and lady left for Philadelphia, "a good sign for us." It became clear that his political future in the South was dead, and a brighter future might be had for him and his family in the north. He, his wife, and most likely their widowed daughter with her young sons, settled in Philadelphia where he completed the heart-rending novel, *Tobias Wilson.* Clemens portrayed what he observed first-hand within northern Alabama: "Neighbor was arrayed against neighbor, and to the evils of open violence were added private assassinations and midnight burnings. No man knew whom to trust, and gloomy suspicions even of his friends settled upon every man's heart." Jeremiah Clemens offered the dedication of the book to "she" who gave "comfort and support," his Mary, who endured an atmosphere of suspicion and great apprehension among life-long friends in her home town.[641] Perhaps he now offered her the same comfort and support.

Clemens spoke to the Union League in Philadelphia in November 1864 of the enemies of the nation, just before the reelection of Lincoln. He wrote President Lincoln with plans to restore Alabama and, once that was accomplished, Clemens offered himself as an appropriate military governor for reconstructed Alabama. As all of these events unfolded, the Clemens house continued to be occupied by Gen. Emerson Opdycke as his headquarters.

In early 1865, Opdycke wrote his wife that Clemens "is still loyal and in Washington. The colored people take care of us and seem glad to have us here. Plenty of milk and sweet potatoes in exchange for coffee and sugar." One of Clemens' nephews, near-blind 21-year-old James Longstreet Clemens, received a permit from General Granger to carry weapons and to send cotton north. He arranged for enslaved Black people – most likely those listed as the personal property of his grandfather – to raise cotton. They picked and baled the cotton; Clemens would send it north, and they planned to divide the proceeds. When young James Clemens tried to cheat the men, they argued, and he "shot a darkie… and came near to killing him." The young man was arrested and held in the Clemens slave kitchen overnight under guard – an unspeakable insult. General Opdycke scanned Clemens' permit the following morning and commented that he could not find any language in it that might allowed him to "kill a fellow man." Opdycke commented that there was a "family quarrel about a will, property, Negroes, cotton, &&."[642]

James L. Clemens c. 1880
Legislature of Mississippi

The news was noteworthy enough for Mrs. Chadick to record it in her journal. She also noted when young Clemens' uncle, the Honorable Jere Clemens, died after months of bad health. In the Philadelphia winter of 1864-1865, Clemens caught a cold that developed into pneumonia. He attempted to return to Huntsville with his wife and daughter in May 1865,

against his doctor's wishes. They lingered along the way in Nashville, where Clemens grew worse, and the pneumonia returned. At his death on May 19, 1865 at the age of 50, Jeremiah Clemens was buried in Huntsville in the Read family plot. During days of great hardship and harsher resentments, it is unlikely that many attended his funeral service. The *New York Times,* probably not widely favored in Madison County at the time, reported his obituary notice, "It is greatly to his honor, however, to add, that he was never in favor of the Davis rebellion." Would Widow Mary Clemens remain in Huntsville? Would she be welcome there? She almost certainly understood that feelings surrounding the war ran high; she knew better than most that those were not good days to be a Southern widow of a Unionist, a turncoat, and an "arch traitor." Mary Clemens returned to Philadelphia where her daughter remarried a peace-loving Quaker, Dr. W.W. Townsend. There she would be away from conflict and ugly confrontations caused by her husband whom she always dutifully followed. Like most women of the time, there is sadly little else to learn about Mary Read Clemens.[643]

David Campbell Humphreys

Judge David Campbell Humphreys was also conspicuous as a Union man. He was born in 1817 in Morgan County, schooled as a lawyer, settled in Huntsville, and practiced law there. In 1845 Humphries married Margaret McLeod from the Whitesburg community. He had entered politics, previously serving in the U.S. House of Representatives for the 1843, 1849, and 1853 terms. His law practice was successful; Humphreys built a two-story, two-room brick house with a gabled roof in 1848, to which other rooms were added later.[644]

In 1850 David and Margaret Humphries, along with their young family of three children, lived there with $3,000 valued in real estate. Ten years later, his family had grown, along with his possessions. There were now six children; Margaret's unmarried sister Mary McLeod also resided with them. Humphrey's practice was successful – his real estate was valued at $15,000, and his personal property was given as $40,000, which included 57 enslaved people. (One boy he purchased to enslave in 1857, eight-year-old William Hooper Councill, would later become recognized as the founder and president of Huntsville Normal School, which became Alabama A&M University.) Margaret herself owned three slaves and her sister, Mary McLeod, kept a person enslaved who was valued at $1,500.

Nick Davis welcomed presidential candidate Stephen A. Douglas in October 1860; David Humphreys introduced him to the large crowd gathered in Huntsville. At this event, Humphreys took a clear-cut stand against secession. A strong speaker, he had a "small nervous frame, simple and unpretending but intellectually strong." Douglas arrived by train that day and spoke on a corner of the public square for two and one-half hours. Behind him was a huge banner "an immense flag, with the Eagle of our

Country, floating in the air," with the slogan, "Welcome to Stephen A. Douglas, the Advocate and Defender of the People's Rights," painted by local artist William Halsey. The 10,000 attendees were inclined toward cooperation with Unionist politics. William Lowndes Yancey, the noted "fire-eater" also spoke that day, but less than a month later, Douglas carried most of Madison County and the hill counties of north Alabama.[645]

The following spring, secession became a reality. Humphreys enlisted on April 26, 1861 in Co I of the 4th Regiment Alabama Infantry as a private under his law partner Capt. Edward D. Tracy. In Virginia as the soldiers prepared for what would be their first action against the enemy, Humphreys drilled the regiment again and again, sometimes for six hours without rest, according to one of the men. Humphreys possessed previous military training as a militia Colonel, but in early July he was discharged by order of the Secretary of War, Pope Walker. His new mission was to return and raise a brigade from north Alabama. Men and boys from northern counties at that time attempted to enlist only to discover that, regrettably, they would not be accepted because of a shortage of arms and ammunition. The issue of supplies already slowed Confederate progress with the War barely begun.[646]

During the Union evacuation of 1862, Margaret Humphreys' sister Mary married Dr. Alexander Alfred Wall, the newly appointed conscript officer for Madison County. This underappreciated assignment would have pleased neither his mother's neighbors nor the many men who clearly did not want to join the Rebel army. The Confederate Enrollment Act, passed in the spring of 1862, required all men from 18 to 35 years of age to enlist. Those who did not readily appear at the conscript office or apply for exemption (many men were in this category) became liable to conscription. Even with the "odium of being a conscript," officials could seldom muster many good soldiers. Regular soldiers did not trust conscripts, malcontents did not want to fight to begin with, and conscripts could be troublesome within the regular army. From April 1862 until February1865, according to one source, at least 14,875 conscripts were forced into the Confederate army. One dodger said that the officers, "Burned the woods and sifted the ashes for conscripts." Another, when asked, replied, "Do they conscript close over the River?" "Hell, stranger, I should think they do; they take every man who has not been dead more than two days."[647]

Union occupation brought a lull in Huntsville military actions. During that time, the loosely organized "Peace Party" began to make its presence known. Among them, Nick Davis and David Humphreys were labeled "prominent scalawag leaders." Davis successfully maintained a position of neutrality, and among others, Mary Jane Chadick appreciated his timely help. Humphreys, however, took a more aggressive stance; he knew Alabamians hated tyranny, and therefore none could "love the new order." Humphreys may have been fortunate to suffer no repercussions for offering his opinion in print; earlier, James Hickman and other "collaborators," were

"really criminals who ought to be arrested," according to General Bragg. Humphreys continued his efforts for the foreseeable future. On February 17, 1864, Gen. Phillip Roddey wrote from Gadsden to General Bragg, urging him to assume a more active command. Roddey was anxious about circulars signed by General Logan, distributed by men like David Humphreys who urged local citizens to support the Union:

> All these circumstances combine to divide the ignorant unsuspecting people in the mountains who think they have no pleaniary [sic] interest in the present contest but are taught by bad men to believe that our cause is hopeless, & that if they enlist with the enemy that large benefits will accrue to their families at the close of the war.[648]

Safely under Union protection, Jeremiah Clemens, David Humphreys, and Joseph Bradley led a March 1864 meeting in Huntsville in which they urged Reconstruction with the United States. A resolution was passed denying the legality of secession, and the men intended to plan for a reunion with the U.S. government. The crowd at first was sparse, attended mostly by men over the age of 45 who were concerned about protecting their property. David Humphreys issued his statement, which was conveniently printed and distributed by Federal officials throughout the valleys and mountain areas of northern Alabama. He claimed to have seen the error of his ways: there was no hope of support from Europe, and slavery must be given up, he said. If slavery could be abandoned, there would be no reason for war, and law and order would be enforced locally. They sent their petition to the governor calling for a convention to vote to reunite Alabama with the Union. Everyone knew this was very unlikely, but if granted, Alabama could take independent action and start a movement to establish a new state government. The candidates for the new governorship would be M.J. Bulger or Huntsville's very own Joseph C. Bradley.[649]

This meeting spawned the widely circulated "Gilchrist Story," apparently originating from Jere Clemens. In 1861, Montgomery's J.G. Gilchrist spoke to Secretary of War Pope Walker about firing on Fort Sumpter. What would rouse the public? "You must sprinkle blood in the face of Alabama or the state will be back into the Union in ten days." Gilchrist was concerned about the ability of the Confederacy to stir up and maintain the energy and enthusiasm needed to follow through with secession.[650]

Confederate General Roddey already held a grudge against David Humphreys over a legal case – one that also involved Pope Walker. In December 1864, Roddey retaliated and placed Humphreys, a civilian, under military arrest, calling him a deserter. This also led to the seizure of 74-year-old former Governor Clay, feeble and deaf according to his wife, and of J.J. Donegan, about 64, both held as hostages to be sent to prison in Nashville. Confederate authorities in Richmond showed better sense and ordered

Roddey to release Humphreys, who was freed along with Clay and Donegan. Implying cowardice (the most unforgivable label one could use), historian Walter L. Fleming called the former Colonel Humphreys "a deserter." Local historian Judge Edward C. Betts, who knew Humphreys well, wrote three times on a single page that Humphreys was known as the "Crazy Man." One can only guess at what transpired before between the two men.[651]

Voices of discontent and dissatisfaction for the Cause and conscription rarely appeared in print, but it could be found if one searched. The Union-held Athens newspaper *The Volunteer* asked in April 1864, "Are we Americans, once the boast and pride of the world… Are we to be made the worst slaves ever known in the world? Are we to become the laughing stock of the world?" The pompous and merciless rulers stole "our rights and liberties, and reducing us to the most abject slavery ever known."

Union soldiers were discharged after nine months of service. Southern soldiers, however, were treated worse than enemies. Furthermore "They" – the Confederate leaders – practiced one dishonesty after another, the "unmitigated scamps" foisting "innumerable lies" upon them. They'd been told the war would last only last three months, that foreign powers would enter into their fight, that the Union would never fight, and that any Southern boy could "whip ten Yankees" easily – or more. The *Volunteer* at this time was printed by members of the 16th Army Corps, although this letter was purportedly submitted by an unidentified Rebel soldier.[652]

Be they scalawags or simply men planning strategic career moves, David Humphreys and Milton Saffold "set up shop as lobbyists in Washington, loyalist intercessors for hire." From one who knew him personally, "Humphreys has separated himself from many old and long-cherished friends in Alabama… It is due to him to say that in other days he was esteemed a gentleman of probity and character, and of kind generous impulses." After serving in the Alabama House of Representatives in 1868 as a Republican, Humphreys had seemingly paid his dues, and he was rewarded when President Grant nominated him in 1870 to be an Associate Justice on the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. His appointment was approved, and he served there until his death in 1879 in Fairfax County, Virginia.[653]

Miss Sue Bradley
Miss Anna McClung *Rebel Friends*
Miss Sue Chadick

Given by Col. Alexander

The next three names, given as Rebel Friends, probably weren't added by the telegraph operator Larcombe or agent Boulier, but were at least recorded by Lieutenant Reid as told to him by Col. Jesse Alexander. These young women held visible, and now protected, positions in the community. Handsome Union soldiers were everywhere, and there were few acceptable Southern men available to maturing young ladies. One, Lieutenant Hopkins, complimented Alabama women he thought to be "more patriotic, prettier, and used less snuff."[654]

As hostilities wound down, Sue Bradley, Anna McClung, Sue Chadick, and other young women realized that affection and admiration had a place in warfare. The recommendation by Colonel Alexander, commander of the post, most likely saved the three from harassment. Huntsville's most observant historian, Mary Jane Chadick, had already met Col. Jesse I. Alexander of the 59th Indiana Infantry. Their first meeting in April 1864 was at a tea at the home of Mrs. Nick Davis. Bantering back and forth, Mary Jane Chadick reported that, "he expected to meet my husband and bring him back home to me. I told him on the contrary, I thought I ought to give him a letter of introduction, recommending him to the kindness of Colonel Chadick when he fell into his hands." Later she found him receptive to the needs of local citizens, and that he treated her with kindness and consideration. She could "appeal to him if need be." Yet, Mary Jane was not really surprised in June as the Colonel and Mrs. Alexander prepared to leave town, Mrs. Alexander "took Mrs. Figures' choice servant." Colonel Alexander, a veteran of the Mexican-American War, a successful lawyer, and state representative, retired from the military in August 1864. He then ventured into business opportunities in Alabama. In February of the following year, with great indignation, Mrs. Chadick copied an advertisement she saw in a Nashville newspaper: "Great numbers of fine plantations in North Alabama to lease, well stocked and with plenty of farming utensils and laborers... Get information by inclosing $10 to the undersigned." Signed, Col. Selfridge and Col. Alexander. This was not true; she knew herself that the local plantations were already stripped of everything useful.[655]

Nonetheless, these young women most likely enjoyed the privilege of safety in town and about the countryside. They would be watched over by a cadre of Union soldiers as civilian tongues wagged.

Sue Bradley

Sue Bradley's parents were Joseph Coville and Isabelle (Clarke) Bradley, who resided on the northeast corner of Franklin and Williams Streets. The Dun representative noted in his earlier reports that the firm of Bradley Wilson & Co., cotton factors and commission merchants, maintained offices in Huntsville and New Orleans in the early 1850s, along with a large base of capital and large amounts of cash. They sold a great deal

of goods and cotton, and "They love money and like to make it as fast as they can. They stand fair as business men and have the confidence of the community." Fackler and Bradley had handsome residences in Huntsville, while Bradley held more assets, the two enjoyed "high standing and unlimited credit." Joe Bradley's position appeared secure in 1860. He was 47, his wife Isabelle 40, with a household full of children. Among the staff, two men worked as "keeper of livery." It is worth noting that this occupation was not listed in any other Huntsville household. Susan was now 18 years old, and there were seven younger children in the home. Mr. Bradley showed real estate valued at $20,000 and personal property worth $230,000, although no slaves were recorded in the census. As a commission merchant, he did well. Earlier, Joseph C. Bradley announced, "he would 'have his neck stretched three feet' and 'spend his money to the dollar,' before he would consent to the Union's destruction."[656]

The new Union military commander, Col. Gilbert Johnson arrived by train in May 1864 from Nashville with the 13th Indiana Cavalry as part of a small force to garrison the post at Huntsville. These men, having only drilled for 30 days, equipped with paltry infantry weapons, lacked horses. Illness became the first threat for the young men; during their six-month tour, 17 died, 15 from typhoid fever. A fellow officer and friend of Colonel Johnson's mentioned incentives to boost morale for the soldiers. Maneuvers and parades often filled the men's hours; the 13th took pride in the appearance of their drills and dress parades. Local citizens naturally watched, particularly those who wanted to show their support of the Union occupation. "The officers observed a young lady of the true southern type of beauty. She always came on horseback, accompanied by her father, a tall, gray-haired, dignified appearing man." Soon officers noted Col. Gilbert Johnson riding in the early evening with Susan Bradley. In March 1865, Colonel Johnson was to brigadier general for "gallant and meritorious service." Frequent military details, or "safe guards," were sent to the residence of Joseph C. Bradley on Franklin Street. "Colonel Johnson always gave personal instructions to these guards. Because of the kind treatment at the Bradley home, soldiers began to vie for the 'honor' of guard duty."[657]

Mrs. Chadick wrote in March of 1864 that her daughter, Sue, had taken a teaching position in place of Sue Bradley at the College. At the start of the next year, still unsettled, Sue Bradley and young Hattie Figures started for the river (escorted by Reverend Bannister) when word was sent for them to return and to wait at least one week before their next attempt; the Union cavalry actively raided there. Eight days later, after several difficulties, Mr. Pruitt escorted Hattie and Sue Bradley to the river. The ladies' safe crossing through Union lines suggests inside connections and special treatment.[658]

Friends and enemies were not surprised to hear of the wedding ceremony on June 26, 1866 of Sue Bradley and Gilbert Johnson. Dr. Ross, who was banished from Huntsville by military multiple times for praying from his

pulpit for the Confederacy, took great pleasure after the formal ceremony. "Now I am even with you… You placed me under bond to refrain from giving voice to my sentiments. Now I have placed you under bonds that will, if you are faithful and true, will hold you for the remainder of your life."[659]

At the time of secession, Joe Bradley accepted the position as War Tax Collector for the Confederacy in order, he said, to fill the department with like-minded cooperationists. He resigned and refused his salary. He may have come to regret that decision as his family, like almost everyone, suffered financially. Dun's financial report notes on Bradley and his company in 1865 did not bode well: it noted that Bradley's company – at one time worth $1M – now owed money.

One year later, Fackler died; the business was in shambles and Bradley was insolvent. He enjoyed a life-long friendship with now-president Andrew Johnson, and was the first to receive a pardon in Madison County. Bradley's pardon was also only one of nine in Alabama certified, "By order of the President." With the War years behind him, he engaged with others to reestablish the old Unionist faction and assume leadership (and the power it brought). The 1870 census showed Mr. Bradley with no assets, although his wife held $10,000 in real estate. Their family was large with nine children at home and newlywed residents Gilbert Johnson, postmaster, and his wife Susan, with their one-year-old daughter Belle. A city clerk also resided there; they employed eight servants to tend to their needs. Gilbert Johnson suffered continually from internal injuries sustained during the War when his horse was shot and fell on him. Once "tall and Apollo-like appearance with courage to spare…an ideal cavalry officer, Custerian [sic] in his impetuosity and dashing on the field, but ever mindful of the welfare of his men" he now spent his days in constant pain, never fully recovering. Paralysis attacked his right side, and he lost much of his capacity for speech. He soon became bedridden. This left him "wholly without means of any kind… to support… [his family] and he was forced to rely on friends for common needs of life." General Johnson died in 1871, after long and painful suffering, leaving his wife Sue and their frail daughter Belle to mourn his loss. He was buried at Maple Hill Cemetery in the Bradley plot, 33 years old, "My Beloved Husband."

Sue Bradley Johnson was left with little financial support and applied for a pension raise. After a "protracted and most determined fight," as he described it, Joe Wheeler, a Congressman from Alabama, introduced and helped finalize House Bill H.R. 10649 to increase Sue's pension to $50 per month. Another Bradley daughter, Emily, married Wilfred VanValkenburg, a northerner who came after the War and established a successful mercantile business. Sister Mary Bradley married Capt. James O. Stanage of the Ohio 13th Infantry in 1868, and Jennie Bradley married a relative of his, H.H. Stanage, in 1875. Many young women in these anxious times, were attracted

to and took advantage of offers for marriage, or otherwise, from Union soldiers.[660]

Anna McClung

Miss Anna McClung descended from a long, prominent Southern heritage. The garrison later named Knoxville was initially called White's Fort and, in 1786, was named capitol of the Southwest Territory for Anna's great-grandfather, Col. James White. Her father, James White McClung, settled in Huntsville in 1816 with a newly-acquired law degree. In 1823, he married Sarah Mitchell, a daughter of John Mitchell, the governor of Georgia; they would go on to have six children. In 1827, McClung and Andrew Wills, editor at the time of *The Huntsville Democrat* aired their political disagreements on the public streets with a duel, and Wills was killed with one pistol shot. In the ways of the frontier, McClung was acquitted; it was said to be a matter of honor. McClung's wife, Sarah, died in 1833 and McClung placed his infant son Matthew with the family of his brother-in-law John Robinson, who later adopted the boy. The next year McClung married Elizabeth Spottswood, who died three years later. In 1838, McClung built his Gulf-style home on McClung Street with elaborate double plantation porch, and grill-work galleries running along two sides of the house. The three-tiered grounds led to a formal sunken garden, and statues representing the seven continents enhanced the property. These features were all considered remarkable for their time, worthy of display, as Mrs. Chadick wrote after taking a guest through the grounds.[661]

McClung House, 415 McClung Street
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

McClung's final marriage was to Margaret E. Patrick; the wedding took place in 1839 in Fayetteville, Tennessee. She was 23 years old; James was 41, and together, they would have seven children, including Anna Parsons McClung. None of this was easy for James McClung or any of his family. One observer who knew him well wrote he possessed "lavish mental endowments, indolent in all but his mental processes." Furthermore, his

"early career was sadly tarnished by dissipation which justly disbarred him from public employment." McClung may have reformed; he served six terms in the state legislature between 1822 and 1844. During that time in 1841, he ran for the governorship of the state of Alabama, losing to Benjamin Fitzpatrick.

At his death in 1848, James McClung left a very wealthy widow with at least 45 enslaved people; Margaret's property on the 1850 census appeared as $15,000 in real estate. As her children married and left home, Margaret sold the McClung Street house in 1851 to James Laurence Watkins. She must have managed her assets well because, 10 years later, her real estate was valued at $43,000 with a farm in the Big Cove area and $60,000 in personal property, including eight enslaved people in the household and 30 at the plantation. In 1860, the family lived on the west side of Adams Avenue, south of Williams Street.

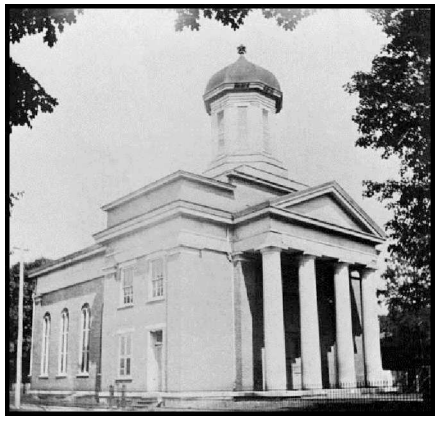
Although they did not appear to have a close friendship, Mrs. Chadick commented on the McClung family in her diaries from the War years. When widow Mary Margaret Jordan went to Nashville by train in mid-March to attempt a parole plea for her son, Capt. Thomas Jordan, neighbors sent money with her to give to their own family members imprisoned at the camp. While their train's engine stopped to take on water at Anderson Station near Stevenson, it was hit by another train at full speed at . Three rail cars were destroyed and at least seven passengers were killed, Mrs. Jordan among them. According to Mrs. Chadick, Mrs. McClung sent $1,150 with Mrs. Jordan for Margaret's son. Two McClung men were serving at that time: Frank in the 4th Alabama Calvary and James, a member of the Madison Rifles. At the end of 1864, Colonel Lyon gave permission for Aggie Scott and Anna McClung to go to the river; it was now safe from military action. By February, Mrs. McClung and her younger children retired to the plantation in Big Cove, most likely because the Huntsville house was occupied by Union officers.[662]

While Anna McClung may have lived in exile from the chaos of northern Alabama occupation, she married Andrew Jackson White from Marengo County in 1868 – he was possibly a cousin. Much later she was shown in the 1880 census as a widow with five children under the age of 11 years. At her death in 1911, she was buried beside her father at Maple Hill Cemetery.[663]

Susan Chadick

Susan Chadick's life had the makings of a classic novel, complete with stepmother, war, and a secret romance with a handsome Union officer. At the age of six, Sue Chadick was the oldest of four children of Malinda and Rev. William D. Chadick when her mother died in 1848 in Fayetteville, Tennessee. Widower Chadick assumed new duties at the headquarters of Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Lebanon, Tennessee when he was taken

ill with cholera. Massachusetts-born Mary Jane Chadick, who lived nearby with her family, volunteered as a nurse, tending many patients when they met. W.D. and Mary Jane married in December of 1849, and in 1855 he answered the call to the church in Huntsville. Here they had their last child. Susan was now the oldest sister of eight siblings residing on Randolph Street.[664]



Cumberland Presbyterian Church
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

Susan attended Mary Sharp College in Winchester, Tennessee, boarding there in early March 1862, as Union troops raided. Fortunately, she and her schoolmates caught the last train out of town. While it happened to be a freight train, Susan did not complain – she was glad to sit on an empty crate "with her books and little else."

In April 1862, Reverend W.D. Chadick was now Colonel Chadick in the Confederate army, leaving Mrs. Chadick at home to make all of the decisions for the house and family. The enslaved Black people sometimes disappeared from the house for days at a time, and later they disappeared entirely. The Chadick women took over the responsibility of all chores, including cooking, ironing, and housework. Sue busied herself thusly, and replaced Sue Bradley by assuming teaching duties at the College. During one traumatic 24-hour period, when her father returned briefly to the house, he was almost caught by Union soldiers. Fortunately, he escaped in time to hide in the basement of neighboring Mrs. Mayhew's house. Union soldiers entered the Chadick house and demanded to know where her father hid. Thinking, as the eldest at home, to defend her unprotected household, Sue found a pistol and, in the excitement, accidently shot herself in the hand.[665]

Not long after this event, Ohio cavalry officer Capt. Samuel Wesley Fordyce entered the lives of the Chadick family. Ill and on leave, Fordyce struck up a friendship with Charles Mastin, a Confederate who invited him to his plantation to recover. In late 1863, Fordyce met Sue Chadick. The

atmosphere at the Chadick household changed. In recent days, Huntsville filled with Union soldiers and the family was now forced to accept officers as boarders. Fortunately, most of the men were friendly, often sharing food rations, and even bringing sheet music for the girls to play on the piano. Some officers even dared to come calling for afternoon visits.

In the following year, Sue accepted a position as tutor for the Matkin children who lived five miles to the west of town. Her frequent travel made it almost inevitable that she would one day find herself outside Union lines with no pass. When this happened, she was not allowed to return home to visit, particularly under the command of Colonel Horner. Mysteriously, however, a federal captain, "unsolicited, very kindly procured her a pass from General Rousseau." Captain Fordyce wrote his sister in November that Alabama was not as bad as it might seem, "being in love with the Rebel Colonel's daughter." The "Union pickets did not question her pass, but their curiosity was excited," according to Mary Jane Chadick, who must have wondered at this exception. Sue was allowed to leave and return to Huntsville at will with her pass, but home suddenly became more interesting, for in February 1865, she returned to help with household duties. Union soldiers continued to call, and Mrs. Chadick made no protest in her journal. Young Eddie Chadick joined the Home Guards, made up of "all the best boys," only to be wounded, captured, and sent off to Camp Chase in Ohio. While on a trip to Nashville, Captain Fordyce visited the young man and brought him new clothes and $50 in cash. By now, Mrs. Chadick most likely wondered at the depth of Fordyce's kindness.[666]

Samuel W. Fordyce
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

The new order instated at the conclusion of the War sent everyone scrambling to reestablish their employment positions and resources. Huntsville offered new political and financial chances – risky, perhaps – but worth taking for some. After a brief hiatus, Samuel Fordyce returned to Huntsville, where he and Sue Chadick married in May 1866. He later said,

"I was in the Federal service during the War and have been in Confederate service ever since." Townspeople must have held harsh opinions about the couple, but Fordyce stayed, determined to minimize hard feelings. He helped Reverend Chadick open a mercantile business, formed a bank, Rison & Fordyce, and took an active part in creating an agriculture association.

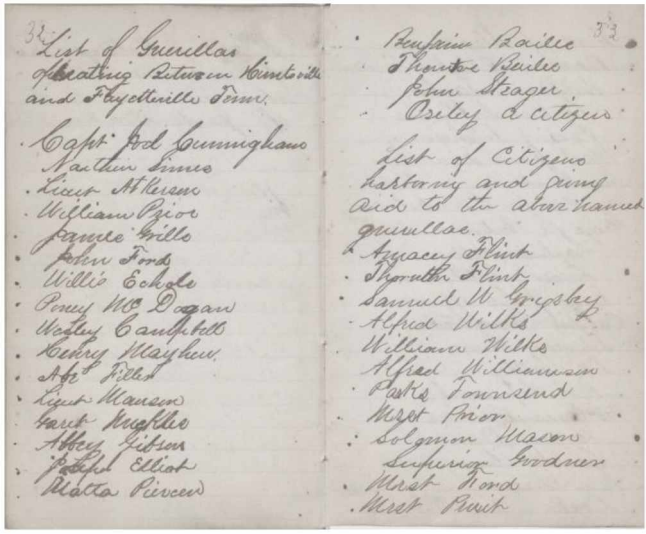
Fordyce fell ill in 1872, with his weight dipping to 120 pounds. As a last resort, he went to Hot Springs, Arkansas and took the waters there. His health recovered. Sue and the family joined him, and he successfully established hotels with bathing spas both at Hot Springs and in a neighboring area now called Fordyce, Arkansas. Of their marriage, "To my mind, as it should be, the 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 couple kept a home in Little Rock and another in St. Louis. Fordyce, who made donations to both Union and Confederate monuments, died in 1919 while Sue lived until 1935.[667]

Appendix G

Guerillas Operating between Huntsville and Fayetteville, TN

Kill if you can - by accident.

This list contained the names of 20 men who fell under the leadership of Capt. Joel Cunningham from Fayetteville, Tennessee. The Confederate Congress affirmed the Partisan Rangers, a detached cavalry unit, to defend their home state; this offered the freedom from answering to a larger governing body. Men who were promised wages and payment for weapons and ammunition remained near their own neighborhoods, leading to many successful raids and harassments of the enemy, but their actions sometimes seemed vengeful – to both sides. At first glance, the names appeared to be a collection of unrelated men. After viewing the original muster roll of Company B formed by Cunningham, the surnames are quite similar.


32 List of Guerillas operating between Huntsville and Fayetteville Tenn.

Capt. Joel Cunningham
Lieut. Atkerson
William Prior
James Wells
John Ford
Willis Echols
Perry McDonald
Wesley Campbell
Henry Mayhew
Sgt. Fitch
Lieut. Manson
Sergt. Hughes
Abbey Gibson
Elliot
Robta Pierce

Benjamin Bailes
Thornton Bailes
John Seager
Oxley & citizens

List of citizens harboring and giving aid to the above named guerillas.
Aquacy Flint
Thornton Flint
Samuel W. Grigsby
Alfred Wilks
William Wilks
Alfred Williamson
Parks Townsend
Wyatt Prior
Solomon Mason
Sergeant Gardner
Wyatt Ford
Wyatt Pruit

The few occupied cities like Athens and Huntsville upheld order for citizens, and this was only due to Federal occupation. Isolated communities suffered. In December 1864, Joel Cunningham, enlisted a full complement of men: four senior officers, eight subordinate officers, and several privates who lived in the northernmost part of Madison County and southern Lincoln County, Tennessee. This list of 20 men included 11 men from his original Company, Cunningham's brother Peter, and most likely Abbey Gibson, who earlier served in Company L of Col. Lemuel Mead's battalion. Three years into the War, names proved difficult to accurately trace. The familial ties on the original roster (including men with overlapping surnames) are apparent:

Joel and his brother Peter Cunningham, Boles, Brown, Browning, Cox, Floyd, and Greene each had two men with the same last name. Five family names had three men – Brittain, Foster, Kelly, Pearson, Shepherd, and Taylor while there were four men named Foster and four named Stephenson. Company B appeared composed of these 15 families who made up 40 of the enlisted men.[668]

Joel Wilson Cunningham

In 1860, 30-year-old Joel Wilson Cunningham lived in what was earlier known as Cunningham Station, now Flintville, Tennessee, just a few miles southeast of Fayetteville at the headwaters of the Flint River. Flintville by water is 65 twisting miles from Huntsville and its juncture with the Tennessee River, but it is only about 10 miles due north of New Market, Alabama as backroads allow. Cunningham was a merchant with no real estate but $1,000 of personal property, a tidy sum, and more than most of his neighbors possessed. As a postmaster, he could read and write, and he and his wife, Susan, had four young children under the age of eight. Flintville at its peak featured "three churches, three general stores, distilleries, saloons, a drug store, a school, a cafe, a boarding house, a blacksmith, a cotton gin and a calaboose."[669]

Just a few months after the War began, Joel Cunningham enlisted as a private at Fayetteville, Tennessee in the 1st Tennessee Infantry Volunteers for 12 months, however he was discharged in July 1861 for a disability. His discharge officer noted on his record card that he never received the clothing or wages due him.

Back home, Cunningham welcomed those seeking supplies, gathering around the pot-bellied stove to share the newspaper or argue politics at his local store. This gave him access to his neighbors' political opinions and an intimate view of their failing circumstances. Rural areas often suffered the brunt of actions of marauding soldiers and guerillas, but small towns paid a particularly high price as the warfare became a test of survival for defenseless people.

Cunningham reenlisted in 1864 after Federal troops burned both his home and that of his brother, Peter. He and Peter took charge of a company of soldiers to become active guerillas according to Col. Gilbert Johnson, USA or to become partisan rangers according to Col. Lemuel Mead, CSA. In February 1865, Joel and Peter were captured near Fayetteville and ordered to be executed. Several variations of this story made their way through the family in the following years. As Joel described it, they escaped on a bucolic afternoon with help from friendly Rebel families and managed to hide out comfortably for some time. Such instances occurred several times, but neighborhood residents never openly acknowledged them.[670]

Joel Cunningham knew that, if or when the Union caught him, they would shoot to kill. He chose to make other arrangements. "Shoot if you can

by accident" became a byword for Union soldiers and civilians weary of threats and worse. In February of 1865, Union Major Gen. Robert H. Gilroy took that axiom a step farther. In a list of 14 bushwhackers, some of whom were ordered to be hanged and their homes to burn, was the name of Cunningham, "He is the leader of a gang of Bushwhackers 75 to 100 strong – *kill.*"

At that late date in the War, human life had become cheap. Along major highways, small towns, and homesteads the constant chaos of soldiers from both sides seemed as though it would never end. Now "one side's liberation force looked awfully like a ruthless gang of bandits to the other side." Federal forces headquartered at Fayetteville – once a thriving village of 2,000 – and took desperate measures to restore civil order. An official Federal Order was issued February 1, 1865 mandating that a home guard should be organized to rid the territory of bushwhackers – irregulars from both sides. In effect:

> all male residents from the age of 14 years without regard to age, infirmity or occupation are required in every neighborhood to organize themselves into HOME GUARD COMPANIES… for the purpose of exterminating and driving out all Bushwhackers, Horse Thieves and other lawless men

to restore order. All men were required to register within five days on "pain of being considered disloyal and treated accordingly." Those with the ability to fight were expected to turn out when word arrived of bushwhackers and guerillas, or thieves, in the neighborhood. Officers of these home guards were to be men of well-known loyalty, and were expected to command the company for as long as necessary until peace and safety were restored to the neighborhood. "The time has come for all men to take sides, and either show themselves the active friends of the Union and of law and order, or openly join the enemy; inaction on the part of any one will be no longer tolerated."[671]

The following (complicated and somewhat difficult to follow) sequence of events began six days later, on February 7, 1865.

Fayetteville Union commander Lt. Col. W.J. Clift sent a correspondence to his superior officer reporting that a unit was sent out to kill the five most reckless of Colonel Mead's Rebel men. While Mead and most of his command were known to be across the Tennessee River at that time, they were expected to return within three weeks. Clift wrote:

> This information was deemed reliable because it was from Joel Cunningham and his brother of Mead's command, who surrendered to me since I came here. I gave the surrender the appearance of a capture and wish it so understood for the present. They have already furnished me valuable information and are aiding me otherwise to

> clear the county of robbers and thieves. Captain Joe Cunningham will surrender to me from 20-25 of his men for whose good conduct he is willing to vouch, but before the surrender is made, he will take his men and kill a Texas Ranger by the name of Root and all his men, ten in number. Three of the most reliable citizens of Lincoln County have pledged their lives and property for the faithful performance of Cunningham's part of the contract, as they consider him reliable when his word is staked... I will clean the county about here of thieves and robbers. Meeting today of citizens of Lincoln County for the purpose of restoration of civil laws and it will be a feeling of security in the free expression of their feelings.[672]

Joel and Peter Cunningham offered Colonel Clift a winning arrangement for both sides. Texas Rangers, at that time under Gen. Braxton Bragg's Army of Tennessee, were known as skilled marksmen and experienced cavalrymen, and were often sent behind enemy lines to harass Union soldiers. Now, however, few were entirely certain who the actual enemy was. Cunningham may have suggested to Colonel Clift that Root was a Texas Ranger, but one Capt. Jerome Root led a separate company of men in Colonel Mead's Confederate command. The two men were almost certainly acquainted – both first filled their respective companies in Lincoln County. Cunningham's original roster was filled on January 19 and Root's roster was made up April 1 the same year, 1864, where he was noted on the roll as "commander of the Company, Inspector, and Mustering Officer." Cunningham may have used a false name to identify Jerome Root, but was clearly allowed to take action against men violating the new standards of the day. Jerome Root could not be located in the 1850 or 1860 censuses, not unusual for people on the fringes of society, but neither could he be located anywhere in the later censuses. It remains unknown as to how many of his company returned after the War. The hills do not always give up their secrets.

Finding reliable information about the people on this list before the War was difficult, but post-War information was far more of a challenge to obtain. Newspapers and Federal censuses remain the best sources, however redundant the information may sometimes seem. Some families attempted to rebuild the old home place. Others relocated, (some of whom returned) disappeared, or passed away. In November 1873, for example, the Fayetteville newspaper reported, "We are pained to announce the death of our old friend Joe Cunningham of the vicinity of Flintville. He died of a congestive chill, induced, it is thought by exposure while engaged in a deer hunt in Walker County, Alabama." His brother Peter, along with his wife Mary (Grills), moved their family to Arkansas in the meantime.[673]

Nathan A. Sims

Nathan A. Sims was listed in the original Mead's Company B roster. Like many of the men in Cunningham's company, Sims lived in Madison County and voted in the Hazel Green neighborhood at Hayes Store among the many men recognized as Loyalists. In 1860 Sims was 19, a laborer who lived at home with his father, an overseer, his mother and seven siblings. At the time of his surrender to General Granger in Huntsville on May 15, 1865, he was listed as a member of the 25th Batt., Alabama Cavalry.[674]

Sims lived next door to Parks Townsend with his family in Hazel Green in 1870, but at some point, Sims decided to move. In 1880 he, his wife, and four young children lived in a household that included his two brothers and two of his sisters between the ages of 32 and 40 in Grimes County, Texas. Times were oppressively hard. By 1900, Nathan and his wife, Mollie moved to Huntsville, Texas where he was employed as a prison guard.

