

**THE SECOND TENNESSEE VOLUNTEER INFANTRY REGIMENT,
MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1847**

BRENDA LEE CARNELL

THE SECOND TENNESSEE VOLUNTEER INFANTRY REGIMENT,
MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1847

An Abstract
Presented to
the Graduate Council of
Austin Peay State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in History

by
Brenda Lee Carnell

Spring 1985

ABSTRACT

Tennessee, the "Volunteer State," is historically known for responding to the call to arms with enthusiastic fervor. Tennessee's participation in the Mexican War was no exception. Five infantry regiments and one cavalry unit were organized from the State of Tennessee.

The purpose of this study is to shed light on the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Scholarship on Colonel William Bowen Campbell's "Bloody First" Regiment, heroes of the Battle of Monterrey, abounds. The Second Tennessee played just as important a role in effecting an American victory in Mexico. It formed an integral part of our forces at the siege of Veracruz. As the only Tennessee regiment actively engaged at Cerro Gordo, it sustained heavy casualties. Yet, monuments were not built solely to honor the valiant Second; poems of praise were not written. Their courageous deeds have largely been forgotten.

In order to place the much-neglected history of the Second Tennessee in perspective, it is essential first to examine the background to the Mexican War and Tennessee's response to the outbreak of hostilities. The organization of the Second, its campaigns, and journey homeward will be discussed. Other pertinent topics include: Major General Gideon J. Pillow (Tennessee Brigade Commander), Colonel William T. Haskell (Commander of the Second Tennessee), and the

debacle at Cerro Gordo; profile of Haskell; proposal to build a monument on the grounds of the State Capitol to those of the First Tennessee who died at Monterrey; the monument at Lawrenceburg to all Tennesseans who died in the Mexican War; veterans' organizations lobby for pensions and soldiers' homes for volunteers; reunion of Mexican War veterans at Nashville, Tennessee; survivors of the Second Tennessee.

From a historical standpoint, the men of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment deserve to have their story told, too. "They also served."

THE SECOND TENNESSEE VOLUNTEER INFANTRY REGIMENT,
MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1847

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate Council of
Austin Peay State University

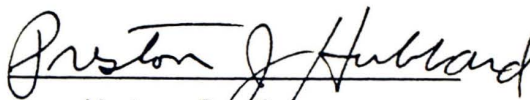
In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in History

by
Brenda Lee Carnell

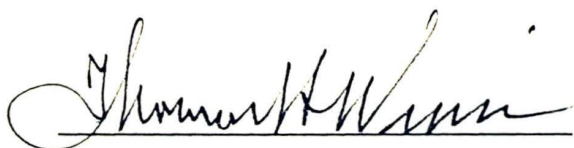
Spring 1985

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a Thesis written by Brenda Lee Carnell entitled "The Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Mexican War, 1846-1847." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.


Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

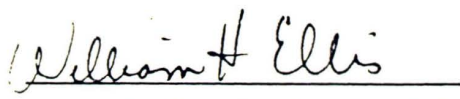

Minor Professor

or

Second Committee Member


Third Committee Member

Accepted for the
Graduate Council:


Dean of the Graduate School

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my parents, for their understanding, encouragement, support, and for instilling in me the love of history at a very early age.

To my committee members, Dr. Preston J. Hubbard, Dr. L. Paul Hyatt, and Dr. Thomas H. Winn, for always being there to advise; also to Mr. Hugh Akerman, Dr. Charles Calhoun, Dr. Thomas P. Dixon, Dr. Richard P. Gildrie, Dr. Malcolm Muir, and the above-mentioned committee members for their diligent instruction throughout my years at Austin Peay State University. Additional thanks is extended to the helpful and courteous History Department Staff.

To the Austin Peay State University interlibrary loan staff, who so efficiently and faithfully directed the "traffic" of numerous microfilms and other research materials from and back to various libraries and archives in Tennessee and neighboring states.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. PRELUDE TO WAR	1
II. THE CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS	8
III. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SECOND TENNESSEE . . .	17
IV. "GONE A CAMPAIGNIN'"	26
V. HOMEWARD BOUND	50
VI. EPILOGUE	56
NOTES	67
APPENDICES	88
BIBLIOGRAPHY	96

CREDITS

American Missionary Association

The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

East Tennessee Historical Society

Harper & Row, Publishers

The Journal of American History (Mississippi Valley
Historical Review), Indiana University at
Bloomington, Indiana

Macmillan Publishing Company

Tennessee Historical Commission

Tennessee Historical Society

West Tennessee Historical Society

Permission to quote from published material was kindly
granted by the following:

The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

East Tennessee Historical Society

The Journal of American History (Mississippi Valley
Historical Review), Indiana University at
Bloomington, Indiana

Macmillan Publishing Company

Tennessee Historical Commission

Tennessee Historical Society

West Tennessee Historical Society

CHAPTER ONE

Prelude to War

The origins of the Mexican War were rooted in an ongoing dispute between the United States and Mexico. The conduct of the parties involved, particularly Mexico's lack of concern for American grievances, generated far-reaching consequences. In his Second Annual Message to Congress (December 8, 1846), President James Knox Polk observed:

The existing war with Mexico was neither desired nor provoked by the United States. On the contrary, all honorable means were resorted to to avert it. After years of endurance of aggravated and unredressed wrongs on our part, Mexico, in violation of solemn treaty stipulations and of every principle of justice recognized by civilized nations, commenced hostilities, and thus by her own act forced the war upon us. Long before the advance of our Army to the left bank of the Rio Grande we had ample cause of war against Mexico.¹

Mexico became independent from Spain in 1821. Subsequently, Mexican officials promoted propaganda which presented the economically prosperous United States with its burgeoning population as posing a serious threat to the national sovereignty of Mexico. She, therefore, was aggressively determined to disrupt American commerce. President Polk noted our "patient endurance" as Mexico resorted to a "system of insult and spoliation."

Our citizens engaged in lawful commerce were imprisoned, their vessels seized, and our flag insulted in her ports. If money was wanted, the lawless seizure

and confiscation of our merchant vessels and their cargoes was a ready resource, and if to accomplish their purposes it became necessary to imprison the owners, captains, and crews, it was done. Rulers superseded rulers in Mexico in rapid succession, but still there was no change in this system of depredation. The Government of the United States made repeated reclamations on behalf of its citizens, but these were answered by the perpetration of new outrages. Promises of redress made by Mexico in the most solemn forms were postponed or evaded.²

Mexico blatantly disregarded the first in a series of treaties of "amity, commerce, and navigation" (April 5, 1831) and repeatedly delayed the negotiations of three conventions (April 11, 1839; January 30, 1843; November 20, 1843). Mexican commissioners requested that time limitations for payment of claims be extended. Mexico was to pay in twenty installments the sum of \$2,026,139.68 which had been awarded to the claimants. By April 30, 1843, the claimants had received from the Mexican government the interest due, and only three of the twenty installments had been paid. Mexico continued to renege on its "solemn treaty stipulations" despite the November 20, 1843 convention which attempted to make settlement adjustments and excuses for Mexico's claims evasions. President James K. Polk referred to a previous president's course of action in order to justify his own response to Mexico's recalcitrance. In 1837, Andrew Jackson spoke of the "wanton character" of Mexico which allowed too much time to lapse between the commission of injuries and the negotiations to review the "repeated and unavailing applications for redress." An "immediate war" would seem to be justified, but war must be "honorably avoided."³

Despite attempts to forestall war, the controversy surrounding Texas brought the United States and Mexico closer to the brink of open hostilities. Texas, which together with Coahuila had formed a sovereign state of Mexico, declared its independence and revolted from Mexican domination. The forces for independence decisively won the Battle of San Jacinto (April 21, 1836), thereby assuring the existence of Texas as a separate republic.⁴

For nearly ten years, a debate concerning the desirability of the annexation of Texas to the United States continued unabated. The resolutions providing for the annexation of Texas to the Union passed the United States Senate on March 1, 1845. By March 5, the Mexican minister in Washington, D.C., Don Juan N'Almonte, formally protested the "outrageous conduct" of the United States Congress, "demanded his credentials," and immediately departed for Mexico. The United States minister to Mexico, Mr. Shannon, was informed that, as of March 28, 1845, all relations between the two countries would be officially terminated. The Mexican government issued a proclamation urging the governors of the various states of Mexico to "repel the encroachments of the United States," i.e., to resist America's Manifest Destiny. "From that moment, the government of Mexico was bent upon war."⁵

On June 18, 1845, the Texan Congress assented to the annexation offer and rejected Mexico's promise of recognition of the independence of Texas in exchange for nonannexation. A convention which met in Austin, Texas on July 4 firmly

supported its state's congressional decision.⁶

Although President Polk contended "the annexation of Texas to the United States constituted no just cause of offense to Mexico,"⁷ Mexico feverishly began massing its troops on the Rio Grande to discipline the "rebellious province." Texas asked for military aid in order to defend its frontier.⁸

In August 1845, 1500 United States Army Regulars, commanded by Major General Zachary Taylor, were ordered to defend the territory between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande (Rio del Norte, "River of the North") and "repel any invasion" by Mexican forces. They embarked at New Orleans, proceeded to Saint Joseph's Island, and encamped at the town of Corpus Christi, Texas near the mouth of the Nueces. Taylor's troops remained at Corpus Christi "without molestation" until March 11, 1846. The United States Navy's home squadron, commanded by Commodore Conner, set sail for the Gulf of Mexico. The Mexican army, which continued to grow in strength, was concentrated 180 miles southeast of Corpus Christi at Matamoros on the Rio Grande River.⁹ Meanwhile, on December 29, 1845, Texas entered the Union as the twenty-eighth state of the United States.

Although relations between the United States and Mexico were strained, the United States consul in Mexico City suggested, on October 13, 1845, that an envoy might be sent by the United States to Mexico for the purpose of settling all misunderstandings between the two nations. On October 15, 1845, the government of Mexico declared its willingness to

"receive an envoy from the United States entrusted with full powers to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two governments," i.e., the Texas boundary issue and the indemnity claims of United States citizens. Mr. John Slidell of Louisiana was commissioned on November 10, 1845 as "envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Mexico." As requested by Mexican officials, the United States Navy at Veracruz was withdrawn.¹⁰

Twenty days later, Slidell arrived at Veracruz, Mexico and proceeded to Mexico City where he was refused reception. A mere five days after Slidell's rebuke, the government of Mexican President, General José Joaquín de Herrera was overthrown in a bloodless coup by Major General Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga. On March 12, 1846, the new government "refused the offer of a peaceful adjustment of difficulties" and insisted that "war was the only resource left" for Mexico. Paredes, who gloried in his reputation for being more bitterly anti-American than Herrera, concentrated all of his energies in preparing his country for a decisive confrontation with the United States. As Slidell returned to the United States, Mexico's troop strength continued to swell on its northern border, and war seemed inevitable.¹¹

On January 13, 1846, the War Department issued orders which directed the United States Army in Texas to occupy the left (east) bank of the Rio del Norte (Rio Grande), an exposed frontier region which was particularly vulnerable to invasion. The Rio del Norte had been recognized by an official

act of the Texan Congress, December 19, 1836, as the southwestern boundary of Texas. The United States Congress declared, December 31, 1845, that "the country beyond the Nueces" was American territory and, therefore, should be made secure from Mexican encroachment.¹² President Polk insisted:

Mexico has never placed the war which she has waged upon the ground that our Army occupied the intermediate territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. Her refuted pretension that Texas was not in fact an independent state, but a rebellious province, was obstinately persevered in, and her avowed purpose in commencing a war with the United States was to reconquer Texas and to restore Mexican authority over the whole territory--not to the Nueces only, but to the Sabine.¹³

Major General Taylor's force of three thousand men departed Corpus Christi on March 11, 1846 and reached their destination seventeen days later. They encamped opposite Matamoros, erected fieldworks, and established a depot at Point Isabel, near Brazos Santiago, thirty miles behind American lines.¹⁴ United States forces were advised "to abstain from all aggressive acts toward Mexico or Mexican citizens and to regard the relations between the Republic and the United States as peaceful unless she should declare war or commit acts of hostility indicative of a state of war." Private property and personal rights were to be respected.¹⁵

The Mexican government ordered Major General Mariano Arista, commander-in-chief of the Mexican army's northern division, to attack and defeat Taylor's regulars. Arista's army would then proceed to subjugate Texas. A larger force commanded by Paredes would follow in Arista's wake to occupy the conquered territory. As the American and Mexican armies faced

each other on the Rio Grande, "nothing was done... save a great display of martial music, drums, fifes, trumpets, bugles....; so that the first meeting of the armies ended in noise." Communications between the armies amounted to nothing more than an unsuccessful conference between Brigadier General William J. Worth and Brigadier General Rómulo Díaz de la Vega.¹⁶

On April 12, 1846, Major General Pedro de Ampudia demanded that Taylor strike camp and retreat beyond the Nueces within twenty-four hours. If the Mexican ultimatum was not met, hostilities would ensue. The American command refused to meet Mexican demands but suggested that each party agree to an armistice until further orders were dispatched. The Mexicans rejected the compromise. Arista "considered hostilities commenced and should prosecute them."¹⁷

Captain Seth B. Thornton, commanding a reconnoitering party of sixty-three dragoons, traveled up the left bank of the Rio Grande on April 24, 1846. By the morning of the next day, Thornton encountered a division of two thousand Mexicans, commanded by Brigadier General Anastasio Torrejón, which had crossed the Rio Grande above Matamoras. Thornton's detachment engaged the enemy but was surrounded and forced to surrender on the evening of April 25. Sixteen Americans were killed and wounded--the first casualties of the Mexican War.¹⁸

CHAPTER TWO

The Call for Volunteers

On April 26, 1846, Major General Zachary Taylor informed Washington of the outbreak of hostilities and requisitioned four regiments of volunteers apiece from Texas and Louisiana. As Taylor, with an approximate troop strength of only three thousand, advanced toward the American supply depot at Point Isabel (May 1), a Mexican army of six thousand was crossing the Rio Grande. On May 3, the "Aztec eagle," i.e., Mexico, which had "fortified the bank of the river" opposite Fort Texas, laid siege to the American defenses garrisoned by the Seventh Infantry and two companies of artillery. While en route from Point Isabel to relieve the besieged fort, Taylor encountered the enemy in two pitched battles, Palo Alto (May 8) and Resaca de la Palma (May 9). American forces were victorious. The siege at "Fort Brown" (renamed in honor of commander, Major Jacob Brown) was lifted on the evening of May 9. By May 18, the Mexicans had evacuated their defenses across the river. Subsequently, Taylor crossed the Rio Grande and took possession of Matamoros.¹

Meanwhile, Major General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, commander of the Western Division of the United States Army (headquartered in New Orleans, Louisiana), penned a letter (May 4, 1846) to Aaron Venable Brown, governor of Tennessee.

According to Gaines, fifty battalions, of six hundred men each, were recommended "to be accepted into the service of the United States for six months, unless sooner discharged." Major General Gaines felt that Tennesseans should be part of the effort to defend the national honor:

I think it my duty to say, that your Excellency would contribute much to the interests of the service by anticipating a formal requisition from the Department of War, by authorizing two, three or four battalions of infantry and riflemen from the voting men embracing the chivalry of Tennessee, to organize and repair to this city as soon as practicable--where they shall receive arms, with every requisite supply to promote their health and comfort, and render them ready for action! From this city they will proceed by good vessels (steamers, if possible) to the Rio Grande, near Matamoras.²

In response to Gaines's proposal, Governor Aaron Brown suggested "all volunteer companies to hold themselves in every respect ready, at the earliest call, to go forward in the defense of their country."³

On May 13, 1846, President James Knox Polk, commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States, officially proclaimed, subsequent to a Congressional "war bill," that "by the act of the Republic of Mexico a state of war exists between that Government and the United States . . . the last resort of injured nations . . . under the blessing of Divine Providence . . . supporting a speedy, a just, and an honorable peace."⁴ "Magnanimity and moderation on our part only had the effect to complicate difficulties. . . . The national honor and the preservation of the national character throughout the world, as well as our own self-respect and the protection due to our own citizens, have rendered

such a resort indispensable."⁵ Congress authorized fifty thousand volunteers for war service and appropriated ten million dollars for military expenditure.⁶

As anticipated, Secretary of War William L. Marcy, who relieved Major General Gaines of his command (June 2, 1846) and ordered him to report to Washington for a possible court-martial for insubordination,⁷ officially requisitioned (May 16, 1846) volunteers from the State of Tennessee. "The volunteers received into the service of the United States are to have the organization of the army of the United States"; therefore, for example, the number of privates in volunteer companies were not permitted to exceed eighty. Tennessee was called upon to organize at the "earliest practicable period," one regiment of cavalry, or mounted men, and two regiments of infantry, or riflemen. Public notices were to be posted in order to prevent "zealous and patriotic citizens," who were "eager to volunteer," from being disappointed. Places of rendezvous were to be decided upon and "communicated promptly" to the War Department--Nashville was suggested for the infantry and Memphis for the cavalry. Marcy requested that the volunteers "be inspected and mustered into the service of the United States by an officer or officers of the United States Army." Any other muster officers were to be informed that they were not to accept enlisted men who were over forty-five or under eighteen, who were in poor physical health; neither were they to receive any volunteer into the service of the United States whose horse was not healthy and outfitted with

the necessary equipment.⁸

In compliance with the directives of the War Department, Governor A. V. Brown issued a proclamation (May 24, 1846) for the purpose of raising, by "constituted authority," the first regiments of Tennessee volunteers for the Mexican War. A quota of from two thousand to three thousand volunteers was apportioned among the four military divisions of the state:

To the first division, (East Tennessee,) seven companies, four of which to be infantry or riflemen, and three to be cavalry or mounted men. To the second division, eight companies, six of infantry or riflemen, and two of cavalry or mounted men. To the third division, nine companies, six of infantry or riflemen, and three of cavalry or mounted men. To the fourth division, (Western District,) six companies, four of infantry or riflemen, and two of cavalry or mounted men.⁹

Brown instructed first division volunteers to report to Major General Brazelton at Knoxville. Volunteers from the second division reported to Major General Campbell in Nashville. Third division companies were to repair to Franklin and report to Major General Bradley. Western District (fourth division) men journeyed to Jackson, Tennessee, where they were under the jurisdiction of Major General Hays. Cavalry companies were "to proceed (by land) forthwith to the general rendezvous at Memphis." Infantry companies were to gather at the same place by the most convenient route. Transportation contracts were to be negotiated if the infantry was to be transported to Memphis via the Tennessee River. In order that they might be mustered into the United States Army, infantry companies from the second and third divisions (Middle Tennessee) were directed to be in Nashville by June 8. The remaining

companies mustered at Memphis, where all volunteers were "further organized into regiments" by June 15. Brown hoped the East Tennessee troops would arrive at Memphis as near the June 15 deadline "as practicable."¹⁰ Brown further requested, in his proclamation of May 24, that "a Quartermaster and Commissary agent (Quartermaster General G. W. Rowles) be appointed for the purchase of supplies, and to draw on any disbursing officer of the United States sent to this State, or on the Executive Department of this State." Tennessee Inspector General Levin H. Coe was ordered "to select a suitable encampment in or near Memphis, and cause an adequate supply of rations and supplies to be engaged for the subsistence of said troops whilst at that place, and employ suitable assistance for that purpose."¹¹

