

PROTECTION AND PACIFICATION  
THE CIVIL WAR IN DICKSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

---

JOE R. BAILEY



Austin Peay State University

# **Protection and Pacification**

The Civil War in Dickson County, Tennessee

A Thesis Submitted To The Faculty And Thesis Committee In Partial Fulfillment Of The  
Requirements For The Degree Of Master Of Arts

By

Joe R. Bailey

Dickson, Tennessee

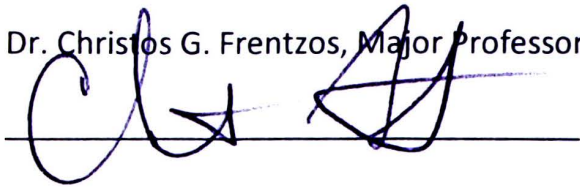
May, 2009



To The Graduate Council:

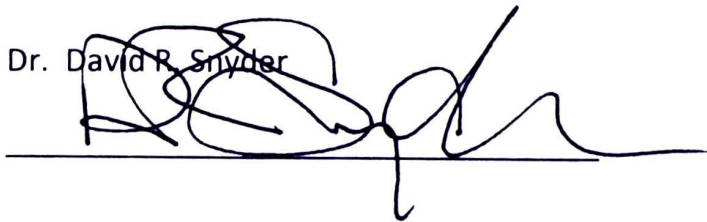
I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Joseph R. Bailey entitled *Protection and Pacification: The Civil War in Dickson County, Tennessee*. I have examined the final paper copy of this for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Dr. Christos G. Frentzos, Major Professor

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Christos G. Frentzos', written over a horizontal line.

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Dr. David R. Snyder

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'David R. Snyder', written over a horizontal line.

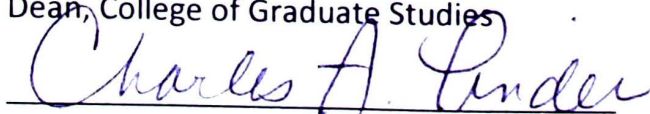
Dr. Richard P. Gildrie

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Richard P. Gildrie', written over a horizontal line.

Accepted for the Council:

Dr. Charles Pinder,

Dean, College of Graduate Studies

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Charles A. Pinder', written over a horizontal line.

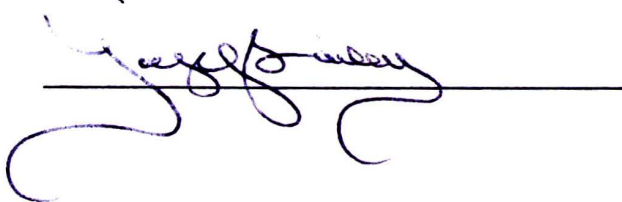


## STATEMENT OF PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this (thesis/field study) in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master's degree at Austin Peay State University, I agree that the Library shall make it available to borrowers under rules of the Library. Brief quotations from this (thesis/field study) are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgement of the source is made.

Permission for extensive quotation from or reproduction of this (thesis/field study) may be granted by my major professor, or in his/her absence, by the Head of Interlibrary Services when in the opinion of either, the proposed use of the material is for scholarly purposes. Any copying or use of the material in this (thesis/field study) for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature



Date

12 August, 2009



## ABSTRACT

Joseph R. Bailey. *Protection and Pacification: The Civil War in Dickson County, Tennessee*. (Under the direction of Dr. Christos G. Frentzos, Dr. David R. Snyder, and Dr. Richard P. Gildrie)

When one drives through Dickson County Tennessee today there are few if any reminders of the Civil War. Many people, in fact, state that nothing of significance occurred within the county during the war. No single piece of literature exclusively discusses the Civil War within Dickson County. Moreover, other scholars have ignored the significant role that operations in Dickson County played during the Civil War. This work hopes to fill that void by explaining the overall significance of Dickson County to Union forces in their campaign to occupy middle Tennessee while describing operations that contributed to its pacification. By frequently patrolling the countryside, occupying towns, composing large garrisons to guard supply routes, and quickly repairing those damaged routes, Federal forces alleviated the usefulness of Confederate guerrilla attacks. It also stabilized the occupation of middle Tennessee and allowed Federal forces to conduct operations further south.



## **Table of Contents**

Acknowledgements	2
Introduction	5
Chapter One	17
Chapter Two	27
Chapter Three	40
Chapter Four	56
Chapter Five	66
Conclusion	76



## Acknowledgements

No scholar ever undertakes a project without the invaluable aid of others along the way. I am no exception and benefitted from the assistance of many people along my journey to understand the Civil War in Dickson County, Tennessee. I wish to thank these people publically and acknowledge their vital contributions. Any omission is solely my responsibility and please know that so many people provided support that I could never remember all of them, nevertheless they all gave willingly of their time, effort, and attention to this work.

First, without the support and encouragement of my parents, Randall and Sharon Bailey, I would not even be in this field. They were constantly excited by my progress and both kept me from throwing in the towel during a couple of frustrating experiences. They pushed me to see this project to its completion and both patiently listened to me thinking out loud over my research without ever appearing to be bored although I must have driven them crazy on several occasions.

Secondly, this work was simply not possible without so many talented and concerned individuals in the Department of History and Philosophy at Austin Peay State University. My thesis committee, Professors Christos Frentzos, Richard Gildrie, and David Snyder mentored me through the entire research and writing process. I would also like to acknowledge the contributions of other faculty members. Professors Michele Butts, Antonio Thompson, David Nelson, Greg Zieren, Kristopher Ray, C. Wallace Cross, Danny Gilkey, and Jimmy Joe Pigg also guided and encouraged me through the experience. Their expertise proved invaluable and they all provided useful suggestions and gently guided me back on course when I began to stray after multiple conversations



and numerous drafts. I consider all of them mentors and friends and without their patience and assistance this project would have never reached fruition. I am certain I drove all of them to the brink of insanity at some point but they were all kind enough not to mention when I did so.

I would also like to thank Dr. Dewey Browder, Professor and Chair of the APSU History Department. His never ending encouragement was a constant source of strength and his generosity in providing me with a graduate assistantship in the department endowed me with the necessary experience and time to complete such a work. My gratitude is eternal.

Next, I would like to thank my fellow students. All of my peers were helpful and encouraging along the way. Many of them helped me with formatting issues while others generously gave their time to read less than perfect drafts of the thesis. Others used their own knowledge of the subject to check my facts and evaluate the substance of my own argument. Specifically I wish to acknowledge Andrew Breer, David Britton, Blake Chadwick, Leslie Crouch, Melissa Douglas, and David Ogan, and Colton Yauk. Additionally, Billy Jackson generously read the entire work and provided numerous valuable suggestions.

Finally, in Dickson County many people anxiously provided assistance and encouragement. Many of these are local historians, librarians, and archivists and the project was simply not possible without them. They include Dr. Robert E. Corlew, Judy Dawson, Pam Edwards, Martha Gerdeman, Rick Hollis, Sherry Kilgore, Dennis Lampley, John Luther, Linda Parker, Bobby Prosser, Alan Ragan, Jerry Smith, Bryan Sharp, and Glenda Tidwell. I would also like to collectively thank the officers and

members of the following historical organizations within Dickson County: The Dickson County Historical Society, the W.H. McCauley Camp 260 of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and the Old Hickory Smith Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. All invited me to speak to their organizations and that opportunity provided me a valuable sounding board for some of the ideas that were eventually incorporated into my research. Without their help and support, it is hard to imagine completing this process.



## Introduction

Driving through Dickson County today one will encounter few, if any reminders of the Civil War. Many residents of Dickson County, in fact, believe that nothing of significance occurred within the county during the war. No single piece of literature exclusively discusses the Civil War within Dickson County. The only study to even touch on the subject was Robert E. Corlew's *A History of Dickson County*. Published in 1956, Corlew's history, while extensive and competent, only covered the Civil War within the greater context of the county's overall history. Although he discussed some incidents that occurred on the Dickson County home front, the larger part of Corlew's Civil War chapter focused on Confederate units formed within Dickson County and their battlefield fortunes.

Moreover, other scholars have ignored the significant role that operations in Dickson County played during the Civil War. This work hopes to fill that void by explaining the overall significance of Dickson County to Union forces in their campaign to occupy middle Tennessee while also describing operations that contributed to its pacification. By frequently patrolling the countryside, occupying towns, using large garrisons to guard supply routes, and quickly repairing those damaged routes, Federal

forces undermined the usefulness of Confederate guerrilla attacks. It also stabilized the occupation of middle Tennessee and allowed Federal forces to conduct operations further south.

Several works on guerrilla warfare and counterinsurgency have emerged in recent years. Robert R. Mackey's *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare In The Upper South, 1861-1865*, for example, presents an analysis of irregular warfare waged by the Confederacy. He notes,

The Confederacy attempted to fight an irregular conflict in conjunction with the conventional war, doing so within the limits of nineteenth century concepts of guerrilla, partisan, and raiding warfare. These forms of unconventional warfare, though sharing some traits with guerrilla wars of the twentieth century, were not intended to instigate an insurgent movement behind enemy lines. Instead, the Confederate irregular forces were intended to be an adjunct to the conventional field armies whether raised in 1862 to slow the Federal invasion of Arkansas or to strike deep behind Union lines in Tennessee and Kentucky.<sup>1</sup>

Mackey's observations hold more than a grain of truth for the Civil War's conduct in Dickson County. A significant portion of this study addresses irregular warfare within Dickson County and how those conducting irregular or guerrilla actions intended to disrupt Union control of the county and middle Tennessee. These operations in Dickson County usually occurred in conjunction with regular Confederate activity in the surrounding areas.

Mackey's work also made another significant contribution to the historiography of irregular warfare. He stated, "Often, scholars do not clearly explain what they mean by "guerrilla," "partisan," "partisan ranger," or other terms used in the war for irregular troops, or they use the terms interchangeably. As a result, confusion reigns over what irregular warfare was in the 1860s and who were its practitioners." The author also mentioned other terms that people have used to describe irregular activity, including



“bushwhacker,” “brigand,” “greyback”, and “jayhawkers.” Mackey’s observations are certainly relevant to Confederate operations in Dickson County.<sup>2</sup>

Even after substantial review and years of study, one has trouble distinguishing whether Confederate actions in the county were guerrillas, partisans, or some combination of all of these terms. Mackey’s work delves into defining some of these terms, although, the definitions apply loosely at best. He borrowed his definition of partisan from Francis Lieber who noted, “[partisan’s] object is to injure the enemy by action separate from that of his own main army; the partisan acts chiefly upon the enemy’s lines of connection and communication, and outside of or beyond the lines of operation of his own army, in the rear and on the flanks of the enemy.” Mackey then noted that partisans were soldiers rather than civilians, an important distinction. He noted that *guerrilla* became synonymous with “unorganized, undisciplined irregulars who only occasionally recognized the military command structure of the Confederacy.”<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, Mackey describes Bushwhackers as “the lowest form of irregular combatant, and labeled someone who occupied a place between criminality and guerrilla warfare.” Mackey’s description also notes that “Bushwhackers were considered a minor hindrance to the main armies, easily repulsed when they tried to steal horses or rob a Federal outpost. To the civilian populace, the Bushwhackers represented the chaos that followed in the wake of the destructive armies, or were gangs of toughs intent on ruling the hinterland of east Tennessee, western Virginia, and northern Arkansas through terror.” Mackey’s observations apply just as readily to irregular warfare in Dickson County.<sup>4</sup>

In 1999, Historian Daniel Sutherland edited a series of essays entitled *Guerrillas, Unionists, and Violence on the Confederate Home Front*. Sutherland's work noted that some Southerners rarely saw the movement of regular Confederate forces but more than their share of guerrilla warfare and the Federal counterinsurgency operations. Sutherland also stated that "both the intensity and scope of the violence appear to have grown as the war progressed." The author attributed this increase in violence to widespread growth of Confederate guerrilla activity and also noted that by 1863, Union occupation policy became "less conciliatory" and began targeting Confederate civilians as well as their soldiers.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, Sutherland discussed the significance of the Partisan Ranger Act, adopted by the Confederate Congress in 1862. He stated, "Historians have yet to appreciate the large numbers of loyal Confederates who left the army after their original short-term enlistments had expired in order to join guerrilla bands. In the eyes of the government, these men had deserted, for the Conscription Act required men already in the army to fight for the duration of the war. But to their own way of thinking, these men remained steadfast Rebels, and they used the Partisan Ranger Act to legitimize their new mode of fighting."<sup>6</sup>

Sutherland's observations are relevant within the context of Dickson County as well. One Confederate irregular commander (it could effectively be argued that he was both a guerrilla and a partisan) caused much grief to many Federal soldiers occupying the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad in Dickson County. Alexander Duval McNairy began his military career as an officer in the Twentieth Tennessee Infantry. By early 1863, however, McNairy and his men conducted frequent and damaging raids against



Federal outposts throughout Hickman and Dickson Counties. Like their commander, a substantial portion of McNairy's men joined his marauding band after service in the regular Confederate army.

Historian Benjamin F. Cooling contributed an essay to Sutherland's work that broadly treated irregular warfare in Tennessee and Kentucky. In "A People's War: Partisan Conflict in Tennessee and Kentucky," Cooling discusses the nature of this conflict and stated, "We emerge then not only with a set-piece war of armies. We also uncover a festering cauldron in which the terms partisan, guerrilla, bushwhacker, and irregular became indistinguishable from freedom fighter or bandit and, by implication, meaningless as differentials between legitimate and illegitimate resistance." Cooling then noted that both citizens and soldiers grew tired of this type of warfare that resulted from "a constituted authority" failing to protect them. Dickson County was no exception. The elected county government in Charlotte could do little to protect the old way of life for its citizens and many in Dickson County grew weary of both Federal soldiers and Confederate guerrilla bands.<sup>7</sup>

Cooling's description of this partisan warfare in Tennessee and Kentucky also described, quite well, the Civil War operations in Dickson County. He noted, "But outlying rail lines, steamboats, patrols and couriers, bridge guard posts, and subsistence expeditions were the favorite targets of raiders and irregulars. Authorities reacted in both cases. Counterinsurgency, pacification, eviction, exile, confiscation of property, physical destruction, and the hated Oath of Allegiance to the United States all became part of the Union tool kit for enforcing submission." Union authorities used this same "tool kit" to pacify Dickson County. Within Dickson County routine patrols, pursuit of guerrilla



bands, effective garrisons along important supply routes, and complete subjugation of the civilian population and guerrilla sanctuaries allowed Union authorities to control the county; thus controlling middle Tennessee.<sup>8</sup>

Although scholars have ignored Dickson County's role in the Civil War, plenty of literature has emerged about the Union struggle to control middle Tennessee. In *Sharks in an Angry Sea: Civilian Resistance and Guerrilla Warfare in Occupied Middle Tennessee, 1862-1865* historian Stephen V. Ash concentrated on Union efforts to pacify Montgomery County, immediately North of Dickson County. While not in Dickson County, the conduct of civilian resistance to Union occupation in Montgomery County was not altogether different than it was in Dickson County. Ash noted "Whenever Union troops marched into the South during the Civil War they confronted not just one armed enemy, but two. Ahead of them, Confederate armies blocked the path; around their flanks and rear, Southern guerrillas struck and ran, then struck again."<sup>9</sup>

Ash undertook a broader study of guerrilla warfare within his work *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South*. This author's observations not only reflected the nature of guerrilla warfare within middle Tennessee but also applied to the Civil War's conduct in Dickson County. One of the more important aspects of guerrilla warfare that Ash addresses includes its communal aspect. He noted, "Resistance was not only a personal commitment but a communal affirmation, reflecting and at the same time reinforcing traditional bonds among whites . . ." Ash further developed this idea when he stated, "The guerrillas of Middle Tennessee were not, however, merely footloose partisans waging ruthless war on Yankee invaders. They were men (and boys) of the rural communities, known to their families and

neighbors, harbored and supported by them, and committed to safeguarding their world.”<sup>10</sup>

Michael R. Bradley’s work *With Blood and Fire* addressed the other side of insurgency. Bradley described the hard handed Federal efforts to combat the guerrilla insurgency they faced around Tullahoma, located in the southeastern portion of middle Tennessee. Although Bradley’s work discussed Federal counterinsurgency methods in another area of middle Tennessee, his account of Union counterinsurgency methods is not altogether different than those methods often used in Dickson County. The author noted how the United States commissioned Francis Lieber of Columbia University to develop a practical, effective, and concise method to counter guerrilla and partisan warfare.

Lieber’s study resulted in the publication and distribution of General Order 100 in 1863. Those found in violation of the order were subject to strict punishment, including death. In effect, the code proclaimed that civilians would not be victimized by war to the extent possible. In cases of extreme “military necessity” the order stated that retaliation for guerrilla actions could be undertaken but cautioned that it should be sparingly used. Likewise, the order protected citizens’ property and, in the event that the Union army required it, ordered that receipts be given for the material taken. General Order 100 banned “no quarter” policies except in the most extreme cases of hostile engagements. The order also stated that those “uniformed” in enemy service would be accorded treatment as prisoners of war. Those not “uniformed” would be treated as common criminals. Bradley, however, took exception to that policy noting, “Just what constituted a “uniform” in the tattered ranks of the Confederacy was subject to debate just as



was the “organization” of Confederate units which might or might not, be part of “the organized hostile army.”<sup>11</sup>

Bradley mentioned, however, that Federal authorities failed to enforce the standards of General Order 100 and stated, “The provisions of General Order No. 100 would be violated on numerous occasions . . . The gross nature of many of the violations of the Lieber Code rose to the level of war crimes. Such crimes brought retaliation by the guerrillas so that, at times, the black flag of revenge and massacre flew more prominently than either the Stars and Stripes or the St. Andrew’s Cross.” Bradley presented significant observations as the conduct of insurgency and counterinsurgency in Dickson County often degenerated to the level of war crimes for both sides.<sup>12</sup>

Richard P. Gildrie also devoted significant attention to Union occupation and counterinsurgency methods in *Guerrilla Warfare in the Cumberland River Valley, 1862-1865*. Once again, this article focuses on Montgomery County but possesses many arguments relevant to the Civil War in Dickson County. Gildrie stated that guerrilla bands and their enemies fit “the pattern of classic guerrilla warfare.” The author also noted, “in the attempt to suppress guerrilla activity in the Cumberland Valley, Federal troops were committed in large numbers, waged a war of “counterinsurgency” in classical form, and, with great difficulty, gained a modicum of control over the valley by the time of the Battle of Nashville.” Furthermore, Gildrie contends that Confederate guerrillas and partisans routinely coordinated their attacks with notable Confederate cavalry leaders operating in the area.<sup>13</sup>

In many ways, the Union army’s conquest of middle Tennessee hinged on operations that occurred in Dickson County. These operations determined whether or not

Union forces held Tennessee but also allowed them to take warfare to Confederate forces in the Deep South states. The geography of Dickson County assured its value to both Union and Confederate military forces. One factor was its proximity to the Tennessee capital, Nashville. Geography situated Dickson County between Nashville and the natural invasion routes for the Union army via the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers.

