

This article is protected by copyright, East Tennessee Historical Society. It is available online for study, scholarship, and research use only.

Suggested Citation:

Humphreys, James. "Becoming Americans: Social Change in Morgan County, Tennessee, 1850-1870." *The Journal of East Tennessee History* 84 (2012): 23-39.

Becoming Americans:

Social Change in Morgan County, Tennessee, 1850-1870

By James Humphreys*



Bernhardt Zobrist peered anxiously from his blacksmith shop not far from the budding town of Wartburg on a November day in 1861 as Confederate General Felix Zollicoffer's men set up their camp. A native of Switzerland, Zobrist was comfortable in the hills of East Tennessee. He had made his home in Morgan County for fifteen years as part of a group of settlers who purchased land from a New York company. The large number of farmers in the county meant a steady business for Zobrist, who was a blacksmith. Most of his neighbors were immigrants like Zobrist. They came to America from Switzerland, Saxony, Prussia, Austria, and other Germanic states. After fifteen years of work recreating the life he left, Confederate and Union armies were encroaching on his isolated home. The future of Zobrist's family, especially his teenage sons, would be different from the one he had envisioned for them.¹

The county sheriff and the court clerks were also concerned about the changes resulting from a growing Confederate presence. Elustrus Lavender, Meshack Stephens, and John Brient represented the Union government's version of law and order. The lives of all the inhabitants of Morgan County, particularly the Unionists, changed forever in the fall of 1861. Even though no major battles took place in the county, the residents endured regular military and guerrilla raids by friend and foe, and skirmishes between Union and Confederate military forces. Morgan County was a gateway to the Tennessee Valley, which served as an important battleground during the

* The author is a graduate student at the University of Tennessee, studying early American History with a focus on Anglo-Indian relations in the southeast.

¹ U.S. Census, 1860, Manuscript Returns of Free Inhabitants, Morgan County, Tennessee; Goodspeed's *History of Tennessee; Containing Historical and Biographical Sketches of Thirty East Tennessee Counties: Anderson, Blount, Bradley, Campbell, Carter, Claiborne, Cocke, Grainger, Greene, Hamblen, Hamilton, Hancock, Hawkins, James, Jefferson, Johnson, Knox, Loudon, McMinn, Meigs, Monroe, Morgan, Polk, Rhea, Roane, Sevier, Sullivan, Unicoi, Union, Washington* (Nashville, 1887), 842-43; Hobart Schofield Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee" (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1925), 1, 89.



Civil War. Furthermore, by way of Morgan County the Confederate railroad lines to the south and east in Roane and Knox counties were easy prey. The contest for control of the area went on for four years. Taking stock after the war, many people were impoverished, while a few had prospered. One of the obvious results of the Civil War in Morgan County was the social and demographic changes between the 1850s and the 1870s.²

In 1925, Hobart Cooper wrote a master's thesis on the German and Swiss colony of Morgan County. He argued that the colony declined from the start, with more leaving than were arriving. The census of 1860 did show a decrease from 1850 in the foreign-born population. However, a re-examination of census data reveals that the German and Swiss population increased between 1850 and 1860. Cooper did not account for the German and Swiss culture in which these immigrants reared their children. In his work for the county history series of Tennessee in 1987, W. Calvin Dickinson concurred with Cooper. Dickinson upheld Klaus Wust's view that the colony faced too many obstacles, including the Civil War, to continue. Both Cooper and Wust agreed that the Civil War ended the colony's efforts to maintain a separate community. In addition to the economic difficulties and subsistence hardships it engendered, the Civil War was a catalyst for social change in Morgan County. The war blended the foreign population with the residents of the county, creating an "American" community. English became their language, and the United States their country.³

This essay explores social change in Morgan County during the 1860s. During this decade, the town of Wartburg and its environs transformed from a foreign enclave into an American community. The divisiveness of the Civil War forced Morgan County residents to choose sides. By first voting for or against their loyalties, then in deciding to take up arms, the people expressed their decisions. Moreover, the emancipation of African Americans as a byproduct of the Civil War introduced a new dynamic into the county. The most striking social change in the aftermath of war was that the separate German and Swiss community was no more. Many of the original colonists left the county and many native-born Americans occupied their former properties. Morgan County, Tennessee, had a unique experience of social transformation. The Civil War forged a new community in which distinct social groups, separated by culture and heritage, now lived and worked together as one.⁴

The Tennessee legislature created Morgan County in 1817, out of Roane and Anderson counties, and later created Fentress, Scott, and Cumberland counties partly out of Morgan County. The original white settlers consisted

² Goodspeed's *History of Tennessee*, 842-43; Ethel Freytag and Glenna Kreis Ott, *A History of Morgan County Tennessee* (Wartburg, 1971), 364-65.

³ Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization;" W. Calvin Dickinson, *Morgan County* (Memphis, 1987); Klaus G. Wust, *Wartburg: Dream and Reality of the New Germany in Tennessee* (Baltimore, 1963).

⁴ Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization," 64, 78-90.

Plan of Hartburg

} " I

1	2	3
19	20	21

4	5	6
22	23	24

T
R
E
E
T

37	38	39
55	56	57

T
R
E
E
T

40	41	42
58	59	60

N.

73	74	75
86	87	88

76	77	78
89	90	91
99	100	101

W.
C.
R.
O.
S
T

103	104	105
121	122	123

106	107	108
124	125	126

C
H
U
R
C
H

139	140	141
157	158	159

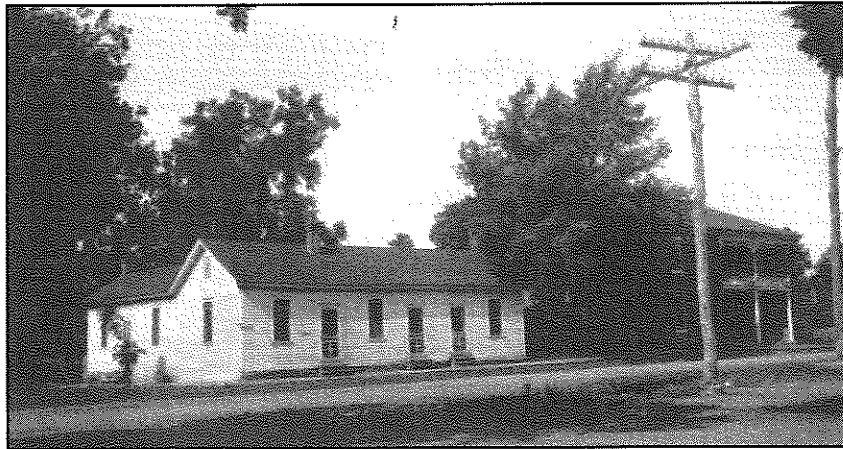
142	143	144
160	161	162



In the 1840s German land speculator George Gerding founded the town of Wartburg as a haven for European immigrants in search of a better life. This entry from the Morgan County deed book shows the layout for the streets and property lots of Wartburg. From the McClung Historical Collection, Knox County Public Library.

of Revolutionary War veterans and families looking to acquire land in the newly opened plateau area. At the same time a Welsh company bought up large amounts of land, perhaps in hopes of selling it at a profit. Although there is no record of a Welsh settlement in the county, there is a land sale recorded by this company to George Gerding, who founded the town of Wartburg. Morgan County lies at the edge of the Cumberland Plateau, between Knoxville and Crossville. Walden Ridge, which marks the eastern edge of the Cumberland Plateau, passes through the southern end of the county. Rivers, creeks, and natural passes bisect this ridge in only three places in the county: Oliver Springs, the Little Emory River, and the Emory River. There were four roads into the county in 1860. All passed through the towns of Montgomery and Wartburg. The state geologist noted in his report of 1855-1856 that there were several seams of exposed coal along with copper and other mineral deposits in the county.⁵

⁵ Dickinson, *Morgan County*, 1-2, 42-43; Freytag and Ott, *History of Morgan County*, 24; Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization," 7-8; U.S. Census, 1860, Free Inhabitants, Morgan County, Tennessee.



The first building erected in Wartburg, which served as the offices for the Morgan County Colonization Company during the 1840s. To the right was the town's first church. Hobart Schofield Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee" (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1925).

There were two groups of people living in Morgan County before the war, the German and Swiss settlers in and around Wartburg and their American-born neighbors. In the mid 1840s, the Morgan County Colonization Company (MCCC) began recruiting German and Swiss immigrants to relocate to Tennessee. Though not necessarily looking to create a utopian community, the settlers did seek to set themselves apart from the rest of the county. Doctors, merchants, dentists, and skilled artisans were among the immigrants. Many who came were educated tradesmen and professionals, like Zobrist, lured by the depictions of the beautiful surroundings. The MCCC described the county as an ideal place to raise a family. The colonists also sought relief from the increasingly oppressive German states in Europe. By 1860, most of the immigrants registered their farmlands and town lots at the Morgan County courthouse. The census data listed everyone born in the county as Americans. Even though younger children of the immigrants all show Tennessee as their birthplace, these Americans grew up in German and Swiss homes, learned their parents' language and religion, and were educated in school, home, and church in their own cultural ways. Essentially, these children were German and Swiss, though American-born. Their parents came to America in search of a better life. Those who disliked the hardships of frontier life, sold their lands and moved to towns or cities like Kingston, Knoxville, and Nashville. Those who remained in the county built churches, businesses, and a life in rural and agricultural East Tennessee.⁶

⁶ For more on other utopian communities from the era see, John Egerton, *Visions of Utopia: Nashoba, Rugby, Ruskin, and the "New Communities" in Tennessee's Past*, (Knoxville, 1977), Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization," 1, 14, 89; U.S. Census, 1860, Free Inhabitants, Morgan County, Tennessee. The census tally sheets show 213 people of German and Swiss origin; other immigrants were from Ireland, Canada, Great Britain, France, Scotland, and the West Indies

Along with the Lutheran religion. I differently from the Construction of a into their new surr a master carpenter in America, to com services, this buil county.⁷

On the eve of was a school com schools. In 1859, County schools. represents 19 per Academy, which in reading, writin three schools ma school and offic a Lutheran scho conducted a clas Church, which s the common sc Lutheran schoo Cooper's thesis children. In 18 County. These Melhorn Settler school in the c usually for abo the need for th of the families were old enoug families. Many laborer on the labor source fo control of the

German v in church ser

⁷ Cooper, "Ger History of Mon Morgan Cour

⁸ Cooper, "Ger Morgan Cour Morgan Cou



the offices for the Morgan County Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee, 1925).