Robert B. Turner, Adjutant General of Tennessee, issued Order Number Two (May 25, 1846) which updated Governor Brown's proclamation. Since the American army was "exposed to increased dangers" of enemy reinforcements, Turner thought it necessary that those companies accepted for service be notified by express. Companies ordered to rendezvous at Nashville were now expected to be there as early as June 1. All volunteers were "to repair to Memphis immediately and arrive as much earlier than the 15th of June as possible." They would then be "dispatched forthwith" to New Orleans.¹²

Despite Governor Brown's coordinated effort concerning Tennessee's military preparedness, some journalists criticized him for not immediately responding to America's

desperate need for reinforcements in Mexico. The Clarksville Chronicle felt that Tennessee was "shamefully behind its sister states." "Cold water was thrown on the fire of enthusiasm and on the great ado about prompt preparation by the blundering incapacity, or inactivity at least of Governor Brown."¹³ When Major General Taylor requested volunteers from Texas and Louisiana, the Tri-Weekly Memphis Enquirer "urged the young men of Memphis" to journey to those states and "enlist if they wanted to fight for their country, as it was a waste of time to wait for the governor of Tennessee to issue a call for volunteers."¹⁴ Nevertheless, Governor Brown did deliver a proclamation "by order of the War Department" for "three full regiments--two of infantry and one of cavalry."¹⁵ "It was nobly responded to . . . about thirty thousand rushed forward with eager anxiety to engage in the service of their country."¹⁶ A Mexican War veteran reiterated: "The 'Old Volunteer State,' true to her sobriquet--her patriotic sons thronged so thickly to her standard that they more than ten times outnumbered the requisition. Nearly thirty thousand volunteers reported themselves ready for service."¹⁷ The Nashville Union featured a column entitled "The Volunteer State" in which the patriotism of Tennesseans was extolled:

Ready to obey the summons without the least delay, the gallant sons of Tennessee should bear a conspicuous part in the contest. If we are worthy of our immortal sires, the summons will be obeyed with alacrity. Volunteers will be in readiness to answer the call--and when and wherever the thickest of the battle, then and there will Tennessee valor be conspicuous. . . . As a state, the measure of our military glory is full--our fathers have bequeathed to us their own immortal honor won on many a battlefield. We cannot expect to eclipse the lustre of

their glorious deeds, but we are bound to emulate their example and to cherish the rich inheritance of military renown handed down to us. They achieved for Tennessee the proud title of the 'Volunteer State.' We are bound to maintain the distinction thus won for us. . . .¹⁸

Tennessee's noble spirit was further praised: "The prompt and enthusiastic response made throughout the state to the call for volunteers, proves that our people cherish with pride their high character for chivalry. . . . We can truly say that the call has been most gallantly met--the result has proved that we are proud of the title of the 'Volunteer State.'"¹⁹

War spirit reached a fever pitch among Tennesseans. "Every town and village was roused by the shrill fife and spirit-stirring drum; the hill-tops and the mountains poured down their thousands--the plains and the valleys were teeming with men, and companies filled up so fast that it soon became difficult even to purchase a place in the ranks."²⁰ Motives for enlistment seemed to include "romantic patriotism and a 'hankering' to see a battle." The rigors of army life would "test the powers of endurance." The sheer adventure of the moment and the "temptation to visit Mexico" beckoned many a daring soul.²¹

The tedious task of accommodating and even limiting the multitudes of patriotic and adventure-seeking volunteers was undertaken with a competent vigor. Since "so few had been called for in the requisition,"²² balloting, the "most equitable and satisfactory method," was conducted to determine which companies would be accepted for Mexican War service. Those companies chosen were "immediately notified by express

and ordered to march to the place of rendezvous."²³ Approximately 2,400 men--1,600 infantry and 800 cavalry, were finally accepted.²⁴ Governor Aaron Brown apologized to volunteers who were refused:

It is not surprising that there should exist some dissatisfaction among the rejected. . . . I sympathize deeply with the noble patriots, in their disappointment, who were so anxious to go out against Mexico . . . but it was impossible for me to meet the wishes of all. . . . Reasonable persons would understand that I acted in the only way which would give satisfaction to the different sections of the state, and, at the same time, to give as little cause of complaint to the volunteers as possible.²⁵

Brown sincerely felt that he apportioned the call for volunteers equally and fairly.²⁶

Tennessee's chief executive effectively dealt with numerous other problems which arose. Since the volunteers "assembled in advance of any officer of the United States, either to muster them into service, or to make those usual advances of money so necessary to troops, suddenly called on to leave their home on so long and distant an expedition," Brown appointed muster officers to enroll men "in their respective quarters of the state, rather than subject them to the uncertainty of being rejected after they had gone to a distant place of rendezvous." Suitable encampments were established at Knoxville, Memphis, and Nashville. The Union and Planters' Bank offered to lend "any sum of money, not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars each." Brown negotiated a loan of sixty to seventy thousand dollars with the Union Bank. Each accepted volunteer was then paid in advance. Encampment expenses were settled, and the expenses incurred as the East Tennessee

troops marched to Memphis were defrayed.²⁷

Governor Brown was determined "to give our troops the proper and effective force in campaign." He proposed to have the Western District volunteers depart as a battalion, later to be "reunited into a regiment" with the East Tennesseans. The Second and Third Division troops were likely to have two companies in excess of a regiment, while the Western District and East Tennessee units possessed less than regimental strength. "To equalize the regiments, it is likely that the regiments will be formed of all companies assembling at Nashville, leaving the other regiment to be formed of eight companies."²⁸

United States officers in Memphis commended Governor Brown for his "prompt plan of operation in bringing the Tennessee volunteers into the field." The officers noted: "All the details of the several departments as presented by the papers of the Paymaster and Quartermaster manifest a degree of care and accuracy which are not common in such cases."²⁹

As Tennessee's regiments assembled, the expectation of a six months enlistment turned to disappointment. Nevertheless, the twelve months volunteers, with an "elastic patriotism" and an "old grudge against the Mexicans," were determined to vanquish an enemy that "had invaded our soil and spilled American blood."³⁰

CHAPTER THREE

The Organization of the Second Tennessee

As volunteers rapidly enrolled themselves in various companies, they were advised to conform to the organization of a volunteer company. An infantry company consisted of "one captain, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, four sergeants, four corporals, two musicians, and at least fifty privates (not to exceed sixty-four, which was reduced from the maximum limit of eighty), and not less than sixty-four rank and file."¹ Among the host of infantry companies which tendered their services were those which would in time constitute an organized unit, the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

The citizens of Memphis, Shelby County, Tennessee were foremost in patriotic zeal. A war meeting was held on May 8, 1846 at the Gayoso Hotel.² On May 15, 1846, five hundred residents of Memphis gathered at the Court Square to discuss the levying of troops for the Mexican War. Addresses were given by Colonel Walter Coleman, Colonel J. W. Pettit, Colonel W. N. Porter, Reverend Mr. Gaylord, and J. L. Penn. Colonel Nathaniel Anderson presided over the gathering. A Ways and Means Committee, whose members included Colonel J. W. Pettit, Major E. Hickman, A. Henderson, John Martin, Colonel David Looney, Major H. H. Means, Major A. Gillis, and A. S.

Hancock, was appointed.³

E. F. Ruth enlisted men for his company, the Memphis Rifle Guards, at the Sheriff's Office which was located on Main Street "between Poplar and Washington." Morgan B. Cook's company, the Gaines Guards, was "fully organized." On May 16, 1846, a parade of volunteers, complete with martial music, marched to the Court Square where "enlistment booths were set up and more volunteers were enrolled."⁴ By May 22, 1846, the companies of Captain Cook and Captain Ruth each numbered approximately seventy.⁵ The Memphis Rifle Guards and Gaines Guards informed Governor Brown that they were "ready, willing and able to serve their country."⁶ The commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Gaines Guards consisted of the following: Morgan B. Cook, captain; William B. Davis, first lieutenant; E. J. Wyatt, second lieutenant; Charles G. Gill, ensign; Ruffin C. Sneed (Snead), orderly sergeant; John D. Beatty, second sergeant; H. L. Bynum, third sergeant; J. L. (Q.) Wilbar, fourth sergeant; Julius C. Anderson, first corporal; O. Testard (Teslard), second corporal; R. P. Ford, third corporal; W. H. Simms (Linn), fourth corporal; R. C. Miller, quartermaster; O. Cary, assistant quartermaster; J. P. Isler, captain's secretary. Officers of the Memphis Rifle Guards were: E. F. Ruth, captain; Frederick B. Nelson, first lieutenant; E. M. Anderson, second lieutenant; G. J. Slaughter, ensign; Samuel H. Whitsitt (Whitsett), orderly sergeant; William S. Eckols (Echols), second sergeant; Benjamin O. Haver (O'Haver), third sergeant; William A. Porter, fourth sergeant;

R. J. Dye, first corporal; S. T. Woodson, second corporal; John Glenn, third corporal; Robert Torrey, fourth corporal; James S. Foster, quartermaster and sergeant-major; R. W. Eckols (Echols), assistant quartermaster; William C. Smith, captain's secretary.⁷

The Memphis Rifle Guards and Gaines Guards "established a camp on the Hernando Road about one and one-quarter miles from Memphis" on Levi Lorance's land. The camp was named Anderson Barracks in honor of Colonel Nathaniel Anderson, a loyal supporter of the volunteer companies and father of three of their members. "Ample water for the camp was available there and the merchants and rivermen of Memphis supplied the necessary grocery items for the men."⁸ The Gaines Guards and Rifle Guards expressed "sincere thanks" to Inspector General Levin H. Coe "for the liberal donation of one hundred dollars for buying provisions."⁹

In addition to military drill and tactics, the volunteers found time to attend social and civic functions given in their honor. On Friday, May 22, 1846, the companies of Memphis volunteers were in attendance at a flag presentation ceremony at the Gayoso House. Captain E. F. Ruth accepted a flag presented to his company, the Memphis Rifle Guards, by a Mrs. Tilden. (The Memphis Weekly Appeal reported that the Rifle Guards received a flag on the Court Square at six o'clock, Friday evening, May 29. The ladies "residing in the immediate vicinity" presented the banner to Captain Ruth's company.¹⁰) Captain Cook's Gaines Guards received a flag which was hand painted by

Captain Joseph P. Keyser. The daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Anderson, Miss Sarah Anderson, proudly presented the beautiful flag to the company. Captain Keyser refused payment for his handiwork, but the Gaines Guards convinced Mrs. Keyser "to accept a dress pattern of the finest satin."¹¹ A benefit concert to aid the volunteers was given on Thursday, May 28, by the Memphis "Serenaders." Compositions included "The Rio Grande" by "Shad" and the air, "Lucy Neal." The volunteers were even invited to attend Sabbath services at eleven o'clock in the morning, May 31, at the Methodist Church--sermon given by Reverend Mr. Hyer.¹²

Meanwhile, as the Memphis troops somewhat reluctantly accepted their temporary "ornamental" status, other volunteers who were soon destined to be their regimental comrades organized themselves into companies and eagerly awaited action. The "Avengers," a company enrolled at Jackson, Madison County, Tennessee, were composed of the following personnel: Timothy P. Jones, captain; Richard J. Hays, second lieutenant; Alex P. Green, third lieutenant; John R. McClanahan and Horace G. Bledsoe, sergeants; John Thompson, John J. Anderson and James E. Whyte, corporals; William L. Anderson, drummer; privates included: Tyler Anderson, Benjamin F. Bledsoe, Thomas Boyd, William Browning, Joe A. Burns, John Burns, Eli Chandler, Jason H. Clowd (Cloud), William W. Dickerson, Robert Faltom, L. W. Fussell, Ben F. Gourley, E. B. W. Hobbs, J. Hollingsworth, Robert Houston, Christopher Johnson, William W. Jones, I. H. Marks, William G. Mathews, Leander D. Miller, Nathan

Miller, William Nicks, Everett Percy, K. B. Pledger, Samuel Smith, John Stuart, John Swan, John Wagnon, Solomon Whitlow, Alonzo L. Whyte, Benjamin Williams, George E. Willy, John Woodel, and John Wright.¹³ The Carroll County, Tennessee company, known as the Tennessee Guards, was enrolled at Huntingdon with the following members: Henry F. Murray, captain; Isaac R. Hawkins, J. Richardson, N. B. Burrow, lieutenants; J. C. Hawkins, James Ingram, B. F. Harrison, Robert P. McCracken, sergeants; John W. Myrick, Jesse Wiley, Ashton W. Hawkins, J. F. Townes, corporals; and seventy-four privates.¹⁴

In addition to the four West Tennessee companies, the Second Tennessee was composed of four East Tennessee companies. William Standifer (Standefer) served as captain of a company enrolled at Chattanooga, Hamilton County. Another volunteer infantry company was raised in Monroe County and at Athens, Tennessee and Kelley's Ferry, Tennessee in McMinn County. Its officers were: John D. Lowry (Lowrey), captain; William Yearwood, first lieutenant; James Wilson, second lieutenant; James Forest (Forrest), third lieutenant; H. B. Yearwood, orderly sergeant.¹⁵ Among Captain Lowry's enlistees was a young, free colored man, George Sherman, who insisted on joining the unit.¹⁶ George W. McCown recruited a company in Sevier County. It was officered as follows: George W. McCown, captain; Joseph Bradley (Baily), first lieutenant; George W. Bounds, second lieutenant; F. White, orderly sergeant.¹⁷ Captain Barnett's company of Sullivan County was "informed by express of their acceptance, but not having the

requisite number of men, the vacancy was supplied by the substitution of Captain J. L. Kirkpatrick's Company from Anderson County."¹⁸ Officers of the Anderson County company were: John L. Kirkpatrick, captain; William Hogshead, first lieutenant; John Ellis, second lieutenant; Timothy Bradley, orderly sergeant.¹⁹

In accordance with the Adjutant General's Order Number Two, the companies "marched forthwith to the places of rendezvous"²⁰ to be "mustered into the service of the United States as twelve months volunteers."²¹ United States Adjutant General Roger Jones emphasized procedure in General Orders, Number Fifteen (May 29, 1846):

Quotas of volunteers were to embark at the nearest navigable (route) points to their respective state--rendezvous and thence by water with or without transshipment at Mobile or New Orleans to Point Isabel or Brazos Santiago, Texas--come under orders of the chiefs of the general staff at this place and the general officer in the chief command of United States land forces operating against Mexico who would supply the volunteers with the necessary arms, accoutrements, ammunition, knapsacks, haversacks, canteens (for water), camp equipage, subsistence, medicines, hospital stores, and means of transportation by land or water, according to routes and destination.²²

The Memphis Rifle Guards, Gaines Guards, Jackson Avengers, and Tennessee (Carroll County) Guards were mustered into the service of the United States on June 4, 1846 at Camp Carroll, which was located two miles east of Memphis on the State Line Road.²³ The Memphis Weekly Appeal described the scene at Camp Carroll--a designated, general rendezvous encampment for troops departing for New Orleans: "The tents are pitched in lines at right angles to the crossroad leading

from the State to the Raleigh Road. . . ."24

On June 10, 1846, the four West Tennessee companies struck camp and boarded the steamer Brownsville "bound for New Orleans." Memphians thronged the wharf "to witness the troops' departure at sunset amid the ringing of bells and the combined shouts, cheers and goodbyes of all assembled."²⁵ The Weekly Appeal of the city of Memphis praised the volunteers upon their departure: "They are a fine body of men as we ever saw, and we cheerfully commit the fame of Tennessee to their keeping."²⁶

At Vicksburg, Mississippi, Ruffin C. Sneed, an orderly sergeant of the Gaines Guards, and Private Columbus R. Miller, also of the Gaines Guards, were involved in a "fatal affray" in which Sneed died "from a pistol shot fired by Miller." Sergeant Sneed, a Memphian clerk and native of Athens, Alabama, was buried at Natchez. The Memphis Weekly Appeal spoke of "contradictory reports" as to the cause of the fatal argument. The journey to New Orleans was a pleasant one with the exception of the Miller-Sneed incident.²⁷

As the West Tennessee troops leisurely traveled the Mississippi to New Orleans, East Tennessee volunteers were being mustered into the United States Army in compliance with Section Forty-Four of the 1840 Tennessee Militia Law, which affected all "accepted" companies of Tennessee. The pertinent portion of the militia laws of Tennessee stated: "Be it enacted, that each volunteer company which shall receive the arms of the State, shall be held in readiness and subject to

the first call for service of the State or United States."²⁸

The companies of Captain George W. McCown and Captain John L. Kirkpatrick were mustered at Knoxville, Tennessee on June 12 and June 15, respectively. On June 16, 1846, Captain John D. Lowry's company was mustered in at Kelley's Ferry, near Athens, Tennessee in McMinn County. The volunteer company of Captain William Standifer mustered at Chattanooga on June 18.²⁹ First Lieutenant William Gibbs McAdoo, a member of Captain Kirkpatrick's company and father of William Gibbs McAdoo, Junior (who was best known as Secretary of the Treasury under President Woodrow Wilson, though McAdoo's accomplishments were manifold), recorded that he "set out with his company on a flatboat, which was floated down the Tennessee River to a junction with the Ohio, down the Ohio to a junction with the Mississippi, and down the Mississippi to New Orleans."³⁰ According to returns dated June 29 and July 9, the four East Tennessee companies sojourned at Camp Carroll,³¹ where the health of the camp was good and the soldiers were "noble, chivalrous, respectable, and gentlemanly."³² United States officers in Memphis "spoke in terms of high commendation of the troops."³³ By mid-July, the infantry, armed with Hall's rifles, muskets, or "other arms in as good condition as possible," departed Camp Carroll for New Orleans.³⁴

As a steady stream of Tennessee's "Congressional" troops embarked from New Orleans to the theater of war, newspapers of the "Crescent City" pronounced the Tennessee troops to be "the finest soldiers--the best drilled and best looking--

that have yet arrived at New Orleans."³⁵

From Brazos Island and Point Isabel, the battalions from East and West Tennessee encamped, a short distance below Colonel William Bowen Campbell's First Tennessee Volunteers, at Lomita ("Little Hill"), Mexico, approximately fifteen miles from the mouth of the Rio Grande and thirty miles from Matamoros.³⁶ A member of Colonel Campbell's regiment observed:

On the seventh of August, they held their elections for field officers, and the regiment was organized as the Second Regiment Tennessee Volunteers, under Colonel William T. Haskell and Lieutenant Colonel David H. Cummings. Owing to the deficit of two companies in the regiment, the commanding general authorized the election of two field officers, Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel, thereby leaving the regiment without a Major.³⁷

First Lieutenant Wiley Pope Hale was chosen adjutant,³⁸ while Davy Douglass served as the regiment's sutler.³⁹ Organization of the Second Tennessee was as follows: Company A, Captain George W. McCown; Company B, Captain Henry F. Murray; Company C, Captain John L. Kirkpatrick; Company D, Captain E. F. Ruth; Company E, Captain Morgan B. Cook; Company F, Captain Timothy P. Jones; Company G, Captain William Standifer; Company H, Captain John D. Lowry.⁴⁰

CHAPTER FOUR

"Gone a Campaignin'"

The Second Tennessee, with other regiments encamped at Lomita, embarked on August 8, 11, 12, 13, and 15 for Camargo, Mexico, situated midway between Matamoros and Monterrey. The sick and discharged from Lomita were sent to Point Isabel, Texas.¹

Camargo, located on the banks of the San Juan River,² was a "yawning graveyard." "A thousand soldiers torn and mangled on the battlefield would be nothing to Camargo's suffering and dying regiments."³ "The dead march was ever wailing in our ears . . . the dead being removed at sunrise and sunset but to make room for the dying."⁴ Sickness, disease, flies, mosquitoes, rain, and mud took their toll on those soldiers encamped near Camargo. Measles, dysentery, and yellow fever, known as the vómito, decimated the army and lessened its effectiveness.⁵ "On one day, September 18, 1846, at Camargo, the report of the Assistant Adjutant showed 317 men of the Second Tennessee Regiment incapacitated out of a complement of 588 men."⁶

By the end of September, some of the discharged Memphis volunteers returned home aboard the steamer Albatross. Doctor T. R. Hill reported that, at the time of departure, only four of Shelby County's members of the Second Tennessee had died

from disease: Dennie Brick and George W. P. Moore, Company D (Memphis Rifle Guards); P. A. Blythe and S. H. Johnson, Company E (Gaines Guards).⁷ The Clarksville Chronicle told of the return of sick volunteers:

About 140 passed up the river on Friday evening (October 2), discharged for sickness. We did not see them, but learn that they were in a most destitute and distressed condition. Without money, without comfortable clothing, some of them barefooted and bareheaded, in an open boat (towed by the Rose of Sharon) without any sufficient means of protecting themselves from the inclemency of weather, their situation was indeed deplorable. On account of some informality in making out their papers, the Paymaster, at New Orleans, it is said, coldly turned them off without money or clothing, with no other resources, for many of them, than the charity of friends and the protection of Providence.⁸

The controversy concerning the non-payment of the discharged volunteers "arose from the informality of the certificates of discharge." The dischargees were advised "to communicate with Governor Brown" who had "made the necessary arrangements for the authentication of their papers."⁹

In spite of the prevalence of sickness and death, camp life assumed an air of normalcy. The volunteers drilled and paraded daily--"danced and sang at night."¹⁰ Camp meeting songs were especially popular. Despite a marked tendency toward religious devotion, their favorite pastimes were card playing and other forms of gambling, including faro and a game of chance called chuck-a-luck.¹¹

An objectionable part of the routine of camp life for the volunteer was the fact that he was obliged to attend to his clothes on washday:

In the regular army, four women are allowed to attend

each company. They draw their rations as the men. They are called 'laundresses,' and their duty is to wash for the soldiers; their price for washing being fixed by the officers, and their pay received on pay day, deducted from the wages of the soldier. But there were none of these, as far as our observation extended, among the volunteer regiments.¹²

The camp diet, which usually consisted of fried salt pork, hardtack, and coffee,¹³ provided no "flavorful diversion" from the humdrum of life at a military encampment. Occasionally, foragers made it possible for the troops to dine on fried chicken, roast pig, fresh vegetables, butter, and milk.¹⁴ A journey outside the relative safety of camp confines often had dire consequences. Second Lieutenant E. M. Anderson, Memphis Rifle Guards, Company D, Second Tennessee, wrote of the murder of Samuel P. Freezer and Patrick Worsham, who were both members of the Gaines Guards, Company E, Second Tennessee: "The two men had gone sightseeing a short distance from camp and when found had been brutally murdered by the Mexicans and the bodies stripped of all their clothes."¹⁵

On August 19, 1846, Major General Zachary Taylor's force of approximately six thousand regulars and volunteers began its advance toward Monterrey from the army's supply base near Camargo. Colonel William Bowen Campbell received orders for "five hundred picked men" of his regiment, the First Tennessee, "to be held in readiness to march to Monterrey." The volunteers of the First Tennessee who were chosen for the Monterrey campaign were attached to Major General John A. Quitman's Mississippi Brigade. Colonel Campbell remarked: "Although General Pillow is my Brigadier, I have been

temporarily detached with five hundred men to go in the expedition to Monterrey under Quitman."¹⁶

The approaches to Monterrey were guarded by numerous fortified redoubts--the principal ones being the Citadel (Black Fort), Federation Hill (La Federación), Fort Tannerio, Fort Diablo, and the Bishop's Palace (El Obispado). The attack on the city began September 20, 1846. United States troops entered Monterrey the next day, but they met heavy resistance as the Mexicans fell back to the Citadel and withstood a four-day siege. The enemy capitulated on September 24. The Black Fort, which "commanded a wide plain and extended around the entire northern side of the city," was evacuated the following day, and a surrender was negotiated. Both parties assented to an eight-week armistice. American losses were 550 killed and wounded. Mexican casualties were estimated at from 1200 to 1500.¹⁷

The First Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment, commanded by Colonel William B. Campbell, was dubbed the "Bloody First" because of the heavy losses (approximately 101 killed, wounded, and missing¹⁸) it sustained during the Battle of Monterrey. Grateful Tennesseans solicited contributions statewide to erect a monument on Capitol Hill in Nashville "to the memory of the gallant Tennesseans who fell in the Battle of Monterrey."¹⁹ A public meeting at Nashville, chaired by Doctor John Shelby, resolved to "emblazon tablets of fame" to those "who covered themselves with glory" at Monterrey.²⁰ William Strickland, the State Architect, submitted his design

proposal to the monument committee:

The design embraces a pedestal of ten feet square and fourteen feet in height, surrounded by an obelisk of thirty-six feet square at the base, in one solid block, weighing about forty-two tons, making the whole compact limestone of the Nashville quarries. The pedestal rests upon two steps of two feet rise each, and is embellished, on four corners, with the Roman fascies and battle axe, supporting funeral vases at the base of the obelisk, while the American Eagle is perched upon its apex. The names of the slain are to be inscribed upon the shaft as well as upon the panels of the pedestal; the counties from which they came are also to be inscribed.²¹

Strickland estimated that the monument and a "substantial enclosure of spear railing of wrought iron" would probably cost \$8,500.²²

While volunteers of the First Tennessee basked in their "instant" glory and renown, men of the Second Tennessee could not help but feel unimportant. As rear guard, the Second Tennessee stayed behind at Camargo. When it became evident that the Mexicans would indeed fight at Monterrey, and not at Saltillo as had been predicted,²³ reinforcements were requested. Nevertheless, "the Second Tennessee arrived too late from Camargo to participate in the Battle of Monterrey"²⁴ and, therefore, received no laurels.

While the First Tennessee welcomed a "period of inactivity at Camp Allen near Monterrey," Major General Taylor informed Santa Anna at San Luis Potosí that Washington had disapproved of the armistice and considered it to be terminated as of November 13. On December 13, Brigadier General David E. Twiggs's First Division regulars "took up the line of march towards Victoria, nearly two hundred miles distant,

as the advance of the column about to move on Tampico." Quitman's brigade, composed of the Georgia, Mississippi, and First Tennessee regiments, struck camp the next day and proceeded for Victoria. Taylor's troops followed on December 15, leaving Major General William O. Butler's Ohio and Kentucky regiments at Monterrey.²⁵ The Second Tennessee Regiment left Camargo (December 8) and joined the column on December 17 at Montemorelos, a small town sixty miles below Monterrey "at the foot of the sierra, planted beside a swift, cool stream, full of trout, that watered a beautiful valley, and suggesting at a distance under the blue sky--a pearl set in an azure stone."²⁶ Colonel William B. Campbell noted:

At Montemorelos [sic], we were joined by the 2d Tennessee Regiment and General Quitman was placed in command of the whole force left to march on Victoria. It was organized on the 18th Dec. into a field Division, composed of 2 brigades--the 1st composed of the 2 Tennessee Regts. and placed under my command, General Pillow having returned to New Orleans in bad health and the other made up of Georgia and Mississippi Regts. and the Baltimore Battalion [sic], commanded by Col. Jackson of the Georgia Regt. Thus organized we proceeded on the march to this place [Victoria]. The whole command numbered about 2200 men and about 100 wagons and 300 pack mules. The march was most successful, not having lost a man or a wagon on the whole way.²⁷

On their way to Victoria, United States troops marched through the towns of Linares (December 21) and Villa Grande (December 25), encamping four miles below Hidalgo. Since reconnaissance reports indicated enemy troop movement ahead, the command halted on the 27th in order to strengthen the advance and rear guards. The column entered Victoria, in battle formation, on December 29, "a few minutes after the enemy had evacuated it." The Americans, somewhat disappointed, had expected

"obstinate resistance."²⁸

Since Major General Taylor's regulars left the column to aid Brigadier General William J. Worth's forces near San Luis Potosí, Major General Robert Patterson reached Victoria, by the early part of January, with two Illinois infantry regiments, one Tennessee cavalry regiment, and two artillery companies.²⁹ "A new organization of brigades now followed, and it was with feelings of pride and pleasure that the Tennesseans took their position, side by side, as a Tennessee brigade commanded by Major General Gideon J. Pillow,"³⁰ who arrived at Victoria by January 8. The Tennesseans were "now all together" and looked forward to "warm work at Victoria."³¹

While encamped at Victoria, the health of the troops noticeably improved.³² Colonel Campbell was pleased to report: "This is a most pleasant and healthy country and the whole army here have fine health with the exception of chills and fevers, which are mild and are caused by the change of weather and the exposure of camp life."³³

By the latter part of December 1846 and the beginning of January 1847, the issues of poor pay (seven dollars a month for privates) and threadbare clothing, which were frequent topics of discussion for encamped volunteers, seemed to have been resolved. Volunteers had been obliged to furnish their own clothes, and, "in lieu of clothing, every non-commissioned officer and private shall be entitled to receive in money a sum equal to the cost of clothing of a non-commissioned officer or private in the regular troops of the United States." In regard to clothing and pay, the volunteer was not on the

same footing as the regular army soldier.³⁴ Congress attempted to remedy this discrepancy when it passed a bill which "authorized clothing to be distributed" to the volunteer regiments in Mexico. Only two or three of the twenty-six volunteer regiments stationed in Mexico were supplied with decent clothing.³⁵ Mr. Haralson (Committee on Military Affairs) reported:

It was resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, that the Secretary of War be authorized and directed immediately to cause to be forwarded and delivered to the assistant quartermaster of each regiment of volunteers an amount of clothing for the men of the same equal to their wants, and that the said quartermaster be authorized and directed to deliver clothing to each non-commissioned officer, musician, and private, whose necessities require the same, at the price which the said clothing has cost the Government, and that the amount so delivered to each shall be charged on the payroll, and deducted from his pay.³⁶

The Senate's Crittenden Resolution increased pay to soldiers and volunteers, and certificates of merit with additional pay were to be "granted to those who exhibit extraordinary bravery or devotion."³⁷

The volunteers rejoiced as news of the Congressional decisions reached Victoria. But their optimism was shortlived, for their favorite, Major General Zachary Taylor was replaced as Commander-in-Chief by Major General Winfield Scott. The dispatch, which Captain Haynes (Tennessee cavalry) had delivered to the Victoria command on Thursday, January 14, 1847, ordered Taylor back to Monterrey and directed the main body of troops at Victoria, including the Second Tennessee, to advance to Tampico, approximately 110 miles to the southeast, in preparation for an attack on Veracruz.³⁸ Captain Benjamin

Franklin Cheatham of the First Tennessee, who later served as Colonel of the Third Tennessee in the battles for Mexico City, gained note as Major General of Confederate forces during the Civil War, and was Superintendent of Tennessee prisons (1874-1878), hoped the Veracruz campaign would be a reality, for he could not understand the strategy in a move toward Tampico:

This general move towards Tampico bothers me a good deal as I cannot see the utility of it as that place has surrendered some time since. . . . It is a move that none of us can comprehend as there are no troops in that direction that we are aware of but we are really tired of an inactive camp life and are willing for anything for a change.³⁹

The Second Tennessee and its cohorts left Victoria on January 15, crossing the Río Folorne by the 19th. On January 20, they gazed upon the awesome beauty of the lofty Sierra de la Vaca y Cabra (Mountain of the Cow and the Goat). American forces marched through Altamira, "one of the oldest towns" in Mexico, proceeded along the borders of Laguna de los Esteros, a large lake within ten miles of Tampico, and camped at the hacienda of Encarnación (Camp Laguna de Puerta). On January 24, 1847, the column passed through Tampico and encamped on a "low, level plain" beside the "sluggish Pánuco River," a half mile below the "queen city of Mexico."⁴⁰

The Second Tennessee spent an uneventful February in camp near Tampico,⁴¹ though the men were undoubtedly happy that camp fare, generally coarse, i.e., coffee, fried bacon, and hard bread, improved "when near such a town as this." "We get vegetables from the market, and we have had here,

fine potatoes, lettuce the finest I ever saw and fish; beef is abundant but not first rate."⁴²

While stationed at Tampico, the combatants speculated about the imminent Veracruz campaign. Captain William B. Walton of the First Tennessee predicted that "the fighting at Veracruz would constitute one of the most sanguinary battles . . . that United States troops ever engaged in; although a majority of the officers here think very differently,"⁴³ including Colonel Campbell who confidently stated that "Veracruz is obliged to fall an easy prey and we shall march on Mexico [City] almost without opposition."⁴⁴

On February 19, 1847, Major General Winfield Scott arrived at Tampico and "issued orders for an immediate embarkation for Veracruz." Approximately ten to twelve thousand men, namely Major General Pillow's Brigade of three Tennessee regiments, Major General Quitman's Brigade (Alabama and Georgia regiments), Brigadier General James Shields's Brigade composed of two Illinois regiments and approximately four to five thousand regulars, and the regulars under the command of Brigadier Generals Twiggs and Worth, constituted the Veracruz expeditionary force. The regulars of Colonel Gates, a Louisiana regiment, and the Baltimore Battalion were earmarked for garrison duty at Tampico. The troops were scheduled to begin embarkation on February 21 on "naval vessels chartered to assist in the transportation of the army." Order of embarkation was as follows: Twiggs's Division, first; Pillow's Tennessee Brigade, second; Quitman's Brigade, third; Shields's

Brigade, fourth; artillery, fifth.⁴⁵

Twiggs's Division embarked on Sunday, February 28 and sailed for Antón Lizardo, an anchorage eight or nine miles south of Veracruz, via Lobos Island, a site fifty or sixty miles below Tampico, where Major General Scott was amassing an expeditionary force for a "grand descent" upon the fortress city.⁴⁶

The embarkation of Pillow's Tennessee Brigade was interrupted by a violent norther. On March 2, the Tennesseans put to sea, arriving the next day at Lobos Island. By March 6, a flotilla of sixty or seventy ships, including those which conveyed the Tennessee infantrymen, anchored near the island of Antón Lizardo, where an outbreak of smallpox threatened to put an end to the campaign.⁴⁷

Accompanied by Commodore David Conner in the steamer Petrita, Major General Winfield Scott, who had arrived (March 5) at Anton Lizardo aboard the army flagship Massachusetts, selected (March 6) the harbor of Sacrificios Island as the ideal landing place for his army. Scott decided against taking the strongly fortified castle of San Juan de Ulúa by direct assault from the sea. The blockading squadron was ordered to Sacrificios, approximately three miles from the castle, and to Green Island, one or two miles east of Sacrificios Island.⁴⁸

Due to stormy weather, the troop landings scheduled for Sunday, March 7 were postponed. At 11 a.m. on March 9, a frigate, the flagship Raritan, signaled the troop convoy to "clear anchor." The soldiers, inspired by Taylor's "glorious

victory" over Santa Anna at Buena Vista (February 22 and 23), exhibited a confident enthusiasm as they came ashore amid the strains of "The Star-Spangled Banner" played by shipboard bands.⁴⁹

The Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment landed, as part of Pillow's First Brigade, on the beaches south of Veracruz, in the second wave of surfboats, on March 10, 1847. American forces were ordered to "completely invest" Veracruz. Trenches were dug within eight hundred yards of the city walls. Brigadier General Worth's division of regulars occupied the right of the line, nearest the harbor. Major General Patterson's volunteer division, which was composed of Pillow's Brigade (three Tennessee regiments--two infantry and one cavalry; First and Second Pennsylvania Regiments and six pieces of artillery) and Quitman's Brigade (regiments from Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and the Rifle regiment), were centrally located in the rear of the city. The regulars of Twiggs's division occupied the trenches on the left "at the water's edge on the other side."⁵⁰

As the Second Tennessee prepared to take possession of a sand hill, approximately one and one-half miles from Veracruz, they encountered a Mexican ambush and were caught in a crossfire.⁵¹ A young Virginian attached to the Second Tennessee wrote:

They opened upon us a shower of musketry from the chaparral, and our regiment not knowing what to do, or where to go, were in much disorder and confusion, when Pillow dashed forward and gave the order to charge the hill. . . . In five minutes we gained the heights and drove the Mexicans into the city.⁵²

First Lieutenant Frederick B. Nelson of Company D was the first officer to reach the top of the hill. The flags of the Memphis Rifle Guards and Gaines Guards waved proudly within a short range of the city's batteries.⁵³ "In answer to their three loud cheers, they [Second Tennessee] received the first fire . . . a continuous storm of balls and shells from the city and castle which swept like hail, over the American trenches."⁵⁴

On March 22, 1847, Major General Winfield Scott demanded that Brigadier General Juan Morales surrender his forces in order that the beautiful city of Veracruz might be spared from the imminent hazard of demolition. He appealed to the "intelligence, gallantry, patriotism, and humanity of the defenders" who might refrain from a "useless effusion of blood" and spare its "peaceful inhabitants (women and children) from the inevitable horrors of a triumphant assault."⁵⁵ Shortly after Scott's note arrived, Morales refused his surrender demand, saying that the Mexican government had placed its confidence in him and he "will make it good to the last; therefore, his excellency can commence his operations of war in the manner which he may consider most advantageous."⁵⁶ On the same day (March 22), United States land and naval batteries began the siege of Veracruz.