Lieutenant Adkerson

Lieutenant Adkerson proved allusive. Historian Charles Rice gave the name as A.G. Adkerson, and there was a record for an Alfred Adkerson in Co. C of Russell's 4th Cavalry and Co. A of the 24th Infantry. Nothing more could be located, and one might hope A.G. did better than William Adkerson of Jackson County who died in March 1862 at Fort Douglas near Chicago. William's father received the back pay for his deceased son, $48.40, and $4 for the unused six-month clothing allowance. William's father signed the receipt for $52.40 with his "X," likely feeling fortunate to have the sum. Like countless others, however, the serious issue at hand seemed to be finding help on the farm with plowing as spring approached.[675]

William A. Pryor

In 1850, William A. Pryor was about 14 years old. He resided with his well-to-do father, Nathan (a Lincoln County farmer) his mother, Elizabeth, and four younger siblings. William did not appear in the 1860 census, but he was known as a founding member of Company B. He became a prisoner of war at some point, but those documents were undated. He took the Oath of Allegiance to the United States on November 17, 1863, then to be listed as a deserter on the Confederate rolls.[676] Taking the oath to the United States implied one would share information with the Union only. For some in the South, this was a life-or-death matter.

By 1870, W.A. Pryor, age 34, lived with his mother and two younger sisters, Ann and Elizabeth. His mother, Elizabeth, possessed the hefty sum of $36,000, and four Black servants resided in her household. Ten years later his household included his widowed mother and sister Ann. Pryor's entry showed no occupation; the census taker listed him as having paralysis. Unfortunately, by 1890, William Pryor was living in the Poorhouse in Davidson County, Tennessee listed as a veteran.

James Andrews Grills

According to the 1850 census, James Andrews Grills, age 23, was an apprentice, most likely to his older brother David, a blacksmith. At that time, three sons resided with their father, including Benjamin, who held $300 of personal property. Jamie Grills married Julia Ann, the younger sister of Joel and Peter Cunningham; those brothers could not be located in the 1860 census. Grills was an original member of Company B. Records of him are somewhat tangled, but according to military rolls, James was listed during the War at one time as a deserter. Had Jamie Grills simply deserted, returning home for spring planting or fall butchering? The men who initially sacrificed their homes and lives for a one-year enlistment left their families to the care of relatives with the majority of work and worry falling upon their wives.

Mother, that treasured symbol of Southern womanhood, had always been protected and provided for; now, however, she was forced to manage on her own. Wives and mothers faced the realities of starvation as their children cried out in hunger and their feet became numb with cold. Even corn, so readily available in times past, was taken for the army. Leftover corn supplies were sold for cash to distillers who could use it to turn a profit.

Women needed yarn and cloth to make clothes for their growing children. Prices for every necessity quickly skyrocketed, and most women left at home possessed little income, and no opportunities to earn. A husband's Confederate salary was $11 per month; most soldiers never received their pay. Little wonder that, by 1864, President Davis acknowledged that two-thirds of Confederate soldiers were absent without leave. (The Confederate Deserter Book for April through November of 1864 alone showed 7,994 deserters.)[677] No families of suspected deserting soldiers for any reason were legally entitled to government allocations. Still worse, Southern neighbors – or any neighbors for that matter – could earn a reward for turning in deserters.

With husbands gone, and pantries and root cellars now empty, did mothers leave their children at home alone as they searched for food? Did they borrow, beg, steal, or riot for food as women in Mobile did? Did they sell family treasures or their own bodies for food? Counties tried to help families with food allotments, but there was little to distribute, even if supplied could be transported to the far-reaching countryside. Urban women worked in factories and became "Needle Women," sewing uniforms, corn sacks, and blankets. How did men stay away at battle with the knowledge of what was happening at home? And how many women had already unknowingly lost their father, brothers, or husbands, who would never return?[678]

In 1870, Jamie Grills was enumerated in Lincoln County with his wife, Julia, five daughters, and son. One R. Cunningham was "living in the family" as well – a female of 51. James's value at that time was given as

$200. Census workers later located him in 1880 in Dyer County, Tennessee. In 1900, he lived with Julia in Pine, Missouri in Ripley County, listed as a father-in-law with the Shoulders family.

John J. Ford

John J. Ford was most likely was the son of widow Marianna Ford. His father John Ford and his uncle Dr. Hezekiah Ford arrived in Madison County in 1819 as successful planters. John J.'s father died from pneumonia in 1849, leaving his family well provided for; executors Capt. William Roper and George R. Wharton were required to pledge $200,000 bond (more than $8M today). The1850 census showed John as nine years old. Ten years later, his mother's holdings were considerable; his sister Missouri (age 21), brothers John (now 19), William 16, and Robert Fulton Ford, 13, showed personal property worth $25,000 each (this was most likely the value of the people they enslaved). John J. may have been the man who enlisted in Co. I of the 4th Alabama Infantry and William in Company E of the 13th Battalion of Alabama Partisan Rangers. The records showed no date, enlistment location, or service documents to clarify. A John Ford was captured on June 5, 1864 in northern Virginia, taking the oath of allegiance on May 1, 1865 in Sullivan County, Tennessee. Both Ford brothers were Confederate veterans, but neither applied for pensions in Huntsville in later years. Their mother Marianna appeared on a later list of those harboring guerrillas.[679]

After the War, John Ford, now 28, and his sister Missouri lived at home with their mother. He held $1,000 of personal property and real estate valued at $4,000, according to the 1870 census. John served as executor of his mother's estate when she died in 1872; two years later he married Lucy L. Jones of Huntsville. At his death in 1893, the obituary noted his father as one of the wealthiest planters before the War, and only two members of the family survived those years. Young John Ford was remembered "one of the first to answer the call" when he enlisted in the 4th Alabama. He was buried at Maple Hill Cemetery to be followed by his wife Lucy in 1905.[680]

William Rubin H. Echols

In 1850, William Rubin H. Echols appeared in Lincoln County records as a 23-year-old blacksmith living with his wife, Elizabeth. Ten years later, Rubin resided with his second wife Mary, age 20, and a one-year-old daughter named Caledonia. His property was valued at $100 and it was noted that neither of the couple could read or write. They lived next door to James Cunningham and one household away from Joel Cunningham. Echols was an original member of Company B, with rank of 4th Corporal. These people were poor by any standard, and as W.J. Cash suggested, "merely the weakest elements of the old back country population… those driven back farthest – back to the red hills and the sand lands… to all the marginal lands

of the South." Was their impoverished state due to the poorness of the soil or the inability to reach market for crops they raised? Those crops on the poor soil would need top dressing, and there was clearly no money or available credit to purchase fertilizer. They seemed to be the "most completely barred off from escape of economic and social advance." Cash suggested that these families waited for planters to signal what to do as they were considered "white victims of slavery."[681]

William Echols and his wife survived the War, and young Caledonia now had four siblings; in 1870, they lived in the Lynchburg, Tennessee area. In 1880 William's family could be found in Limestone County, Alabama, a blacksmith with five children at home. (This Echols should not be confused with Major William H. Echols of Huntsville, the West Point graduate of 1858 who resigned and joined the Confederacy.)

John McDougal

The man listed as Piney McDugan was most likely John McDougal, who, at the age of five in 1850, resided with his parents, Rachael and Andrew, and two brothers. In 1860, he resided with his mother, who listed her occupation as "weaving," her values at $200 real estate and $40 personal property with six children in the household. Listed as head of this meager household, Rachael was unable to read or write. She clearly knew what an education might do for her children, however, because John and his siblings attended school, according to the census entry. John McDougal was an original member of Cunningham's company, and Confederate records show him in Co. C Russell's Alabama Cavalry.[682] In 1870, John McDougal resided in Lincoln County with his wife Sarah and two young children.

Wesley Campbell

Wesley Campbell was not a founding member of Cunningham's unit. He was from Madison County, born about 1830, to Elizabeth and William Campbell. There were at least five sons in the family, and one, Silus, was a sawyer who remained in Madison County. Wesley and Mary Spence Campbell were newlyweds in 1859, and a one-month-old infant appeared in the census next year. Campbell was listed in the New Hope district (with $800 in personal assets) as a school teacher. He enlisted in Madison County in Company C of Russell's Alabama Cavalry and was a 2nd Sargent in Gurley's Company in October 1862. He was noted as having a horse valued at $150 and $450 worth of equipment. In 1863 he reenlisted with Frank Gurley at New Market for the duration.[683]

Wesley and Mary Campbell could not be located with certainty after the War.

Henry Clay Mayhew

Henry Clay Mayhew lived in the Hazel Green area, and by 1860 he was an 18-year-old laborer living in the Bentley household. Confederate records offer a description of the young man: Mayhew, who was born in Lincoln County, Tennessee, was now was over six feet tall with a dark complexion, gray eyes, and dark hair. He was due $40 when he enlisted at Camp Jones in September of 1861. This site was named for Col. Egbert Jones, a well-admired Huntsville attorney who was recently killed at First Manassas. Huntsville was one of four camps of instruction established in Alabama, and, in July 1862, that camp occupied part of the late Martin Miller's property. It was a beautiful grove with plenty of water, both sun and shade with a level parade ground for the 11 companies of "the sturdiest, most athletic, civil, well-behaved men in every bone and sinew of the land."

Local citizens came to the training field, including schoolgirls, to watch the spectacle; some wrote of the visits in their journals. By order of Col. Joseph Wheeler, the 19th Alabama Regiment campsite was moved to Blue Springs, three miles north, far from the admiring but distracting town crowds.

Once relocated, it was renamed Camp Bradford in honor of Mrs. Martha Bradford, who worked tirelessly for the hundreds of troops who were sick with measles, mumps, pneumonia, and typhoid fever. Her attentiveness at that time saved many; in fact, only one died. Illness lingered among the young men, but one month later, there were only 74 on the sick list unfit for duty. Of the 1,900 cases of illnesses, 800 of them measles, only 10 men died, and Editor Clay protested the transport of their bodies on baggage wagons to the cemetery.[684] Unfortunately, in mid-November, 220 men were listed in the hospital, most young and far from home. Henry Mayhew managed to remain healthy, fortunately, and during the first four months, he received an allowance of $40.33, another of $35, and a third of $21 for clothing as a private in Company I, 4th Alabama. He was discharged, but reenlisted immediately at Camp Law. According to records, he underwent surgery and later possibly deserted, but Mayhew was active with Company C as late as October 1863. In May of 1865, Mayhew was one of the Rebel soldiers who surrendered to General Granger in Huntsville.[685]

Post-War, Henry Mayhew remained in Madison County. In 1875, he married Kitty Wilks, noted earlier, and they farmed near Sulphur Springs in 1880. It was a hard- scrabble life. The agricultural census reflected what was predicted much earlier about overuse of the land. Although he owned the land, he only tilled 14 acres, 30 acres were woodland, and 30 more "old fields." His farm was valued at $200, and he owned one mule, two milch cows, no chickens, and no cotton was raised. In 1896, he married Louise Hill, and, in 1903, applied for and received his Confederate pension. In a 1909 list for the relief of needy soldiers and sailors and their widows, it was noted that Mayhew suffered from a kidney affliction in 1862. His condition

had worsened by 1910, when he was enumerated at Bryce Mental Hospital in Tuscaloosa as a widower. He died there two years later.[686]

Abe Filler

Abe Filler could not be located in records. Filler is not a common surname; the writer may have been referring to Fowler or, Fuller, a well-known Lincoln County name.

Lieut. Mansen

Lieut. Mansen could not be identified with certainty.

Garrett Sandidge Nuckolls

Garrett Sandidge Nuckolls was not on the original roll of Company B. He was a son of Samuel Overton Nuckolls and Elizabeth of the well-connected Sandidge family in Madison County. Garrett was born January 15, 1844, and among these men of Cunningham's group, Nuckolls' were the brightest prospects. By 1858 his father remarried; his new bride was named Mary Thompson. She was listed as his wife in the 1860 census, along with his father, aged 55, owning real estate worth $30,000 and personal property worth $60,000, including the value of 31 slaves. Young Garrett Nuckolls, then 15, enjoyed great connections and expectations. In 1865, Garrett was listed in Company B, 4th Alabama Cavalry.[687]

After the War, Garrett Nuckolls obtained enough training to become a medical doctor, and in 1869 he married Mary E. Jordan of Rutherford County, Tennessee. In the next census year, they and baby Florence were together at a Brownsboro mailing address. Dr. Garrett Nuckolls died March 12, 1871 and was buried in the Sandidge Cemetery on the Steger Plantation near Hazel Green. After the bills were paid – one for medical attendance and another for his metallic burial case costing $150 – and after his brother-in-law, James Colt's claim, a substantial obligation to his brother Shelby, and another debt to Mrs. Mary Lawler, there was little left for his wife and daughter in his bankrupt estate. The current cotton crop was sold, land was auctioned, but nothing was settled until 1878, when Mary Nuckolls could claim her $500 dower.[688]

Abbey Gibson

Abbey Gibson was probably Albert Gibson, five years old in 1850, living with his parents A.G. and Sarah Gibson and six siblings in Lincoln County. His father farmed, with real estate valued at $1800. Ten years later, A.J. Gibson, 15, was a laborer living with the family of William and Martha Jones. Gibson may have been in Company L, of Jerome Root's Company, where one man, A. Gibson, was listed. He could also be the man noted with William Bailes below.

Joseph Elliot

Joseph Elliot, 35, lived in Fayette County, Tennessee with his wife Margaret and, in 1860, two young sons. He was listed as having no occupation and no assets. No records of his service in an official military unit could be found.[689]

Neither Abbey Gibson nor Joseph Elliot could be located in records after the War.

Benjamin Bailes

Benjamin Bailes (or possibly Thomas or Thornton Bailes) was difficult to trace with certainty because the name may have been Bales, Broyles, or Broiles, as the census taker recorded the same household in 1850. There were four Bailes brothers. Frank Gurley wrote in his autobiography of the death of General McCook, listing the other six men with him from his original group, "the immortal seven," as W.H. Bailes, J.A. Gibson, his brother Thomas P. Gurley, H.S. Rountree, B.E. Bailes, and C.J. Word, all local men.[690] At this time the oldest of four Bailes sons, 24-year-old Lt. William H. Bailes of Co. C, 4th Alabama, was killed at the hopeless assault in early February 1863 against Fort Donelson led by Gen. Joe Wheeler. William was, according to Gurley, "one of the finest and bravest officers that ever gave his life for the country he loved."[691]According to most records, the three remaining brothers were named Lofton M., Benjamin, and Thomas Bailes; the four boys were only about four years apart in age. Of these three, it may have been Pvt. Thomas who rode with Roddey's Escort in the Alabama Cavalry while Pvt. Benjamin E. served in Co. C of that unit. If Lofton M. Bailes saw action, it was not recorded.[692]

The brothers settled into the community, marrying and assuming solid workplaces. Benjamin Bailes took up work as a carpenter by 1870. He married Mary Smith in 1872 and, in 1880, they and their four children lived on Clinton Street. He died in 1883 and was buried at Maple Hill Cemetery. Thomas Albert married Ruth Bragg in 1883 and lived until 1917, remembered as "a prominent citizen," buried at Cameron cemetery in the county.[693]

John Alexander Steger

John Alexander Steger, son of Mary (Wall) and Kennon Steger, was born in 1845, a grandson of Mary (Cooper) Wall, the widow who lived just west of Whitesburg Pike. John was the only son. When he enlisted as a private in May of 1863 in the 4th Alabama Cavalry, he left behind a household consisting of his parents and six sisters. Few in the Whitesburg community fared well during the War. Union soldier Horace Flint wrote to his mother Rebecca in June of 1864 about their camp. They could see Rebels across the river every day and even talk to them sometimes. Once they rode out to

discover a Rebel group feeding their horses, "Rebs had all got their guns and was on their feet popin the Ball and Buckshot at us as thick as hale stones." At Whitesburg, however, "the village is all torn down." At his surrender in May of 1865, John had risen to the rank of sergeant.[694]

After the War, John A. Steger married Mary Ella Simpson from Pond Beat (near the Whitesburg community) in 1870; his personal estate was listed at $1,000 at the time. Mary Ella Simpson had a background of her own. Her father, Dr. William Simpson, and his wife were Irish-born, lucky to have escaped with their lives from the Irish Rebellion. They arrived in Madison County to be included in the 1809 Squatter Census, and settled near the Tennessee River close to Ditto's Landing with other Irish settlers. The Huntsville community embraced and respected Simpson; he was a founding member of the Masonic Lodge in 1812.[695] Mary Ella's connections ran deep and wide throughout the Huntsville community. After her father William's death, Mary Ella's mother Marguerite married the Honorable Hopkins Lacy, making Mary Ella a half-sister to Martha Jane Cocke Lacy, wife of Dr. Albert Russel. Other relations included the Loyalist David Campbell Humphreys.

John Steger held no real estate in 1870; the couple lived in the Green Grove community, most likely on land that belonged to John's grandmother Mary (Cooper) Wall. By 1880, they had four young children and resided in the northeast part of the county next to his father, Kennon Steger. John was listed as a widower in 1900 with three adult children in the household; he did not own the property where he lived. John was on the next few censuses up to, amazingly, 1940. Active in Confederate reunion groups, he received the honorary title of Major General. He enjoyed relating his near-misses with death and recounted that the man who took his position on the line was shot and killed. On another occasion, the Minnie ball on his own cartridge belt saved his life. In 1948, John became one of the three oldest surviving men who served in the Confederate army, passing away at the age of 102.[696]

Some few names remained unidentified in standard reference works of Fold3 and Federal Censuses. What appears to be Matta Piercen on the list is likely either James or Joseph Pearson – men of those two names were in Cunningham's company.

Noble and hardworking, the good poor or the lazy undisciplined poor?

The inhabitants of the hamlet of Flyntville, the farmlands of south-central Tennessee, and north-central Madison County were generally hardworking people of the land. Education was a luxury and out of the realm of possibility for most people in this rural environment. Few of the men could read and write, and it unusual for rural women to be literate. They might be able to read their Bible, but few rural women could write letters or record the events of their days. Those who were literate found little free time

from farm chores and could not spare the expense of precious tallow candles after dark, much less the new kerosene lanterns.

In town, the close proximity of dwellings might at least offer a sympathetic neighbor to share anxieties about daily hardships. In the countryside, neighbors were few. Women were faced with a terrible choice: should they take refuge in town, or stay in an attempt to protect their home places, including almost all they possessed, while enduring endless toil? The women had enough to worry about, and not simply what to wear – that would be the same old dress most days, perhaps with an apron and sunbonnet. The sheep needed shearing; it was a difficult task, always performed by men. Women needed cotton and wool to make thread and weave cloth for their family. Crops must to be planted and, with any luck, harvested, before being ravaged by passing soldiers from either side. Who would hitch the mule to the plow now and till a straight row? How would the corn, if there was any left, be taken to the mill to be ground for meal? How would the cool-weather butchering get done, even if a single animal remained in the lot? Tools broke or just wore down. Who among the women and the remaining old men and young boys could repair the essential plow or scythe? There were so many questions with no answers at hand.

As children continued to grow, they required basic food and clothing, along with a bit of education. Children in the War years grew up rapidly. Joel Cunningham's wife Susan already had four young children; Julia Ann Grills had at least two young ones, Caledonia Echols had a daughter; and Joe Elliott's wife, Margaret, had two young sons to look after. Many of the soldiers were young when the War broke out, and still lived with their aging parents. Nathan Sims lived with his parents and seven siblings at the start of the War, Will Pryor's mother was widowed with four children, and John McDougal's mother raised five children with no husband at home. All men of fighting ability were gone, leaving no protective military post nearby to call or depend upon during robbery attempts, home burnings, or unspeakable violence, as their sisters in towns did. Some educated women – mainly girls and women in urban settings – wrote letters and kept journals that expressed their fears. One can only guess what rural women might have revealed, had they the chance.

The men in this group ranged in age (in 1862) from 17 to 35 years old. Only one appeared to enslave Black people in his own name, but at least two, John Ford and Garrett Nuckolls, were set to inherit enslaved workers. Cunningham, the post master, could be considered a middle-class professional, as was the teacher. Many men signed legal documents, written by the county clerk, with a simple "X." None except Ford held substantial financial worth according to the census, neither were any of them landowners. Most were listed as farmers, two were blacksmiths, and a few were laborers. Some lived with parents in large families whose few assets

would be split among many while others were young families with children. These citizens lived hard-scrabble lives.

Poor Whites
***David Hunter Strother* (*Porte Crayon*)**

Were these men and their family members people the wealthy considered to be of the noble, hardworking "good poor," or the lazy "undisciplined poor?" Although the term "redneck" came into use after the Civil War, a prevailing descriptor of the antebellum years was quite common: "poor White trash." The term was noted as early as the 1830s to label non-slave-holding White men as a caste to be looked down upon. Affluent White landowners spoke of poor White people in stereotypes, most notably that they illegally squatted on the land of others (usually that of the affluent). Having few possessions, they reasoned, made it a bit easier for these poor people to move on, sometimes hurriedly in the night.

There were, in fact, a few squatters who moved from one spot to another. They lived in the general vicinity of foothills and mountains, far from the laws of civil authorities and the sneers of polite society. Because they lived on the fringes, they were often the first to be accused of criminal activities when incidents occurred. Now, with Northern occupation and warfare close at hand, it became almost impossible to remain hidden from view. Many of these destitute people joined the vast numbers of refugees in motion.[697]

Daniel Hundley, a self-acknowledged southern cotton snob, described the poor Whites who lived in the hilly and mountainous rural land, far removed from others. He said that they cleared five acres or so of land, whether it belonged to them or not, built pine-pole cabins, and raised "corn, pumpkins, and a little garden truck of some kind," keeping chickens in pole hen-houses for poultry and eggs. Hundley wrote that "they" were better off than European peasants and certainly better off than the "poor New York City mechanics… to say nothing of the thousands of day laborers." Still, "husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers showed idle habits that included

hunting, beef-shooting, gander-pulling, marble-playing, card-playing and getting drunk." As a result, "they seldom had money and resorted to bartering for their needs. They showed little energy or self-reliance and often relocated to another site just like the one they had left." They were sometimes called poor White trash by enslaved people who were taught to look down on them.[698]

Poor citizens had small farms with limited resources, and did well to feed their families. Their homes were sometimes similar to those of enslaved people on plantations. They ate the same staple foods of the South: cornmeal, bacon, and seasonal vegetables, but they, unlike Black people, were legally allowed to hunt game with a gun. With few skills to offer and little education, poverty rendered them generally powerless as a group. Men had influence at election time, however, because Alabama was one of the few states that did not require land ownership in order to vote. In theory as freemen, they outnumbered planters and were equal before the laws of the land. They were made welcome, urged to attend political rallies with plentiful bar-b-que and flowing alcohol while heeding fervent stump speeches. They were often eager to take up for what they considered injustice in the current system, and the Civil War seemed ready-made for many of them.

Poor Whites were aware of the fact that freedom for Blacks translated to competition for low-skill cotton factory jobs and hired field hand work – jobs already difficult to obtain – as the market flooded. Where would poor White men and their families rank if 400,000 Black people in the South were suddenly freed and entitled to the standard "forty acres of land and a mule" of their own? To the poorest Southerners, the War threatened "a yoke more intolerable than the bondage of the African" slave hood itself.[699]

Appendix H

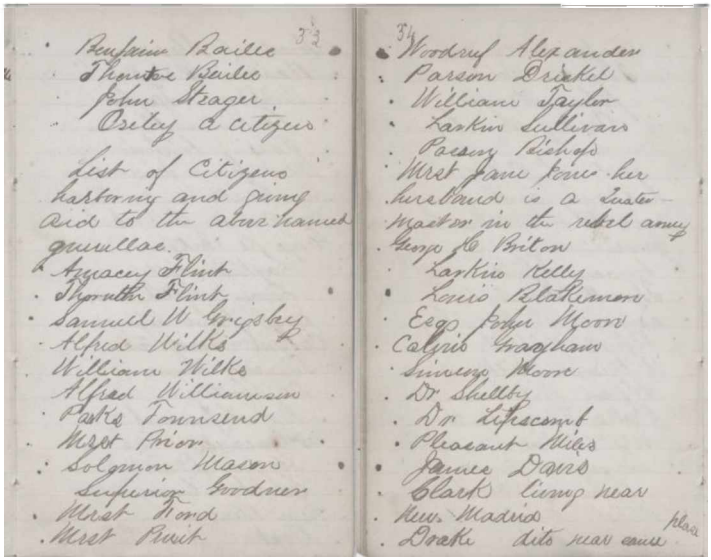
Citizens Harboring and Giving Aid to the Above-Named Guerillas

Taken Off and Murdered

Who would knowingly harbor an illegal guerilla fighter? As announced by Colonel Beatty in the summer of 1862, severe punishment awaited those who gave aid to the enemy. Union soldiers became increasingly incensed at what they called "straggly guerillas," and "way-side knights," not "fit to fight face-to-face." They would take no more prisoners; as ordered, they would "shoot every man in the woods."[700]

It seemed only natural, however, that family, friends, and neighbors give aid to their loved ones, particularly if they agreed with the Confederacy. Perhaps, they reasoned, the original purpose has been to defend states' rights, the right to secede, and to protect slavery, but a new objective now arose: defending themselves from Union invaders. Family often won out.

The fear of Black men accosting White women always remained. In truth, the only confirmed instances of sexual assault involved White men assaulting Black women. The cost for all sympathizers grew as the War raged, and the very act of aiding, abetting, harboring, or feeding Rebels was dangerous – it could incur fines, arrest, confiscation of goods, imprisonment, exile, or death.



Amasa Flynt

In 1850, Amasa Flynt, a farmer, age 30, lived with his parents, Martha, 70, and 65-year-old Perry Flynt in census district 34, commonly known as the Hayes Store area. Amasa's father Perry used his soldiers' certificate to purchase 160 acres of land just inside Madison County along the old Mulberry Road, south of the Tennessee Line. Perry did reasonably well with a stated value of $1,500 in real estate, as reported in the census. By 1860 his son Amasa married Maria Whitfield Clark, and they had an infant daughter named, Stella. His personal estate was valued at $9,000 which included five enslaved people. Five households away was the large family of the blacksmith Miles Pleasant, also on the list of suspected supporters of the Rebel guerillas. Although Amasa was too old to fight actively with no sons serving in the Rebel army, he had a powerful reason for offering aid to Rebels. He received news from his sister Joanna, in Scott County, Arkansas that she experienced the terrible ordeal of witnessing Union bushwhackers stand her husband, Paschal Andrews, against a tree to be shot and killed because he had three sons in the Confederate army.[701]

Unfortunately, Amasa Flynt's family could not be documented clearly on the next two censuses. He and Maria made their way to Texas, however, and eventually had seven children. Amasa died in 1877, at the age of 63. Maria applied for his Confederate pension, and lived until 1907.[702]

Thornton Flint

Thornton Flint, 46, farmed in Lincoln County, Tennessee. With him were Haston Flint, age 44, and a third brother, 35-year-old Thomas Flint. The brothers, sons of Elizabeth and Martin Flynt, were born in North Carolina, but, like many families, quickly moved into Kentucky where Martin purchased land in Barren County. Three of his sons moved to Lincoln County, Tennessee, and, in 1827, Thornton purchased 102 acres of land along Mulberry Creek, Tennessee for 12½ cents per acre.

During the first years of pioneer life in the Old Southwest, sufficient game of deer, wild turkeys, rabbits, opossums, and squirrels supplied their needs. The early small-scale farmer planted corn and, in between the rows, sowed turnips, field peas, okra, sweet potatoes, beans, squash, and pumpkins. Bacon chunks added seasoning to the vegetables and pot-likker, which, with all its nutrients at the bottom of the kettle, was poured over cornbread. Little or nothing was wasted. Corn from the fields provided corn on or off the cob, roasted, fried, or ground for meal to make cornbread which lasted better than white bread in the southern climate. Corn baked over the open flame or cooked over the coals of the fire, indoors or outdoors, became finger-burning, finger-licking corn dodgers, hoecakes, corn muffins, mush, hominy, and grits. Travelers spoke of the meals: everything was fried in bacon fat or lard while bacon was added to any and every vegetable. The meat – present at every meal – was always some form of pork, usually

bacon. One guest said the South should be known as "The Republic of Porkdom," and there was no way to avoid it. If cotton was king; surely pork was queen. According to the agricultural census of 1860 corn production was adequate for the needs of the state, but "Alabama imported pork equivalent to almost one-fifth of her estimated needs."[703]Could the South feed itself during a war?

In 1850, Thornton Flint had $450, while the other two men each held $200 in real estate. Among Thornton's assets was 100 acres of improved land and 220 acres unimproved, with a $850 cash value of the farm. He also raised 1,000 bushels of corn and 120 bushels of oats that year, typical for the area. In the next 10 years, Thornton, enumerated as head of household, was listed with a $1,000 value for real estate and $5,351 in personal property which included two enslaved people, while Haston held $5,975 in personal property. The men did well for themselves.[704]

The two older Flint brothers still lived in Lincoln County in 1870: Thornton Flint, 66, had $1,500 of real estate and $200 in personal estate. Haston held no financial values, but listed a housekeeper and her three-year-old child as residing with them. By 1880 the two men were in Hazel Green, Madison County. Beyond this, nothing more could be learned about the Flint brothers except that one, Thornton, was believed to have aided Rebels when called upon.

Samuel W. Grigsby

By 1850, Samuel W. Grigsby, age 51, resided in Madison County, Alabama with his wife, Dorcas, and five daughters. In 1860 he lived within the Hayes Store voting district, with three daughters and one son. Grigsby's holdings were modest at $560 and $300. As the violence of the War continued, what should the parents tell three young girls, soon to be adolescents, to do when hordes of soldiers arrived – be demure and polite, or run and hide? Were the girls instructed to flee even from their own neighbors?

Adding to the air of defiance, Valentine Hill, a known Union Loyalist, was one household away. Not much farther out was the household of John and Lucinda Towry, a couple with their four little ones, and yet not much farther among the spread-out rural households were Alfred Bevil, Goodwin Fisk, James Fisk, Frank Hill, and John Hill – all names that appeared on the list of Loyalists who deserved protection. The nearby Golden families had already lost a Loyalist relative, Shadrack Golden. Golden was a 57-year-old farmer murdered in mid-January 1863 by Southern troops, his body thrown unceremoniously into a sinkhole. When they learned of the events, nearby Federal soldiers retrieved his body and forced the nearby Rebel sympathizers to attend a funeral service for Golden at the Bragg Cemetery – at gunpoint. A marker was soon erected, the tallest there: "In memory of Shedrick Golden … taken off and murdered for maintaining the Union and

the Constation [sic] of the United States."[705] These people grew up alongside one another, sharing the same schools and churches, births and deaths, common gossip, and now uncommon death.

Shadrack Golden Marker[706]

In 1870 Samuel and Dorcas Grigsby resided in the New Market area with values of $200 and $100, he, with no occupation, was listed as blind. Samuel Grigsby died in 1872 and was buried in Concord Cemetery while Dorcas followed three years later also to be buried between neighbors – friends and foes alike.

William and Albert Wilkes

Two brothers, William and Albert Wilkes, were also suspected of aiding Rebels. In 1850, William, age 23, was listed as head of household with his wife Elizabeth (Grigsby) and one-year-old baby Daniel. Living there also were Albert Wilks, 21, and Parmelia, 19, probably his siblings. Parmelia married William Beard, a neighbor, in 1851, and then in 1853 Alfred [sic] Wilkes married Elizabeth Grigsby's sister, Catherine. The 1860 census showed a rearrangement of families – not surprising considering the difficulties of marginal farm life. At the Grigsby household, Samuel was now 60, Dorcas 57, and their two daughters, Eliza, age 20, and Sally, 12, lived there with them. The household also included young Samuel Wilkes, age 11, and nine-year-old Mary Wilks. Elizabeth, wife of William Wilkes and daughter of the Grigsby family must have died because William married for a second time to a woman named Mary Jane Wilbanks.

In a different household at that time, Pamela and William Beard began their own family with baby Martha less than one year old; living there also was 14-year-old Elizabeth Golden. These families were close, so it should come as no surprise that they shared many similar viewpoints and acted during the hostilities to help family or neighbors. There was no record of William, Albert, or Alfred Wilkes serving in the army on either side.[707]

Nothing more could be learned about William C. Wilks. By 1870, A.T. Wilkes, 42, had values of $1,600 and $500; he did better than many of his neighbors. His wife, Kittie, was listed along with two Mayhew children – Sidney, age four and one-year-old Samuel. Albert died the following year, however and Catherine Wilkes administered her husband's estate. They both worked hard for what now appeared on a list of a different kind – his appraised goods: a 10-year-old one-eyed bay-horse-mule valued at $65, one mouse-colored mule at $50, cow and calf, nine hogs, house and kitchen possessions worth $25, 120 acres of barren land with no improvements worth $150, one old gun, and a few more items which all totaled $430. The name of one of the assessors, N.A. Simms, appeared on the list as a guerilla with Captain Cunningham's Rebel company. Life is for the living, and, in 1875, Kittie remarried Mr. Henry C. Mayhew. The 1880, census showed them together with youngsters William and Samuel Mayhew, enumerated by old acquaintance Superior Goodner.[708]

If it appears that families and family names were entangled, it is because they unequivocally were. The realignment between interwoven families and groups by marriage, blood, neighborhood, church, friendship, politics, and now the daily urgency of survival in a world constantly transformed before their eyes played out continually. These changes were often not for the better, and sometimes out of their control.

Alfred Williamson

Next was the name Alfred Williamson. In 1850, Alfred, age 19, lived at home in District 34 with his mother Elizabeth and father Hawley, a distiller with a comfortable financial setting. Alfred married Lucy Ann Flynt in 1851, and by 1860, he was positioned well above many farmers in his area, his values at $2,500 and $1,800 included two slaves. (His father, Hawley, owned one slave at that time.) This household included Lucy, their four young children, Lucy's mother, Ann Flynt, and Lucy's sister, Elizabeth, a schoolteacher. A laborer named John Davis was also listed among the household residents. In April 1862, after the Conscription Acts, Alfred O. Williamson enlisted as a private in Company E of the 39th Alabama Infantry and rose to become a sergeant in that unit.[709]

The 1870 census showed Alfred Williamson with an even larger family of eight children, his mother-in-law, wife, and John Davis still in the household. He appeared not to have suffered financially to the extent of many of his neighbors, holding $4,000 in real estate and $1,500 personal estate. He owned 120 tilled acres, which including farm fences and buildings valued at $1,200 with two horses, two milch cows, and ten chickens. Alfred hoped for some financial relief, but his petition before the Southern Claims Commission was rejected. Ten years later, seven children remained at home, and by 1900, Alfred and Lucy lived in Gurley with their daughter, Dora 29, and Oliver, aged seven, perhaps Dora's son. At the age of 69, Williamson

suffered health issues and applied for aid in 1900, through his state representative. A second claim submitted by Representative (General) Joseph Wheeler was put forward, both to no avail. In 1901, the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* at its three-state convention published a paper with Alfred Williamson as an unusual case study, "Malaria as a Cause of Puerperal Eclampsia." Williamson was clearly not well, and sought medical help from experts. Alfred O. Williamson died in 1905 at about 75 years old; he was buried in the Gurley Cemetery.[710]

Parks Townsend

Money, it would seem, was never to be a problem for the family of Parks Townsend. His father, Parks Townsend Sr. made the long trek in the 1820s from Lunenburg County, Virginia with his brothers Stith, Edmund, and Samuel, to northern Alabama. Stith Townsend died in 1828, unmarried, leaving his estate to the brothers who survived him.[711] Those three continued to buy up small farms in the area around Hazel Green; they acquired vast acreage and enslaved large numbers of people. For instance, while his brother Samuel had accumulated a net worth of $25,000 by 1850, Edmund enslaved 144 people, valued at $60,000 at the time of his death in 1853. Both Edmund and Samuel were unmarried; Edmund, however, acknowledged numerous children by women he enslaved and planned to have them freed and sent to live in Ohio.[712]

Townsend Parks Sr. held 67 slaves in 1840, but died sometime before the next census. His estate was split among his wife Mary (who lived until 1888), brothers, sisters, and four children including the younger Parks Junior. The settlement became acrimonious and unresolved for many years as the senior Parks' estate included 20 slaves, the dwelling house valued at $7,500, an icehouse, five cabins that housed enslaved Black people, and vast acreage. For unknown reasons, Parks expunged his son John from his will; only Samuel C. Munford and wife Virginia, and Parks S. Townsend Jr. would inherit. In 1850 young Parks was 16, and widow Mary Townsend, held $16,000 in real estate.[713]

The next brother to pass away of the original four was Edmund, in 1853. He owned plantations in Madison and Jackson Counties and enslaved almost 200 people. Edmund's will attempted to manumit many of his slaves, but the will was broken by the families of his brothers Stith, Parks, and Samuel Townsend. The Townsend sisters, possibly at the instigation of their husbands, also played a role.

Parks Townsend Jr. was certainly aware of the infighting among his uncles and aunts and the consequences: the loss of these assets. Financial prospects for his family continued to appear rewarding at the death of his uncle Samuel, the last of the original brothers. The remaining legitimate relatives may have been dismayed to discover that Samuel Townsend's will, which was carefully planned and closely guarded, successfully freed many

of the slaves he inherited from Edmund and more he himself ordered to be freed. The priority of both men, it seemed, was to release and support one specific group of enslaved people, then other secondary enslaved families. Edmund's and Samuel's wishes did not include their own biological enslaved children working for their Townsend relatives. Under the direction of Samuel's lawyer, Septimus Cabaniss, and led by Rev. W.D. Chadick, groups of the enslaved people were escorted to Ohio to freedom. The Townsend heirs watched as assets disappeared from these estates; the land remained, but much of the value of this personal property inheritance – the slaves – went north to freedom.[714]

During all of these events, Parks S. Townsend Jr., about 25, lived near Madison Cross Roads with his mother, Mary, whose properties were valued at over $100,000 in 1860. His wife, the former Sarah Coover whom he married in 1854, and his younger sister, Mary, resided with them. Anticipating the good life, Parks built a 12-room house for his family The estate, located north of Hazel Green, also held two frame houses for the kitchen and another for the servants, a stable, a smoke house, an ice house, and a wheat house.[715] One year into the Civil War, Parks S. Townsend Jr., who, like many others, did not serve in the Confederate army, would fight in any manner he could to preserve their possessions and lifestyle.

After the War, Parks Townsend Jr. immediately filed amnesty papers. He claimed to have opposed secession. Any act he'd committed in contribution to the rebellion, he asserted, was performed under compulsion by the Rebels to assist in their military atrocities. He rapidly, voluntarily took the Oath of Allegiance as an example to others. Lewis Parsons, soon to be governor, and Joseph Bradley confirmed that Townsend was always a Union man, as did Judge Peter Dox. By 1870, Parks Townsend was still involved in legal actions regarding the estate of his father, but assets listed on the census showed him to be worth $15,000 in real estate and $1,000 in personal property. The Agriculture Census for that year placed him in a good position as he maintained 640 acres of tilled land, 2,500 acres of wooded property, and 275 acres of unimproved land. The cash value for the farm was given as $15,000 and livestock of one horse, two milch cows, one ox, and 10 swine at $250; $715 was the value of the farm produce. He lived with his wife, Sarah who held a sum of $500 in her own name. His mother, two households away, listed no assets. Parks later sold the house and out-buildings in 1870 to neighbor Nathan Simms. Later in 1879, Parks married Mattie Cooley, and he lived until 1910.[716]

Martha Pryor

Martha Pryor was more secure financially than many widowed women. Located on the main road to Athens, close to Meridianville Pike, Martha must have seen many clandestine movements that made her loyalty valuable to either side. She offered a skill – that of a portmanteau maker – to

supplement the many resources left to her by her husband, James, who died in 1859. Mr. Pryor's estate, perishable property, two lots in town, and cash gave her additional security. He was buried in a "rosewood burial case," costing $100 and left Martha $2,500 in assets. Now, in 1860, Martha was 45 years old with two children at home with her. She showed $2,000 in real estate and $100 in private property. Unlike most women of the times, Martha Pryor was fortunate enough to make her own decisions and do what she chose for her home, family, finances, and loyalties in her status as a widow.[717]

Solomon Mason, Jr.

