August 4, 1952

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by James W. Ballamy entitled "The Political Career of Landon Carter Haynes." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.

Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Dean of the Graduate School

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF LANDON CARTER HAYNES

A THESIS

Submitted to
The Graduate Council
of
The University of Tennessee
in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

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by

James W. Bellamy

August 1952

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INTRODUCTION

Since history is made up of the lives of many great men, it seems proper to add another page to the history of the State of Tennessee by presenting a brief biography of Colonel Landon Carter Haynes. A biography of Landon C. Haynes has been needed since the War Between the States because his belief in states' rights doctrine of government helped to lead the Volunteer State out of the Union and into the Confederate States of America.

The main body of the text will center primarily on the political career of Landon C. Haynes, who was an astute politician. In the Democratic Party Haynes served as presidential elector in several elections. He represented his legislative district in both houses of the General Assembly. He canvassed the First Congressional District twice, opposing Andrew Johnson and Thomas A. R. Nelson, trying to gain a seat in the United States Congress. During the war, he was one of Tennessee's representatives in the Confederate Senate.

This presentation of Haynes will also deal briefly with his ancestors, early professions, and fame as an orator. His ancestral lineage will be mentioned because his family was connected with several prominent Tennesseans of the nineteenth century. A summary of his early professions will aid in the comprehension of his political activities; and his reputation as an eloquent orator deserves comment as it surpassed his political achievements.

I am deeply indebted to Doctor Stanley J. Folmsbee of the University of Tennessee, who suggested this topic for a master's thesis, guided my research, and made valuable suggestions of a rhetorical nature. I also wish to extend my thanks to my readers, Doctor Leroy P. Graf and Doctor Ralph W. Haskins.

J. W. B.

CHAPTER I

THE WATAUGAN

The greatness of a nation cannot transcend the states that constitute it. The magnitude of a state cannot surpass the eminence of its citizens. Throughout the history of the United States, the State of Tennessee has contributed distinguished men to the public life of our nation. During the War Between the States, Landon Carter Haynes was brought into the national spotlight because of his service as senator in the Congress of the Confederate States of America.

Landon C. Haynes was born on December 2, 1816, on the banks of the Watauga River, four miles from Elizabethton, Tennessee, in the Buffalo community of Carter County. The ancestors of Haynes first appeared in the Watauga section of Upper East Tennessee at the close of the Revolutionary War. His paternal grandfather, George Haynes, was born in 1757 in Westmoreland County in eastern Virginia. George Haynes was of German descent and his family name was originally spelled "Heine." The spelling of his surname varied after his family migrated to America. Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina was from the same family. George Haynes was a farmer who became a soldier during the Revolution and served with General George Washington's army. After the closing battles of that war in the Carolinas, George Haynes started on foot across the mountains to his home in Winchester, Virginia. His homeward journey was interrupted in the Tennessee territory when he stopped for a drink of water at a spring. At this spring he fortuitously met a beautiful young maiden. He remained in that immediate

region and married his young love, Margaret McInturff, the daughter of Christopher McInturff of Carter County, Tennessee.[1]

Twelve children were born to George and Margaret Haynes. David Haynes, who was born in 1790, became a very successful businessman through his land speculations and was one of the largest landowners in Washington and Carter counties. He obtained many of the old established farms, such as the John Tipton farm, one of the landmarks of the Revolutionary period. David was married twice. First, in 1811, he married Lavinia Williams; later, after his first wife's death, he married Rhoda Taylor, the daughter of a Virginian of Irish descent, Matthew Taylor. Rhoda was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, in 1796. While she was still a young girl, Rhoda came to Carter County to live with her uncle, General Nathaniel Taylor.[2]

David Haynes and Rhoda Taylor became the parents of twelve children, seven boys and five girls. The sons were: Landon, George, Matthew, David, James, Napoleon, and Nathaniel. The daughters were: Mary, Edna, Lavinia, Emeline, and Margaret.[3]

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[1]John Allison, ed., Notable Men of Tennessee, 2 vols. (Atlanta: Southern Historical Association, 1905), II, 326-327; David W. Carter, Notable Southern Families: Carter of Tennessee (Chattanooga: Lookout Publishing Company, 1927), 27; William S. Speer, Sketches of Prominent Tennesseans (Nashville: Albert B. Tavel, 1888), 212-213.

[2]David Haynes' brothers and sisters were James, John, George, William, Joseph, Jonathan, Christopher, Aaron, Mary, Sallie, and Mag. Speer, op. cit., 212-213, 564-565; Robert T. Nave, Elizabethton, Tennessee, to the writer, July 17, 1951.

[3]Speer, op. cit., 213.

Landon's life activities were intimately associated with the lives of several of his brothers and sisters. While Landon was the editor of the Tennessee Sentinel, Mary Haynes married the owner of that newspaper, Lawson Gifford. After their marriage, David Haynes gave them the farm adjoining Landon's home near Johnson City.[4]

Two men who were licensed as Methodist ministers at the same Quarterly Conference with Landon later married two of his sisters. One of these men, Nathaniel Green Taylor, a Whig politician from Carter County, married Emeline Haynes. The other man, Alexander Nelson Harris, married Edna Haynes in 1845.[5]

Lavinia and Matthew Haynes settled in Sullivan County where they were instrumental in soliciting votes in that county for Landon during his political canvasses. Lavinia married George F. Gammon and they lived on a farm near Blountville, Tennessee.[6] Matthew Haynes, after marrying

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[4]Personal interview with Mr. Dave Simmerly, greatnephew of Landon C. Haynes, Tipton-Haynes home, Johnson City, Tennessee, May 31, 1951.