Morgan County before the war, Wartburg and their American-born County Colonization and Swiss immigrants to looking to create a utopian apart from the rest of the artisans were among the esmen and professionals, beautiful surroundings. The wise a family. The colonists German states in Europe. farmlands and town lots at tested everyone born in the ten of the immigrants all s grew up in German and ligion, and were educated ul ways. Essentially, these can-born. Their parents no disliked the hardships as or cities like Kingston, ne county built churches, Tennessee.⁶

John Egerton, *Visions of Tennessee's Past*, (Knoxville, U.S. Census, 1860, Free eets show 213 people of d, Canada, Great Britain,

Along with their language and customs, the immigrants brought their Lutheran religion. Lutherans, though also protestant, practiced their religion differently from the local Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist congregations. Construction of a Lutheran church began soon after the immigrants settled into their new surroundings. The congregation called upon Johannes Kreis, a master carpenter well known in his native region who had recently arrived in America, to construct the church at Wartburg. Along with hosting church services, this building served as the main Lutheran schoolhouse in the county.⁷

On the eve of the Civil War, education in the county was limited. There was a school commission in the county in 1860 that oversaw 20 common schools. In 1859, there were 619 students, ages 4-26, enrolled in Morgan County schools. This included 28 people over the age of 18. The total represents 19 percent of the population. There was a private school, Walden Academy, which had 50 students in 1860. The students received instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Children of the colonists attended the three schools maintained by the Lutheran Church in addition to its main school and office in Wartburg. One was at the Melhorn Settlement, where a Lutheran schoolhouse still stands today. Reverend John T. Etter's wife conducted a class in her home in association with the Reformed Lutheran Church, which split from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1860. While the common schools taught basic reading, writing, and arithmetic, the Lutheran schools' curriculum included geography, grammar, and history. Cooper's thesis noted that the immigrant parents valued education for their children. In 1859, 67 children of immigrants attended school in Morgan County. These students attended schools in and around Wartburg and the Melhorn Settlement. In addition, 552 children of native-born locals attended school in the county. Children of American parents received instruction usually for about three months out of the year. This was probably due to the need for their help on the farms. Like families in New England, many of the families in Morgan County relied on sons as a labor source until they were old enough to take over their own plot of ground and begin their own families. Many families listed an elder son age sixteen and above as a farm laborer on the 1860 census, and again on the 1870 census. This provided a labor source for the owner-father, and it prepared the son as well to assume control of the farm once he received his inheritance.⁸

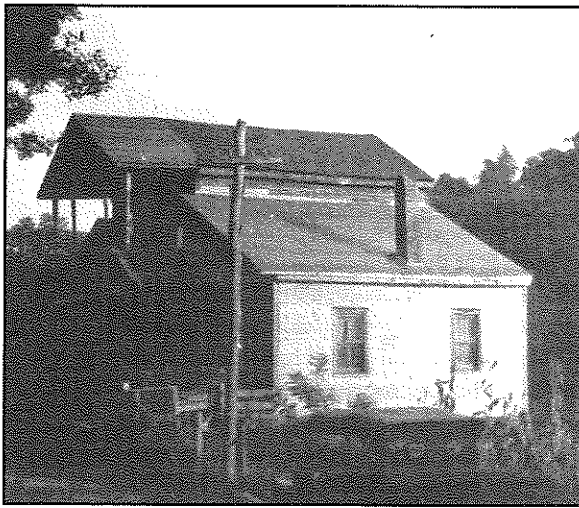
German was the primary language for the colonists. They spoke German in church services and school instruction. Parents also spoke German at

⁷ Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization," 25, 47-48, 65-71, 80-82; Freytag and Ott, *History of Morgan County*, 128-29; Wust, *Wartburg*, 10; U.S. Census, 1860, Free Inhabitants, Morgan County, Tennessee.

⁸ Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization," 78, 81; U.S. Census, 1860, Free Inhabitants, Morgan County, Tennessee; U.S. Census, 1860, Manuscript Returns of Social Statistics, Morgan County, Tennessee; Dickinson, *Morgan County*, 17.

home and merchants conducted most of their business in German. This continued use of their native language set these immigrants apart from their fellow county residents. Those who learned English, learned only enough to do business with the native-born Americans. Inter-ethnic contact was rare since the colonists tended to avoid native-born Americans. Although they were living on a new continent, they wanted to retain as much of their native culture and traditions as possible.⁹

The immigrant professionals included doctors, merchants, and dentists. In addition to carpenters like Kreis, there were blacksmiths, tanners, saddlers,



In the mid nineteenth century, the town of Wartburg featured a wide range of small businesses. Pictured is the Brandau-Kienbusch Cigar Factory and Store near downtown Wartburg. Hobart Schofield Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee" (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1925).

and millwrights. There were even cigar makers and piano manufacturers. Carpenters, millwrights, and blacksmiths fared better than the cigar makers, dentists, doctors, and especially piano makers. The immigrants were a diverse lot. The *Nashville Whig* said all were "far superior to the general run" of immigrants usually seen passing through Nashville. The remoteness and rough terrain of Morgan County, coupled with the total lack of an urban setting and its consumer market, forced many immigrants to take up farming in addition to their artisan and professional pursuits. While this

hardscrabble existence motivated several immigrants to leave the county before the Civil War, the war itself removed a far greater number from county registries.¹⁰

Even though several Americans purchased town lots, the city of Wartburg in 1860 had a definite German tone. The people held German festivals and even observed German style Christmas celebrations. Many community leaders wanted to form a "Sonntagsnach-mittags-Kränzchen,"

⁹ Wust, *Wartburg*, 16, 19-20.

¹⁰ U.S. Census, 1860, Free Inhabitants, Morgan County, Tennessee; Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization," 22-23, 52, 87; Freytag and Ott, *History of Morgan County*, 71, 77; Wust, *Wartburg*, 16; U.S. Census, 1870, Manuscript Returns of Inhabitants, Morgan County, Tennessee.

a Sunday afternoon Christmas and wedding longer. Harmon Kreis so much hot whiskey Punch" was one of adopted before the and their love of music and harvest parties. land but were adapted event for women or what the Americans discussed important matches were marks amount of meat to the immigrants maintain these events; few Americans who did was John and the Americans Nashville in 1845. and customs, a revival the colonists' ways

The larger group offset this new movement Morgan County lost most remained out hunting and raising the Revolutionary obtain. The nation control of county Wartburg failed. the town's limits town vying for county seat remained

By 1860, the of the rivers and that pigs and sheep

¹¹ Cooper, "German County, 27-28

¹² Ethel H. Freytag, Dickinson, Morgan Kennedy, *Population Eighth Census, United Entry No. 1952, s Gerding, Welsh C*

ss in German. This
nts apart from their
ned only enough to
ic contact was rare
ans. Although they
much of their native

chants, and dentists.
hs, tanners, saddlers,
wrights. There were
ar makers and piano
cturers. Carpenters,
hts, and blacksmiths
etter than the cigar
dentists, doctors,
pecially piano makers.
mmigrants were a
lot. The Nashville
aid all were "far
r to the general run"
igrants usually seen
through Nashville.
moteness and rough
of Morgan County,
l with the total lack
urban setting and its
ner market, forced
mmigrants to take up
y in addition to their
and professional
ts. While this
to leave the county
number from county

wn lots, the city of
people held German
celebrations. Many
-mittags-Kränzchen,"

ee; Cooper, "German
of Morgan County, 71,
of Inhabitants, Morgan

a Sunday afternoon circle or club like the immigrants had in Europe. Christmas and wedding events generally were seven-day celebrations or longer. Harmon Kreis reported that he was sick for a week from imbibing so much hot whiskey that he never touched the drink again. This "Dutch Punch" was one of the few American traditions members of the enclave adopted before the Civil War. The colonists took their love of picnicking and their love of music and channeled them into logrolling, quilting bees, and harvest parties. These events mirrored those they knew from their old land but were adapted to the new frontier environment. The main social event for women on regular occasions was the afternoon "kaffeetrinken," what the Americans recognized as a tea or coffee social, where women discussed important matters. The men engaged in shooting matches. These matches were marksmanship competitions that generally rewarded a sizable amount of meat to the victor, along with bragging rights as the best shot. The immigrants maintained their separation from the local population during these events; few Americans joined them for tea or shooting. One of those few who did was John White. He served as a liaison between the colonists and the Americans in the county, leading the first group of settlers from Nashville in 1845. Given the colonists' retention of their native language and customs, a reverse indoctrination took place as the Americans learned the colonists' ways at these events.¹¹