One of several families that kept ties with Lincoln County, Tennessee and Madison County, Alabama was that of Solomon Mason, Jr. According to family history, he was born in Madison County in 1814, marrying Lincoln County native Elizabeth Land in 1840. Together they had 12 children. They returned to Tennessee where Mason purchased 315 acres of the "old Thornton Flynt land;" the tributary flowing into the Flint River retains the name Mason Branch today. In 1860, Solomon was listed as a farmer with $1,600 real estate and $1,500 personal property. Adding to the household income, his wife and two older daughters were listed as weavers. In 1861, 47-year-old Solomon Mason Jr, safely above the age of conscription, voluntarily enlisted in Company E of the 44th Regiment Tennessee Infantry. He'd served only one year when he was sent home on furlough after falling ill. In July 1862, his son James enlisted in Company C of the 4th Alabama Cavalry only to be captured just six months later and sent to Camp Douglas. He died as a prisoner there in 1863.[718]

Solomon and Elizabeth Mason made do for the next few wearisome years, as he was reported in the following census as owning personal property worth $1,200, and $1,500 in real estate. Mason died two years later in 1872. At least two of the Mason sons became carpenters and builders after the War, contributing to long-lasting construction in and around Fayetteville, Tennessee. One of Solomon's grandsons served as postmaster at Flintville, Tennessee for 25 years.[719]

Superior Goodner

According to the 1850 census, Superior Goodner, about 25, and his wife, Martha lived with their four young children in District 34, also known as Hayes Store. He was listed as a farmer who possessed real estate valued at $2,500. During the next 10 years, Goodner did well, with a reported $4,000 real estate and $5,000 personal property; he owned no slaves according to the census records.[720]

In 1870, Superior, Martha, and one adult still resided in the neighborhood. Superiors' real estate was now valued at $1,800, with personal property having dwindled to $500. In 10 years, he and his second wife, Louisa, age 45, and her 85-year-old mother, Rhoda McCollum, lived

in his household. While two sons and their families moved to Texas, Louisa and Superior Goodner relocated to Kelso, Tennessee in Lincoln County. At his death, provisions were set aside for the support of Louisa for one year; they included 300 pounds of pork, 50 pounds of lard, 25 pounds of coffee, 10 barrels of corn, 15 bushels of wheat, 100 bushes of salt, 50 pounds of sugar and $25 to purchase sundries. This money was to be paid out of turnpike stock.[721]

The family never managed to attain the prosperity they'd enjoyed before the War. Superior Goodman lost his wife, his children dispersed, and he and Louisa relocated. On the list, Goodner was portrayed as sympathetic to the Rebels, but the spy list leaves volumes unsaid. Had the Goodners found themselves in a long-suffering group abused by Rebel guerillas, or witnessed harassment of their neighbors? Hunger plagued almost everyone as the war raged on, no matter their location.

Guerillas run their families off

Southern soldiers were not alone in suffering the hardships of war. During a brief hospital stay in Huntsville, Union soldier Adam K. Brown wrote his "Dear respected mother," about "a new general – General Starvation," observing of the prisoners, "some of them is pretty tired of this war and they will not go back till peace is made." Apparently, provisions were scarce, but there was "mud a'plenty." Flour cost $100 a barrel while shoes were 8 to 10 dollars per pair. Rebel guerillas were "pretty thick," he said, adding:

> A good many citizens has join our army and the guerillas run their families off from their homes then burning their buildings and taking everything they want. Lots of the citizens are sending their families north and the men joining the army.

Written from Huntsville June 17, 1864, "Yours with a son's love."[722]

Like enlisted men, citizens suffered from hunger; some were starving. In Richmond, the Southern capital, hungry women and children gathered in early April 1863 armed with knives and hatchets shouting "Bread or blood." This bread riot grew into the largest civil disturbance of the Confederacy. President Davis requested that it not be reported in Southern newspapers. The *New York Times*, however, printed the story with a front-page banner.

There were bread riots in Mobile, as well; women marched up Dauphine Street with hatchets, breaking into stores for food and clothing. Groups of "Corn Women" with children in tow roamed the bread basket of central Alabama picking or stealing the corn they found unattended. Frustration turned to desperation; these were actions most women would never have considered, but they and their children were hungry, with no money to purchase food even if any was available.

Mrs. Ford

Mrs. Ford initially proved difficult to identify. Several women in the north end of Madison County fit her description in age and home location, but only one in the census held the esteemed Southern courtesy of "Mrs." Ford. Marianna Roper, born about 1806, was a daughter of Capt. James and Mary A.E. (Harris) Roper. Marianna married John Ford in 1823; they'd resided on Moore's Mill Road when he died of pneumonia in 1849, leaving her with seven children still at home. They lost one child, William, in 1828 and another, Helen, in 1841. The census of 1850 showed 69 enslaved people and 10 free people of color associated with Mrs. Ford.

In 1851, daughter Lucilla married William Johnson of east Tennessee; Daughter Laura married Burwell Lanier, a merchant, within two years, and still two years later, a woman named Mammie married his brother, planter William Lanier. Both men were successful. A sister, Virginia Lile, married only five years, passed away in Morgan County from malignant fever in 1854.

In 1860, 54-year-old Mrs. Ford lived in the Hayes Store area as head of household with four children. She had $34,890 in real estate (for context, that amount is approximately $1.3M in 2025), and $44,970 in property ($1.72M in 2025) that included 69 enslaved people. Her four children, daughter Missouri and sons John, William, and Fulton, whose ages ranged from 28 to 13, each held property values of $25,000 which probably included the 40 enslaved people passed down by their father. The large estate was now managed by Dr. Zachariah Ford, their uncle, as executor. As noted earlier, John Ford was once listed as a guerilla; he also served in the Confederate army, as did his brother, William. A third brother, Robert Fulton, died in 1864 of unknown causes.[723] Marianna had much to protect and many good reasons for aiding or harboring Rebel guerillas.

Marianna Ford "having taken part in the later rebellion against the government of the United States, has made herself liable to heavy fines and penalties; and whereas, the circumstances of her case render her a proper object of executive clemency," Mrs. Ford was granted full pardon and amnesty (after taking the required Oath of Allegiance, of course). Mrs. Ford lived until 1872, and was eulogized as many would want to be: "she was an excellent woman, a devoted mother, and a kind neighbor." Marianna's one unmarried daughter, Missouri, was 37 years old in 1877 when she married William James McCalley as his second wife. McCalley was one of three brothers in the extremely affluent McCalley family. He died that very year, but Missouri lived until 1881. She left her estate not to her grown step-children, but to friend Mrs. Martha T. Russell.[724]

Mary Pruit

Mary Pruit, listed as 25 during the 1860 census, was married to plantation owner Valentine Green Pruit; they lived near Meridianville,

approximately one mile north of her brother Madison Otey's home at Greenlawn. Val Greenville Pruitt was a farmer worth $20,000 in real estate and $55,000 in personal property that included 47 slaves. Much of Pruitt's estate came from his father, Valentine Pruitt Sr. who died in 1839, leaving 144 enslaved people divided among his heirs. Within their household, Valentine and Mary raised their two young children and three additional teenagers, who were most likely children of her brother C.C. Otey who died in 1856.

Val Pruit, was entitled to exemption from the draft because he owned more than 20 slaves, but he enlisted in September 1862 as a 5th Sergeant. His papers described him as having a fair complexion with dark hair and hazel eyes, standing at 5'11" when he enlisted at New Market. His mates included other local boys – Henry Mayhew, James Golden, and Anthony Shelby. Because she lived conveniently on the main highway and owned a great deal of property, Mary Pruitt knew of many places to hide a large number of guerillas. The neighbors must have known of her clandestine activities; she was included in the list as harboring guerrillas. For a brief period in early 1865, Mrs. Pruit crossed the Tennessee River to refugee with her Robinson relatives in Marion, Alabama before returning in April. Her husband was captured near Nashville about the same time and taken prisoner.[725]

The 1870 census listed Mary as the owner of $2,080 in real estate and $300 in personal property values. Her husband showed no assets; he recovered his position in the community by 1880, however, and became a tax accessor for the county. His death and burial appear to be unrecorded. Mary Otey Pruit died in 1908 and is buried in the Foster Cemetery on Walker Road.[726]

Woodruff W. Alexander

Woodruff W. Alexander lived with his family in Lincoln County in 1850, and his father, Smith Alexander, held $3,000 worth of real estate. Woodruff was one among nine children, and at that time he was 18 years old. In 1860, Alexander roomed at Ledbetter's Boarding House, and was listed as a 26-year-old merchant with no real estate, but $5,500 in personal property.

Alexander and his future wife's paths to one another was truly circuitous. In nearby Madison County, Munford Townsend, a son of Parks Townsend Sr., married Rebecca Clark, who died within two years. Munford then married a second time to Marilla (called Rilla) Exeline Randolph of Lincoln County. After suffering with consumption for two months, Munford Townsend died in June 1859, leaving his widow with two young children. The next year, recently-widowed Rilla Townsend, age 33, held $36,000 in real estate and $50,000 personal property that included 44 enslaved people. Parks, her son, was listed as 6 years old, and M. Exeline as a toddler. Within a year, Alexander married the widow Mrs. R.X. Townsend, as written in the

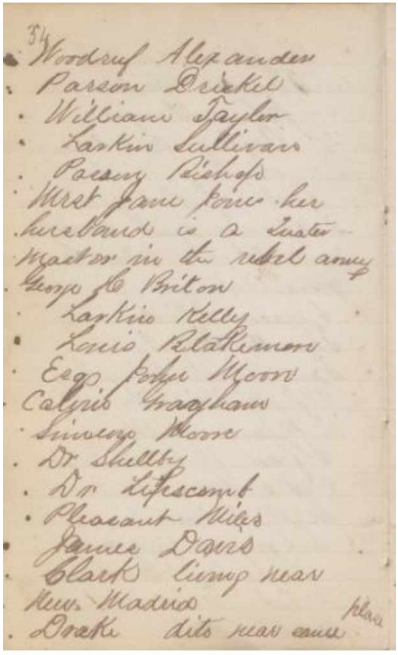
marriage book. This was an advantage for both, uniting wealth with more wealth. Nothing is known of any wartime service on the part of Alexander, but there were suspicions of his involvement with the enemy.[727]

In 1867, Woodruff Alexander took the Oath and registered to vote. Three years later Woodruff, then 38, and his wife R.X. Alexander, 42, were together with Parks Townsend, 16; Munford Townsend, 12; and an 8-year-old daughter named Lee Alexander. No occupation was noted for Alexander, but he was in possession of $6,600 in real estate and $300 of personal property. Woodruff W. Alexander died in 1878, survived by his wife Rilla, who lived until 1892. They are both buried in the Alexander cemetery in Lincoln County.[728]

Parson Ambrose F. Driskell

A preacher's son himself, Parson Ambrose F. Driskell joined the clergy, himself, obtaining his license to preach in 1822. He spent his days riding the circuit of the Methodist Conference in north Alabama. The nascent Center Star's isolated congregation built a log cabin church with a dirt floor and two split-log benches under the leadership of Driskell. It was the first Methodist Church in Lauderdale County, and the chapel was named for him. By 1850, he lived with his wife, Sarah Jane (McGehee), in the Hayes Store community and he owned $2,000 value in real estate. By 1860, at age 59, he still resided with Sarah and held a more substantial estate, including $4,350 in real estate and $12,209 in personal property that included 14 enslaved people. Sarah was 40 years old, and the couple had no children. There was a great deal of property to protect in any manner possible, depending on the possibilities a man of the cloth might consider.[729]

The 1870 census listed Ambrose and Sarah Driskell with no assets. He still worked as a travelling preacher, now 68; Sarah was 50. In 1875, according to a friend, Ambrose "died triumphantly." Driskell's wife, Sarah, who followed him in his circuit duties, lived until 1906. They were buried in the Driskell cemetery with his parents.[730]


34
Woodruf Alexander
Parson Drakil
William Taylor
Larkin Sullivan
Pasany Bishop
Mrst Jane Jones her
husband is a Quater
Master in the rebel army
Camp Ft Britton
Larkin Kelly
Lewis Blakemore
Esqr John Moore
Calvin Graham
Simeon Moore
Dr Shelby
Dr Lipscomb
Pleasant Miles
James Davis
Clark Camp near
New Madrid
Drake dits near same place

William Taylor

The name William Taylor may be William T. Taylor who was 23 in 1860, employed as a clerk in Huntsville with no value in real estate or property. He did not appear in later censuses.

Larkin Sullivan

Larkin Sullivan was easier to trace. He arrived in North Alabama at the age of four with his family from South Carolina; they settled in Hazel Green. The 1850 census lists Larkin and his wife, Louisa, sharing a residence but having no children. Louisa died, and, in 1857 he married Mrs. Rhoda Carlock, a 21-year-old widow with a young child. The 1860 census showed them together, he now a 47-year-old farmer with real estate valued at $9,000 and property valued at $40,000 which included 32 slaves.[731]

After the War, Larkin Sullivan briefly moved to Texas but, in 1867, returned to his old home in Madison County. The 1870 census reflects his success, showing him as owner of $30,000 in real estate and $1,500 in personal property. His financial recovery allowed him to make an 1872 investment with others in the new Opera House in Huntsville. Sullivan resided on Randolph Street in 1880 with his wife; his occupation was listed as clerk and gardener. He died in 1883, at the age of 71, and was buried at Maple Hill Cemetery.[732]

Parson Adison H. Bishop

Earlier in 1837, Parson Adison H. Bishop submitted his credentials to become a Cumberland Presbyterian minister in the Arkansas Synod. He was 35 years old in 1850, residing with his parents in Marshall County, Tennessee, just north of Lincoln County. Two years later he married Louisa Clark. His calling took him to Huntsville in 1860, and at age 45, he and Louisa lived in the Meridianville Post Office district with their four children, the oldest only six years old. He was listed as a minister with assets that included $3,000 of real estate and $7,725 in personal property that included two enslaved people who probably worked as house servants. It remains unknown as to why his name appeared on the list of those harboring rebels; most likely, someone reported something they heard, or perhaps thought they heard. That would not matter; he was on the list.[733]

Adison Bishop and his family returned to Lincoln County where he was listed in 1870 as a clergyman. His assets included real estate valued at $1,950 and $300 personal property. He, his wife, and four grown-children remained in the county at least until 1880. Although his death date is not known, Louisa, wife of Rev. A.H. Bishop, as written on her marker, died in 1881 and was buried in the Clarke Cemetery in Lincoln County.[734]

Mrs. Jane Jones

The census agent incorrectly gave the first name of Mrs. Jane Jones – husband quartermaster. There were numerous people to keep up with, many of whom had common names, with several individuals using nicknames. The added designation of quartermaster leaves no doubt about whom he spoke, however. George Washington Jones married Mariah Gay Harris in 1847, and, in 1858, owned a saw mill and lumber company in the northeast part of the county near his plantation. Jones enslaved 49 people in 1860, who labored on the farm and at the lumber mill. He maintained a contract cutting trees on either side of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad east of town, selling the cut wood to nearby mills. Within a year he ran his own steam sawmill along the railway. In 1861, he was declared by Dun & Co. as "a man of good business qualifications, shrewd and energetic, wealth is in land and slaves… but is thought to be somewhat involved, too hard pressed sometimes." He was clearly a man with energy and expectations.[735]

In 1860, the couple and their two young daughters, Eliza and Lavina, lived in Huntsville in the household of socially and politically prominent William Fleming and his wife Sarah. Fleming and Sarah had no children, but resided in a large house where quite a few well-do-families stayed: Robert Herstein, a Jewish merchant, Ferdinand Hammond, a planter, and John Logeman, a jewelry merchant mentioned earlier. Friendships were clearly formed that would continue through the next few years, and not all of these dealings would reflect well on two of the men.[736]Within that same home, Fleming, Hammond, and Jones held a total real estate value of

$135,000 and all five men had a total of $250,000 value for personal property given in the 1860 census. (This would be well over $11.5M dollars today.) Listed among the now 38-year-old Jones's personal property were 48 slaves, all of whom his 29-year-old wife would soon be left to manage.

George W. Jones enlisted with other eager local men and boys of the North Alabamians under Col. Edward Dorr Tracy. They boarded the rail cars on April 29 and headed north, first to Dalton, Georgia then to northern Virginia to face the Union army. Nothing happened quickly enough for the Rebels, who waited impatiently for the good fight, according to 18-year-old George Anderson, who kept a diary.

Young George, a nephew of G.W. Jones, considered the food to be bad and disliked their bed on the floor of rail cars. It was cold, and they'd been issued old, smooth bore muskets that they were not willing to fight with. According to his diary, however, they were "all united as one man and can whip any lot of Yankees on equal terms." They drilled often without rest. The northern air did not agree with the new soldiers, many of whom were city boys, unused to robust, outdoor life.

Anderson's younger brother, Stephen, developed measles and his Uncle George Jones offered his cot to the boy. Young George came down with pneumonia and Uncle George again offered comfort. On the 18th, the soldiers boarded train cars for Manassas. There, "gallant Anderson," named for his Uncle George, "fell in the charge." A comrade, Pvt. A.B. Shelby, wrote home about the episode when grapeshot struck George through the cheek. "A Minnie ball through his head, his little brother, only 14, fell upon the body and wept bitterly. Captain Tracy encouraged him to get up and avenge the death of his brother. He would not move. Oh, I shall never forget that scene," wrote Shelby. Stephen actually was 16 years old at that time. He was discharged and sent home nine days later for being too young for military duty.[737]

George W. Jones of Madison County (not to be confused with the Congressman G.W. Jones and Quartermaster from Lincoln County, Tennessee) served as Quartermaster in the Confederate Army. This appointment came with heavy responsibility, and fell within a gray area for a person accustomed serving his country and/or his own agenda. Mismanagement was to be expected as a new government formed; its founders had never dealt with supplies and manufacturing on such a large scale. The first reported complaint accused Jones of neglect and indifference to the needs of the men after the first battle at Manassas. Objecting, Jones wrote a letter to Editor Clay who printed the contents which "triumphantly vindicated" and put to rest "unfounded prejudices against him."

Jones claimed to understand the nature of public calamities: they often turned to sorrow, then wrath. He was mortified at the complains laid at his door. He shared with "these noble youths the vicissitudes and privations of Camp life," with no "higher ambition than to exert his energy of mind and

body to alleviate… the sufferings" around him. His tent, he claimed, was always open to the sick. After the battle "it is true that the boys were suffering for some things which I could have procured… They were without sufficient blankets, shoes, tents, clothing, and without proper food" while exposed to rain and cold. Thousands were dead and dying, wounded beyond number. All available resources were called into service, but there were not enough supplies. As a result, those "who escaped unhurt must wait until the wounded were removed from the field and placed under shelter." He himself, "just out of a bed of sickness," rode to the field and carried wounded soldiers to ambulances and wagons. At Manassas Junction, Jones reported that there were no available supplies, including blankets and shoes, but in nearby Warrenton he found support, "furnished them by good citizens of that place. I purchased with my own money a supply of good shoes and other necessary articles which I brought to camp for the use of our boys." While away on this mission, "visitors were charging me with neglect, without knowing what I was doing or what efforts were necessary in the prostrated and exhausted condition of the army." To Editor Clay, Jones stated that he regretted "the necessity which called on me to trespass on this much of your space, separated as I am by thousands of miles from the land of my birth and walking amid scenes of danger and horror, I confess a desire that my own friends should not condemn me unheard."

Authorities must have been satisfied because Jones was promoted to Brigade Quartermaster. When the men went into winter quarters at "Camp Alabama" near Dumfries, Virginia, Mrs. Jones joined Major Jones for a time.[738]

Major Jones came home on sick leave during the 1862-1863 Union withdrawal from Huntsville. Some actions on his part painted him in an uncomplimentary manner, however. Jones was "a plausible shrewd man;" in April 1862 he "narrowly averted a Court of Inquiry for his actions." Apparently, he "secured embargoed cotton not on Government accounts from Florence, Huntsville, and Marion County cotton mills" which he transported to Lawrenceburg, Tennessee.

He was investigated but defended himself by reporting, "The cloth was government property" which he evacuated to safety. Unfortunately for him, the "general feeling was that he had intended to profit personally from his cargo." As a local man, Jones knew Bell Factory and the contents of its large warehouse well – he previously impressed it for army use, although the act was, of course, vehemently protested by the local owners. One, Robert Patton, suggested the profits from the mill never amounted to less than a half million dollars, and the prices offered by Jones were well below market prices. Jones then impressed enough local wagons and dray animals to take 30,000 yards of woolen cloth, "enough to make 5,000 coats and pants for soldiers, and 1,000 bales of osnaburgs about 550,000 yards to be delivered

to the depot at Marion, Alabama." There it was made into 30,000 drawers and shirts for the men of the very needy and poorly-clothed Rebel army.[739]

There was more. General Richard Taylor assigned a detective to investigate Jones after hearing that he was conducting business in a "most scandalous manner and using his office entirely for his own benefit." In December of 1864 there was "overwhelming evidence Jones was doing business for himself in government goods."[740]

Other suggested misdeeds came to light. During the break in Federal occupation, Editor Withers Clay returned to Huntsville to continue publishing his newspaper. He printed a letter in the April 2, 1863 issue written by a so-called "unidentified citizen," although many locals must have guessed that the identity of the writer "Junius" was Clay himself.

> **SPECULATION AND EXTORTION:**
> called for explanation of certain transactions to contracts for making soldiers' clothes and corn sacks and procuring leather for the Government. At the request of the Quartermaster, most interested in removing any suspicion of unfairness, [this] article was delayed a week and given to him to answer or explain to be published. No reply yet. Now spread before the public facts that appear reliable.

According to Clay's news article, the Quartermaster suggested to a friend that he speculate in leather, and purchase 180,000 pounds of leather; the Quartermaster would then purchase some of the goods. The remaining part was sold for $75,000, while impressed wagons of citizens were used to haul the materials away.

Mrs. Jones managed the children and homeplace as best she could in the confusion of those days. In her husband's absent presence and authority, she also managed the enslaved Black people who resided there. With the return of the Federal troops, and the breakdown of almost all authority, many enslaved people fled, opting for life as refugees in contraband camps. Some did not leave, but availed themselves of the freedom to help themselves simply to survive. Some men joined the Union army, and women served at their usual jobs as laundresses and cooks while many Black children were left to fend for themselves. Mrs. Jones was almost certainly aware of the tension and whispers among the community regarding her husband's actions, adding to her difficulties.

The November 1865 Dun financial report for George W. Jones 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." The January 6, 1867 entries offered, "not in business," and then a week later, "dead and insolvent." After the War Jones became a principal partner in the purchase of the Huntsville Hotel, but in bad weather while he assisted the volunteer fire company, he contracted pneumonia and died from the illness on March 11, 1867. After his death, it was Jane Jones who was named on

the tax assessor's 1868 list and paid tax in the amount of $2 for the family piano.

It was now 1870. Jane, widowed with four children, lived in the Brownsboro area in reduced circumstances, along with many of her neighbors. At her death in 1880, she was buried beside her husband at Maple Hill Cemetery. The two younger children, Irene and Walter, lived for a time with their sister who married Robert Blackwell. Walter, 13 was listed as a farm laborer. This generation of the Jones family, and many of the next, remained in Madison County as leaders of agricultural progress and military service; one became a state senator, one the state geologist, another an architect and preservationist, and two Jones women of note became faithful and meticulous keepers of Madison County history.[741]

George Britton

George Britton descended from an early pioneer family who arrived even before their neighbors the Townsends. The Britton men came with less, however, and did well to hold onto what they'd worked so hard to gain. George H. Britton married Mary Key in Madison County in 1827. The 1850 census listed George as a 46-year-old blacksmith valued at $400 in real estate. He resided with his wife Mary, their seven children, and his mother-in-law, 66-year-old Catherine Key. Ten years later, the Brittons had seven children at home ranging in age from 10 to 30. His values at that time were recorded as $500 in real estate and $300 in personal property. Britton had no reason not to harbor or assist the Rebel army. His son George served in the 4th Alabama Cavalry, and may have been the captain mentioned in the official report as attacking a forage party in early 1865 at Gurley's Tank. Forage was a necessity. This war, as wars until this time, was "human scaled… Campaigns depended on how many miles soldiers could walk in a day, how much forage they could gather for their horses, how much heat or ice both man and animals could endure."[742]

The 1870 census showed George Britton, Sr., now 63, and his wife living in the New Market area with three adult children, 11-year-old Mirey Spragins, and George's mother, 84-year-old Katherine Britton. His financial worth was given as $800 total. He did not work as a blacksmith; the agricultural census of that year reported him as having 60 acres of improved land, 120 wooded, and 40 unimproved acres, all worth $600. His stock was valued at $150 while $130 was the estimated value of that year's produce. It was not much to show for those years of work, and no probate papers were ever filed on his behalf. The dates of their deaths are not known, but George and Mary Britton were most likely buried in the Britton Family Cemetery or the Williamson-Britton Cemetery near Mint Springs Road.[743]

Larkin Kelly

Larkin Kelly, his wife, Mary (McAdory), and their five children lived in the Hayes Store district just south of Hazel Green. He had many reasons to harbor the men fighting to protect his growing family and property. Kelly was 54 years old and owned real estate worth $5,000; his personal property was listed at just over $12,000, which included 22 enslaved people. One incident occurred on April 11, 1864 and was reported as the Affair at Kelly's Plantation by the Federal officer in charge of a detachment of the Ohio 5th Cavalry. Captain William Jessup led a wagon train with ten day's rations, a quantity of ammunition, and other materials for an outpost garrison when a supply wagon was attacked near Kelly's plantation on the Sulphur Springs Road by a band of robbers who captured and burned the contents. Three of the escort were taken prisoner, along with six mules and harnesses. Jessup, on hearing of the affair, went in pursuit and was only one-half hour behind the outlaws as they fled west and then north. By dark, he was even closer. The Rebels, however, escaped in every direction and left no trace. They were on their own turf, and, not surprisingly, harbored by friends or family. Unfortunately, Jessup's men now had no provisions – he asked for more supplies to be sent.[744]

In 1870, 65-year-old Larkin Kelly, his wife Mary, now age 61, with grown children and grandchildren totaling eight, lived in New Market. He still held $1,600 worth of real estate and $500 in personal property, but he was teaching school – a hard duty for a man of 65.

The surname **Blakeman** appears in the 1850 and 1870 censuses in Madison County, but Louis Blakeman could not be located with certainty. Likewise, attorney **John Moore, Esquire** could not be clearly identified. After years of violence, assumed names, and refugees fleeing south, there was a constant turmoil of people travelling through the area.

John Calvin Graham

John Calvin Graham was about 35 years old in 1860; he lived in the Hayes Store area with his wife Mary and five youngsters under the age of nine, the youngest listed simply "Baby G." John Graham owned no real estate but held $5,000 in personal property with 15 people in bondage. His occupation was given as "overseer," although the records on the enumeration sheet labeled him an "agent." As such, Graham was one of 1,315 overseers from among 6,000 planters, who could be exempt from impressment into the Confederate army.[745] Graham was the overseer for brothers Edmund and Samuel Townsend. One title does not describe his work; his responsibilities included all the physical arrangements of enormous land holdings and the people who lived there. He managed the lives of the enslaved, food, housing, clothing, and supplies of all kind from massive cotton presses down to common ropes and bags; all would have to

be ordered, delivered, and distributed properly. His hand was everywhere, as his crisp handwriting indicates. Overseers controlled plantations in Alabama that held hundreds of humans in bondage, but Graham also oversaw the 43 people recently freed from enslavement by the estate of Samuel Townsend and removed to Ohio for their settlement and emancipation. During this, his overseer duties were vital at home for agricultural production and safety.

In 1870 John C. and Mary Graham still had children at home. Baby Septimo lived only one year, but another baby would arrive later. Calvin showed $1,000 of personal property while the Agricultural Census reported that he owned 250 acres of cultivated land and 90 acres of woodland. He gave the value of the farm as $6,000, with two horses, two mules, six milch cows, produced 600 pounds of butter, and held 30 hogs and 40 chickens. His farm was a busy enterprise with 10 people to feed. Mary Calvin died in 1887 and was buried at Maple Hill Cemetery. John Calvin Graham was given a Resolution of Respect by his brothers of the Meridianville Lodge at his death in 1893, and the newspaper reported that he'd been, "an industrious man, a kind father, a generous neighbor, and a charitable citizen."[746]

The next surname listed is **Moore**, but the Christian name is uncertain.

David Shelby

Dr. David Shelby was listed in the 1860 census as a 46-year-old physician who gave his occupation as "farmer." He owned $4,500 in real estate and $16,057 in personal property that included eight slaves. He and Mary Bouldin married in 1837 and had nine children together, four of whom died young. His plantation was in the Meridianville area, but there were numerous relatives in Huntsville, including seven nieces – the daughters of Dr. Thomas Fearn who married Shelby's great-aunt Sarah Bledsoe. Doctor Shelby was noted as "a man of good ability," but only within his own community. His house was in his wife's name and the credit representative from Dun & Co. offered, "Think he is too fond of opium." One of the doctor's sons, Anthony B. Shelby joined Co. I of the 4th Alabama Infantry at the age of 16 under Capt. Edward Tracy, and was noted in the Anderson journal above. He then joined Capt. Frank Gurley's 4th Alabama Cavalry in July of 1862 and remained active in north Alabama and southern Tennessee. Federal soldiers denounced him as a guerilla.[747]

Dr. Shelby later moved to a house in Huntsville on Grove Street; in1870 he and his wife resided there with three children and a cook, but no assets were listed. The couple then moved to Greene Street with two daughters while Shelby served on the Board of Health. He was "an intellect, honest, upright and worthy citizen." His obituary notice in 1885 offered, "as a

husband and father he was kind, affectionate and indulgent… one of the most thoroughly and punctiliously honorable men the world ever knew."[748]

DeKalb Lipscomb

Dr. DeKalb Lipscomb, 33, (written also as DeCalb and DeColb) lived in the Hayes Store area with his wife and two young children. His wife, born Mary Wellborn, was the daughter of a neighbor, Col. Elias Wellborn, an early and prominent settler, and their marriage was performed by Reverend W.D. Chadick in 1855. Lipscomb's values were given in the census of 1860 as $1,500 in real estate and $9,000 personal property that included 12 enslaved people. Dr. Lipscomb was of the age to be drafted, but as a medical doctor, he was exempt as essential to the community.[749]

By 1870, Dr. Lipscomb saw large financial losses with values of $500 and $750; this was, however, far more than several farming neighbors managed to hold onto. He and his wife had three young children with them that year. Dr. Lipscomb died in 1891, Mary in 1919, and they were buried in the Norris Cemetery in New Market.[750]

Pleasant Miles

In the 1850 census Pleasant Miles, a wagon maker from Lincoln County, Tennessee, lived in District 34 of Madison County with his wife, Bethany. They married in 1838 in Lincoln County and now had six children, the last one simply called "Baby" by the census taker. Ten years later, listed as a blacksmith, Pleasant Miles lived with his wife near the Flint Factory in a home including their 11 children ranging in age from 21 to the latest baby, one-year-old Frances. Pleas Miles was typical of his modest neighbors like Goodwin Fisk and Superior Goodner, who tried to preserve what they worked hard to obtain. Miles owned 30 acres of improved land and 90 acres of woodland, listed at $500 total worth. He also had a horse, three mules, two milch cows, and the Southern essential, hogs – 17 in number. His largest crop was 500 bushels of Indian corn; he grew no cotton, peas, oats, or wheat. This was all typical, but also essential for the household and their survival. There were few leftovers to share, much less to be taken by foraging soldiers or guerillas. Considering their placement on the list by the spy, however, it is apparent that they shared something with Rebels.[751]

In 1869, Pleasant Miles married Sarah Couch, but the census next year listed him with no wife at home and four children residing with him. His worth was reduced to $500 and $550 personal property, however that was more than many of his neighbors could claim. He remarried in 1873 – a widow named Sarah Golden. There is no record of his death in Madison County; it is possible that he moved on to Travis County, Texas with one of his sons who migrated there.[752]

James Davis

James Davis was another name from early New Market settlers. His grandfather, Samuel Davis, was a Revolutionary War veteran who settled early enough to claim to be the first White man to plant corn in Madison County. The family long contended that Samuel Davis felled trees for a cabin in preparation for his family to arrive at Huntsville's Big Spring but, when he left to retrieve his family, he returned to discover that John Hunt had used the fallen timbers for his own cabin. According to his story, Davis declared he did not want to live near any man who would use logs that another man felled. Samuel Davis settled about two miles west of New Market with his family and appeared on the 1809 Squatter's Census. In his will, Samuel bequeathed the land known as Graveyard Hill, now Mt. Parron Cemetery, where many of his family are interred. His grandson James W. Davis, born in 1824, was most likely the person on the list to be watched for aiding and abetting guerrillas. In 1860, he and his wife Jane resided with four children; his father William was included in the household, as well. James was listed as a farmer with value of real estate worth $8,000 and $15,000 in personal property which might have included enslaved people held by his father. Another child, Ada, was born in 1863.[753]

Hannah Jane Davis died in May of 1867, and James Davis married Penelope Norris the next November. In 1870, he was listed as 46 years old, his wife Penelope 25, and three children lived at home with them. He was a farmer and miller with real estate valued at $2,500 and $2,000 in personal property. Ten years later J.W. Davis, 56, his wife, age 30; Ada, 17; and, Ockie, [Octavius] age 7, lived in the same household. He died in 1883 and was buried at Mount Parron Cemetery.[754]

Clark

Given only the surname *Clark*, the next name on this list was most likely Joe Clark, a 40-year-old blacksmith who lived in the Hayes Store area with his wife Sarah (Addington), a local girl he'd married in 1842. In 1850, there were four daughters at home under the age of seven, and Joe owned $900 worth of real estate. By1860 there were eight children under the age of 16, and his real estate was valued at $1,000 and $500 in personal property. Mr. Clark maintained a small farm worth $1,000 for family necessities, and his property included 10 improved and 70 unimproved acres. He kept one horse, two milch cows, three sheep, and 11 swine for $100 values. He grew corn and sheared the sheep for wool amounting to 16 pounds. He raised potatoes, Irish and sweet, made 250 pounds of butter, and raked about 10 tons of hay. Compared to his neighbors, this was modest, but he made his real living as a blacksmith. Their neighbors included the Samuel Grigsby family, also suspected of harboring guerillas. They also counted the families of Valentine Hill as neighbors – all of whom were known to be Loyalists.[755]

In 1870 most of the adult Clark children had left home, but three additional children appeared on Joe Clark's census record. His real estate was valued at $600, and his personal property was worth $250; only one neighbor owned higher values. The aging Clarks were likely glad to have the last three children to help them in their older years.

Drake

The last name on this list most likely refers to George Whitfield Drake, a cotton factor and commission merchant with offices on Franklin Street. He and his wife Virginia married in 1842 and lived one mile from town on the Meridianville Pike. The 1850 census showed his wife Virginia to be 25 and he 35, with real estate valued at $9,000 and 20 persons enslaved There were two young sons in the household, and Agnes Drake, 65, likely George's mother. In 1851 at the age of 27, Virginia died, followed four months later by their infant daughter, Virginia. He married Melvina Jones of Sumter County, Georgia in 1857 and by 1860 improved his position financially with $10,000 in real estate and $13,000 in personal property that included seven slaves. In addition to his vocation as a cotton factor, Drake held 44 acres of farmland and raised 380 bushels corn, 200 bushels of oats, and the usual garden production, however no cotton was ginned on the property.[756]

By 1870, George Drake could be found in the Gurleysville area with his wife Melvina, 30; Ed, 25; Percy, 12; Charles, 9; Bernard, 6; and, 4-year-old Mary, with his personal estate evaluated at $600. Drake died in 1875 from asthma as a native of Madison County and, at 61, one of its oldest citizens at the time.[757]

Compared favorably with the planter class in self-respect

This list enumerated a diverse mixture of people for the time. These families appear to be an assortment of the moderately wealthy, yeoman, or plain folk, and some who might have been labeled by the others as "poor White trash." They generally lived along Meridianville Pike as it went north to Tennessee, and most they were suspected of harboring Confederate guerrillas. Most Confederate soldiers were Southern-born, non-slave holding farmers or yeomen who admired the idealism of independence. "The great majority compared favorably with the planter class in self-respect, in integrity, and in the other attributes of character and citizenship."[758]

Thomas Perkins Abernethy, noted early Alabama historian, simplistically believed that planters held considerable sway:

> despite the general tendency for the poor to be jealous of the rich, there was no antagonism against the planters as such. The plainer people had no political leaders of their own and appear to have been

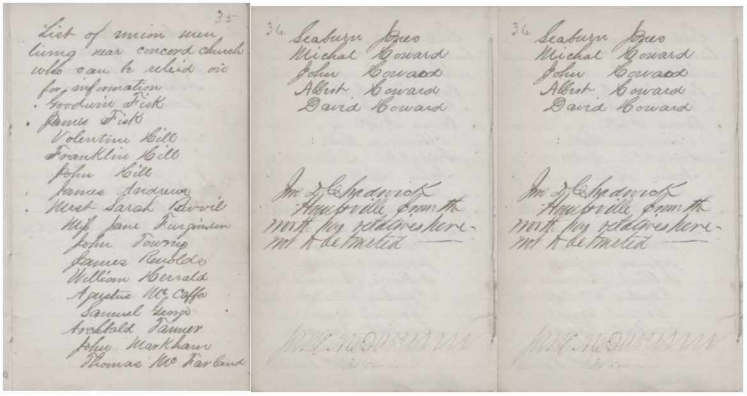
> perfectly willing to support planters of means when they made it their business to court favor by advocating popular measures.

The privileged few continued to view these "plain folk" as a desirable commodity and necessary as a population to fill the ranks and against invading abolitionists attacking the Southern way of life, as poor as that might be. Certainly, many were pro-slavery if for no other reason than, as writer Daniel Hundley suggested, "downright envy and hatred of the Black men." This was fair enough because many Blacks looked down on poor Whites.[759]

If this group appeared to own fewer possessions and resources in general, the next group, their Loyalist neighbors centered around the Concord Church, were hardly any better prepared to withstand the ravages of the war that seemed to have no end. They, too, could be "considered favorably with the planter class in self-respect, in integrity, and in the other attributes of character" and citizenship, they the poor and struggling plain people.

Appendix I

Union Men Living Near Concord Church Who Can Be Relied On



Never done any more service

Secession fervently rallied many women and men to fight for the new government, the Confederate States of America. Some prominent urban leaders in Huntsville like Jeremiah Clemens and Nick Davis waffled back and forth at first. Many questioned the loyalty of ambitious Joe Bradley and William Figures, who were initially discreet, but became more outspoken for the Union. According to later testimonies, most of the rural citizens on this list never wavered from their loyalty to the old government of the United States and the Constitution that their forefathers fought to secure.