[5]Nathaniel Taylor and Emeline Haynes established their home on one of David's farms in "Happy Valley" near the present site of Milligan College. They became the parents of eight children, including Alfred and Robert Taylor, who engaged in "The War of the Roses" in the Volunteer State in 1886. In politics, Alfred sided with his father and became affiliated with the Republican Party. Robert's admiration for his uncle, Landon C. Haynes, caused him to become connected with the Democrats. Alexander Harris and Edna Haynes moved to one of David's farms in the Cherokee community near Johnson City, Tennessee. Interview with Mr. Simmerly; Richard N. Price, Holston Methodism: From Its Origin to the Present Time, 5 vols. (Nashville: Methodist Episcopal Church Publishing House, 1913), IV, 30-33.

[6]George and Lavinia Gammon reared fifteen children. One of their sons, Landon Haynes Gammon, named for his Uncle Landon, who was serving in the Confederate Congress at the time of his birth, became an outstanding doctor in Bristol, Virginia-Tennessee. William T. Hale and Dixon L. Merritt, A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans, 8 vols. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1913), VI, 1622.

Margaret Dulaney, a daughter of Doctor Dulaney who was one of the pioneer physicians of Sullivan County, practiced law at Blountville during the 1850s and 1860s. Matthew possessed strong determination that was a typical trait of his ancestors. In one of a series of letters to the Trigg and Temple law firm of Knoxville, regarding the collection of $669.45 from twelve citizens of Carter County, he wrote: "More than this, Carter County is the hardest place to get money from in the world. I still hope I may be able to make them all, and if the like can be done, I believe I can do it."[7]

Landon Carter Haynes was named in honor of General Landon Carter, the same man for whom Carter County was named. General Landon Carter, the son of Colonel John Carter, who was the chairman of the Watauga Court, was the secretary of the constitutional convention that met on August 23, 1783, at Jonesboro, to organize the government for the state of Franklin. John Sevier was the president of that convention. The next year, Landon Carter served as the speaker of the senate when the first legislative assembly convened at Greeneville.[8]

Haynes' initials, L. C., became very appropriate for slandering nicknames applied by his political enemies. For instance, "Parson" William G. Brownlow, a personal and political opponent of Haynes, referred to him as "Liar Culprit (Landon Carter) Haynes" in his Jonesboro Whig on January 1, 1845. On another occasion, a critic referred to him as "Landon

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[7]Matthew Haynes to Trigg and Temple, January 2, 1858, and January 14, 1859, O. P. Temple Papers (University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville).

[8]Samuel C. Williams, History of the Lost State of Franklin (Johnson City: The Watauga Press, 1924), 55.

Corn Haynes" in the Knoxville Whig on February 22, 1865.[9]

Landon began his life under favorable conditions. His father, David Haynes, was considered a capable leader in economic, political, and religious affairs in his neighborhood. The high economic status of David Haynes was reached through his land speculations. In this successful business, he was able to earn a healthy income and acquire large farms. He not only provided his family with the necessities of life, but also gave each of his children a good education and a well-established farm. In 1840 Landon received the John Tipton farm. He remodeled the old log house that had been erected in 1784 by weather-boarding the exterior and adding another room. One and one-half miles west of his farm was a small village which later became the largest and most enterprising town in Washington County. With the completion of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, this town grew rapidly and was known as Johnson's Depot. During the War Between the States, Johnson's Depot was called "Haynesville" in honor of Landon C. Haynes, who was serving in the Confederate Congress. After the war it resumed its old name and in 1869 it was incorporated as Johnson City. In 1865 Haynes sold his farm to his brother-in-law, Lawson Gifford, who owned the adjoining farm. Gifford's daughter, Mrs. Samuel Simmerly, inherited it. She left it to her son, Mr. Dave Simmerly, who is now (1952) living in the house and cultivating the farm. This estate has been in the Haynes family for more than one hundred years. Recently, the Tennessee Historical

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[9]Whig (Microfilm, McClung Room, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville). This newspaper was published at Elizabethton from 1838 until April, 1840. It was published at Jonesboro from May, 1840, until April, 1849, and at Knoxville from May, 1849, until 1861, when its Unionist editor, "Parson" Brownlow, suspended publication and fled from the city, fearing arrest by Confederate authorities.

Commission bought the entire estate including the house, farm, Landon's law office, which is standing in the front yard, and the spring. Mr. Simmerly will continue to live there until his death, after which the



The Tipton-Haynes Home

Commission plans to preserve all the property as a memorial in honor of John Tipton and Landon C. Haynes. The Tipton-Haynes home is located approximately one and one-half miles east of Johnson City, Tennessee, on United States Highway 23, and it is one of the most historic sites in the state. It has been a landmark in American history since 1673, when the first-known English speaking men to enter the Tennessee territory, James Needham and Gabriel Arthur, traveled across it on a visit with the Indians. No doubt, they drank from the spring. Daniel Boone, a "long hunter," probably traversed this land about one hundred years later because a few miles from this site stood until three decades ago the tree with the famous

inscription revealing the fact that Boone killed a bear there in 1760. Since 1783 the families of Tipton and Haynes have owned this land, and John Tipton and his wife are buried there.[10]

The political life of David Haynes did not extend beyond his home community, but he frequently rendered services to his local government and its citizens. He served regularly on juries. On several occasions he was appointed executor of property. At times he served as bondsman, and at one time he entered into a surety contract for ten thousand dollars. When the public road from Iron Mountain to Elizabethton was built, David was the overseer and the men who lived on his farms were the laborers.[11]

From studying his life and the lives of his children, it appears that David Haynes was a God-fearing man and maintained a Christian home. He taught his children the dignity of honest work, right from wrong, and their duties toward God and man. The atmosphere of such a home provided a wholesome environment that is necessary for a fuller life; it molded their characters and guided their future lives.[12]

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[10]Interview with Mr. Simmerly; Samuel C. Williams, Dawn of the Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History (Johnson City: The Watauga Press, 1937), 57.

[11]The laborers were Nathan Peoples, Ephraim Buck, John McInturff, Christopher Price, William Peoples, and Israel McInturff. United States Work Projects Administration, Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions of Carter County 1821-1826 (Nashville: Transcription of the County Archives of Tennessee, 1941), III, 37 et passim.