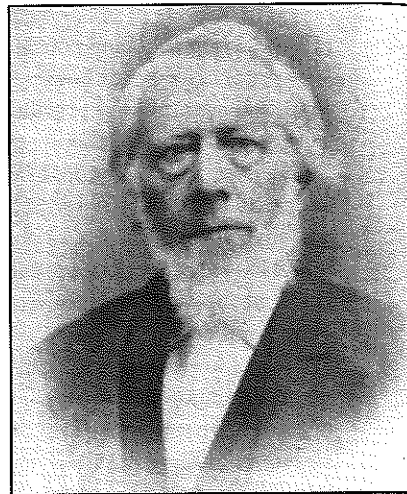
The larger group of native-born Americans who lived in the county offset this new metropolitan European flavor. These Americans lived in Morgan County long before the German and Swiss population arrived, and most remained outside Wartburg until 1861. Many lived off the land by hunting and raising small gardens. Some had land grants for service during the Revolutionary War, while others came because the land was easy to obtain. The native-born residents were not prepared to relinquish their control of county matters easily. Two attempts to move the county seat to Wartburg failed. In August 1865, the court at Montgomery even extended the town's limits to include both Wartburg and Sulphur Springs, another town vying for county seat. By October, voters nullified this action, and the county seat remained at Montgomery.¹²

By 1860, the native-born Americans had settled on lands along many of the rivers and creeks in the county. Agricultural census data showed that pigs and sheep were the most common livestock. Farmers raised corn,

¹¹ Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization," 87; Wüst, *Wartburg*, 20; Dickson, *Morgan County*, 27-28

¹² Ethel H. Freytag, comp., *Morgan County Veterans* (Mss., University of Tennessee, 1992); Dickinson, *Morgan County*, 1, 42-43; Goodspeed's *History of Tennessee*, 842; Joseph C.G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, 1864), 469; Entry No. 1952, sale of 5,000 acres in Morgan County, 7 January 1845, to George Gerding, Welsh Colony Papers, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

German land speculator George Gerding purchased large amounts of land in the upper Cumberland Plateau. In the mid 1840s, he organized the Morgan County Colonization Company (MCCC) to begin recruiting German and Swiss immigrants to relocate to Tennessee. Hobart Schofield Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization in Morgan County, Tennessee" (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1925).



tobacco, and Irish potatoes.¹³ Since the mountainous terrain and poor soil precluded growing staple crops there were few slaves in the county in 1860. The small group of enslaved and free African Americans listed on the census of 1860, formed a small third social group in the county. Census records show that there were only 120 slaves, held by 25 owners. There were also 41 free blacks in Morgan County in 1860. All appear in the census as "mulattoes." Most of the free blacks were farm laborers, although two women and one man were listed as servants. There were also several mulatto children, age 8 or younger, listed with white families. The population census notes several mulattoes with property and real estate. Among them was Walter Vann. He was 52 in 1860, had 8 children, a wife, and a 63-year-old servant. Two of his children attended school during the previous year. Vann and three of his children were able to read and write. Given race relations in the South at this time, his children probably did not attend Walden Academy at Montgomery. The record is not clear, but race relations before the war were well defined when it came to blacks, even mulattoes, interacting with whites.¹⁴

Several immigrants and native-born Americans held large tracts of land in the county. George Gerding held thousands of acres in Morgan County and in surrounding counties. As to the farmers' market-oriented tendencies, *The East Tennessean*, a Kingston newspaper, provided an idea of where local farmers focused their efforts. The paper published the current price of commodities such as wheat, corn, barley, and potatoes in the nearby Kingston market. Knowledge of the current price of a commodity allowed the farmers to sell or barter their crops at the best price, and thus improve their standard of living. The MCCC recruited professional artisans in the hope of creating a self-sustaining village. One of the company's goals was

¹³ Joseph C.G. Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, 1864), 136-39; hand-written notes on the 1860 census data, Ethel Freytag Collection, UT Special Collections; Wust, *Warburg*, 15.

¹⁴ Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860*, 462-63; U.S. Census, 1860, *Free Inhabitants, Morgan County, Tennessee*.

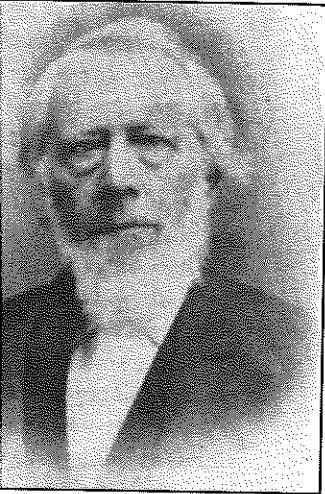
to separate the imm
make the commun
of a small, highly
established. They a
lots. Blacksmiths, c
the county compet
they competed wit
providing services

By 1861, Mo
later the realities
Montgomery cam
residents overwh
county was 630-5
state into the Co
the Union. Whe
the Union Army
had to evade Co
enlist at Camp I
tested the idea t
native-born fami
McCoy, McPeter
side. The house
especially divid
the Confederate
joined the Unio

By the fall
through Morga
cavalry regimen
were hiding or
R.R. Hancock,
their own busin
Coming back t
The Confeder
of an insurgen
reported from
six miles of a
supplies of am

¹⁵ U.S. Census, 1860, *Free Inhabitants, Morgan County, Tennessee; Kentucky, October 1865; Civil War Era*.

¹⁶ Freytag and C
Politics and Civ
"German and
1860, *Free In*



nsus records show that
were also 41 free blacks
as "mulattoes." Most of
men and one man were
children, age 8 or younger,
notes several mulattoes
ter Vann. He was 52 in
nt. Two of his children
d three of his children
the South at this time,
y at Montgomery. The
were well defined when
ites.¹⁴

as held large tracts of
ds of acres in Morgan
mers' market-oriented
er, provided an idea of
published the current
potatoes in the nearby
a commodity allowed
rice, and thus improve
ssional artisans in the
e company's goals was

mpiled from the Original
he Interior (Washington,
el Freytag Collection, UT

nsus, 1860, Free

to separate the immigrants totally from the rest of East Tennessee and to make the community self-sufficient. However, the immigrants were part of a small, highly competitive market, with many producers previously established. They also found no ready housing to purchase, only wilderness lots. Blacksmiths, carpenters, millwrights, merchants, and other artisans in the county competed against this new influx of skilled craftsmen. Further, they competed with the newcomers for a share of the business instead of providing services to a ready market.¹⁵

By 1861, Morgan County residents faced the secession crisis and later the realities of war. In June, U.S. Senator Andrew Johnson came to Montgomery campaigning against secession. Two days later, Morgan County residents overwhelmingly voted against secession. The vote count in the county was 630-50 against secession. Secessionists, however, carried the state into the Confederacy. Most of Morgan County's residents supported the Union. When the war began, 234 men from Morgan County joined the Union Army, only 64 joined the Confederate army. Most Union men had to evade Confederate patrols as they made their way to Kentucky to enlist at Camp Dick Robinson, near Lancaster, Kentucky. The Civil War tested the idea that blood was thicker than water as both immigrant and native-born families divided over whom to support. The Lavender, McCartt, McCoy, McPeter, Stonecipher, and Webb families had men fighting for each side. The household of German immigrant Doctor F.A. Sienknecht was especially divided. He was a strong Union supporter, but his sons joined the Confederate army. The large number of men in Morgan County who joined the Union Army alarmed local Confederate supporters and leaders.¹⁶

By the fall of 1861, Union and Confederate military units moved through Morgan County. In August, the Second Tennessee Confederate cavalry regiment swept through the county looking for Union men who were hiding or preparing to go north. The regiment, according to Sergeant R.R. Hancock, left unmolested those who "remained at home and attended their own business." Apparently, those men were not a concern at that time. Coming back through the county in September the soldiers found no one. The Confederate patrol was a little early. William Blount Carter, leader of an insurgent force to destroy Confederate bridges in East Tennessee, reported from outside Montgomery in mid October that he was within six miles of a company of 300 Confederate cavalry soldiers. He requested supplies of ammunition for the Union supporters, saying they were "firm

¹⁵ U.S. Census, 1860, Manuscript Returns of Productions of Agriculture, Morgan County, Tennessee; Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*, 1; *The East Tennessean*, 7 October 1865; Robert Tracy McKenzie, *One South or Many?: Plantation Belt and Upcountry in Civil War Era Tennessee*, (New York, 1994), 54-55.

¹⁶ Freytag and Ott, *History of Morgan County*, 53; Noel C. Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerrilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill, 1997), 188; Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization," 90; Freytag, *Morgan County Veterans*; U.S. Census, 1860, Free Inhabitants, Morgan County, Tennessee.