The names of 21 people who lived near Concord Church appeared on a list of those considered to be Loyalists in feeling and action. As noted by Union authorities, they could be relied upon for information and might find themselves in need of protection. This list featured the names of people clustered near a community north of Huntsville, around a local church.

The spirit of the Second Awakening was alive and well at this time. Sometime around 1827, like-minded worshippers founded a branch of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church near Hazel Green. The Presbyterian denomination was particularly vigorous, apparently filled with the determined spirit needed for a successful pioneer setting. The followers established a camp ground on this site at a large spring. A log church building followed, with a cemetery nearby. The location – on what was then the Limestone Road – was a much-traveled route between Winchester, Tennessee and Athens, Alabama to the west. The church was about five miles from the major north-south road from Huntsville to Nashville, and just a bit farther from the much-traveled Winchester Road on the east – major highways for both Union and Confederate troops on the move. The area,

centered around the Concord Church near the Fisk and Madison Crossroads communities, took on additional importance.

The list focused on interconnected family groups, typically farmers of modest means who were strongly opposed to secession. Their forefathers arrived to a wilderness and made do with the strength of their muscles and the sharpness of their axes to settle the land. Now, two to three generations later, they farmed marginally and, if they were able to raise cotton, it would be their money crop. If needs be, farmers bartered their cotton for thread and paid in cotton to have their cotton crop ginned and baled for sale.

The area was not totally isolated, nor without necessary services. Away from the city and the city goods it provided, however, the need for shops – or even factories that produced yarn for settlers to weave and knit in their homes – was paramount. Grist mills took corn and transformed it into the southern staple cornmeal, and many men distilled whiskeys, always a marketable product. Blacksmiths and small stores called storehouses played important roles in most communities. Each community was typically self-sufficient and vigorous. "Probably no fewer than 30 [cotton] gins, sawmills, gristmills, flour mills and wool-carding, cotton, spinning and weaving factories were in operation or already abandoned by 1825 along the Flint River" and its many branches down through the hills and farmlands of central Tennessee and northcentral Alabama.[760]

Lincoln's first inaugural address avowed, "the central ideal of secession" was "the essence of anarchy." It is likely that no one from Madison County, Alabama heard his speech, and few would have read it later in the newspaper without scoffing. Many in the low lands and the foothills of northern Alabama would not have known the very meaning of the word or heard it spoken aloud. Yet, in a brief time, they came face to face with the very essence of anarchy. They were citizens in a new nation, and to many their allegiance belonged to the old ways, family, and neighbor. What had become of old-fashioned patriotism, that of their fathers and grandfathers who so bravely defended the Union? Few in this group supported abolition – several actively enslaved people – but they believed they understood loyalty. Survival now depended on "separation of the public world of politics and the private world of families."[761]

As the long dreary fight continued, Edward Everett, the scheduled main speaker at the Gettysburg battlefield, proposed, "the heart of the People, North and South, is for the Union… The weary masses of the [Southern] people are yearning to see the old flag again floating upon their capitols." If men shared political views with their family, they were probably cautious with what they said to neighbors. Families were generally large in number with few financial resources; these were by no means plantation owners or city dwellers. It's important to keep in mind that these were rural households, often separated by miles; neighbors did not live next door to one another as town folk did. Now, caught in the middle of a war that wasn't

of their making, there were few choices for those who remained loyal to the old union, namely a) exist quietly, keeping silent about personal opinions, b) flee and abandon years of work and property, or c) openly resist and face harassment and attacks from all sides.

The writer of this list appeared to know its names well enough to correctly spell surnames, save two. Locating men with shared surnames yielded an ever-widening web of complex, repeating kinships. In order to clarify these kinships, it is important to recognize and acknowledge the intertwining relationships among the people in this area.

Goodwin Fisk

The name Goodwin Fisk began the list of those to be relied upon for information and help. His father, James Benjamin Fisk arrived in the heavily forested Hazel Green area to clear-cut the land and plant his first crop of corn. One of his 14 children, James Goodwin Fisk, called Goodwin, lost his first wife Mary Elizabeth Floyd in 1855, leaving him with six young children, then eldest of whom was only 14 years old. Goodwin married Mary E. Bevel the following year, and felt confident enough in 1857 to purchase 80 more acres of land. In three years, his agriculture holdings expanded to both improved and unimproved land, valued at $1,200. He owned the usual livestock with three horses, two mules, two milch cows and 16 swine which he valued at $375; he raised 20 bushels of wheat, 15 bushels of rye, 400 bushels of corn and ginned one 400-pound bale of cotton. In the 1860 census, Goodwin was 50 years old, living with his second wife Mary, age 33. The children still at home included Ann, 19; Francis, 17; Robert, 12; and two new youngsters, DeKalb, 5; and, a 1-year-old, Edward. By that time, his oldest children found places for themselves. His holdings were adequate, if not comfortable, with real estate valued at $1,200 and $400 personal property, living in Federal Census District at Hayes Store Post Office. (It should be noted that $1,000 in 1860 would be worth over $36,000 today.)[762]

Does Mr. Fisk represent the Southern Yeoman, described by Daniel Hundley, "In every respect, a peer to small farmers in Free States, and superior to many?" Hundley thought the group hospitable, "although in a very primitive way." They were "quite social and gregarious," enjoying frolics and family gatherings. Social pleasures offered the occasional wedding, birthday party, or candy-pulling. "But much more frequently it is a corn-husking, or the everlasting quilting – this last being the most frequent and most in favor of all the merrymaking." There was no "dyspepsia or worries about crinolines or consumption for them… all as merry as larks and happy as it is possible for men and women to be in this lower world. No debts, nor duns, nor panics, nor poverty… disturbs their thoughts." A pastoral setting sufficed for the plain folk, the salt of the earth, but Hundley

most likely never attended such a gathering. He would almost certainly have felt out of place, and the participants uncomfortable with his presence.[763]

The 1870 agricultural index indicated that Goodwin Fisk held 30 acres of improved land, 110 acres of woodland, and 20 other acres, which he valued at $500. He hired out some farm work for a cost of $175 per year. He kept two horses, two milch cows, 12 swine, raised 400 bushels of corn, produced two bales of cotton, made 40 pounds of butter, and 20 gallons of milk; he valued his farm produce at $500. He and his wife were at home with three sons, his real estate valued at $300 and the same for personal property.[764] His losses were noticeable and probably painful for ones who worked so hard.

James Fisk

The next person listed, James Fisk, was an adult son of Goodwin Fisk. James was 25 years of age in 1860, held no real estate, and owned $300 in personal property. In 1859, he married Louise M. Manley and now, at the census, she was included with a new baby, Litha. James enlisted in the Confederate army in April 1864; this late date in the War suggests that he might have been conscripted. Unfortunately, he was captured at Woodbury, Tennessee and sent to Camp Chase, Ohio before he was released at the end of the War.[765]

James Fisk moved to Lincoln County, Tennessee after the War but, by 1870, had returned. Now with four children at home, James and his wife Louise managed to hold $400 worth of real estate and $250 personal property. With eight children by 1880, he and his wife Malissa Jones, whom he married in 1871 in Lincoln County, were living in Madison County. James Goodwin Fisk died in 1906 and was buried at Concord Cemetery in and among at least 30 identified Confederate burials.[766]

Valentine Hill

Like the Fisk families, Valentine Hill left North Carolina for the unsettled wilderness of northern Alabama. He married one of James B. Fisk's daughters, Elizabeth, in 1823, and the couple settled nearby in the Hayes Store community. Val, Elizabeth, and their nine children were enumerated in the household with 12 free people of color in the 1840 census, which was quite unusual for the time. In 1850, he held $300 of real estate; and five children lived at home. Val's daughter Lucinda married John Wilson Towry in 1857, and the couple remained close by, as did daughter Martha, who married William Manley. In 1850, Val's real estate holdings remained at $300; five children resided at the home, ages 14 to 23. There was never time for education, and it was noted that Valentine could not read or write. At the next census, Val held $100 in real estate and $150 personal property, and resided at his son John's home, next door to another son named Benjamin. While they may not have been related by birth, kinship,

or marriage, many comrades were loyal to their closest friends, and ties to the Union held strong.[767]

In July 1867, Valentine Hill along with his sons, James, John, and Benjamin made their way into town to register to vote. The 1870 census showed Val, age 80, living near New Market with $100 real estate and $150 personal property with 66-year-old Betsy. Elizabeth Valentine died later that year, after which Val married Martha Tabitha Bevil. The agricultural census of 1870 listed his lands as three acres improved and 128 unimproved, all valued at $100, with farm implements worth $5. There was a horse, one milch cow, 4 swine – all valued at $80 – and he'd raised 45 bushels of corn. His farm production totaled values were $100. It may not seem like much to show for an aging man, but for Valentine Hill, who never owned much to begin with and managed to survive the War years, it was enough.[768]

Benjamin Franklin Hill

Benjamin Franklin Hill, the oldest son of Valentine Hill, was a 27-year-old laborer in 1850. He lived with his wife Elizabeth (Margarite E. Grimmit), age 19, and a child under one year old,[769] and held $100 in real estate. A decade later, the family included six children, with his real estate holdings rising to $200, with $50 of personal property. The census showed the next household to be that of his brother, John Hill, whose next neighbors Dorcas and Samuel Grigsby were suspected of feeding and harboring Rebels. One must be careful with suspicious actions or loose talk, even in a rural landscape.

Franklin Hill died sometime around 1870; none of his family appears in Madison County records for that year,[770] including announcements of marriage, death, or legal notices in Madison County newspapers. Isolated in the country, they may have done little considered worth reporting save upholding their Union ties.

John Hill

The 5th son of Valentine, John Hill, married Jane Manly in 1858; they would ultimately have nine children together. In 1860 he, his wife Jane, and the new baby lived with his father, or perhaps his father lived with them. A that time John was 26, Jane was 20, and his personal property was valued at $100. These rural families often owned little of value to show for their labors. Neighbors had little more; they were poor people living on poor soil for a hardscrabble life. At some time, John either enlisted or was conscripted into the 25th Alabama Infantry.[771]

In 1870, John and Jane Hill had six children at home, and his real estate was valued at $100, with $450 in personal property. Perhaps John and Jane decided all the good names in the family were already used because their ninth child, born in 1876, still had not received her name at the time of the 1880 census; she was listed as "Gal Baby," always referred to as "Babe."[772]

James Andrews

James Andrews was enumerated in 1850, as an 18-year-old laborer with no assets, living at the house of M.W. Snead, a farmer in the Hayes Store community. He may have been a brother to John Wesley Andrews who married Mary Priscilla Hill, one of Valentine and Elizabeth Hill's daughters. That couple's marriage was performed by Edward Rice, Justice of the Peace who also was the husband of Nancy Fisk – Mary Priscilla's aunt. It is difficult to ignore the constant interweaving of families occurring in these neighborhoods that were essential to residents' safety and survival. The ties of family and friends were tested often and could be betrayed if one was not vigilant.[773]

Sarah (Fisk) Bevel

A daughter of James Benjamin Fisk named Sarah (Fisk) Bevel, married Alfred Bevel, a miller, in 1846, who served in the state militia and was popular enough in 1845 to be elected first lieutenant. In 1860, Alfred was 57 years old and Sarah was 48; they had four young children and a person named Micha Bevel, age 64, at their residence, likely Alfred Bevel's sister. Alfred hailed from North Carolina and held $200 of real estate and $500 in personal property. The next household was that of the family of John Towry.[774] That Mrs. Bevel's name was included in this household suggests that her husband Alfred already died.

According to the 1870 census, Sarah Bevel, widowed, lived with her remaining children and her sister Mary in one household. Sallie, as she was called, somehow managed to retain $250 real estate and $200 of personal property. She was not alone; among the neighbors there in 1880, many were Hills and Fisks.

Jane Ferguson

Jane Ferguson did not appear in any census. This may have been an omission by the enumerator or, more likely, she had not yet arrived in the area. Jane would probably have drawn attention almost anywhere in the South because her speech was quite different from the usual Southern drawl; she and her parents were born in England, according to a later census, but she must have resided in the neighborhood designated as Loyalists at some time.

In December 1870, Jane Ferguson married Silas Campbell who, according to the 1860 census, was raised in District 1 in the Hayes Store area. He enlisted in May 1861 in Co. I, 5th Regiment Virginia Infantry, but was hospitalized with rheumatism and next served as a teamster until July 1864.[775] Jane and Silas may have met during the War; if so, one wonders if Jane acted as a safe harbor for Union sympathizers or possibly hid information from her husband serving in the Rebel army.

John Wilson Towry

A daughter of Valentine Hill and Elizabeth (Fisk) named Lucinda married John Wilson Towry in 1853. Towry, age 32 in the 1860 census, was a Tennessee-born farmer with $300 in real estate and $150 personal property. Lucinda, 28, cared for four young children at their home in the New Market area. The nearest household to theirs was that of Lucinda's Aunt Sara and Uncle Alfred Bevil. Towry enlisted in the 26th Alabama Infantry in January 1863, serving until July, after which he "never done any more service." It is unclear as to whether conscription officers found him or if he volunteered, but he clearly did not stay in the army once there.

It may be inferred that Towry spent time hiding out from the Confederate army. This decision usually meant obtaining shelter, food, and bedding from the land. He may have returned home and simply "hid out" when conscript officers or Rebel neighbors were nearby. As the War limped on and families suffered at home, the numbers of men hiding out to avoid capture and army service quickly grew. Home Guard units constantly searched the countryside for deserters in order to earn bounties for each capture; this, of course, intensified searches.[776]

In 1870 John Wilson Towry held $550 in real estate and $550 in personal property. Lucinda and seven children resided at home near New Market with him where they farmed. Ten years later, the couple still had three children at home, but by 1900 he, 72, and she, listed as 73, housed only 45-year-old daughter Martha. Lucinda died in 1908, and John followed the next year; both were buried at Concord Cemetery.[777]

James Wesley Reynolds

The names continue to verify the possible camaraderie of the men of the list. The next cluster of Loyalists lived on the west side of Meridianville Pike. James Wesley Reynolds, a farmer from Kentucky, married Elizabeth Birdsong in 1840. One son was born there before they moved to the Madison Cross Roads section of Madison County. His 1850 real estate holdings were valued at $200, and the couple had six children under the age of eight. By 1860, they financially exceeded many neighbors, as he was valued with $1,200 in real estate and $976 of personal property. James and Elizabeth were both 42 with nine children at home, from a 19-year-old to a one-year-old infant.[778]

All of the adult Reynolds children married into other neighborhood families and remained local. In the unsettled times that followed, James and Elizabeth may have returned to Kentucky for a time, but they resumed farming in Madison County. Elizabeth died in 1880, he in 1893; they are buried at Charity Cemetery on Charity Road.[779]

William Herral

Scant information could be found about William Herral outside of that in the 1860 census: he was born in North Carolina, and, at the age of 44, and labored as a farmer in Madison Cross Roads. He held $1,000 in real estate and a value of $2,000 in personal property. His 45-year-old wife Abigail, born in Tennessee, resided with him, along with one son, 16-year-old John, who was also born in Tennessee. Garcia Herral, age 65 (born in Virginia, likely William's mother) also resided there. Nothing else could be learned with certainty.

Gustavus McHaffey

Gustavus McHaffey lived in the household of his parents, John and Chany McHaffey, in 1850. He owned $1,000 in real estate and farmed near Madison Cross Roads. Members of the Higginbottom family resided with them, including Frances Ann who Gus married that December. In 1859, McHaffey bought 40 acres of public lands. The following year's census listed him as 30 with a profession of "stiller," one who made equipment for the distillation of liquor and likely produced whiskey himself. This was not uncommon – distilling was often noted in early probate accounts. Gus McHaffey might have fit the yeoman designation that Daniel Hundley so admired. He was often "better informed politically, accustomed to fire-arms, appreciative of good liquors. He produced no swill," like northerners might, and he understood that ale or apple-jack and peach brandies which were "wholesome and harmless," in moderation.

McHaffey's real estate value was $400, but he owned $2,050 in personal property. His living from farming was not robust; the value in 1860 of his farm land was $400, including three horses, two cows, the 100 bushels of corn he'd produced, and 30 bushels of oats. He raised no cotton and held no one in enslavement. Gus and his wife, Frances, resided with their two young children. McHaffey died in 1865, after which his estate went through probate. He appeared to loan small amounts of money that totaled $400 during the war years and was not repaid. Of the items sold from his estate inventory, the most valuable was one lot of whiskey valued at $112.50.[780]

Gustavus McHaffey's widow, Frances, now received no income and owned only a small parcel of land. She married 40-year-old farmer Milas Reese Neeves in 1868. Neeves had seven children of his own, and the following census showed them together with his and her children. Their marriage occurred before she made a claim in 1871 for property taken by Union soldiers from her first husband Gustavus McCaffey. Those losses resulted from a particularly austere 1863 military order issued by Major Davis with the 7th Pennsylvania Cavalry. He commanded his men to appropriate a horse and destroy McCaffey's distillery. McCaffey would be reimbursed for the loss of a $200 horse, $160 for the still, and $500 for the

whiskey already made. Mrs. Neeves' claim was denied; it remains unknown as to whether the men of the 7th Pennsylvania destroyed all the liquor.[781]

Samuel George

Five households away from McHaffey was the family of Samuel George, who, like McHaffey, was a stiller. Samuel's father died in 1837, leaving his wife with one small son and pregnant with Samuel, who would soon be delivered. (One of his two executors was John McHaffey.) Samuel George's inventory showed cash amounting to $690, notes due from other men, and one Black woman he enslaved. By 1850, young Samuel, his mother, and brother lived in the household of an elderly couple, Polly and George Cary. No dollar amounts were assigned to any of those residents. In 10 years, George was 23, a working stiller in Madison Cross Roads with a value of $800 and $1,500 of personal property. Polly Cary age 91 born in Maryland, Betsy Dollar age 30, and Martha Dollar, age nine also lived in the household. Secession soon became the law, invasion followed within one year, and citizens, if they were lucky, were left to fend for themselves and hope to survive. Samuel George survived, and married Mary O. Higginbotham in 1865.[782]

At the next census in 1870 Samuel George, farmer, showed $400 of real estate and $400 in personal property. These amounts were not much to live on, even for those whose farms were productive, and Samuel's was not. Samuel and Mary's family grew to include three children 10 years later. He participated that year in the agricultural census and his acreage included only 15 acres of tilled land, 70 acres of woodland, and 70 acres of unusable "old fields." He valued the farm at $450, with $40 of tools.[783]

Archibald Tanner

Next on the list of those trustworthy and loyal to the Union, was Archibald Tanner, also located in Madison Cross Roads. This was likely to be in 1860 Archie Tanner was listed in the 1860 census as a 51-year-old farmer who lived with his wife Sarah, 53, and four children. He owned $500 of real estate and $632 of personal property. Tanner held 40 acres of improved land and 160 not improved valued together at $500. He had three horses, two milch cows, 11 sheep and five swine. He'd produced six bushels of wheat, eight of rye, 50 of Indian corn, and no cotton. He also produced 10 pounds of wool, peas, sweet potatoes and even 36 pounds of honey.[784]

Ten years later, Arch Tanner was 64 and noted as residing with his wife and three mature children at their home in Hazel Green where his real estate was now valued as $200, with $340 in personal estate. He died in 1873 and was buried in the Tanner Cemetery. The younger Archibald Tanner married Sarah L. Neeves in 1868 in Lincoln County, and they continued to live in his old neighborhood near his parents. By the 1870 census, Archibald held $250 worth of personal property. Still a young man in 1880, Arch worked a

laborer; he and Sarah had five children at home. In a farming community, before mechanized machinery, reliable men were a much-needed resource for seasonal work. His family lived on Charity Road, and at his death in 1911, Tanner left his wife a house with no mortgage, no debts, and 30 acres of land; they worked hard and did well.[785]

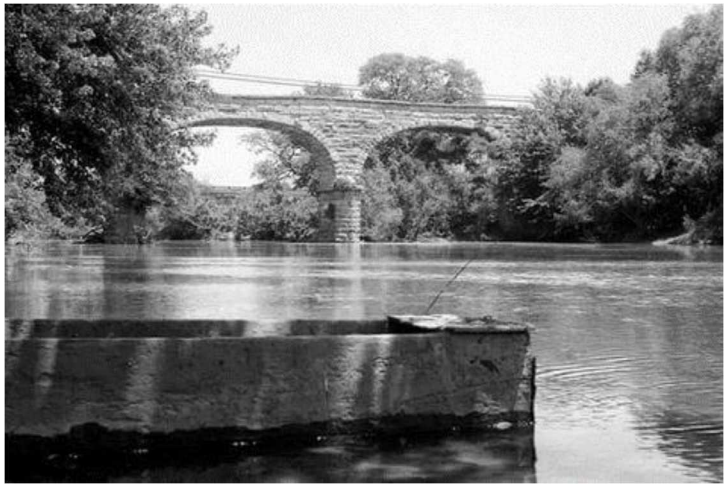
John Markum

Little could initially be learned about John Marcum in records, outside of one shocking newspaper report. On August 17, 1871, the War officially ceased, but in the Parks Townsend home, warfare apparently had not yet ended. "John Markham [sic] while sitting at supper killed by a shot through the window." This may have occurred as a result of unknown earlier events; Markum's name, after all, was on a list of reliable Loyalist men. If so, these events were never detailed publicly, thus the perpetrator may have been one of many.

Those involved in the crime were known and generally disapproved of within the community; Markum's background held the keys. Virginia Hudson Sanders (or Saunders) married Samuel C. Townsend in 1850, nephew of Edmund and Samuel Townsend – the two unmarried brothers who took legal steps to emancipate the people they held in bondage. No Southern community at the time would look with favor upon these men and their children of mixed races. Virginia's upbringing in north Madison County must have made her painfully aware of the condemnation of her in-laws. At the 1860 census, Samuel C. Townsend was 34, Virginia 32, and they had Parks, 9; Mary, 7; Sam, 5; Virginia, 3; and 9-month-old William. Townsend showed $20,000 in real estate and $51,975 value in personal property that included 74 slaves.[786]

That same year in Fayetteville, Tennessee – just a few miles north of Huntsville – Irish born brothers Francis Marcum (age 40), and 25-year-old John Marcum (also denoted as Markum or Markham) worked as railroad hands and boarded with the family of an Irish railroad bridge builder named Patrick Flannery. The brothers showed no assets. The Marcum brothers worked in the early months of 1860 and 1861, when Patrick Flannery signed a contract in Fayetteville to bridge the Elk River and his work crew included the Marcum brothers. John Marcum, whose profession in 1860 was given as simply "railroad hand" somehow later became listed as the architect. Local workers and one other Irishman, filled out the rest of the work crew. Although the bridge was not completed on time and required more money than the contract stipulated, work stopped in May 1861 for one day so that men of the work crew could enlist in the Confederate Army. By January 1862, the handsome stone bridge across the Elk River was completed. The bridge involved six elliptical arches spanned 450 feet with no keystone. There were only two like it in the United States at the time, and six in the world. Across this very bridge, General Mitchel led 6,000 men to invade

Huntsville, and, in November 1863, General Sherman's four divisions (60,000 soldiers and untold followers) crossed. Sherman ordered the bridge destroyed so it would be useless to the Rebels but the order was not carried out by Major Byrd who thought it too handsome to demolish.[787]



Old Stone Bridge, Fayetteville, Tennessee

Earlier, in April 1861, Samuel C. Townsend died, and Virginia inherited his acreage, money, and the enslaved people. She served as executrix along with her executor brother, William W. Sanders, to manage the estate as they desired. Sanders, comfortably situated, owned properties of his own that included 75 tilled acres, 425 woodlands, and 50 acres of "old fields," valued at $2,000 in 1880. It is unknown how they met, but the Marcum brothers' circumstances were about to improve; John married the widow Virginia Townsend, in January 1863. It appears that she also acquired his brother Frank in the bargain.[788]

John Marcum's part in the War would not be known had his older Frank not submitted a statement to the Southern Claims Commission for reimbursement of goods impressed by the Federal army. Bear in mind that this claim is solely from Frank's point of view, but John is essential to the events.

First, Frank's testimony: Frank Marcum swore under oath that large amounts of food supplies were taken from his possession by soldiers of both Generals Mitchel and Sherman in 1862, as they came through Fayetteville on their way to Huntsville. He added that two horses, one sorrel and a dark bay, each valued at $150, were taken later, in 1863. The claim total was $4,930 for goods seized by the Union army from him, a loyal person. Marcum produced the required witnesses who attested to his loyalty and to the truth of his claim.

Next came the testimony of Virginia C. Townsend, taken at her residence, two miles north of Hazel Green. Her brother-in-law Frank came to her home often with an iron-gray mare. If he had any other horse, "she never knowed [sic] it," and the property Frank claimed belonged to her and her husband John. The meat taken belonged to her, as well, according to her testimony, not to John or Frank Marcum.[789]

William Ashworth, a farmer and postmaster at Goshen, Tennessee, testified that John Marcum was "a shifty fellow, Frank not much account," both "common raw Irishmen." He confirmed that the men lived at the home of wealthy widow Virginia Townsend after John's marriage to her. Speaking of Frank, "My impression was that he was in favor of the side he was with," and he "tried to rob Mrs. Townsend of her property and now the government – outrageous."

Another witness, special agent R.B. Avery, testified that the property involved in the claim belonged to Mrs. Townsend. Marcum, Avery attested, owned no farm and was only ever in possession one horse, an iron-gray mare. Avery revealed several other details, including those of an illicit distillery in the mountains John Marcum kept which served as a rendezvous for bushwhackers and other bad characters. He testified that John Marcum did not own one dollar of property, nor was he loyal to the U.S. government. Both men were spared service in the Confederate or Union armies by claiming allegiance to the British government.

The Registrar of land for Lincoln County submitted a certificate to show that property ownership of 10 acres along Elk River known as Marcum's Mills changed hands to Frank from John Marcum in 1867. Since John Marcum and his wife, Virginia, had separated in 1866, the Registrar contended that the land was transferred to Frank one year later at the prospect of expensive ligation.[790]

In 1870, Virginia Townsend, now about 42, had five children at home, the two youngest by her husband John Marcum. Her son, Parks, now 19, lived at the next household with his 26-year-old wife Rosanna. The 1870 Fayetteville census showed John Marcum, age 36 with $500 personal worth. Forty-one-year-old Frank Marcum declared himself a miller with a personal estate of $1,000 and real estate worth $10,000 – this, apparently, was Marcum's Mill.

On the night of the August 17, 1871, John Markum was murdered. Fayetteville newspapers carried the story, noting that an unknown assailant shot Markham, proprietor of the Elk River Mills, with a load of buckshot through the open window as he sat at the Townsends' supper table. Death was almost instant. Mrs. Townsend narrowly escaped injury. The newspaper acknowledged knowing "nothing of the provocation to the deed – it may have been great, or none at all – we would today only urge the fact that if such excesses are tolerated, no man's life or property is safe."

The Huntsville newspaper tactfully described Marcum as "a man of energy." A reward of $10,000 was offered for the arrest of the murderer, although the announcement did not disclose who offered the reward. Six years into Reconstruction, violence continued to settle differences. Was this an issue of racial discord, or perhaps an old unpaid debt among neighbors? Parks Townsend Jr. himself could have been a likely target of the act, or even the perpetrator of the deed. During Ku Klux Klan investigations of violence in Madison County, one examiner compared two of the Townsend men, "the older one I guess is a pretty nice man," leaving unspoken testimony about what he thought of Townsend Junior.[791]

Virginia Townsend moved on to Red River County, Texas with her children. She died there in 1907, far from murder, mayhem, and gossiping neighbors. While many must have guessed as to who committed the act, the murder of John Marcum was never solved.[792]

The original bridge at Fayetteville, already weakened by heavy traffic, collapsed on February 2, 1869 during a flood. It was repaired and maintained for many years to come.

Thomas McFarland

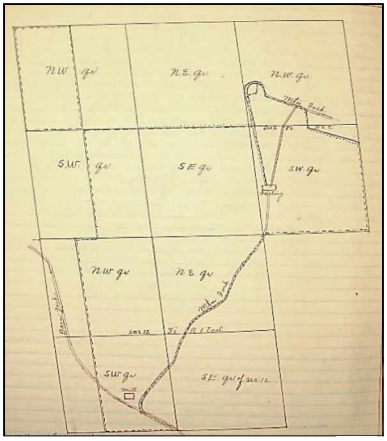
Thomas McFarland, 40, appeared to be one of the few financially successful men among the Union supporters with $9,000 in real estate and $2,000 personal property according to the 1860 census. Thomas was a Scotsman and a manufacturer who owned mills, a factory, and about 500 acres of farmland along the Flint River at a place called Flint Factory. With him were his wife Sarah, age 28, originally from New York and his 64-year-old mother-in-law Delia Rose, from Connecticut. The records of the Southern Claims Commission offered understanding to the many circumstances and hardships of those who remained Loyal. Many suffered abuses, but Thomas McFarland fortunately made a claim after the War for reimbursement for losses during those years, through which we learn at least some of his story.

McFarland's spinning factory was located on Mountain Fork about one mile above its confluence with Barren Fork, which then flowed downstream with other branches to join the Flint River. It was a two-story brick building containing machinery, a mill, a sturdy storehouse, and other buildings in good repair, all unencumbered. A bit farther downriver were his grist mill and living quarters. He owned no slaves. Because McFarland was a miller of grain and corn, a farmer, ran a factory to spin yarn, and maintained a storehouse or retail store, he held large reserves of merchandise to supply his hired hands and other local families, including 1,300 bushels of corn, 2,000 pounds of bacon, 40 pairs of shoes, 10,000 pounds of flour, 3,400 pounds of pork, and other goods he claimed were taken by Union soldiers. Testimony offered additional information and verified his losses. Lt. Colonel Horner, well-known and despised in Huntsville, acknowledged that

McFarland was a "stanch, uncompromising Union man who acted as a guide, detective, and informant of great service." It was known that General Sherman offered a pass for the entire family's safe removal to St. Louis because they'd been threatened and molested by Rebels lying in wait to kill McFarland. The first witness, his overseer Meredith Miller, additionally offered that McFarland associated with Howard Larcum [Larcombe] the spy whose efforts allowed Union soldiers to invade Huntsville and its surrounding counties.[793]

By the time the Union first vacated the countryside in August of 1862, the McFarlands had an infant son, and Thomas asked permission to send his wife and baby John back to New York. According to his testimony, McFarland remained in the house for 14 months with only his mother-in-law because he felt that local citizens desperately needed the use of his mill for flour and meal. After his wife and baby's return, overseer Meredith Miller was in daily contact with the family. Miller mentioned in admiration that Mrs. McFarland added an interesting innovation to local farming practices. She was particularly proud of the cheese she produced from their small dairy herd because it was not something usually turned out by their Southern neighbors. These same "neighbors regarded McFarland as a gentleman and respected his knowledge of machinery. They did him no harm." Moreover, "they had sense enough to see it was a benefit to the community." Mr. Miller previously warned McFarland to say nothing, but McFarland continued to speak impulsively. Both instances in which armies appeared to live off the land for days at a time were particularly stressful. Miller said, "we had to eat early in the morning and evening because they eat up everything on my place."[794]

William Vann, a former neighbor, testified to McFarland's loyalty. The Rebels knew he "was a dam'd union man… I talked smart to him about the war. He was in favor of the old government and sorry the war came up. It was all foolishness and the north would gain the day he said." George Miller, "col.d," age 56, offered sustaining testimony. At this time, it was highly unusual for a former slave to be asked to testify in a court of any kind. What might this have meant to George Miller –distress – honor – validation? George "belonged" to Meredith Miller for 18 years and lived only one-half mile away. McFarland "never talked with us for he dare not be seen talking to any of us colored people because he was a Union man who said he would die before he had anything to do with the reb army." What better testimony might one receive? McFarland's claim was extensive but he was only allowed $2,748.40 against his claim of $5,959; the remaining amount was denied.[795]



McFarland's Mill and Factory, Madison County, Alabama
Deed Book HH, 608. Sec. 12, T2 S, R1E

Thomas McFarland got his mill back up and running by January 1866 when he paid excise tax on cotton yarn and as a retail store at Flint Factory. The Southern Claims were not submitted and processed until the mid-1870s, but McFarland held his own during the War, and his prospects looked good. A description of his property entered into the Madison County Deed Book on Dec. 26, 1866 when he was able to resume production listed:

> 723 acres and 54 poles on which is a spinning factory with four to five hundred spindles and set of wooden machinery and grist mill with two set of runners and bolting cloth which requires about ½ of the water power and at the fork of the river a fine flouring and sawmill run by the Mountain Fork at which place by cutting a race both streams could be united to run a vast amount of machinery.

Three more sons were born after the War – Edwin, Charles, and Cyrus. Meredith Miller stayed on as superintendent of the flour mill while William Blythe from Massachusetts earned $250 to supervise the cotton mill. Blythe's 13-year-old son attended school according to the 1880 census, but John Dalton, the same age, and son of a mill-worker labored beside his three older sisters, none of whom attended school. Their neighbor Asa Stillwell, 69, four of his daughters, and one son, also toiled at the mill. Neither of those two families, both White, showed any assets. McFarland showed $16,000 in real estate value and $5,440 in personal estate at that time. He was forced to mortgage the property in 1870 for $13,123.06½ with his wife co-signing. Unfortunately, he was unable to recover after an 1872 fire destroyed the factory and one of the two grist mills. Thomas McFarland, the good Union man, died in 1883 of pneumonia at his home. *The Huntsville Democrat* noted he arrived here 27 years ago and "won many friends by his social qualities, honesty, industry, and enterprise."[796]

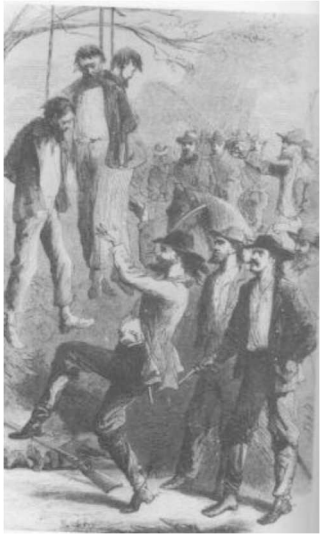
Seaborn Jones Sr.

Seaborn Jones Sr. was a 60-year-old stone mason in 1860, worth $1,000 in real estate and $2,000 in personal property. He came from Georgia and arrived early into the Upper Hurricane Creek area where he bought 85 acres, for $1.25 an acre, through the 1830 Preemption Act. This statute allowed citizens to obtain a patent on available public property if they first improved or cultivated the land. Jones and his wife Mary raised a large family of 12 children before her death in the spring of 1850.

As a widower with a large family, Jones married for a second time in February 1851 – a neighbor named Eleanor (Yancey) Stogsdale, 30, whose husband, James H. Stogsdale, died earlier. She had two young children to add to the Jones household, and they would have five more children together. By 1860, Jones acquired 325 acres with 75 of those acres under cultivation for $1,000 in value with tools worth $140. He owned nine horses, two milch cows, three oxen, 75 swine, and unlike many, he kept 50 sheep, which were valued at $1,230. He raised 30 bushels of wheat and 750 bushels of Indian corn. Although all of his eight sons worked on the farm, three were listed as laborers, available for hire at other farms or perhaps at the nearby McFarland mills.[797]

Few words recapture events of day-to-day life in a war zone and offer only slight understanding of the hazards and losses surrounding those who wanted to keep out of the way. Regarding Confederate conscription, the elder Seaborn allegedly told one son, "might as well sign up or be hung." They were easy targets for local informants who could collect a reward for reporting them. Two sons, William and Morgan, served for a brief time, although they claimed they would have volunteered for the Union had they assurance of security for their families. That is likely true; none of these Jones men enlisted in the Union army, though there were many opportunities for them to do so. Distance was not the deciding issue when Seaborn Jones Jr. made his way to Shelbyville, Tennessee to take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States. Union enlistment opportunities were available nearby. The fear of retaliation most often won out.

The 1st Alabama Cavalry, USV maintained headquarters in Huntsville and recruited men in the autumn of 1862, while other men mustered in at Mooresville, Decatur, and Stevenson throughout 1864 and 1865. This group, the 1st Alabama Cavalry, southern Unionists, was selected by General Sherman as his escort in 1864, during his March to the Sea.[798]



Hanging Loyalists
***David Hunter Strother* (*Porte Crayon*)**

William Jones testified before the Claims Commission that all the neighbors were aware of their family's loyalty simply by the number of healthy sons who remained at home. When questioned by the Rebs, William said he was sick and "jawed them until they finally left." Another brother testified firmly, I "never entered Confederate lines, never done anything to be pardoned for, had not served in the home guard or vigilance committee of safety." Morgan Jones enlisted in the 4th Alabama Cavalry in the fall of 1862 and was sent north when he, "got tired of the whole business and went south of the Tennessee line and just 'dropped off" at home." He "had to lay out after I quit the army."[799]

Silence and passivity were not enough after the Confederate Conscription Acts passed. Confederate soldiers verbally abused men in front of their family and neighbors, and arrested others. They seized livestock, food, blankets, and clothes, as well. The alternative was to hide out somewhere known only to family who supplied food and protection when it was safe to do so. With continued Confederate conscription laws, bounty hunters could arrest any man hiding out and claim a reward. Stories were told of posses that hunted the mossbacks (those who stayed out in the woods until moss grew on their backs) with slave-tracking bloodhounds. The humiliating insult of being set-upon by dogs trained to hunt slaves only added to the distress and panic. It was known that the Drake men of the lower part of the county hunted slackers along with the likes of Ben Harris, the much-feared turncoat Union scout; they were known to use dogs to search and terrorize.[800]

If ever a name struck fear – and a large amount of anger and disgust – into the hearts of local civilians at the time, Unionist or Rebel, Ben Harris'

did. Harris was a local man who married Caroline Vann, the daughter of a minister from Vienna, and settled down to raise a family. He sought better opportunities in Arkansas and Louisiana, for a time. As the War got underway, he returned to Madison County, allegedly as a volunteer scout for the Union army. He knew well the haunts and likely places for deserters. There were accounts of unprotected women forced to give up their cornmeal, horses, and one can only guess what else. Harris was known to lead Union soldiers to burn farmhouses around Vienna, then set the town afire. The only buildings not burned were the combination post office-tavern and the Masonic Lodge. Citizens rebuilt and town became known as New Hope.

Now "Captain" Harris led Union soldiers to deserters and irregulars alike; his own band was one of the worst regarded: marauders. He led them to the killing of Mat Rich, David Lemly, William McCay, and 80-year-old Mr. Hodge among those whose deaths were recorded.[801]

The most deplorable event, however, and the most noted vengeful outing led by Ben Harris was the massacre – as it came to be known – of four Roden men on Buck Island in Marshall County, all documented by a survivor. Ben Harris shot the lined-up men, one at a time. The last man to be shot, but only wounded, was thrown into the icy river, and managed to float away to safety and tell his story. Ben Harris and his ilk, it was said, would think of hunting men, deserters, loyalists, or slaves with bloodhounds as sport.