[12]This conclusion is based on the facts that Mary and Emeline Haynes married ministers; Landon was a licensed minister, he was educated in a church school, and in his speeches and letters God is often mentioned.

Buffalo community was an ideal location for the childhood days of Landon, who enjoyed living and playing in the open air. The land along the banks of the Watauga River and Buffalo Creek was fertile and beautiful. From this valley, the great Unaka, Roan, and Smoky Mountains could be seen in the distance. These mountains are among the highest in the eastern part of the United States, and their foliage of pine, cedar, hemlock, and laurel interwoven amidst the timber adds beauty to their greatness. This environment furnished him with excellent illustrations and flowery phrases for his future speeches and orations. He loved this "beautiful land of the mountains, with thy sun-painted cliffs" and he never forgot them.[13]

Landon, as well as his brothers and sisters, began his formal education at Anderson School, located at the head of Buffalo Creek in Carter County, Tennessee. The school was probably situated on the Anderson farm because it was customary in those days to name the school in honor of the person who furnished the land for the building. The children of Isaac H. Anderson, George Swaner, Nathaniel G. Taylor, William Keen, Isaac Buck, George Bowman, Jackson People, and David Haynes attended this school. The school on this site is now known as Cave Spring.[14]

Landon took his education seriously and was a very brilliant student. He particularly enjoyed the Friday afternoon sessions when the

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[13]The Reverend Mr. James L. Mullins' Scrapbook (at his home in LaFollette, Tennessee).

[14]Frank Merritt, Early History of Carter County: 1760-1861 (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1950), 199.

schoolmaster conducted the weekly recitation. Here, Landon first experienced the thrill of standing before an audience and delivering a speech. As a boy, he did not limit his public speaking to the classroom but he practiced on anyone who would listen to his boyish addresses.[15]

When Landon was about twenty years old, he enrolled at Washington College, the school that the Reverend Samuel Doak had founded in 1780. Doak received his first charter for his school in 1783 from the North Carolina legislature and named it Martin Academy in honor of Governor Martin of that state. In 1785 John Sevier and the legislature of the state of Franklin renewed his charter to encourage education west of the Alleghany Mountains. For years it was the only seat of education in the Tennessee country. In 1795 the Southwest Territorial legislature changed the name of the institution to Washington College in honor of President George Washington and rechartered the school.[16] About the time that Landon attended Washington College, the cost was approximately $40 per session; tuition was $10, board amounted to $30 including fuel and washing, and the library fee was 50 cents. There were two twenty-week sessions in a college year. The first session began six weeks after the last Friday in September. The beginning of the session was determined in this manner because the annual commencement exercises were held on the last Friday in September. The second session of twenty weeks followed the first

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[15] Mullins' Scrapbook.

[16] James G. M. Ramsey, The Annals of Tennessee (Reprinted, Kingsport: The Kingsport Press, 1926), 293-294 et passim.

session immediately. Also, there was a summer term of six weeks.[17] Landon, during his college days, distinguished himself as an able debater and refined rhetorician. He was graduated in 1838.[18]

After his graduation, Landon returned to Elizabethton. By this time, he was a mature man. He carried his slender, six-foot frame, and broad shoulders very erect. His impressive and commanding personality made him popular among his fellow citizens, and his physical appearance served as a true index to his mental capabilities.[19]

The next year after his graduation, Landon began reading law in the office of Thomas A. R. Nelson, who was serving as State's Attorney in the First Congressional District, the position he held from 1833 to 1844. During the spring of 1840, Nelson moved from Elizabethton to Jonesboro, Tennessee. This transfer by Nelson caused Haynes to become a future political son of Washington County instead of Carter County because he followed Nelson to Jonesboro and continued studying law, being

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[17]Howard E. Carr, Washington College (Knoxville: S. B. Newman Company, 1935), 209-210; Whig, September 29, 1841.

[18]James W. Doak, George W. Duffield, William J. Daniels, and James M. Cowman were graduated with Haynes in 1838. Carr, op. cit., 173-174. There is some contradiction regarding the date of Landon's graduation from college. Joshua W. Caldwell, Sketches of the Bench and Bar in Tennessee (Knoxville: Ogden Brothers and Company Printers, 1898), 330, states that he was educated at Washington College, East Tennessee, and graduated at the age of twenty, with first honors in his class. Caldwell implies that Landon graduated in 1836, but Carr and the records at Washington College indicate that Landon graduated in 1838, and that there were no graduates in 1836 or 1837.

[19]Mrs. Robert Bachman, "Colonel Landon C. Haynes," The Southern Magazine (Wytheville), III (1936), 26.

admitted to the bar in 1840.[20]

While studying law, Haynes divided his time between Elizabethton and Jonesboro. He was interested in a certain young lady in Elizabethton, Eleanor Powell,[21] whom he married during this time. In connection with his marriage, he wrote Thomas A. R. Nelson:[22]

Elizabethton March 12, 1839

Mr. Thos. A. R. Nelson, Sir:

I suppose you have some time since learned the path I am going to travel soon: and as it is necessary that a fellow should not be alone under such circumstances, I therefore must and respectfully, solicit your attendance at Dr. Powell's on the evening of the 26th., inst., and also down home with me on the day following.

You may think, hereafter that the difficulty which took place between you and Mr. J. Powell might produce some coldness on the part of Dr. Powell's family, but I assure you need anticipate no such thing. I therefore could be happy to see you there and at my father's. So soon as that matter shall have been done and I shall commence reading law with you again.

I am most respectfully yours, sir: Thos. A. R. Nelson, Esqr.

Landon C. Haynes

Eleanor Powell was the daughter of Robert W. Powell and the granddaughter of Doctor Joseph Powell. The Powells were originally from Sullivan County, but Doctor Powell, a very wealthy man, practiced medicine in Carter County shortly before his death in 1839. Robert W. Powell was very

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[20]Caldwell, op. cit., 282, 330; Whig, June 24, 1840.