In early 1862, Confederate General Felix Zollicoffer led several military incursions into Morgan County. Francis Trevelyan Miller, ed. *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York, 1911), vol. 10.

and unwavering." He was heading toward the railroad south of Kingston. There was no record of any supplies sent. Confederate Brigadier General Felix Zollicoffer moved to head off more sorties like that of Carter's by stationing even more men in Morgan County. He believed that the soldiers stationed to guard the roads and passes through the county and into Kentucky were sufficient to hold off any number of Union soldiers. To intercept a band of "Tories" he believed to be heading north, Zollicoffer had, by the first part of November, two cavalry companies at the gap in Walden Ridge at

Oliver Springs and two in the northern part of the county. These were probably units of Carter's band, which had moved through the county the previous month.¹⁷

Zollicoffer might have been responding to the bridge burnings of November 8, 1861. In September, Carter had developed a plan to cut the railroad linking Virginia, East Tennessee, Georgia, and northern Alabama, by burning nine key bridges. This plan had the support of Union General George B. McClellan and the approval of President Abraham Lincoln. Carter recruited East Tennessee Unionists to carry out the plan. However, they managed to burn only five of the bridges. Meanwhile, Union General William Tecumseh Sherman in Kentucky wavered and refused to send Union troops through Morgan County to invade East Tennessee, which was part of Carter's plan. The Confederate army on the other hand, did send reinforcements to end the insurrection. Zollicoffer knew that the men responsible for those bridges south of Knoxville would attempt to go north into Kentucky.¹⁸

¹⁷ Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 52-57; U.S., War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. 4:317, 242 (hereinafter OR).

¹⁸ R.R. Hancock, *Hancock's Diary: or, A History of the Second Tennessee Confederate Cavalry, with Sketches of First and Seventh Battalions* (Nashville, 1887), 81-84; OR, Series I, Vol. 4:242, 317.



On
Alabama
Tennessee
Cavalry
to take
as soon
arrival of

Fred
as milita
of 1862,
tactics fr
county fr
enemy's
First Ten
Wartbur
after los
ammun
coming
his supe

In
expediti
He four
back to
killing f
soldiers
of both
of hosti

Th
a threat
This le
County
County
bushw
of atro
Sim L
behead
soldier
and bu
Army.

¹⁹ Hancock, *Hancock's Diary*.

²⁰ OR, Series I, Vol. 4:242, 317.

²¹ Ibid.

Confederate General
led several military
to Morgan County.
Ryan Miller, ed. The
History of the Civil War
, 1911), vol. 10.

g." He was heading
railroad south of
ere was no record
s sent. Confederate
eral Felix Zollicoffer
d off more sorties
arter's by stationing
in Morgan County.
that the soldiers
uard the roads and
the county and into
e sufficient to hold
r of Union soldiers.
a band of "Tories"
be heading north,
, by the first part of
o cavalry companies
Walden Ridge at
county. These were
ough the county the

bridge burnings of
ed a plan to cut the
d northern Alabama,
rt of Union General
Abraham Lincoln.
t the plan. However,
hile, Union General
and refused to send
st Tennessee, which
the other hand, did
r knew that the men
attempt to go north

On November 19, Zollicoffer was in Wartburg with the Sixteenth Alabama, the Fifteenth Mississippi, the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Tennessee, a battery of eight guns, and Frank N. McNairy's First Tennessee Cavalry Battalion. This gave him 2,995 men ready for duty. He prepared to take the war northward as he began moving his men toward Kentucky as soon as he had them assembled in Wartburg. They were waiting for the arrival of their winter clothing.¹⁹

Frequent skirmishes between Union and Confederate troops occurred as military units moved back and forth across the county. In the early months of 1862, fighting began in Morgan County. Residents experienced aggressive tactics from both armies. Zollicoffer sent cavalry regiments to scour the county for the direct purpose of putting down rebellion, and to see if the enemy's army was massing in the area. Lieutenant Colonel J.W. White's First Tennessee Cavalry engaged a Union force of 100 to 300 soldiers near Wartburg in February 1862. The Union Army broke off the engagement after losing their captain and five others, along with horses, arms, and ammunition. The battle confirmed for White that Union forces were coming toward Morgan County from Williamsburg, Kentucky. However, his superiors were not as convinced as White.²⁰

In April 1862, Confederate General Kirby Smith conducted his own expedition to evict Unionist groups operating in Morgan and Scott counties. He found that the farther north he went the greater the resistance. Heading back toward Kingston he skirmished with a group around Montgomery, killing fifteen and taking seven prisoners. He lost five men and eleven of his soldiers were wounded. His subsequent report labeled the entire population of both Morgan and Scott counties hostile to the Confederacy. This feeling of hostility opened the door for escalation of violence.²¹

The Confederate leaders in Morgan County believed the residents were a threat to military security and a possible source of support to the Union. This led to confrontations that did not end well for the citizens of Morgan County. "Tinker" Dave Beatty led Unionist bushwhackers from Fentress County into Morgan County. Unionist supporters became targets for rebel bushwhacker Champ Ferguson and his soldiers. There were several stories of atrocities in the county. Confederates put horses into the cornfield of Sim Lavender. When he came to confront them, the leader of the group beheaded him with a sword. Rebecca Freytag pleaded with Confederate soldiers not to take the only milk cow the family had. The soldiers killed and butchered the cow anyway. John Webb Jr. was a recruiter for the Union Army. Knowing this, Confederates left his body on a rock beside a creek

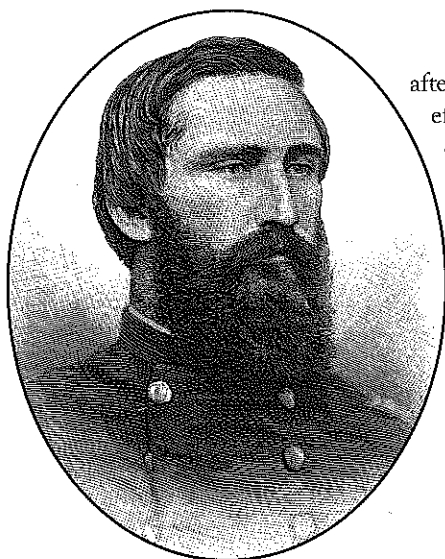
¹⁹ Hancock, *Hancock's Diary*, 68-69, 81-84; OR, Series I, Vol. 4:317, 242; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 52-57.

²⁰ OR, Series I, Vol. 7:118-19.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. 7:118-19; 10:50.

of the Rebellion: A
es (Washington, D.C.,

e Confederate Cavalry, with
Series I, Vol. 4:242, 317.



In June 1863, Union General William P. Sanders led a daring reconnaissance raid through East Tennessee. Sanders was mortally wounded in a skirmish outside of Knoxville on November 18, 1863. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (New York, 1888), vol. 3.

of invasion across Walden Ridge kept the Confederate army in East Tennessee from sending men to assist in the west. The Confederacy did send those it drafted to the Western Theater, and it sent those captured to prison camps. In June 1863, Union General William P. Sanders led a daring reconnaissance raid through East Tennessee. On June 17, he was in Montgomery and attacked a contingent of Confederates. His command captured 102 enlisted men and 2 officers, along with stores of food, ammunition, wagons, and supplies. He paroled the prisoners and destroyed the supplies he could not use or carry. His raid created much trouble for the Confederates, and he collected invaluable intelligence for Union commanders to use in making invasion plans for East Tennessee. Furthermore, this raid achieved some of its goals as General Ambrose Burnside moved into East Tennessee in August. His advance was part of a larger plan that had Union forces moving toward Chattanooga. By this time, oppression from Confederate rule in Morgan County had ended. James McKeethan of Sunbright recalled that one of his mother's memories of the war was when she saw Rufus and William Jones,

after killing him. These atrocities speak to the effects of war in breaking down social and cultural barriers between combatants and noncombatants, and between immigrant and nonimmigrant. Sometimes residents received promissory notes for repayment, but generally armies took what they needed without trade or repayment. The armies did not recognize a difference between the German and Swiss settlers and other county residents. The county residents began to see the immigrants as fellow sufferers in the middle of a terrible war. When disparate people received equal cruelty from opposing armies they tend to unite for mutual protection. Over time, this resulted in communal blending of cultures.²²

While the Union Army concentrated its main force on West and Middle Tennessee in 1862, small forces in Morgan County created a diversion. Expectations

two local broth
marched past

Burnside
Knoxville. His
county. Know
and the prese
Confederacy
into the Tenn

The mar
of Knoxville i
to the area. H
like Champ
Fentress cour
the Union. E
throughout t
commanding

The Civ
Morgan Cou
1865. As the
county. The
to 2,969 in
German and
people seek
number of i
Fork. By 18
free blacks.²³

During
settled in M
who had sp
of 800 acre
Some resid
the war, wh
Roland Kitt
Snow, and

²² McKnight, *Confederate Outlaw*, 33-34, 58, 95-96; Freytag and Ott, *History of Morgan County*, 62-65.