Guerillas Hunting Union Men
Harper's

There were other accounts of dogs used to hunt men. Canadian abolitionist Alexander Ross used the guise of studying Southern ornithology (his codename was "Birdman") to locate and help slaves make their way safely to Canada. Ross admired John Brown and later was in contact with Abraham Lincoln, he said, on several occasions. Like many White men, he found the Masonic sign for distress a useful ploy to get out of difficulties. In the early 1860s, at the very time he needed to leave Iuka, Mississippi hastily, he came to Huntsville for four weeks circulating information at night

among slaves. Ross described a pack of trained bloodhounds that typically sold for $1,540 at auction. Owners advertised rates from $3 to $5 per day for hunting and between $15-$25 when the runaway slave was taken.[802]

Among the Loyalists, a son of Seaborn Jones Sr., William Jones, heard Rebels threaten to hang his father and all his brothers. Seaborn Junior subsequently refused to enlist in the Confederate army, according to later testimony, even when Rebels threatened to kill him as they stole his sheep and hogs. At one time Colonel Hambrick, CSA threatened to give orders to shoot him, to which William replied when he heard, "pop away." The men left him standing with his hand on his pistol, backed up against his own house that day. According to testimony given by his neighbor, Thomas McFarland, Jones Senior even "made a son go forth to avoid conscript." In 1862, William Jones was arrested because he did not want to join the army and was taken to Huntsville. Authorities gave him a leave of two months to arrange his affairs, but he hid out in the woods. Unable to avoid neighbors who pressured him to enlist, the younger Seaborn moved his family to Illinois where he worked as a carpenter. In the spring of 1864, he returned to help his aging father. The harassment continued into the last year of the war. Federal soldiers helped move his family to safety within Federal lines at Brownsboro. Seaborn's family was one of many who moved, but the families of men impressed needed security and food. This was just one more reason for men to desert, return home, and attempt to regain a livelihood to feed their families.

On July 15, 1867, Seaborn Jones Jr. and three of his brothers, George, Burrell, and Thomas, went into town to register to vote. Their father Seaborn Jones Sr. died at the age of 67 in February of that year, and his will was probated. His wife Eleanor was not one among his 17 remaining heirs because she also died that year. The older Jones children failed to establish their loyalty before the Southern Claims Commission, and were therefore unable to submit declarations. Thomas McFarland appeared before the Commission for his now deceased friend, Seaborn Jones Sr., as Tom White testified that Seaborn was a Loyalist. McFarland stated he saw Jones give cash to a Confederate deserter to find his way home. Another witness for the older man's loyalty, a cabinet maker named Wilson Jones, (col.d), testified. Thomas U. Green, who was raised in the old neighborhood, knew Seaborn Jones to be fearless and would "talk before anybody" but still managed to dodge conscription officers. Thomas White, 38, who lived four miles away stated the older Seaborn did not want a divided Union, and in 1863 or 1864, Jones gave rations to Union soldiers. He testified that Jones was an uncompromising Union man, against the cause of the Confederacy, fearless and stronger than any other Union man Mr. White knew. William Seaborn's claim made by for $765 was accepted and divided among his father's local heirs.[803] Seven children under the age of 15 needed legal guardianship, and William Jones was appointed. Because his brother,

Seaborn Jr. applied with the Southern Claims Commission for losses due to impressment of goods, William claimed for the younger siblings. The losses were for four horses taken by Federal troops. They were awarded a partial allotment and the heirs shared $233.33 in the distributed payment. Many witnesses for Seaborn M. Jones Jr., already proven loyal, testified on behalf of this claim.[804]

Michael Howard

Another family group consisted of the son and grandsons of Baldwin Howard (1769-1835) who arrived with his large family in 1815 to settle in the New Market area. The only man who owned slaves from this group at the time of the 1860 census was Baldwin's son, Michael, age 48. He declared real estate value that year of $1,400 and $3,000 personal property for his land and for a 24-year-old Black woman he enslaved, and her two young children. Howard's wife, Lucinda, was originally from North Carolina. They eventually had 12 children, and, at the time of the War, three of their sons were of age to be conscripted. William Albert, John Wright, and David Jacks Howard still lived at home. They did not go readily. Conscription for the Confederacy loomed and took effect in April 1862. **John W. Howard** entered service as a private in February 1862 at Shelbyville Tennessee in Co. Q of the 25th Alabama Infantry until sometime in 1864, when he returned home. **William Albert Howard** enlisted in Co. H. of the 4th Alabama Cavalry and later filed for a pension in Madison County. **David Howard** enlisted in January 1864 at New Market in Co. A, 7th Alabama Cavalry. After 10 months he became sick, was furloughed, and did not return to his unit.[805]

Michael Howard, who owned 612 acres with 60 under cultivation at the time, shared testimony with the Southern Claims Commission about wartime struggles. Rebels took five horses, six fattening hogs, corn, and "liked to take every ear I had, chickens, turkey and a heap of potatoes." And "they made some mighty ugly talk to me and my family," but "they could not get me to talk cross to them." He received $498 out of the claim of $548 for his losses.[806] Three of his sons and one married daughter looked for better opportunities and possibly less harassment in the uncertain post-War years, by starting a new life in Texas.

His sister-in-law Jane (McKinney) Howard clearly knew her enemy according to testimony taken in March 1873, on her $557 claim. Jane married Elijah Howard in 1836 and by 1860, they lived near Vienna with children William, 21; Jonathan, 12; Angeline, 10; Elizabeth, 7; Thomas, 3; and six-month-old Elijah. Jane was 43 and her husband 49 years old. Jane was loyal, as was her husband, she said. Officers and soldiers of the Union army made their house, one mile from the river and six miles southwest of Vienna, a stopping place during their occupations. Earlier her husband went north to avoid the Southern conscription, and their household was robbed

and plundered. The neighbors were all "agin" her. She was injured and threatened with danger by those very neighbors, "a-many a-time." They often threatened to kill her husband "because he held to the Union… Well they finally killed him," on Aug. 11, 1864. It was the bushwhacker, William Cloud, who lived in sight of their house. Cloud hid behind a fodder stack and killed Elijah Howard as he went out to feed the horses, apparently for reporting Cloud's father to Union authorities. Mrs. Howard testified:

> They had taken about all my property, that is what broken me up, robbed my house, bedclothes, all the weaving they could hold and heaps of corn… I raised my children up on my own, and the Federal pickets at the river, when not on duty, would stay at my house.

She cooked for the soldiers, she said, sometimes for 25 to 30 pickets and fed their horses, and they treated her with kindness. At the time of the "big raid" in January 1865, the much-detested Ben Harris in command of Union troops, told Mrs. Howard the U.S. government would pay for her horse, "a tolerable good horse." If they took any more supplies, "we would not have enough to do us for bread… I felt like I would rather cook it for the Yankees than to have the rebs to come and take it, for I fairly hated the rebels." Jane Howard's signature on the application, like many from the countryside, was written in for her, and she signed in wavering marks to make her X. According to the census, Jane Howard, 52, in 1870 was still at home with Angeline, Elizabeth, Thomas, Elijah, and three members of the Smoot family. There were eight mouths to feed, with no husband to work the farm, and her total worth was given as $800. The lure of the payment by the Claims Commission was irresistible; she was ultimately denied, however.[807]

daring to do right

Most of the people in this group were by no means wealthy and held little expectation of improving their circumstances. Loyalists kept to themselves, and "when friends of the Union meet, they speak in whispers, or retire to back rooms beyond the hearing of any listening ear." Loyalist Jere Clemens considered that Secession was "based upon the destruction of a great government, whose people were the happiest the sun of heaven had ever warmed, and it launched a whole nation upon unknown seas, whose shoals and quicksands no plummet had ever sounded." Where now were the early promises to guarantee the protection of each states' rights, individual liberty, and the guarantees of freedom of speech and the press? He continued his letter, and urged a friend, "Prove to the world that you are capable of the still higher heroism of *daring to do right* in defiance of the scoffs or sneers, or threatened coercion of the guilty criminals who led you astray." Clemens, however, wrote from the safety of Philadelphia to others like himself, the upper classes. "Return, as you may now do without dishonor, to the

protection of that banner which has been for nearly a century the symbol of freedom and the harbinger of happiness."[808]

The names listed above were those of people who seldom received letters, much less read them, though these Loyalists continued to wait for "the protection of that banner." According to historian Bessie Martin:

> The man of moderate means and the poor working man prized liberty as highly as any 'swell-headed aristocrat' but for its intrinsic value; they had no plantations nor slaves to lose, but the war was the poor man's fight because he had to bear the heaviest burdens, which the rich man shifted to him.

The wealthy few, who could buy exemptions, often seemed unwilling to fight, although they clearly had the most to lose. They possessed the means to bribe enrolling officers, surgeons and other officials, and could certainly afford lawyer fees. "They think all you are fit for is to stop bullets for them, your betters, who call you poor White trash."[809]

Around Concord Church and Madison Crossroads resided two clusters of people closely related by blood, marriage, proximity, political thought, and actions. Little would have occurred in one house that neighbors were not aware of. These were not cotton plantation owners with vast holdings, but families who farmed for their own food, simply hoping to sell any surplus each year to stretch their food and dollars further for their families. These citizens clearly could not be considered wealthy, and save two, they were southern born – not outsiders. With the exception of Jane Ferguson, they were all settled by the time of the 1860 census.

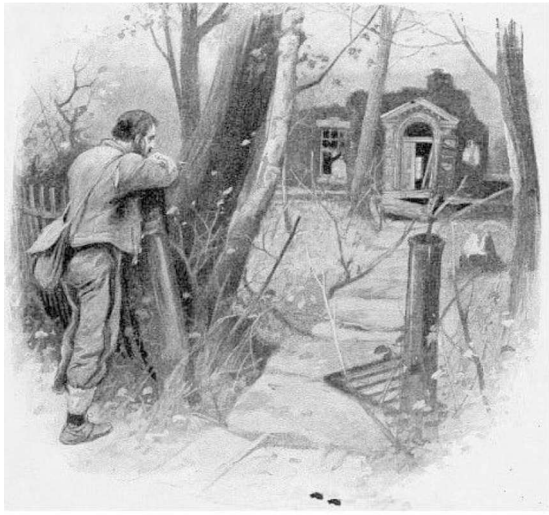
The issue of abolition did not appear to be a motivation for their attachment to the Union; one household among them enslaved people. They existed in a rural setting with little support except from one another. In town, they might be safer from frequent violence because the Federal troops stationed there attempted to maintain order. Out here in the farmlands and foothills, however, they had only one another. Vast areas of land fell under no real civil authority, and, as a result many White citizens and enslaved Black people endured battlefields of their own every day. Loyalists, who worked as hard as their Rebel neighbors, suddenly became "a tiny minority marooned in enemy territory, loathed as traitors best expelled or killed."[810]

After the War, some few families – both Union and Confederate – chose to start again. They moved on and relocated west, leaving a GTT sign at the door – "Gone to Texas." Most of these Loyalists held on and remained, however, as did some of their Rebel neighbors. Many are buried as they lived: near one another at Concord Cumberland Presbyterian Church's graveyard. May they rest in peace.

Concord Cemetery
New Market, Alabama

Epilogue

Is it ever over?



By now, almost everyone in Madison County, Alabama had personally seen the dreaded "Yankee" and knew he did not have an ungainly eye on his chest nor a horn on his forehead. Many saw him as something worse. John Wyeth described his own return home through the Tennessee Valley where "the paradise of plenty" was replaced with a "wasted, blackened and desolate land." The valley appeared to be "a vast burying ground of the hopes, the happiness, and wealth of people once prosperous." The countryside boasted only "shanties now with chimneys too tall, cabins made of small logs with split boards, the roof held down by weight-poles in lieu of nails." This wasteland was surrounded by untamed fields of flourishing weeds. Small towns were completely gutted; "Guntersville, Vienna, Whitesburg, Camden, Larkinsville, Bellefonte, Stevenson, Scottsboro, and Claysville" were no more.[811]

Not every Confederate soldier surrendered immediately – some fled west as the fighting ended. Other soldiers stumbled home, day by day, by any means they could: train, supply wagon, troop boat, horseback, or on foot. Along the way they scrounged, begged, borrowed, and even stole from households that, after four war-torn years, had little to share. Long gone were the flamboyant Zouave uniforms; the pristine butternut gray outfits were now long-worn and tattered. Most men, slimmer by many pounds from

lean army years, possessed little else to wear but their military clothes. Still, they were better off than the soldiers unpretentiously buried far from home who'd fallen in fine new uniforms. The actual number of casualties for Madison County remains unknown. The local newspaper reported the number from Huntsville as 147 killed by wounds, 214 dead from diseases, and 28 men disabled.[812] There was no headcount for former slave deaths from wounds, diseases, or disability.

There was simply no returning to the comfortable rhythms of earlier life for anyone. Country folk might now manage to travel to town looking to barter for a desperately needed item. They were used to going barefoot in the summers, but now they were shoeless for most of the year, as were many town people. Horses, of course, were gone, taken by Unionists or Rebels – it now mattered little; the horse was gone. Thievery occurred at night before the War; now it happened at any time of day. Ma wore the same old dress and bonnet. Pa and the older boys were long gone, dead or simply gone, who knew for certain? In town shopkeepers' shelves were empty, with few receipts at the end of each day. Stockboys and their billiard-playing friends departed to "kill Yankees" and never returned. The excitement of town, the noise, the pace, formerly scented with the odor of hard work and sweat with occasional treats, now smelled more like rotting manure and death. Everyone witnessed bloodshed and death up close.

Those who remained at home had yet to grow accustomed to grief and loss, but that terrible reality would soon take root. It was bewildering to most, as men simply honored the call to duty, supported by scriptures they believed upheld slavery. The motto on the newly designed Great Seal of the Confederacy *Deo Vindice,* "God is our vindicator," spoke of their patriotism as linked to God; divine sanction was theirs. (Little matter that the South had no engraver capable of rendering the seal, and it was made abroad and brought home through the blockade.)[813] How useful or comforting for those left behind was the belief that they would be reunited in a long-awaited heaven? Both sides, after all, prayed for victory to the same deity. Over time, with decreasing disbelief and increasing confusion, what or who might account for the war's staggering human losses?

Women, children, and elders welcomed the returning men who risked so much to protect their heritage and to create a new country. They were now stunned by the knowledge that the situation was not so simple; war became "a more direct attack on the family and home… and… struck white men at the foundation of their world." Historian Kenneth Noe suggested the "Confederacy as a whole lacked a feeling of oneness, that almost mystical sense of nationhood… created on paper, not in the heads and minds of its would-be citizens."[814]

The Confederacy was apparently "not a country at all," nothing more than "a battle cry."[815] Their warriors felt secure in going forth as they believed the courageous would be rewarded, and the cowardly would fall by

the wayside. The first shock for these men – mostly farm boys – unused to the regimentation of army life, was the discipline. One volunteer private implied more than he might have intended, "I've got a dozen masters, who order me about like a negro."

The new soldiers quickly learned that "disease struck down the courageous and cowardly alike." The physical abuse to the body with long marches, chronic illness, meager food, exposure to the weather, combined with boredom and loneliness, soon claimed a toll. Although Southerners were accustomed to using muskets and rifles, the innovative Minnie ball exploded ruthlessly, destroying human flesh. Shattered bodies were catapulted into the air, then dropped cruelly about the battlefield. The noise, animals dead and dying, seeing unidentifiable body parts of their buddies of some four years' time, produced a chaos unlike any from their previous life. Stragglers knew it was shameful and forbidden to drift to the rear even for a brief pause. Go forward, rally round the flag, charge forward into the fray, and hide any trembling of fear. Those who departed as boys came back as men.[816]

Many women welcomed their husband home with relief, weary of the wartime duties thrust upon them. The male, master of his household with "unlimited power over land and dependents" himself became "dependent on wives, parents, and other relations" for their "financial duties… buying and selling crops, livestock and land," and now she might have ease.[817]

Men, strong and decisive, partners with whom to share the pain of the past years and shape decisions in the future, were finally home, and there was work to be done. Women prayed for the War's end even as the subsequent challenge appeared: emancipation. The very labor force that allowed many to live a life of unfettered luxury was now unshackled. Wealth, land, and property evaporated, as did many previous class distinctions. Poverty-stricken women continued the struggle they always knew. Did men appreciate women's efforts or deride their poor choices? Judge Edward Betts commended the role of women, so seldom applauded, he said, during those violent years. Betts lauded them, claiming their legacy as part of his idolization of the true Confederate hero and the hatred of their recent enemies:

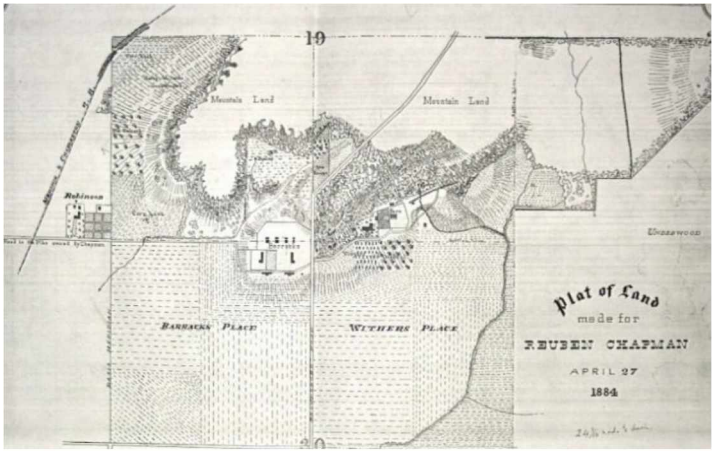
> The women of the South … from the first, gave untiringly, lavishly, and cheerfully of their best for the success of the Confederacy. Their labors were consecrated upon the altars of love and devotion. Throughout those four years of untold and indescribable hardship and privations, they suffered and endured without murmur, as only women can suffer and endure. They yielded to the sword of the enemy, without protest and without reproach... and when the war was ended and their battle-scarred heroes returned home, foot-sore and weary, broken in health and spirit, these same noble women by their own heroic example of fortitude and unselfish devotion sustained

> them in their determination and endeavor to reclaim their own, this beloved Southland, and save the shattered remnants of its glory and its grandeur from the rapacious maw of those goths and vandals, the Carpet-bagger and the Scalawag.[818]

Not all women gladly transferred the power of decision-making back to men, for various reasons. Some women had succeeded, and even thrived, in their new leadership roles at home. Some had familial support during the miserable War years from parents and children. Real income was almost out of the question, however, as financial and physical worry were constant companions.

For many, the return of soldiers added new pressure. Life on the farm was now intolerable for some men who knew only drilling, marching and fighting for over four years. Some appeared restless and even affected in the brain as their terrible remembrances hounded them. Some developed paranoia. The *Atlanta Constitution* editorialized that alcoholism, drug use, and poverty led to increased instances of domestic violence, and "suicides in the postwar South were almost epidemic."[819]

Erstwhile Confederate soldiers, refugees, and freedmen overflowed Huntsville; few had anywhere to go. Some men returned only to learn that children, wives, and loved ones died in their absence. James Mayhew, for instance, asked if anyone knew where his wife and son lived, if they were even alive. Former slaves – men, women, and children – fled the fields, and those who remained waited for the anticipated mule and 40 acres of land. At first it looked as if they might have to fend entirely for themselves. Union Maj. Gen. Granger issued orders for those who could not find employment to report to a Contraband Camp and be put to work. Even amidst post-war chaos, Whites refused to tolerate what they labelled as "idleness" from the Black population.



Site of Contraband Camp
MCRC

Loyalists and Rebels jostled one another in public and private, seeking revenge or safety, depending on their perspective. Outsiders with their few possessions packed in a carpetbag arrived to take advantage of the disarray while some so-inclined local men, scalawags, quickly used the situation for their own financial gain. This added to the chaos, making the sense of unease and distrust even more pervasive. Military rule maintained by Federal authority was reinforced by mainly Black troops who were hard-pressed to keep order.

Men were steadily returning, but spring planting was already delayed and there was even less food than before, less of everything, except dismay and disorder. This *en masse* return of defeated soldiers extended the number of mouths to feed as the population grew by almost 5,000 at the 1870 census. Most local farms, factories, mills, and dams had been neglected or destroyed. Countryfolk found their homes burned, fencing demolished, and fields left to fallow. Southern soldiers possessed the shameful knowledge that northern men did not cause all the damage and loss to local citizens. One Rebel camped in Big Cove later acknowledged, "When our soldiers stop at a farmer's place, they used his fence for firewood, eat his chickens, hogs and other food, often leaving the poor man a beggar with a large family of children to support."[820]

Although cotton remained in storage, mercantile houses were closed. This meant that there was no merchandise to be found. No clerks, mechanics, or hotel employees could be found. Houses and streets were unkept; basic services long since stopped.

Townspeople discovered high rents and few places to lease, and homeowners, unable to make payments, lost their homes in quick auctions on the courthouse steps. Education was put on hold, and an entire generation lagged behind in their schooling as children were already forced into the workplace. Everyone, Black and White, huddled in their own clusters in overcrowded spaces and unsettled conditions. The autumn crops of 1865 were meager due to a lack of labor and tools, late planting, inferior seeds, and scores of insects. This was followed by the "wettest winter and spring and the hottest and driest summer, the worst year for farming we have had in North Alabama for a great while."[821] The results were devastating for years to come while starvation continued close at hand.

Alabamians Receiving Rations
Harper's

The White population, whether Unionist or Rebel, was generally destitute, despondent, and angry in the unsettled times. Northerners sent trainloads of food supplies, but they were often gone before the most impoverished of the population could get access to them. A new threat arrived when small pox was diagnosed at the Easley Hotel. This led to a quarantine of adjacent streets while everyone waited for vaccinees to arrive. When the military pest house became unable to accommodate all the sick and needy, the city purchased five hundred acres of land from R.C. Brickell on Whitesburg Pike, three miles south of town for a County Poor House, Work House, and County Hospital for penniless White citizens. It was reported with a bit of journalistic license that the city pond was drained and "we saw disappearing down the canal 200 smallpox and several thousand choleras."[822]

By loss of wealth, rank, position, or health, everyone was incapacitated in one way or another. Lawson Clay showed no outward war injuries, but wounds of despair poured from his pen in a letter to his brother Clement. "You and I, [are] homeless and almost penniless." Huntsville, he continued:

> 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 lived 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.[823]

Clay lost everything – his parents, his young son – with little time to mourn. His debts amounted to $1,200 when he and his wife Celeste finally returned to Huntsville in late in 1867. His brother, Senator Clement Clay Jr. wrote a friend of his situation. "Many sad and strange changes have occurred here and throughout the South. Hopes have been blighted, hearts crushed, fortunes destroyed, and society disorganized ever since the banner went

down… Nothing has been left me, worth naming."[824] The third Clay brother, newspaper editor Withers, had little time to write to anyone in his new circumstances. He felt he would be unable to feed or clothe his family while Mary "looks for her 11th in ten days." This new baby might be looked on with grief and regret," according to Clement.[825]

As Judge Betts later reviewed those years, he spoke with rage about the circumstances beyond his control. "The county was overrun with this scum of humanity, the flotsam and jetsam of ignominy itself." Many Loyalists who left returned "to vent their hate and avenge their own self-imposed dishonor upon the defenseless, who had lain down the weapons of war and take up those of peace. Their lust for blood and insatiable desire for revenge knew no bounds and recognized no ties." Lawfulness, necessary for daily existence, was missing, he thought, and it was no wonder armed vigilantes and patrols led to worse activities. "General conditions and special influences co-operated to make the seven years of reconstruction infinitely and inestimably more harsh, cruel and inhuman than the four years of bloody war itself."[826]

These men, Dr. Wyeth, the Clay brothers, and Judge Betts, spoke for the educated elite citizens of the community. The middle classes were struggling to find food to put on the table and pay their debts while the poor, of whom there were many, continued to feel the pains of hunger and remained insufficiently clad.

> Well, there was no money, stores were empty, and there were few horses and mules, so oxen were used or men and women hooked themselves to the plow… On top of that, the year after the war the worst drouth that I ever saw hit this valley and the South. There was little or no transportation. Even the boats on the river were gone and all the railroads blasted to smithereens by the soldiers.[827]

The harsh winter of 1865 was one of the coldest anyone could remember. The countryside still fed the remnants of two armies, country people, and townspeople, while there was seldom enough for one group to eat, much less two.

If the defeated Confederates felt beleaguered and put upon, these were not good days for Loyalists, either. John Giers spoke for the them and stressed the need to protect poor and middling mountain folk when the War ended. In May 1865, he sent a resolution to Congress prepared at a Mass Union Meeting held at Somerville, the Morgan County seat. These citizens were "original and unwavering Union people," and now "Rebels have suddenly faced about... and no doubt hope to regain by the ballot box what they have lost by the cartridge box."

Worse still, if protecting armies were removed, "no Union man would be safe in counties further south." Speaking of their loyalty before the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Giers testified in 1866, "people were hung

or driven off; their houses burned down… and still [the Unionists] would not deny allegiance to the national government... It would be an act of humanity to assist these people – an act of charity which would never be forgotten."[828]

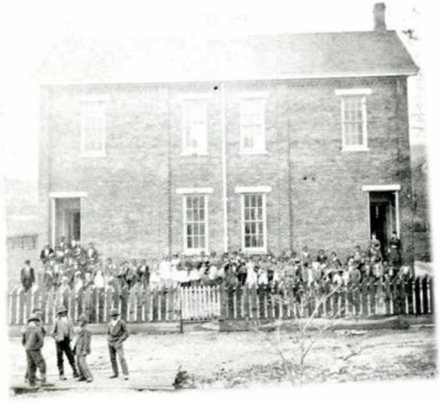
Secret Meeting of Southern Unionists
Harper's

Newly freed Black men and women continued to crowd around towns looking for work, help, or food. An 1865 census showed 2,442 Blacks clustered into a few back streets and alleys of Huntsville, and few of those had any means to support themselves. Ill-prepared for domestic house work, former field slaves competed with returning soldiers for work on plantations and farms. Employment became essential, but new regulations made finding work even more difficult for Black people in Huntsville. Federal procedures required "All contracts with freedmen must now be recorded in the office of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands within the sub-district of Huntsville." The Clays' three-story brick building became the headquarters for the Bureau, which paid no rent.[829] Legal contracts with freed Black people were now required for both employer and employee regarding work and wages; 400 contracts were submitted by Jan. 1, 1866, for plantation laborers. Who among these formerly enslaved men and women could read the words, sign their names, or understand legal terms?

By this time there were at least 994 freed Black men, women and children depending on the Bureau for rations, clothing, and medicine within the city. Railcar loads of corn arrived the first May for the destitute. When 500 sacks of corn and 2,500 pounds of bacon reached impoverished freedmen, it was still not enough. The county authorized the purchase of emergency rations good for 20 days; even that remained inadequate. The federal government issued rations expected to expire by the fall of 1867, but continued through February of the following year for hospitals and orphan homes. Anyone could wait in line for bread and soup at the new official headquarters, a complex with barracks, quartermaster office, and

commissary store at the railroad depot. Hunger persisted for both Blacks and Whites for years to come.[830]

It was previously illegal to educate Black people of any age. Now one report indicated that 375 to 500 Black children attended school where they learned reading, writing, and geography. An average of 300 students attended per day, taught by five White teachers from the North with three Black local male assistants, all supported financially by Northern benevolent societies. The refugee camp on the confiscated property of former Governor Chapman included schooling for Black children while their parents lived and worked there. By the end of 1865, the Freedmen's Aid Society supported 11 schools in Athens, Stevenson, and Huntsville. The Pittsburg Freedmen's Aid Society established the Rust Normal School on a one-acre lot at Townsend and Franklin Streets to educate teachers. White people, of course, looked upon this with displeasure. In a letter to Governor Patton in August 1866, Col. Willis W. Garth protested educating the Black population because, he said, they already equaled the White in numbers, and this school would only attract "thousands more... spoiling the city's high character... resulting in pandemonium."[831]



Rust Normal School
Courtesy of HMCPL Special Collections

By December 1865, it appeared that citizens might reestablish civil authority. When Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency at the assassination of Lincoln, he implemented his design of Reconstruction without the approval of Congress. His idea seemed simple enough to Southerners, but not nearly vindictive enough to northerners or Congress. According to his plan, each state needed only to annul their ordinance of secession and adopt the Thirteenth Amendment to abolish slavery. Before they could vote, every former Confederate soldier needed to take a loyalty oath to the United States, while military officers, public officials, and the very wealthy needed to obtain pardons from President Johnson in order to

reestablish their political rights. Most Southern soldiers begrudgingly took the oath, and their rights of citizenship were restored.

Huntsville elected Col. Zebulon Davis as mayor of the city, and among the eight aldermen were Elisha Clapp, William McCalley, J.B. Trotman, Nick Davis, and Ben Jolley. "We hope to see Huntsville brought back to its cleanliness, order and propriety, as well as solvency existing before the war." City leaders wished to simply rewind the clock and pick up life as it was before the War. By the end of the year, the citizens of Huntsville elected Robert Coltart as mayor; county-wide citizens designated their local Rebel hero, Capt. Frank Gurley as sheriff and reestablished; county courts.[832]

The population continued to struggle to find food and employment. One business owner, A.A. Baker, maker of cemetery monuments, reopened as the bodies of enlisted men and officers arrived for their final resting place. The hardware store, the drugstore, and mercantile shelves offered little merchandise, no matter how enticing the window displays appeared. Few people possessed any cash, but stores only took U.S. dollars. There could be no business unless shop keepers had anything to sell.

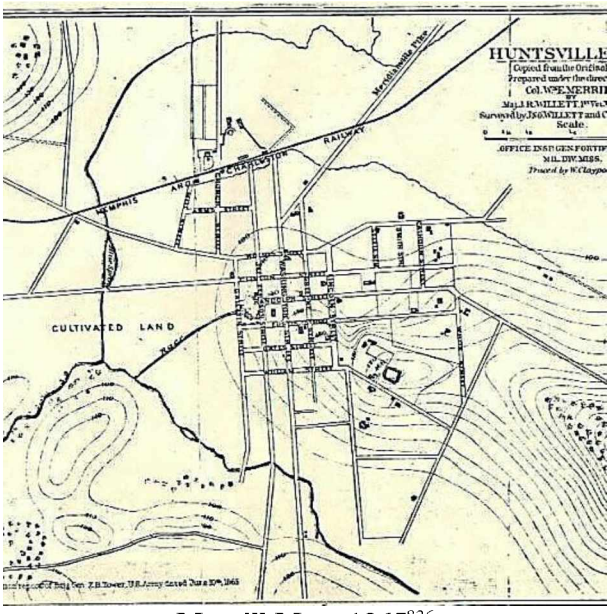
The Eagle Saloon opened, but not to soldiers; they were forbidden to buy intoxicating substances of any kind. Laws have never been particularly successful in keeping men from illegal spirits, and soldiers often appeared in public looking disheveled or behaving in a disorderly manner.

Maintenance and growth seemed frozen. Aside from the desperate, immediate need for food, services such as police, fire protection, utilities, and sanitation were severely lacking. Downtown streets needed to be crossed carefully because of large mud holes, particularly on Madison Street, although some culverts and causeways were repaired. The odor of a three-year old manure pile from the military stable at Greene and Randolph Streets constantly reminded everyone to avoid that area.[833]

Mayor Robert Coltart and the city alderman began the new year of 1867 with a balance of $34.12 in the account. The city attempted to collect amounts due for past and current taxes and fees for city licenses. Some people managed to pay at a 75% rate for past taxes, raising the balance to $396.01 by March. This was not enough money to balance the accounts, so the city simply established a new set of books. Huntsville citizens paid a dreadful price for their investment in the Memphis & Charleston Railroad stock. The company's physical assets, rolling stock, tracks, shops, round house, and bridges, were destroyed, and its investment of $1,195,166.79 in Confederate securities was now gone. Mayor Coltart went to Philadelphia to sell the city's 1600 shares in the railroad at a deep discount in order to pay current city bills. The value of railroad stock owned by local citizens disappeared, as well. Lawyers, many from out of town, accepted claims for bankruptcy after Congress passed an act to aid those overwhelmed with debt. Repairs and rebuilding become essential to any restoration and true

renewal, but at times it seemed to one observer that, "The only… people who were busy were the lawyers and the loafers."[834]

New money flowed into town at an even slower pace as businesses struggled to revitalize. The Northern Bank of Alabama was in liquidation. New York investors formed the National Bank of Huntsville with three quarters of its capital stock furnished by outside investors. William Rison and Samuel Fordyce organized the Rison Bank with northern financial aid, and in 1865, Congress chartered The Freedman's Savings & Trust Co. for formerly enslaved Black people. This institution flourished locally until 1874, when it failed, as did most national branches. Some said later that it was "the black man's cow but the white man's milk." Huntsville's branch of the bank attained 500 investors by 1870 and a total capital of $89,445.10, almost all lost in the bank failure.[835] George Norris, William Shadick, Sam Fordyce, John Rison, Sam Cruse, Elisha Clapp, and Amatus Burritt formed the North Alabama Oil and Mining Company. Railroad bridges were rebuilt, the tracks repaired, and the M & C RR soon advanced west almost to Tuscumbia. Spindles whirled once again weaving fabric at the Bell Factory while its outlet store, Patton, Donegan & Co. stocked the finished goods. Optimistic expansion pushed the city limits to four square miles, and citizens who owned real estate were allowed to vote within that area.



Merrill Map, 1865[836]

Fort Taylor on Patton's Hill remained a constant reminder of the painful, recent past, although no additional construction was performed on the fort after the harsh 1864 winter. The 180 sq. ft. structure stood on the highest ground in the city, with ramparts 10 feet thick; a leaky magazine and nine

field guns remained in position on the rocky hill. Around the work was an inclined palisade and the crumbling remains of the cedar abattis. The fort was eventually demolished in 1870, a relief for all but the youngsters who played on the parapets.[837]

Huntsville's traditional girls' boarding schools, the seminary, and the college reopened, but the preparatory boys' school, Greene Academy, was completely destroyed. Huntsville High School accepted boarders at $100 per term, although very few could afford the fees.

Huntsville locals attempted to move on with their lives. Susan Bradley married her Union officer in her home, as did Sue Chadick, at what may have been sharp disapproval from neighbors. Charities and aid societies held concerts to raise money, but it was never enough. The city burying ground appeared unkempt and unsightly. A contract was let to repair the fence around the cemetery, and the Federal government was asked to pay half of the amount, as they tore down the railings for firewood. After all, Union soldiers were buried there – 733 Union soldiers, according to later research, many unidentified. By September of 1866, the city constructed sturdy new fences of long-lasting cedar planks and established a new tradition: one special day was set aside for women to place wreaths and evergreens on the Confederate graves.[838]

Huntsville City Cemetery, 1866
Tennessee State Library and Archives

The Freeman's Bureau continually issued massive quantities of northern corn, wheat, and bacon to destitute citizens. Religious societies and private individuals throughout the north sent food supplies for both the Black and White populations.

The Catholic church already existed in a construction phase. Every Huntsville church sustained some damage during the War. Local citizens raised funds for rebuilding and paying ministers though traditional fundraisers – the Black Cumberland Presbyterian Church raised $484 at one supper. Black trustee Bartley Harris led efforts to build a Baptist Church while work for a new Methodist Church for freedmen began on Jefferson

Street. Fish fries, parties, ice cream and strawberry suppers, plays, fairs, and tableaux raised money for many groups, but these efforts always seemed slow-going and never-ending.[839] Soldiers organized a baseball club and field behind the depot, contributing earnings to church building programs particularly for the Catholic church and burned-out Methodist church.

By 1868, the actions of inactive soldiers under the influence of alcohol remained an egregious problem that often led to criminal acts. One private, James Harbin, was convicted of stealing. "Publicly he was marched through town and drummed out of service. He was tied to a cart, his head closely shaved, and the 'Rogue's March' played," when he was put on an out-going train.[840] Two additional companies of soldiers camped out on Whitesburg Pike, about 500 men total, under Gen. Thomas Ruger who maintained his headquarters at the Calhoun House.

Calhoun House, c.1900

The Southern Advocate declared General Ruger "an officer of character, ability, and fairness." He would need all of those traits, as law and order seemed not to existent for most citizens. Soldiers, it seemed, were committing much of the crime, including robbery, theft, murder, and arson. Yet another special order forbade the sale, bartering, or giving of intoxicating liquor to enlisted men.

It was no surprise that William Figures' *Huntsville Advocate* became the "official journal of the U.S. Government for the Northern District of Alabama composed of Madison, Marshall, Jackson, DeKalb, Blunt, Marion, Walker, and Fayette Counties." Republicans supported *The Huntsville Advocate* with campaign funds while appropriations from the government paid for printing the laws passed by the U.S. Congress. All power was in Republican hands. In the spirit of revenge, opposition editor Figures suggested a statue be erected to ridicule Withers Clay's mule ride during his early flight from Madison County. Both newspapers mocked Dew and Young's *Huntsville Independent* as inferior. A Black newspaper, *The Huntsville Gazette*, began a successful publication run in 1879.[841]

The need for armed soldiers gradually lessened; in early 1866, the 66th and 110th regiments of United States Colored Infantry were disbanded, leaving only two regiments, the 44th and 18th USCI. A detachment of White troops arrived in April to relieve those Black troops which eased some tensions among the population. President Johnson appointed Huntsville man Lewis Parson as provisional governor, and a constitutional convention was held in September to abolish slavery, annul the ordinances of the 1861 state constitution, repudiate the War debt, and provide for the elections of a governor and other officers. The resulting elections in November ratified the 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery. They did not ratify the 14th, proposed to grant citizenship to all people born or naturalized in the United States, including former slaves. As a result, the Federal government once again placed the entire state under military rule. A 15th Amendment in 1870 gave Black men the right to vote and required each state to ratify the amendment in order to return to Union and regain representation in the national legislature. One farmer declared:

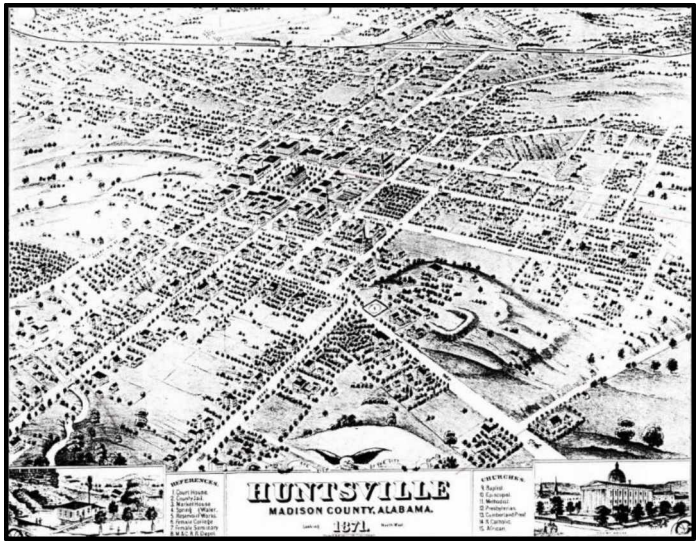
> The people here never did want war… And just when it looked like we might get on our feet – 'cause we were never too strong on that war – I'll be dad-burned if they didn't decide up North to make the South pay… a result, we went through almost the same hellish thing again.[842]

The War may have ended, but Southern nationalism created a new stage for conflict. As former Confederate leaders took control in state politics, there would be no gentle reunion. Inept officials were appointed by local Republican powers while military rule and apparent Black "insubordination" seemed to overwhelm and threaten the "Southern" way of life and of any Confederate legacy – The Cause. Vigilante groups, small in number, renewed, then later reinforced, their power over the freedmen and Whites who might defend the new voters. Dissatisfied White men in Pulaski, Tennessee formed the Ku Klux Klan, a secret society which quickly established local chapters throughout the South. Members rode in disguise to terrorize free Black people and intimidate voters. Acts of violent once again increased; it seemed that every man had a rifle or pistol now, and knew how to use it. Many among these armed groups of men supported an agenda based on threatening and frightening newly freed people back into their former "place" – subservience. As formerly enslaved Black people began to exercise their new rights and take advantage of educational benefits, White Confederates devised methods for placing them into new kinds of forced labor, like vagrancy laws and chain gangs.[843]

General John Pope and the U.S. military effectively pushed local government aside to assume political control. It removed Sheriff John Coltart for staunch Republican Elisha Capp. Later, William Figures was later appointed mayor. Loyal Union men replaced most city officials.