[21]Interview with Mr. Simmerly.

[22]Nelson Papers (McClung Room, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville).

prominent in state politics until he moved to New Orleans, Louisiana, where he died about 1855.[23]

Landon C. Haynes and Eleanor Powell became the parents of several children, both boys and girls. William D. Haynes, Landon's first cousin and the future husband of Landon's sister Margaret, lived with Landon during the middle 1850s and tutored his (Landon's) sons for college entrance. One of Landon's sons, Robert W. Haynes, followed his father's footsteps. He became an attorney at Jackson, Tennessee, and was elected several times to the General Assembly from Madison County.[24]

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[23]Letter from Mr. Robert T. Wave. A search of the original bonds and licenses of Carter and Washington counties did not reveal the marriage license of Landon C. Haynes and Eleanor Powell. It is possible that they were licensed in Sullivan County. All records in that county were destroyed during the War Between the States when the Court House was burned.

[24]Speer, op. cit., 212-213. The 1850 Census Report (Microfilm, Lawson McGhee Library), for Carter and Washington counties did not include the names of Landon's children.

CHAPTER II

STEPPING-STONE PROFESSIONS

Landon C. Haynes' political ambitions were probably stimulated during his collegiate instruction at Washington College, but several years intervened between his graduation and his entrance into politics. During this interval period, Haynes advanced his political aspirations by occupying himself as an editor, minister, and lawyer. These three professions served as a springboard for his plunge into politics.

Haynes' first employment was in the field of journalism. Soon after he was admitted to the bar in 1840, he accepted the editorship of the Tennessee Sentinel at Jonesboro, Tennessee. This newspaper was established in 1835 to support Martin Van Buren in his presidential election the following year. The organizers of this newspaper were Thomas Anderson as editor and Lawson Gifford, Haynes' future brother-in-law, as publisher. At the time of Anderson's retirement in 1840, Gifford employed Haynes as editor. As the man behind the publication, Haynes successfully edited the Tennessee Sentinel for the next five or six years of its existence.[1]

The first Tennessee Sentinel under the editorial supervision of Haynes rolled off the press on Saturday, November 21, 1840. In this initial publication, Haynes' address to the people described the "tremendous task" that confronted him in his responsibilities of editing a local newspaper. He also elaborated on the governmental principles that the Federalist

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[1]Paul M. Fink, "The Early Press of Jonesboro," in East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications (Knoxville), No. 10 (1938), 65-67.

and Republican parties had supported in the presidential election of 1800. Haynes, in his second issue of this weekly periodical, according to Brownlow, published another editorial of "learned length and thundering sound" expounding the theory that the Whigs' stand on the Bank and Federalism had brought them victory in the recent presidential election of 1840. Haynes, although editing a Democratic newspaper, did not agree completely with all the policies adopted by the Democrats. Haynes favored a national bank although he was against the federal government's domination over the states. In his next issue, Haynes composed two long articles describing the abuses of the "Whigs" and "General Harrison." In practically all of his editorials, Haynes intermixed national issues with local news. On May 22, 1841, he wrote about the McLeod Affair. Alexander McLeod, a Canadian, was arrested in New York after boasting that he had killed an American citizen, Durfree, in the Caroline incident. Haynes explained that McLeod's trial was held in New York instead of Lockport because of the writ of habeas corpus. In his Christmas edition, Haynes attacked the Knoxville Post as an "evidensy /sic/ of ediory /sic/" and "all it wants, are an abundance of hard cider."[2] On several occasions the Tennessee Sentinel and the Whig, the other newspaper in Jonesboro, which was edited by "Parson" Brownlow, carried editorials on the same subjects. When these similar editorials appeared in both local newspapers, Brownlow always charged that Haynes stole the Whig's editorials and published them. Brownlow's charges do not seem logical since both of these newspapers received

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[2]Excerpts quoted by the Whig, March 22, 1843.

their news leads from a Virginia newspaper.[3]

The most notable feature of Haynes' career as an editor was his notorious feud with Brownlow. Their private war had already been fought with words and bullets before Haynes became the editor of the Tennessee Sentinel. The direct cause of their hostile contest has never been revealed, but their controversy began soon after Haynes had graduated from Washington College and returned to Elizabethton. Then he was spending approximately one half of his time in Elizabethton and the other half in Jonesboro where he was reading law in Thomas A. R. Nelson's law office. During this time, "Parson" Brownlow had finished his circuit-riding appointments in the Methodist Church and had located at Elizabethton where he started his Whig, a weekly newspaper. Soon after the return of Haynes and the entrance of Brownlow to Elizabethton, they realized that it was impossible for them to agree on any issue because of their conflicting opinions on politics and religion.[4]

The dissension between Haynes and Brownlow became so violent that Haynes tried to stay out of the pathway of his troublesome "friend." Brownlow could not endure being ignored by Haynes, so he resumed the controversy through his newspaper, which had approximately eleven hundred readers at that time. On February 27, 1840, Brownlow referred to Haynes as a "young puppy, because, he himself, the dishonest rascal, and unprincipled scoundrel, does not possess the nerve to assail me."

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[3]Ibid., July 13, 1842.

[4]Ellis Merton Coulter, William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highland (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 36-37.