²³ OR, Series 28 August 1865, Census, 1865, Court House, Digby Seyt (Knoxville)

²⁴ OR, Series

²⁵ OR, Series County Ne

²⁶ U.S. Cen

ese atrocities speak to the
breaking down social and
between combatants and
, and between immigrant
rant. Sometimes residents
assory notes for repayment,
armies took what they
at trade or repayment. The
t recognize a difference
erman and Swiss settlers
ty residents. The county
to see the immigrants as
in the middle of a terrible
asparate people received
om opposing armies they
r mutual protection. Over
ed in communal blending

Union Army concentrated
e on West and Middle
1862, small forces in Morgan
d a diversion. Expectations
rate army in East Tennessee
federacy did send those it
captured to prison camps.
ed a daring reconnaissance
was in Montgomery and
and captured 102 enlisted
mmunition, wagons, and
the supplies he could not
the Confederates, and he
manders to use in making
this raid achieved some of
o East Tennessee in August.
nion forces moving toward
nfederate rule in Morgan
ght recalled that one of his
Rufus and William Jones,

and Ott, *History of Morgan County*,

two local brothers who had enlisted in the Union army, wave to her as they marched past as part of Burnside's army.²³

Burnside stayed in the county for a time as he prepared to move toward Knoxville. His correspondence located the Emory Iron Works within the county. Knowledge of iron ore deposits in the county along with coal, and the presence of miners in the county in 1860, were reasons why the Confederacy lingered in a hostile environment so far north of the passes into the Tennessee Valley.²⁴

The march of General Burnside through Morgan County, and the fall of Knoxville in November 1863, meant permanent Union control had come to the area. However, there were sporadic raids by Confederate guerrillas, like Champ Ferguson, who maintained a presence in Morgan, Scott, and Fentress counties. Not all residents in this part of East Tennessee supported the Union. Eva Gerding flew a Confederate flag at her home in Wartburg throughout the war, and continued to defy orders from the Union officers commanding the area after the war.²⁵

The Civil War had destroyed property, crops, and livestock throughout Morgan County. The county's population also underwent a change after 1865. As the scars of war began to heal, a new ethnic mix emerged in the county. The overall population declined 29 percent, from 3,233 in 1860 to 2,969 in 1870. The black population declined 38 percent. However, the German and Swiss population declined over 48 percent. American-born people seeking a new life in the aftermath of war replaced the declining number of immigrants and their children around Wartburg and Crooked Fork. By 1870, the biggest change in population was the larger numbers of free blacks.²⁶

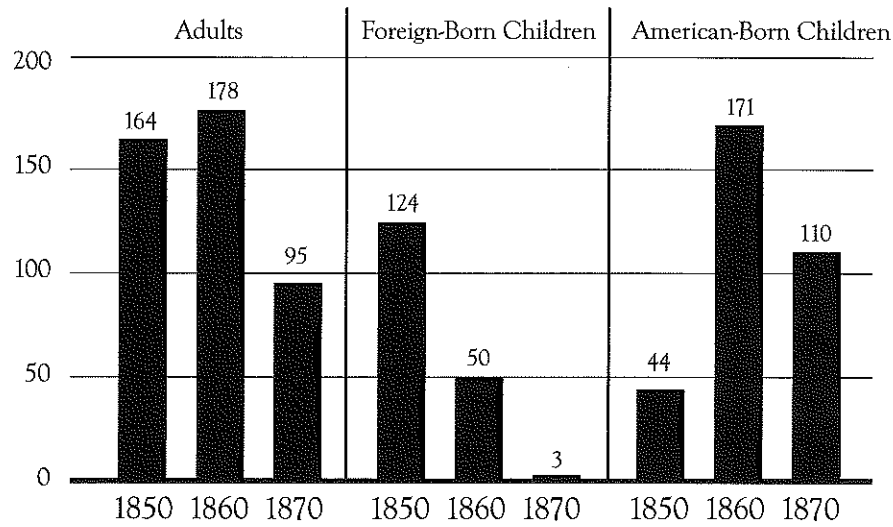
During the postwar period, a number of new and influential residents settled in Morgan County. For example, Victor Letorey from New Orleans, who had spent summers in Morgan County, Letorey purchased a total of 800 acres. On this property, he raised grapes for wine and bred cattle. Some residents increased their real and personal property holdings after the war, while others lost much of theirs. George Keith, James, John, and Roland Kittrell, all increased their personal wealth. George Lavender, Larkin Snow, and Susanna Stephens had substantial downturns in their fortunes.

²³ OR, Series I, Vol. 23, part 2:284-89; 30, part 3:81, 94-95, 209, 333; Frank Bean Diary, 28 August-1 September, 1863, Frank Bean Collection, UT Special Collections; Eighth Census, Free Inhabitants, Morgan County, Tennessee, Crooked Fork and Morgan Court House districts, 16-17, 49. For more on the Civil War in East Tennessee see, Digby Seymour, *Divided Loyalties: Fort Sanders and the Civil War in East Tennessee*, 3rd ed. (Knoxville, 2002).

²⁴ OR, Series I, Vol. 30(3):292.

²⁵ OR, Series I, Vol. 30(3):81, 94-95, 209, 333; McKnight, *Confederate Outlaw*, 95-96; *Morgan County News*, 7 April 1944; Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization," 91.

²⁶ U.S. Census, 1870, Morgan County, Tennessee.



From, U.S. Census, 1850, 1860, 1870, Morgan County, Tennessee.

Stephens lost nearly all her personal wealth and half of her real property. Henry Waltersdorf lost everything. In 1860, he, his wife, and five children lived on 200 acres of land. By 1870, he was alone and living with a friend; his family, land, and money were gone. Waltersdorf possessed little wealth besides his land. Even with these losses of property however, the overall distribution of wealth in the county was stable in the 1860s.²⁷

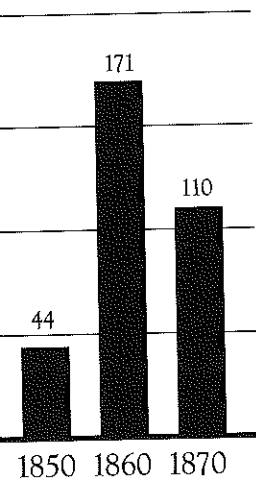
With the termination of slavery, African Americans appeared on the 1870 census as free people of color. Before the war, the 1860 census listed 132 mulattoes and 29 blacks in Morgan County, all but a few as laborers, and vital statistics only noted 41 free people of color. In 1870, the census recorded 72 mulattoes and 29 blacks. Together, these equal the total of free people of color listed in the census statistics for that year. Some of these African Americans were farm laborers, most were farmers with families. Of the 17 heads of household listed as black or mulatto, 3 were women.²⁸

Despite gaining freedom, African Americans were still part of a separated society. The new Tennessee Constitution of 1870 required segregated schools. Since the number of blacks and mulattoes in the county was small, having more than one school in the county for black students was not feasible. Three black families in the Montgomery district, which included Wartburg, listed 13 school age children (ages 6-21) who attended school. This suggests there

²⁷ Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*, 136; Francis A. Walker, *The Statistics of Wealth and Industry of the United States . . . from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1872), 246; *Goodspeed's History of Tennessee*, 1125; U.S. Census, 1850, 1860, Morgan County, Tennessee. Waltersdorf did not appear in the 1870 census.

²⁸ U.S. Census, 1860, 1870, Morgan County, Tennessee.

American-Born Children



County, Tennessee.

of her real property. wife, and five children and living with a friend; possessed little wealth however, the overall 1860s.²⁷

cans appeared on the the 1860 census listed t a few as laborers, and 0, the census recorded he total of free people Some of these African th families. Of the 17 women.²⁸

still part of a separated tired segregated schools. unty was small, having was not feasible. Three luded Wartburg, listed pool. This suggests there

. Walker, *The Statistics turns of the Ninth Census* 1125; U.S. Census, 1850, in the 1870 census.

was at least one school for blacks in the county in 1870. The 1870 census revealed the reality of mixed race families. For example, Nancy Madlock appeared on the census records as the head of household. A white woman listed as the family head was not unusual in 1870, given the massive loss of male family heads during the Civil War. What made Madlock stand out from the rest was that the census records listed her 4-year-old child, William, as a mulatto.²⁹

By 1870, the German and Swiss colony in Morgan County had dissolved. No longer did this ethnic based enclave exist separate from other residents of Morgan County. Historians including W. Calvin Dickinson and Hobart Cooper argued that immigrant communities in Morgan County declined in the 1850s and 1860s, but their data did not include the children of the immigrants. The totals of foreign-born residents in the county declined from 1850 (288) to 1860 (228). However, the children of these residents (listed as American-born) actually boosted the overall numbers of Morgan County residents with immigrant roots from 332 in 1850 to 399 in 1860.³⁰

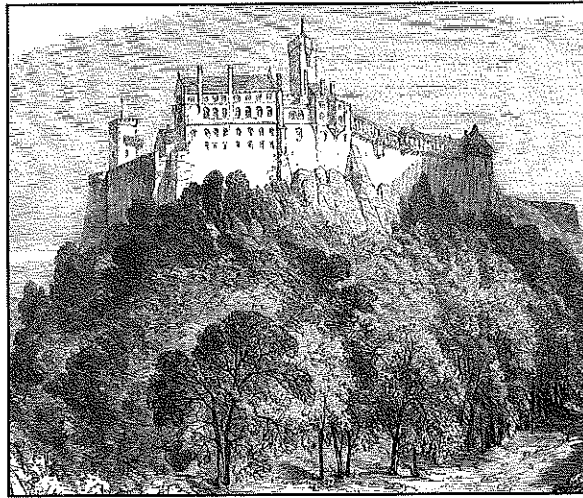
Census records in 1870 noted a stark decline in the numbers of immigrants and their children in Morgan County. Their numbers fell to 208, a loss of over 48 percent of their community in ten years. Some left because they had had enough of the rural environment. Others left to find a market better suited to their trade or skills. However, the Civil War drove a wedge through the community more forcefully than natural or economic hardships. The Civil War forced many to acknowledge that a common language, a common religion, and a common set of customs no longer united them. Other attachments and ideologies now vied for their allegiance.³¹

George Gerding came down on the wrong side of the conflict. He moved to Oliver Springs at the county line just after the defeat of the Confederacy. He left behind his property and after property values rebounded, Gerding sold the acreage. Others such as Reverend John F. Wilken, leader of the German Evangelical Lutheran church at Wartburg, simply retired after the war. Reverend Wilken saw the Evangelical Lutheran church through its split with the Reformed Lutheran church and through the Civil War. He became a professor at Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania, and stayed there until his death in 1876. His counterpart in the Reformed church, Reverend John T. Etter, actually left the county as the Civil War began. Many men of the Reformed church took part in the war, and most left the county when the war ended. With dwindling members, the church disbanded in the mid

²⁹ U.S. Census, 1870, Morgan County, Tennessee; Freytag and Ott, *History of Morgan County*, 136. For more on interracial unions and families see, Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven, 1997).