Unionists saw the collapse of the Confederacy as a vindication of the views they'd held all along, and an indicator that their day in politics had arrived as newly freed Black people recognized their chance to raise their voices and actively participate.

Old enemies and new influences fought for political control. One U.S. Congressional investigation of Huntsville contained testimony revealing vicious politics surrounding a population vainly trying to reestablish its former self. An October 1868 event received national attention when an assemblage of citizens met in the courthouse for a political rally. The group was orderly and quiet as they exited around nine o'clock that evening; some gathered around the square to continue chatting. Rumor spread quickly that Ku Klux Klan were approaching, and at around ten o'clock, at least 150 Ku Klux Klan members rode into town, circled the square, and surrounded the men, mostly Black, certainly all Republicans. Dressed in sheets, hoods, and fully armed, they were followed by undisguised armed men on foot. Fear overtook the participants, shots were fired, seemingly none by the Klansmen, but at least one White man – Probate Judge Silas Thurlow of Limestone County – was killed. One Black man was killed, as well, and two were severely wounded. As soldiers appeared to take control, General Ruger disarmed four Klansmen and handed them over to civil authorities who released them.[844]



Huntsville, 1871 with Fort Taylor Outlined

A new activity piqued the interest of many, signaling a dangerous mindset among Whites. Civic group fundraisers began hosted knightly tournaments. Young men trained with lances and practiced tilts on horseback for the Grove Spring Tournament, which featured costumed

parades.[845] It became clear that the "Cause" was not lost, but reborn in the symbolism and idealism of brave knights and faithful ladies who represented those past tribulations. An 1866 newspaper offered the folklore that would follow:

> Do we not live in a heroic age, an era of wars and rumors of war, wherein we have learned as well as any knight of old, the practice of martial arms, and the management of martial steeds, and the exercise of martial virtues? Truly our country for the last few years, may be said to have exhibited to the world, the mighty image of a continental tournament in all the varied currents of a heady fight… The time forsooth abounds with knightly deeds and chivalrous characters… Even now we call to mind, a thousand wild incidents of camp and march, bivouac and battle… Some mightier Tennyson will invoke the recent past…the magic sword Excalibur, the august form and stately mien of Robert E. Lee will outrival… the good old chief of the Round Table… The sainted Stonewall knight, companioned still with Lee, [will] assume the transfigured likeness of the brave Lancelot.[846]

But that lay ahead; it would later belie a glamor-filled vision made possible only by the labor of enslaved men, women, and children. Reconstruction offered, even promised, Black citizens a better life. In 1881, however, Frederick Douglass painfully acknowledged:

> The holders of twenty hundred million dollars' worth of property in human chattels procured the means of influencing press, pulpit, and politician and through these instrumentalities they belittled our virtues and magnified our vices, and have made us odious in the yes of the eyes of the world… the old masters set themselves up as much too high as they set the manhood of the negro too low. Slavery is indeed gone, but its shadow still lingers over the country and poisons more or less the moral atmosphere of all sections of the republic… Slavery, ignorance, stupidity, servility, poverty, dependence, are undesirable conditions. When these shall cease to be coupled with color, there will be no color line drawn.[847]

Ordinary people, Black and White, have their own narratives, each a different scenario linked by the commonalities of their experiences. These were far from mere stories – they were the circumstances of their existence. Change came to Madison County, Alabama not in a straight line, or even a traceable route, but by an intangible roadway that linked people through the past into a future of what most hoped would be less suffering.

What of the extended families of the numerous names listed in the pages of a northern spy's notebook? The individual stories of Madison County did not change the course of history; most were not even observed by people outside of those communities. Everyone suffered in their own way. The family and friends of Jeremiah Clemens, for instance, mourned for what

might have been. But Jere's life was full and eventful for a man of that time, and not all of those events were worthy. It was not the very wealthy (of which there were very few) nor the very poor (of which there were many – too many), who filled the greatest part of the citizenry; that was the hard-working "middling" folks. Hardly was anyone else more important but among their own enduring connections.

The wealthy gathered their losses to find financial hardships, as did the poorest among them. Plantation owners cultivated the same crops and suffered the same droughts, floods, insects, and weeds as did poor farmers. Disease and hunger appeared and claimed the same toll no matter wealth or loyalties. The poor had little to lose but it cost them just as much.

Women were forced into new roles, but still managed their families and homes, helped neighbors, and saved pennies where there were few to be found. The role of large-scale nursing with few supplies and no equipment added to this already onerous workload. Women's efforts saved the lives of countless sick and wounded soldiers who otherwise might have been untended in a time when disease killed more people than gunfire. Every woman had a relative or knew someone in the army, and every woman also knew someone who had been killed. From the distant future, one can only guess as to their loyalties, but it is clear that women knew their duty as well as any soldier on either side.

Strangers passing through Madison County, Alabama during the Civil War observed community pillars, outlaws, women, and children. The recorded observations of political spies are of immense value for those looking back to understand a town living in desperation, hardship, and terrible fear, both of present dangers and possible future outcomes.

The information Union agents reported about Southern military activities almost certainly turned the tides of the Civil War. But by identifying connections of kinship among the residents of Madison County in their lists, the agents provide us with even more evidence that the people of Madison County – black or white, town or country, wealthy or poor – depended on one another to live and work. The interruption of those connections by war led to several years of prolonged hunger, sickness, suffering, and grief for those both at the battlefront and the people left at home.

When the spies' notes are compared with census records, credit reports, and existing diaries, we can sometimes note their glaring misinformation and wrong conclusions. These, too, reveal truths about relations between enemies at war, the assumptions they made about one another, and how similar they truly were.

The Civil War tested, and sometimes broke, bonds that had long existed in family and neighbor networks. In many instances, however, it did not. Families who lived and worked alongside one another in rural Madison County areas like New Market may have felt and reacted differently to the devastation the War brought to their countryside. Survival, however,

depended upon rising each day to once again live and work alongside one another.

The American Civil War technically ended, surrender papers were signed, and soldiers cashiered out to return home or to wherever they found themselves. But the struggle for many had only begun, often to simply survive. The new order of the day appeared to be unrest for all and outright hostility for many. Each person had stories to tell as the years passed.

No one was completely unconnected, even strangers merely passing through at any given moment. Even now, at war's end, who could be trusted? New connections and networks would form, realigning long-time residents and new transplants. Neighbors, rural and urban, would bind their wounds both individually and together as communities. Distance might appear to separate people as they segregated by race, class, and profession, but every life was affected by overarching social networks – those of employment, marriage, proximity, and more – that linked the citizens of Madison County.

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Abbreviations

HABS	Historic American Buildings Survey
HDC	*Huntsville Daily Confederate* newspaper
HHC	Huntsville History Collection
HMCHS	Huntsville-Madison County Historical Society
HMCPL	Huntsville-Madison County Public Library
HMCPL-CWMC	Huntsville-Madison County Public Library Civil War Manuscript Collection

Manuscripts

LC	Library of Congress
MCDB	Madison County, Alabama Deed Book
MCMB	Madison County, Alabama Marriage Books
MCPR	Madison County, Alabama Probate Records
MCRC	Madison County, Alabama Records Center
NA	National Archives
OR	*War of the Rebellion: Compilation of the Union and Confederate Armies*
SCC	Southern Claims Commission

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Jackson County, Alabama, Will Record Books
Lincoln County Archives Fayetteville, Tennessee
Louisville, Kentucky Public Library
Madison County Records Center, Huntsville, Alabama
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Endnotes

Chapter 1: The Invasion

[1] "Gen. Mitchell's March into Alabama." *New York Times*, April 14, 1862.
[2] Huntsville Madison County Public Library – Civil War Manuscript Collections, 95.100, Box 5, Folder 3 (hereafter cited as HMCPL-CWMC).
[3] Mitchel, F.A., *Ormsby MacKnight Mitchel: Astronomer and General*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1887), 284; Conductor Yeatman moved to Selma and, in 1890, was a successful merchant. In Huntsville, John Glenn "still ran the throttle valve."
[4] Mitchel, F.A., *Mitchel*, 278.
[5] Ibid., 282, 284.
[6] Ibid., 284,285, 288.
[7] Jeremiah Clemens to unknown correspondent, Huntsville, Cornell Univ. Library Digital Collections, printed copy, 11.
[8] Wyeth, John A., *With Sabre and Scalpel*. (NY: Harper & Bros., 1914), 176.
[9] *Huntsville Democrat*, Jan.1, 1862. (Hereafter cited as *Democrat*).
[10] *Democrat*, January 1, 1862.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., January 8, 1862.
[13] Clay's complex article was intended for upper-class subscribers, as not all citizens could read, and many could not afford a copy.
[14] *Eden of the South: A Chronology of Huntsville Alabama, 1805-2005*, ed. Ranee Pruitt. Hsv.: Huntsville-Madison County Public Library, 2005), 43 (Hereafter cited as *Eden*).
[15] *Southern Advocate*, May 22, 1861 (Hereafter cited as *Advocate*).
[16] *Advocate*, June 5. 1861.
[17] *The Huntsville Democrat,* Jan. 22, 1862; March 2, 1862; Feb. 2, 1861.
[18] *Advocate*, May 1861.
[19] *The Huntsville Democrat*, Feb. 19, 1862.
[20] Ibid., Jan. 1, 15, 1862.
[21] Ibid., Jan. 15, 1862.
[22] Ibid., Feb. 12, 1862.
[23] Ibid., Feb. 19, 1862.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., Feb. 5, 1862.
[26] Ibid., Feb. 19, 1862.
[27] Ibid., Feb. 26, 1862.
[28] Ibid., Mar. 5, 1862.
[29] Ibid., March 12, Feb. 26, 1862.
[30] Clement Claiborne Clay Letters, 1862-1864, Box 4 of 28; Susanna to Clement Clay Junior, March 5, 1862, Rubenstein Library Duke University. (Hereafter cited as Duke).
[31] *The Huntsville Democrat*, April 2, 1862.
[32] Julia Bate to Virginia Clay, March 31, 1862, C.C. Clay Papers, 1811-1925, Box 3, Duke.

[33] Qtd. in Thomas Edward Reidy, *Objects of Confidence and Choice.* Diss. Univ. Alabama, 2014, 184.
[34] *The Huntsville Democrat*, March 12, 1862.
[35] Ibid., March 26, 1862.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid., Apr. 2, 1862.
[38] Ibid., Mar. 5, 1862.
[39] Qtd. in: Wheeler, Joseph, *Campaigns of Wheeler & His Cavalry, 1862-1865.* (Atlanta: Wheeler's Confederate Cavalry Assoc., 1899), 293.
[40] Headley, Phineas, *Young Folks Heroes of the Rebellion: Old Stars.* (Boston: Lee and Shepherd, 1864), 26.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Canfield, S.S., *History of the 21st Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry.* (Toledo, OH: Vrooman, Anderson & Bateman, 1893. Forgotten Books, 2012), 42.
[43] Frank Mitchel's book suggested General Buell was aware of the plan for the capture of the locomotive. (F.A. Mitchel, *Mitchel*, 278, 279, 198.) The adventure seemed tailor-made for the burgeoning film industry. There were no less than two depictions of events on film: a 1926 silent version starring Buster Keaton, and a 1956 Walt Disney movie called *The Great Locomotive Chase,* starring Fess Parker.
[44] *Deeds of Valor*, 18. http://archive.org/details/deedsofvalorhow01beyerich.
[45] Mitchel, F.A., *Mitchel,* 281-284.
[46] *New York Tribune*, April 14, 1862.
[47] Rice, Charles. *Hard Times.* Hsv.: (Boaz Printing, 1994), 193-196; C.C. Clay Papers, 1811-1925, Box 3, Duke.
[48] Establishing parole conditions for officers was an important issue on both sides, with both sides often violated them. Paroling a man meant he was not formally exchanged; to be re-captured while actively on duty constituted a parole violation for which the soldier would become a candidate for execution. This legal "technicality" became extremely important when not observed. See: Hogan, Brian, "Norton Vs. Mitchel," *Huntsville Historical Review*. No. 28:2 (S-S 2003), 23-53.
[49] John Withers Clay to Clement C. Clay Jr., May 6, 15, 1862, *C.C. Clay Papers*, 1811-1925, Box 3, Duke.
[50] HMCPL-CWMC, 2013-4, B 1, Folder 3.
[51] Mitchel, F.A., *Mitchel,* 304, 305.
[52] *Regimental Letter Book*. Michigan Engineers and Mechanics, Regimental Papers, Records of Adjutant General, RG 94, National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920. *Mitchel Letterbook*, RG 393-2, Ser. 839, June 4. (Hereafter cited as *Mitchel Letterbook*). The Mitchel Correspondence was copied at least twice before it was sorted and filed in the Washington, D.C. National Archives. As a result, page sequencing is not in exact chronological order. The book also omits the actual correspondence received by General Mitchel. If a second volume exists which fills in the missing dates, its location is unknown.
[53] Chadick, Mary Jane. *Incidents of the War,* Ed. Nancy M. Rohr, (Hsv., AL: SilverThreads Publ. 2005), 30, 42. (Hereafter cited as Chadick, *Incidents*).

[54] Letters from Jesse S. Norton to his wife Martha, April 12, 15, 16, HMCPL-CWMC, 220-3, Box 1.

[55] Johnson sent the flag to Cincinnati; it was displayed there until his released from the army one year later. He kept the flag in his possession until 1892, when he gifted it his daughter, Pearl, at her wedding to prominent Huntsville resident Dr. William Burritt.

[56] Crane, William E., *Daily Journal of Life in the Field during the War of Rebellion.* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Historical Society, MSS 9890).

[57] Michel, F.A., *Mitchel,* 323.

[58] Ibid, 279; Pike, James. *Scout and Ranger: Being the Personal Adventures of Corporal Pike of the Fourth Ohio Infantry.* (Cincinnati and NY: J. R. Hawley, 1865. eBook, Project Gutenberg.org. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/41995/41995-h/41995-h.htm.

[59] *For Honor, Glory & Union*, Ed. Carter, Ruth C., (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 113, 114, 117, 118.

[60] *Nashville Daily Union,* April 22, 1862.

[61] Clark, William, *Marshall Statesman*, Marshall, Michigan, April 30, 1862; Chadick, *Incidents,* 30, 42, 96, 36; Clark, *Statesman*, Apr. 30, 1862, July 4, 1862.

[62] Canfield, *History of the 21st Regiment,* 25, 26, 17.

[63] Beatty, John. *Citizen-Soldier*: *Or, Memoirs of a Volunteer* (Cincinnati: Wilshach, Baldwin, 1879). Google eBook, Project Gutenberg, https://books.google.com/books?id=IVAfAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA324&dq=james+beatty+citizen+soldier&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi#v=onepage&q=james%20beatty%20citizen%20soldier&f=false, 167, 168.

[64] Beatty, *Citizen-Soldier*, 132, 133, 140.

[65] Hilliard, Sam Bowers, *Hog Meat and Hoe Cake: Food Supply in the Old South.* (Athens, GA: Univ. of Georgia Press, 2014), 104, 27.

Chapter 2: Slave Life

[66] *The Sixteen Largest Slaveholders from 1860 Slave Census Schedules*. Trans. Tom Blake, https://sites.rootsweb.com/~ajac/biggest16.htm.

[67] Dunaway, Wilma A. *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003, 22.

[68] Dunaway, *Family*, 18.

[69] *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*. Ed. James Oliver Horton, Lois E. Horton, NY: New Press, 2006, p. 51.

[70] Dunaway, *Family*, 69.

[71] Qtd. in Dunaway, *Family*, 114.

[72] Camp, Joseph, *Insight into an Insane Asylum*. Tuscaloosa: Univ. AL Press, 2010, 84.

[73] Qtd. in Dunaway, *Family,* 46.

[74] Ibid., 42-44.

[75] Chesnut, Mary Boykin. ed. C. Vann Woodward. (New Haven: Yale Univ., 1981), 14.

[76] Dunaway, *Family*, 102.

[77] Abbott, Karen. *Liar, Temptress, Soldier, Spy.* (NY: Harper Collins, 2014), 26.

[78] Clark, Victor S., *History of Manufactures in the United States.* NY: Peter Smith, 1929, rpt. 1949, 483.
[79] *Slavery and Public History*, Ed. Horton and Horton, p. 59.
[80] Valch, John Michael, *Back of the Big House.* (Chapel Hill: Univ. North Carolina Press, 1993), 162.
[81] Rohr, Nancy M., *Free People of Color in Madison County, Alabama.* (Hsv.: Huntsville-Madison County Historical Society, 2015), 124,122.
[82] Reidy, Thomas. *Objects of Confidence and Choice: Professional Communities in Alabama, 1804-1861.* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Libraries, 1996), 157.
[83] Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States,* 488.
[84] Ibid., 489.
[85] Ibid., 475.
[86] Ibid., 471.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., 477-482.
[89] *The Huntsville Democrat*, July 3, 1841.
[90] Dunaway, Wilma A. *Slavery in the Appalachian Mountain South.* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), 78, 99.
[91]Reidy, "Objects of Confidence," 161.
[92] Dunaway, *Family*, 188.
[93] Taylor, Alan, *Internal Enemy; Slavery and War in Virginia 1772-1832.* (NY: W.W. Norton, 2013), 405.
[94] Thomas Fearn Letter to Clement C. Clay Jr., in the Clement C. Clay Collection, H 692z Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, Univ. North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[95] Blassingame, John W., *Slave Testimony; Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1977), 47.
[96] Hundley, Daniel F., *Social Relations in Our Southern States.* (NY: Arno Press rpt., 1973) 219. (Hereafter cited as *Relations*).
[97] Ibid., 201,199.
[98] National Archives of the United States of America, *Emancipation Proclamation*, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/emancipation-proclamation.

Chapter 3: Life Under Union Dominance

[99] Canfield, S.S. *History of the 21st,* 41, 52.
[100] Turchin, John B., "Huntsville, Ala.: Seizure of It and of a Part of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad in April 1862." *G.A.R. War Papers*. Vol. 1. (Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing, 1891), 179.
[101] *Mitchel Letterbook*, Apr. 28, 1862, Apr. 25, 1862.
[102] Turchin, "Huntsville, Ala.: Seizure" 179.
[103] Fitzgerald, Michael W. *Reconstruction in Alabama.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017), 36, 38.
[104] *Mitchel Letterbook*, Apr. 25, 28, 1862.
[105] Clark, *Marshall Statesman,* June 4, 1862, May 28, 1862.
[106] Nuermberger, Clays, 191; Carter, *For Honor,* 123, 125, 126.
[107] Chadick, *Incidents,* 30.

[108] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 2, 1862.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Carter, *For Honor,* 115.
[111] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 3, 1862.
[112] Magruder, Henry. *Three Years in the Saddle: The Life and Confessions of Henry C. Magruder.* (Louisville: Maj. Cyrus J. Wilson, Pub. 1865), 15-19; *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 3, 1862.
[113] Beatty, *Citizen-Soldier*, 141, 144.
[114] Mitchel, F.A., *Mitchel,* 319.
[115] *New York Tribune*, Oct. 8, 1862, Mar. 6, 1862.
[116] Mitchel, F.A., *Mitchel,* 317; *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 4, 1862. Sam Gardner was most likely enslaved by James Gardiner, who established the first flour mill near the Flint and Tennessee River junction. That area was sometimes known as "little Ireland," and is currently referred to as the Taylorsville community. Gardiner's daughter, Rhoda, married David Bush there at Lacey's Spring. ["David Bush," via Huntsville History Collection https://huntsvillehistorycollection.org/hhc/index.php?a=article&dt=other&id=h 320 (hereafter cited as HHC).
[117] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 4, 1862; Chadick, *Incidents.*
[118] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 4, 1862.
[119] Chadick, *Incidents,* 39, 45.
[120] HMCPL-CWMC, 2018-73, Box 1, Folder 4.
[121] Turchin, "Huntsville, Ala. Seizure," 172.
[122] Terry, Michael Robert. *Ormsby MacKnight Mitchel and the Railroad: Study of the Significance of Lines of Communication in the Civil War, 1861-1862.* (M.A. Thesis, University of North Dakota, 1984), 173, 174.
[123] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 5, 1862.
[124] On this first route, wagon trains handled approximately 37,950 full-rations good for four days (or eight days of half rations). The route later changed to wind through Fayetteville to Madison Crossroads to Athens, then to Huntsville by rail. Terry, *Mitchel and the Railroad,* 125, 163-165, 180.
[125] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 5, 1862.
[126] Ibid.
[127] *The Huntsville Democrat*, Feb. 19, 1862.
[128] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 5, 1862.
[129] Ibid., May 6, 1862.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Blassingame, *Slave Testimony,* 238. James Fisher, the enslaved man who ran from Lane's capture, later added to his narrative with a story related to the Creek Indian Removal. Judge Lane enslaved a Creek woman named Susan and her six children whom he "borrowed" surreptitiously from a Mr. Tanner of Athens. Mrs. Martha Lane wanted to enslave her, but the Judge knew he would not be able to obtain legal bills of sale for Susan and her children. Mrs. Lane persisted; Judge Lane bought the family for $2,500 on the condition that, if examined, Tanner would have to refund the money. Susan was considered an excellent laundry-woman with a bad temper. In one instance, Judge Lane flew into a rage and attempted to whip Susan's daughter, Sarah; Susan came at him with a knife. The

Judge left by the way of the back door, and never attempted to strike any of Susan's children again.

At the time of the mid-1830s Native American removal, a group of 3,000 Creek Indians passed through Huntsville on Whitesburg Pike. As they passed the Lane house, a few recognized Susan as a member of their tribe, and pleaded with her to bring the children and join them. They cried, and Susan cried. The Judge pleaded just as hard for Susan to stay and told her the tribe "ate raw meat, and they were often nearly starved, and many other frightful stories. She gave up to stay." Blassingame, *Slave Testimony,* 238.

[132] Alabama, Vol. 15: 250, R. G. Dun & Co. Credit Report Volumes, Baker Library, Harvard Business School, (Hereafter cited as Dun).

[133] The 1865 Huntsville census showed 15 formerly enslaved people who identified Judge Lane as a man who had, at some point, held them in bondage. Thirteen of these people had the surname "Lane." Rohr, *Free People*, 60, 67, 84, 85; 1860 United States Federal Census [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012. The Federal Censuses will hereafter be used in this work's text without a citation.

[134] Brewer, Willis. *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record & Public Men from 1540 to 1872.* (Montgomery: Barret & Brown, 1872), 365, hereafter cited as Brewer.

[135] *The Huntsville Advocate*, April 17, 1861.

[136] Dun, 15:250; Robey, Diane Johnson, Jones, Dorothy Scott, Rison, John Rison, Jr., Cabaniss, Frances C. *Maple Hill Cemetery.* (Hsv.: Huntsville Madison County Historical Society, 1995), 19. (Hereafter cited as Robey, *Maple Hill*); *The Huntsville Confederate*, Nov. 22, 1862.

[137] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 6, 1862.

[138] Ibid., May 20, 1862.

[139] Ibid., May 19, 1862.

[140] Clark, *Marshall Statesman,* May 27, 1862.

[141] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 12, 1862.

[142] Ibid., May 8, 1862.

[143] Ibid., May 9, 10, 15, 1862.

[144] Gale, Neil. "James Ford, Leader of Ford's Ferry Gang – River Pirates." *Digital Research Library of Illinois History Journal.* February 6, 2018. https://drloihjournal.blogspot.com/2018/02/james-ford-leader-of-fords-ferry-gang-river-pirates.html.

[145] Wyeth, *With Sabre and Scalpel,* 171-176.

[146] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 16, 24, 1862.

[147] HMCPL-CWMC, 2013-4, Box 4, Folder 14, 18.

[148] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 18, 1862.

[149] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Washington: G.P.O, 1880, ser. 10, 2: 282-83 (Hereafter O.R.).

[150] Beatty, *Citizen-Soldier,* 161.

[151] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 22, 23, 1862.

[152] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 24, 1862.

[153] Carter, *For Honor,*127.

[154] Ibid., 130.
[155] Ibid., 135.
[156] Clark, *Marshall Statesman*, July 18, 1862.
[157] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 52.
[158] Carter, *For Honor,* 136.
[159] Clark, *Marshall Statesman,* June 6, 1862.
[160] *Mitchel Letterbook*, May 15, June 24, 1862. Some sheets for July were misfiled at one time and inserted into a different record book.

Chapter 4: War Comes to the Home Front

[161] Spencer, Bella Z., *Tried and Ture or Love and Loyalty: A Story of the Great Rebellion.* (Springfield, MA: W. J. Holland, 1866), Kessinger Reprint.150, 151.
[162] Edwards, Laura F., *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore.* (Urbana: University of IL Press, 2004), 3.
[163] Hacker, J. David, Hilde, Libra, and Jones, Jas. Holland., "Effect of the Civil War on Southern Marriage Patterns," *Journal of Southern History*. 2010 Feb. 76 (1) via NIH National Library of Medicine web site, May 13, 2022.
[164] Qtd. in Hacker et al, F-24.
[165] Steryx, H.E., *Partners in Rebellion*, (Farleigh Dickinson Univ. Press, 1970), 107.
[166] Beatty, *Citizen-Solider*, 145.
[167] Faust, Drew Gilpin, *Mothers of Invention*: *Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War.* (Chapel Hill: Univ. North Carolina Press, 138.
[168] Martin, Bessie, *A Rich Man's War, A Poor Man's Fight: Desertion of Alabama Troops from the Confederate Army.* (NY: AMS Press, 1966), 133.
[169] Martin, *A Rich Man's War,* 148.
[170] Ibid., 149.
[171] Faust, *Mothers of Invention,* 178.
[172] Qtd. in Ibid., 140.
[173] Hacker, David. "Census-based Count of the Civil War Dead." *Civil War History.* Vol. 57 No. 4 (Dec. 2011), 307.
[174] Fellman, Michael, "Women and Guerrilla Warfare," *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1992), 148-153.
[175] alexandriava.gov.
[176] Spencer. *Tried and True.*
[177] Spencer, *Tried and* True, v; viii; iv.
[178] HMCPL, Vertical File, Maysville, AL.
[179] Hundley, *Relations,* 98.
[180] *Mitchel Letterbook*, June 30, 1862; Chadick, *Incidents*, 50, 57, 69.
[181] Hoffman, *Brave Mechanics,* 89, 90.
[182] Jackson, Peter. "Mitchelville: The Hidden Town at Dawn of Freedom." *BBC News*, February 29, 2012. https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-16754502.
[183] *Brown University in the Civil War: A Memorial*. ed. Henry Sweetser Burrage. (Providence, RI: Providence Press, 1868), 220; *New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1862; Mitchelville Freedom Park at Hilton Head, www.exploremitchelville.org.
[184] Headley, *Young Folks Heroes of the Rebellion,* 187.

[185] Rein, Christopher M., *Alabamians in Blue*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 2019), 76, 79, 75.
[186] *HMCPL*-CWMC, 95.100, Box 5, Folder 3. July 15, 1862.
[187] *Athens Tribune*, Aug. 27, 1862; *New York Times*, Aug. 31, 1862; Jones, Frank J., "Personal Recollections and Experiences of Soldier," *Sketches of War History*. eds. Theodore F. Allen, Edward S. McKee and J. Gordon Taylor. (Cincinnati: Monfort & Co., 1908), 6:111-131.
[188] Carter, *For Honor,* 137; Chadick, *Incidents,* 101; Clark, *Marshall Stateman*, December 10, 1862.
[189] Beatty, *Citizen-Soldier,* 174.

Chapter 5: Scouts and Spies

[190] Harncourt, Paul, *The Planter's Railway: Excitement and Civil War Years*. (Arab, AL: Heritage Publ., 1995), 171.
[191] Brig. Gen. L.P. Walker letter to Judah Benjamin, Feb. 17, 1862. Qtd. in Harncourt, *The Planter's Railway*, 156; Nuermberger, *Clays*, 191.
[192] War of the Rebellion: OR: Series 1, vol. 10, 2: 441. Chapter XXII. Correspondence, Etc. – Confederate. Report by L[ouis] F. Zantzinger.
[193] Harncourt, *The Planter's Railway,* 177, 180.
[194] *Military Telegraph during the Civil War in the United States.* Vol. 1, 1882, (Chicago: Jansen McClung, 1882, Forgotten Books, Classic Reprint Series, 2012, Google Books), https://books.google.com/books?id=e__U1AJ3WxwC&printsec=frontcover&dq=william+rattle+plum&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj2vNCyrMb4AhW8hIkEHUTfDBgQ6AF6BAgDEAI#v=onepage&q=william%20rattle%20plum&f=false (accessed December 23, 2021), 208.
[195] Gildersleeve, A.A., "The Capture of Huntsville." *Washington National Tribune*, April 19, 1888.
[196] *Dodge Papers*, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa Arts Council, Vol. 149: Folder 6.
[197] *Dodge Papers*, 148: 3.
[198] *Dodge Papers*, 148: 1, 3; 149: 6, Voucher No. 22.
[199] Pike, *Scout and Ranger,* 320-327. Pike's adventures sound farfetched, but are supported by the names, locations and dates he cites, most of which are reinforced by military records. General Sherman and others sent letters of commendation for his actions.
[200] Reid, *Telegraph*, 117, 178.
[201] Burrows, Montagu, *History of the Families of Larcom, Hollis and McKinley*. (Oxford, 1883), 11.
[202] *Western Electrician*, May 4, 1901, Vol. 28, No. 18, 300.
[203] Fold3 at Ancestry.com.
[204] *Pioneer American Photographers*, 1839-1860. "Augustus Larcombe." https://pioneeramericanphotographers.com/2019/11/20/augustus-larcombe/.
[205] Williams, *Huntsville Directory*, *City Guide and Business Mirror, 1859-1860.* (Hsv.: Coltart & Son, 1859, rpt. Strode Publ., Hsv., 1972), 46 (Hereafter cited as *Williams*); *The Huntsville Democrat*, Jan. 1, 1862.

[206] Hoffman, Mark, *My Brave Mechanics.* (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press., 2007), 74,75. William Clark was not aware that this "Bibb" was David Porter Bibb, son of Thomas Bibb (the second governor of Alabama) and nephew of the first governor, William Wyatt Bibb. Porter Bibb was often threatened with hanging because of his publicly stated Union position. Porter Bibb was noted at this time by the scout James Pike as a loyal Union man living near Mooresville.

[207] Clark, *Marshall Statesman*, May 14, May 27, 1862. Angell may have been Connecticut-born silversmith Joseph P. Angell, 21 years of age in 1860, or his father, 52-year-old gunsmith Joseph, born in England. Neither man appeared in the 1870 census in Huntsville.

[208] Fold3 at Ancestry.com, Union Provost Marshal's File Relating to Citizens; *Mitchel Letterbook*, RG 393-2, ser. 839.

[209] Qtd. in Hoffman, *My Brave Mechanics*, 355.

[210] Chadick, *Incidents,* 97, 98.

[211] U.S. Civil War Draft Registration Records, 1863-1865 at Ancestry.com.

[212] *Williams*, 49.

[213] MCMB, A4:224

[214] www.postalmuseum.si.edu.

[215] *Williams*, 87.

[216] Office of the Register of United States, 1026 at Ancestry.com.

[217] www.interment.net, Washington, D.C. 10/19/20.

[218] *New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1906; *Washington Post*, Dec, 14, 1906; *San Francisco Evening Sentinel*, June 16, 1906; *Cosmopolitan*, 1908, Vol. 45, June, No. 1, 1906.

[219] AL, Civil Appointments, 1818-1939 at Ancestry.com; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 46.

[220] U.S. IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918; Memorial of Citizens of Alabama in Reports of Committees of the 40th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 1: Misc. Doc. 34 both at Ancestry.com.

[221] Hardy, Michael C., *Mitchell County, North Carolina.* (Chas., SC: Arcadia Publ., 2009), 8.

[222] *Wilmington Star*. Feb. 22, 1891; Bakersville Historical Cemetery.

[223] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 47; MCPR No. 3689.

Chapter 6: The Lull – August 1862-1893

[224] Chadick, *Incidents,* 101, 102; Qtd. in: Rice, Charles, *Hard Times*, 96, 97.

[225] U.S., Selected Federal Census, Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com; *Papers of Andrew Johnson*. ed. Paul H. Bergeron, (Knoxville: Univ. Tenn. Press, 1967), Vol 8: 551. MCPR No. 2526.

[226] *The Huntsville Democrat*, Feb. 13, 1861.

[227] Hundley, *Social Relations,* 204.

[228] Horowitz, Tony. *Confederates in the Attic.* (NY: Vintage, 1988), 385.

[229] Flynt, Wayne, "Sweet Home Alabama: A Bicentennial Essay," *Alabama Review*. Vol. 72, No. 1, (Jan. 2019), 12.

[230] *The Huntsville Confederate*, Nov. 12, 1862.

[231] *Students of the University of Virginia: A Semi-centennial Catalogue.* (Baltimore: Harvey & Co., 1878), passim. eBook.

[232] Reidy, *Objects of Confidence*, 127.

[233] Reidy, Thomas E., *Books, Ballrooms, Bedrooms and Slaves: Professional Class in Antebellum Huntsville, Alabama.* Diss. University of Alabama, 2014, 1-11.
[234] Reidy, *Objects of Confidence*, 80, 81.
[235] Ibid., 83.
[236] Ibid., 165.
[237] Ibid., 118.
[238] *Williams*, 89, 93, 14-18.
[239] SCC, James Hickman, No. 15062; Dee, Christine, "Trying James Hickman: The Politics of Loyalty in the Civil War." *Alabama Review.* Vol. 58, No. 2 (April 2005), 3- 83. In 1871, the U.S. government began accepting petitions from loyal Southern citizens seeking restitution for the impressment of their possessions during the War years. The Southern Claims Commission collected, examined and considered claims made by 22,298 self-proclaimed Southern Loyalists. Making such a claim required multiple attempts, witness testimony, witnesses of the petitioner's loyalty, and witnesses to the specific property that was taken. While northern officials were initially ordered to issue receipts for the goods they impressed, the practice faded as hostilities intensified. In addition, few people kept receipts.
[240] Pruitt, *Eden*, 46.
[241] Dee, "Trying James Hickman," 90-93.
[242] Qtd. in Dee, "Trying James Hickman," 97, 98, 97.
[243] *The Huntsville Advocate*, Feb. 6, 13, 1861.
[244] Ibid., Apr. 24, 1861.
[245] Qtd., in Dee, "Trying James Hickman," 95, 96.
[246] Ibid., 97.
[247] Ibid., 99.
[248] Ibid., 100, 101.
[249] Dee, "Trying James Hickman," 101.
[250] Ibid., 103.
[251] Ibid., 104.
[252] Ibid., 105.
[253] Ibid., 106.
[254] Southern Claims Commission, Hickman, No. 15062 (hereafter cited as SCC); Dee, "Trying James Hickman," 106.
[255] Dee, "Trying James Hickman," 107.
[256] SCC, James Hickman, No. 15062.
[257] McMillan, *Disintegration of a Confederate State*, 64.
[258] Martin, Bessie. *Desertion of Alabama Troops from the Confederate Army.* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 30, 31.
[259] Massey, Mary Elizabeth, *Ersatz in the Confederacy.* (Columbia, SC, Univ. SC Press, 1952), 47.
[260] Massey, *Ersatz,* 48.
[261] *The Huntsville Confederate*, April 2, 1863.
[262] Ibid., 59.
[263] Chadick, *Incidents,* 280.
[264] Massey, *Ersatz*, 72.
[265] Ibid., 63.

[266] Madison County Marriage Book, 4B:531. (Hereafter cited as MCMB).
[267] Young Clemmie was his mother Mary's strength and comfort during the War years. He died in the 1869 explosion of steamship *St. Elmo* in Mobile Bay at the age of 20. For more on the lives of John Withers and Mary Lewis Clay, see: Rohr, Nancy M., *An Alabama School Girl in Paris*. (Hsv.: SilverThreads Publ., 2001), 249.
[268] Mary Lewis Clay in a letter to Virginia Clay, May 31, 1863. C.C. Clay Papers, 1811-1925, Box 3, Duke.
[269] Nuermberger, *Clays,* 218-219.
[270] Sterkx, *Partners*, 116, 165.
[271] *The Huntsville Democrat*, Mar. 26, 1862.
[272] Ibid., Apr. 2, 1862.
[273] Spencer, *Tried and True*.
[274] *The Huntsville Confederate,* April 2, 1863. Corn sacks were large fabric bags made to carry grain, corn, or forage for the animals. Thanks to Mark Hubbs, Myers Brown, via John Allen.
[275] Qtd. in Tatum, Georgia Lee, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000, 57, 58.
[276]Heg, Hans Christian, *Civil War Letters of Col. Hans Christian Heg.* Ed. Theodore C. Blegen. Northfield, MN: Norwegian-American Historical Assoc., rpt. 1936, 240, 242, 242, 79.
[277] *Hickman v. Jones,* U.S. 197, 19L. Ed. 551 (1870).

Chapter 7: Return of the Yankees – August 1863

[278] Rice, *Hard Times*, 205.
[279] Jackson County, Alabama Will Record Z: 1888-1892.
[280] Johnson, *Cemeteries*, 2:312.
[281] *The Huntsville Daily Confederate*, Sept. 1, 1863. (Hereafter cited as *HDC*).
[282] Martin, Sharon. "Hunt's Mill Skirmish 'Mill Fight,'" *First Tennessee and Alabama Independent Vidette Cavalry* (accessed December 12, 2020). These groups of men met again one month later in a skirmish at Hunt's Saw Mill, when Latham's unit "had to run and skedaddle" in panic. Latham's statement noted that he and a few men "cut his way through the enemy line to elude the superior force," in hot pursuit, and made a forced march of several miles. For the rest of the story, see: Rice, *Hard Times*, 160-173.
[283] *HDC*, Sep. 1, 1863.
[284] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, Nov. 19, 1862.
[285] *HDC*, Sep. 1, 1863.
[286] Chadick, *Incidents,* 103, 104.
[287] Gandrud, *Notices,* 440.
[288] Gandrud, *Notices,* 440.
[289] "Son of the Revolution." *State of Virginia Quarterly Magazine*. Randolph. Richmond, Va. Vol. 2, 58-59. https://books.google.com/books?id=-OcQAQAAMAAJ&q=archibald+cary#v=snippet&q=archibald%20cary&f=false.
[290] *Farmers' Register*, Vol. 1, No. 3 at Ancestry.com.
[291] MCMB 4A:109.