The Second Tennessee, encamped near the ruins of the castle of Malibran, was engaged in preparing batteries for action. Pillow's Brigade hauled 68-pounders from the beach at night to the Naval Battery (Battery Number Five), which mounted six guns (three 32-pounders and three 68-pounders).

In broad daylight, on March 24, as Pillow's men came under heavy fire, the final mounting of the naval battery's cannon in the chaparral was completed. Pillow's Brigade also assisted in putting heavy siege mortars in place.⁵⁷

The ample variety of American firepower was perplexing. Colonel Campbell, writing at "Camp Washington" near Veracruz, stated that there were ten 10-inch mortars and four 24-pounders in position by March 20. The first battery of seven 10-inch mortars was planted by Worth's division.⁵⁸ The mortar batteries (Worth's batteries), Numbers One, Two, and Three, were commanded by Colonel James Bankhead.⁵⁹ Another battery consisted of guns from the navy--two 32-pounders and four 64-pounders.⁶⁰ Battery Number Four, located between the mortars and coehorns (smaller mortars) and Battery Number Five, consisted of four 24-pounders, Paixans, and two 68-pounders amply supplied with ammunition.⁶¹ By March 25, an additional "ten large mortars, six smaller ones, six 68-pound cannon, three thirty-twos, and four twenty-fours were served in the most rapid and efficient manner."⁶²

Five thousand Mexicans defended Veracruz, "one of the strongest places in the world--perhaps second only to Gibraltar."⁶³ The main stronghold, the castle of San Juan de Ulúa, was located "on a small island opposite the city." "Of immense strength, with walls from fifteen to eighteen feet thick of solid stone, it was divided within into three separate fortresses, with canals between, which were crossed by drawbridges." The fort, covering seven to eight acres, was

garrisoned by 2,500 men with 370 cannon.⁶⁴ Colonel William B. Campbell described the scene which confronted American troops:

The castle is situated in the bay in front of the town about 800 yards from the town--the water between the town and castle deep enough for the largest vessels. The town is surrounded by a wall 16 feet high and 3 feet thick, with 90 guns in batteries along the wall. . . . The sand hills which rise from the town are 150 feet high. . . . The hills are barren, but along the small valleys a very dense thicket of small growth 15 or 20 feet high, makes it impassable except paths are chopped out.⁶⁵

The principal Mexican forts at Veracruz included the "rail-road fort," located to the right (east) of the "red fort" (Saint Barbara) as American forces "face the city from the south"; the "white fort," situated farther eastward near the "Gate of Mercy," the main entrance to Veracruz; and Fort Santiago at the water's edge to the left of the castle, "at the southeastern corner of the city." The Gallega shoal, a shallow coral reef, jutted out menacingly from the right of the water battery and prevented the American flotilla from approaching that point in the city's defenses.⁶⁶

As the Americans attempted to bombard Veracruz into submission, action occurred which was peripheral to the siege operations. A detachment of the Second Tennessee was involved in a skirmish on March 18. Two companies of the Second, accompanied by three companies of the First Tennessee, marched four to five miles in order to "rescue" a beef hunting party that had been attacked three miles to the rear. A few shots were exchanged at a distance--the mounted Mexicans, approximately twenty in number, quickly fled.⁶⁷ On March 25, 1847, a portion of Lieutenant Colonel William S. Harney's regular

army dragoons, escorted by Captain Caswell's company of Tennessee cavalry, were dispatched to substantiate rumors of a "strong enemy force in the rear of our lines." A superior force of Mexican lancers attacked the scouting party, and three Tennesseans were cut off from their company. A detachment was requested to reinforce the beleaguered men at a barricaded stone bridge over a lagoon, the Puente de Moreno. Four companies of Colonel Haskell's Second Tennessee, four First Tennessee companies commanded by Colonel Campbell, four companies of dismounted Tennessee cavalry, and a part of Captain Edward J. Steptoe's flying artillery (two pieces of artillery and a complement of men) under the command of Lieutenant Judd were ordered into battle about nine miles from Veracruz, near the Medelin River (variously written as Medalin and Madeline). The eight infantry companies of the First and Second Tennessee were hurriedly deployed to the right of the bridge, and the artillery moved to the rear. A sharp conflict ensued as the Americans, totaling three hundred men, engaged a Mexican force of "one thousand or more." Some twelve to fifteen rounds of artillery fire were necessary to weaken the enemy's barricade. Lieutenant Colonel Harney then ordered a charge. George Wilkins Kendall, correspondent for the New Orleans Picayune, reported: "Colonel Haskell, commander of the Second Tennessee, and Captains Cheatham and Foster of the First Tennessee were the first men to leap over the breastwork." The Mexican infantry scattered into the thick chaparral. A squadron of Harney's dragoons, under Captain Thornton,

pursued the lancers to Medalin and overtook them, sabering about fifty. "The Mexicans were entirely routed and cut to pieces." American losses at the Battle of Medalin Bridge were light, three killed and six or eight wounded, including Private G. Woodly, Company H, Second Tennessee, who was slightly wounded.⁶⁸

Major General Scott, fearing the onset of the yellow fever season (about April 15) in the sickly region of Veracruz, ordered that the bombardment be increased by the land batteries, as well as those of the "Mosquito Fleet." On Saturday, March 27, 1847, surrender negotiations were concluded at Punta de Hornos, on the beach near Fort Santiago. American troops formally occupied the city of Veracruz on the 29th.⁶⁹

A grand total of 335 Mexican officers were captured at Veracruz: 5 generals, 18 colonels, 37 lieutenant colonels, 5 majors, 90 captains, and 180 lieutenants.⁷⁰ Approximately 19 Americans were killed, 63 wounded.⁷¹ Mexican losses were estimated at 100 civilians and 80 soldiers killed or wounded. A total of 6,700 shot and shell, weighing 463,600 pounds was expended by American forces during the siege of Veracruz.⁷²

Major General Robert Patterson "sent special compliments" of distinction to the men of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment for their conduct at Veracruz.⁷³ By the end of March 1847, regimental losses, discharges, resignations, and promotions included the following: Captain John L. Kirkpatrick, Company C, died of disease (March 19, 1847) near Veracruz and command of the company passed to First

Lieutenant William Gibbs McAdoo. Captain E. F. Ruth commanded Company D from June 4, 1846 to February 24, 1847, resigning March 1847, when he was placed under arrest (reason not given). First Lieutenant Frederick Nelson took command of Company D. Captain Morgan B. Cook, Company E, resigned at Tampico. First Lieutenant William B. Davis was promoted to captaincy of the company. (Davis was in command of Company E from February 1, 1847 to May 27, 1847.) Second Lieutenant Alexander P. Greene (Green), Company F, replaced Captain Timothy P. Jones, who resigned November 27, 1846.⁷⁴ Mark Fose of Company A was slightly wounded at Veracruz on March 25.⁷⁵ The following members of Company F were discharged for wounds or disability at Camargo, Tampico, or Veracruz: Hiram Anderson, E. A. Clark, J. C. Cochran, J. B. Cross, William A. Day, Daniel Depriest, E. B. Donelson, J. B. Freeman, Alex Henderson, C. T. Knight, Joel Lewis, George W. Lyon, Samuel Lyon, Harris Rhodes, J. F. L. Sevier, Hiram Tomlin, A. Williams. Also of Company F, Alex Tyner died at Matamoros, while Ira Martin and John Yancy died of disease at Camargo.⁷⁶

On April 8, 1847, Brigadier General Twiggs's Division of two thousand regulars left Veracruz for Jalapa, located seventy-five miles northwest of Veracruz, where it was rumored that a sizeable enemy force (fifteen thousand) had occupied a fortified position along the National Road (Puente Nacional or Puente del Rey) and was prepared to check the American advance to Mexico City. The following day, the brigades of Shields and Pillow, in Patterson's Division, departed

Veracruz and joined the march to Jalapa. The Americans had an effective force of only five thousand.⁷⁷

The column, harassed by guerrillas, halted on April 13 and encamped near Plan del Río, approximately forty-five miles from Veracruz.⁷⁸ Colonel Campbell reported from Plan del Río on April 17:

The fight has not come off yet. It was delayed until General Scott came up on the 15th and General Worth with his division came up last night and tomorrow at dawn of day the fight begins. It is now well ascertained that Santa Anna is here and that his force is very large say 15,000, and that his whole line is an entrenchment with numerous batteries and located in a strong mountain pass called the pass of the Sierra Gorda. Twiggs is now near the rear of the enemy with Shields Brigade and in the morning will be joined by Worth's Division. Pillow's Brigade attacks the extreme left of their line in front and we shall have a hot place. . . . Twiggs was attacked by the enemy today, but he beat them off.⁷⁹

Brigadier General Twiggs's Division "had opened a road around" Cerro Gordo (properly known as Sierra Gorda, meaning "Fat Mountain Range") and "taken possession" of Telegraph Hill (El Telégrafo). Twiggs's men had "slept on their arms, on the ground they had so gallantly won."⁸⁰

The battleground of Cerro Gordo was a "vast collection of massive hills, divided by deep and precipitous ravines." "No view of the whole ground can be obtained from any one place, save the height of Cerro Gordo itself, that rises nine hundred and fifty feet above the river, which runs in a deep ravine on its southern side."⁸¹

A Tennessee cavalryman, Private George C. Furber, described the disposition of Mexican troops at Cerro Gordo:

In the fort, at the top of the hill of Cerro Gordo, were six pieces of artillery, and near three thousand

men, under Brigadier General Ciriaco Vázquez; General Antonio López de Santa Anna and Major General Pedro de Ampudia were there, also, during the commencement of the fight, but cleared themselves quickly afterward. At the foot of Cerro Gordo, and near the battery No. 5, were about two thousand men and five cannon. On the hill of the batteries Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, were about four thousand men, and twenty-four pieces of artillery--five in No. 1, eight in No. 2, eight in No. 3, and three in No. 4. These were under the command of Brigadier General Rómulo Díaz de La Vega and Brigadier General Luis Pinzón. The fact of there being artillery in Nos. 1 and 2 was unknown to our attacking force, the pieces being masked by brush, like that which lay cut down and dry before them, and there having been no opportunity of making a correct reconnoissance [sic] of the position. At Santa Anna's headquarters, were a body of infantry and artillery, with six cannon, and four thousand lancers under Major General Valentín Canalizo; making in all about thirteen thousand men, with forty-two pieces of cannon.⁸²

At seven o'clock, Sunday morning, April 18, 1847, the battery, consisting of a 24-pounder gun and two 24-pounder howitzers which had been planted on the summit of Telegraph Hill by men of Twiggs's Division, commenced firing upon the enemy. The three brigades of Twiggs's Division, commanded by Colonel Bennet Riley, Colonel Harney, and Brigadier General Shields, were already on the field of battle. Major General Pillow's Brigade, which consisted of Colonel Campbell's First and Colonel Haskell's Second Tennessee Regiments; the First and Second Pennsylvania Regiments, commanded by Colonel William Roberts and Colonel Francis M. Wynkoop, respectively; Captain John S. Williams's independent company of Kentuckians from Clark County; and Captain Caswell's Knox County company of Tennessee cavalry, were enroute from the encampment at Plan del Río--a distance of three miles.⁸³

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Childs's First Artillery,

Captain E. B. Alexander's Third Infantry, the Seventh Infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Plympton, and Major William W. Loring's Rifle Regiment of Colonel Harney's Brigade, all positioned on Telegraph Hill, descended into the valley and charged the fort facing them on the Cerro Gordo Hill. Simultaneously, Colonel Riley's Brigade moved to the right, "around the base of Cerro Gordo, and engaged the enemy at and near its base." Shields's Brigade, composed of volunteers of the Third and Fourth Illinois Infantry Regiments commanded by Colonel Foreman and Colonel Edward D. Baker, respectively, and a New York regiment under Colonel W. B. Burnett, also passed along the base of Cerro Gordo, "crossed a ravine, moved up on its right bank," and advanced in a surprise attack on Santa Anna's headquarters.⁸⁴

"The rout of all the forces of the enemy became complete, save that upon the hill of the batteries Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4." General Santa Anna, fleeing to Crizaba, escaped capture, though other Mexicans were not so fortunate. Those that fled toward Jalapa were pursued by the dragoons and the Illinois and New York volunteers with two pieces of artillery.⁸⁵

Pillow's Brigade, having arrived on the battlefield, was divided into two storming parties. The Second Pennsylvania, supported by the First Tennessee, was ordered to attack Battery Number One. The Second Tennessee with Williams's Kentucky company and Captain Charles Naylor's company (Company F) of the Second Pennsylvania Volunteers, supported by the First Pennsylvania, was directed to assail simultaneously Battery

Colonel Haskell's Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment "moved onward to the assault with great energy and enthusiasm," despite the heavy crossfire and the dense chaparral thickets. The pathway up the hill was so narrow that the men were "forced to advance by a flank movement and frequently by single file." The Second Tennessee advanced "with as much rapidity as the nature of the ground would permit" and "charged with a shout of defiance" amid the "strains of the Mexican bugles."⁸⁷ "The Mexican artillery in front opened upon them; the battery on the right swept them with grape, and that on the left crossed its showers of canister through their ranks, while the deadly fire of two thousand muskets poured upon them."⁸⁸ Colonel Haskell, his cap torn off by grapeshot, maddened by the slaughter of his men who "fell like leaves before the whirlwind," ordered the regiment to fall back.⁸⁹

The First Pennsylvania had failed to charge. The Second Tennessee, unsupported, was repulsed--"not being of sufficient number" to withstand the onslaught of bullets, shot, and shell.⁹⁰ As the Second Tennessee was "retiring from the breastworks," John E. McClanahan, "under a shower of bullets, carried off the field a wounded soldier, at a great risk to his own life."⁹¹ As Haskell's men were regrouping, Pillow demanded to know: "Where is your command, Colonel? There are not half of them here." Haskell replied, "There they are sir, dead and dying on the battlefield to which they were ordered."⁹² "The Brigade was rallied and were about to

charge the second time when an express came from Major General Scott to Major General G. J. Pillow to suspend further operations as the enemy had surrendered."⁹³

All the field officers of the Second Tennessee, except Colonel Haskell, were either killed or wounded. Lieutenant Colonel David H. Cummings, who in Colonel Campbell's opinion was "clever and amiable but no part of a military man," was shot through the foot. Major Robert Farquharson (First Tennessee Volunteers, assigned to the Second Tennessee for the day) was severely wounded, as was Captain Henry F. Murray of Company B. Those mortally wounded included: First Lieutenant W. P. Hale, adjutant, and First Lieutenant William Yearwood, Company H, who died of wounds on April 24, 1847. Second Lieutenant Charles G. Gill (Company E) and First Lieutenant Frederick B. Nelson, Junior (Company D) were among those killed. Lieutenant Nelson was killed, shot in the heart, as he led his company in a charge against Battery Number Two. His last words were: "Come on my brave boys." Nelson's body was carried off by the Mexicans, but Cornelius Donahue and Benjamin Oliver recovered his body after the battle.⁹⁴

"None suffered more than Colonel Haskell's Regiment."⁹⁵ The Second Tennessee, 375 strong, lost one-fourth of its members in three minutes time. The losses of the First Tennessee were slight: one killed, six wounded. Pillow sustained a flesh wound to the arm, while Brigadier General James Shields was mortally wounded--the command being assumed by Colonel Edward D. Baker. American losses were estimated to be from

300 to 450 killed and wounded, while approximately 400 Mexicans were killed--their casualties totaling 1500.⁹⁶

The American victory at Cerro Gordo was complete:

Not a thing was saved by the flying enemy; all order was lost, and every one escaped in the best way he could. There fell into the hands of our victorious army forty-two pieces of cannon (most of them brass), many wagons and pack mules, four thousand prisoners, six or eight thousand stand of arms (not numbered), five generals--Pinson [sic], Jarero [sic], La Vega, Noriega, and Obando; (another, Gen. Vásquez, was killed on Cerro Gordo, fighting to the last); many colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and other officers (two hundred and fifteen in all); most abundant supplies of excellent powder; cannon and musket cartridges; cannon-balls, grape-shot and canister, of copper, iron, and lead; Santa Anna's traveling carriage, and his effects, including sixteen thousand dollars, in silver--a good part of which fell into the hands of the victorious Illinoisans and others; and, in fact, everything the enemy possessed.⁹⁷

"Never in any battle, have been a superior and excellently fortified force more completely out-generaled, and more decisively and promptly defeated in consequence, than were the Mexicans in their almost impregnable position at Cerro Gordo. Strong as was the main hill, they relied too much upon it."⁹⁸

CHAPTER FIVE

Homeward Bound

On Monday, April 19, 1847, those who died at the Battle of Cerro Gordo were buried "at the foot of the little hill on which stands the Church of Plan del Río." Pillow's Brigade, with the exception of the Second Tennessee, was ordered "to take up the line of march" for Jalapa on the morning of the 20th. Colonel Haskell's regiment remained at Plan del Río to take care of the sick and wounded. The Second was also entrusted with the destruction of "a great number of heavy arms and ammunition" captured at Cerro Gordo. The regiment was directed to post a guard at the supplies, arms, and ammunition which were not destroyed.¹

On May 28, 1847, the term of service for the twelve months volunteers would expire. Major General Winfield Scott decided (May 4) to discharge them early, enabling the men to depart Veracruz before the height of the yellow fever season.² Major General Robert Patterson issued General Order Number Seventeen at Jalapa, Mexico on May 5:

In accordance with the orders from the Headquarters of the army, the Tennessee cavalry, the 1st and 2d Tennessee, the 3d and 4th Illinois, the Georgia and the Alabama regiments of infantry, and Capt. Williams' company of Kentucky volunteers, will be held in readiness to march to Vera Cruz, thence to embark for New Orleans, where they will be severally and honorably mustered out of the service of the United States, and paid off by the proper officers on duty there. To facilitate the march, Col. Campbell, with the regiment of

Tennessee horse, the 1st and 2d Tennessee infantry, and the company of Kentucky volunteers, will march tomorrow morning, the 6th instant. . . . The troops will march with their arms, ten rounds of ammunition, and their personal effects, and will turn in at this place all tents, and such other articles of camp equipage as may not be indispensable on the return march. Each man will take in his haversack hard bread for four days, and bacon for two days. The Brigade Commissaries will obtain from the Chief Commissary money to purchase fresh beef, on the road, for two days. The Quartermasters of the command will make proper requisitions on the acting Quartermaster General for the necessary transportation. In promulgating this order for these gallant regiments to return to the United States, the Major General, while he regrets that the term of their service will not afford another opportunity for these troops to gather additional fame in the future events of this already brilliant campaign, cannot forget that the recollections of a glorious past will be carried to their homes. The services of the twelve months' volunteers will ever be perpetuated in their country's history. . . .³