³⁰ U.S. Census, 1850, 1860, Morgan County, Tennessee; Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization;" Dickinson, *Morgan County*.

³¹ U.S. Census, 1870, Morgan County, Tennessee; Cooper, "German and Swiss Colonization," 96-99.



To continue their connection to Germany, the founders of Wartburg named their town after Wartburg Castle in Germany, where Martin Luther had translated the Bible. *The Illustrated London News*, 11 October 1862.

1860s. Some members rejoined the Lutheran church, while others found a place in the Presbyterian church in later years.³²

Between 1860 and 1870, the number of churches in the county increased by fifty percent. In 1860, there were eight Baptist churches, only one Methodist church, and the one Lutheran church. The Reformed Lutheran church formed and dissolved between the census years. By 1870, there were seven Baptist churches, seven Methodist churches, and the remaining Lutheran church at Wartburg. As the Baptists saw the loss of one of their churches, the Methodists experienced a marked increase in both churches and membership. Starting with a 300-seat church building, by 1870 they had seven churches in the county.³³

After the Civil War, some German and Swiss families in Morgan County sold their farms and homes to move to either cities or better land. In their place, new settlers arrived and altered the demographics. Reverend Wilken's departure during the war from the county removed the colonists' most devout teacher and leader. Those who remained began to use English and interact more with their American neighbors, and home schooling declined. The 1870 census revealed there were 23 teachers in Morgan County with 757 students.³⁴

What began in 1850 with George Gerding naming the streets of Wartburg became full-blown Americanization during the 1860s. Naming streets to appeal to a broader group, adapting customs and celebrations to fit new surroundings, and adopting the urban life in preference to a rural one changed the inhabitants. Like the Amish in Pennsylvania, or the Swiss in New Glarus, Wisconsin, the settlers in Morgan County wanted to set themselves apart from their neighbors. By remaining close to those who spoke and thought the same, the colonists could better offset the trauma

³² Cooper, "German and Swiss," 71, 78-79.

³³ Walker, *Statistics of the Ninth Census*, 554.

³⁴ Dickinson, *Morgan County*, 42; U.S. Census, 1870, Morgan County, Tennessee.



of moving to originally hoped for himself, the "Even the name Martin Luther their national European city a huge gamb Those who immigrants' form new in their ideas o be an Amer

In 1870 of nearly 3,0 The result new society along racial the county named for "Street" and contract to passed a re was comp rural enviro reformed and white through t forged a b or Old W together t

³⁵ Wust, (Madis

³⁶ Wust,

To continue their connection to Germany, the founders of Wartburg named their town after Wartburg Castle in Germany, where Martin Luther had translated the Bible. The Illustrated London News, 11 October 1862.

1860s. Some members rejoined the Lutheran church, while others found a place in the Presbyterian church in later years.³²

es in the county increased
tist churches, only one
The Reformed Lutheran
s years. By 1870, there
ches, and the remaining
y the loss of one of their
crease in both churches
uilding, by 1870 they had

families in Morgan County
s or better land. In their
phics. Reverend Wilken's
oved the colonists' most
egan to use English and
ome schooling declined.
in Morgan County with

g naming the streets of
ring the 1860s. Naming
oms and celebrations to
in preference to a rural
ennsylvania, or the Swiss
n County wanted to set
ning close to those who
better offset the trauma

of moving to a new location. The Morgan County Colonization Company originally hoped to be the center of the colonists' world in America. Gerding himself, the "little Dutch King," came to the county to oversee the settlement. Even the name of the city, Wartburg, after the castle in Thuringia where Martin Luther translated the Bible, sought to keep the settlers attached to their national and religious heritage. However, in bringing people from a European city environment to a rural American county, the company made a huge gamble. Those residents who adapted to their environment stayed. Those who did not, left. With the onset of the Civil War, many of the immigrants' ideologies and practices crumbled. This forced the people to form new institutions and create new social customs with those who shared their ideas of community, and their blossoming concept of what it was to be an American.³⁵

In 1870, there were only 208 German and Swiss people left in a county of nearly 3,000. Inter marriage with native-born Americans became common. The result was a more diverse population. While diversity flourished, this new society marginalized African Americans and other non-white groups along racial lines. The culmination of this blending was the moving of the county seat to Wartburg. It was no longer a German town with streets named for cities in Europe, instead it was a diverse town with "Church Street" and "Main Street." John (formerly Johannes) Kreis received the contract to build the new courthouse in Wartburg. In 1870, the county court passed a resolution to move its sessions to this building. The transformation was complete. Wartburg, an American town, built by immigrants in the rural environs of East Tennessee, was now the centerpiece of a community reformed and united by war. Once separate groups of foreigners, blacks, and white native-born Americans, the people of Morgan County suffered through the one of the darkest periods of American history together. This forged a bond between them stronger and deeper than any national heritage or Old World custom. They were now one people, one community, moving together toward a common future where ethnic backgrounds meant little.³⁶

³⁵ Wust, Wartburg, 14; John Luchsinger, *The Planting of the Swiss Colony of New Glarus* (Madison, 1892), 379; Dickinson, *Morgan County*, 25.

³⁶ Wust, Wartburg, 14, 22; Freytag and Ott, *History of Morgan County*, 38.

"In Tongues of Stone":

Civil War Monuments and the Evolution of Historical Memory in East Tennessee, 1890-1931

By Kelli Nelson*

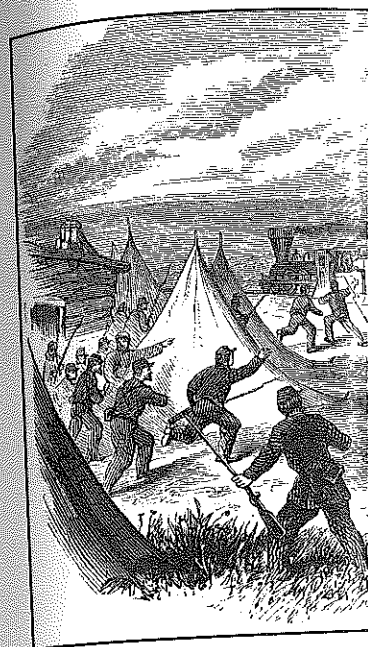


On April 12, 1862, a crowd of passengers, including one man from Kentucky, boarded a train in Marietta, Georgia. As the locomotive pushed through the northern portion of the state, the travelers quietly conversed. When they finally reached Kennesaw station, the crewmembers and most of the passengers disembarked for a leisurely breakfast. However, the Kentuckian, a man named James Andrews, remained on board with twenty-one other men. Unbeknownst to the train conductor and his crew, these men were on a mission to cut rail lines and disable Confederate communication between Atlanta and Chattanooga, Tennessee. As the other travelers watched in awe and disbelief from their breakfast tables, the men, later known as Andrews Raiders, hijacked the train engine, named the *General*, and set off on their task. But the conductor quickly took action, pursuing the raiders closely. In the end, their mission failed and Confederate forces executed several of the men.

The raiders reunited in 1891 during the dedication of a monument to their group in the Chattanooga National Cemetery. This monument represented the desire of many former Unionists in East Tennessee, to create an image of the Civil War in their region. Unionism, however, was only the first stage in East Tennessee Civil War memory. Throughout the next forty years, both native and non-native people used monuments to display varying degrees of both Union and Confederate memory in the region.¹

* A native East Tennessean, the author completed her master's degree in history from East Tennessee State University in 2011. She is currently a doctoral student at Mississippi State University.

¹ For an overview of the raiders, their mission, and the monument see, Russell S. Bonds, *Stealing the General: The Great Locomotive Chase and the First Medal of Honor* (Yardley, PA, 2007).



In April 1862, twenty-two Ohio soldiers, led by James Andrews, fled to East Tennessee near Marietta, Georgia. They set out to destroy the heartland, but their mission ended quickly. In the 1890s a group of businessmen and Union sentiment in East Tennessee created the Andrews Raiders monument. Rail

After the Civil War, many people shared their experiences, holding reunions and erecting memorials. His mission came to grips with the Former Confederates and Unionists by formulating a group "Fair Play for the Cause." This concept was the creation of a "fair play" heroes. Although white northerners eventually rejected sectional reconciliation and memorial events, they discussed the heroism of northerners and southern soldiers they pushed African Americans from North and South.