[292] U.S., Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com; Johnson, *Cemeteries*, 1: 175.
[293] *Williams*, 89, 93, 94, 45, 63, 72, 15, 83.
[294] Qtd. in Collins, Winfield H., *Domestic Slave Trade of the Southern States.* (NY: Broadway, 1904, 107.
[295] Qtd. in Collins, 108.
[296] Hundley, *Social Relations*, 140.
[297] Qtd. in Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell, *Life and Labor in the Old South*. (Little Brown and Co., 1929, rpt., Columbia, SC: Univ. South Carolina Press, 2007), 276.
[298] Lumpkin's first name is inconsistently spelled among records. This editor is using "Thurston." Madison County Deed Books X, 469; Z, 212, 213; Z, 332; AA 250, 251; Deed Book AA, 377, 378. at The History Box, www.dkdayton.net.
[299] "Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia Repository." *Ended Chancery Court Cases, petition 21682703.* National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom. Dec. 3, 1827 – Jan. 7, 1828.
[300] Tucker, Abigail, "Digging up the Past at a Richmond Jail." *Smithsonian*, March 2009, n.p.
[301] Tadman, Michael, *Speculators and Slaves.* Madison, WI: Univ. Wisconsin Press, 1989, 61.
[302] *The Huntsville Confederate*, Feb. 14, 1864.
[303] Rohr, *Free People*, 86.
[304] MCDB UU, 312-314.
[305] MCPR No. 3290; Madison County Chancery Court Case No. 1001 at The History Box, www.dkdayton.net.
[306] Gandrud, *Notices*, 274; Virginia, U.S. Select Marriages at Ancestry.com.

Chapter 8: Hardships and Hard Times

[307] MCPR No. 3529.
[308] Snow, Whitney A., *Civil War Diaries of Cassie Fennell.* (Knoxville: University of Tenn. Press, 2020), 219; Nuermberger, *Clays,* 216-217.
[309] *HDC*, August 11, 1863.
[310] Ibid.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid., Sept. 12, 1863.
[313] Storey, Margaret M., *Loyalty and Loss*, (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 2004) 157.
[314] *HDC*, Sep. 25, 1863.
[315] Ibid., Oct. 1, 1863. Local schoolteacher Charles Shepherd was known as a disciplinarian of the harshest kind. He did not handle the politics of army life well, and spoke of one fellow officer who was elected above him as a "contemptable horse-jockey and tin-horn gambler."
[316] *HDC*, Oct. 1, 1863.
[317] Storey, *Loyalty*, 69.
[318] HMCPL-CWMC, Box 1, Folder 10.
[319] Ibid.
[320] *HDC*, Dec., 8, 1863; Ayers, James T., *Diary of James T. Ayers.* ed. John Hope Franklin, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1947), xvii.

[321] Spelling at this time spelling was not standardized; most people spelled based on the sounds of words. In his journal, Private Ayers' cursive writing was beautifully shaped and superior to his spelling.
[322] Ayers, *Diary,* 12, 13.
[323] Ibid., 24.
[324] Ibid., 36.
[325] Ibid.
[326] The writings of historian Michael W. Fitzgerald help put Ayers' opinions into context. Fitzgerald gathered Union soldiers' opinions of other north Alabama towns. They were generally pleased with the landscape of Huntsville, but not its citizens. Smaller towns offered few enticements for the men, however. Union soldiers looked down on colloquial names such as Greasy Cove and Lick Skillet. The invaders described Tuscumbia as "a small dilapidated village" and Decatur as "a shackly [sic] dirty little town." They rated Bridgeport, the Northeast corner of Alabama, as the "ugliest spot around." "Ten thousand people reportedly lived in tents in the vicinity... the lazy, good for nothing *White-trash* live in their miserable excuse for houses... starving to death." One officer said the town of Scottsboro held "the lowest people he had ever seen in terms of intellect, morally abandoned beyond belief." As a rule, Union soldiers "took pride in having wrecked a corrupt social order, dominated by rich traitors." Qtd. in Fitzgerald, *Reconstruction*, 36, 38, 41.
[327] Ayers, *Diary*, 9.
[328] Pruitt, 49.
[329] *HDC*, Dec. 5, 1863.
[330] Ibid., Jan. 13, 1864.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Ibid. Jan. 22, 1864.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Ibid., Feb. 9, 1864.
[335] Pruitt, *Eden*, 51.
[336] *Badax Tigers*. Ed. Thomas F. Nanzig, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 218-221, 226, 227, 234, 242.
[337] Hilliard, *Hog Meat*, 99, 125.
[338] Mauldin, *Unredeemed Land,* 27.
[339] An estimate for one 100-acre field, including rail installation, 22 days of labor, 11 days of wood hauling, and 11 days to build the railing, was $179. Enslaved people were often made to perform this manual labor, though many of them were gone by the time. Maudlin, *Unredeemed Land,* 34, 35.
[340] Ibid., *Unredeemed Land,* 18, 30.
[341] Pruitt, *Eden,* 50, 55, 57, 54.
[342] *Badax Tigers,* Ed. Nanzig, 250-251.
[343] Ibid., 252-253, f 13.
[344] *Nashville Daily Union*, March 16, 1864.
[345] *Chicago Tribune*, March 14, 1864.
[346] *HDC*, June 24, 1864.
[347] Ibid., Feb. 9, 1864.
[348] HMCPL-CWMC Box 1, Folder 19.

[349] Johns, George S., *Philip Henson, Southern Union Spy*. (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones, 1887 rpt.), 5, 6.
[350] Ibid., 6.
[351] Ibid., 9.
[352] Ibid., 23, 24.
[353] Ibid., 26-30.
[354] Ibid., 59, 60.
[355] Ibid., 7.

Chapter 9: Emile Bourlier, Spy

[356] Dyer, Thomas G., *Secret Yankees*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1999), 152.
[357] Suggested source: E. Bourlier Diary, Edward F. Reid Papers, SC 1068, Indiana Historical Society.
[358] Lewis, Susan I., "More Than Just a Penny Capitalist." ed. Jennifer Aston and Catherine Bishop. *Female Entrepreneurs in the Long Nineteenth Century.* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 257; *Fire Engineering,* Issue No. 20, Vol. 24, Nov. 12, 1898.
[359] Wheeler, Joseph. *Campaigns of Wheeler & His Cavalry, 1862-1865*. ed. W.C. Dodson. (Atlanta: Wheeler's Confederate Cavalry Assoc., 1899) rpt. Williams and Fox, 1997.General Joe Wheeler admired Col. John S. Prather and asked that any book about himself "commend by name the officers and men of the Command… especially the meritorious services of Colonel Prather." The request went unfulfilled by his editor, W.C. Dodson.
[360] National Archives, E. Bourlier Box 2, folder RG 110, e 36, corr. re Scouts, Guides, Spies & Detectives.
[361] Dyer, *Secret Yankees*, 152, 153.
[362] Ibid., 153.
[363] National Archives, E. Bourlier Box 2, folder RG110, e 36, corr re Scouts, Guides, Spies & Detectives. 12WI, 10/1/5, box 2. Also available at Wallace State Community College, Hanceville, AL: RG 56 entry 366, Reel 1, 0660.
[364] Fold3 at Ancestry.com; Reel 1443.
[365] Meredith Calhoun and his family left remnants of their wealth in Huntsville and Colfax, Louisiana that lasted into the next century. See: Rohr, Nancy, *Alabama Schoolgirl in Paris*, (Huntsville: Silver Threads, 2001) and Keith, Leeanna, *The Colfax Massacre*. (NY: Oxford Press, 2008.)
[366] MCMB 4B:122.
[367] National Archives, E. Bourlier Box 2, folder RG110, e 36, corr re Scouts, Guides, Spies & Detectives. 12WI, 10/1/5.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Lewis, "More than Just," 257, 258.
[370] *Fire Engineering*.
[371] https://www.elks.org/sharedElksOrg/uploads/elksorgweb/History150/KY-3480-0008-0041887-0000000-FinalHistoryRev3Autosaved.pdf.
[372] *NYT,* April 22, 1886.
[373] *The Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 12, 1886; *Dayton Herald*, Dayton, Ohio, June 15, 1886.

[374] Rieser, Marjorie, *Horse racing in central Kentucky and Jefferson County Kentucky with special reference to Churchill Downs.* (1944). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations.* Paper 2115. https://ir.library.louisville.edu/etd/2115/.

[375] *New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1898; *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Nov. 5, 1898.

Chapter 10: Edward F. Reid, Spy

[376] reviewatlas.com/news/20171122/jeff-rankin.

[377] Ibid.

[378] Edward Reid's papers are located in the collection of the Indiana Historical Society at William Henry Smith Memorial Library. Edward F. Reid Papers, 1863-1888. SC 1068, OM 04990, F 1368; https://indianahistory.org/wp-content/uploads/edward-f-reid-papers.pdf.

Appendix A: A List of Rebels in Huntsville

[379] Gandrud, *Notices*, 279; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 2.

[380] Hughes, Nathaniel Cheairs Jr., and Stonesifer, Roy P. Jr., *Life and Wars of Gideon J. Pillow.* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. NC Press, 1993), 260.

[381] Ibid., 260.

[382] McMillan, Malcolm, *Alabama Confederate Reader.* (Tuscaloosa, AL: Univ. Alabama Press, 1963), 381, 382; Malcolm McMillian, *Disintegration,* 5, 9.

[383] Hughes and Stonesifer, *Life and Wars,* 260-275, passim.

[384] alabamapioneers.com/biography; Dun, 1:143; Chadick, *Incidents,* 39, 41, 73; Gandrud, *Notices*, 271; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 52.

[385] Shapiro, Norman, "Pardons of Madison County." *Huntsville Historical Review*, Vol. 22: No. 1 (Winter-Summer 1995), 7; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 52; John Hunt's grandson Joseph Acklen married widow Adelicia Franklin of the Nashville area. She inherited properties from her first husband that included 8,700 acres in Louisiana cotton, 2,000 acres in Tennessee, 50,000 undeveloped acres in Texas, 750 enslaved people, and stocks and bonds in his estate. The couple completed Belmont mansion in 1853 at the edge of Nashville. After Joseph Acklen died in 1863, Adelicia took action to save the cotton on her Louisiana plantations. She and her cousin Sarah Carter made the 750-mile trip by river to New Orleans, where they were faced with an order from the Confederate military commander to burn the cotton. He finally granted her permission to access the crop on the condition that she send it to Liverpool, UK, but Adelicia had no wagons or team for transport. Under the protection of Union Rear Admiral David Porter, she hired equipment and workers, some of which may have come from the Union side. She may have made secret agreements with both Union and Confederate authorities for her cotton to be allowed "to slip through" unmolested. From New Orleans, the two women boarded a blockade-runner to Liverpool, where the sale of 2,000 bales profited $960,000 (over $24M in 2025) in gold. Adelicia and Sarah returned to Nashville and Belmont Mansion, which would soon become occupied by Union troops. Moorer, Wenona, "Southern Belle." *Old Huntsville* No. 325 (March 2020), 32-34; Wardin, Albert W., Jr., *Belmont Mansion*, (Nashville: Belmont Mansion Association, 1989), 20-22.

[386] HMCPL-CWMC, 95.100 Box 1, Folder 10.

[387] 1866 U.S. IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918; Newspapers.com at Ancestry.com; New York, Passenger and Immigration Lists, 1820-1850 at Ancestry. Com; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 56.
[388] Dun, 1 :153.
[389] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 42.
[390] SCC, Robinson, No. 2752; Rohr, *Free People*, 137-143.
[391] Dun, 15: 155.
[392] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 31.
[393] MCMB 3:717. These events remained in Madison County lore long after they took place with the publication of Robert Bentley's novel *Forrestfield.* Bentley changed all the names save that of the despised Colonel Horner. His portrayal was purportedly an accurate one, describing the search for the Robinson sons by Federal troops, guided by collaborator Kinch Britt. Robert T. Bentley, *Forrestfield.* (NY: Grafton Press), 1903.
[394] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 124.
[395] Roberts, Frances C., *Sesquicentennial History of Church of Nativity, Episcopal.* (Hsv.: Church of Nativity, Episcopal, 1992), 46, 14, 14, 21,27; Shapiro, "Pardons," 12.
[396] MCMB C, Pt 2: 364; *Williams*, 79.
[397] Shapiro, "Pardons of Madison County"; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 112.; Roberts, *Sesquicentennial History,* 41, 46; *Williams* 79; Gandrud, *Notices*, 277, 227.
[398] *Maple Hill Sexton Records*, Comp. Dorothy Scott Johnson, 1982, Unpub., 2. (Hereafter cited as Johnson, *Sexton Records*).
[399] Gandrud, *Notices*, 494; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 34; MCMB 4A:306; *Williams*, 43; MCMB 4B:266.
[400] Gandrud, *Notices*, 277; U.S. General Land Office Records, 1776-2015 at Ancestry.com; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 34.
[401] Adams Express, founded in 1854, grew alongside national railroads. It remains one of the oldest companies in the New York Stock Exchange.
[402] *Williams*, 78.
[403] Gandrud, *Notices*, 257.
[404] Philadelphia, PA, Naturalization Records, 1781-1880 at Ancestry.com; Owen, Thomas McAdory, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography.* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1921), eBook 3:383; Dupree, Daniel S., *Transforming the Cotton Frontier.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ., 1997), 162, 165.
[405] Dun, 15: 184; Fold3 at Ancestry.com; MC**; 95.100, Box 1, Folder 25.**; Chadick, *Incidents,* 96; Whiting, William, *War Power under the Constitution of the United States Military Arrests.* (Boston: Lee & Shepherd, 1871), 608.
[405] Shapiro "Pardons," 8.
[406] Shapiro "Pardons," 8; Gandrud, *Notices*, 89.
[407] Mitchell, "Northern Volunteer," *Divided Houses*, 48.
[408] MCMB, 5:1191; U.S. Fed. Mortality Schedule 1850-1885 at Ancestry.com; Gandrud, *Notices*, 264.
[409] Fold3 at Ancestory.com.
[410] U.S., Non-Population Schedule, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com; Dun, 15:190; Fold3 at Ancestry.com; Rice, *Hard Times,* 28; Dun, 15:190; Fold3 at Ancestry.com; Rice, *Hard Times,* 28.

[411] Dun, 15: 191; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 58.

[412] MCMB, 3:544; McDowell, John Hugh, *History of the McDowells and Connections.* (Memphis: Johnson), 1918, 495. Google eBook: https://books.google.com/books?id=Wi03AAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=mcdowell+history+of+mcdowells&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj_voXVrsb4AhVvkIkEHenUABkQ6AF6BAgKEAI#v=onepage&q=mcdowell%20history%20of%20mcdowells&f=false.

[413] Chadick, *Incidents*, 38, 39, 45, 46.

[414] ADAH, William McDowell to daughter Mary Eliza Mastin, Nov. 12, 1863.

[415] Rice, *Hard Times*, 142-149; *Civil War in Song & Story,* Comp. Frank Moore, (New York: Collier, 1865). https://books.google.com/books?id=LNVHAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=frank+moore+civil+war+songs+and&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiBte7Jr8b4AhUvjIkEHaP2CrMQ6wF6BAgJEAE#v=onepage&q=frank%20moore%20civil%20war%20songs%20and&f=false.

[416] Gandrud, *Notices*, 219; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 17; Confederate Applications for Presidential Pardons 1865-1867, No. 1594 at Ancestry.com Alabama, Wills and Probate Records 1753-1999, Mobile, Original Will Records, Pigeon Hole No. 217. Files 1-23, 1849-1926 at Ancestry.com.

[417] Cullum, George W. *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, since its establishment in 1802*. No. 154, Vol. II, Page 478. https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/America/United_States/Army/USMA/Cullums_Register/1544*.html.

[418] Former governor Reuben Chapman later spoke to the officer assigned to take over his home, making refugees of the family. Chapman told him, "under your care the streets are becoming foul, the groves and woodland being swept away, all the lesser houses about town are being torn down to floor and weatherboard for winter quarters." Chapman continued, although there were some disgraceful exceptions, "the women, you may rely on, God bless them." Moore, *Civil War in Song & Story*, 429, 428; Outspoken sisters Ellelee (Chapman) Humes and Alberta (Chapman) Taylor later became influential leaders in the suffragette movement in Alabama. Among other daring actions, they sponsored Carrie Chapman Catts and Susan B. Anthony's 1895 visits to Huntsville.

[419] Ramage, James A., *Rebel Raider: Life of John Hunt Morgan.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1986), 155; Duke, Basil Wilson, *Morgan's Cavalry.* (Cincinnati: Miami Publ., 1867), 208.

[420] *Papers of Andrew Johnson*, ed. Paul Bergeron. (Knoxville: Univ. Tenn. Press, 1967), Vol. 8:145, 146.

[421] In 1864, John Giers went to Nashville to explain his plans to Andrew Tennessee military governor Andrew Johnson. In late September, President Lincoln met with Giers in the Executive mansion, then wrote to Edwin Stanton in mid-November with orders to furnish Giers with small arms ammunition. Following the chain of command, Stanton wrote to General Grant, who, in turn, wrote to Gen. George Thomas ordering him to provide a pass for this Union citizen "to come and go at pleasure on our roads and rivers… He is very earnest in his desire to bring back to the Union all he can of his southern brothers… Giers would be traveling back and forth on Union army gunboats plying below Bridgeport to

furnish small arms and ammunition." https://www.raabcollection.com/presidential-autographs/grant-11-23-1864?srsltid=AfmBOorXXwphvcS2jSX4kLwZbHnU8_5dfBxCrd7_dLeHdJCeDTZjKpil.

[422] *Williams*, 41.

[423] MCPR No. 2989; MCMB, 5:998.

[424] U.S., Virginia, Select Marriages, 1785-1940 at Ancestry.com.

[425] Al Voter Registration at Ancestry.com.

[426] *Northern Alabama: Historical and Biographical.* (Birmingham: Smith & DeLand, 1884), 284, 285; Dun, 15: 177.

[427] Fold3 at Ancestry.com; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 47; Pruitt, *Eden*, 47.

[428] U.S. Civil War Prisoner of War Records, 1861-1865, Confederate at Ancestry.com.; Owen, Thomas McAdory, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*. (Chicago: S. J. Clark, 1921), 4:1032.

[429] Dun, 15: 175.

[430] Owen, *History*, 4:1032; *Memorial Record of Alabama.* (Madison, WI: Brant & Fuller, 1893), 1:470.

[431] MCMB 11:187.

[432] Pruitt, Ranee. "Dallas and Merrimack Mills," *Huntsville Historical Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (F-W 2003), 30-35; For details about the activities of Barnwell Rhetts in Huntsville see: Rohr, *Echoes*, 120-127; for the meeting of Captain Fordyce and Sue Chadick, the daughter of a Rebel colonel, consult Chadick, *Incidents,* 129-357, passim.

[433] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 47.

[434] Huntsville, Alabama, U.S. Census Record, 1824-2013 at Ancestry.com.

[435] Gandrud, *Notices*, 296.

[436] Ibid., 364.

[437] Randall, James G., "Captured and Abandoned Property during the Civil War." *American Historical Review*. Vol. 19, No. 1 (October 1913), 65, 67, 68.

[438] Non-Population Schedules 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 73.

[439] Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[440] MCMB, 4A:451; February 28, 2020 email conversation with Tom Leverich; "Individual Narratives of Cornelia Leftwich," 2018. Unpublished family genealogy.

[441] Ibid.; Gandrud, *Notices*, 240, 241 MCMB, 4:075, 4:176; 6:032; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 39; Elvira Nunnally married Thomas Strong in 1833; widowed, she married John Mayhew in 1847.

[442] MCMB, 4B:384.

[443] Martin, *Desertion,* 82, 83.

[444] Rice, *Hard Times*, 92-95. Word quickly spread of this event; several Huntsville locals mentioned it in their journals. Frank Gurley later acknowledged that four men were involved at the event on Gum Springs Road including himself, James M. Mason, Lt. William H. Bailes, and another man who later died at Kennesaw Mountain; Steenburn, Donald H., *The Man Called Gurley*, (Huntsville, Elk River Press, 1999), 112, 113, 168; Frank Gurley and his brother were captured, jailed, and tried for the murder of General McCook. At his arrest, Gurley said, "there were a lot of Yankees, some wanted to kill me, others to burn me, some

was for drowning me." On February 14, 1864, Huntsville Democrat editor Withers Clay announced from his exiled position in Dalton, Georgia, that the men had been acquitted by a Union military court. Their release stemmed from testimony given by McCook's adjunct, Capt. Walter Brooke. Gurley was later arrested once again and awaited execution in prison until early 1866. David Humphreys and 73 other Huntsville citizens, including Joseph Bradley, wrote to President Johnson of the widespread local outrage over Gurley's imprisonment, and the dire need for reconciliation and restoration of trust among all citizens. Frank Gurley was paroled on April 17, 1866.

[445] Gandrud, *Notices*, 391; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 105; Johnson, Dorothy Scott, *1907 Confederate Census, Madison County, Alabama*. (Hsv.: Johnson Historical Publications, 1981), 14; Alabama Death Index, 1908-1959 at Ancestry.com; *A History of Madison County and Incidentally of North Alabama.* Ed. Thomas Jones Taylor, Comp. W. Stanley Hoole and Addie S. Hoole (Tuscaloosa, AL: Confederate Publ., 1976).

[446] MCMB, 3:313; Gandrud, *Notices*, 372, 454; Fisk, *Civilization Comes to the Big Spring: Huntsville, Alabama, 1823.* (Hsv.: Pinhook Publ., 1997), 76, 77.

[447] Alabama, Register of Officials, 1820-1865; Alabama, Homestead and Cash Entry Patents; U.S. Select Federal Census Non-Population, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com.

[448] Chadick, *Incidents,* 109, 259-273 passim.

[449] Gandrud, *Notices*, 553; MCMB, 4B: 023; MCMB, 4B:385; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 8, 9.

[450] MCMB, 4:219.

[451] *Huntsville Weekly Mercury,* April 6, 1887.

[452] *Huntsville Weekly Independent*, Aug. 30, 1880; *Letters from Alabama.* ed. Lucille Griffith. (University, AL, Univ. Alabama Press, 1969), 119.

[453] U.S. School Catalogues, 1765-1935 at Ancestry.com; Tenn. Marriage Records 1780-2002, at Ancestry.com; MCMB, 4B:272.

[454] Massey, *Ersatz,* 2, 4, 7, 14, 29, 34.

[455] Gandrud, *Notices*, 410.

[456] Gandrud, *Notices*, 410, 450; Madison County, Alabama Land and Property Records, Assignment Book D, Vol. JJ, 264 at Ancestry.com; Johnson, *Sexton Records*, 14, 25; *The Huntsville Weekly Democrat,* Jan. 1, 1891; 383.

[457] *Williams*, 63, 71, Robey, *Maple Hill,* 46; Ibid.

[458] Gandrud, *Notices*, 589, 590, Johnson, *Sexton Records,* 10, Dun, 15:167; MCMB, 10:534.

[459] Chadick, *Incidents,* 136, 137.

[460] *Huntsville Heritage*, 452-3; Dun, 15: 168; West, Anson, *History of Methodism in Alabama.* (Nashville: Publ. House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 1893), 660; MCMB, 4A:149; Gandrud, *Notices,* 348; MCMB 4:302.

[460] *Williams*, 84.

[461] Chadick, *Incidents*, 238; Dun, 15, 167; U.S. Government Congressional Series, documents report 264, 1-5 at Ancestry.com.; *Memorial and Biographical History of Ellis County, Texas*. (Chicago: Lewis Publ., 1892), eBook.; Dallas City Directory 1901, 306 at Ancestry.com.

[462] Missouri, Marriage Records, 1805-2002 at Ancestry.com.

[463] MCPR, Nos. 6039, 6040.

Appendix B: Entitled to Protection

[464] Storey, *Loyalty,* 258.

[465] For information on antebellum professionals in Huntsville, see Reidy, Thomas E., "Objects of Confidence and Choice: Professional communities in Alabama, 1804-1861." Diss., Univ. Alabama, 2014.

[466] Hundley, *Relations,* 80.

[467] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 40; Chadick, *Incidents,*144.

[468] U.S. Mortality Schedules, 1850-1885 at Ancestry.com; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 40, 41.

[469] *Williams*, 88; Hundley, *Relations,* 112, 104, 105, 114, 115.

[470] MCMB, A4:049, Robey, *Maple Hill,* 36; U.S. Selected Federal Census, Non-Population Schedule, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com.

[471] Gandrud, *Notices*, 374; MCMB 5:306; Johnson, *Sexton Records,* 8.

[472] *Williams*, 80; *The Huntsville Advocate*, May 15, 1861, MCMB, 4:569; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 55.

[473] MCMB, 5:306.

[474] In her journal, Mary Jane Chadick described an incident in which Rebel Matt Steele pulled Wilson's whiskers. Wilson did not appear to take offense, but Steele was taken into custody for what may have been past offenses against Union soldiers. *The Huntsville Advocate*, April 25, 1860; Dun, 15: 181; Chadick, *Incidents,* 87.

[475] U.S. IRS Tax Assessments Lists, 1862-1918 at Ancestry.com; Gandrud, *Notices*, 371; MCPR No. 3323.

[476] Pruitt, *Eden*, 41.

[477] *Williams*, 61; MCMB, 4B:119; MCPR 1850.

[478] New Orleans, Louisiana Death Records Index, 1804-1949 at Ancestry.com.

[479] Barron, Daniel, *Mitchell County Historical Society*, Bakersville, NC.

[480] The photograph of Viney and Alice has been attributed to Augustus Larcombe, Nashville photographer and brother of Huntsville Lincolnite J. Howard Larcombe.

[481] Connections were already well established here; Bierce's uncle, now known as Gen. Lucius Bierce, visited Huntsville as a young man in 1822. He made many friends, and wrote, "The country around here is delightful, but the people devilish… Duelling [sic] and fighting the chief diversions, gambling, and drinking pastimes, and an uninterrupted, common intercourse with negroes the virtue of all men." Bierce specifically identified LeRoy Pope as a man who "kept" a girl of mixed race, to the dismay of his wife. Bierce mistakenly gave Pope the title of "Governor," however, which was an understandable mistake at that time, considering Pope's influence. Bierce, Lucius Verus, *Travels in the Southland, 1822-1823*. ed. George W. Knepper, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1966), 99, 100.

[482] Hitchcock, Bert. "Notes and Documents: Alabama-Bierce Connections." *Alabama Review*. Vol. 38, No. 3 (July 1985), 223; Bierce, Ambrose, "Way Down in Alabam,'" *Phantoms of a Blood-stained Period.* (Amherst: MA: Univ. Massachusetts Press, 2002), 99-100.

[483] U.S., IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918 at Ancestry.com.
[484] Gandrud, *Notices*, 559; Hundley, *Relations*, 118.
[485] Birmingham, AL Directories, 1888-1910 at Ancestry.com.
[486] SCC, Heap No. 720.
[487] Fold3 at Ancestry.com.
[488] SCC, Heap, Mitchel County NC, No. 720.
[489] Record, *Dream*, 2: 11.
[490] U.S. IRS, City of Huntsville, Al, 1866 at Ancestry.com.
[491] Hardy, Michael C., *Mitchell County, North Carolina.* (Chas., SC: Arcadia Publ., 2009), 8.
[492] SCC, Heap No. 720, Mitchell County, North Carolina, Dr. David Barron, MLIS, Ph.D. of the Michell County, North Carolina Historical Society. Elisha's daughter, Ella Clapp, was born in 1870 and Ashville Female College at the age of 13. She graduated and found employment in 1888 at the Census Bureau in Washington, D.C., where she scored higher on the employment exam than most men who applied. Five years later her mother and sister, Alice, joined her there, and, in 1905, Ella married attorney Edwin S. Thompson. She joined the women's suffrage movement and marched in the 1913 parade at the White House. She and her husband moved to New York City, where she continued her work and education. In the interest of women's voting rights, Ella attended, then graduated from, Fordham Law School. After Edwin Thompson's death, she toured the country encouraging women to vote and making investments along the way. She died in 1944, leaving considerable property in several states (Mitchell County Historical Society).
[493] Gandrud, *Notices*, 546; MCPR No. 1850; *Williams*, 77.
[494] MCMB, 4B:367.
[495] Dun, 15: 186.
[496] As an adult, Mary and John Withers Clay's son, Willie Clay, wrote recollections of the winter of 1863, when he was 11 years old. It included a town full of bluecoats in winter quarters. One young boy, Billy, was their "Pet Yankee"; many other families formed such relationships. Willie described helping tear down old buildings, pulling apart fences, and searching for nails to build a "shebang" with bunks around the chimney place. Billy made his way to the Clay home, and mother welcomed him as one of the neighbor boys. (HMCPL, Clay Collection.)
[497] MCMB, 5:548; 5:646; AL Death Index, 1908-1959 at Ancestry.com; Johnson, *Sexton Records*, 69.
[498] Gandrud, *Notices*, 450.
[499] AL, Civil Appointments, 1818-1939 at Ancestry.com; Gandrud, *Notices*, 450.
[500] MCMB, 4:242; MCMB, 5:037; Texas, Death Certificates, 1903-1982 at Ancestry.com.
[501] Dun, 15:167; U.S. Selected Federal Census, Non-Population Schedule, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com.
[502] Smith, M.D. IV, "1918 Pandemic Hits Huntsville, Alabama." *Old Huntsville* No. 347 (January 2002), 3, 4.
[503] Johnson, *Sexton Records*, 10, 27, 61; Gandrud, *Notices*, 377.
[504] MCMB 48:108; Dun, 15: 193.

[505] Ibid; Morris Bernstein, Morris at HHC; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 72, 78.
[506] Dun, 15:191; Chadick, *Incidents,* 79.
[507] Dun, 15: 191; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 34.
[508] Record, 1:101; Gandrud, *Notices*, 545, 546; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 15, MCMB, 4A:465, Chadick, *Incidents,* 79.
[509] SCC, Wilkinson No. 21252; *Huntsville Weekly Democrat*, July 17, 1895.
[510] MCMB, 48:023, 48:385; Gandrud, *Notices*, 360.
[511] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 81; Gandrud, *Notices*, 387.
[512] MCMB, 4:396. Note that the Marriage Record Book reflects the date of the license or bond application. The marriage most likely took place shortly afterwards; *The Huntsville Advocate*, May 5, 1846; Dun, 15:176; MCMB, 4B:375.
[513] SCC, Jolley, No. 7971.
[514] Chadick, *Incidents,* 76, 102, 134, 237, 249, 250, 298.
[515] Gandrud, *Notices*, 230.
[516] Shapiro "Pardons," 10; SCC, Jolley, No. 7971; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.
[517] SCC, Jolley, No. 7971.
[518] Gandrud, *Notices*, 375, 280, 279; MCPR Nos. 3165, 3558; Selma, *Alabama Times-Argus*, June 10, 1873; *The Huntsville Advocate*, Dec. 26, 1878; Chapman, Elizabeth Humes, *Changing Huntsville, 1890-1899* (Hsv.: Historic Huntsville Foundation, 1989), 180.
[519] MCMB 4A:075; U.S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com.
[520] U.S. IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918 at Ancestry.com; Civil Register County Officials 4:470 at Ancestry.com; Johnson, *Sexton Records*, 28; Gandrud, *Notices*, 423.
[521] Qtd in: Wells, Jonathan Daniel, "Reconstructing the Southern Middle Class," in *Southern Middle Class.* eds. Jonathan Daniel Wells and Jennifer R. Green. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 2011), 225.

Appendix C: Special Attention

[522] *Glimpses into Antebellum Homes of Historic Huntsville, Alalbama*. (Huntsville.: AAUW, 7th edition, 1986), 36; Taylor, *History*, 77; Dun, 15: 154.
[523] MCMB, 4:078.
[524] Fold3 at Ancestry.com; Chapman, *Changing Huntsville,*173.
[525] Chapman, *Changing Huntsville,* 171, 172; MCMB, A4:005; The Erskine and Russel families' adventures produced tales shared for generations after. See: Rohr, Nancy M., *Echoes of the Past.* Hsv., SilverThreads, 2010.
[526] Dexter, Franklin Bowditch. *Biographical Notices of Graduates of Yale College.* Vol. 1, 1913, 1: 112, 201, 96, 392, Google eBook; MCMB, 4:250; Dun, 15:154.
[527] MCPR No. 1334.
[528] David McCullough's *Greater Journey* explored men and women in the peaceful era of the 1840s who went to study abroad and acquire professional polish along with the latest techniques of their professions.
[529] *The Huntsville Advocate*, March 6, April 25, May 22, May 1, 1861.
[530] Fold3 at Ancestry.com; Ibid; *The Huntsville Advocate*, May 25, 1862.

[531] Fold3 at Ancestry.com; Chadick, *Incidents,* 259; Joslyn, Mauriel Phillips, *Charlotte's Boys.* (Gretna, LA: Pelican, 2010), 349; Captain. J. Ogden Murray, VA 7th Cav. Staff, https://www.nps.gov/fopu/learn/historyculture/the-immortal-six-hundred.htm.

[532] U.S., Pardons under Amnesty Proclamations, 1865-1869 at Ancestry.com.

[533] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 42; Gandrud, *Notices*, 228; *Northern Alabama: Historical and Biographical.* (Birmingham: Smith & DeLand, 1884), 280.

[534] MCMB, 5: 709; Alabama Civil Appointments, 1818-1939, Commissions, Madison County, Vol. 43: 7, No. 35 at Ancestry.com.

[535] *Alabama Republican*, October 9, 1819; Fisk, *Civilization,* 19, 143; The original Whitesburg Pike ran to the Tennessee river, ending at Old Man Ditto's Landing.

[536] *The Huntsville Advocate*, May 5, May 1, 1861, MCMB, 4:224.

[537] Alabama Voter Registration 1867, Ancestry.com; Board of Registration 38th Election District, Ancestry.com; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 46.

[538] "Reports and Papers." March 14, 1882, Fairfield Historical Society, Fairfield, CT.

[539] MCMB, 5:161; *The Huntsville Independent*, August 24, 1876; Dr. William Henry Burritt (son of Amatus) first married Pearl Johnson from Cincinnati. Her father, Captain Johnson, USA and his wife Laura returned the original Confederate flag gifted to the Huntsville Guards as they departed Huntsville. While under the command of General Mitchel, members of the 4th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry captured the Confederate flag in a skirmish just north of the Whitesburg. Dr. Amatus Burritt died in 1876. The legacy of his son, Dr. William, gifted his house and property to what became Burritt on the Mountain, the second largest park area in the city of Huntsville.

[540] Fisk, *Civilization,* 21, 57, 58, 102, 131; *The Huntsville Republican*, September. 9, 1817.

[541] Elise Hopkins Stephens. *Historic Huntsville: A City of New Beginnings.* (Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor,1984), 31; MCMB 4:555; *Glimpses* 52; Chadick, *Incidents,* 15.

[542] James Bradley White at HHC; Chadick, *Incidents,* 120, 161.

[543] *Huntsville Weekly Democrat*, May 12, May 19, 1880.

[544] "Notes from the Diary of Susan Bradley White," *Huntsville Historic Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, Nos. 3, 4 (S-F), 1990, 54-72, passim.

[545] MCPR, No. 4622.

[546] Robey, *Maple Hill*, 119.

[547] Chapman, *Changing Huntsville,* 167-169; U.S. School Catalogs 1765-1935, at Ancestry.com; *Williams* 81.

[548] MCPR No. 2762; Shapiro, "Pardons," 13; Chapman, *Changing Huntsville,* 167-169.

[549] *Heritage*, 212, 213; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 4; *Williams*, 59; MCMB, 3:363; 4:462; David Milan, "Birthplace of Alabama Free Masonry, Helion Lodge No. 1 Huntsville, Alabama," *Huntsville Historical Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (W-S 1997), 26; Record, *Dream*, 2: 371; U.S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[550] *Heritage of Madison County, Alabama.* (Clanton, AL: Heritage Publ., 1998), 213. This small community was known as "Gurleysville" and "Gurley Station" before becoming Gurley, Alabama.

Appendix D: Good Union Men

[551] Spragins, William Echols, et al. *Beirne-Patton-Echols-Spragins-Pedigree.* (Huntsville: self-pub. 1956), 269, 281, 300, 321; Dun, 15:166; Yale Catalogue of the Society of Brothers in Unity, 63.

[552] Ibid., 271, 61, 321, 59, 61.

[553] MCMB, 4B:084.

[554] *Heritage,* 367; *North Carolina Biographical Dictionary.* (Somerset, NJ: Somerset Publ., 1999), 506; Yale Catalogue of the Society of Brothers in Unity, 63; MCMB, 4B:084; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 115; For a detailed account of the Patton wedding, see: Rohr, Nancy, *Echoes of the Past,* 97-123.

[555] Spragins, *Beirne-Pedigree,* 291, 302; MCPR, No. 2750.

[556] Gandrud, *Notices*, 537.

[557] U.S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com; Gandrud, *Notices*, 250.

[558] U.S. Selected Federal Non-Population Schedule, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com.

[559] MCMB, 5:316; Owen, *History*, 4:1261-1262; Owen, *Memorial Record* 1:468.

[560] Qtd. in Massey, Mary Elizabeth, *Women in the Civil War.* (Lincoln, NE, Univ. Nebraska Press, 1966), rpt. First Bison Book, 1994, 105.

[561] Chadick, *Incidents*, 193, 327.

[562] Ibid., 9, 81, 125, 290, 323, 129, 163, 169, 189, 203, 298, passim.

[563] Chadick, *Incidents*, 323, 324.

Appendix E: Whitesburg Pike

[564] Rohr, *Echoes*, 97, 101, 104-107; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 29; MCMB, 4B:075.

[565] Kelley, William D., *Speeches, Addresses, & Letters on Industrial and Financial Questions.* (Philadelphia; Henry C. Baird, 1872), 36; Gandrud, *Notices*, 499.

[566] AL, Compiled Census and Census Substitute Index, 1810-1890; Petitioner's List – Alabama 1811-1819; Tax Lists Index; U.S. Census Reconstructed Records, 1660-1820 all at Ancestry.com; Dupree, *Transformings* 128; Alabama, Homestead and Cash Entry Patents at Google; Fisk, *Civilization,* 26, 31, 33; MCMB, 4:654; Chadick, *Incidents,* 287.

[567] *Glimpses*, 63.

[568] Brewer, *Alabama,* 66.

[569] *Glimpses*, 63; *Williams*, 43; Joel Campbell DuBose, ed. *Notable Men of Alabama: Personal and Genealogical.* (Atlanta: Southern Historical Association, 1904), 2: 222.

[570] Saunders, James Edmund and Stubbs, Elizabeth Saunders Blair, *Early Settlers of Alabama.* (New Orleans: L. Graham & Son, 1899), 6.

[571] *Glimpses*, 16, 17, 10; Chadick, *Incidents,* 33.

[572] Saunders, *Settlers,* 497, 498.