Colonel William T. Haskell and part of the Second Tennessee embarked for New Orleans aboard the steamer Eudora, arriving there on May 19.⁴ Companies A, B, C, F, and G of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment were mustered out at New Orleans on May 25, 1847, while Companies D, E, and H mustered out two days later (May 27).⁵

On June 1, a portion of the Second's "gallant volunteers," on board the steamer Convoy, disembarked at Memphis. Colonel Haskell, First Lieutenant William B. Davis (Company E), Second Lieutenants E. M. Anderson (Company D) and E. J. Wyatt (Company E), and Ensign G. J. Slaughter (Company D) landed on the 3rd.⁶

The citizens of Memphis eagerly awaited the arrival of the main body of the Second Tennessee, but were repeatedly disappointed by false rumors, including J. T. Trezevant, the mayor of South Memphis, and a welcoming committee who had

painstakingly rowed out to meet the Bulletin, only to find out that the volunteers were not on board.⁷

Those veterans who did reach Memphis were honored at a dinner at the Gayoso Hotel. Colonel Haskell eulogized his fallen comrades and spoke of the unflinching courage of his command. A century-old cannon made in Barcelona, Spain was among the souvenirs on display, and several Mexican boys, between the ages of twelve and fifteen, were exhibited at public gatherings.⁸

On June 10, a meeting was held at the Memphis Commercial Hotel. Colonel Nathaniel Anderson, chairman, and H. L. Leaf, acting secretary, were informed that \$252.50 remained in the treasury after \$60.00 had been spent at Haskell's honorary dinner. The citizenry resolved to schedule a "grand celebration in honor of the returned volunteers" for June 15. A dinner and soirée, complete with music, would be given. Inspector General Levin H. Coe and Colonel Walter B. Coleman were selected as orators for the dinner. All volunteers were to be invited. Committees were appointed to make arrangements for the festivities, as well as to provide for sick and wounded volunteers.⁹

Despite intermittent showers, the celebration was held at the Court Square as scheduled. Memphis homes were "brightly illuminated." As the weather improved, large bonfires, parades, and gunfire took place. Welcome speeches were given by Wyndham Roberts and B. F. McKernan, and a barbecue dinner was served. The flag of the Memphis Rifle Guards (Company D,

Second Tennessee), which was sewn by a Mrs. Tilden and presented to the volunteers by the ladies of Memphis, was returned. Mrs. Tilden, flattered by the ceremony, expressed a universal sentiment: "The best reward that a soldier could receive was the respect and love of his womenfolk."¹⁰

In the afternoon, the happiness of the occasion was marred by a murder at Whitsitt's grocery on Market Square. Nat Ursery (Company E, "Gaines Guards," Second Tennessee), using obscene language and conducting himself in an ungentlemanly manner, was reprimanded by Joseph Aiken, a prominent Memphian. A fight ensued in which Ursery, brandishing a Bowie knife, fatally stabbed Aiken in the heart. Ursery was arrested and bail was posted at \$5,000. Due to Ursery's inability to pay the bond, the veteran was sent to prison, where he awaited trial.¹¹

In June 26, '84, Memphians gathered for the funeral of Second Lieutenant Charles G. Gill (Company E, "Gaines Guards," Second Tennessee) and his father, Lyman Gill. Lyman Gill had traveled to Mexico to recover the body of his son, who had been killed at Cerro Gordo, and had sickened and died on the return journey. A bereaved Mrs. Gill received the corpses of her husband and son. As Lieutenant Gill's coffin was opened, a shocked Mrs. Gill found the corpse of an unknown soldier and not that of her son, Charles. The unknown soldier was buried, and Gill's body was returned months later. The Lieutenant's funeral was one of many which took place across the United States. A curious mingling of sadness and celebration

had heralded the return of the volunteers.¹²

As the fallen heroes were laid to rest, new volunteers and re-enlistees such as Benjamin O'Haver, continued to answer their country's "call to glory." (O'Haver had served as sergeant in Company D, Second Tennessee and was elected first lieutenant of Company G, Fourth Tennessee in the fall of 1847.)¹³ The Ten Regiment Bill requisitioned thirty thousand volunteers to "fill up the places of the volunteers whose term of service had expired." Tennessee was asked to organize two infantry regiments.¹⁴ The Nashville Daily Union observed:

The first excitement of the war has worn off; but it leaves Tennessee as firmly as ever on the side of the country, as ready to send her sons to the battlefield to maintain the country's honor. The hoarse and traitorous croakings of those federal politicians who are trying to make capital for their party by denouncing the war, are lost in the swelling tide of patriotism which sweeps over the state when the country calls upon her sons to come to the rescue; and the Volunteer State, to the utter confusion of federal politicians, again shows herself ready to vindicate the country's rights.¹⁵

The Daily Union further remarked:

It brings back the days of the last war with England, when the volunteers flocked to the standard of Jackson, and Carroll, and Coffee, and by their number, in proportion to our sparse population, and gallant bearing, won for their state the enviable and deserved reputation of Volunteer State. 'If every state,' said Niles' Weekly Register, 'had done its duty as Tennessee has done hers, not a hostile foot would have ever touched our sacred soil, or returned to boast of the act.'¹⁶

As a result of the battles of Contreras (August 19-20), Churubusco (August 20), Molino del Rey (September 8), and the fortified hill of Chapultepec (September 12-13), in which American storming parties scaled its rocky slopes with ladders and pickaxes and met brave resistance from approximately

one hundred cadets ("Los Niños") of the Mexican Military Academy, Mexico City fell to Scott's troops during the night of September 13. American losses were estimated at 2,703.¹⁷ E. H. Taylor, at Vicksburg, Mississippi, wrote his brother, James R. Taylor, Esquire of Readyville, Rutherford County, Tennessee, concerning the American victory at Molino del Rey:

We have just heard of General Scott gaining a great victory at the city of Mexico. About 1,000 Mexicans are reported killed out of 7,000 engaged, among whom are some valuable officers. The Americans completely routed 30,000 Mexicans and 6,000 escaped--the balance being killed, wounded, and taken prisoner.¹⁸

On February 2, 1848, a peace treaty was signed between the United States and Mexico at Guadalupe Hidalgo, near Mexico City. The treaty was ratified by the Senate on March 10. The Mexican congress ratified it on the 25th. Ratifications were exchanged on May 30. The peace treaty was officially proclaimed on July 4, 1848. The hostilities of the Mexican War ceased. Our army of invasion became an army of occupation.

CHAPTER SIX

Epilogue

Major General Gideon Johnson Pillow, commander of the First (Tennessee) Brigade, was generally hailed as "one of the bravest men in the American army." He repeatedly "placed himself in the most dangerous positions . . . moving at the head of his brigade upon the enemy with sweeping rapidity."¹ "In leading his brigade into action [at Cerro Gordo], General Pillow had the Tennessee regiment considerably in advance. He distinguished himself by personal gallantry, as he encountered a masked battery--entirely unknown to him. Finding the Tennesseans inadequate to seize the position, Pillow drew off his men."² A Virginian attached to the Second Tennessee even compared Pillow to French Marshal Ney.³

Despite the outpourings of praise, there were those who begged to differ. William Bowen Campbell, Colonel of the First Tennessee, did not speak favorably of Pillow: "General Pillow is of the smallest caliber that has ever been elevated to so high a command. . . . He is no general and on the field of action has no decision or judgment. . . . At Cerro Gordo, the enemy would have fallen into our hands without the attack that was made by Pillow as they did although he was repulsed."⁴ Pillow was one of the leaders of the Tennessee delegation to nominate James Knox Polk for

President. His political influence was no doubt a deciding factor in his military appointment.⁵

As soon as the Second Tennessee arrived in New Orleans, Colonel William Turner Haskell and sixteen of his fellow officers published a scathing criticism of Pillow's ineptness in the New Orleans Picayune. They held him personally responsible for the debacle at Cerro Gordo and "demanded his immediate court-martial." The purpose of their indictment, "a simple statement of facts," was to dispel "certain impressions which are abroad with the public in reference to the operations of the brigade of General Pillow at the Battle of Cerro Gordo." Although the Second Tennessee's assault upon the enemy's battery was the "only one of the battle that failed," they emphasized that the brave men of the Second, who "were not infatuated by a superior officer," were prepared to die "for the honor of their State and the glory of the United States, and that they will not be less cherished by their fellow citizens for that, the most devoted chivalry, when misdirected, could only achieve an honorable martyrdom":

If sacrifices in the service of the country entitle patriotic and brave men to a hearing before the tribunal of public opinion, the 2d Regiment of Tennessee Volunteers may surely claim that privilege. . . . Pillow has enjoyed the credit of leading the 2d Regiment of Tennessee Volunteers upon the desperate charge in which its flower was cut down. He hastened from the battle-field and received the firatlings of the public gratitude for the glories of Cerro Gordo. The sympathies of the people were excited on account of a wound, which was reported to have nearly severed his sword arm in twain, whilst in fact he carried the ball that hurt him in his breeches pocket. And now the remnant of the only regiment in his brigade which was actively engaged in battle, and which was repulsed with terrific slaughter, without having accomplished anything, comes forward and asks the calm judgment of their fellow

countrymen upon the facts as they transpired. The survivors of that fearful and needless slaughter have the reputation of being driven from the field, whilst from the blood of the slain incense is exhaled to glorify an officer, who, in the language of the address, 'neither led nor followed in the assault. . . .' The assault miscarried solely because they were commanded to do an impossible thing by an officer who enjoys the exclusive credit of having ever ordered a regiment from that gallant State to make a charge which necessarily resulted in a repulse. The fact that this regiment immediately rallied for another assault, and was ready to repeat an attack over ground upon which in three minutes time, one-fourth of its members was shot down, is an evidence of courage of the strongest signification. . . . Where was Col. Wynkoop that he was not assaulting No. 1? Where was Col. Roberts that he was not supporting Col. Haskell? Col. Wynkoop, speaking for himself, answers the first inquiry. He declares that he was ordered not to advance from the position until ordered to do so by Gen. Pillow, either through one of his aides or by a concerted signal. He states that he received no order, heard or saw no signal. . . . We utterly disclaim any other motive in making this publication than such as arise from a desire to do justice to others and to have justice for themselves. . . . We have performed an unpleasant task. . . . The memory of the dead who fell there [Cerro Gordo], require that we should tell 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. . . .' ⁶

Pillow requested that his rebuttal be inserted in "those papers which have published the attack on me." He contended that had he known the actual strength and position of the enemy, though accurate reconnaissance was impossible due to the Gibraltar-like nature of Cerro Gordo, the charge would not have been ordered. An assault upon the enemy's batteries from another part of the battlefield would have been just as unsuccessful and deadly. Pillow believed that the officers who had signed the address "acted hastily and without reflection, being under the influence of false impressions produced by Colonel Haskell, who abused their confidence." ⁷

Facing possible court-martial charges, Pillow appeared before a Court of Inquiry which met in Mexico City on April

13-22 and at Frederick, Maryland, June 5-July 6, 1848. He was accused of appropriating for souvenirs two howitzers taken at Chapultepec. Pillow was acquitted, alleging that Midshipman Rogers and a Mr. Welsh had placed them in his baggage "without his previous knowledge or consent."⁸ As a Brigadier General of Confederate forces during the American Civil War, Pillow would once again be embroiled in controversy for his cowardly flight from Fort Donelson and an incurable lack of command initiative.

Colonel William Turner Haskell, commander of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment, returned home to Tennessee to pursue a political career. Haskell, born in Murfreesboro, Rutherford County, Tennessee on July 21, 1818, was the son of Judge Joshua Haskell and Nancy (Ready) Haskell and nephew of Congressman Charles Ready. He was educated by private tutors and attended public schools in Jackson, Madison County, Tennessee, where the family had moved in 1821. Haskell left the University of Nashville in 1836 and enlisted in the army. After the Second Seminole War, Haskell studied law under his father. He was admitted to the bar in 1838 and established his practice in Jackson, Tennessee. Haskell, a Whig, served as State Representative to the Tennessee General Assembly from Madison County, 1840-1841. In 1844, he campaigned for Henry Clay, a Presidential hopeful, and was chosen as one of Clay's electors.⁹

With the outbreak of the Mexican War, Haskell, possessing political connections, was appointed Colonel of the First Brigade, Second Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers. His

criticism of Pillow's tactics at the Battle of Cerro Gordo was generally applauded, though a few were of a contrary opinion: "General Pillow's order at Cerro Gordo, which Haskell seems to think proves his incapacity to command, was the only proper order under the circumstances, and that Haskell does not know much about military matters."¹⁰

In 1847, Haskell conducted a spirited Congressional campaign. On July 17, Colonel Haskell, an eloquent, dramatic orator, delivered his infamous, anti-war speech at Dresden, Tennessee¹¹:

The Mexican War is unnecessary, unjust, unprovoked, aggressive, and unconstitutional. If I am elected, my policy and aim in Congress will be to put an end to this war: to sound the bugle, blow off [call off] the bloodhounds, acknowledge the error of our ways, and take a retrograde march, with muffled drums, under the tune of Bonaparte's retreat from Moscow, until we reach the east bank of the Rio Grande or some other line designated by Congress. . . . It's absurd and foolish in the extreme to talk about extending our territory farther than Texas proper. . . .¹²

Haskell "exultingly boasted that he had been in the inglorious war, i.e., the Mexican War, fighting the battles of his country, while his competitor, J. A. Gardner, remained at home."¹³

Reporters predicted that Haskell, the "would-be hero of Cerro Gordo," would "lose more than his cap in storming the heights of democracy and obtaining a seat in Congress,"¹⁴ though he was a "gentleman known to many men, Whigs and Democrats, in Nashville; and that his character as a gentleman is beyond all question."¹⁵

Haskell's chances for election improved as his "ideas about closing the war, by falling back to a defensive line,

changed." He took his seat in the Thirtieth Congress (March 4, 1848-March 3, 1849) "with a determination to act for the country."¹⁶

When his Congressional term expired, Haskell resumed his law practice. He wrote poems and songs and "dabbled" in politics, running unsuccessfully for Governor in 1859. He was married to Parolee Porter, by whom he had five children. Haskell died at Western State Lunatic Asylum, Hopkinsville, Christian County, Kentucky on March 12, 1859 and was buried in Riverside Cemetery, Jackson, Tennessee.¹⁷

The Mexican War, as is generally true of other conflicts past and present, generated an obsession with glory among non-combatants, those who never experienced the horrors of war. Tennessee Governor Aaron Brown urged the erection of a monument to commemorate the glory of those Tennesseans who served in Mexico:

In behalf of our whole people, I recommend the strongest expression of public gratitude and admiration for their heroic services, and that a full register of the names of every soldier of the regiments be made out and safely deposited in the new capitol, when completed, that posterity may know who they were that contributed so largely to the honor and glory of the Commonwealth. Let the State contribute largely to the erection of some lofty monument to the memory of those who fell either in battle or by disease, in the prosecution of a war, which could not have been avoided without a sacrifice of national honor, dignity, and character.¹⁸

Committees were formed across the state for the purpose of gathering contributions which were to be placed in a monument fund. In Memphis, a committee, consisting of C. Bias, N. G. Curtis, William D. Gilmore, Littleton Henderson, and Oscar Prescott, was appointed to "solicit subscriptions for a

monument to officers and soldiers who fell in Mexico."¹⁹

On December 21, 1849, Democratic Senator J. W. Whitfield, representing the counties of Lawrence, Hickman, Wayne, and Hardin, introduced Senate Resolution Number XVIII in the Tennessee General Assembly:

Whereas, the patriotic citizens of this State have, by private contribution, caused to be erected a suitable monument to the memory of the citizen soldiers of Tennessee, who gave their lives a willing sacrifice for their country's honor in the late war with Mexico, at a cost of \$2500, with suitable inscriptions thereon; and whereas, about \$100 [sic] of said contribution have been collected; therefore, Resolved, That the sum of \$1500 be, and the same is hereby appropriated out of the treasury, not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of completing the payment for erecting of said monument; and that the Comptroller issue his warrant to Thomas D. Davenport, Solon E. Rose, Frank Buchanan, and William P. Rowles, monumental commissioners at Lawrenceburg, and that they pay said money out for the erection of said monument; and that they be required to take receipts for all sums so paid by them; and that they report to the next General Assembly of this State.²⁰

The Senate adopted the above resolution by a vote of nineteen to four, while the final vote of the House stood at fifty-six to ten in favor of Resolution Number XVIII.²¹ The monument was built on the Court Square in Lawrenceburg, Tennessee.