Stone”:

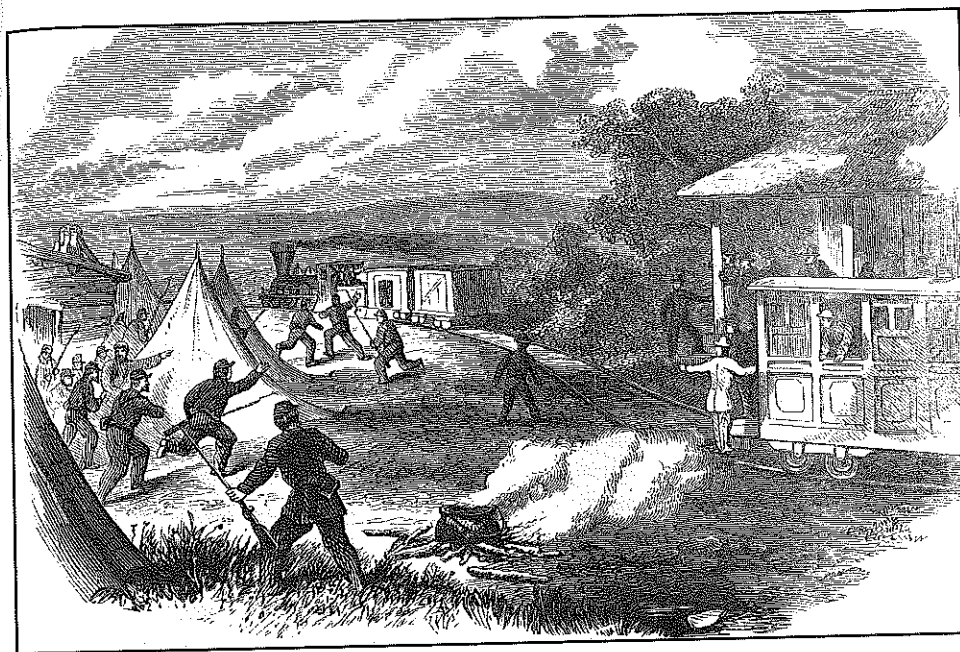
the Evolution
East Tennessee,

including one man from
s the locomotive pushed
travelers quietly conversed.
newmembers and most of
However, the Kentuckian,
d with twenty-one other
crew, these men were on
communication between
travelers watched in awe
later known as Andrews
ral, and set off on their
uing the raiders closely.
forces executed several of

cation of a monument
etery. This monument
East Tennessee, to create
i, however, was only the
roughout the next forty
ments to display varying
the region.¹

egree in history from East
student at Mississippi State

ment see, Russell S. Bonds,
edal of Honor (Yardley, PA,



In April 1862, twenty-two Ohio soldiers known as Andrews Raiders hijacked a train named the General near Marietta, Georgia. They set out to burn bridges and disrupt transportation lines within the Confederate heartland, but their mission ended quickly. Eight of the men were executed and the others were imprisoned. In the 1890s a group of businessmen, Civil War veterans, and promoters raised awareness for the role of Union sentiment in East Tennessee during the Civil War by erecting a monument to commemorate the contributions of Andrews Raiders. William Pittenger, Daring and Suffering: A History of the Great Railroad Adventure (Philadelphia, 1863).

After the Civil War, Americans remembered the events by writing about their experiences, holding festivals honoring soldiers and emancipation, and erecting memorials. Historians have studied how black and white Americans came to grips with the war and also how they have remembered the period. Former Confederates dealt with their defeat without dishonoring their soldiers by formulating a group of ideals that eventually became known as the "Lost Cause." This concept included the glorification of white southern women, the creation of a "faithful slave" image, and the exaltation of Confederate heroes. Although white southerners initially set this idea in motion, white northerners eventually embraced portions of the Lost Cause as they sought sectional reconciliation. In practice, as historian David Blight emphasized, reconciliation meant the reunification of *white* Americans. During reunions and memorial events, white veterans and their families came together to discuss the heroism of both Union and Confederate soldiers. As these white northerners and southerners reunited under exclamations of spirit and valor, they pushed African Americans out of the memory of the war. As whites from North and South reconciled by the end of the nineteenth century,

white northerners became less contemptuous of white southerners and less likely to consider them traitors to the nation.²

The creation of Civil War memory in East Tennessee reflected American memory in important ways. Generally, white East Tennesseans dominated most memorializations in the region. Monument builders usually neglected the importance of the war for African Americans even as they initially developed a large number of Unionist monuments. Specifically, Civil War monuments in East Tennessee exhibited particular divisions that existed and changes that occurred in the region during the last decades of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century. In the late nineteenth century, Unionist promoters dominated memory creation, especially monument building. By the early twentieth century, however, local Confederate memorial groups assumed a more prominent role and the Lost Cause version of Civil War memory won out in East Tennessee despite the region's Unionism during the war. The causes of this change resulted from combinations of regional ideas about industrialization and morality with national reconciliationist and Progressive Era sentiments as well as other beliefs stemming from events during the development of each memorial. In the end, Civil War monuments in East Tennessee perpetuated a legacy of dissonance that defined the region during and after the conflict.

Both external and internal battles characterized East Tennessee during the Civil War. While the Union and Confederate armies fought to control the region, East Tennesseans grappled with divided loyalties. Overall, the citizens' divided sentiments stemmed from social and cultural differences that created a wealth of ideas about the country's future. Many powerful Unionist leaders, like Thomas A.R. Nelson, William "Parson" Brownlow, and Andrew Johnson, prevailed in the area, but secessionist supporters also existed. When the citizens voted on secession in June 1861, a majority of those in the eastern portion of the state opposed separation from the Union but six counties supported the proposal.³ Various historians have speculated on the reasons for divided loyalties in East Tennessee. In the 1930s, James Welch Patton wrote that the Civil War in East Tennessee was characterized

² See, Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York, 1987); Alan T. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth," in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, eds. Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan (Bloomington, 2000), 11-34; David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, 2001); Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, 1993); John Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead* (Lawrence, KS, 2005); John Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Cambridge, 2005); Paul Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (Lanham, MD, 2003).

³ In his survey of East Tennessee in the Civil War, Charles F. Bryan Jr. stated that secessionist sentiment "was most prevalent in the lower portion of the region where Polk, Monroe, Rhea, Meigs, and Sequatchie counties on June 8 voted for the separation of Tennessee from the Union. Also Sullivan County . . . gave strong support to secession and the Confederate cause." He also argued that cities located along the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad were more likely to support the Confederacy. Charles F. Bryan Jr., "The Civil War in East Tennessee: A Social, Political, and Economic Study (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, 1978), 24-25.

by a class struggle between aristocratic classes and poor classes in the rural areas. The correlations between the Confederacy and the poor populations did not always hold. "believed that slavery and secession was mutually beneficial. He added that many of the Unionists were

Ironically, the first half of the federal forces under General Braxton Bragg at Chickamauga drove the armies back to Chattanooga, replaced Rosecrans, and Missionary Ridge. Around the same time, the Confederate forces in Tennessee. On March 18, during the Battle of

It was not until the battlefield at the historian Noel Holmgren, burners and butchers. In some counties, the Confederate troops killed livestock, and the command of Braxton Bragg in East Tennessee killed several men.

⁴ James Welch Patton (1934), 51-52; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 11-12.

⁵ For more information on the surrounding area, see the *History of Chattanooga and the Chickamauga Campaign* (Chickamauga, GA, 1900).

⁶ Paul H. Bergeron (Knoxville, 1900-1950) (Knoxville, 1900-1950) and *Guerrilla Warfare: An Overview of the Fort Sanders and McKenzie, Li*

southerners and less

Tennessee reflected the East Tennesseans' sentiment builders usually Americans even as they monuments. Specifically, particular divisions that during the last decades century. In the late memory creation, century, however, local ment role and the Lost Tennessee despite the change resulted from a and morality with ents as well as other of each memorial. In perpetuated a legacy of conflict.

st Tennessee during es fought to control yalalties. Overall, the cultural differences ure. Many powerful "Parson" Brownlow, onist supporters also 1861, a majority of ion from the Union ans have speculated In the 1930s, James ee was characterized

by a class struggle between Confederate supporters of "the wealthy and aristocratic classes in the cities" and Unionists "from the non-slaveholding classes in the rural and mountainous region." Charles F. Bryan Jr. studied correlations between the slave populations in certain areas and white support for the Confederacy. He concluded that the counties with the largest slave populations did not support the Confederacy because some slaveholders "believed that slavery would be better protected under the Union and that secession was much too radical a step." In 2006, Robert Tracy McKenzie added that many immigrants in the region were more closely aligned with the Union.⁴

Ironically, the Confederates controlled this Unionist stronghold for the first half of the war. This began to change in the summer of 1863 as federal forces under General William S. Rosecrans seized Chattanooga from General Braxton Bragg's Confederate army. After Bragg defeated Rosecrans at Chickamauga, Georgia, in September, his troops pushed the northern armies back to Chattanooga. After Union General Ulysses S. Grant replaced Rosecrans, federal forces defeated Bragg at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge just outside of Chattanooga on November 24 and 25.⁵ Around the same time, Union troops under General Ambrose Burnside and Confederates under General James Longstreet also clashed in East Tennessee. On November 29, Longstreet attacked Burnside but was repelled during the Battle of Fort Sanders.⁶