Another factor making Dickson County significant in the Civil War was the mobilization of several regular Confederate units within its borders. This manpower was significant in several different ways. First, they greatly assisted the Confederate army and its conduct of the war. Secondly, this mobilization left few fighting-age men available to mount a conventional stand against the Union forces who later occupied the county although local guerrilla networks often cooperated with regular Confederate units operating in the area to engage Union forces. With so many of the county's male population of fighting age away with the Confederate army, Union forces faced a much reduced enemy. Mobilization of Dickson County men for the Confederacy, the Union plan to invade Tennessee using the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, and the early loss of middle Tennessee form the basis of the first chapter.

Civil War activity in Dickson County largely remained confined to four different areas. The first area was Harpeth Shoals, at the confluence of the Cumberland and Harpeth Rivers in the northeast corner of Dickson County. The second area was along the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad that the Union army had built through Dickson County as a main supply route. Thirdly, the county seat of Charlotte saw more than its share of Civil War activity as did the valley of Yellow Creek, the fourth area. All of these areas became the site of Confederate insurgency operations and Union counterinsurgency



methods necessary to the protection and pacification of Dickson County and middle Tennessee.

Chapter 2 describes Dickson County and its significance to Union logistics. Opened for transport in the early stages of the war, the Cumberland River provided a vital logistical artery to the Union Army. Dickson County, whose northeast corner bordered the Cumberland, was the site of more than one raid against this important river transportation. Some of these raids, particularly the one at Harpeth Shoals in October 1862, for instance, necessitated that Union authorities find another method of efficient supply for forces operating in Tennessee and beyond.

Chapter 3 describes this method. Constructing the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad, which ran through the east-west length of Dickson County, provided a partial solution to the Union logistical problems. It also provided a huge target for Confederate guerrillas, some of whom were locally based. On more than one occasion these guerrillas rendered the railroad useless for extended periods. Therefore, the protection of the railroad required strong garrisons and occupation of towns which were, in effect, Union counterinsurgency operations.

Chapter 4 describes the Union occupation of one such town, Charlotte, the seat of Dickson County. Union forces occupied the town later in the war attempting to stop Confederate guerrilla activity. Union authorities declared martial law, took over public buildings, destroyed court documents, pitched tents on the courthouse lawn and ruthlessly treated the town's civilians, those who possessed Confederate sympathies, and those suspected of being guerrillas.<sup>14</sup>



One final area of Civil War significance in Dickson County, discussed in Chapter 5 was the Yellow Creek Valley. In addition to being a hot bed of Confederate sympathy, Yellow Creek in many ways was the breadbasket of Dickson County. Armies passing through the area foraged and recruited in the area. Additionally, Yellow Creek provided sanctuary to dozens of Confederate guerrillas and partisans operating in the area. This area also provided an easy access to the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad and the terrain and population of Yellow Creek offered them support, shelter, and security. In order to secure the railroad, Federals had to isolate and reduce Confederate insurgencies in the area.

Primary documents related to the Civil War history of Dickson County are rare to say the least. The study that follows mainly used reports and correspondence contained within *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Commanders corresponding with their superiors often filed reports that referred to operations occurring in Dickson County and frequently one can see their response to those actions. The Supplement to the Official Records also provided useful information. Serving as a unit diary, one can track the day to day activity of many units and see many Union army patrols into Dickson County and the frequency with which they occurred. These records, however, are far from complete and much of the Civil War activity in Dickson County has been lost to time. Whether they failed to understand its implications or simply did not recognize its significance, participants and eye witnesses failed to record much of the war time activity with precise detail.

Dickson County court records from this period provide little useful information although one can easily establish the dates of peak activity from the lack of documents.

Some trial transcripts of suspected Confederate guerrillas suggest the areas in which irregular activity occurred and the problems it held for Federal forces in the area. One can also formulate an idea about the Union methods of counterinsurgency. I also benefited from a series of letters published by the *Dickson Herald* in the 1930s. This series was entitled *The Over Eighty Club* and consisted of letters to the paper describing their recollections. Although most were children at the time, few contributors failed to mention their recollections of the Civil War and its impact upon their families. While not rich in detail about times and units involved, the letters usually mention where they lived in the county and the type of activity they witnessed.

Those studying The Civil War in Dickson County will benefit by having a better, although not unique, understanding of the war that took place behind the Union lines in middle Tennessee. They also gain an appreciation for Confederate guerrilla activity and its objectives as well as the counterinsurgency methods that Union forces used to defeat it. Within such a study, however, one can find other relevant historical information. For instance, what role did civilians play and what was their experience? What role does geography play in warfare? Such local perspectives hopefully serve to paint a broader picture of the Union occupation of Tennessee during The Civil War and provide a perspective on the home front war that so often affected and influenced more people than the conventional forces on the bloody battlefields.



## Chapter One

Dickson County, Tennessee in 1860 was a relatively isolated and rural region. Like most of the South, the people of Dickson County felt the growing tension of sectionalism that held an ominous grip on the United States. The county's total population in 1860 consisted of 9,982 persons. The white population was 7,781 while slaves made up the other 2,201 persons. The vast majority of these people listed their occupations as farmers, exhibiting the extent of agriculture throughout the county, but a significant number of people found themselves employed in professional trades, especially lawyers, ministers, doctors, and merchants. Many of them made their homes near the county seat at Charlotte. Many others found employment with the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad that progressed through Dickson County, although no track existed beyond Kinston Springs. Thomas McNeiley served the county in the State Senate and W.L. White represented Dickson County in the State Legislature.<sup>15</sup>

Iron production comprised the largest industry in the county and as historian Robert E. Corlew observed, "brought to the county its biggest payroll." In 1850, Dickson County boasted more iron production capacity than any other county on the Western Highland Rim. Cumberland Furnace, located in the north central part of the county employed one hundred and twenty one persons under the ownership of Anthony Wayne Van Leer of Nashville. By 1860, however, new technology within the iron industry reduced Dickson County's pig iron production and only the Cumberland Furnace continued to operate, employing ninety-three men and seven women. The furnace closed some time in 1862 due to the war time conditions.<sup>16</sup>



Historian Thomas L. Connelly captured the essence of the iron industry's importance to Dickson County and the Confederacy when he observed, "... the Cumberland River area from Fort Donelson to Nashville became the South's largest iron district. In 1861 this region was the Confederacy's largest producer of pig iron, iron blooms, and bar, sheet, and railroad iron. Before the war more than seventy-one furnaces and seventy-five forges and bloomeries were concentrated in this so-called Western Iron Belt. This fifty-mile-wide belt lay between the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. It embraced thirteen counties, and encompassed 5,400 square miles from near the Kentucky border to the Alabama line." This significant factor in many ways foretold that Union forces would seek to control this vital area of industrial capacity in middle Tennessee and Dickson County.<sup>17</sup>

Maps of the period reveal that almost all roads converged upon Charlotte. The county seat provided road access to the state capital at Nashville, southeast to Columbia and Franklin, and southwest to Centerville. From Charlotte one could also find roads going west towards the Tennessee River, northwest to Dover, and North to Clarksville. It is noteworthy that Charlotte also provided a route to the Cumberland River via the road that roughly followed Johnson's Creek. Many of these roads probably resulted from the massive iron industry that once dominated middle Tennessee and Dickson County.<sup>18</sup>

One cannot overlook the significance of Dickson County's geographic position. In the northeast section the county is bounded by the Cumberland River that connected Nashville with other major rivers that gave the city access to large northern industrial centers. In addition to an extensive network of roads, the county is situated between the

Tennessee River and Nashville. Moreover, the county encompasses several creeks that provided an adequate source of water, irrigated the farmer's crops, and drained his fields.

The Presidential Election of 1860 tore apart the entire nation and especially the Southern states. Dickson County was no exception to this rule. With sectional tension gripping the nation, many eagerly awaited the results. The Democrats ran two candidates for president, northern democrat and Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas and Southern Democrat and former Secretary of War John C. Breckenridge. John Bell of Tennessee emerged as the presidential candidate for the new Constitutional Union Party and the new Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln as their candidate although most Southern states did not even carry his name on the ballot. Nevertheless, the split among the democrats launched Lincoln into the White House.

Voters in Dickson County cast their votes in much the same way as other middle Tennessee counties. Douglas received eighty-six votes while 465 went to Breckenridge. Dickson County voters gave their fellow Tennessean John Bell 135 votes and none to Lincoln. Although Dickson County did not cast a single vote for Lincoln, like other Tennesseans they refused to immediately follow the lead of other Southern states and secede from the Union although this issue was hotly contested.<sup>19</sup>

Tennessee Governor Isham Harris, however, wanted the state to secede and called a special session of the state legislature. This special session ordered a referendum of Tennessee's citizens asking if they wanted to convene a secession convention and also gave voters the opportunity to choose delegates for that convention in the event that it was called. The referendum occurred on 9 February, 1861 and 51 percent of middle Tennessee voted against a secession convention. Dickson County showed similar results



to the rest of middle Tennessee. County voters voted in favor of the convention with 499 votes while 490 voted against it. The county also collected 813 votes in favor of Union delegates while 278 candidates voted in favor of secession delegates.<sup>20</sup>

Lincoln took office in March 1861, determined to keep possession of Federal property in the Southern states that had seceded and joined the Confederate States of America. One such Federal installation was Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. Surrounding the fort with guns and fortifications, the new Confederate army attempted to force the surrender of Fort Sumter. Lincoln notified Confederate authorities that he intended to provision the fort but sent no weapons, hoping this would sustain the garrison and avoid conflict with the Confederates. Before the fort could be resupplied Confederate authorities opened fire on Fort Sumter on the night of 12 April, 1861. The fort's commander, Major Robert Anderson surrendered the garrison the next morning.

Now facing insurrection and civil war, Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 troops to suppress the rebellion on 15 April. Tennessee's governor, secessionist Isham G. Harris, responded to Lincoln's proclamation stating, "Tennessee will not furnish a single man for coercion but fifty thousand, if necessary, for the defense of our rights, or those of our Southern brethren." Harris then called for a second special session of the Tennessee Legislature to consider the secession issue.<sup>21</sup>

The legislature responded and, once again, placed the issue before Tennessee voters in a referendum that occurred on 8 June, 1861. In Dickson County, only seventy-one voters (6.2 percent) decided against secession while 1,141 voted to leave the Union. The rest of middle Tennessee posted similar results during the June referendum with 88 percent in favor of leaving the Union. Events radically changed minds between February

and June in Dickson County and across middle Tennessee. Lincoln's proclamation, however, more than any other factor pushed Tennessee into the welcoming arms of the Confederacy.<sup>22</sup>

Before the referendum on secession passed in Tennessee, however, Governor Harris manipulated the situation and began the organization of the state militia for Confederate service, arranging for Confederate authorities to occupy key defensive positions in portions of the state. Harris, through his army commander General Gideon Pillow, concentrated on fortification of the Mississippi River. The arrangement that occurred on 7 May 1861, also allowed and encouraged recruitment of units within Tennessee for the Confederate army.<sup>23</sup>

In September 1861, newly appointed Confederate General Albert S. Johnston took command of all Confederate defenses west of the Appalachians. Forced to defend all territory from the mountains to the Mississippi River, Johnston's line was paper thin and he was forced to concentrate strength at strategic points. Governor Harris's early involvement in military matters, however, caused problems for Johnston by expending too much energy to defend the Mississippi River while largely ignoring the defense of middle Tennessee where the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers provided the Union army with two excellent invasion routes. Although defensive works existed on these rivers at Fort Donelson and Fort Henry, they were hardly in condition for an in-depth defense.<sup>24</sup>

Now faced with civil war, the situation forced Abraham Lincoln to bring the seceded states back into the Union by using military means. That measure required Union armies invade the southern states, largely through Tennessee. Union General Winfield Scott developed a plan that isolated the Confederacy and would cause it to slowly



strangle and sue for peace. Scott's plan hinged on blockading the Southern states by sea while taking control of the Mississippi River to New Orleans, splitting the Confederacy in two. The Union newspapers dubbed it "The Anaconda Plan."<sup>25</sup>

One Union commander in the West, Ulysses S. Grant, recognized that the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers provided one easy way of implementing the Anaconda Plan and invading the Deep South. Wanting to gain control of these rivers, in February 1862, Grant set out to defeat the garrisons defending the Tennessee and Cumberland at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson respectively. Grant understood the importance of those positions and later noted, "These positions were of immense importance to the enemy; and of course correspondingly important for us to possess ourselves of. With Fort Henry in our hands we had a navigable stream open to us up to Muscle Shoals, in Alabama. The Memphis and Charleston Railroad strikes the Tennessee at Eastport, Mississippi, and follows close to the banks of the river up to the Shoals. This road, of vast importance to the enemy, would cease to be of use to them for through traffic the minute Fort Henry became ours." Grant also captured the significance of reducing Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River stating, "Fort Donelson was the gate to Nashville- a place of great military and political importance."<sup>26</sup>

Operating in concert with Flag Officer Andrew Foote, Grant sailed down the Tennessee River from Cairo, Illinois and unloaded his troops above Fort Henry while Foote's gunboats bombarded the fort. The Union gunboats soon overwhelmed the inadequate defenses of Fort Henry and forced its surrender before Grant's men reached it by land. The surrender, however, did not take place before Fort Henry's commander, General Lloyd Tilghman, sent a large portion of the garrison overland to Ft. Donelson.<sup>27</sup>

Now that control of the Tennessee River belonged to Union forces, Grant set his sites on opening the Cumberland's by reducing the garrison at Fort Donelson. While the gunboats made their way back up the Tennessee to the Ohio River and came back down the Cumberland, Grant's forces moved the short overland distance to Fort Donelson. Federal infantry invested the fort and after a confused Confederate breakout attempt, forced the fort's surrender on 16 February, 1862. Although Confederate cavalry leader, Colonel Nathan B. Forrest, escaped with 700 men towards Charlotte, remaining Confederate commanders surrendered over 13,000 men whom Union authorities took to Northern prisoner of war camps.<sup>28</sup>

With large sections of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers now under Federal control, remaining Federal forces converged upon Nashville. Dickson County saw their first glimpses of military maneuvers through the county when Forrest stopped briefly in Charlotte to refit his men and horses. Rumors of the approaching Federals and the capture of Nashville brought by a local legislator sent the small town into a panic. Forrest threatened the legislator with arrest for spreading false information and assured residents that the information was incorrect.<sup>29</sup> According to local legend, Forrest's men happily passed the time in the local saloons forcing their commander to ride into one of the saloons, striking them with the flat of his saber to get them moving again.

In just a few short days, Confederate forces had lost a significant portion of their fighting force, portions of two major rivers, and the state capital. The loss of Nashville was detrimental to Tennessee and the entire South, especially for the fledgling Confederacy who lost a major center that produced badly needed war material. Nashville's industrial community was a leading producer of cannons, swords,



ammunition, uniforms, and cavalry accoutrements. Seventy-three manufactures employing 1,318 workers contributed to this production. Confederate authorities abandoned Nashville on 25 February, 1862 and the city became a gargantuan Federal supply depot for Union forces in the Western Theatre. In short order, the people of Dickson County began to see Federals on a regular basis and there was little they could do about it.<sup>30</sup>

One factor that made Dickson County citizens almost helpless against the Federal occupation and later counterinsurgency was massive mobilization of its own population for the Confederacy. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the white population of Dickson County included 7,781 people. The white male population of fighting age, between the ages of sixteen and thirty-four, totaled 1,284. Dickson County men formed two companies of the 49<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Infantry and three companies of the 11<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Infantry. Moreover, a substantial number of Dickson County men served in two other units formed outside the county, Company “E” of the 10<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Cavalry, formed in Humphrey’s County, and Baxter’s Battery of Tennessee Light Artillery (2<sup>nd</sup> organization), formed in Williamson County but recruited in Dickson County. Conservative estimates reveal that Dickson County initially raised 600-700 men for Confederate service (46.7-54.5 percent of the white male population of fighting age). Placed into context, half of the people most able to combat the Union occupation were away from home.<sup>31</sup>

The men of Dickson County rallied to units being formed for Confederate service before Tennessee even seceded. In May 1861, three companies of Dickson County men left for Nashville and were incorporated into the 11<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Infantry and Confederate

service as companies C, E, and H (Company H was originally incorporated into state service as Company K). Sent to Camp Cheatham in Robertson County for instruction, the men soon received orders to East Tennessee where they fell under the command of General Felix Zollicoffer and guarded the strategic Cumberland Gap. In May 1862, the unit reorganized its leadership and belonged to the Army of Tennessee where it participated in their major campaigns at Stones River, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and the Atlanta Campaign.<sup>32</sup>

At the end of the Atlanta campaign, the 11<sup>th</sup> consolidated with the 29<sup>th</sup> Tennessee where it participated in the carnage at The Battle of Franklin. Afterward, the 11<sup>th</sup> moved with the remainder of the Army of Tennessee and fought at the Battle of Nashville and it surrendered with Joseph E. Johnston at Greensboro, North Carolina on 2 May, 1865. At this time the 11<sup>th</sup> only had enough men remaining to form two companies of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Consolidated Tennessee Infantry Regiment that consisted of survivors from eight other regiments.<sup>33</sup>

Dickson County men also formed Companies B and D of the 49<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Infantry. Mainly organized at Charlotte on 29 November 1861, Confederate authorities ordered the regiment to Fort Donelson on 6 December, 1861. Fighting in the battle along the Cumberland River fort, most of the 49<sup>th</sup> surrendered with Buckner and were sent to prison camps in the north, mainly Camp Douglas. During their internment, sickness and disease greatly reduced the regiment's strength.<sup>34</sup>

On 26 September, 1862 the regiment arrived at Vicksburg, Mississippi on parole and was exchanged soon afterward. In November the regiment reorganized at Clinton, Mississippi. Afterwards the regiment participated in several campaigns under the Army



of Mississippi and later formed part of the garrison at Port Hudson, Louisiana. The Army of Mississippi then merged with the Army of Tennessee, becoming Stewart's Corps of that organization.<sup>35</sup>

Participating in the Atlanta campaign, the 49<sup>th</sup> lost a significant portion of the regiment at Lick Skillet Road (Ezra Church) where in fifteen minutes of fighting, almost every officer was killed or wounded and the regiment came under the command of a captain. The 49<sup>th</sup> then moved into middle Tennessee during General John B. Hood's 1864 campaign where the regiment suffered over seventy percent casualties. The regiment also fought at Nashville and afterwards was consolidated with portions of four other regiments. The remaining men surrendered with Johnston at Greensboro in April, 1865.<sup>36</sup>

In late 1862, Captain E.D. Baxter formed his second organization of Tennessee Light Artillery. Baxter encamped on Turnbull Creek in southern Dickson County and recruited most of his men from Dickson County although the battery was actually organized in Williamson County. Initially on garrison duty in east Tennessee, Baxter's Battery soon joined the Army of Tennessee where they participated in the Battle of Chickamauga and the campaigns around Atlanta. Following the fall of Atlanta they were attached to General Joseph Wheeler's delaying actions against Sherman's March to the Sea and surrendered to Federal authorities on 28 April, 1865.<sup>37</sup>

While the war at the front took its toll on soldiers of Dickson County, the people remaining at home suffered no less. Federal soldiers, Confederate irregulars, and sometimes, regular Confederate units, became familiar sites within the county. Those remaining on the home front were forced to cope with these realities and their experience was no less trying or dangerous than that of Confederate soldiers serving at the front.