When the Haynes-Brownlow altercation advanced to the stage of possible tragedy, David Haynes, who was a peace loving citizen, tried to arrange a compromise between his son and the "Parson." Brownlow refused an appeasement and responded to David's peaceful overtures by claiming that Landon was educated on David's swindlings. After David realized that a mutual agreement could not be accomplished between Landon and Brownlow, he blamed the controversy on the Powells. David did not like the Powells and he had objected to Landon's marriage to Eleanor. Since the Powells were opposed to Brownlow, David claimed that the "damned Powells" urged Landon on in the feud.[5]

The Haynes-Brownlow feud reached the stage of violence on March 2, 1840. That day Elizabethton was crowded with people because the Circuit Court was in session. Between eight and nine o'clock that evening "Parson" Brownlow was seated at a table writing by candle light in his home when two shots were fired past his head. One bullet lodged in the chimney and the other in the ceiling. The "Parson" ran to the door and fired at the attacker as he crossed the garden. His friend, James W. Nelson, joined the "Parson" in following the enemy and three times tried to fire at the attacker, but it was fruitless because he had lost the cap from his pistol. Brownlow stated that he had expected to be attacked but had not expected to be ambushed in his own home. Brownlow charged Haynes with this assault because all suspicion pointed to him. The friends of Brownlow and the friends of Haynes all suspected that Haynes was the guilty party. Brownlow

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[5]Excerpts quoted by the Whig, February 27, March 5, 26, 1840.

believed that Haynes was the brains behind the plot but that he did not actually pull the trigger.[6] Later, Haynes claimed that Brownlow had plotted the attempted assassination himself and staged it with the help of Brownlow's brother in order to damage Haynes' reputation.[7]

Soon after the Elizabethton shooting, "Parson" Brownlow moved his year-old newspaper from Elizabethton to Jonesboro where he could fight his competitor at a closer range. Brownlow and Haynes met on the streets of Jonesboro on May 14, 1840, and a bloody battle occurred. There are two aspects of that fight which are still a mystery: first, whether Haynes was armed at the beginning of the fight; and second, the actual procedure of the fight. According to one account, Brownlow was armed with a sword cane and pistol. Since he believed that Haynes was not armed and not wishing to take advantage of an unarmed gentleman, he hit Haynes over the head with his cane. Then he seized Haynes' neck with his left arm and pounded his head with his pistol butt. During the fight, Haynes got hold of a pistol and shot Brownlow through the upper part of his leg. By this time, the spectators, seeing the blood, stopped the fight. Brownlow's friends carried him to a nearby store and administered superfluous medical care while Haynes and his friends mounted their horses and rode

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[6] Ibid., February 8, 1843.

[7] Ibid., December 15, 1849. The Whig gives only Brownlow's account of the fight. Brownlow's remarks about Haynes must always be interpreted cautiously since they were lifetime enemies.

away.[8]

This bloody combat did not settle or terminate the feud between Haynes and Brownlow. They continued to be bitter enemies, personal and political, throughout their lives. Haynes continued to edit the Tennessee Sentinel until it was sold in 1846 to William H. Smith, who named it Old Hickory, And Hickory State Herald in honor of the recently deceased Andrew Jackson. Haynes was retained as editor, but by this time his attention had become distracted by his political career. Only two issues of this successor to the Sentinel are known to be still in existence. Brownlow spent ten years in Jonesboro with his Whig before moving it to Knoxville in 1849.[9]

While still serving as an editor, Landon C. Haynes also became temporarily but not successfully a Methodist minister. His ministerial inspiration was probably nourished during his school days at Washington College because that school was operated under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterians baptized infants. Haynes did not believe in infant baptism and he denounced this religious ritual. His denunciation did not arouse the stately Presbyterians, so Haynes used the old tactics

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[8]Ibid., February 8, 1843; Coulter, op. cit., 39. Another interpretation of the Haynes-Brownlow fight states: Brownlow and Haynes met on the streets of Jonesboro. The "Parson" stopped fifteen spaces in front of Haynes and asked him if he was armed. Haynes gave Brownlow a negative reply but held his left hand behind him. As Brownlow approached him, Haynes shot him. Verton M. Queener, "William G. Brownlow as an Editor," in East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, No. 4 (1932), 70, citing Whig, April 19, 1849 (a later Brownlow version of the fight).

[9]Fink, loc. cit., 67. One copy of this paper published in August 1847 is in the Library of Congress.

"if you can not whip them, join them." He joined the Presbyterian Church, but withdrew his membership after a year.[10]

In the summer of 1842 Haynes was converted to Methodism at Jonesboro during a Methodist Camp Meeting. His conversion, according to Brownlow, was a scene of gesticulation and emotionalism which was typical of the early Methodist Church. He knelt at the altar and prayed earnestly for ten or twelve minutes. Then he arose with a tear-stained face, shouting praises to the Lord for His saving "grace," his sobbing being interrupted occasionally with the blowing of his long nose.[11]

A short time after his conversion, three men who afterwards became brothers-in-law and achieved reputations as great speakers of oratorical ability were licensed Methodist ministers at the same Quarterly Conference which was held at a little schoolhouse northwest of Jonesboro. These men were Landon C. Haynes, Alexander M. Harris, and Nathaniel G. Taylor.[12] Between the time of his conversion and licensing Haynes met the necessary requirements by preaching his trial sermon at Brush Creek Camp Ground, by obtaining and organizing the membership of a church, and by securing the recommendation of the circuit preachers who were the members of the Quarterly Conference. At the Quarterly Conference Haynes was given a test on the doctrines and the discipline of the Methodist Church by the Confer-

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[10] *Whig*, January 25, 1843.

[11] *Ibid.*, January 1, 1843.

[12] Price, *op. cit.*, 32.

ence Examining Board. Brownlow claimed that Haynes disagreed with the Board regarding infant baptism during the examination. Haynes was still opposed to the baptising of babies, whereas the Methodist Church practiced this form of baptism. A compromise was finally reached between Haynes and the Board by the agreement that his license would be revoked in one year if he did not see eye to eye with the church by that time.[13] Following his belligerent argument concerning baptism, Haynes established his confidence with the Board by stating that "he was not aware that he would be before the conference for license, or for an examination, till since he had arrived in town."[14]

On Sunday, December 4, 1842, Haynes attended the Quarterly Conference at Elizabethton. The Reverend Samuel Patton, the Presiding Elder, preached from the subject of "Baptism." Brother Patton discussed all methods and applications of that sacrament. According to Brownlow, at the close of the service Haynes "notified the congregation, that on Monday following, he would deliver an address in that place, setting forth his reasons why he had withdrawn from the Presbyterian Church, and joined the Methodists." Haynes' explanatory statement directly and distinctly stated that he "joined the Presbyterians under improper motives and acted as a hypocrite while among them."[15]

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[13]Excerpts quoted by the Whig, January 1, 25, 1843.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid., December 7, 1842, January 18, 1843.