It was not just the regular troops turning Tennessee into a bloody battlefield at this time. In his work on guerrilla violence in East Tennessee, historian Noel Fisher explained that Unionists, in the form of bridge burners and bushwhackers, consistently gave the Confederates problems. In some counties, Union loyalists threatened or murdered secessionists. Confederate troops took action against the Unionists by stealing horses, livestock, and other goods. Many Confederate soldiers, largely under the command of Brigadier General John Hunt Morgan, pillaged and plundered East Tennessee. These forces burned loyalists' homes, raped women, and killed several men. In addition, historian Brian McKnight's recent biography

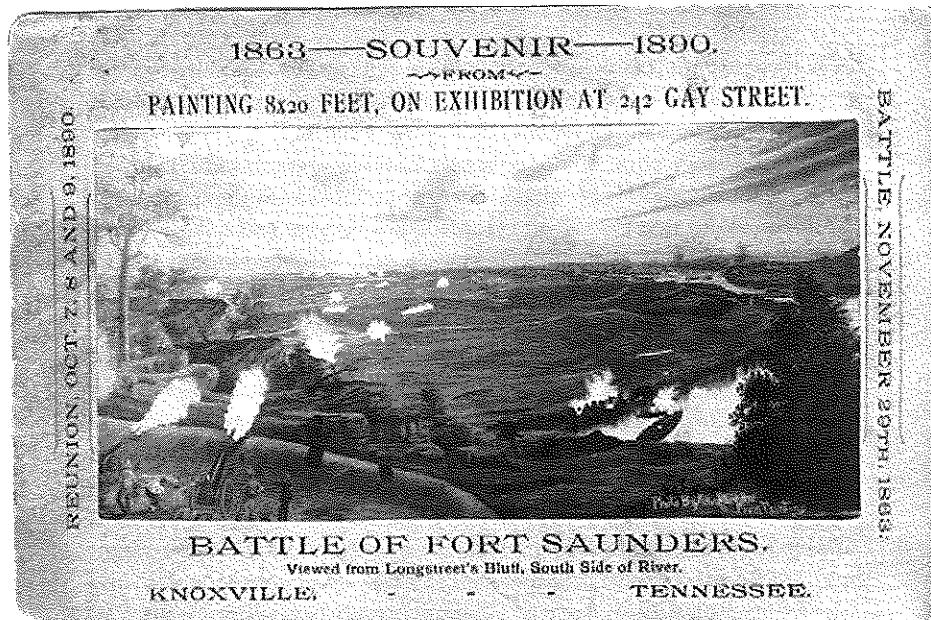
⁴ James Welch Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 51-52; Bryan, "Civil War in East Tennessee," 27-28; Robert Tracey McKenzie, *Lincolmites and Rebels: A Divided Town in the American Civil War* (New York, 2006), 124-26.

⁵ For more information on the battles at Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and the surrounding areas see, Robert Sparks Walker, *Lookout: The Story of a Mountain* (Kingsport, 1941), 73-125; Peter Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes: The Battles of Chattanooga* (Urbana, IL, 1994); Steven Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee: The Chickamauga and Chattanooga Campaigns* (Lincoln, NE, 1998), 180-217.

⁶ Paul H. Bergeron, Stephen V. Ash, and Jeanette Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History* (Knoxville, 1999); Tom Lee, *The Tennessee-Virginia Tri-Cities: Urbanization in Appalachia, 1900-1950* (Knoxville, 2005), 143-47; Noel Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerrilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill, 1997), 122-35; For an overview of the conflict at Fort Sanders see Digby Gordon Seymour, *Divided Loyalties: Fort Sanders and the Civil War in East Tennessee*, 3rd ed. (Knoxville, 2002), 166-169; McKenzie, *Lincolmites and Rebels*, 166-71.

e, and the Emergence
the Anatomy of the
ary W. Gallagher
ace and Reunion: The
he Romance of Reunion:
eff, Honoring the Civil
tle Flag: America's Most
lack and White: Race,
33).

Jr. stated that
f the region where Polk,
or the separation of
support to secession
ng the East Tennessee
y. Charles F. Bryan Jr.,
nic Study (Ph.D. diss.,



Reunions of Civil War soldiers resulted in monument building, tourism, and sometimes differing interpretations of the past. In 1890, a reunion of Civil War veterans was held in Knoxville to commemorate the Battle of Fort Sanders. "Battle of Fort Sanders, 1863-1890" [postcard] (Knoxville: S.B. Newman and Company, 1890).

of Champ Ferguson illustrated the complexities of guerrilla warfare in Appalachia. The atmosphere created by guerrilla warfare in the region fostered paranoia as citizens realized that "no position guaranteed safety and security."⁷

Instances of guerrilla fighting and the armies' constant struggle to control the area left East Tennesseans in a concentrated state of divisiveness. For this reason, no one could simplify the loyalties of East Tennesseans as strictly Union or Confederate. After the war, various groups and individuals sought to display a solidified image of the region in the late nineteenth century, and they often erected monuments to help bolster their view. Initially, white businessmen who moved to the area after the war created the majority of memorials. These men sought to take advantage of the region's natural resources and opportunities for industrial growth. They recognized that a Unionist image could help them achieve their goals by attracting both federal funding and private northern capital to the region.⁸ Therefore, they built monuments that depicted the region as strictly Unionist within a Confederate state.

⁷ Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 69-95, 118; Brian McKnight *Champ Ferguson and the Civil War in Appalachia* (Baton Rouge, 2011), 9.

⁸ Tom Lee, "The Lost Cause that Wasn't: East Tennessee and the Myth of Unionist Appalachia," in *Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath*, ed. Andrew L. Slap (Lexington, 2010), 307.

Monu
the region's
were underg
1870 and 1
and Chattra
percent.⁹ T
region from
to promote
twentieth c
industrial b

One o
support fo
occurred in
supported
a memoria
National C
group of C
Tennessee
captured th
and excha
The other
forces.¹¹ A
Lookout P
of the mer
emphasize
the war an

The i
in 1866,
executed
Chattano
entrance c

⁹ U. S. Ce
Census t
prod/wv

¹⁰ The Gra
the Unit
veterans
GAR pa
reunion
of the G
in Politic
Content
Gannon
(Chapel

¹¹ "In Bro
General,



ling, tourism, and sometimes differing
War veterans was held in Knoxville to
ders, 1863-1890" [postcard] (Knoxville:
, 1890).

ities of guerrilla warfare in
rilla warfare in the region
osition guaranteed safety and
armies' constant struggle to
entrated state of divisiveness.
alties of East Tennesseans as
rious groups and individuals
gion in the late nineteenth
to help bolster their view.
area after the war created the
ke advantage of the region's
ial growth. They recognized
ve their goals by attracting
al to the region.⁸ Therefore,
as strictly Unionist within a

Champ Ferguson and the Civil War

and the Myth of Unionist
s Aftermath, ed. Andrew L. Slap

Monument builders placed most of the first Civil War memorials in the region's two largest cities, Knoxville and Chattanooga, both of which were undergoing major changes during the late nineteenth century. Between 1870 and 1900, Knoxville's population grew almost two-hundred percent and Chattanooga's growth exceeded even that, growing over three-hundred percent.⁹ These areas represented hubs for industrial development in the region from outside groups and were ideal for businessmen and politicians to promote their views. From the end of the war to the first decade of the twentieth century, Unionist memorials built in East Tennessee exemplified industrial boosterism in the region.

One of the first attempts to use the memorialization of East Tennessee's support for the Union to promote the region's economic development occurred in Chattanooga in 1891. At this time, an organization of Ohioans supported by a local Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) camp dedicated a memorial to a group of Union soldiers and civilians in the Chattanooga National Cemetery.¹⁰ They dedicated the monument to Andrews Raiders, a group of Ohioans who attempted to burn bridges along the railroad in East Tennessee in April 1862. When their mission failed, Confederate forces captured the twenty-two men. They executed eight of the raiders in Atlanta and exchanged six for their own captured soldiers in Richmond, Virginia. The other eight escaped from the prison in Atlanta and rejoined the Union forces.¹¹ Although these soldiers came from outside of the state, men of the Lookout Post No. 2 and Mission Ridge Post No. 45 celebrated the placement of the memorial in one of their federal cemeteries. By doing this, these locals emphasized the importance of East Tennessee to the Union cause during the war and displayed their support for railroad innovation in the region.

The initial steps that eventually led to the monument project began in 1866, when the Ohio legislature passed a resolution to have the executed raiders' remains moved to the Chattanooga National Cemetery. Chattanooga placed graves to seven raiders in a semicircle near the entrance of the memorial park, but the location of Andrews' body remained

⁹ U. S. Census, "Population—Tennessee, Population of Principal Cities from Earliest Census to 1930," under "Census of Population and Housing," <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1930.html>.

¹⁰ The Grand Army of the Republic was the first large-scale veterans' organization in the United States. The association began in Decatur, Illinois when a group of Union veterans formed the first local post. During the late nineteenth century, members of the GAR participated in various charitable events and generally arranged Union veterans' reunions. Despite the initial success of the organization, however, the political influence of the GAR was waning by 1900. For more information see, Mary R. Dearing, *Veterans in Politics: The Story of the G.A.R.* (Baton Rouge, 1952); Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, 1992); Barbara Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill, 2011).

¹¹ "In Bronze and Stone," *Chattanooga Daily Times*, 31 May 1891; Bonds, *Stealing the General*, 311-15.