## Chapter Two

Geographically, Dickson County occupied strategic position in Tennessee. With the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson, both the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers opened themselves to the Union Army. The loss of the Cumberland opened the door for Federal soldiers to occupy Nashville, the capital of Tennessee. By necessity, Nashville became the major supply depot of the Western Theatre that supported Union operations towards Chattanooga and continued to sustain them while they operated through Georgia. These operations hinged on keeping supplies moving through a secure and occupied Nashville, and its security, in part, depended upon Union control of Dickson County's Cumberland River region.

By 1846, Nashville relied heavily on the Cumberland River to connect it with northern manufacturers and supply depots. In that year alone the city processed thirteen million dollars of freight by using the Cumberland. That freight included 30,000 hogsheads of tobacco, 50,000 bales of cotton, 500,000 sacks of corn, 21,000 cattle, 30,000 horses and mules, and 350,000 hogs. The Union army also realized the Cumberland's significance after their occupation of Nashville in February 1862 and their supplies moving south could be unloaded on the wharves at Nashville.<sup>38</sup> By this time the city also benefited from the use of several railroads that connected the city with other supply centers.

The Cumberland River, though absolutely essential for Union logistical efforts, also had its draw backs. Transport of materials along the Cumberland could be dangerous at all times. Low water in the summer months made navigation difficult, if not impossible. Another obstacle to navigating the Cumberland came during times of high



water. The Harpeth Shoals, on the northeastern border of Dickson County, were formidable and required careful attention to navigate even when the shoals were visible. Confederate military authorities recognized this disadvantage to Union supplies and Rebel units proved to be particularly troublesome in the area of Harpeth Shoals and caused considerable worry among Union officers. Confederate efforts to disrupt the flow of Union supplies to Nashville and Union efforts to protect their logistical tail along the Cumberland made Dickson County and surrounding areas the scene of irregular Confederate operations and several Union patrols that amounted to counterinsurgency programs.<sup>39</sup>

Historian Richard P. Gildrie notes, "Regular Confederate cavalry was sent behind Union lines, in cooperation with local partisans, not only to disrupt Federal supply lines, but also to recruit and re-equip. In the process Confederates maintained some semblance of authority over large portions of the countryside nominally under Union control but rarely visited by Federal troops." During the later portion of 1862 and the early portions of 1863, Union forces devoted considerable effort to gain control of the region and Confederate forces expended considerable time ensuring that they maintained some control over the region, or at least interfered with the Federal supply system.<sup>40</sup>

In many cases, these Confederate attacks on the Union's Cumberland River supply network were organized at Charlotte. Moreover, local Confederate guerrillas calling themselves partisan rangers recruited in the town. One of these irregular networks belonged to Colonel Thomas Woodward who operated throughout middle Tennessee and southern Kentucky. Charlotte was distant enough from both Clarksville and Nashville that raids upon the Cumberland could be organized and conducted before the Union

garrisons effectively reacted. Often, operational commitments and poorly mounted cavalry prevented Federal units from effectively pursuing these Confederate raiders. Such extensive local involvement and Dickson County's significant geographic position forced Federal authorities to react to their activity. In order to curb these actions, Federal patrols increased in frequency and they were "committed in large numbers, [and] waged a war of 'counterinsurgency' in classical form, and, with great difficulty, gained a modicum of control over the valley by the time of the Battle of Nashville."<sup>41</sup>

One such expedition began on 15 November 1862, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel David McKee of the 15<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin Infantry. McKee took command of a larger force consisting of the 15<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin, the 38<sup>th</sup> Illinois, and eleven men of Company B of the 36<sup>th</sup> Illinois under orders from Union General William S. Rosecrans who wanted the force to aid a previous expedition in "capturing of dispersing guerrillas." Starting from Edgefield, near Nashville, McKee's expedition proceeded to the area around Harpeth Shoals in search of Woodward's men who frequently launched attacks on the shoals from areas in Dickson County.<sup>42</sup>

McKee's expedition moved towards Clarksville then took the Springfield-Charlotte Road to the Cumberland River crossing at Harpeth Shoals. McKee noted that his men captured forty-six guerrillas, approximately one hundred small arms, eighteen horses, and twenty mules. The commander also reported the destruction of one distillery, several barrels of salt, two "swelling" houses and other outbuildings at Harpeth Shoals. Although most of the expedition occurred in Robertson County on the North side of the Cumberland from Dickson County, McKee's patrol reduced the effectiveness of guerrillas operating at Harpeth Shoals, between the two counties. The expedition pleased



Rosecrans and caused him to observe, “This handsome little success, which [shows] what good infantry can do under an enterprising leader, reflects much credit on all who were engaged in it.” McKee’s expedition, however, only represented the start of more aggressive counterinsurgency tactics in the Harpeth Shoals area.<sup>43</sup>

On 26 November 1862, Rosecrans received a report from Colonel Sanders D. Bruce, stationed in Russellville, Kentucky noting that the previous day 1,200 Rebels crossed the Cumberland near Harpeth Shoals. One unit, the 15<sup>th</sup> Illinois Cavalry, moved from Stones River towards Clarksville and Harpeth Shoals, capturing five prisoners and twenty-two barrels of whiskey. On 27 November, Bruce’s scouts reported 3000 guerrillas with six artillery pieces encamped at Charlotte with intentions of moving into southern Kentucky to take beef cattle and hogs as supplies. Bruce asserted to Rosecrans, “I have not force enough to cope with them, but will do my best. It would be well to keep an eye on these rascals.” Two days later, patrols ordered by Bruce drove Woodward’s men ten miles from Clarksville towards Charlotte. Deserters had reported that Woodward intended to join Forrest or Morgan and raid into Kentucky, as mentioned above.<sup>44</sup>

Such frequent mentions of Forrest and Woodward suggest that they loosely cooperated with each other, at least Federal authorities thought they did. On 12 December 1862, Bruce received a report from a scout that observed Forrest with 2000-4000 men in Charlotte. Bruce forwarded the information to Rosecrans, repeating that the intention of the Rebels was a movement into southern Kentucky.<sup>45</sup>

Woodward, however, had already been driven out of southern Kentucky. His men camped at Charlotte where Confederate authorities offered no alternatives other than a three year enlistment. Bruce’s scout, Captain Johnson of the 8<sup>th</sup> Kentucky Cavalry [U.S.],

reported that all of Woodward's men deserted with the exception of approximately 120 who enlisted for three years. Johnson also told Bruce that Forrest took away their horses and arms and those who did not enlist simply returned home and took the oath of allegiance. Some of them, however, roamed "through the country, stealing, and robbing when they [had] the chance." Bruce reported the activity to Rosecrans telling him, "Their movements are certainly mysterious, and their stories unreasonable, but it is my decided opinion that their statement as to the disbandment of the regiment is true. About 140 enlisted for three years, the remainder have come home, some to renew their allegiance, if allowed, and others to renew their cowardly system of guerrilla warfare." <sup>46</sup>

Soon after, Forrest moved into West Tennessee to begin his famous raid, taking some of Woodward's newly enlisted men with him. Before he returned, however, Wheeler set his sights on disrupting Union logistics on the Cumberland at Harpeth Shoals and took some of Forrest's men with him. Wheeler reached the river on 13 January 1863, and divided his command. Colonel Wade of the 8<sup>th</sup> Confederate Cavalry took the first contingent and one piece of artillery and established a position on a bluff overlooking the river near Harpeth Shoals. Wheeler took the second contingent and the remaining guns and deployed them further up the Cumberland. <sup>47</sup>

At 8 P.M. on the night of 12 January, Wheeler's men forced the steamer *Charter* and another transport to the shore and burned both boats and cargo while they paroled the soldiers and crew onboard the boats. The next morning, the steamer *Hastings* accompanied by the *Parthenia*, loaded with wounded Federal soldiers moving from Nashville to Louisville, encountered the burned remains of the *Charter*. Several steamers were loading government stores from the *Charter* under the watchful guard of the



gunboat *Slidell*. Chaplain Maxwell P. Gaddis, onboard the *Hastings*, saw the gathering on the shore and became suspicious. Noticing a group of burned houses on the shore in addition to the *Charter*, Gaddis asked who was responsible for the incident. Lieutenant William Van Dorn, commanding the *Slidell*, answered Gaddis telling him that guerrillas had burned the *Charter* and he retaliated by burning the houses along the river. When the chaplain inquired if there was danger further down the river Van Dorn replied that there was not.<sup>48</sup>

Gaddis and the *Hastings* continued down the Cumberland with the steamer *Trio*, also carrying Federal wounded, about four miles in front of them. Posted on a high position above Harpeth Shoals, Colonel Wade's contingent of Confederate cavalry sighted the *Trio* moving down the river. Wade's men fired a shot from their six pound cannon that passed through the boat's cabin. *Trio* struck its colors and moved to the shore but Wade's force was unable to unload the ship before the *Hastings* and *Parthenia* appeared around the river's bend. Refusing to heed Wade's demand to surrender the Confederate cavalymen fired their rifles into the *Hastings*. The surgeon told them that he could not stop because he was carrying wounded. Wade's men fired again and the surgeon ordered, "Round the steamer to shore." The *Parthenia* attempted to turn back towards Nashville when Wade's six pounder convinced it to move ashore as well.<sup>49</sup>

Once ashore Gaddis noted that Wade's men "plundered the boat, even to the knives, forks, spoon, etc. Rifled passengers' baggage; robbed wounded soldiers of their rations, and money from their pockets, took the officer's side arms, overcoats, hats, etc." Wade prepared to burn the ship when Gaddis protested to General Wheeler's adjutant, Captain Spruel E. Buford, a previous acquaintance. Wade relented and paroled the crew

and the wounded Federal soldiers aboard the *Hastings* with the condition that they burn the cotton on the boat that served as beds for the wounded soldiers on reaching Louisville. Gaddis agreed the *Hastings* continued down the Cumberland.<sup>50</sup>

Shortly afterward, the Confederate raiders set fire to the *Parthenia*. Wade heard a cannon shot upriver and looked to see the gunboat *Slidell* moving toward them after it had fired on Wheeler's position in the woods. He ordered the gunboat to strike its colors and move to the shore. The *Slidell* responded with a broadside from its guns and Wade, once again, ordered his six pounder to fire on the boat. The *Slidell* immediately struck its colors and moved to shore where Wade's men paroled the officers and crew and burned the boat. Wade withdrew to reunite with his commander and Wheeler ordered part of the force to cross the ice choked river and burn the cache of Federal supplies at Ashland City. Four days later, Wheeler concluded his raid by burning another transport on the Cumberland.<sup>51</sup>

Wheeler did not leave the area without Federal units chasing him. In response to the attack the 10<sup>th</sup> Kentucky Cavalry stationed at Murfreesboro attempted to interdict Wheeler's force. The 8<sup>th</sup> Kentucky Cavalry under the command of Major James W. Weatherford attempted to stop Confederate activity in Dickson County. Weatherford led a scouting expedition consisting of one hundred men to Harpeth Shoals and Charlotte between January 13 and January 21. The expedition succeeded in recovering some of the material lost when Wheeler's expedition destroyed the transports and gunboat in addition to capturing approximately 150 men, probably local guerrillas. The Seventh Pennsylvania Cavalry participated in two expeditions to Harpeth Shoals in January and February 1863.



One was for ten days under the command of General David Stanley. The other was for thirteen days.<sup>52</sup>

At least one Union paper published an account of the incident that did not make it into the official record. On March 11 1863, the *New York Evening Post* stated,

After the battle of Stone [sic] River, or Murfreesboro, a Federal hospital boat, when conveying the wounded, and bearing the customary flag indicating its object, was fired upon and boarded by the rebels. Some fifteen negroes employed as servants on board the boat were killed. Others endeavoring to escape, were shot in the water while clinging to the sides of the boat. This inhuman treatment was not the work of guerrillas, for whose actions the rebel authorities might endeavor to excuse themselves, but was done by soldiers under the command of a Colonel Wade. General Wheeler's adjutant General was among the officers present. This Wheeler was promoted for the raid of which the attack on the hospital boat and murder of the negroes was the principal feature.<sup>53</sup>

Whether this account was accurate or not, General Rosecrans felt that the incident violated the laws of civilized warfare. Writing to Washington, Rosecrans noted, "I can multiply documentary evidence on these outrages and many others, fully revealing the barbarism of these rebel leaders, and will do so, if you think desirable." Along with this report, Rosecrans forwarded accounts written by Chaplain Gaddis and Surgeon Luther Waterman who were aboard the *Hastings* and gave a narrative of the events.<sup>54</sup>

Gaddis's and Waterman's accounts, however, noted that Colonel Wade and his men robbed and plundered these boats in a drunken condition. Wade, however, said that part of the account was not true. In a letter to his wife on February 15 1863 he wrote, "I wrote to you some two weeks ago, inclosing Yankee accounts of the capture of a gunboat and other boats in which I and my command were foully slandered in respect to our treatment of the prisoners. I was anxious that you should see those accounts. Among other things, they charged me with being drunk, and that is only one which, as I knew, you would suspect to be true. I was no more drunk than I am now, and I have not taken a

drink in ten days. I am now in command of Wheeler's old brigade and it has more than 3,000 men. I have too much responsibility to get drunk."<sup>55</sup>

One southern lady, however, also portrayed the incident in a different light. Lucy Virginia French wrote in her diary on January 25, 1863 that "The late raid of Wheeler and Forrest on the Cumberland below Nashville is the talk now-cavalry capturing five transports and a gun boat is a good as Forrest's men taking a battery at Murfreesboro last summer with shot guns! Wheeler and Forrest burned the boats and stores and took 300 prisoners. The raids and feats of Stuart's cavalry in Virginia are being thrown entirely in the shade by the daring deeds of the mounted men of the West. Forrest, Morgan, Wheeler, and Van Dorn are beating the Virginian cavalry to death."<sup>56</sup>

As a result of Confederate activity in the Dickson County area, Rosecrans embarked on an ambitious plan to gain control of the countryside and rid it of guerrillas. On January 27 1863, he wrote to General ... Wright in Cincinnati asking for two brigades of infantry, two batteries of artillery, and "all the cavalry, with pack-animals" be sent to Clarksville. Rosecrans intended for them to land there and conduct a massive sweep of the area for guerrillas. The area included "east of the Tennessee River, north of the Duck River, and South of the Cumberland to Murfreesboro." The Army of the Cumberland's commander cordoned off this massive area that included Dickson County and was along his lines of supply. It amounted to a small scale counterinsurgency operation. On 31 January, Union General Jefferson C. Davis's Division moved from Murfreesboro to Franklin, then "towards Harpeth Shoals." Colonel Sanders D. Bruce, now operating out of Clarksville, sent expeditions to Harpeth Shoals where he "recovered a good amount of stores which were shamefully abandoned at the foot of [the] Shoals."<sup>57</sup>



In February 1863, Wheeler set out once again to disrupt the flow of Federal supplies on the Cumberland River. This time, however, Wheeler targeted the Montgomery County town of Palmyra. Although the action took place in Montgomery County, Dickson County once again played a vital role in this campaign, mainly due to its geographic location. On this raid, General Nathan Bedford Forrest accompanied Wheeler. The Confederate cavalry established gun emplacements hoping to interdict traffic on the Cumberland but Wheeler suspected that Federal authorities were aware of his plan. Thinking that he could no longer be effective, Wheeler embarked on a campaign to recapture Fort Donelson which would also accomplish his mission of disrupting the Union logistical system on the Cumberland.<sup>58</sup>

In fact, Wheeler's suspicion turned out to be quite correct. On February 3 1863, the same day Wheeler, Wharton, and Forrest attacked Fort Donelson, Nashville Chief of Police William Truesdail reported to General Rosecrans, "A scout just in reports that Wharton's and Wheeler's cavalry (6,000 men) and one battery of artillery left Franklin on Saturday evening last at 3 o'clock for Harpeth Shoals, boasting they would take one hundred Federal transports, there being but two gunboats in convoy." Although they did not march on Harpeth Shoals, Rosecrans directed General Jefferson C. Davis "to use every possible exertion to intercept them." Davis also made his own report stating, "The last of the enemy left yesterday morning toward Charlotte. Think they are all in that vicinity, with intention of troubling boats on the river." He believed that after the repulse at Fort Donelson, Wheeler might try to escape by way of Columbia and he noted that he was going to try and stop them.<sup>59</sup>

The day following Wheeler's repulse, Rosecrans informed Davis that the Confederate cavalry was retreating towards Charlotte and ordered him to make every effort to interpose himself between Wheeler and the Confederate lines. Davis acknowledged Rosecrans's order but noted that his cavalry was in poor condition and by this time he thought that Wheeler would try to retreat by way of Centerville. Wheeler was, in fact, trying to retreat through Charlotte but word of Davis's pursuit forced the Confederates to the west down the Yellow Creek Valley.<sup>60</sup>

Colonel Thomas G. Woodward and his Confederate partisans, now calling themselves the Second Kentucky Cavalry, screened Wheeler's movement down Yellow Creek and into Dickson County. Woodward stayed in the small village of Cumberland Furnace, between Charlotte and Palmyra, for nearly a month where he acted as a rear guard for Wheeler and Forrest's regular Confederate cavalry. During this time, they made several more attacks upon Harpeth Shoals with other local partisans that included "a harp skirmish on February 18 with a three hundred man reconnaissance force sent toward Charlotte from Franklin."<sup>61</sup>