Haynes' active ministry lasted less than six months because he placed his political party above his church. The break between his political engagements and church duties began during the latter part of December, 1842, when he attended church one Sunday in Jonesboro. After the service he and two other Methodist ministers, John M. Kelly and C. W. C. Harris, went home with a Doctor Cassen for dinner. The three ministers were left alone in the living room while the meal was being prepared. During the course of conversation, Reverend Harris asked Haynes why he did not put a stop to the Brownlow feud. According to Brownlow, Haynes immediately replied: "I did not want to commence or engage in this controversy but my party and friends here would give me no peace till I agreed to do it, they said I must do it: and as I have begun I will have to go through."[16]

Brother Kelly and Brother Harris circulated Haynes' statement regarding his position in the Brownlow controversy among the citizens of Jonesboro. The crisis was reached a few days later when Harris and Haynes met at the store of Gammon and Vance. When Haynes was asked about the statement it was claimed he had made to Harris at Doctor Cassen's home, he denied it. However, Harris convinced the crowd of approximately fifty spectators that Haynes was lying.[17]

Following the unpleasant incident at the Gammon and Vance Store, Haynes heard rumors that Harris intended to prefer charges of "falsehood" against him at the next Quarterly Conference. Haynes decided to beat

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[16]Ibid., January 25, 1843.

[17]Ibid., January 1, 1843.

Harris to the draw by preferring charges of "falsehood" against him at the same conference. This meeting was held the 28th and 29th of January, 1843, at the Bethesda Church, Jonesboro Circuit, Abingdon District, Holston Conference of the Methodist Church. Reverend Samuel Patton served as chairman and Reverend J. D. Gibson was chosen as secretary. At this meeting, according to Brownlow, Haynes denounced Harris as being "base, unmanly, uncharitable, ungentlemanly, and dishonorable." Since Harris was a veteran Methodist minister with thirty years of honorable service, the members of the conference questioned Haynes' allegation. Subsequently, the chairman called for a vote on the charge. On the first vote the count was twelve to twelve. One of the members asked for a recount because he believed the chairman had failed to count the vote of a member seated in the corner. On the second vote or recount, the score was fourteen to ten against Haynes. There were twelve members present at this meeting who had voted for Haynes when he received his license to preach. Of these twelve, four voted with him and eight voted against him at this time. Since Haynes' charge failed to gain a favorable reaction among the members of the conference, it was resolved that Haynes should stand trial for bringing false charges against Harris; and the "conference decided that Haynes could not exercise his function as a minister until his final trial."[18]

The final trial of Haynes and Harris was held on February 11, 1843, at the Ernest Church on the Jonesboro Circuit. Twenty-seven Methodist clergymen were present. Brother Patton again was the chairman and William

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[18]Ibid., May 10, 1843.

G. Brownlow was elected to serve as secretary. Brownlow stated that the trial opened with Haynes again charging Harris with falsehood. Harris consented that he was ready for the trial and entered the plea of "not guilty." The first witnesses to testify were Andrew J. Blair and John Drain. They swore that Haynes had called Harris a liar at Gammon and Vance Store. The next witness, John Greene, testified that he and Drain were on a hill watching the quarrel at the store but they were too far away to hear what was said. Then James H. Jones swore that Haynes attacked Harris on the pavement in front of the store. After all the witnesses had testified and all evidence had been discussed, the jury of clergymen returned the verdict of acquittal for Harris and silenced Haynes from preaching on the ground that he was guilty of falsehood and slander. As "Parson" Brownlow put it, "Haynes got hung /sic/ on the gallows he prepared for another."[19] The Ernest Quarterly Conference dealt with Haynes only as a minister and it did not turn him out of the church. He was still a member of the Methodist Church at Buffalo Camp Ground.

After the trial, Haynes spoke in Greene and Hawkins Counties defending himself from the action of the church. He maintained that the Bethesda Conference in January, 1843, was composed of "unholy Whigs" who were trying to break Methodism. Of the fourteen ministers who voted against him at Bethesda, twelve were Whigs and two were Democrats. All ten of the members who voted in his favor were Democrats. Haynes also claimed that the actual vote at Bethesda should have been twelve to eleven in his favor. He insisted that Jonathan G. Haynes' vote was illegal since he was assistant class

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[19] Ibid., February 15, 1843.

leader to John Robertson. Haynes declared that there was "no such office" as assistant class leader in the Methodist Church and therefore Jonathan Haynes could not vote legally. Jonathan's vote tied the first count at twelve and twelve and paved the way for the recount of fourteen to ten against Haynes.[20]

Haynes blamed Brownlow and his Whig as instrumental in the action that the church took toward him because of the slanderous remarks that Brownlow printed in his newspaper each week. In the Tennessee Sentinel of February 18, 1843, Haynes denounced Brownlow as "the greatest hypocrite that ever wore the sheep [sic] of our holy religion."[21]

In the autumn of 1857, while Haynes was temporarily in his political retirement, the Quarterly Conference of Elizabethton Circuit under the leadership of Bishop Paine re-licensed him as a Methodist minister without any solicitation on his part. Haynes was in Knoxville at the time attending to his legal practice, and his license was therefore presented to his wife. Haynes refused to accept the license on his return home and returned it to the Bishop.[22]

It appears that Landon C. Haynes was not always sincere as a minister of the gospel. He probably tried to use the ministry to advance his political ambitions; nevertheless, due to its dishonorable climax, it proved more detrimental than beneficial. His short term as a minister

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[20]Ibid., May 10, September 23, 1843.