In 1866, a California printer, Alexander Kenaday, following the example of Civil War veterans' organizations, founded a Mexican War veterans' association in San Francisco. Kenaday suggested that the veterans of the Mexican War meet in convention. In January 1874, delegates from thirty-three states formed the National Association of Mexican War Veterans, headquartered in San Francisco. The association strove "for the promotion of social intercourse, good-fellowship, and all proper assistance." The veterans lobbied for the

establishment of soldiers' homes, and, "in the best veteran tradition," to press for a service pension. Beginning in October 1879, the society published a monthly newspaper, The Vedette, which contained up-to-date information of particular interest to Mexican War veterans. In 1881, the national convention voted for the establishment of a Mexican War veterans' society "in every state or territory." By 1900, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Louisiana, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Massachusetts, New Jersey, California, and Nevada maintained branch chapters of the National Association.²²

Mexican War veterans' lobbies were instrumental in advocating the enactment of pension legislation for volunteers. During the Mexican War, Judge Bright introduced a bill in the Senate, providing regular army soldiers with an \$8.00 monthly pension and bounty land warrant.²³ Similar relief measures for volunteers were sorely lacking. In the United States House of Representatives, on February 8, 1906, Honorable Finis J. Garrett of Tennessee spoke of the necessity for providing for the more generous treatment of the survivors of the Mexican War (4,540 as of June 30, 1905). The first general pension law was enacted on January 29, 1887. It provided for disabled, destitute, and/or dependent soldiers and sailors, who saw at least sixty days service, and their widows. By January 5, 1893, a veteran's monthly pension was \$12.00, while his widow's amounted to \$8.00. On March 3, 1903, all survivors of the Mexican War were awarded a pension.²⁴

The Tennessee Association of Mexican War Veterans endorsed a move to establish Andrew Jackson's "Hermitage" as

a "branch home for surviving disabled invalid soldiers of the wars prior to our great civil war." Regular army soldiers at the Soldiers' Home in Washington, D. C. were "required to give a fractional part" of their monthly pension, but "volunteers were never invited to participate or contribute."²⁵

The national Mexican War veterans reunion was held in Nashville, Tennessee in September 1882. Upon arrival, they were requested to "register and receive their badges" at headquarters in the Hicks block, corner of the Square and College Street. The veterans enjoyed viewing mementoes on display, marching in review, and fraternizing and "exchanging courtesies during the day and evening." The reunion program of festivities included band music; drill of the Porter Rifles and Burns Artillery; orations given by dignitaries such as, Colonel Thomas Claiborne, General James W. Denver, General William B. Bate, and Reverend C. D. Elliot, Principal of the Nashville Female Academy; and a barbecue at Belle Meade mansion, where even "widows and daughters of deceased veterans were supplied with tickets and badges upon application at headquarters." However, "no one claiming to be a Mexican veteran will be permitted to join the procession unless he is of good standing, nor will any intoxicated persons be tolerated at headquarters, the Capitol, or Belle Meade." The veterans were invited to call on Mrs. James Knox Polk and the wife of ex-Governor Aaron W. Brown. General Denver, President of the National Association of Mexican War Veterans, requested that all veterans be present for important business proceedings. Colonel John H. Savage "advised the veterans not to vote for

any man for Congress who was not in favor of pensioning them," remarking that it was the "injustice of Congress in not having pensioned the Mexican[War] survivors."²⁶

Approximately 350 to 400 veterans attended the reunion, including nine members of the Second Tennessee: Ephraim Williams, Huntingdon, Tennessee, Company B; Matthew Bunn, Huntingdon, Tennessee, Company B; B. D. Shofner, Cottage Grove, Tennessee, Company B; J. F. Towns, Farmville, Tennessee, Fourth Corporal, Company B; E. W. Ward, Water Valley, Mississippi, Company E; W. G. Crockett, Huntingdon, Tennessee, Company B; A. W. Hawkins, Huntingdon, Tennessee, Company B; George Bolton, Nashville, Tennessee, Company D; B. F. Harrison, Company B. The veterans of the Second Tennessee were overshadowed by the surviving members of Colonel Campbell's First Tennessee, who occupied a revered place of prominence at all gatherings.²⁷

By 1886, only twenty veterans of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment survived, including H. T. Bridges, M. Bunn, A. R. B. Churchwell, W. G. Crockett, Joseph Hamilton, Doctor A. W. Hawkins, Wright Mebane, E. (or B.) D. Shoffner, J. F. Townes, and Ephraim Williams, Company B, Carroll County; H. G. Bledsoe, E. A. Clark, James Cole, R. J. Hays, Everett Fearcy, and Samuel Smith, Company F, Madison County.²⁸ On October 17, 1887, some of the regiment's members journeyed to the State Capitol in Nashville to greet President Grover Cleveland.²⁹

Though the men of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment have long ago been laid to rest, they are not forgotten. "They were the flower and chivalry of the State . . .

no one doubted it. . . . They went forth in a just cause.
No one of them felt that it was an unjust one, or they would
not have gone."³⁰

NOTES

Chapter One

¹ Second Annual Message of President Polk to Congress, December 8, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee.

² Ibid.

³ Second Annual Message of President Polk to Congress, December 8, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; George C. Furber, The Twelve Months Volunteer; or, Journal of a Private in the Tennessee Regiment of Cavalry in the Campaign in Mexico, 1846-7 (Cincinnati: J. A. and U. P. James, 1848), pp. 19-23.

⁴ Second Annual Message of President Polk to Congress, December 8, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Furber, p. 15.

⁵ Furber, p. 16.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

⁷ Second Annual Message of President Polk to Congress, December 8, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee.

⁸ Second Annual Message of President Polk to Congress, December 8, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Special Message of President Polk to Congress, May 11, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; U. S., Congress, Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 1st sess., New Series, No. 49, May 12, 1846 (Washington, D. C.: Blair and Rives, 1846), p. 783; Furber, p. 17.

⁹ Furber, p. 17; Special Message of President Polk to Congress, May 11, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 1st sess., New Series, No. 49, May 12, 1846, p. 783; Second Annual Message of President Polk to Congress, December 8, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee.

¹⁰ Special Message of President Polk to Congress, May 11, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 1st sess., New Series, No. 49, May 12, 1846, p. 782; Second Annual Message of President Polk to Congress, December 8, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Furber, p. 18. (In reality, Mexico was prepared to accept a low-ranking U. S. diplomat instead of an "envoy with full powers.")

¹¹ Special Message of President Polk to Congress, May 11, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 1st sess., New Series, No. 49, May 12,

1846, pp. 782-783; Second Annual Message of President Polk to Congress, December 8, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Furber, pp. 23-24.

12 Special Message of President Polk to Congress, May 11, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 1st sess., New Series, No. 49, May 12, 1846, p. 783.

13 Second Annual Message of President Polk to Congress, December 8, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee.

14 Special Message of President Polk to Congress, May 11, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 1st sess., New Series, No. 49, May 12, 1846, p. 783; Second Annual Message of President Polk to Congress, December 8, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Furber, pp. 24-25.

15 Special Message of President Polk to Congress, May 11, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 1st sess., New Series, No. 49, May 12, 1846, p. 783.

16 Furber, pp. 24-27.

17 Special Message of President Polk to Congress, May 11, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee; Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 1st sess., New Series, No. 49, May 12, 1846, p. 783; Furber, p. 27.

18 Furber, p. 28.

Author's note. For a more comprehensive view of the causes and political contentions of the Mexican War see such works as the following: Norman Graebner, "The Mexican War: A Study in Causation," Pacific Historical Review, 59 (1980); David M. Pletcher, The Diplomacy of Annexation; Charles Sellers, The Continentalist.

Chapter Two

- ¹ Furber, pp. 28-40.
- ² Clarksville Jeffersonian, May 23, 1846, p. 1, col. 1.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ *Proclamation of President Polk, May 13, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee.
- ⁵ Second Annual Message of President Polk to Congress, December 8, 1846, in James Knox Polk Papers, Tennessee.
- ⁶ Furber, p. 40 (War Bill of Congress).
- ⁷ Turner J. Fakes, Jr., "Memphis and the Mexican War," The West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 2 (1948), 125; Memphis Daily Eagle, June 15, 1846.
- ⁸ Aaron V. Brown, Speeches, Congressional and Political, and Other Writings (Nashville, Tn.: J. L. Marling, 1854-1855), pp. 388-393, 412 (*Marcy's communication is included as a preface to Governor A. V. Brown's proclamation; *Legislative Message of Governor Aaron Brown, October 6, 1847, pp. 398-422); Tennessee, Senate Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1st sess., 1847 (Nashville, Tn.: Bang, 1848), p. 34 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron V. Brown, October 6, 1847); Tennessee, House Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1847-1848 (Knoxville, Tn.: James C. and John L. Moses, 1848), p. 36 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron V. Brown, October 6, 1847); Robert H. White, ed., Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1845-1857, IV (Nashville, Tn.: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1957), pp. 120-121, 161; Furber, p. 42 (War Bill of Congress).
- ⁹ Brown, pp. 388-393 (*Text of Governor Aaron Brown's Proclamation, May 24, 1846); White, pp. 121-122.
- ¹⁰ Brown, pp. 388-393 (Proclamation of Governor Aaron Brown, May 24, 1846); White, pp. 122-124.
- ¹¹ Brown, pp. 388-393 (Proclamation of Governor Aaron Brown, May 24, 1846); White, p. 123.
- ¹² Clarksville Jeffersonian, May 30, 1846, p. 1, col. 4.
- ¹³ Clarksville Chronicle, June 2, 1846, p. 2, col. 2.

*published statewide in prominent, period newspapers

- 14 Fakes, 119; Tri-Weekly Memphis Enquirer, May 12, 1846.
- 15 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, November 17, 1847, p. 2, col. 3.
- 16 Brown, p. 412 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron Venable Brown, October 6, 1847); Senate Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1st sess., 1847, p. 35 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron Brown, October 6, 1847); House Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1847-1848, p. 36 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron Brown, October 6, 1847); White, p. 162.
- 17 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, November 17, 1847, p. 2, col. 3.
- 18 Tri-Weekly Nashville Union, May 16, 1846, p. 2, col. 2.
- 19 Tri-Weekly Nashville Union, June 2, 1846, p. 2, col. 1.
- 20 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, November 17, 1847, p. 2, col. 3.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Clarksville Jeffersonian, June 20, 1846, p. 1, col. 2.
- 23 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, November 17, 1847, p. 2, cols. 3-4.
- 24 Goodspeed's General History of Tennessee (Nashville, Tn.: Goodspeed, 1887), p. 473.
- 25 Clarksville Jeffersonian, June 6, 1846, p. 2, col. 1; Clarksville Jeffersonian, June 20, 1846, p. 1, col. 2.
- 26 Brown, p. 412 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron Brown, October 6, 1847); Senate Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1st sess., 1847, p. 35 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron Brown, October 6, 1847); House Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1847-1848, p. 36 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron Brown, October 6, 1847); White, p. 161.
- 27 Brown, pp. 412-414 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron V. Brown, October 6, 1847); Senate Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1st sess., 1847, pp. 35-36 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron V. Brown, October 6, 1847); House Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1847-1848, pp. 36-37 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron V. Brown, October 6, 1847); White, pp. 162-163.

28 Clarksville Jeffersonian, June 20, 1846, p. 1, col. 3.

29 Clarksville Jeffersonian, July 25, 1846, p. 2, col. 3.

30 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, November 17, 1847, p. 2, cols. 3-4; Furber, p. 40 (War Bill of Congress).

Chapter Three

¹ Brown, pp. 388-397 (Proclamation of Governor Aaron Brown, May 24, 1846; Address of Governor Aaron Brown, transferring Colonel William B. Campbell's First Tennessee Regiment of Volunteers to the United States, June 3, 1846); Memphis Weekly Appeal, May 22, 1846, p. 2, col. 4 (Order No. 1, Adjutant General Robert B. Turner, Nashville, Tennessee); White, pp. 122, 125.

² Goodspeed's History of Hamilton, Knox, and Shelby Counties of Tennessee (Nashville, Tn.: Goodspeed, 1887), p. 825, Shelby County.

³ Fakes, 120; Memphis Daily Eagle, May 15, 1846.

⁴ Fakes, 120-121; Tri-Weekly Memphis Enquirer, May 14, 1846.

⁵ Memphis Weekly Appeal, May 22, 1846, p. 3, col. 1.

⁶ Fakes, 121.

⁷ Memphis Weekly Appeal, May 22, 1846, p. 3, col. 1; Memphis Weekly Appeal, May 29, 1846, p. 1, col. 3; Goodspeed's History of Hamilton, Knox, and Shelby Counties of Tennessee, p. 825, Shelby County; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

⁸ Fakes, 121; Memphis Daily Eagle, May 22, 1846.

⁹ Memphis Weekly Appeal, May 29, 1846, p. 2, col. 5.

¹⁰ Memphis Weekly Appeal, May 29, 1846, p. 1, col. 3.

¹¹ Fakes, 121-122; Memphis Daily Eagle, May 22, 1846.

¹² Memphis Weekly Appeal, May 29, 1846, p. 1, col. 3.

¹³ The Goodspeed Histories of Madison County, Tennessee (Nashville, Tn.: Goodspeed, 1887), p. 825; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment; Goodspeed's General History of Tennessee, p. 474.

¹⁴ The Goodspeed Histories of Carroll, Henry, and Benton Counties, Tennessee (Nashville, Tn.: Goodspeed, 1887), p. 806; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment; Goodspeed's General History of Tennessee, p. 474.

¹⁵ Goodspeed's History of Thirty East Tennessee Counties (Nashville, Tn.: Goodspeed, 1887), p. 941; Muster Roll

of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment; Clarksville Chronicle, June 23, 1846, p. 2, col. 2.

16 Furber, p. 595.

17 Goodspeed's History of Thirty East Tennessee Counties, p. 941; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment; Clarksville Chronicle, June 23, 1846, p. 2, col. 2.

18 Clarksville Chronicle, June 23, 1846, p. 2, col. 2.

19 Goodspeed's History of Thirty East Tennessee Counties, p. 941; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment; Clarksville Chronicle, June 23, 1846, p. 2, col. 2.

20 Memphis Weekly Appeal, June 5, 1846, p. 1, col. 1.

21 Memphis Weekly Appeal, June 12, 1846, p. 3, col. 3.

22 Memphis Weekly Appeal, June 12, 1846, p. 3, cols. 3-4.

23 Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment; Memphis Weekly Appeal, June 26, 1846, p. 3, col. 2.

24 Memphis Weekly Appeal, June 26, 1846, p. 3, col. 2.

25 Fakes, 125; Tri-Weekly Memphis Enquirer, June 11, 1846; Memphis Weekly Appeal, June 12, 1846, p. 2, col. 6; Goodspeed's History of Hamilton, Knox, and Shelby Counties of Tennessee, p. 825, Shelby County.

26 Memphis Weekly Appeal, June 12, 1846, p. 2, col. 6.

27 Memphis Weekly Appeal, June 19, 1846, p. 3, col. 1; Fakes, 125-126; Memphis Daily Eagle, June 17, 1846.

28 Brown, pp. 388-393 (Proclamation of Governor Aaron Brown, May 24, 1846); White, p. 122; Memphis Weekly Appeal, May 22, 1846, p. 2, col. 3.

29 Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

30 Mary Synon, McAdoo: The Man and His Times- A Panorama in Democracy (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1924), p. 16; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment; Goodspeed's History of Hamilton, Knox, and Shelby Counties of Tennessee, pp. 1006-1007, Knox County.

31 Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infan-

try Regiment.

32 Memphis Weekly Appeal, June 26, 1846, p. 3, col. 2.

33 Clarksville Jeffersonian, July 25, 1846, p. 2, col. 3.

34 Fakes, 129; Brown, pp. 388-393 (Proclamation of Governor Aaron Brown, May 24, 1846); White, p. 124.

35 Clarksville Chronicle, July 7, 1846, p. 2, col. 3.

36 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, December 18, 1847, p. 2, cols. 3-4 and January 11, 1848, p. 2, col. 5; Clarksville Chronicle, August 4, 1846, p. 2, col. 5; St. George L. Sioussat, ed., "Mexican War Letters of Colonel William Bowen Campbell, of Tennessee, Written to Governor David Campbell, of Virginia, 1846-1847," Tennessee Historical Magazine, 1 (June 1915), 134-137, hereinafter cited as Campbell Letters; Goodspeed's History of Hamilton, Knox, and Shelby Counties of Tennessee, p. 825, Shelby County.

37 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, January 11, 1848, p. 2, col. 5.

38 Goodspeed's History of Thirty East Tennessee Counties, p. 941; Furber, p. 595; The Goodspeed Histories of Madison County, Tennessee, p. 825; Clarksville Chronicle, May 11, 1847, p. 3, col. 1.

39 Letter of Robert Bruce Wynne to his father, Colonel Alfred Royal Wynne, November 3, 1846, in George W. Wynne Papers, Tennessee; Walter T. Durham, "Mexican War Letters to Wynnewood," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 33 (Winter 1974), 398.

40 Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

Chapter Four

¹ "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, January 11, 1848, p. 2, col. 5; Robert Rutland, "Captain William B. Walton, Mexican War Volunteer," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 11 (June 1952), 173; Campbell Letters, 140; Goodspeed's History of Hamilton, Knox, and Shelby Counties of Tennessee, p. 825, Shelby County.

² Campbell Letters, 140-141.

³ Justin H. Smith, The War With Mexico (New York: Macmillan, 1919; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963 by permission of The American Missionary Assoc., New York), I, 212.

⁴ Rutland, 174.

⁵ "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, January 3, 1848, p. 2, cols. 3-4; Rutland, 173-175; Campbell Letters, 140-141.

⁶ Fakes, 127; Memphis Daily Eagle, October 28, 1846.

⁷ Fakes, 127; Tri-Weekly Memphis Enquirer, September 29, 1846.

⁸ Clarksville Chronicle, October 6, 1846, p. 2, col. 1.

⁹ Clarksville Jeffersonian, October 24, 1846, p. 2, col. 2.

¹⁰ Clarksville Chronicle, August 4, 1846, p. 2, col. 5.

¹¹ "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, January 11, 1848, p. 2, col. 5; Furber, pp. 197-198.

¹² Furber, p. 57.

¹³ Rutland, 175.

¹⁴ Furber, p. 91.

¹⁵ Fakes, 127; Memphis Daily Eagle, November 6, 1846; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

¹⁶ Campbell Letters, 141.

¹⁷ Furber, pp. 95-113; Campbell Letters, 143-145;

Goodspeed's General History of Tennessee, p. 475. (The Citadel was variously known as the Black Fort, Cathedral Fort, Fort Independence, Independence Hill, or La Independencia.)

18 Furber, pp. 114-115.

19 Nashville Republican Banner, November 30, 1846, p. 2, col. 4; Clarksville Jeffersonian, November 28, 1846, p. 1, col. 3.

20 Clarksville Chronicle, November 3, 1846, p. 2, col. 4.

21 Clarksville Jeffersonian, November 28, 1846, p. 1, col. 3.

22 Ibid.

23 Campbell Letters, 142.

24 Fakes, 127.

25 Rutland, 174; Campbell Letters, 146-149; "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, May 6, 1848, p. 2, col. 6; Smith, I, 356-357.

26 Smith, I, 357, 541; "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, May 20, 1848, p. 2, col. 5; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment; Letter of Robert Bruce Wynne to his sister, Caroline, December 19, 1846, in George W. Wynne Papers, Tennessee; Durham, 399-400.

27 Campbell Letters, 151.

28 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, May 20, 1848, p. 2, col. 6; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

29 Campbell Letters, 151-152; Letter of Robert Bruce Wynne to his sister, Caroline, December 19, 1846, in George W. Wynne Papers, Tennessee; Durham, 399.

30 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, May 27, 1848, p. 2, col. 4; Clarksville Jeffersonian, February 13, 1847, p. 2, col. 2.

31 Letter of Robert Bruce Wynne to his sister, Caroline, December 19, 1846, in George W. Wynne Papers, Tennessee; Durham, 400.

33 Campbell Letters, 149.

34 Furber, p. 41 (War Bill of Congress); Letter of B. F. Cheatham to his Aunt Fanny, December 4, 1846 (concerning payment of troops), in Benjamin Franklin Cheatham Papers, Tennessee.

35 U. S., Congress, Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 2nd sess., New Series, No. 6, December 30, 1846 (Washington, D. C.: Blair and Rives, 1847), p. 94 (December 29, 1846).

36 Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 2nd sess., New Series, No. 7, January 6, 1847, p. 99 (December 30, 1846).