Guerrillas continued to plague Federal authorities in Dickson County for some time. This irregular activity, launched from Dickson County, targeted Union traffic on the Cumberland at Harpeth Shoals and Palmyra in Montgomery County. These ongoing attacks necessitated even more Union patrols. On March 13, Colonel Sanders D. Bruce, commanding the Union garrison at Clarksville noted, "My cavalry found another party of rebel cavalry yesterday near Charlotte, capturing 13 prisoners with horses. Five are new conscripts, who claim to be Union men, and desire to take the oath. Instruct me."<sup>62</sup>



On April 3 1863, Confederate guerrillas attacked the gunboat *St. Clair* with artillery and musket fire at Palmyra. The guerrillas disabled the gunboat and it was towed back down the Cumberland. The *St. Clair's* captain, Lieutenant J.S. Hurd, sent a message to Lieutenant Commander Leroy Fitch. Fitch immediately proceeded with the gunboat *Lexington* and four other vessels to Palmyra where he burned the town but failed to find any guerrillas. Receiving information that they withdrew to Harpeth Shoals, Fitch stopped in Clarksville and asked Colonel Bruce to provide an escort for his movement towards the guerrillas. On April 5, Fitch's convoy with an escort continued toward Harpeth Shoals and he landed the escort a few miles below the Harpeth River while he continued towards Harpeth Shoals. The guerrillas obtained information about Fitch's combined operation and withdrew towards Charlotte. The cavalry followed them for six miles but with small numbers, it returned not deeming it prudent to give further chase.<sup>63</sup>

Also on April 5 1863, Colonel William P. Boone led a contingent of the 28<sup>th</sup> Kentucky Infantry to Harpeth Shoals in response to an attack on the steamer *Glasgow*. A few days later, elements of the 28<sup>th</sup> Kentucky returned to Harpeth Shoals where guerrillas burned two boats, killing one captain and wounding the other. They arrested four men in possession of goods from the two boats and compelled 600 guerrillas and two pieces of artillery to retreat. On April 15, Bruce reported to Rosecrans that he sent a convoy up the Cumberland to Harpeth Shoals with elements of the 28<sup>th</sup> Kentucky to recover the guns from the *Slidell* that Wheeler's force had destroyed in January. While there, Bruce's men "dispersed a group of rebels who waited to fire on unprotected boats." He also reported capturing several of Woodward's men.<sup>64</sup>

Throughout 1862 and 1863, both regular and irregular Confederate units combined with natural hazards of navigating the Cumberland to significantly disrupt the flow of Union supplies flowing to Nashville. Dickson County was central to many of these Confederate efforts as the attacks and resulting Union “anti-guerrilla” patrols began, moved through, or centered on areas within the county. Although Federal commanders enjoyed some success in reducing Confederate activity in the area, most realized that something would have to be done about the troublesome Union logistical operation.



### Chapter Three

In 1864, the Union army completed a railroad from Nashville to the Tennessee River, thus connecting Nashville to the manufactures and major supply depots of the North. This railroad helped strengthen an enormous logistical center at Nashville that served General William T. Sherman throughout his campaign to Atlanta. A large portion of the Nashville and Northwestern ran the east-west width of Dickson County. Irregular Confederate attacks mounted against the railroad in Dickson County and Federal efforts to protect it and clear the area of guerrillas exhibited the significance of the rail line to Union logistics. Curbing guerrilla activity and providing strong garrisons for the railroad in the county amounted to a massive Federal counterinsurgency program.<sup>65</sup>

The Nashville and Northwestern Railroad was chartered before the Civil War in 1852 under President John A. Gardner. Original projections called for it to run from Nashville to Hickman, Kentucky. Construction began by 1854 from Nashville and was progressing due to contributions from the city, which totaled \$27,000.<sup>66</sup> By April 1861, this crucial rail link had been completed as far as Kinston Springs, some fourteen miles west of Nashville, but with the outbreak of the Civil War all construction on the railroad halted. Work progressed no further until federal government and military entities took control of the line later in the war.

Events during February 1862 brought a new set of circumstances to central Tennessee and Nashville. With the loss of Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, the Confederacy evacuated the city and Federal armies quickly occupied it. The capitol city of Tennessee, Nashville by necessity became a major supply terminal for Union armies in the western theater. The city was a major transportation hub in the upper south boasting three complete railroads, one partially complete railroad. Effectively situated on the Cumberland River, Nashville was essential to controlling the Tennessee and Cumberland Valleys. Additionally, Nashville was a wagon wheel with its roads radiating in all directions. Supplies moving south were brought from the north via the Cumberland River

which could be unloaded on the wharves at Nashville. Equipment could also be moved from the north by the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. From Nashville this equipment was sent south along the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, where it was then dispatched to the front. As the Federal armies progressed, all of these routes proved insufficient and failed to meet the demanding task of effectively supplying the Union army. New opportunities for transportation and a more viable logistical network would be essential to completing the task of supplying the Federal Army.

Extending northward from Nashville, the L&N had several internal problems. One dilemma was that this railroad remained under the control of its officers and President James Guthrie. By remaining under the control of its own officers rather than the Federal authorities, the L&N remained responsible to its private customers as well as its government customers. Guthrie gave higher priority to private customers “handling private freight surreptitiously at the expense of government cargoes.”<sup>67</sup> The L&N also took advantage of the government cargoes by charging an increased rate of 25% higher than other railroads and “provided less than satisfactory service.”<sup>68</sup> Many people were angered by the inefficiency of this system, including Tennessee’s Military Governor, Andrew Johnson. Johnson in an unquestionable tone stated his opinion about the management of the L&N: “The Government has paid hundreds of thousand for the use of that road, which found its way into the pockets of traitors, and are for the support of treason.”<sup>69</sup>

Although the L&N’s independent management was a problem for the Federal armies, the railroad was also vulnerable to enemy attacks often making it unreliable as a link in the Union’s logistical network. In August of 1862, Confederate cavalryman John Hunt Morgan raised eyebrows when he made several raids against the garrisons guarding the line. In the same month, Morgan destroyed the railroad route north of Gallatin where it passed through a long tunnel. His raid preceded Bragg’s invasion of Kentucky resulting in the burning of most bridges along the railroad to Louisville. Although Bragg withdrew



from Kentucky after a fight at Perryville, Morgan and his men all but shut down this vital logistical artery for the better part of three months.<sup>70</sup>

Enemy action against the L&N did not stop with Morgan's raid in 1862. The attacks against the railroad by guerrillas continued for the remainder of the war. In March of 1865 Andrew Johnson received a letter from his son warning him of the danger, "The Louisville R.R. is completely at the mercy of Guerrillas and if I were you would not think of coming over it unless a change takes place."<sup>71</sup>

As discussed in the last chapter, the Union logistical system had serious problems using the Cumberland River. Both regular and irregular Confederate operations frequently threatened river transportation. Likewise, navigating the Cumberland proved difficult all year long. In the summer months, the water was shallow and some vessels drew too much water to safely transit the river. In the winter, the formidable Harpeth Shoals were invisible.<sup>72</sup>

Aware of the shortfalls, Federal officials searched for alternatives to make their logistics safer and more effective. Their attention eventually came to the unfinished Nashville and Northwestern, which they hoped would help bear the burden of the Union's logistical monster. However, Military Governor Andrew Johnson had designs of completing the railroad for Tennessee before the Federal authorities realized its importance. Governor Johnson was prodded by the Vice President of the Nashville and Northwestern, Michael Burns, to complete the railroad. Burns clearly saw the business opportunities for his railroad and sought to pull business from the L&N. Arranged by Johnson, Burns met with President Lincoln and Secretary of War Stanton. Later, Burns met with Major General William S. Rosecrans, who commanded the Army of the Cumberland.<sup>73</sup>

One month before the Battle of Chickamauga in 1863, Rosecrans turned the Nashville and Northwestern over to Johnson.<sup>74</sup> Rosecrans seemingly took only a mild interest in the logistical problems that were brewing at Nashville. However, Rosecrans's

subsequent defeat at Chickamauga hastened his removal from command. General U.S. Grant became supreme commander of Union forces in the western theater, known as the Military Division of the Mississippi.

Federal authorities were now well aware of advantages of having the Nashville and Northwestern completed. Before the official removal of Rosecrans, Union Chief Quartermaster, Montgomery C. Meigs visited Chattanooga looking for options to better supply advancing Union armies. Meigs recommended to Stanton, "The railroad from Nashville to Reynoldsburg, on the Tennessee River, should be completed, securing water transportation to that point on the Tennessee and supplying the Nashville depot when the Cumberland is low and the L&N broken or overtaken."<sup>75</sup>

Just days after Rosecrans's defeat at Chickamauga, Secretary Stanton heeded the advice and ordered the completion of the Nashville and Northwestern from Nashville to the Tennessee River on October 22, 1863. Construction resumed on the Nashville and Northwestern for military purposes under the control of Military Governor Andrew Johnson, who employed officers, engineers, and railroad workmen. General Grant was to provide all troops necessary for the protection of the railroad and its workers while J.B. Anderson, General Manager of Military Railroads, furnished engines and cars.<sup>76</sup> Governor Johnson appointed Colonel William P. Innes as engineer of the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad and delegated to him all matters of its construction.<sup>77</sup> Construction began at Kingston Springs, where the railroad had ended before the war. The *Nashville Daily Union* covered the renewed construction, "The Nashville and Northwestern railroad, 28 miles long, is being extended 4 miles beyond Kingston Springs in Dickson County; the road is graded from Kingston Springs to Waverly. From Waverly to Reynoldsburg the road is complete, 6 miles..."<sup>78</sup>

Work did not progress well under Johnson's administration. On November 22 1863, Johnson reported only thirty-three miles of the railroad operable, half of its total ordered distance. Johnson blamed General Manager John B. Anderson and complained



that he always made excuses and did not furnish engines and construction cars when needed<sup>79</sup>

Anderson failed to make suitable progress on the railroad and in February 1864, Grant replaced Anderson with Colonel Daniel C. McCallum, a Scotch emigrant with extensive service in the railroad industry. McCallum would later become inspector of the famed Union Pacific Railroad. McCallum turned to another experienced railroad man, W.W. Wright, to take charge as Chief Engineer.. Wright immediately began importing manpower and equipment to finish the task of completing the Nashville and Northwestern. Two thousand mechanics and laborers were pressed into service and were assisted by military engineers and other units. These initial units were the 1st Missouri and 1st Michigan Engineers. Additionally there were the 12th and 13th Regiments of United States Colored Troops.<sup>80</sup>

Newly appointed, Wright stated in his report that "a considerable force of soldiers and civilian laborers [were] employed on the road.... and found it to consist of a rather formidable amount of grading, bridging, track laying, and other work incident to the construction of a new railroad, and proceeded to take the necessary steps to complete the work as directed."<sup>81</sup> Administration of the Nashville and Northwestern was now effective. Wright was now completing what Governor Johnson, W.P Innes, and John B. Anderson began but could not finish. This new and more effective administration stemmed from Grant, McCallum, and Wright.

In March 1864, General Alvan C. Gillem in command of railroad defenses reported to Governor Johnson, "I have just returned from the Northwestern Road, it is now progressing finely. I passed over 40 miles on the cars-and the track laying is going on well. An engine has gone to the other end of the road, and there is force enough to lay a mile daily of track. The road will all be completed except four miles from 53 to 57, by the 1st of April- if not sooner- I give I think the outside limit."<sup>82</sup> Although Gillem underestimated the railroad's completion time, it was significant that it was progressing.

On April 12, 1864 the *Nashville Daily Union* reported on the Nashville and Northwestern, "...it is slowly though steadily approaching completion. The black regiments that have been grading it have nearly completed their work. The Missouri and Indiana mechanics and engineers have but to lay the "ties" and spike on the rails for 25 to 30 miles, and then the iron-horse will water in the Tennessee and from thence transport forage and produce to Knoxville and beyond; while on its way through Nashville, Murfreesboro, Bridgeport, Chattanooga, and other places, it can deposit its freight without unnecessary detention or trans-shipment."<sup>83</sup>

The Nashville and Northwestern was completed on 10 May, 1864. The Construction of the Nashville and Northwestern seems rather routine until one considers the daunting construction figures. No less than forty-five bridges were built. Some bridges were rebuilt due to enemy attacks and flooding, using more than four million feet of lumber. Fourteen water stations were built, 107,000 cross-ties used, and about two million feet of lumber used in constructing railroad buildings. "Through cuts of as much as forty and fifty feet in depth and 800 feet in length were taken out and high embankments made," ; all at a total estimated cost of \$1,471,397.96.<sup>84</sup>

A reporter from the *Nashville Daily Union* recognized the benefit of the new railroad even before its completion. In January, the paper reported that "The Northwestern Road will run through a barren country, and passes over but four streams, while the Louisville and Nashville Road requires an average of 12,000 men to protect its dozen of bridges, water tanks, and wood piles, and the country or at least, most portions of it along the road, is infested with guerrillas."<sup>85</sup>

Johnson recognized the benefits of the railroad as well, although he did nothing to acknowledge its lack of progress under his supervision. In a letter to Secretary of War Stanton, Johnson spoke of the benefits. In a few days a hundred cars will pass to and from Johnsonville over this road, seventy-five miles compared with a hundred and eighty



five from Louisville to Nashville. Trains leaving Johnsonville at the same hour they do Louisville comes well nigh reaching Chattanooga by the time the Louisville train reaches Nashville. The Cumberland River is now down. The L&N railroad out of order runs irregular and has not the capacity to supply the army in front if we were dependent on it alone. The importance of the Northwestern Railroad is now being seen and felt and our Army could not be sustained without it." Johnson continued, "This is a mere beginning of what the construction of this road will open up to the Gov't and the country demonstrating the wisdom and propriety of improvement at this time."<sup>86</sup>

Although the Nashville and Northwestern had been completed in early May, it was not turned over to the transportation department until the twenty-first day of June. Governor Johnson caused part of the delay by celebrating the railroad's completion, riding from Nashville to Johnsonville and making a political spectacle of himself. Johnson was, once again, taking credit for a railroad in which he had little to offer but inefficiency. While Johnson was busy making political rounds, precious time was being lost which would have been better used by shipping supplies to the Union army instead of acting as a shuttle service for Tennessee dignitaries.<sup>87</sup>

In March, 1864, General Grant assumed command of all Union Armies. He went to Virginia to take personal command in the Eastern Theater. General William T. Sherman was given command of The Military Division of The Mississippi, taking Grant's place as the supreme commander of Union forces in the west. In May, Sherman began his campaign for Atlanta. Shortly after, Sherman began improving his logistics and eliminated Andrew Johnson as a potential problem for the Union commander.

On August 6, 1864 Johnson received the following message from Secretary of

War Stanton: "On the direct application of General Sherman and his representation that the exclusive use of the Northwestern Railroad, from Nashville to Reynoldsburg, is necessary for the success of his military operations, the President, under the provisions of the act of Congress, has, by order of this date, authorized and directed him to take military possession of said railroad, its rolling-stock, equipment, appendages, and appurtenances for exclusive military use, and revoked all prior and conflicting orders and authority."<sup>88</sup>

Considerable effort and manpower was expended during construction of the railroad. These efforts would not stop after its completion. Garrisons were essential to providing security for the engineers and railroad workers. There were several sources for the initial garrisons which provided this security and helped with railroad construction. In October, 1863 Andrew Johnson received a letter from Daniel Hillman, manager of the Cumberland Furnace in Dickson County. The post commander at Clarksville had been ordered to "impress enough slaves to finish the railroad in sixty days." Hillman complained to Johnson that if slaves were taken from the Cumberland Furnace he would not be able to continue its operations.<sup>89</sup>

Recruiting and sometimes, impressment, resulted in the formation of two regiments of black soldiers, the 12th and 13th United States Colored Troops. These regiments had a significant impact as a labor force for the Nashville and Northwestern. Later, they would be a significant part of the garrison guarding the railroad. Both the 12th and 13th Colored Troops began work as part of the Union army in November of 1863. The 12th was relieved of its duties on April 23, 1864 employing an average number of 200 men. The 13th was relieved on May 10, 1864 and employed an average of 500 men.



These regiments both played a prominent part in the Battle of Nashville in December of 1864. Eventually, both regiments were returned to garrison duty guarding the Nashville and Northwestern.<sup>90</sup>

Another source of railroad labor was free African-Americans. These men were paid wages of twenty dollars a month and upon completion of the railroad were enlisted into the 12th and 13th Colored Troops. As soldiers, these men were paid eleven dollars a month for guarding the railroad, “a considerable savings per person to the Union Army.”<sup>91</sup>

The 12th and 13th, constituted the primary railroad garrison but were not the only African-American troops on the Nashville and Northwestern. In October of 1864, nine companies of the 100th United States Colored Infantry were reported as fulfilling duties on the railroad. The 100th consisted mainly of men recruited in Kentucky . Additionally, two companies of the 40th United States Colored Infantry were reported on the Nashville and Northwestern. This regiment began recruiting late in 1863 after two companies had been authorized by Military Governor Johnson.<sup>92</sup>

The African-American regiments guarding the railroad were assisted by other units. Throughout April and May of 1864, the Tenth Tennessee Cavalry had three companies assigned along the Nashville and Northwestern. By August, detachments of the regiment were still reported as part of the garrison.<sup>93</sup> Similarly, the 10th Tennessee Infantry assigned detachments along the railroad. The 10th was present with detachments along the railroad before Secretary of War Stanton ordered its completion.<sup>94</sup> Additionally, the 1st Kansas Battery of Captain Marcus D. Tenny the 8th Iowa Cavalry of Colonel John B. Door, Company A of the 14th Tennessee Cavalry commanded by Lieutenant

William Cleary and the 43rd Wisconsin of Colonel Amasa Cobb were part of the railroad garrison.<sup>95</sup>

The guard force assembled on the Nashville and Northwestern was placed under the able command of General Alvan C. Gillem, Adjutant General of Tennessee. Gillem was an 1851 graduate of West Point. His experience with garrison duty and fighting Seminoles made his expertise on this assignment valuable. Gillem commanded the railroad defenses until August, 1864 when he was assigned to operations in East Tennessee.<sup>96</sup>

Garrison duty along the Nashville and Northwestern was not always boring. Several small attacks were mounted against the railroad to disrupt the immense amount of supplies which were flowing from the newly established depot at Johnsonville on the Tennessee River. Disrupting this flow of supplies prevented them from reaching Nashville and distribution to Sherman's army. Such disruptions could have been catastrophic to Sherman's offensive operations.