[21]Ibid., March 22, 1843.

[22]From Jonesboro Union, June 6, 1859, and Knoxville Whig, July 5, 1859, in Nelson's Scrapbook (Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville).

added fuel to the fires built by his political competitors during all of his future political canvasses.

Attorney Landon C. Haynes began the practice of law at the age of twenty-three. For the duration of his life, he was a member of the Tennessee bar and qualified to act for plaintiffs and defendants in legal proceedings. However, he did not exercise the duties as an attorney-at-law consistently for his remaining thirty-five years. His practice of the legal profession was limited primarily to the decade preceding and the decade succeeding the War Between the States. Before the war, he practiced law throughout East Tennessee from Elizabethton to Knoxville. After the war his practice was limited chiefly to the vicinity of Memphis.

Haynes heard the call to the bar while in school. His fondness and affection for public affairs were inherited traits. His aspirations to follow a political career caused him to study law after college graduation, since a politician needed to be versed in law. Haynes studied the philosophy of law under the expert counseling of Thomas A. R. Nelson, with whom he read law for two years before being admitted to the bar.[23] Haynes also developed other essential qualifications of a lawyer. He was studious, industrious, determined, and he possessed a legal mind with the ability to see both sides of a case. An excellent lawyer must also be an oratorical speaker in order to persuade juries. This primary qualification did not disturb Haynes because he had already established his

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[23]John T. Moore and Austin P. Foster, eds., Tennessee: The Volunteer State 1769-1923, 4 vols. (Nashville: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1923), II, 147.

reputation as an orator before he launched his successful legal career.

During the ante-bellum period Haynes was truly an East Tennessee attorney. He practiced law before the courts in the counties of Washington, Carter, Sullivan, Knox, Greene, and Hawkins. His first law office and legal headquarters were located at "Green Meadow," near Johnson City. After his father had given him the old Tipton farm, Landon erected another building approximately the size of a smokehouse in the front yard beside the house which he used as his office. Since Haynes' law office was situated at his home, he is honored as being the first lawyer of Johnson City. He was probably not the first attorney to practice in Johnson City, but he was the first lawyer to establish residence there.[24]



Haynes' First Law Office

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[24]Interview with Mr. Simmerly.

Haynes argued his first law case before the courts at Jonesboro. This case might be called the "Case of the Stolen Ham." A prominent citizen of Jonesboro had a ham stolen from his smokehouse. All the evidence and suspicion pointed to a certain individual of that community, and the consensus was that he was the guilty person. Subsequently, the man from whom the ham had been stolen commenced a personal suit to collect the value of the ham. The defendant employed Haynes as his lawyer. The lawsuit began as a routine litigation and nearly everyone expected the defendant to be proven guilty. After all the witnesses had testified, Haynes addressed the jury. He pointed out the fact that there was not an eyewitness to the crime; therefore, all the evidence presented by the plaintiff's lawyer was merely circumstantial evidence. Then, through his oratorical ability, he convinced the jury that the circumstantial evidence in this case was not sufficient to convict the defendant, and the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal. Soon after the trial the defendant moved from Jonesboro to a farm in the Nolichucky River Valley, and he did not hesitate to recommend and praise Haynes as an able and brilliant lawyer to everyone in his new neighborhood. So Haynes not only won his first law case, but he also established himself as a talented attorney in the vicinity of Jonesboro.[25]

On another occasion Haynes used the same procedure which he employed in the "Case of the Stolen Ham" while presenting a case before the criminal

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[25]Interview with Mr. James K. Deakins, Jonesboro, Tennessee, on May 31, 1951.

courts of Carter County at Elizabethton. Haynes was engaged as the lawyer for a man from the Buffalo community who was accused of murdering a fellow workman. He was able to clear the defendant because no eyewitness saw him commit the murder.[26]

As a practitioner of law Haynes received the most satisfaction in pleading cases before juries; nevertheless, he performed all types of legal transactions. On February 10, 1857, he received a five-dollar fee for handling the petition for the sale of William Crouch's land. In the case of Irvin vs. Baker, April 12, 1857, which involved a twelve-dollar debt, Haynes was paid seventy-five cents for acting as William Baker's legal agent.[27]

On the eve of the War Between the States Haynes taught at least two prominent Tennesseans the philosophy of law. Captain William D. Haynes, a cousin, read law under Landon from 1856 until 1858 at "Green Meadow." William H. Watterson of Hawkins County read law under Landon at Knoxville for two years after he was graduated from Emory and Henry College in 1859. Haynes may have taught both of these students more than law because they became members of the Confederate Army during the war and later became affiliated with the Democratic Party. In 1865 Watterson returned to Rogersville where he practiced law and served as clerk and

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[26]Interview with Mr. Simmerly.

[27]United States Work Projects Administration, Records of Washington County, Settlements of Estates 1840-1861 (Nashville: Transcription of the County Archives of Tennessee, 1941), Book O, 177-182.

master of the Chancery Court of Hawkins County. Captain William D. Haynes served as chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee in the First Congressional District from 1876 until 1882.[28]

With the coming of the war Haynes abandoned his legal practice to accept the election as senator in the Confederate Congress. His services with the Confederate States of America ended his life in East Tennessee. In 1865 Haynes and several distinguished East Tennessee lawyers, including W. Y. C. Humes, C. W. Heiskell, Joseph B. Heiskell, and William G. Swan, moved to Memphis because the Union soldiers returning from the war were mistreating the sympathizers of the South.[29]

Haynes never returned to East Tennessee. He spent the last ten years of his life practicing law in West Tennessee. On February 17, 1875, he died in Memphis and was buried there in the Elmwood Cemetery.

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[28]Speer, op. cit., 212-213; Goodspeed, History of Tennessee: East Tennessee Edition (Nashville: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1887), 1237-1238.