[573] Chadick, *Incidents,* 111, 136, 200.

[574] MCMB O:16; Robin Sterling. comp. and annotator. *Newspaper Clippings from the Lawrence County, Alabama Moulton Advertiser, 1884-1892.* 2017, 150-151; Saunders, *Settlers*, 136, 49, passim; Chadick, *Incidents,* 30, 111, 136, 148, 200;

Saunders, *Settlers*, 497, 498. In her book *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War,* Drew Gilpin Faust described the depth of the religious culture and the significance of the loss of soldiers to their families unexperienced with such violent carnage.

[575] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 88; Fleming, Walter Lynwood, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama.* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1905), 286, https://books.google.com/books?id=k59scrAh_LQC&pg=PA3&source=kp_read_button&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[576] Hundley, *Relations,* 203.

[577] Spragins, *Beirne Pedigree,* 269, 300.

[578] Davis, Charles S., *Cotton Kingdom in Alabama.* (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press 1974),119, 128.

[579] Davis, Robert S., "The Best Lands, Wealthiest Merchants, and Planters in the State of Alabama: A. R. Moen Sells Axes in North Alabama in 1831," *Alabama Review*. Vol. 72, No. 3, (July 2019), 229, 233, 234.

[580] *Glimpses*, 35; MCMB, 48:30; Beirne, George at HHC.

[581] Chadick, *Incidents,* 121, 174; Spragins, *Beirne Pedigree,* 295.

[582] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 53.

[583] MCMB, 4:655; Alabama Homestead and Cash Entry Patents, No. 983, 24233 at Ancestry.com; Henderson, Jane Martin, *Martin Family History, III.* (Yuba City, CA: Francie Lane Publ., 2015), 401, 403, 404; Alabama, Surname Files Expanded, 1702-1981 at Ancestry.com; MCPR No. 2641.

[584] MCMB, 4:271; MCPR Nos. 1000, 1240.

[585] Rice, *Hard Times*, 28.

[586] Robey, *Maple Hill,* 14; Jones, Jenkins Lloyd, "An Artilleryman's Diary," *Historical Huntsville Quarterly*. Contributed by Guy Spencer, XIX (S-S 1980), 60-80; Chadick, *Incidents,* 135, 136.

[587] Septimus Cabaniss correspondence to son Charles E. Cabaniss May 8, 1865, Special Collections and Archives, Univ. Alabama Huntsville, Dr. Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection, Ser. 1, Subseries C, Box 1, Folder 14 at HHC; *Men of West Virginia*. (Chicago: Legare Street Press, 1903), 1: 44-47.

[588] *Men of West Virginia*, 44-47; MCDB 4: 553, 533.

[589] *First National Bank Building*, brochure, n. d, n. p.

[590] Ibid.; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[591] *First National Bank Building*; Gandrud, *Notices*, 265. A namesake grandson, Theo Lacy, did not honor the title of Cashier, as noted in a 1913 case involving his embezzlement of the state funds of the Convict Board of Alabama. He was chief clerk when $115,000 went missing, then drew a personal check for $90,000. He was sentenced to prison for 14 years. Case 68 So. 706 (Ala. App. 1915), 157, Lacy v State; 13 Ala. App212, 68 So 706: Lacy v State.

[592] North America, Family Histories, 1500-2000 at Ancestry.com; Jones, Pauline Myra and Jones, Kathleen Paul, *Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families.* (Hsv. no publ., 1929), 97; MCMB, 3:31; Civil Register of County Officials, 1: 184 at Ancestry.com; MCPR Nos. 182, 1264, A-E; No. 3085.

[593] Owen, *History of Alabama*, 4: 1861; MCMB 4:445; MCPR No. 1264 A-E; MCMB, 4:655.

[594] Rice, *Hard Times*, 164.

[595] MCMB, 4B: 655; Owen, *History*, 4:1721; MCMB 4B: 518; MCMB, 4B: 091; *Notable Men of Alabama*, 2: 226, 227.

[596] McGee, Benjamin F., *History of the 72nd Indiana Volunteer Infantry of the Mounted Lightning Brigade.* Ed. William R. Jewell. (Lafayette, IN: S. Vater & Co., 1882), 234, 235.

[597] MCPR 3085; DuBose, *Notable Men*, 2: 241.

[598] MCMB, 4:494; 4:680.

[599] MCMB 5:012; 5:712; Gandrud, *Notices*, 232.

[600] Madison County Naturalization Certificates, 1847-1906; Dex Nilsson. *Why Is It Named That?* (Huntsville: Twinbrook, 2005), 63; U.S. General Land Office Records, 1776-2015 at Ancestry.com.

[601] Gandrud, *Notices*, 257; MCMB, 4:440; MCPR No. 3169; U.S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com; MCPR, misc. p.14-W; Madison County Will Book 2:266.

[602] *Heritage*, 166, 167; *The Huntsville Democrat*, March 2, 1839.

[603] *Glimpses*, 64, 65; *Heritage*, 166; MCMB, 4:659; Gandrud, *Notices*, 509, 512, 575; McGee, *72nd Indiana,* 232.

[604] Royce, Isaac Henry Clay, *History of the 115th Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry,* (Terre Haute, IN: self-publ., 1900, rpt. London: Dalton House, 2018), 244-246. Coy E. Michael and Brian Hogan took great pains to identify this picture.

[605] U.S., IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918 at Ancestry.com; Gandrud, *Notices*, 373; MCPR No. 3357; *Heritage*, 168.

[606] MCMB, 4:564.

[607] Maple Hill Cemetery Records, Block D, Row 6; Drake, Jack at HHC.

[608] Blevins Gap's low point allowed travel from Huntsville by way of Whitesburg Pike, then east on Four Mile Post Road to pass through the mountain into the Big Cove communities. The route was noted by Lucius Bierce in 1822, and was used by the Benge Detachment at the removal of 3,000 Cherokees in 1838 to Oklahoma. The Land Trust of North Alabama currently maintains a trailway there. See Heritagetrailpartners.com; Rohr, Nancy, "Road Less Traveled: Blevins Gap," *Historic Huntsville Quarterly.* Vol. XIV, No. 4 (Summer 1988), 3-15.

[609] "Register of Applications and Permissions, Madison County, Mississippi Territory, 1809 Squatters' List, transcribed by Lillian H. Herrin, Alabama Genealogy Trails, http://genealogytrails.com/ala/madison/census_1809Squatters.html.

[610] Jefferson County, TN Probate, No. 53918 at Ancestry.com.

[611] Esslinger, Robert F., *Two Hundred Years of the Esslinger Family.* (n.p., 1965), passim; MCMB 1:048; 1:042.

[612] Wiley Bell Irvin, *Plain People of the Confederacy,* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 56, 57.

[613] Qtd. in: Faust, Drew Gilpin, *Confederate Nationalism.* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State Univ., 1988), 18.

[614] Ibid., 16-18.

[615] Rice, John H., *A System of Modern Geography... Expressly for the Use of Schools and Academies in the Confederate States of America.* (Atlanta: Franklin Printing House, Wood, Hanleiter, Rice & Co., 1862).

https://www.loc.gov/item/29004638/, 8, 15.

[616] Johnson, *Confederate Census*, 8.

[617] Rice, *Hard Times*, 301-306.

[618] Hurff, Carmen Russell, *Within the Great Bend: Our Families of the Tennessee River Valley.* (Guntersville, AL: Lakeshore Press, 2000), 14-16.

[619] Esslinger, 59, 77; U.S. Southern Claims Commission, Master Index at Ancestry.com.

Appendix F: True

[620] Dox, Peter Myndert, *Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress, 1774-Present*, https://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/D00047.

[621] Opdycke, Emerson, *To Battle for God and the Right.* eds. Glenn V. Longacre and John E. Haas. (Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois, 2003), 269, 275.

[622] Shapiro, "Pardons," 6; Gandrud, *Notices*, 250; MCMB, 8:370.

[623] Chapman, *Changing Huntsville,* 48, 49, 166, 167; Owen, *History*, 2: 1718.

[624] *James Clemens of Washington County, Pennsylvania 1734-1795, and His Family*. Comp. Bell, Raymond M. and Hardaway, Harriet Cates (self-publ. 1986), 33; Dow, Lorenzo. *History of a Cosmopolite, or The Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow, Containing His Experience and Travels in Europe and America.* https://www.google.com/books/edition/History_of_Cosmopolite/nsQRAAAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR6&printsec=frontcover, 340; MCMB 4:221; 4:401 (Robert Brandon later worked with machinery in his shop for the Union and created forges and furnaces.); Storey, *Loyalty.* Current day readers can only wonder about the unacceptability of William Turner to James Clemens. His father was Major Thomas Turner, one of several well-regarded brothers who settled in the county and left a significant estate in the southern half of the county in 1830 at his death. Geneanet Community Trees Index at Ancestry.com; MCPR 225. There are no marriage records for the couple in this county; an elopement would not have endeared a father to a new son-in-law.

[625] Taylor, Thomas Jones, *History of Madison County and Incidentally of North Alabama.* eds. W. Stanley Hoole and Addie S. Hoole. (University, AL. Confederate Publ., 1976), 35, 38, 44, 75, 77; Dupree, Daniel S., *Transforming*, 84; Gandrud, *Notices*, 292.

[626] Fisk, *Civilization*, 143; Qtd. in Brenden Edward Kennedy. "Mississippi Stocks and the 1795 Yazoo Land Sale" in *Alabama Review*. Vol. 74, No. 3 (July 2021), 224, 225; John H. DeWitt. introduction notes "Letters of General John Coffee to his Wife, 1813-1815, *Tennessee Historical Society* No. 1, (March 1916), 2: 279; *Niles Weekly Register*, April 5, 1817.

[627] Taylor, *History,* 36.

[628] Details can be found in, Rankin, John P., *Madison*. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publ. 2013), 7, 8; Taylor, *History,* 76.

[629] Dupree, *Transforming,* 155; MCMB 4:221; Shields, Johanna Nicol, *Freedom in a Slave Society.* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012), 108, 118.

[630] Shields, *Freedom,* 119; Brewer, *Alabama,* 363; Virginia Clay-Clopton. ed. Ada Sterling, *Belle of the Fifties: Memoirs of Mrs. Clay, of Alabama.* (NY: Doubleday, Page, 1905), 12-15.

[631] *Williams*, 47, 79; Shields, *Freedom,* 121; Brewer, *Alabama,* 363. Thomas Hacckett, a Georgia Congressman, recorded observations on Jeremiah Clemens' unseemly behavior in a letter to his friend Senator Clay. He wrote, "when he left Washington in December last, Jere Clemens had become so puffed up that his clothes could hardly hold him and that he swallows not less than a quart of liquor daily and is growing as contemptible of public opinion as he deserves to be." (Norwood Olin, ed. "Letters from Florida in 1851" *Florida Historical Quarterly*, (April 1951), 264). In addition, after his term of office, Clemens was said to be "loitering in Washington under cover of land-claims business, where, as reported, he was boarded at the National Hotel and provided with wines, liquors and other appliances for corrupting Congress – all at the expense of his clients. He gives dinners, suppers, treats, gambles &c, &c. He looks very rubicund and bloated" (Qtd. in Nuermberger, *Clays,* 124).

[632] Bell and Hardaway, *Clemens*, 33; Brewer, *Alabama,* 363; Qtd. in Shields, *Freedom,* 277; Nancy Ann and William Turner moved to Phillips County, Arkansas and prospered: in 1860, he held $15,000 real estate and $20,000 in personal property which included 20 slaves. Annie Turner outlived all of these original family members. MCPR No. 2359; Madison County Will Book No. 1, 299-301, Taylor, *History,* 76.

[633] *The Huntsville Advocate*, March 1861; Shields, *Freedom,* 277; MCPR No. 2429.

[634] Qtd. in McMillan, *Confederate Reader*, 13, 14.

[635] McMillan, *Confederate Reader*, 26, 31, 35, Qtd. on 36.

[636] Woodward, *Chesnut*, 14.

[637] Qtd. in Shields, *Freedom,* 278; McIlwain, *Civil War in Alabama,* 84, Shields, *Freedom,* 278; Qtd. in McIlwain, *Civil War Alabama*, 96; Shields, *Freedom,* 279.

[638] McIlwain, *Civil War Alabama*, 38.

[639] Hoole, William S., "Jeremiah Clemens, Novelist." *Alabama Review.* Vol. 18, No. 1 (Jan. 1965), 26.

[640] Chadick, *Incidents,* 45, 69, 74, 76, 84, 87; *New York Times*, Nov. 19, 1862; Madison County Will Book 1: 312; McMillan, *Reader*, 180.

[641] Chadick, *Incidents,* 148; Clemens, *Tobias Wilson*. (Phila.: Lippincott, 1865), 314, Preface.

[642] Opdycke, *To Battle,* 268, 269, 275. Opdycke's headquarters were located at the home of John Read on Eustis Street. (The fine brick building many Huntsville residents know as Jeremiah's home was that of his father, James. The house was moved from its location at Church and Clinton Streets to its current location at Pratt Avenue and Meridian Street in 2004; it currently serves as an office building. Thank you, Linda Allen.) James L. Clemens was the son of Jeremiah's brother Dr. Archy Clemens, and, at the age of 13, suffered injuries to his eyes from a gunpowder accident at. Now he made what may have been questionable but profitable dealings in Huntsville while tending to the unfinished business of his grandfather, James Clemens' estate. James L. Clemens went on to serve in the Mississippi State Legislature in 1884 and 1885 sometimes escorted through the chambers by his son, Jere Clemens. www.genealogy.com.

[643] Chadick, *Incidents,* 132,148, 300; *NY Times*, May 23, 1865; MCPR, No. 2617; Brewer, *Alabama,* 363.

[644] MCMB 4A:092. This house was moved from its original site at Clinton and Monroe Streets in the 1970s to a location on Gates Street. It is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is currently owned by the City of Huntsville; *Glimpses,* 61.

[645] Garrett, William, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama.* (Spartanburg, SC, rpt. 1975), 232; Pruitt, *Eden*, 39; Record, *Dream* 1:117.

[646] Rice, Charles, "Youthful Innocence Shattered: The Diary of Pvt. George T. Anderson," *Huntsville Historical Review*, Vol. 18 No. 2 (July 1991), 7-21; Fold3 at Ancestry.com; *Biographical Directory of Federal Judges*, at Ancestry.com; Garrett, *Reminisces,* 233.

[647] *Jacksonville Republican*, September 25, 1862; Fleming. *Civil War*, 93, 95, 106, 222.

[648] Fitzgerald, *Reconstruction,* 21, 56; Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, Collection GLC5015, (accessed January 12, 2020).

[649] Record, *Dream,* 1:136.

[650] Fleming, *Civil War*, 144. Montgomery attorney James G. Gilchrist was a member of the Montgomery secession convention in 1861, as well as a known confidante of Secretary of War Pope Walker. Many advisers urged President Davis not to allow the north to re-supply Fort Sumter, forcibly preventing it if necessary. A Mobile newspaper advised, "the spirit and even the patriotism of the people is oozing out under the do-nothing policy." Do something or the "whole country will be disgusted at the sham of southern independence." The lone dissenter in Davis's Cabinet, Secretary of State Robert Toombs, chose not to vote on the issue. "The firing on that fort will inaugurate a civil war greater than any the world has yet seen… at this time, it is suicide, murder, and will lose us every friend in the North." He warned, "You will wantonly strike a hornet's nest which extends from mountain to ocean. Legions now quiet will swarm and sting us to death. It is unnecessary. It puts us in the wrong. It is fatal." Brewer, *Alabama,* 333.

[651] Nuermberger, *Clays,* 216; Withers Clay to Virginia Clay, January 14, 1865, Duke; Chadick, *Incidents,* 242, 243; Fleming, *Civil War*, 289, 290; Edward Chambers Betts. *Historic Huntsville, 1804-1870.* (Birmingham: Southern Univ. Press, 1909), rpt. 1996, 102.

[652] HMCPL-CWMC, 95.100 Box 1, Folder 5; *The Athens Volunteer*, April 23, 1864.

[653] Fitzgerald, *Reconstruction,* 65; Garrett, *Reminiscences,* 237.

[654] Sterkx, *Partners,* 58.

[655] Chadick, *Incidents*, 153, 161, 167, 170, 175, 260, 261. The advertisement in the *Nashville Daily Union* was far worse. There were "thousands of acres" with "NECESSARY HANDS, stock…and SUBSISTENCE." Salugrity [sic] of the climate is unsurpassed and the risk of Guerilla… is scarcely nothing."; Steenburn, *A Man Called Gurley*, 201, 202.

[656] Dun, 15: 161; Qtd. in Victor B. Haagan, *Pictorial History of Huntsville, 1805-1865.* (Hsv.: n.publ.,1963), 18.

[657] Powell, John W., *History of the Thirteenth Indiana Cavalry Regiment, 1863-1865.* (Glen Burnie, MD: Powell, 1987), 11; Tennessee State Library Archives, Gilbert M.L. Johnson Papers, 1773-1910. For more details about Union generals in Huntsville, see: Jones, John Rison, "Do We Purposefully Forget, Unknown

Generals in Our Midst?" *Huntsville Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (July 1991), 3.

[658] Chadick, *Incidents,* 144, 249, 252.

[659] Jones, "Purposefully Forget," 4.

[660] Fitzgerald, *Reconstruction,*19; Jones, *Purposefully Forget*, 3, 4; Dun, 15:161; Shapiro, "Pardons," 6; Tennessee State Library and Archives, Gilbert M.L. Johnson Papers, 1773-1910, Folder 1. Note the reference to the ideal cavalry man, Col. George Custer; Johnson Papers, Folder 2, 5; Jones, "Purposefully Forget," 3, 4; Shapiro, "Pardons," 3; MCMB 12:540; 5:521; 8:215.

[661] Gandrud, *Notices*, 479; William McClung, *McClung Genealogy.* (Pittsburg: McClung Printing, 1904), 30, 32; Gandrud, *Notices*, 302; *Glimpses*, 9; Chadick, *Incidents,* 154.

[662] Chadick, *Incidents,* 142, 146, 244, 263.

[663] Alabama, Marriages, 1816-1917, Salt Lake City, UT, Family Search, 2013 at Ancestry.com; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 42. Huntsville author Nora Davis, who visited the home on McClung Street often, used the house as the background for the heroine of her unsettling novel *The Northerner.*

[664] Chadick, *Incidents,* 10-12.

[665] Ibid., 29, 101, 108, 118, 119.

[666] Ibid., 126-278, passim.

[667] Ibid., 317-320.

Appendix G: List of Guerillas

[668] See: *Sword of Bushwhacker Johnston*. Charles Rice, ed. and annot. (Hsv.: Flint River Press, 1992), 185, 186 for the roster of Company B. This resource also contains a complete overview of the guerilla activities of Col. Milus Johnston and his men in Madison County.

[669] Lindquist, Patricia E.A., *Pictorial History of Fayetteville and Lincoln County, Tennessee.* (Virginia Beach, VA: Donning, c. 1994), 115.

[670] Fold3 at Ancestry.com; *The Fayetteville Observer*, April 16, 1914.

[671] Storey, Margaret M., *Loyalty and Loss,* 170.

[672] OR Ser. I, Vol. 49, Part 1, p 665.

[673] *The Fayetteville Tennessee Observer*, Nov. 6, 1873.

[674] Alabama Civil War Muster Rolls, 1861-1865 at Ancestry.com.

[675] Rice, *Bushwhacker*, 185.

[676] Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[677] Fold3 at Ancestry.com; Fleming, *Civil War*, 129.

[678] Williams, Teresa Crisp and Williams, David. "Women Rising: Cotton, Class, and Confederate Georgia's Rioting Women," *Georgia Historical Quarterly.* Vol. 86, No. 1 (Spring 2002), 49-83.

[679] Gandrud, *Notices*, 499; MCPR, No. 1625; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[680] MCMB, 7:443; Gandrud, *Notices*, 423; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 141.

[681] Fold3 at Ancestry.com; Cash, Wilbur J., *Mind of the South*. (NY: Vintage: 1991), rpt. 22, 23, 67.

[682] Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[683] MCMB, 48:311; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[684] Pruitt, *Eden*, 42.

[685] *The Huntsville Democrat*, Aug. 21, 1861; *The Huntsville Democrat*, undated copy in HMCPL-CWMC, 100.5, Box 4, Folder 7; Fold3 at Ancestry.com; AL, Civil War Muster Rolls, 1861-1865 at Ancestry.com. Henry Mayhew's father, Zachariah Mayhew, was born in Massachusetts; he was most likely related to Huntsville resident James Mayhew. Mary Jane Chadick recorded exciting stories about the Mayhews in her diaries. Chadick, *Incidents,* 119, 210.

[686] MCMB 8:169; Alabama, County Marriage Records, 1805-1967; AL, Confederate Pension and Service Records, 1862-1947; U.S., Selected Federal Census, Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880; AL, Deaths & Burials Index, 1881-1974 all at Ancestry.com.

[687] Gandrud, *Notices*, 256; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[688] Tennessee, Compiled Marriages, 1851-1900 at Ancestry.com; Johnson, *Cemeteries*, 2:238; Gandrud, *Notices*, 256; MCPR, No. 3107.

[689] Tennessee, Compiled Marriages, 1851-1900 at Ancestry.com.

[690] Steenburn, *Gurley*, 150, 89.

[691] Qtd. in Rice, *Hard Times,* 101.

[692] Fold 3 at Ancestry.com.

[693] MCMB; MCPR No. 3721; Bailes, Benjamin at HHC.

[694] HMCPL-CWMC, 95.100, Box 1, Folder 14; Johnson, *Census,* 24.

[695] Milam, "Free Masonry," 19, 10; *Heritage*, 408.

[696] Johnson, *Census*, 24; Montgomery *Advertiser*, Feb. 29, 1948.

[697] The word "Redneck" came into usage after the War, when poor White farmers began wearing brimless soft black hats of felt or wool, resulting in sunburns around their necks. They wore these hats to distinguish themselves from Black people, who wore straw hats with wide brims to work in fields.

[698] Headley, *Young Folks Heroes*, 203; Hundley, *Relations,* 257, 259-262, 271, 273.

[699] Whites, LeeAnn, "Civil War as a Crisis in Gender," *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War.* Eds. Clinton and Silber. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1992).

Appendix H: List of Citizens Harboring and Giving Aid to Guerillas

[700] Qtd. in: Southerland, Daniel E., *Savage Conflict*. (Chapel Hill: Univ. of NC Press, 2009), 105.

[701] *Heritage*, 190.

[702] Ibid., 190; Alabama, Texas, and Virginia Confederate Pensions, 1884-1958 at Ancestry.com.

[703] Hilliard, *Hog Meat,* 13, 37, 48, 42, 92.; Ibid. 220, 224.

[704] North Carolina and Tennessee, Early Land Records, 1753-1931; Register of Deeds – Lincoln County, Tennessee Land Surveys, Vol. 1, April 1824-1827, 236-237; U.S. Federal Census Non-population Schedule, 1850 all at Ancestry.com.

[705] Johnson, *Cemeteries,* 2:190.

[706] Find a Grave Database. Photograph added by Tom Baker. Bragg Cemetery, New Market, Alabama, USA. https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/11418876/shadrack-golden.

[707] MCMB 4:226; 4A: 417; 4A: 499; 4B:320; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[708] MCPR No. 3291; MCMB 8:169.

[709] MCMB 4A:432; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[710] U.S., Selected Farm Census Non-Population Schedule, 1850-1880; SCC, Williamson, No. 954; Congressional Serial Set, House Bills, No. 2380; House Bill No. 6219; Journal of House of Representatives, 856; "Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery, all at Ancestry.com.

[711] MCPR No. 1052. Thank you, Donna Dunham.

[712] Stories of the brothers' substantial wealth led to a daring December 1847 robbery. Three masked men entered Edmund's house and, after securing him to a bedpost, proceeded to his brother Samuel's house about two miles away. The men made off with silver and gold in the amount of 300-400 Tennessee dollars, a $50 note of Alabama money at Edmund's, and $150 in gold pieces stolen from Samuel. A $1,000 reward was offered, and the brothers provided good descriptions of the men. A mask left behind by one of the culprits looked new, unhemmed and of fine quality fabric. A half-worn black hat made in Louisville by A. B. Van Winkle was also left behind. The robbers were not poor thieves, but were worth significantly more afterward. *The Huntsville Democrat,* December 1847.

[713] MCPR No. 1643. Townsend family members frequently clashed. Documents show Cecilia Townsend Smith seeking her presumed share of the estate, through her mother. According to testimony, "her husband treated her cruelly during the whole of their married life. He has frequently struck her with a whip hurting her badly and on one occasion set his dog upon her." Smith abandoned her by July 1855, but Cecilia was denied access to her own wealth. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC, Race and Slavery Petitions Project No. 20185830 at Ancestry.com.

[714] For the definitive early study of the Townsend family dynamics, see Frances Cabaniss Roberts, M.A. Thesis, "An Experiment in Emancipation of Slaves by an Alabama Planter." Univ. Alabama, 1940. See also: Green, Sharon, "Townsend Family" in *Alabama Women,* Ed. Susan Youngblood Ashmore and Lisa Lindquist Door. (Athens: Univ. Georgia Press, 2017), 59-74. R. Isabella Morales offers a current perspective of the family in *Happy Dreams of Liberty.* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2022.) Many people who the Townsend family enslaved remained, while others who left later returned to their home area in north central Madison County.

[715] Gandrud, *Notices*, 233; *Heritage*, 278.

[716] Fold3 at Ancestry.com; *Heritage*, 278; MCPR No. 5558; U.S., Selected Federal Census, Non-Population, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com; MCMB 10: 451.

[717] *Williams*, 78; MCMB, 4B:521; MCPR No. 2262.

[718] *Heritage*, 322; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[719] *Heritage*, 322.

[720] MCMB, 4A:5.

[721] Tenn. Wills & Probate Records 1779-2008, Image No. 745 at Ancestry.com.

[722] Adam K. Brown Papers, Duke, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1h6aslImhBa6NGo71Z7eg5wCJGH7A2tR5/view.

[723] Gandrud, *Notices*, 511; 528; MCMB 4A:524; 4B:085; A4:332; Gandrud, *Notices*, 546; MCMB C, Pt. 1, 358; Gandrud, *Notices*, 499; MCPR Nos. 1873, 3115; Johnson, *Cemeteries,* 2: 243.

[724] U.S. Pardons under Amnesty Proclamations, 1865-1869 at Ancestry.com; MCPR Nos. 3115, 3693; Gandrud, *Notices*, 256; MCMB 9: 098.

[725] MCMB 4B, 095; Gandrud, *Notices*, 551; MCPR No. 388; Rice, Charles, "North Alabama Company C 4th Ala Cav. Regiment." *Valley Leaves*, Vol. 26, No. 4, (June 1992), 151-156; Johnson, *Cemeteries* 1: 98; Chadick, *Incidents,* 252, 290; U.S., Civil War Prisoners of War Records, 1861-1865 at Ancestry.com.

[726] Johnson, Cemeteries, 2:98.

[727] MCMB, 4A:348; U.S., Federal Census Mortality Schedules, 1850-1885 at Ancestry.com; MCMB 4B:60.

[728] AL., Voter Registration; Alexander Cemetery, Mimosa, Tenn. both at Ancestry.com.

[729] https://omeka.lib.auburn.edu/items/show/474 at Ancestry.com; MCMB 4:377.

[730] Drake, William Pickens, *X+Y=Z*. (Owens Cross Roads, AL: Drake Publ., 1981), 76; Johnson, *Cemeteries*, 2:36.

[731] Gandrud, *Notices*, 280, 414; MCMB, 48:251.

[732] Record, *Dream*, 2:24, Gandrud, *Notices*, 280.

[733] Tennessee Marriage Records, 1780-2002 at Ancestry.com.

[734] Clarke Cemetery, Boonshill, Tennessee at Ancestry.com.

[735] Dun, 15: 168.

[736] MCMB, A4:334.

[737] Initially printed in *The New York Herald*, Anderson Diary, HMCPL-CWMC, 95.100, Box 2, Folder 13; Rice, "Youthful Innocence," 2:302, 320, 321.

[738] *The Huntsville Democrat*, Sept. 11, 1861 in HMCPL-CWMC, 2018-73, Box 1, Folder 17.

[739] Wilson, Harold S., *Confederate Industry*. (Jackson, MS: Univ. Miss. Press, 2002), 56, 67, 89, 21, 22, 345, 185, 247, 262, 346.

[740] Wilson, *Industry,* 85.

[741] Dun, 15: 168; Paper by Dr. Douglas Jones, great-grandson in HMCPL-CWMC, 2018-73, Box 1, Folder 17. IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918 at Ancestry.com; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 27.

[742] Scott, *Cemeteries* 2:78; MCMB, C, pt. 2: 625; Rice. *Bushwhacker Johnston*, 144; Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic,* 385.

[743] Alabama, U.S., Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com.

[744] Dyer, Frederick H., *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion: Battles*, 1: 665.

[745] Fitzgerald, *Reconstruction,* 27.

[746] U.S. Select Census, Non-Population Schedule, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com; Robey, *Maple Hill,* 102; Gandrud, *Notices*, 421, 422.

[747] Dun, 15:211; MCMB, 4: 419; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.

[748] Goldsmith, Jewell S. and Fulton, Helen D., *Medicine Bags and Bumpy Roads*. (Huntsville: Valley Pubishing, 1985), 129; Gandrud, *Notices*, 387.

[749] Gandrud, *Notices*, 237, 558; MCMB 4A:125; MCPR No. 2147.

[750] Johnson, *Cemeteries,* 2:130.

[751] U.S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880, New Market, AL at Ancestry.com.

[752] MCMB, 5:701; 6:485.

[753] https://www.ramblingroots.com/RYB-p/index.htm.

[754] MCMB, 5:412; Johnson, *Cemeteries,* 2:125, 130.
[755] MCMB, 4:657; U.S., Selected Federal Census Non-Population Census, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com.
[756] *Williams*, 53; Gandrud, *Notices,* 509, 512, 575; MCMB 4:659; U.S., Selected Federal Census Non-Population Census, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com
[757] Gandrud, *Notices*, 446.
[758] Wiley, *Plain People*, 36.
[759] Abernathy, Thomas Perkins, *Formative Period in Alabama.* (Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1965), 164.; Hundley, *Relations,* 273; For more about this long-overlooked group see Wayne Flynt *Dixie's Forgotten People*. Charles Frazier's novel and resulting film *Cold Mountain* also depicts their struggles.

Appendix I: List of Union Men Who Can be Relied On

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[761] Berkey, Jonathan M., "Fighting the Devil," *Enemies of the Country.* Eds. John C. Inscoe and Robert C. Kenzer, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 37.
[762] MCMB 4:166; 4:142; AL, Homestead and Cash Entry Patents at Ancestry.com; Beth Milstead, comp. *Fisks of Madison County.* (self-publ., 2013), 19.
[763] Hundley, *Relations,* 203, 216, 217.
[764] U.S. Select Census, Non-Population Schedule, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com.
[765] MCMB, 4B:330; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.
[766] Tennessee Marriage Records, 1780-2002 at Ancestry.com; MCPR No. 5168; Wells, Charles Reed Sr., *Valiant Survivors: United Confederate Veterans of Madison County.* self publ., 1998, 14-16.
[767] Milstead, *Fisks*, 18.
[768] MCMB 4B:009; U.S., Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com.
[769] AL, Select Marr. Index at Ancestry.com.
[770] Milstead, *Fisks*, 23.
[771] MCMB, 4B:305; Milstead, *Fisks*, 25.
[772] Milstead, *Fisks*, 25.
[773] Ibid., *Fisks*, 25; MCMB, 48:258.
[774] MCMB, 4A:136; Alabama, Register of Officers, 1820-1863 at Ancestry.com.
[775] MCMB 5:1019; Fold3 at Ancestry.com.
[776] MCMB, 4B:009; Johnson, *Census*, 25; Daniel Ellis, *Thrilling True Adventures of Daniel Ellis*. 1867 (bigbytebooks.com), 60. Author Charles Frazier used Ellis' accounts of events for some background and characters in his popular novel *Cold Mountain.*
[777] Johnson, *Cemetery*, 2: 56.
[778] *Heritage*, 390, 391.
[779] Ibid., 390, 391.
[780] Hundley, *Relations,* 203; MCMB, 4A:359; U.S. General Land Office Records, 1776-2015; U.S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population both at Ancestry.com; MCPR No. 2678.

[781] MCMB, 5:664; SCC, Frances A. McCaffey Neeves, No. 4885.
[782] MCPR No. 179l; MCMB, 5:003.
[783] U.S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedule, 1860 at Ancestry.com.
[784] Ibid.
[785] Tennessee Marriage Records, 1780-2002 at Ancestry.com; MCPR, No. 5707.
[786] Gandrud, *Notices*, 104; MCMB, 4A:342.
[787] *History of Lincoln County.* (Waynesville, NC: Walsworth Publ., 2005), 11,12; Tennessee Historical Marker 3G 46.
[788] MCPR No. 2433: U.S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com; MCMB 4B:525.
[789] MCMB, 4B:525; SCC, Townsend No. 19171; Disallowed and Barred; SCC, No. 19171.
[790] SCC, Townsend, No. 19171.
[791] *Fayetteville Tennessee Observer*, Aug. 24, 1871; *The Huntsville Advocate*, Aug. 25, 1871; *Livingston, Alabama Journal*, Sept. 15, 1871; Qtd. in Morales, *Happy Dreams,* 277.
[792] *Livingston Alabama Journal*, Sept. 15, 1871; *The Huntsville Advocate,* August 25, 1871; Texas, U.S. Certificates of Death, 1903-1982 at Ancestry.com.
[793] MCDB HH, 609; SCC, Thomas McFarland, No. 10249.
[794] SCC, Thomas McFarland, No. 10249.
[795] Ibid.
[796] U.S., IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918 at Ancestry.com; MCDB HH, 609; Gandrud, *Notices*, 381; *The Huntsville Democrat,* April 4, 1883; James W. Bragg Inventory, New Market, AL, Frances C. Roberts Collection, UAH, Ser. 4, Subseries B, Box 7, Folder 3. For a thorough understanding of this community's importance, development, and decline, see: Hoksbergen, Benjamin J., "Boucher Ford: Rise and Fall of a Rural Hub in Madison County, Alabama." *Alabama Review*, 75:2 (Apr. 2022), 95-137.
[797] *Heritage*, 280; Johnson, *Cemetery*, 2: 298, 299; MCMB, 4A: 400; U.S. Selected Federal Census Non-population, 1850-1880 at Ancestry.com.
[798] Todd, Glenda McWhirter, *Unionist in the Heart of Dixie.* (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2012), Vol.1: A- G. Ms. Todd's in-depth research used all available records and included family stories about this remarkable military unit.
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[800] Stephens, Larry D., *Mossbacks and Bushwhackers.* (Carrollton, GA: Battle Flag Press, 2001), 85.
[801] Rice, *Hard Times*, 164-168.
[802] Ross, Alexander M., *Recollection and Experiences of An Abolitionist.* (Toronto: Rowsell & Hutchison, 1875), 41, 47; Ross. *Memoirs of a Reformer.* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co. 1893), 35, 26, 25.
[803] SCC, Seaborn Jones Jr. No. 179875; SCC, William Jones, No. 19876.
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[812] Pruit, *Eden*, 61.
[813] Faust, *Confederate Nationalism,* 24, 17.
[814] Noe, Kenneth, *Relucent Rebels*. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 47;81; 24.
[815] Marx, Karl, "The Civil War in the United States," Die Presse, Nov. 1861.
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[818] Betts, *Historic Huntsville*, 95-96.
[819] Carroll, *Invisible Wounds*, 169, 126, 176,179.
[820] Record, *Dream*, 1:136.
[821] Qtd. in Bounds, "Reconstruction," 8.
[822] Record, *Dreams*, 2, 4; Pruitt, *Eden*, 61, Ibid., 56.
[823] Hugh Lawson Clay letter to Clement Clay Jr., April 23, June 14, 1866, Clay MSS Duke.
[824] Nuermberger, *Clays*, 297.
[825] Ibid., 299.
[826] Betts, *Historic Huntsville*, 112, 104, 112.
[827] Barnes, Joe, *Man on a Mountain.* (Birmingham: Birmingham Southern University Press, 1969), 7, 8.
[828] Papers *of Andrew Johnson*, ed. Bergeron, Nashville: University of Tennessee Press, 1967. Vol. 8: 145, 146; Qtd. in: Storey, *Loyalty*, 80, 170, 179.
[829] Nuermberger, *Clays*, 297.
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[832] Pruitt, *Eden*, 56, 61.
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[835] Bounds, *Reconstruction,* 7. Local clerk Lafayette Robinson's account books offer a treasure trove of information about the investors, including names, age, birthplace, parents, siblings, former enslaver, and labor tasks. These books were organized and printed by: Rathbun, Fred Charles, *Names from Huntsville, Alabama: as recorded in registers of signatures of depositors in the Huntsville Branch Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company.* (Littleton, Colorado: c.1986, 1988), Vol. 1 & 2.

[836] "1865 Map of Huntsville," Maps of Madison County, Alabama, posted by Dennis Partridge, March 27, 2015. *GenealogyVillage*. https://algw.genealogyvillage.com/madison/maps.htm#jp-carousel-475.

[837] Record, *Dreams*, 2:3; Pruitt, *Eden*, 55; Ibid., 61; HMCPL-CWMC, 95.100, Box 1, Folder 12. Original drawings exist and are available deep in the Washington D.C. National Archives. The outline of the fort remained a feature on maps for years after.

[838] Pruitt, *Eden*, 55-67, passim.

[839] Ibid., 64, 62, 67.

[840] Ibid., 63.

[841] Bounds, *Reconstruction*, 11-14.

[842] Barnes, *Man*, 7, 8.

[843] This work does not delve into Reconstruction era politics; there are many existing volumes on the subject. For further reading, for instance, see: Fitzgerald, Michael W., *Reconstruction in Alabama,* Wiggins, Sarah Woolfolk, *Scalawag in Alabama Politics, 1865-1881,* Baggatt, James Alex, *Scalawags: Southern Dissenters in the Civil War and Reconstruction,* Bailey, Richard, *Neither Carpetbaggers nor Scalawags,* Storey, Margaret M., *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction,* or Walter Fleming's biased *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama.*

[844] Stephens, *Historic Huntsville*, 67. Hearing before Congress held at Huntsville Alabama in *Reports of Commissioners of the House of Representatives, 2nd Session of the 42th Congress, 1871-1872*. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1873.

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[846] Qtd. in Stephens, *Historic Huntsville*, 60, 61.

[847] Douglass, Frederick, "The Color Line," *North American Review*, June 1881, 567.

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Rascality in Huntsville: 1861–1865

The Spies Among Us

During the Civil War spies were active as agents in north Alabama and generally unrecognized – after all that was their intent. There were at least five documented agents of the Federal government active in Madison County during the years of the War. Using material from the invading general's letter books, the National Archives, and actual spy reports to their superiors their activities are revealed. One additional notebook contained names of Madison County guerillas, those who harbored guerillas, and loyalists who needed protection. Tentative maps and actual reports offer the lives of citizens in turmoil while trying to stay alive and secure their futures.

Nancy M. Rohr