37 Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 2nd sess., New Series, No. 2, December 16, 1846, p. 29 (December 14, 1846).

38 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, May 27, 1848, p. 2, col. 4; Furber, pp. 336, 339-340; Campbell Letters, 152; Clarksville Jeffersonian, February 13, 1847, p. 2, col. 2.

39 Letter of B. F. Cheatham to his Aunt Fanny, December 4, 1846, in Benjamin Franklin Cheatham Papers, Tennessee.

40 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, June 10, 1848, p. 2, col. 5; Campbell Letters, 152; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

41 Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

42 Campbell Letters, 156.

43 Letter of William B. Walton to his father, Doctor Timothy Walton, February 25, 1847, in Walton Family Papers, Tennessee; Rutland, 175.

44 Campbell Letters, 156.

45 Ibid., 153, 156-157; Furber, pp. 434-435.

46 Furber, pp. 434-435; Campbell Letters, 156-157.

47 Furber, p. 435; "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, June 30, 1848, p. 2, cols. 5-6; Campbell

48 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, June 30, 1848, p. 2, col. 6 and July 15, 1848, p. 2, col. 5; Campbell Letters, 157.

49 "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, July 15, 1848, p. 2, col. 5; Campbell Letters, 157, 159; Fakes, 132; Furber, p. 553. At Buena Vista, "5,000 volunteers fought 20,000 Mexicans and killed and wounded 4,000 with a loss of only 700." (Campbell Letters, 159)

50 Campbell Letters, 157-158; Furber, p. 504; "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, July 15, 1848, p. 2, cols. 5-6; Memphis Weekly Appeal, April 30, 1847, p. 1, col. 3; Fakes, 132.

51 Furber, p. 504; Letter of S. R. Anderson to G. F. Crocket and A. R. Wynne, March 18, 1847, in George W. Wynne Papers, Tennessee; Durham, 402-403; Fakes, 132.

52 Memphis Weekly Appeal, April 30, 1847, p. 1, col. 3.

53 Fakes, 132; Furber, p: 504.

54 Furber, p. 504.

55 Ibid., p. 511.

56 Ibid., p. 517.

57 Ibid., pp. 521, 523-526; Campbell Letters, 158.

58 Campbell Letters, 158, 160.

59 Furber, p. 526.

60 Campbell Letters, 160.

61 Furber, p. 534.

62 Ibid., p. 536.

63 Campbell Letters, 158, 161.

64 Furber, p. 569.

65 Campbell Letters, 158.

66 Furber, pp. 527, 531, 539.

67 Letter of S. R. Anderson to G. F. Crocket and A. R. Wynne, March 18, 1847, in George W. Wynne Papers, Tennessee; Durham, 404.

68 Clarksville Jeffersonian, April 17, 1847, p. 1, col. 1 and p. 3, col. 1; Clarksville Chronicle, April 13, 1847, p. 2, col. 5; "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, July 31, 1848, p. 2, col. 5; Furber, pp. 541-544; Fakes, 132-133; Memphis Daily Eagle, April 13, 1847.

69 Campbell Letters, 153, 157, 159, 161; Furber, pp. 540, 547, 555-560, 569; Fakes, 133; Memphis Daily Eagle, April 19, 1847. The bombardment was so heavy that sepulchres within the city were blown open, and the dead were strewn helter-skelter. (Furber, p. 549)

70 Clarksville Chronicle, April 13, 1847, p. 2, col. 5.

71 Rutland, 175.

72 Furber, p. 551.

73 Fakes, 132.

74 Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

75 Furber, p. 556.

76 The Goodspeed Histories of Madison County, Tennessee, p. 825; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

77 Campbell Letters, 162.

78 Ibid., 161; LeRoy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins, eds., "Blackston McDannel to Andrew Johnson: An East Tennessean in the Mexican War," The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 32 (1960), 109-110, 113-115.

79 Campbell Letters, 163.

80 Furber, pp. 586-587.

81 Ibid., pp. 579-580.

82 Ibid., pp. 589-590.

83 Ibid. (Harney is variously listed as lieutenant colonel and colonel. It is unclear if and when he received

84 Ibid., pp. 586, 590.

85 Ibid., pp. 591-592, 594; Nashville Daily Union, May 14, 1847, p. 2, col. 3.

86 Furber, p. 592; Clarksville Jeffersonian, May 29, 1847, p. 1, col. 3; Clarksville Chronicle, June 8, 1847, p. 3, col. 2; Jonathan Wade Hampton Tipton Journal (entry for Sunday, April 18, 1847), Tennessee.

87 Clarksville Jeffersonian, May 29, 1847, p. 1, col. 3; "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, August 28, 1848, p. 2, col. 4; Clarksville Chronicle, June 8, 1847, p. 3, col. 2; Furber, pp. 592-593.

88 Furber, p. 593. The accounts vary as to the number of cannon and Mexicans at Battery Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4: 7 guns (Clarksville Jeffersonian, May 29, 1847, p. 1, col. 3); 19 cannon and 2,500 muskets (Jonathan Wade Hampton Tipton Journal, Tennessee); 1,500 muskets and Battery No. 1-2 pieces of artillery, No. 2-2, No. 3-3 (Clarksville Chronicle, June 8, 1847, p. 3, col. 2); No. 2-8 cannon, No. 3-5, No. 4-3 (Furber, p. 592); 17 pieces of artillery supported by 3,000 infantry (Fakes, 133).

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.; Jonathan Wade Hampton Tipton Journal (entry for Sunday, April 18, 1847), Tennessee; Clarksville Chronicle, June 8, 1847, p. 3, col. 2; "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, August 28, 1848, p. 2, col. 4.

91 Nashville Daily Union, July 27, 1847, p. 2, col. 3.

92 Fakes, 133; Memphis Daily Eagle, June 11, 1847.

93 Jonathan Wade Hampton Tipton Journal (entry for Sunday, April 18, 1847), Tennessee.

94 The American Eagle (Veracruz, Mexico), May 5, 1847, p. 3, col. 1, in Benjamin Franklin Cheatham Papers, Tennessee; Campbell Letters, 152, 164, 167; Clarksville Chronicle, May 11, 1847, p. 2, col. 6 and p. 3, col. 1; Clarksville Jeffersonian, May 29, 1847, p. 1, cols. 3-4; Fakes, 133-134; Letter of Robert Foster to his father, Ephraim Hubbard Foster, April 19, 1847, in Foster Family Papers, Tennessee; Furber, p. 595; Nashville Daily Union, May 14, 1847, p. 2, col. 3; Memphis Daily Eagle, May 8,

1847; Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

95 Letter of Robert Foster to his father, Ephraim Hubbard Foster, April 19, 1847, in Foster Family Papers, Tennessee.

96 Fakes, 133; Clarksville Chronicle, June 8, 1847, p. 3, col. 1; Nashville Daily Union, May 14, 1847, p. 2, col. 3; Campbell Letters, 163-164; Letter of Robert Foster to his father, Ephraim Hubbard Foster, April 19, 1847, in Foster Family Papers, Tennessee; Furber, pp. 591, 597; Jonathan Wade Hampton Tipton Journal (entry for Sunday, April 18, 1847), Tennessee; "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, August 28, 1848, p. 2, col. 5. "The regiment lost one-third of its members in less than three minutes fighting." (Fakes, 133; Memphis Daily Eagle, May 5, 1847)

97 Furber, pp. 593-594. A large number of copper cannonballs and musket balls were included among the booty. Rumors, though unsubstantiated, were that the Mexicans used copper because it was more deadly. They supposedly allowed the copper to oxidize, making it extremely poisonous. American musket balls, after a time, would often be covered with a white oxide of lead, which was just as poisonous and infectious as that of copper. (Furber, pp. 199-200)

98 Ibid., p. 591.

Chapter Five

¹ Jonathan Wade Hampton Tipton Journal (entry for Monday, April 19, 1847), Tennessee; "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, October 2, 1848, p. 2, col. 4; Campbell Letters, 164; Nashville Daily Union, May 14, 1847, p. 2, col. 3.

² "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a Member of the Bloody First," in Nashville Daily Union, November 10, 1848, p. 2, col. 5; Furber, p. 613.

³ Furber, p. 613.

⁴ Fakes, 135; Memphis Daily Eagle, May 25, 1847.

⁵ Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

⁶ Fakes, 136.

⁷ Ibid.; Memphis Daily Enquirer, May 29, 1847.

⁸ Fakes, 136; Memphis Daily Eagle, June 3, 1847.

⁹ Fakes, 137-138; Memphis Daily Enquirer, June 12, 1847.

¹⁰ Fakes, 137-138; Memphis Daily Enquirer, June 17, 1847.

¹¹ Fakes, 138; Memphis Daily Enquirer, June 17, 1847.

¹² Fakes, 138-139; Memphis Daily Eagle, June 30, 1847.

¹³ Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment; Muster rolls of other regiments, such as the Fourth Tennessee; Fakes, 140; Memphis Daily Eagle, November 9, 1847.

¹⁴ Brown, pp. 416-417 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron V. Brown, October 6, 1847); Senate Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1st sess., 1847, p. 38 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron V. Brown, October 6, 1847); House Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1847-1848, pp. 39-40 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron V. Brown, October 6, 1847); White, pp. 166-167; Clarksville Jeffersonian, May 1, 1847, p. 2, col. 6; Fakes, 132, 139; Memphis Daily Eagle, February 23, 1847.

¹⁵ Nashville Daily Union, May 17, 1847, p. 2, col. 1.

¹⁶ Nashville Daily Union, July 26, 1847, p. 2, col. 1.

17 Furber, pp. 615-624.

18 Letter of E. H. Taylor to his brother, James R. Taylor, Esq., September 9, 1847, in Barton-Taylor Family Papers, W. H. Westbrooks Collection, Tennessee. (Readyville is now in Cannon County, Tennessee.)

Chapter Six

- ¹ Memphis Weekly Appeal, April 30, 1847, p. 1, col. 3.
- ² Nashville Daily Union, May 14, 1847, p. 2, col. 3.
- ³ Memphis Weekly Appeal, April 30, 1847, p. 1, col. 3.
- ⁴ Campbell Letters, 142, 163-164.
- ⁵ Gideon J. Pillow, Letters (Nashville, Tn.: G. C. Torbett, 1857). Pillow's letters to James Knox Polk, May 22 and May 24, 1844.
- ⁶ Clarksville Chronicle, June 8, 1847, p. 3, cols. 1-3. The "public address" was signed by the following: Colonel William T. Haskell, Lieutenant Colonel David H. Cummings, Captain G. W. McCown (Company A), Captain Henry F. Murray (Company B), First Lieutenant W. G. McAdoo (commanding Company C), First Lieutenant William B. Davis (commanding Company E), Second Lieutenant Alexander P. Greene (commanding Company F), Captain William J. Standifer (Company G), First Lieutenant G. W. Bownds (Company A), Second Lieutenant James W. Chambers (Company A), Second Lieutenant A. J. Ellis (Company C), Second Lieutenant Coward (Company C), Second Lieutenant G. S. Slaughter (Company D), Second Lieutenant E. J. Wiatt (Company E), Second Lieutenant Eugene Sullivan (Company G), Second Lieutenant John R. Bell (Company G), and Second Lieutenant James Forrest (Company H).
- ⁷ Clarksville Jeffersonian, June 26, 1847, p. 1, cols. 4-6 and p. 2, cols. 1-2.
- ⁸ Nashville Daily Union, January 8, 1848, p. 2, cols. 2-3.
- ⁹ William Turner Haskell File, Tennessee; Joshua W. Caldwell, Sketches of the Bench and Bar of Tennessee (Knoxville, Tn.: Ogden Bros., 1898), pp. 236-237; Tennessee, General Assembly, Biographical Directory of the Tennessee General Assembly, 1796-1969 (Preliminary, No. 41), Madison County (Nashville, Tn.: Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1973), p. 16. (Robert M. McBride, Director of Research and Publications); U. S. Congress, Senate, Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971, Senate Document No. 92-B, 92nd Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1971), p. 1084.
- ¹⁰ Clarksville Jeffersonian, July 3, 1847, p. 2, col. 3.
- ¹¹ Nashville Daily Union, July 27, 1847, p. 2, col. 2; Memphis Daily Appeal, July 28, 1847, p. 2, col. 3;

Clarksville Jeffersonian, July 31, 1847, p. 2, col. 6 and p. 3, col. 1; Caldwell, pp. 236-240.

12 Clarksville Jeffersonian, August 7, 1847, p. 2, cols. 4-6.

13 Clarksville Jeffersonian, July 31, 1847, p. 3, col. 2.

14 Clarksville Jeffersonian, July 31, 1847, p. 2, col. 6.

15 Nashville Daily Union, July 27, 1847, p. 2, col. 1.

16 Nashville Daily Union, November 18, 1847, p. 2, col. 1; Caldwell, p. 241; Biographical Directory of the Tennessee General Assembly, 1796-1969 (Preliminary, No. 41), Madison County, p. 16; Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971, Senate Document No. 92-B, 92nd Cong., 1st sess., p. 1084. (Newspapers report Haskell's "canvass for Congress" during the latter half of 1847- being elected March 4, 1848; whereas, the Biographical Directory of the Tennessee General Assembly and the Biographical Directory of the American Congress list Haskell as elected on March 4, 1847!)

17 Caldwell, pp. 237, 240-241; Biographical Directory of the Tennessee General Assembly, 1796-1969 (Preliminary, No. 41), Madison County, p. 16; Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971, Senate Document No. 92-B, 92nd Cong., 1st sess., p. 1084.

18 Brown, p. 416 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron V. Brown, October 6, 1847); Senate Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1st sess., 1847, p. 38 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron V. Brown, October 6, 1847); House Journal, 27th General Assembly, 1847-1848, p. 39 (Legislative Message of Governor Aaron V. Brown, October 6, 1847); White, p. 166.

19 Fakes, 137; Memphis Daily Enquirer, June 12, 1847.

20 Tennessee, Senate Journal, 28th General Assembly, 1849 (Nashville, Tn.: M'Kennie, Watterson, 1849), p. 438; White, p. 384. (\$1,000 instead of \$100 in contributions were collected)

21 White, p. 384. (House Journal, 1849)

22 Wallace E. Davies, "The Mexican War Veterans as an Organized Group," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 35 (September 1948), 222-223, 225; Roll Book of the Tennessee Association of Mexican War Veterans.

23 Clarksville Jeffersonian, October 24, 1846, p. 2, col. 4.

24 U. S., Congress, House, Speech of Hon. Finis J. Garrett of Tennessee in the House of Representatives, February 8, 1906 (Washington, D. C., 1906).

25 Nashville Daily American, March 28, 1885, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

26 Nashville Daily American, September 13, 1882, p. 4, col. 2; Nashville Daily American, September 14, 1882, p. 1, cols. 3-4.

27 Ibid.

28 The Goodspeed Histories of Carroll, Henry, and Benton Counties, Tennessee, pp. 806-807; The Goodspeed Histories of Madison County, Tennessee, p. 825.

29 Roll Book of the Tennessee Association of Mexican War Veterans; Rutland, 178.

30 Clarksville Jeffersonian, October 16, 1847, p. 1, col. 3.

APPENDIX A

CASUALTIES OF THE SECOND TENNESSEE VOLUNTEER INFANTRY REGIMENT AT THE BATTLE OF CERRO GORDO, APRIL 18, 1847

Killed

Company A: Pvt. Samuel Floyd

Company B: none

Company C: Pvt. William England; Pvt. George W. Keeny

Company D: 1st Lt. Frederick B. Nelson, Jr.; Pvt. Charles A. Sampson

Company E: 2nd Lt. Charles G. Gill; Sgt. H. L. Bynum;
Pvt. R. L. Bohannon; Pvt. John J. Gunter

Company F: Sgt. Fleming Willis; Pvt. W. O. Stribling;
Pvt. Thomas Griffin; Pvt. Robert Keirnan (Keirman);
Pvt. Ephraim Price

Company G: none

Company H: Sgt. W. F. Brown

Independent Ky. Co., Clark County, Capt. John S. Williams,
attached to the 2nd Tn.: Cpl. W. Franklin Elkin;
Pvt. W. (or M. M.) Durham;
Pvt. Alfred Hatton

Wounded

Lt. Col. David H. Cummings, slightly
Maj. Robert Farquarharson, or Farquharson (1st Tn. Inf., temporary duty with the 2nd), severely
Adj. Wiley Pope Hale, mortally

Company A: Sgt. Andrew Carson, severely; Pvt. Aaron Capps, slightly; Pvt. Aaron Dockery, severely;
Pvt. Henry Mowry, severely; Pvt. Peter Wheeler, slightly; Pvt. S. G. Williams, slightly

Company B: Pvt. Benjamin F. Bibb, slightly; Pvt. Moreau
Brewer, slightly; Pvt. J. Kent, mortally

Company C: Sgt. T. (or F.) R. Bradley, severely; Sgt. Edward
H. McAdoo, slightly; Pvt. William Bennett, se-
verely; Pvt. Samuel Davis, severely; Pvt. Isaac
N. Graham, severely; Pvt. Lewis L. Jones, severely

Company D: Pvt. Benjamin O'Haver, severely; Pvt. Josiah Pres-
cott, severely; Pvt. Charles A. Ross, severely

Company E: Pvt. A. Gregory, slightly; Pvt. John Gregory,
slightly; Pvt. John P. Isler; Pvt. B. Plunkett;
Pvt. E. G. Robinson, slightly

Company F: Sgt. George A. Smith, mortally; Pvt. Thomas H.
Boyd, slightly; Pvt. John Burns (or Burrus), se-
verely; Pvt. Jason Cloud, slightly; Pvt. L. W.
Fussell (or Russell), severely; Pvt. Christopher
Johnson, severely; Pvt. Nathan Moore, slightly;
Pvt. Alonzo White, severely; Pvt. James Whit-
tington, severely

Company G: Sgt. John Cowan; Pvt. James M. Allison, severely

Company H: 1st Lt. William Yearwood, mortally; 2nd Lt. James
Forest, slightly; Pvt. John D. Armon, severely;
Pvt. George Sherman (free colored), mortally;
Pvt. James Woods, severely

Independent Ky. Co., Clark County, Capt. John S. Williams,
attached to the 2nd Tn.: 2nd Lt. George S. (or T.) Souther-
land, severely; Sgt. A. (or E.) T.
Mocabee, mortally; Pvt. William
Bruce; Pvt. Henry Bruner, mortally;
Pvt. William Chisholm, slightly;
Pvt. W. (or N.) W. Kieth, severely;
Pvt. Joseph J. Langston, severely;
Pvt. Willis F. Martin, slightly;
Pvt. James Muir, slightly;
Pvt. Minor T. Smith; Pvt. Ira Storm;
Pvt. Henry Williams, severely

Capt. Charles Naylor's Company (Co. F) of the 2nd Pennsylvania Volunteers, temporarily attached to the 2nd Tn.:

Pvt. John Chambers, mortally;
 Pvt. Edward Cruse, mortally;
 Pvt. Thomas Hahn, mortally;
 Pvt. Jacob Simons, mortally

The American Eagle (Veracruz, Mexico), May 5, 1847, p. 3, col. 1, in Benjamin Franklin Cheatham Papers, Tennessee;
Clarksville Jeffersonian, May 29, 1847, p. 1, cols. 3-4;
 George C. Furber, The Twelve Months Volunteer; or, Journal of a Private in the Tennessee Regiment of Cavalry in the Campaign in Mexico, 1846-7 (Cincinnati: J. A. and U. P. James, 1848), p. 595.