Captain Tenny of the 1st Kansas Battery reported guerrilla activity on July 25, 1864. "This morning there was a company of guerrillas, 5 miles from camp on Yellow Creek, supposed to be in command of some rebel colonel and citizens say to strike this railroad...70 to 100 estimated...persons pressed as guides of the party."<sup>97</sup> Although the identity of the guerrillas is not clear, such reports on the Nashville and Northwestern were frequent.

On August 16th, J. L. Donaldson, Chief Quartermaster at Nashville reported a raid on the Nashville and Northwestern to Major General L.H. Rousseau, commanding the District of Tennessee. "...a raid was made on the Northwestern railroad last night and



600 cords of wood destroyed, as well as some of the employees carried off, and perhaps murdered. We have a large number of horses and cattle now at Johnsonville, and it is exceedingly important that they should be brought here.”<sup>98</sup> Donaldson went on to imply that the railroad was not properly guarded. Unless things were changed there would be “terrible disaster and stoppage of supplies,” and requested that more regiments be added to the garrison.<sup>99</sup>

Donaldson’s fears came to pass when Captain Cain, commanding a detachment of Federal soldiers near Kingston Springs reported more guerrilla activity on October 3. “McNary, with a force estimated at from 50 to 150 men, was within 2 miles of his camp, and left in the direction of Nashville about 5 p.m. He appears to have some of Wheeler’s men with him.”<sup>100</sup> Cain, of course, referred to the noted guerrilla leader, Alexander Duval McNairy who caused considerable trouble to Federal authorities in the middle Tennessee area.

This was not the only instance of McNairy causing trouble on the Nashville and Northwestern. The same month, on October 18, McNairy and his men raided the railroad thirty-six miles from Nashville in Dickson County and continued their operations through October 21. Lieutenant W.L. Clark, Assistant Inspector of Railroad Defenses reported the incident on October 25, 1864. He stated “The track repairers at section 36 were taken prisoner by McNary’s gang (variously estimated at from 15 to 40 men, while some place the number at exactly 23) on the night of the 17th, about 12 o’clock, and held till late on the following morning, and made by McNary to draw the spikes from a rail and remove the fastenings at its end so as to be loose. The gang then drew back from observation, and in this condition of affairs the first a.m. train passed safely by them....”<sup>101</sup>

No damage was done to his train except that the surgeon and engineer were wounded and the boy serving as cook and brakeman was killed by "a shower of bullets [that] was poured in."<sup>102</sup> However, the second train which passed over the damaged track was derailed wounding the engineer and fireman, and then its crew robbed by McNairy and his men. McNairy also had his men burn one box car. A third train loaded with sawed timber headed for Johnsonville came upon the destructive scene. The crew all abandoned the train except for the engineer who backed the train up four miles. "Meantime the first train, Civil Conductor Charles White, arrived at the Sneed-ville, and Col. Murphy, who was on board, had the telegrapher, G.W. Leedon, send a dispatch to Lt. Orr, at White Bluffs, to come on with his cavalry, The dispatch was promptly obeyed, and Lt. Orr arrived with 25 men twenty minutes after the gang had taken their departure, and pursued them a short distance unsuccessfully, and his horses being tired and inferior he returned."<sup>103</sup> Shortly after, a wrecking train was dispatched from Section 51 along with a detachment from the 100th Colored Troops which cleared the wreck and reopened the Nashville and Northwestern.<sup>104</sup>

Two days later on October 21st, another train was passing the same area when it was flagged down by the section foreman who had reports of men tearing up the track. Lieutenant Clark continued his report of the incident:

Captain O.B. Simmons, military conductor, had the train stopped, and with his large train guard pursued the bushwhackers, whose numbers could not be ascertained, for a considerable distance, but as they were mounted the pursuit was unavailing. Civil Conductor Charles White fastened down the rail and the train passed on. Afterward the gang returned and burned the house and commissary of the section foreman, who lay in the bushes in sight. They also burned nearly all the negro and other dwellings along the railroad for two miles. Piles of wood at sections 38 and 39 were burned, and various estimates placed the loss in wood at from 3,000 to 15,000 cords. The wood being in several ranks close to the road many ties were burned at the ends, and the rails warped by the intense heat, so that the 3 o'clock train for Nashville could not pass... Capt. J.W. Dickins, at Sneedville, went to the burning wood with part of his company, and arrived in time to hear the retreating bushwhackers laughing and talking, but was not able at that time (11 o'clock night) to do anything, and returned to Sneedville.<sup>105</sup>



The activities of McNairy's men stopped the distribution of supplies on the Nashville and Northwestern until October 23, 1864. Rapid repairs to the railroad and a quick response by Federal authorities kept the track from being out of order for an extended period. Although never out of operation for more than a few days, these were a few days worth of supplies that were not shipped to Sherman's army.<sup>106</sup>

While McNairy concentrated his attacks directly against the railroad, other attacks were made against its supply point on the Tennessee River. At Johnsonville "there were extensive arrangements for the transfer of freight from steamboats to railroad cars, powerful hoisting machinery and ample buildings, platforms and storage space."<sup>107</sup> These logistical facilities, however, were useless without the Nashville and Northwestern; the railroad was useless without Johnsonville. Both were useless if Federal authorities did not protect the railroad through Dickson County, between Johnsonville and Nashville.

Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest understood Johnsonville's significance to Union supply and communication and demonstrated that understanding with his November, 1864 attack on the railroad terminus at Johnsonville on the Tennessee River. He reported that it was his "present design to take possession of Fort Heiman, on the west bank of the Tennessee River below Johnsonville and thus prevent all communication with Johnsonville by transports."<sup>108</sup> His understanding of Sherman's logistics was also exhibited when he stated, "It is highly important that this line be interrupted, if not entirely destroyed, as I learned during my recent operations in middle Tennessee that it was by this route that the enemy received most of his supplies at Atlanta."<sup>109</sup>

On October 29, Forrest took positions on the west side of the Tennessee River. Establishing batteries along the shore, Forrest captured several Federal vessels with cargo and his men armed them, calling themselves "horse marines."<sup>110</sup> They moved in concert with the remainder of his cavalry to Johnsonville. Forrest reached his objective on

November 3, 1864; the west bank of the Tennessee River; opposite Johnsonville. His artillery opened up on the depot. Boats which were docked on the wharf were burned and the flames spread to the warehouses. Forrest and his command departed the area that night while Johnsonville was a towering inferno. Union estimates of property damage were \$2,200,000. Forrest however reported an enemy loss of “four gunboats, fourteen transports, twenty barges, twenty-six pieces of artillery,” for a grand total of \$6,700,000.<sup>111</sup> November 6th, Sherman made a report to Grant in which he stated, “That devil Forrest was down about Johnsonville, making havoc among the gunboats and transports.”<sup>112</sup>

Repairs at Johnsonville would not happen immediately. General John B. Hood had begun his invasion of Tennessee. All troops were sent to repel Hood and the railroad was totally abandoned until after the Battle of Nashville in December, 1864. In the meantime, all bridges along the Nashville and Northwestern had been burned. Rebuilding of the bridges did not begin until January 2, 1865 and was completed on February 13th with 2,200 feet of bridges rebuilt.<sup>113</sup>

Guerrilla bands, such as those belonging to Alexander D. McNairy were effective. In Dickson County, McNairy and his men essentially closed the Nashville and Northwestern to supplies for the better part of four days. Although not a significant period of time, this was four days worth of supplies which were delayed in getting to Sherman. Such attacks on the L&N were a primary reason for finding an alternative method of supply, which resulted in construction of the Nashville and Northwestern. Additionally, attacks on the Nashville and Northwestern necessitated defense of the railroad which tied up Union troops who were badly needed in other areas.

Forrest masterminded a brilliant attack on the Union Logistical network at Johnsonville. However, his attack was far too late to achieve anything more than a temporary knee jerk reaction. Sherman had already taken Atlanta and cut himself from his supply lines. The Nashville and Northwestern was only significant as long as



Sherman depended on those means of supply.<sup>114</sup>

Jesse C. Burt was quite correct when he stated "Sherman won his epochal campaign through the proper management of well-organized supply lines from the city of Nashville. An essential part of them was the Nashville and Northwestern."<sup>115</sup> The Nashville and Northwestern was vital to the Union Logistics. Although it suffered a slow start, perseverance and dedication made it successful and one could argue with some validity that the railroad directly dealt the coup-de-gras to the Confederacy. What is clear, however, is that Union efforts at counterinsurgency in Dickson County played a vital role in keeping this essential railroad open. Perhaps Sherman himself summed up the Nashville and Northwestern best:

The Atlanta Campaign would simply have been impossible without the use of the railroads from Louisville to Nashville-185 miles-from Nashville to Chattanooga-151 miles- and from Chattanooga to Atlanta-137 miles. Every mile of this 'single track' was so delicate, that one man could in a minute have broken or moved a rail...we had, however, to maintain strong guards and garrisons at each important bridge or trestle- the destruction of which would have necessitated time for rebuilding...Our trains from Nashville forward were operated under military rules, and ran about ten miles per hour in gangs of four trains of ten cars each. Four such groups of trains daily made 160 cars, of ten tons each, carrying 1,600 tons, which exceeded the absolute necessity of the army, and allowed for the accidents that were common and inevitable...that single stem of railroad, 473 miles long, supplied an army of 100,000 men and 35,000 animals for the period of 196 days, viz., from May 1 to November 12, 1864. To have delivered regularly that amount of food and forage by ordinary wagons would have required 36,800 wagons of six mules each, allowing each wagon to have hauled two tons twenty miles each day, a simple impossibility in roads such as then existed in that region of country. Therefore, I reiterate that the Atlanta Campaign was an impossibility without these railroads; and only then, because we had the men and means to defend them, in addition to what were necessary to overcome the enemy.<sup>116</sup>

It is unclear why Sherman failed to mention the Nashville and Northwestern specifically in his post-war memoirs. What is clear, however, is that he recognized the collective importance of railroad to his campaign. The Dickson County section of railroad proved one of the most important sections of the Nashville and Northwestern and its ultimate test occurs when one asks the question, "How did Sherman receive supplies

when the L&N was out of service and transportation on the Cumberland unsuitable and what role did Dickson County play in both?" The answer to this question reveals that Sherman's Atlanta Campaign was "simply impossible" without protection of the Nashville and Northwestern and pacification of Dickson County.<sup>117</sup>



## Chapter 4

The pacification of Dickson County in late 1863 was crucial to Federal forces operating in and around middle Tennessee because of the major transportation routes that bordered on or traversed the county. Charlotte became an intricate part of this strategy due to the major roads that converged on the town. Strategically, the town found itself between the two major Union supply routes, the Cumberland River and the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad. This location, combined with the increasing attacks mounted on these logistical routes, necessitated that the Federals embark on a campaign to secure the two supply arteries by breaking the area's guerrilla networks. Much of this network included civilians who supported the guerrillas with food and livestock. Although Federal actions rarely reached the level of barbarity, Federal forces engaged in a few brutal acts. Mainly, however, the Federals administered a heavy handed occupation that sometimes intimidated and angered the citizens of Charlotte but effectively accomplished their task of securing the Union's logistical routes and dismantling the guerrilla support network.

Charlotte's population in 1861 consisted of approximately three hundred people. Most roads in the county radiated from the town in different directions and, as discussed in an earlier chapter, Charlotte provided safe haven to many Confederate guerrillas attempting to disrupt the flow of Union supplies on the Cumberland. Moreover, the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad, vital to the Union logistical system, lay just a few miles south of the town. These reasons required Federal forces to conduct a counterinsurgency and occupation of the Charlotte area.<sup>118</sup>

By the time of Charlotte's occupation, however, citizens living around Charlotte had frequently seen the movement of both armies through the area. Many citizens of

Dickson County heard the report of cannon fire from the Battle of Fort Donelson in February 1862, nearly fifty miles away. The inhabitants of Charlotte, however, saw their first glimpse of wartime activity when Forrest's men, retreating after their escape from Donelson, stopped briefly in the town. The Confederate general found Charlotte in "a state of wild alarm and agitation" over rumors that the Federals were about to capture Nashville. Forrest assured the local residents that the rumors were false and threatened the local senator circulating the rumor with arrest. While the commander pressed the town's blacksmiths into reshoeing his mounts, his men filled the local saloons and "held the civilians spellbound with tales of war,"<sup>119</sup> and according to local legend, Forrest rode his horse into one of the establishments and began striking men with the flat of his saber to get them moving again.

In their history of Forrest and his cavalry, Thomas Jordan and J.P. Pryor also related another wartime incident exhibiting the extent of activity occurring on the outskirts of Charlotte. They noted that a few days before the engagement at Fort Donelson another regiment of Confederate cavalry passed through Charlotte on their way to the fort. Before they reached Fort Donelson, however, they received word of the fort's fall and turned back without knowing that Forrest, after his escape from Donelson, was almost on their heels. The regiment passed through the town while Forrest stopped his command on the outskirts and ordered his men to discharge their weapons and reload. As the regiment moved through Charlotte they heard the report of Forrest's gunfire and fearing it was Federal soldiers giving chase, hastily abandoned their equipment and fled towards Nashville. Forrest's men, badly in need of equipment after losing their own stores at Fort Donelson, happily recovered the equipment.<sup>120</sup>



Mary E. Leech, a longtime Charlotte citizen described the wartime events witnessed by her family and stated that Forrest moved through the town on his way to Fort Donelson. Leech also noted that upon returning to the town after his escape from the fort that Forrest and his men looked “bedraggled, wounded, and pitiful.”<sup>121</sup>

From this point Charlotte became a hotbed for Confederate guerrilla activity and Federal soldiers frequently patrolled this area of the county. Sometime after the Battle of Fort Donelson in 1862, a Union patrol numbering about sixty men skirmished with guerrillas on the outskirts of Charlotte.<sup>122</sup> Sightings of both armies, however, became common to the town’s people. Reverend James Hugh McNeilly frequently contributed to the *Confederate Veteran* after the war. Although he was away serving as the chaplain of the 49<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Infantry, McNeilly related many experiences encountered by his family in Dickson County during his absence. McNeilly’s family maintained a home on the Charlotte square but with the war’s movement into Dickson County, moved to a farm owned by his grandfather on Jones Creek, six miles from the town. One of McNeilly’s many writings discussed an incident that occurred on the farm and also exhibited how frequently Confederate units passed through the area. While enroute to Dover for the 1863 attack on Fort Donelson, Forrest and his staff stopped for the night at the Larkin’s farm (the farm of McNeilly’s grandfather). Forrest endeared himself to McNeilly’s blind eighty-nine year old grandfather. When the commander left the next morning, McNeilly’s grandfather accompanied Forrest with one of his grandchildren’s assistance. Upon reaching their point of departure, the old man asked Forrest to dismount and kneel when he laid his hands upon the general’s head and “invoked the blessing of God on Gen.

Forrest, on his men, and on the cause for which he was fighting.” Forrest remounted his horse and continued down the road with tears in his eyes.<sup>123</sup>

Historian Stephen V. Ash, describing Federal efforts to combat guerrilla warfare in Middle Tennessee noted, “Those [anti-guerrilla] countermeasures were necessarily harsh, even brutal. They punished not only the armed guerrillas but the unarmed civilians who sustained them. The Union army adopted such tactics hesitantly, because its commanders failed at first to associate the mayhem of the bushwhackers with the belligerence of the citizenry. But apprehending that their comrades were being cut down from ambush by men and boys who killed by night and hid among their kinfolk and neighbors by day, the soldiers declared war on the citizens.”<sup>124</sup> By the time of their occupation of Charlotte, however, Federal forces fully understood the relationship between guerrilla networks and the local citizens and undertook a campaign that harmed both but ultimately broke the guerrillas. Although some brutal acts occurred, the activity around Charlotte leads one to infer that the Federals engaged in a carefully targeted counterinsurgency strategy to render the guerrillas ineffective. Most sources, however, paint the civilian experience of Union occupation as unpleasant at best.

In October 1863, elements of the 12<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Cavalry (U.S.) moved into Charlotte and declared martial law. Different companies of the unit remained there until April 1864, alternating between the town and garrison duty along the Nashville and Northwestern. Other units passing from the railroad’s terminus at Johnsonville, on the Tennessee River, to Nashville frequently moved through Charlotte. In December 1863, Federal authorities ordered Major John Kirwan of the 12<sup>th</sup> Tennessee to take command at Charlotte and “clean out the bushwhackers in that vicinity.”<sup>125</sup>



Kirwan and his men ably accomplished this task and also caused much damage to the town. According to one source, "They established headquarters in the court house, and erected barracks all around the court yard and christened the same as 'Camp Charlotte' . . . The records in the court house were mutilated and destroyed in an inexcusable and wanton manner, and private and business houses invaded and pillaged." Inside the Circuit Court Docket for 1854-1866, a Federal soldier made the following annotation; "Headquarters United States Forces, December 17, 1863." Additionally, the entry contained the following names and titles; "John R. Horton, Q.S.; W.B. Douthat, Q.M.S.; John M. Moody, S.M.; James L. Gaples, G.S., William Kelly, B.S.; William Parton, B.S.; Samuel H. Anderson, C.G." <sup>126</sup>

Also during the month of December, Companies C and D of the 12<sup>th</sup> reported that they scouted six hundred miles throughout the month. They also noted the capture of sixty guerrillas, the wounding of ten, and the killing of twenty. A biographical sketch of Kirwan later stated that the unit killed and wounded several guerrillas, "and capturing 157, which he sent to Nashville to be tried by military commission." <sup>127</sup>

Federal soldiers took possession of town buildings for their use. One of the buildings commandeered was the unfinished Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Converting the church into a hospital, Federal soldiers inflicted much damage upon the building for which the church was not compensated until 1903. After filing a claim against the United States, the church was awarded \$5,240 for rent of the building, damage to lumber and brick work, and removal of a frame structure from the premises, plus interest. Buildings, however, were not the only thing to suffer during the occupation of Charlotte. <sup>128</sup>

Many people living in Charlotte at that time simply remembered the Federal occupation of the town as an unpleasant experience. Mary E. Leech recalled that “the town was often full of Yankees.” She related an incident where Federal soldiers killed all of the ducks that, at one time, swam up and down Town Branch (a creek that runs just south of the town square) and threw them on the square.<sup>129</sup>

Several other families in the Charlotte area experienced the same hard occupation policy that Leech observed. Benjamin Medlock, living near Charlotte, remembered that the family received word that Federal soldiers were going to pass on a nearby road. Medlock recalled that they passed along the road for several hours and they all asked for something to eat. He noted, however, “but they weren’t mean to us and I wasn’t anymore afraid of them than I was a chicken. However, they would steal everything they could get their hand on meat, chicken corn, horses, etc.” William Butler lived in Charlotte and his father was a magistrate. He remembered Federal soldiers invading the home and telling his mother who had a baby in the cradle that if she did not give them money that they would take the baby.<sup>130</sup>

Some local citizens, however, remembered the lighter side of the Federal presence. James P. Spradling who lived west of Charlotte recalled frequently going to the town and trading with Federal soldiers for coffee. He noted, “The Yankees were always visiting our place when they were in Charlotte.” Charles Eleazer lived on Jones Creek near Charlotte and recalled an episode during a Union patrol’s stop at his home. He recalled, “An old negro woman stayed at our house during the time, and one day the ‘Yankees’ came and they wanted her to cook their breakfast. She told them that she would have to go to the spring to get some water and when she came back she said:



‘Forrest is coming with ten thousand men.’ When the ‘Yankees’ heard this they got on their horses and pulled out. She said that she didn’t intend to cook their breakfast and had just said that so they would get scared and leave.”<sup>131</sup>

Union forces attempted to break the guerrilla networks in Charlotte in several different ways, but most units targeted civilians who might support the guerrilla apparatus. One method involved the confiscation and arrest of people suspected of equipping local guerrillas. Reverend James H. McNeilly noted that sometime in 1863, his father Robert McNeilly, an attorney, former State Representative, and Clerk of the Dickson County Circuit Court, left with some clothing for a friend’s home who was going to deliver it to his sons serving in the Confederate army. Along the way, however, a contingent of Union cavalry intercepted his father and arrested him. The Federal soldiers took McNeilly to Nashville where he was confined in the Nashville penitentiary for several months until Tennessee’s Military Governor, Andrew Johnson, ordered his release after taking an oath of allegiance.<sup>132</sup>

Other methods of breaking the guerrilla networks included search and seizures of civilian homes for weapons that might find their way into the hands of local guerrillas. Reverend McNeilly related another wartime experience endured by his family during the Union occupation of Charlotte. He recalled that his grandfather, James Larkins, had given him a bear knife that was about a foot long but extremely worn from extensive use. During one of the many searches of the McNeilly home by Federals, soldiers confiscated the knife saying “it was a dangerous weapon, which an unscrupulous Rebel might use to stab the Union in the heart.”<sup>133</sup>

By concentrating their efforts against the civilian population, Federal soldiers waged a war of counterinsurgency that sought to deny food and mounts to the guerrilla network. Mary E. Leech recalled, "Many times when people would have a meal cooked and on the table the Yankee soldiers would march in and eat every bite, leaving the children crying from hunger." The experience was personal to Leech and she remembered that a Federal soldier pointed a pistol in her mother's face and ordered her to give him the keys to the food cellar. The soldier took the keys and took all of the family's food.<sup>134</sup>

Reverend McNeilly noted that the year following his father's release from the Nashville penitentiary he and the two youngest McNeilly sons planted a crop with the assistance of a mule loaned by his uncle. Just after it was gathered in the barn, however, a regiment of Federal cavalry came to the farm with ten wagons and loaded them with the crop, fed their men and horses, then threw the remainder in the barnyard and rode their horses back and forth until the crops disappeared in the mud. McNeilly remarked, "All of this was important as part of the program to save the Union." This happened to the McNeilly family crop on more than one occasion, both in 1863 and 1864. Reverend McNeilly observed that the soldiers gave the family a receipt for the goods taken but the commander added, "This man has three sons in the Rebel army," making it impossible for the family to receive compensation for the lost crops. He recalled that upon returning home "nearly everything had been taken from the farm. The mules, horses, oxen, cows, hogs, were all gone."<sup>135</sup> Betty Gray, a young girl living near Cumberland Furnace, noted that she had to learn knitting and sewing at a very young age so the family would have



clothes. She also recalled how the "Yankees" would come and take all of the family's food, remarking, "That was a pretty awful period."<sup>136</sup>

Although it was the exception and not the rule, sometimes the Union occupation of Charlotte and its counterinsurgency became brutal. Before leaving the town in 1864, Lt. Dennis Donnehue of the 12<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Cavalry ordered his men to shoot a suspected guerrilla by the name of William D. Willey. This execution took place in retaliation for the death of John Lindsey, a known Dickson County Union sympathizer. A short time later, Federal forces captured Demps Dobson, a local guerrilla, and took him about one mile north of Charlotte and shot him. When local citizens returned to the execution site to bury his body they found a piece of paper in his hand that stated, "Shot in retaliation for the killing of John Lindsey." Another citizen of Charlotte, M. Gilbert, was killed by Federal soldiers in a like manner.<sup>137</sup>

Federals continued their ruthless persecution of suspected guerrillas on at least one more occasion. Although she gave no date, Mary E. Leech described this incident that involved her mother. She noted, "Where Robertson street crosses Town Branch. . . a confederate soldier by the name of Willis was shot. The Yankees put him on the hill with his head down toward the creek. He begged for water. The Yankee soldiers would let him crawl almost to the creek-then drag him back up the hill. This went on for so long that Mrs. Mary Ann Leech and other ladies pleaded with the soldiers to let the dying boy have some water. The Yankee soldiers refused the request and tortured the boy until he died."<sup>138</sup>

The Union occupiers treated some citizens harsher than others but not all acts amounted to barbarity. C.C. Hall, a young girl who lived near the mouth of Jones Creek

remembered that Federal soldiers burned her home twice during the war. George Sutherland recalled seeing a skirmish between several guerrillas and about forty Federal soldiers near the County Farm. He remarked that afterward, the Federal soldiers “dispossessed” his father of his rights and sold his farm, suspecting that he had supported the guerrillas. This was not the only case of Federals “dispossessing” citizens of rights. After his arrest, Reverend McNeilly’s father was prohibited from practicing law.<sup>139</sup>

Although occasional attacks against Union transportation on the Cumberland at Harpeth Shoals still occurred and a few others against the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad occasionally transpired, in large part the Federal counterinsurgency strategy around Charlotte was largely successful. Attacks on the Cumberland transportation drastically decreased and the occupation of Charlotte, combined with a substantial garrison along the Nashville and Northwestern, kept guerrilla activity from achieving any large successes. Historian Stephen Ash noted, “Not every local commandant achieved total victory; some sections of Middle Tennessee witnessed occasional guerrilla forays to the very end of the war . . . [but] tough countermeasures reduced the problem to manageable proportions. After 1864, bushwhacking no longer threatened Union control of this crucial region.”<sup>140</sup>

This was certainly the case in Dickson County. After concluding their occupation of Charlotte, Federal forces encountered very few guerrilla problems in Dickson County and this region, vital to Union control of middle Tennessee, remained in control of the Federal army. Union counterinsurgency strategy had all but broken the back of irregular Confederate networks seeking to cause damage and undermine the Union control of Dickson County.



## Chapter 5

Beginning in 1862, Union forces operating in Dickson County attempted to establish some degree of control over the Yellow Creek valley. The area was a major breadbasket for the county and an area of high Confederate sentiment. Union authorities recognized this and attempted to use some of the same counterinsurgency methods that they used to pacify other areas of the county. While effective to some degree, Federal forces did not experience the same success with pacification of Yellow Creek as they did in other vital areas of Dickson County.

Lying in the western portion of Dickson County, Yellow Creek travels from its head near Williamsville and flows north where it meets the Cumberland River in Montgomery County. The region's primary road running north to south meanders along the stream bed throughout most of the Yellow Creek valley.<sup>141</sup> To the north, the road led to Cumberland City and to the south it eventually reached Centerville, in Hickman County. Several roads running east to west bisected the Yellow Creek road. One road was the old stage route running from Charlotte to Waverly that crossed Yellow Creek near at Williamsville. Other roads, however, also connected the Yellow Creek region with Charlotte and they included the Maysville Road, one road that paralleled Cedar Creek, and another that followed Bear Creek

The Yellow Creek region presented several unique problems to the Federal army. First, the terrain favored the defender and the high hill surrounding the valley offered both Confederate regulars and guerrillas excellent observation points. In addition to observation points, the hills made excellent ambush sites for those wishing to interrupt Federal patrols on Yellow Creek.

Additionally, the majority of the population inhabiting the Yellow Creek region was staunchly Confederate in their sentiment. This meant that they would be inclined to help aid and assist with any activity that hindered Federal movement and control throughout the valley. The large slave population of the Yellow Creek area indicates the large degree of Confederate sentiment possessed by the local population. William Fentress owned 119 slaves, Nancy West held forty, and A.B. Skelton possessed twenty-seven slaves. The approximate slave population of the entire Yellow Creek valley totaled 667 people.<sup>142</sup>

Yellow Creek was also a large agricultural area of Dickson County. The 1860 Agricultural Census of Dickson County reveals that farms in the area produced a substantial amount of crops. Moreover, many of the area's farmers possessed large quantities of livestock. In addition to horses, mules, sheep, hogs, and cattle one could find large amounts of Irish potatoes, corn, wheat, tobacco, and beans. As a result, Confederate units frequently conducted foraging operations in the area. On 6 October 1862, a pass from Confederate officers to their subordinate revealed the usefulness of Yellow Creek to the Confederate cause. Captains John B. Dortch and Captain John Minor noted, "Lieutenant Jack Nesbitt is hereby authorized to press for the use of the Confederate Army Guns, Horses, Saddles, Ammunition or any thing else the troops may stand in need of and report the same to me." Combined with the large Confederate sentiment in the area, these circumstances made it much more difficult for Federal forces to pacify the area.<sup>143</sup>

Another problem confronting Union pacification of the Yellow Creek region involved the frequent presence of regular Confederate units passing through the area. On



his retreat from Fort Donelson in February 1862, Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest moved through the northern end of the Yellow Creek valley on his way to Charlotte and Nashville.<sup>144</sup> In February 1863, Forrest and General Joseph Wheeler, attempting to sidestep an interdicting Federal column under Union General Jefferson C. Davis moved south down the Yellow Creek valley to Centerville after their failed attempt to capture Dover. On 21 August 1863, Colonel Sanders Bruce, commanding at Clarksville, reported to The Army of the Cumberland's Chief of Staff that "a force of Confederate cavalry, between 3,000 and 4,000 strong with 2 batteries are between Charlotte and Yellow Creek. Have started man to find them and report facts."<sup>145</sup>

Finally, Federal authorities were well aware that Yellow Creek was a sanctuary for Confederate guerrillas. In October 1863, John C. Smith, a Union spy, reported to General William S. Rosecrans that the guerrillas operating near Yellow Creek "... are a terror to the whole country and those men ought not to be permitted to live and should be killed by all means. Union men nor Union sentiment cannot exist where they are allowed to stay . . ." Smith specifically mentioned a band of Confederate guerrillas operating under a Captain Andrew Ray who took refuge on Yellow Creek below Mrs. Adam's, "nearly always there staying, and went back and forth to Kentucky to break open stores, and steal horses and mules." Smith also noted, "His men killed 8 Union men on Yellow Creek in cold blood." This was not the only report of Ray operating in the area. On 23 August 1864, the *Nashville Dispatch* noted the conviction of Kentucky citizen James Mallory by a military commission on 29 February, 1864 for murder and "operating as a guerrilla under Ray in Dickson County." The paper reported that Mallory received a death sentence by hanging and that he was only twenty years old.<sup>146</sup>

Smith's report to Rosecrans also observed that Captain Andrew Thompson with thirty-five bushwhackers stayed below Andrew Brown's on Yellow Creek and a few stayed at the head of Yellow Creek at Williamsville. Referring to the guerrillas that stayed in Williamsville the report stated, "all these men or nearly so, rogues, bushwhackers, and committing all manner of mischief, and will not allow any farmer to speak out for Union, if so, this is a pretext to seize and steal all his property-a terror to the people, waylaying roads, etc." <sup>147</sup>

Federal forces recognized that the population sheltered the guerrillas and attempted to halt the activity. Much like their occupation of Charlotte, Federals searched the homes of local citizens for contraband. George Henry Wright recalled that Federal soldiers surrounded his home in 1862 and searched everything but failed to find anything they deemed contraband. Few accounts, however, exist that discuss search and seizure of goods in the homes of the local citizens suggesting that the Federal counterinsurgency efforts along Yellow Creek were sporadic and ineffective. <sup>148</sup>

Federal authorities did attempt to disrupt guerrilla networks along Yellow Creek by frequently patrolling the area and seizing goods and livestock but more often than not Federal units rarely ventured off main roads. Guerrillas frequently fired on these patrols forcing the Federals to rapidly vacate the area before they could significantly disrupt the irregular Confederate operations. Colonel W. W. Lowe reported such an incident on 23 May 1863. He stated, "Sir: Have just returned. Yesterday some of my cavalry, under Major Baird had a skirmish with the rebels. Some of Cox's command on Yellow Creek about four miles from our camp, routed and chased them for 12 miles, capturing 7 prisoners. Loss not known. On our side Captain Paul, 5<sup>th</sup> Iowa Cavalry, slightly



[wounded]. To-day were fired upon wounding Lt. Beatty, 5<sup>th</sup> Iowa Cavalry, and on man severely, chased them for several miles, but did not catch them. In both cases the rebels were in ambush. Have given orders to take no more prisoners . . .”<sup>149</sup>

In July 1863, Colonel Sanders D. Bruce, commanding at Clarksville, ordered Captain John Dever with sixty men of the 8<sup>th</sup> Kentucky Cavalry (U.S.) to scout the south side of the Cumberland River from Clarksville. Dever's expedition moved down the Cumberland River to Cumberland City where it disembarked and proceeded down the Yellow Creek valley to an Irish settlement in the region. Upon arriving in the area local citizens informed the commander that several guerrillas had gathered at a shanty in the Irish settlement and noted that it was a favorite guerrilla sanctuary. Dever placed Lt. John R. Curry in advance with twelve men. According to the Federal soldiers present, the men gathered in and around the shanty fired at Curry and his men. The Union soldiers charged the establishment and arrested several men there, including Dr. Aaron James, then quickly left the area. The soldiers took James and the others to Clarksville and tried them by military commission where James was charged with violating his oath of allegiance and being a leader of a guerrilla band. The commission found James guilty but Abraham Lincoln later disapproved his death sentence.<sup>150</sup>

Federal patrols, however, continued to experience problems pacifying the Yellow Creek region. On 16 July 1863, the 28<sup>th</sup> Mounted Infantry (Kentucky) and the 8<sup>th</sup> Kentucky Cavalry in command of Captains Whipp and Benson scouted the area in and around Yellow Creek and Charlotte. A report in the *Nashville Dispatch* noted, “They were fired upon four different times, and many exciting chases occurred . . . Two companies of the 4<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Rebel cavalry of Forrest's command, more on Yellow

Creek and about Charlotte collecting forage. Several guns and four prisoners were captured.” The prisoners were Lt. J.M. Dodson, a member of the 10<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Cavalry home on detached service, W.J. Nesbitt, and L.S. Nichols, also members of the 10<sup>th</sup>. Federals also captured W.H. Hunt, a former Confederate soldier who had been a member of Woodward’s regiment and had taken the oath of allegiance. Federals arrested Hunt and charged him with violating his oath of allegiance and being connected with a band waging guerrilla warfare and the *Nashville Dispatch* reported that he was going to be tried by a military commission.<sup>151</sup>

Federal authorities did increase their efforts to break guerrilla bands on Yellow Creek. On 18 August 1863, Colonel William P. Lyon, commanding Union forces at Fort Donelson reported, “Mounted infantry scouts have returned. They bring in 17 prisoners, 27 horses, 8 mules, and a quantity of Jeans, cotton, yarn, tent cloth, and some arms. They were not attacked. They scouted the country from Yellow Creek to the Tennessee River for 25 miles south, driving out all guerrillas.”<sup>152</sup> While the Federals redoubled their efforts to pacify the Yellow Creek region, they had not succeeded in driving guerrillas from the region and they continued plaguing Union forays into the area.

On 8 December 1863 J. J. Pickett, a Yellow Creek citizen, complained to Military Governor Andrew Johnson that Federal soldiers burned his home along with his kitchen, smokehouse, and slave quarters and all of their contents. Pickett’s letter noted that Lt. Henry W. Barr of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Tennessee Cavalry also threatened to shoot his wife and daughters and told the ladies that he burned the home because Confederate guerrillas had shot one of his men near the residence. Pickett, however, claimed that no shooting had



taken place from his house and that he had never “raised arms against the government” and had not voted for the county’s secession. Pickett asked Johnson for redress.<sup>153</sup>

Upon Johnson’s request, Lt. Barr submitted his “statement of the facts” surrounding the burning of Pickett’s home. Patrolling the area from Kingston Springs, Barr told Johnson that he learned Yellow Creek was “a place of resort for Guerillas [.]” and he noted, “this I Got from nearly evry Citizen I met and was warned by Some Citizens bfore I got theare that I wood find them at evry house that I came to after arriveing on yellow creek and that I wood be bushwacked from evry hill Side.” Barr told Johnson that he stopped at Mrs. Adam’s home on Yellow Creek to eat breakfast, three quarters of a mile from Pickett’s. Guerrillas drove in Barr’s pickets and his men mounted to pursue the men.<sup>154</sup>

After moving only four hundred yards the guerrillas fired on Barr’s detachment from hills on both sides of the road. Barr’s men rode through the ambush and came to another house where other guerrillas were eating breakfast. Barr charged the home, captured their horses and was preparing to move again when guerrillas on the hill fired at him again. He continued moving down Yellow Creek past Pickett’s home when the bushwhackers fired on his rear guard and captured two of his men. Barr realized this and ordered his command to turn and charge back toward Pickett’s home where two women had laughed as he passed. The Lieutenant retook his captured men who had been wounded. The liberated man blamed the women at Pickett’s home for the incident, stating that they had seen the guerrillas and had told them to kill Barr’s men. Barr noted that he could not pursue the guerrillas because the terrain would have required him to ride

two or three miles off the road to reach the hill tops from which the guerrillas had fired. Instead, Barr rode into the house and waited for his men to set fire to the house.<sup>155</sup>

While Federals rarely enjoyed any major success in their pacification of Yellow Creek, evidence suggests that the area became secure sometime between 1864 and 1865. One commander of a Union regiment of colored infantry noted that his regiment camped at Williamsville on 1 December 1864 on their way from Johnsonville to the Battle of Nashville and he reported no problems with guerrillas in the area. On 31 January 1865, Captain R.H. Clinton of the 10<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Infantry told Military Governor Johnson that his scouting expedition from Nashville to Charlotte, throughout Yellow Creek and into Humphreys County occurred without any sighting of "bushwhackers." Clinton's expedition camped at Williamsville on 25 January.<sup>156</sup>

Although Federal forces around the area recognized that Yellow Creek was a guerrilla sanctuary and did make some attempts to break their networks, Union authorities never saw the same kind of success they enjoyed in Charlotte and along the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad. As previously mentioned, Union patrols seldom veered off of the main roads and often times they simply cut their losses after making contact with the guerrillas and moved out of the area. Therefore, Confederate guerrillas could maintain sanctuary off of these main roads and operate against Federal patrols with a reasonable degree of security. The constant presence of Federal troops within the region never occurred and they made no attempts to occupy the area permanently.