APPENDIX B

ILLUSTRATIONS

<u>Title of Illustration</u>	<u>Thesis Page</u>
Plate I. Campaigns of the Mexican War, 1846-1848. Richard B. Morris and Jeffrey B. Morris, eds., <u>Encyclopedia of American History</u> (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 237.	92
Plate II. Map of Central Mexico. K. Jack Bauer, <u>The Mexican War, 1846-1848</u> (New York: Macmillan, 1974), p. 262.	93
Plate III. Battleground of Cerro Gordo. George C. Furber, <u>The Twelve Months Volunteer; or, Journal of a Private in the Tennessee Regiment of Cavalry in the Campaign in Mexico, 1846-7</u> (Cincinnati: J. A. and U. P. James, 1848), p. 587.	94
Plate IV. Battery No. 2, Charged By Second Tennessee Regiment. George C. Furber, <u>The Twelve Months Volunteer; or, Journal of a Private in the Tennessee Regiment of Cavalry in the Campaign in Mexico, 1846-7</u> (Cincinnati: J. A. and U. P. James, 1848), p. 581.	95

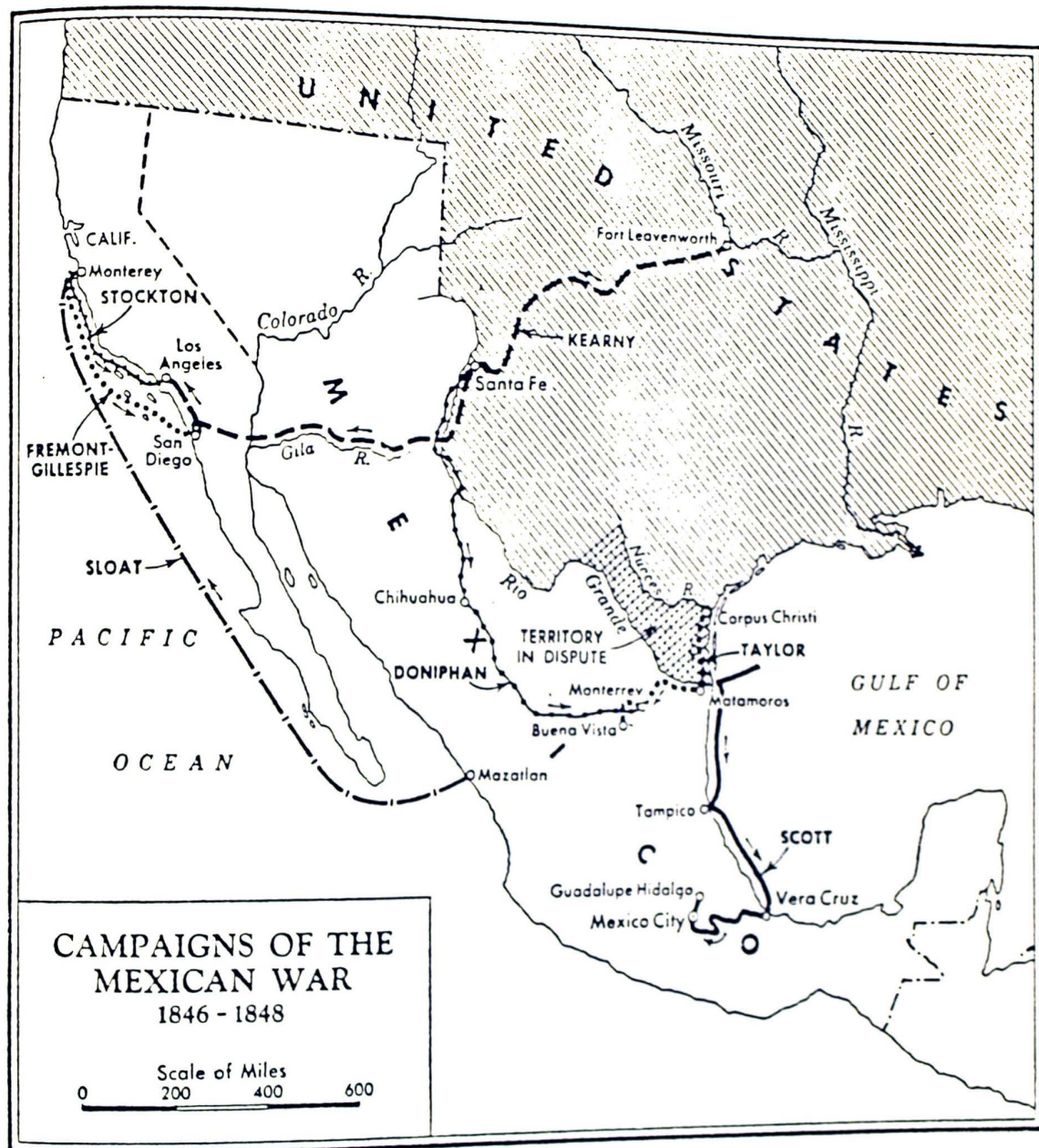
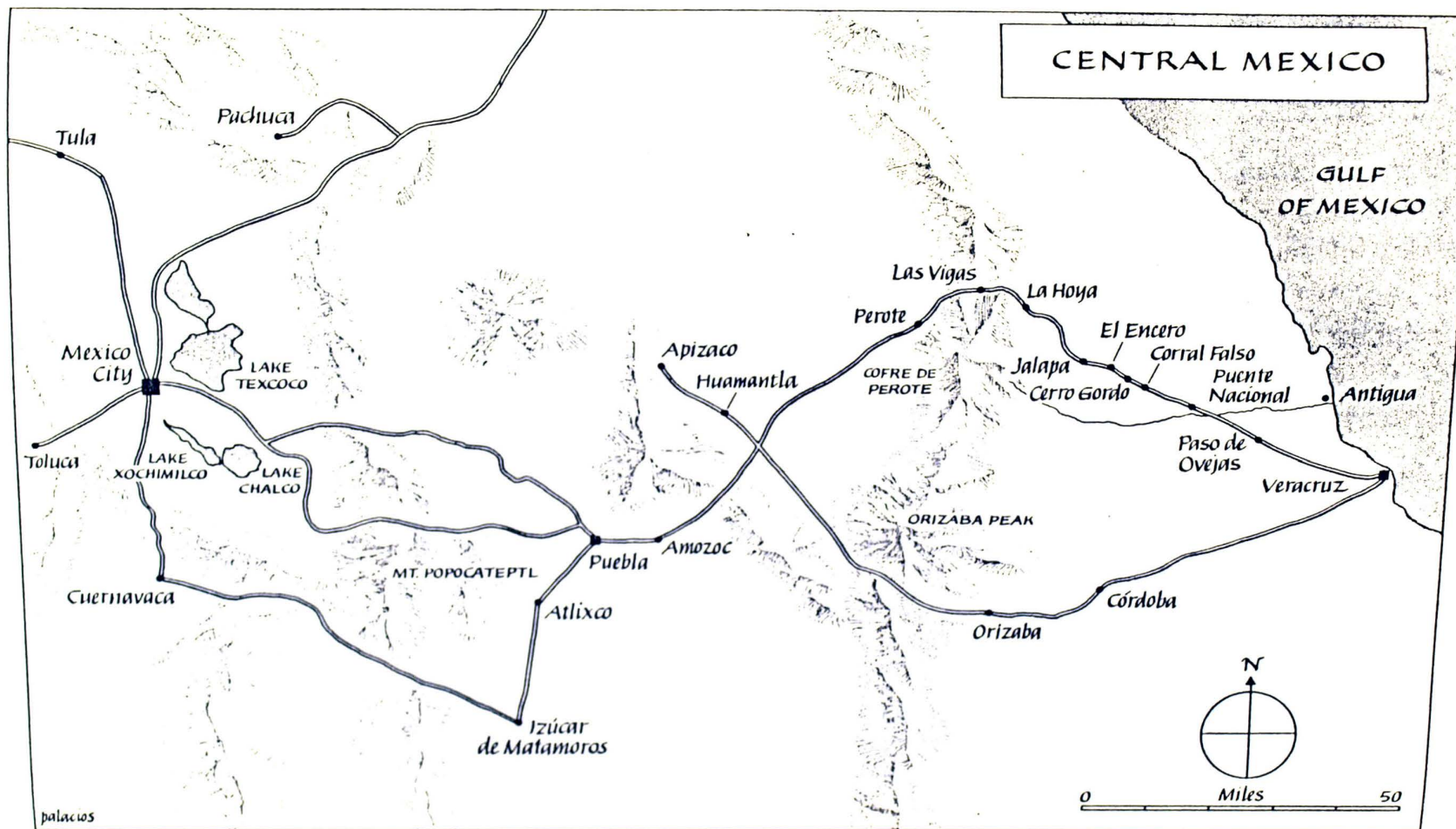
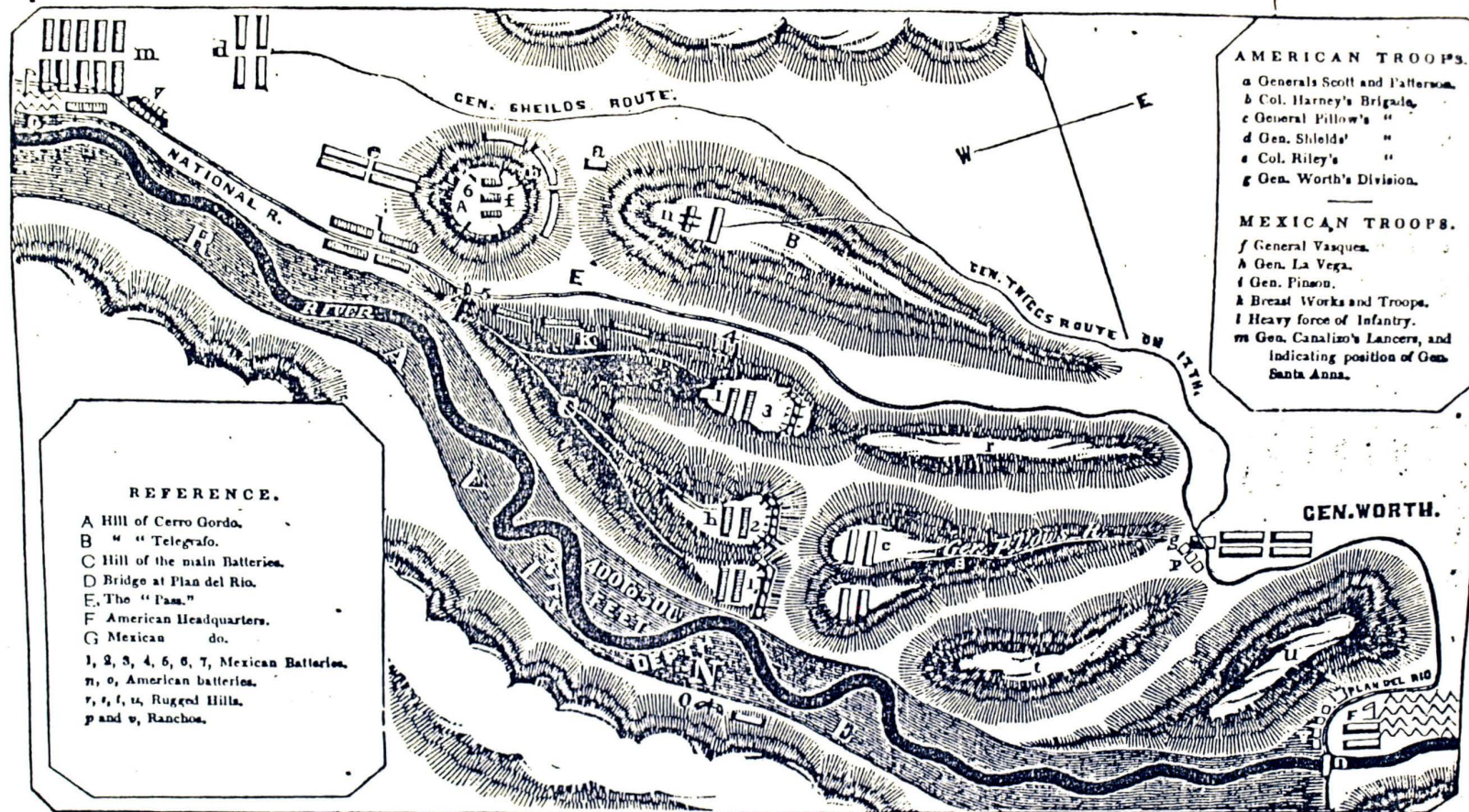


PLATE I







BATTERY NO. 2, CHARGED BY SECOND TENNESSEE REGIMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. Manuscripts

Tennessee State Library and Archives, Manuscript Division,
Nashville, Tennessee.

Barton-Taylor Family Papers, W. H. Westbrooks Collection

Benjamin Franklin Cheatham Papers

Foster Family Letters

William Turner Haskell File

Muster Roll of the Second Tennessee Volunteer Infantry
Regiment

James Knox Polk Papers

Roll Book of the Tennessee Association of Mexican War
Veterans

Jonathan Wade Hampton Tipton Journal

Walton Family Papers

George W. Wynne Papers

B. Books, Pamphlets, and Government Documents (State of Tennessee and United States)

Brown, Aaron V. Speeches, Congressional and Political, and
Other Writings. Nashville, Tn.: J. L. Marling, 1854-1855.

Furber, George C. The Twelve Months Volunteer; or, Journal
of a Private in the Tennessee Regiment of Cavalry in the
Campaign in Mexico, 1846-7. Cincinnati: J. A. and U. P.
James, 1848.

Pillow, Gideon J. Letters. Nashville, Tn.: G. C. Torbett, 1857.

Tennessee. House Journal. 27th General Assembly, 1847-1848.
Knoxville, Tn.: James C. and John L. Moses, 1848.

Tennessee. Senate Journal. 27th General Assembly, 1st sess.,
1847. Nashville, Tn.: Bang, 1848.

Tennessee. Senate Journal. 28th General Assembly, 1849.
Nashville, Tn.: M'Kennie, Watterson, 1849.

U. S. Congress. Congressional Globe. 29th Cong., 1st sess.,
New Series, 1846. Washington, D. C.: Blair and Rives,
1846.

U. S. Congress. Congressional Globe. 29th Cong., 2nd sess.,
New Series, 1846-1847. Washington, D. C.: Blair and
Rives, 1847.

U. S. Congress. House. Speech of Hon. Finis J. Garrett of
Tennessee in the House of Representatives, February 8,
1906. Washington, D. C., 1906.

White, Robert H., ed. Messages of the Governors of Tennessee,
1796-1907. 8 vols. Nashville, Tn.: Tennessee Historical
Commission, 1952-1972.

C. Newspapers

The American Eagle (Veracruz, Mexico), in Benjamin Franklin
Cheatham Papers

Clarksville Chronicle

Clarksville Jeffersonian

Memphis Daily Appeal

Memphis Daily Eagle

Memphis Daily Enquirer

Memphis Weekly Appeal

Nashville Daily American

Nashville Republican Banner

Nashville Union (Daily and Tri-Weekly)
A series of articles (November 7, 1847-November 10, 1848)
entitled "Reminiscences of a Campaign in Mexico By a
Member of the Bloody First" originally appeared in the
Daily Union. John B. Robinson (Robertson) prefaced these
articles when they were published in book form in 1849.
Scholars generally attribute authorship of the "Remi-
niscences" to Colonel William Bowen Campbell.

New Orleans Picayune

Tri-Weekly Memphis Enquirer

- Davies, Wallace E. "The Mexican War Veterans as an Organized Group." The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 35 (September 1948), 221-238.
- Durham, Walter T. "Mexican War Letters to Wynnewood." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 33 (Winter 1974), 389-409.
- Fakes, Turner J., Jr. "Memphis and the Mexican War." The West Tennessee Historical Society Papers, 2 (1948), 119-144.
- Graf, LeRoy P., and Ralph W. Haskins, eds. "Blackston McDannel to Andrew Johnson: An East Tennessean in the Mexican War." The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, 32 (1960), 106-116.
- Rutland, Robert. "Captain William B. Walton, Mexican War Volunteer." Tennessee Historical Quarterly, 11 (June 1952), 171-179.
- Sioussat, St. George L., ed. "Mexican War Letters of Colonel William Bowen Campbell, of Tennessee, Written to Governor David Campbell, of Virginia, 1846-1847." Tennessee Historical Magazine, 1 (June 1915), 129-167.

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. Books, Pamphlets, and Government Documents (State of Tennessee and United States)

- Bauer, K. Jack. The Mexican War, 1846-1848. New York: Macmillan, 1974.
- Caldwell, Joshua W. Sketches of the Bench and Bar of Tennessee. Knoxville, Tn.: Ogden Bros., 1898.
- The Goodspeed Histories of Carroll, Henry, and Benton Counties, Tennessee. Nashville, Tn.: Goodspeed, 1887.
- The Goodspeed Histories of Madison County, Tennessee. Nashville, Tn.: Goodspeed, 1887.
- Goodspeed's General History of Tennessee. Nashville, Tn.: Goodspeed, 1887.
- Goodspeed's History of Hamilton, Knox, and Shelby Counties of Tennessee. Nashville, Tn.: Goodspeed, 1887.
- Goodspeed's History of Thirty East Tennessee Counties. Nashville, Tn.: Goodspeed, 1887.

Morris, Richard B., and Jeffrey B. Morris, eds. Encyclopedia of American History. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

Smith, Justin H. The War With Mexico. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1919; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963 (reprinted by permission of The American Missionary Assoc., New York).

Synon, Mary. McAdoo: The Man and His Times- A Panorama in Democracy. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1924.

Tennessee. General Assembly. Biographical Directory of the Tennessee General Assembly, 1796-1969 (Preliminary, No. 41), Madison County. Nashville, Tn.: Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1973. (Robert M. McBride, Director of Research and Publications)

U. S. Congress. Senate. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971. Senate Document No. 92-B, 92nd Cong., 1st sess. Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1971.