Furthermore, Federal forces rarely operated against those equipping, protecting, and feeding guerrilla networks. Although several local citizens complained of a near constant and menacing presence of Federal soldiers around Charlotte who searched their



homes, executed guerrillas, destroyed crops, and liberated slaves, Union soldiers disturbed very few in the Yellow Creek region. This half-hearted counterinsurgency, not surprisingly, produced fewer confiscations of goods, food, livestock, and weapons by the Federals and allowed them to remain in an area with high Confederate sentiment where the local population could supply them to the Confederate army or to local guerrilla organizations.

With this half-hearted Union counterinsurgency, how did Federal forces eventually rid the Yellow Creek valley of guerrilla activity and maintain control over Dickson County? The answer to this question reveals that containment, rather than active counterinsurgency reduced the Confederate activity along Yellow Creek. By late 1862, Union forces completely controlled the area north of Yellow Creek and Dickson County, including Clarksville. The Federal occupation of Charlotte in October 1863 sealed Yellow Creek from the east and effectively cut the link between guerrillas operating at both Charlotte and along Yellow Creek. A short distance away, the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad slowly inched westward across Dickson County and the strong counterinsurgency program mounted along that road isolated Yellow Creek from the south.

It remains unclear if Union forces seeking to pacify Dickson County actively pursued a strategy of isolation. While correspondence and documents fail to reveal a concerted, strategic Federal effort to separate Yellow Creek from other significant areas, Union authorities certainly would have benefitted from the strategic consequences. Reduction of Yellow Creek resistance occurred with minimal loss of life on either side, few disruptions to the civilian population, and without a large number of badly needed

Federal troops committed to occupation duty in order to subdue the area's resistance.

Whether intentional or not, Federal counterinsurgency efforts in other areas of Dickson County contributed to the strategic isolation of Yellow Creek that allowed the Federals to completely pacify significant areas of the county.



## Conclusion

In order to conduct campaigns further south and sustain their logistics, Federal forces had to pacify the area and protect their major logistical routes running through the county. While Dickson County remained staunchly Confederate in their sentiment, some support for the Union existed in the county. Federal forces often relied on the assistance of Dickson County Unionists to provide them with information about guerrilla sanctuaries and other Confederate activity occurring in the region. In some cases, as discussed in previous chapters, Union sentiment resulted in the death and property destruction of Dickson County Unionists by local guerrillas.

The Dickson County Unionists were not always passive in letting their beliefs be known. At considerable risk to themselves, Union supporters in the county did hold occasional meetings. The pro Union Nashville newspapers recorded some of these meetings and their proceedings. One such meeting occurred at the Valley Springs Meeting House in the northern part of the county, near Cumberland Furnace. On 3 July 1862, the Nashville Daily Union reported the meeting of ordinary farmers. The paper stated, "Among all the proceedings of the many Union meetings which have reached us from various southern states, we do not recollect any which please us so well as the resolutions passed some ten days ago by a gathering of plain Tennessee farmers in Dickson County." The paper also noted that the resolutions were "sensible and practical."<sup>157</sup>

This meeting occurred 21 June 1862, and passed a series of six resolutions. The resolutions included a wide array of topics but all were pro Union positions. Included in one of the resolutions was the belief that the Federal government held the "imperative

duty" to put down the rebellion. The Unionists of Dickson County drafted another resolution which stated that the citizens of the county loyal to the Union had the responsibility to help the United States end the rebellion. Other resolutions indicated that these citizens loyal to the Union wanted the war to be paid for by the leading Confederate supporters. The fourth resolution asserted the opposition to leaders assuming elected offices when their loyalty to the United States Government was in question. In their last resolutions, these Dickson County men urged "loyal men throughout the state to hold similar meetings for the purpose of perpetuating the Government of the United States." The final resolution passed by the Dickson County Unionists stated that persons held as prisoners of war by the United States should be released. This would only occur when loyal citizens and neighbors of the prisoners would testify to their loyalty to the Union.

Union authorities evidently recognized that some Union sentiment existed in the county. On 1 October 1863, Tennessee Military Governor Andrew Johnson authorized Matthew J. J. Cagle to recruit and mount a company of Union Guards in Dickson County. In his order, Johnson stated their purpose was to "operate offensively and defensively in the suppression of the Rebellion, and all freebooting and marauding combinations, which have been, or may hereafter be formed in this State." While Johnson recognized the pro-Union population of the county and ordered this formation of this unit, no further record of their activities or soldiers exists.<sup>158</sup>

A final exhibition of Union sentiment occurred in Dickson County immediately after the war concluded. On 3 June 1865, both Union men and paroled Confederate soldiers met at Hutton's Chapel (site of the present Hutton Cemetery in White Bluff) where the expressed support for a restored Union. Both the citizens and former



Confederates resolved to “aid and assist in restoring civil law and order in the county.” They also expressed regret over the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln that occurred on 14 April, 1865.<sup>159</sup>

Dickson County’s Civil War experience provides lessons that are worthy of continued study. While one frequently hears of campaigns in the Western Theatre of the American Civil War, they rarely see any discussion of rear area operations that allowed these major campaigns to continue. Federal soldiers simply had to pacify these rear areas, such as Dickson County, to insure that their logistical networks could support large scale operations into the Deep South states. While maintaining these logistical networks proved challenging enough, protecting them from local guerrilla bands and regular Confederate units while reducing the threats to these supply networks added to the difficulty of maintaining efficient and effective logistics.

Dickson County’s geographic position and its proximity to Federal operations indicated that it would become a vital area of the Federal rear area. Union forces not only had to pacify the civilian population that sought to destroy the stability in this rear area from places like Charlotte and Yellow Creek but it had to protect and defend the major supply networks passing through the county such as the Cumberland River at Harpeth Shoals and the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad that became a major Federal logistical artery by 1864.

Although few visual reminders of Dickson County’s Civil War experience exist, it does nothing to change the significance of the county’s role during the turbulent times. Perhaps the reminders live in the battle history of both the Union and Confederate Armies. Without the Union pacification of Dickson County, there would be no campaign

literature and historical markers from places like Chattanooga, Chickamauga, Kennesaw Mountain, and Atlanta. The Union effort for control of the Dickson County rear area insured that their army could continue operations into other regions of the South. Without securing the vital logistical and transportation links that bordered or ran through the county from Confederate soldiers and guerrillas alike, their continued operations were simply impossible. Operations that occurred in Dickson County suggest that frequent patrols, active counterinsurgency, total war, and containment all significantly contributed to undermining Confederate control of the area and allowed Union forces to continue their conquest of the Southern states.



## Introduction

- <sup>1</sup> Robert R. Mackey, *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare In The Upper South, 1861-1865*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004. Pg. 5.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Pg. 6-9.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Pg. 8.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Pg. 8-9.
- <sup>5</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, Editor. *Guerrillas, Unionists, and Violence On The Confederate Home Front*. Fayetteville, AK: The University of Arkansas Press, 1999. Pg. 10-11.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>7</sup> Benjamin F. Cooling, "A People's War: Partisan Conflict in Tennessee and Kentucky." in *Guerrillas, Unionists, and Violence On The Confederate Home Front* by Daniel E. Sutherland. Fayetteville, AK: The University of Arkansas Press, 1999. Pg. 116.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Pg. 125; 127.
- <sup>9</sup> Stephen V. Ash, "Sharks in an Angry Sea: Civilian Resistance and Guerrilla Warfare in Occupied Middle Tennessee, 1862-1865," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 45, (Fall, 1986), pp. 217-229.
- <sup>10</sup> Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. Pg. 146; 148.
- <sup>11</sup> Michael R. Bradley, *With Blood and Fire: Life Behind Union Lines in Middle Tennessee, 1863-1865*. Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 2003. Pg. xiii-xiv.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>13</sup> Richard P. Gildrie, "Guerrilla Warfare in the Lower Cumberland River Valley, 1862-1865," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 49, (1990), pp. 161-176.
- <sup>14</sup> Robert E. Corlew, *A History of Dickson County: from the earliest times to the present*. Nashville, TN: The Tennessee Historical Commission and The Dickson County Historical Society, 1956. Pg. 106.

## Chapter One

- <sup>15</sup> Robert E. Corlew, *A History of Dickson County: from the earliest times to the present*. Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission and the Dickson County Historical Society, 1956. Dr. Corlew provides an excellent and detailed description of the county's professional men. Corlew's work also recounted the agricultural production in the county. See pages 96, 226, and 229. Readers desiring a more detailed description of this period should consult the work itself, which is extremely detailed.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Pg. 96. See also George E. Jackson, *Cumberland Furnace A Frontier Industrial Village: A Story of the First Ironworks on the Western Highland Rim*. Virginia Beach, VA: The Donning Company Publishers, 2004. Pg. 29.
- <sup>17</sup> Thomas L. Connelly, *Army of the Heartland: The Army of Tennessee, 1861-1862*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. Pg. 8.
- <sup>18</sup> "Map of the Country Included Between the Nashville and Northwestern R.R. and the Duck River from its Mouth to Columbia and the Nashville, Decatur, and Stevenson R.R. from Nashville to Columbia" by H.C. Wharton. 1864. Located in the map drawer of the Dickson County Archives, Charlotte, Tennessee.
- <sup>19</sup> Corlew, *A History of Dickson County*, Pg. 100; for Official Vote of Dickson County, Tennessee in the 1860 Presidential Election see Corlew's table on Pg. 231.
- <sup>20</sup> Paul H. Bergeron, Stephen V. Ash, and Jeanette Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History*, Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1999. Pg. 134-135. For the table of votes for the February 9 referendum see Corlew, *A History of Dickson County*, Pg. 101.
- <sup>21</sup> Stanley J. Folmsbee, Robert E. Corlew, and Enoch L. Mitchell, *Tennessee: A Short History*, Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969. Pg. 320.
- <sup>22</sup> Corlew, *A History of Dickson County*, Pg. 101. See also *Tennesseans and Their History*, Pg. 136.
- <sup>23</sup> *Tennessee: A Short History*, Pg. 322. See also Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, Pg. 26.
- <sup>24</sup> *Tennesseans and Their History*, Pg. 143; See also Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, Pg. 38-39.
- <sup>25</sup> James M. McPherson, *Ordeal By Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1982. Pg. 206-207.
- <sup>26</sup> Ulysses S. Grant, *The Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant*, New York: Konecky and Konecky, 1992. Pg. 168.



<sup>27</sup> Edwin C. Bearss, *The Fall of Fort Henry Tennessee*, Dover, TN: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1963. This work represents one of the most concise and accurate accounts of battle at Fort Henry. It was reprinted from the author's earlier work that appeared in the West Tennessee Historical Society's journal.

<sup>28</sup> Edwin C. Bearss, *Unconditional Surrender: The Fall of Fort Donelson*, Nashville: Reprinted from the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 1962. Readers wanting a concise and extensive treatment of the battle at Fort Donelson should consult this work.

<sup>29</sup> Corlew, *A History of Dickson County*, Pg. 105.

<sup>30</sup> Mark Zimmerman, *Guide to Civil War Nashville*, Nashville: Battle of Nashville Preservation Society, 2004. Pg. 7-8.

<sup>31</sup> Byron and Barbara Sistler, *Tennessee Census of 1860*, 5 vols. Nashville, TN: Byron Sistler and Associates, 1982; See also Tennessee Historical Commission, *Tennesseans In the Civil War*, Part I, Nashville, TN: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1964. Article Titles "49<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Infantry" and "11<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Infantry." ; Nesbitt, William J., *The Primal Families of the Yellow Creek Valley*, Dickson, TN: Yellow Creek Printing, 1985. Pg. 608;

Dennis J. Lampley, *Capt. Ed Baxter and His Tennessee Artilleryman, CSA*, Nashville, TN: Westview Inc., 2007. Pg. 16. Some explanation needs to be given on this data. The average Confederate company usually consisted of roughly one hundred men. Applying this to Dickson County, which provided two companies of the 49<sup>th</sup> TN Infantry and three of the 11<sup>th</sup> TN Infantry yields a rough estimate of 500 men. Adding 100 for Dickson County men serving in the 10<sup>th</sup> TN Cavalry and Baxter's Battery rounds out the estimate provided. In all actuality, however, this is probably a very modest estimate albeit significant. However, this number is merely an approximation and many variables interacted making a precise number impossible to obtain. A certain amount of the white fighting age population would have been unfit for military service for multiple reasons. Many mobilized soldiers returned home during the war because of sickness and disease. Some were wounded and unfit for further service and others deserted and never returned. Many of them joined other units or local partisan and guerrilla units after the expiration of their original enlistments or after deserting or being home on leave and unable to return to their original units. These variables provided fluid numbers and nothing remained constant during the course of the war.

<sup>32</sup> *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, Pg. 196-198.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., Pg. 283-285.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Lampley, *Capt. Ed Baxter*, Pg. 180.

## Chapter Two

<sup>38</sup> Byrd Douglas, *Steamboatin on the Cumberland*; Nashville, TN: Tennessee Book Company, 1961. pp. 71-72.

<sup>39</sup> Jesse C. Burt, "Sherman's Logistics and Andrew Johnson", *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*; 15 (March, 1956) Pg. 199.

<sup>40</sup> Richard P. Gildrie, "Guerrilla Warfare in the Lower Cumberland River Valley, 1862-1865" *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 49 (1990). Pg. 163.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., Pg. 162-165.

<sup>42</sup> U.S. Government, *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 Vols. Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing, 1992. See Series I, Vol. 20, Part 1, Pg. 10-12.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 20, Part II, Pg. 100; 102; 113. See also Janet B. Hewett, Editor, *Supplement To the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. 100 vols. Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing Co., 1999. Pt. II, Vol. 20, Pg. 230.

<sup>45</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 20, Part II, Pg. 165. Woodward and Forrest were cooperating. Partisan bands that later merged with Forrest were being recruited in Waverly. Some of Woodward's men did go to West Tennessee where they were engaged as part of Forrest's command. Rosecrans told Lowe on 18 December that Napier had gone with Forrest to West Tennessee. Part of Napier's battalion was raised in



Humphreys County, adjacent to Dickson County. See Gildrie, "Guerrilla Warfare in the Lower Cumberland River Valley," Pg. 165.

<sup>46</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 20., Part II, Pg. 187.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas Jordan and J.P. Pryor, *The Campaigns of General Nathan B. Forrest and Forrest's Cavalry*, New Orleans: De Capo Press, 1996. Pg. 224., Pg. See also George K. Miller, "History of the Eighth Confederate Cavalry, 1861-1865," Manuscript in the collection of The Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>48</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 20, Part I, Pg. 980-981.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* See also Miller, "History of the Eighth Confederate Cavalry."

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *OR Supplement*, Part II, Vol. 21, Pg. 780-781.

<sup>53</sup> John Russell Bartlett; YA Pamphlet Collection. *The Barbarities of the Rebels, as shown in their cruelty to the federal wounded and prisoners*. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1863.

<sup>54</sup> *OR*, Series I, Vol. 20, Part I, Pg. 979-980.

<sup>55</sup> John W. Dubose, *General Joseph Wheeler and Army of Tennessee*, Neale Publishing Company, 1912. Pg. 154.

<sup>56</sup> James B. Jones, Ed. *Tennessee Civil War Sourcebook*. "War Journal of Lucy Virginia French" <http://tennessee.civilwarsourcebook.com>.

<sup>57</sup> *OR*, Series I, Vol. 23, Part II, Pg. 15; *OR Supplement*, Part II, Vol. 8, Pg. 230; Vol. 29, Pg. 800; *OR*, Series I, Vol. 23, Pt. II, Pg. 32.

<sup>58</sup> John Allan Wyeth, *That Devil Forrest: Life of General Nathan Bedford Forrest*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. Pg. 126-127.

<sup>59</sup> *OR*, Series I, Vol. 23, Part II, Pg. 39-40.

<sup>60</sup> *OR*, Series I, Vol. 23, Part II, Pg. 44. See also *Jordan and Pryor*, Pg. 230.

<sup>61</sup> Gildrie, "Guerrilla Warfare in the Lower Cumberland River Valley," Pg. 168.

<sup>62</sup> *OR*, Series I, Vol. 23, Part I, pp. 146-147.

<sup>63</sup> *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*. 30 Vols. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894-1922. Series I, Vol. 24, Pg. 71-75.

<sup>64</sup> *OR Supplement*, Part II, Vol. 22, Pg. 673 and *OR*, Series I, Vol. 23, Part II, Pg. 240.

### Chapter Three

<sup>65</sup> This chapter is an extract of my article "Union Lifeline in Tennessee: A Military History of the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad" published in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* in their Summer, 2008 edition.

<sup>66</sup> H.C. Crew, *History of Nashville, Tennessee*: Nashville, TN: Publishing House of The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Barbee & Smith, Agents. 1890. pg. 330. See also *Cheatham County, Tennessee: History & Families*, Paducah KY: Turner Publishing Company, 2001. pg. 36

<sup>67</sup> Maury Klein, *History of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad*, New York, Macmillan. 1972. pp 38-39.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Andrew Johnson to General Sherman; *Official Records*, Vol. 38, Series I, Part V, pg 411.

<sup>70</sup> *History of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad*, pp 31-35.

<sup>71</sup> Robert Johnson to Andrew Johnson, 18 March 1865. Leroy Graf, Ed. *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, Vol. 7. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press. Pg 524.

<sup>72</sup> Jesse C. Burt "Sherman's Logistics and Andrew Johnson", *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*: 15 (March, 1956) Pg. 199.

<sup>73</sup> Jesse C. Burt, "Sherman's Logistics and Andrew Johnson", pp. 200-201.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>76</sup> *OR*., Series III, Vol. 3, pg 910

<sup>77</sup> Andrew Johnson to William P. Innes, 7 November 1863, *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*: Vol. 6, pg 460.

<sup>78</sup> *Nashville Daily Union*, 20 September 1863.

<sup>79</sup> Andrew Johnson to J.J. Reynolds, 22 November 1863, *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, Vol. 6, Pg 486.



<sup>80</sup> Abdill, *Civil War Railroads: A Pictorial Story of the War Between the States, 1861-1865*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999. Pg. 151. See also *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, Vol. 7, Pg 57, footnotes.

<sup>81</sup> OR, Series III, Vol. 5, Pg 943-945.

<sup>82</sup> Alvan C. Gillem to Andrew Johnson, 15 March 1864, *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, Vol. 6., Pg 645-46.

<sup>83</sup> *Nashville Daily Union*, 12 April 1864

<sup>84</sup> OR, Series III, Vol 5, Pg 943-50. See also *Ibid.*, Series III, Vol. 5, Pg 989-90

<sup>85</sup> *Nashville Daily Union*, 10 January 1864.

<sup>86</sup> Andrew Johnson to Edwin Stanton, 19 August 1864. *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, Vol 7, Pg 104. See also Jesse C. Burt, "Sherman's Logistics and Andrew Johnson." Burt successfully contends that construction of The Nashville and Northwestern was unnecessarily delayed and inefficiently ran under his administration of the railroad, leading to its takeover by military authorities.

<sup>87</sup> Abdill, *Civil War Railroads*, Pg 151. See also Jesse C. Burt, "Sherman's Logistics and Andrew Johnson," pg. 203 and *Nashville Daily Union*, 19 May 1864.

<sup>88</sup> OR, Series I, Vol. 38, Pg 391.

<sup>89</sup> Daniel Hillman to Andrew Johnson, 5 October 1863, *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, Vol. 6, Pg. 404.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, *Official Records*, Series III, Vol. 5, Pg. 943-950. *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, Pt. 1, Pg. 397-399.

<sup>91</sup> *Cheatham County Tennessee*, Pg. 36.

<sup>92</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. 39, Pg 465. See also OR, Series III, Vol. 4, Pg 762-774.

<sup>93</sup> *Tennesseans In The Civil War*, Pt. 1, "10th Tn Cav Reg. , U.S.A." Pg. 76-77.

<sup>94</sup> *Tennesseans In The Civil War*, Pt. 1, Pg. 395.

<sup>95</sup> *Goodspeed's History of Humphreys County*,. See also OR, Series I, Vol. 39, Pt. 2, Pg.

<sup>96</sup> Mark M. Boatner III, *The Civil War Dictionary*, New York: McKay, 1988. See "Gillem, Alvan Cullem", pg 342-343.

<sup>97</sup> Jill K. Garrett, *Dickson County Handbook*, Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1984. Pg. 230.

<sup>98</sup> OR, Series I, Vol. 39, Pg 464-465.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> OR, Series I, Vol. 39, Pg. 59.

<sup>101</sup> OR, Series I, Vol. 39, Pg 877-78.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Robert S. Henry, *First With The Most, Nathan Bedford Forrest*, New York. Konecky and Konecky. 1992. Pg. 369.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> John A. Wyeth, *That Devil Forrest*, Pg. 454.

<sup>110</sup> The best and most comprehensive accounts of this incident are found in Robert S. Henry's *First With The Most, Nathan Bedford Forrest*, pp 366-381 and John A. Wyeth, *That Devil Forrest*, pp 452-470.

<sup>111</sup> OR, Series I, Vol 39, Part. 1, Pg. 860

<sup>112</sup> OR, Series I, Vol. 39, Part III, Pg. 659.

<sup>113</sup> OR, Series III, Vol. 5, Pg. 989-990.

<sup>114</sup> Jesse C. Burt, "Sherman's Logistics and Andrew Johnson" Pg 213.

<sup>115</sup> Burt, "Sherman's Logistics and Andrew Johnson." Pg 195.

<sup>116</sup> William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General W.T. Sherman*, New York: Library of America, 1990. Pg 889-890.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, George Turner, *Victory Rode the Rails*, Lincoln, NE: The University of Nebraska Press, 1992. 326

## Chapter Four

<sup>118</sup> Corlew, Pg. 105. It should also be noted that Federal forces began their occupation of Charlotte in late 1863 before the completion of the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad. Union troops constructing the railroad, however, required protection from irregular activity that occasionally occurred along the



progressing railroad and Federal soldiers frequently patrolled areas near the railroad construction to chase or deter guerrillas from attacking sections of the railroad or its garrison and construction crews.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *Jordan and Pryor*, Pg. 100-101.

<sup>121</sup> Mary E. Eubank, "History of Charlotte: As Told To Ethel Doty By Mrs. Eubank-88 Yars Old" Unpublished. Dickson County Archives, 1971.

<sup>122</sup> *Goodspeed's History of Dickson County*.

<sup>123</sup> James H. McNeilly, "Reminiscences of Rev. J.H. McNeilly" Dickson County Archives. Pg. 4. See also McNeilly, "A Blessing For Gen. Forrest" *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. VII, Pg. 446.

<sup>124</sup> Stephen V. Ash, "Sharks in An Angry Sea: Resistance and Guerrilla Warfare in Occupied Middle Tennessee, 1862-1865" *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Pg. 229.

<sup>125</sup> *OR Supplement*, Part II, Vol. 65, pp. 592-600. See also History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps, and Dent Counties, Missouri. Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1889. Pg. 1119-1121.

<sup>126</sup> *Goodspeed History of Dickson County*, pg. 18-19. See also *Dickson County Circuit Court Docket, 1854-1866*. Dickson County Archives. The inscription is located on the front inside cover.

<sup>127</sup> *OR Supplement*, See also *Goodspeed History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps, and Dent Counties Counties, Missouri*. Pg. 1119-1121.

<sup>128</sup> House of Representatives, 58<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Document No. 30. "Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Charlotte, Tenn." Collection of the author.

<sup>129</sup> Mary E. Eubank, "History of Charlotte: As Told To Ethel Doty By Mrs. Eubank-88 Yars Old" Unpublished. Dickson County Archives, 1971.

<sup>130</sup> Tiff Canady, Editor. *The Dickson County Herald Over Eighty Club*, Dickson, TN: Published by the author, Pg. 173; 204.

<sup>131</sup> *Dickson County Herald*, 2 June 1939; *Over Eighty Club*, Pg. 213.

<sup>132</sup> "Reminiscences of Rev. J.H. McNeilly", Pg. 4. See also J.H. McNeilly, "A Roundabout Way Home" *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. 28, Pg. 211.

<sup>133</sup> "Reminiscences of Rev. J.H. McNeilly", Pg. 7.

<sup>134</sup> Mary E. Eubank, "History of Charlotte: As Told To Ethel Doty By Mrs. Eubank-88 Yars Old."

<sup>135</sup> McNeilly, "A Roundabout Way Home" Pg. 213. See also "William E. McNeilly" *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. 11, Pg. 178; J.H. McNeilly, "In The Days of Reconstruction" *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. 28, Pg. 253."

<sup>136</sup> "Betty Gray" *Over Eighty Club*, Pg. 7.

<sup>137</sup> *Goodspeed History of Dickson County*

<sup>138</sup> Mary E. Eubank "A History of Charlotte."

<sup>139</sup> *Dickson County Herald*, 2 June 1939, *Over Eighty Club*, Pg. 213; McNeilly, "A Roundabout Way Home" Pg. 212.

<sup>140</sup> Ash, "Sharks in An Angry Sea" Pg. 229.

## Chapter Five

<sup>141</sup> This road roughly parallels present day Highway 46 northwest of Dickson. It is still known locally as Yellow Creek Road.

<sup>142</sup> Nina Finley, Editor. *In The Beginning: Yellow Creek (Pre-1870) Road Orders-Wills-Marriages-Slave Index-Agricultural Census*, Erin, TN: Friends of Houston County Library, 2002. Pg. 37.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, Pg. 39-50; see also Confederate Pass to Lt. Jack Nesbitt, Dickson County Archives.

<sup>144</sup> Previous histories contend that Forrest stopped in Cumberland Furnace on the night of 16 February 1862, during his escape from Fort Donelson. These same local histories point to the grave of Corporal James Peacher of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Kentucky Cavalry as evidence that Forrest moved through and left his wounded in the village. While Woodward's 2<sup>nd</sup> Kentucky Cavalry sometimes cooperated with Forrest, it frequently operated independently as a group of partisan rangers. Woodward often stayed in the Cumberland Furnace area where he operated against the Cumberland River at Harpeth Shoals. The date of Peacher's death, April 1863 suggests that he died after one of Woodward's raids and not during the Forrest retreat from Fort Donelson. Forrest's route from Dover to Charlotte roughly paralleled the Cumberland River to the present site of Cumberland City. Primary accounts, combined with period and modern road maps substantiate that Forrest then turned south where he moved down present day Ellis Mills Road. Oral histories and accounts



of distance traveled after leaving Dover place his stopping point on the night of 16 February 1862, near the intersection of Ellis Mills Road with Williamson Branch Road (now in Houston County). According to period road maps, the most direct route from Dover to Charlotte after leaving Cumberland Furnace, Forrest would have been required to continue east out of present day Cumberland City to Palmyra then turn south and follow that road to the village, some distance out of the most direct way.

<sup>145</sup> *Jordan and Pryor*, Pg. ; See also Bruce to Garfield, *OR*, Series I, Vol. 30, Pt. 3, Pg. 105.

<sup>146</sup> John C. Smith to General William Rosecrans, 14 October 1863. *OR*, Series I, Vol. 30, Pt. 4, Pg. 363-367. See also *Nashville Dispatch*, 23 August 1864.

<sup>147</sup> Smith to Rosecrans, 14 October 1863. The site of Andrew Brown's residence was in Dickson County in 1863 but that area became part of Houston County in 1871. Williamsville was located near the intersection of the Charlotte-Waverly road (now Old Number One Road) with the Yellow Creek Road.

<sup>148</sup> *Dickson County Herald*, 1 April 1938.

<sup>149</sup> *OR*, Series I, Vol. 23, Pt. 1, Pg. 346-47. Lowe referred to the Confederate command of Major Nicholas Cox, an outfit of partisan rangers that frequently operated in the area and often coordinated their operations with regular Confederate units. Shortly before this report Cox's battalion joined with Napier's Cavalry Battalion to form the 10<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Cavalry that later operated with Nathan Bedford Forrest.

<sup>150</sup> U.S. Government, *Military Commission Vs. Dr. Aaron James*. 16-23 July 1863, Unpublished Personal Collection of Richard P. Gildrie.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* See also "News and Rumors at Clarksville" *The Nashville Dispatch*, 23 July, 1863.

<sup>152</sup> Colonel William P. Lyon to Assistant Adjutant General at Nashville, 18 August, 1863. *OR*, Series I, Vol. 30, Pt. 3, Pg. 71.

<sup>153</sup> J.J. Pickett to Andrew Johnson, 8 December 1863. *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, Vol. 6, Pg. 510-512.

<sup>154</sup> Lieutenant Henry W. Barr to Andrew Johnson, 19 January 1864. *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, Vol. 6, Pg. 566-567.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> Colonel John A. Hottenstein to Assistant Adjutant General Troops on Nashville and Northwester, 19 February 1865. *OR*, Series I, Vol. 45, Pt. I, Pg. 548. See also Captain R. H. Clinton to Andrew Johnson, 31 January 1865, *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, Vol. 7, Pg. 448-450.

## Conclusion

<sup>157</sup> *The Nashville Daily Union*, 3 July, 1862.

<sup>158</sup> Andrew Johnson, *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, Vol. 6, Pg. 400.

<sup>159</sup> *The Nashville Daily Union*, 7 June, 1865.



## Bibliography

- Abdill, George B. *Civil War Railroads: A Pictorial Story of the War Between the States, 1861-1865*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Ash, Stephen V. "Sharks in an Angry Sea: Civilian Resistance and Guerrilla Warfare in Occupied Middle Tennessee, 1862-1865" *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 45 (1986) pp. 217-29.
- Ash, Stephen V. "A Community at War: Montgomery County, 1861-1865" *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 36 (1977) pp. 30-43
- Ash, Stephen V. *When The Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Ash, Stephen V. *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.
- Bartlett, John R., *The barbarities of the Rebels, as shown in their cruelty to the federal Wounded and prisoners*. YA Pamphlet Collection. Providence, RI: The Library of Congress, 1863.
- Bearss, Edwin C., *The Fall Of Fort Henry Tennessee*, Reprinted From The West *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, (1963).
- Bearss, Edwin C., *Unconditional Surrender: The Fall of Fort Donelson*, Reprinted From *The Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1 & 2, (1962).

- Bergeron, Paul H., Stephen V. Ash, and Jeanette Keith, *Tennesseans And Their History*, Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1999.
- Boatner, Mark III, *The Civil War Dictionary*, New York: McKay, 1988.
- Bradley, Michael R., *With Blood and Fire: Life behind Union Lines in Middle Tennessee, 1863-1865*, Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 2003.
- Burt, Jesse C. "Shermans Logistics and Andrew Johnson" *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*. 15 (1956) 195-215.
- Canady, Tiff. Editor. *The Dickson County Herald "Over-Eighty Club."* Interviews by Ruth Wilson Johnson. 3 July, 1937-25 August, 1939. Nashville, TN: Published by Author, Undated.
- Connelly, Thomas L., *Army Of The Heartland: The Army of Tennessee, 1861-1862*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967.
- Connelly, Thomas L., *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971.
- Connelly, Thomas L., *Civil War Tennessee*. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1979.
- Cooling, Benjamin Franklin, *Forts Henry and Donelson: The Key To The Confederate Heartland*, Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987.
- Corlew, Robert, *A History of Dickson County: from the earliest times to the present*. Nashville, TN: The Tennessee Historical Commission and The Dickson County Historical Society, 1956.
- Cunningham, Sumner, Editor. *Confederate Veteran*. Nashville, TN. Vol. 1-40. 1893-1932.
- Dalton, Lynette H. Editor. *The Goodspeed History of Dickson County, Tennessee*. Richmond, VA: Serviceberry Press, 1999
- Douglas, Byrd. *Steamboatin' on the Cumberland*, Nashville, TN: Tennessee Book Company, 1961.
- Dubose, John W., *General Joseph Wheeler And the Army of Tennessee*. University Digital Library, The Neale Publishing Company, 1912.



- Dyer, John P., *From Shiloh to San Juan: the Life of "Fightin Joe" Wheeler*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1989.
- Elliott, Colleen and Louise A. Moxley. *Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires*. Compiled by Gustavus W. Dyer and John T. Moore. Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1985.
- England, Tony and Barry Hutchins, *History of White Bluff, Tennessee*, Published by the Authors, 2003.
- Eubank, Mary E. "History of Charlotte (As Told To Ethel Doty By Mrs. Eubank- 88 Years Old)." Unpublished. Dickson County Archives, 1971.
- Nina Finley, Editor. *In The Beginning: Yellow Creek (Pre-1870) Road Orders-Wills-Marriages-Slave Index-Agricultural Census*, Erin, TN: Friends of Houston County Library, 2002.
- Folmsbee, Stanley, Robert E. Corlew, and Enoch L. Mitchell, *Tennessee: A Short History*, Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969.
- Garrett, Jill. *Dickson County Handbook*, Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1984.
- Gildrie, Richard P. "Guerrilla Warfare In the Lower Cumberland Valley 1862-1865" *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*. (1990).
- Gildrie, Richard P. *Provost Marshall Records, Montgomery County, Tenn. 1862-64. Extracts from TSLA Microfilm 822*. Collection of the author.
- Graf, Leroy P, Editor. *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*. 7 vols. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1967-
- Grant, Ulysses S., *The Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant*, New York: Konecky And Konecky, 1886.
- Henry, Robert Selph, *Nathan Bedford Forrest: First With The Most*, New York: Konecky and Konecky, 1992.
- Hewett, Janet B., Editor. *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. 100 Vols. Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot, 1999.
- Horn, Stanley F., *The Army of Tennessee*, Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.
- Jackson, George, *Cumberland Furnace: A Frontier Industrial Village*, Virginia Beach, VA: Donning Company Publishers, 2004.

- Jones, James B., Editor. Tennessee Civil War Sourcebook. <http://tennessee.civilwarsourcebook.com>
- Jordan, Thomas and J.P. Pryor, *The Campaigns of Nathan Bedford Forrest and of Forrest's Cavalry*, New Orleans: Da Capo Press, 1996.
- Klein, Maury, *History of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad*, New York: Macmillan, 1972.
- Lampley, Dennis J. *Capt. Ed Baxter and His Tennessee Artillerymen, CSA.*, Nashville TN: Westview Inc., 2007.
- Lampley, Dennis J. Editor. *Confederate Graves of Dickson County. Tennessee Soldiers.* Dickson, TN: W.H. McCauley Camp Sons of Confederate Veterans, 2003.
- Lindsley, John B. *The Military Annals of Tennessee*. Nashville, TN: J.M. Lindsley and Co., 1886.
- Mackey, Robert R, *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare In The Upper South, 1861-1865*, University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.
- McPherson, James M., *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*. New York: McGraw Hill, 2001.
- Miller, George K., "History of the Eighth Confederate Cavalry, 1861-1865" Manuscript In the Collection of The Alabama Department of Archives and History.
- Millett, Allan R. and Peter Maslowski, *For The Common Defense: A Military History of The United States of America*. New York: The Free Press, 1994.
- Nesbitt, William J., *The Primal Families of the Yellow Creek Valley*, Dickson, TN: Yellow Creek Printing, 1985.
- Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*. 30 Volumes. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894-1922.
- Sherman, William T. *Memoirs of General W.T. Sherman*, New York: Library of America, 1990.
- Sutherland, Daniel E, Editor. *Guerrillas, Unionists, and Violence On The Confederate Home Front*, Fayetteville, AK: The University of Arkansas Press, 1999.



Sutherland, Daniel E. "Sideshow No Longer: A Historiographical Review of the Guerrilla War." *Civil War History*. Vol. XLVI, No. 1 (2000).

Tennessee Historical Commission, *Tennesseans In the Civil War*, 2 vols. Nashville, TN: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1964.

Turner, George E., *Victory Rode The Rails: The Strategic Place of Railroads in the Civil War*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

United States Government, *Military Commission Vs. Dr. Aaron James*, 16-23 July 1863  
Unpublished Personal Collection of Richard P. Gildrie.

*War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. 128 volumes. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1896.

West, Carol Van, Editor. *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*

Wyeth, John Allan, *That Devil Forrest: Life of General Nathan Bedford Forrest*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989.

Zimmerman, Mark, *Guide to Civil War Nashville*, Nashville, TN: Battle of Nashville Preservation Society, 2004.