[29]Mary U. Rothrock, ed., The French Broad-Holston Country: A History of Knox County, Tennessee (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1946), 145.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL CAREER

Landon Carter Haynes received his first real taste of politics in the presidential campaign of 1844 as a Polk elector. He spent the rest of his life trying to satisfy his political hunger.

In the spring of 1844, while Haynes was serving as editor of the Tennessee Sentinel, he became professionally involved in the political battle between the Whigs and Democrats prior to the presidential election of that year. In the vicinity of Jonesboro, both Democrats and Whigs became dissatisfied with "Parson" Brownlow because his newspaper contained too many slanderous articles concerning state and national politicians. Some of the citizens even threatened to haul Brownlow's newspaper across the Virginia state line. On the other hand, the Whigs tolerated Haynes' newspaper because they believed that "he would abide by the decision" of the people and operate his newspaper as the voice of the citizens.[1]

The National Democratic Convention of that year nominated James K. Polk of Tennessee for President of the United States. The Whigs nominated Henry Clay of Kentucky. Both parties realized that the contest would be animated and a major political battleground would probably be in Tennessee. Throughout the state, able statesmen and brilliant orators of both parties conducted a campaign of stump speaking, repeating the uproar and tumult of the stormy canvass of 1840. During the summer of 1844 Haynes personally

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[1]Brownlow to Nelson, May 29, 1844, Nelson Papers.

entered the field of politics for the first time. He launched his initial campaign on behalf of the Democratic nominee, James K. Polk. Haynes' colleagues were A. O. P. Nicholson, Cave Johnson, and Aaron V. Brown. The Whigs' stumpers were Thomas A. R. Nelson, Neill S. Brown, and William T. Haskell. The major issue of the canvass was the annexation of Texas. The Democrats advocated annexation and the Whigs opposed it; however, the latter modified their original position during the campaign.[2]

Haynes was the Polk elector in the First District opposing his former law instructor, T. A. R. Nelson. Haynes and Nelson canvassed this district in joint debate. They traveled over the district speaking from the same platform. On April 24, 1844, Haynes published the following speaking appointments:[3]

A. Kyle's Hawkins County		Friday	April 19
Widow Tucker's Hawkins County		Saturday	" 20
Mooreburg	" "	Monday	" 22
Peter Smith	" "	Wednesday	" 24
McPheter's Bend	" "	Friday	" 26
Francisco's	" "	Saturday	" 27
William's Mill Greene	"	Thursday	May 30
Thos. Jackson	" "	Saturday	June 1
McCang's	" "	Saturday	" 8

Due to a throat illness, Nelson was not physically able to speak as frequently as the above list required. He sent Haynes a compromise schedule which was accepted. Haynes and Nelson fulfilled Nelson's schedule and spoke at Rogersville on the fourth Monday in May, at Greeneville

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[2]Philip M. Hamer, Tennessee: A History 1673-1932, 4 vols. (New York: American Historical Society, 1933), I, 308.

[3]Whig, April 24, 1844.

on the second Monday in June, at Jonesboro on the fourth Monday in June, at Elizabethton on the first Monday in July, at Taylorsville (Mountain City) on the second Monday in July, and at Blountville on the third Monday in July. After Nelson regained his health, they spoke thirty-two times during the months of July, August, September, and October in the counties of Washington, Sullivan, Hawkins, Carter, and Johnson.[4]

On the fourth Monday in June, the 24th, when Haynes and Nelson spoke at Jonesboro, Haynes stated that General Jackson and the annexation of Texas were his choices. He also charged the Whigs with "Federalism." He used the word "latitudinarious," which Brownlow claimed was not in the English language, twenty-five times in connection with the principles of the Whig Party. Nelson declared that the United States must obtain the consent of Mexico before annexing Texas.[5]

On another occasion Nelson read the letter of Haynes which had been published in the Elizabethton Republican in August, 1838, against John P. Chester and asked Haynes to explain it. The letter contained the following paragraph:[6]

> And we think that if the public mind were convinced of the abuses aforesaid with those of similar complexion, we should soon see those menial instruments, VANBUREN POST MASTERS striped [sic] of their imputed integrity and qualifications through the all-sufficient death and political suffering of Andrew Jackson by Mr. Van Buren! But we awfully fear that we shall never be rid of those corruptions and abuses until, Van Buren

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[4]Ibid., July 3, 1844.

[5]Ibid., June 26, 1844. Haynes endorsed Jackson's principles of government.

[6]Ibid., July 3, 1844.

the "great high priest" of the party, shall have been shorne of his hair by publick opinion IF HE HAVE ANY and those pains and penalties shall have been inflicted upon his BLACK HEART which, his sinster [sic] invasions and impious encroachments upon the rights of the people demand. And HENRY CLAY is the only man to whom we can look for political relief.

If it be in your power to ascertain the cause of our disappointment and remove the same you could do us great pleasure and as ever, I remain very respectfully, your obedient servant,

London C. Haynes
Col. Gott
Mr. Long

In Haynes' reply, he cautioned the crowd to keep in mind that the extract of the letter mentioned by Nelson had been published by "Parson" Brownlow. Haynes admitted, however, that he had written the letter but explained that it was while he was a school boy. Since then he had reached manhood and better understood the situation.[7]

In November the Whigs carried Tennessee by 113 votes but Polk was elected President. This was the first time that a candidate was elected President without carrying his own state. In the First Congressional District, including the counties of Washington, Carter, Johnson, Sullivan, Greene, Hawkins, and Cocke, Polk received 5,113 votes to 4,329 votes for Clay.[8]

The next year Haynes considered the possibility of opposing Andrew Johnson, who was seeking re-election to the House of Representatives in

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[7]This letter that Haynes wrote in 1838 praising Henry Clay is probably the basis of O. P. Temple's statement that Haynes started out in politics as a Whig. Oliver P. Temple, Notable Men of Tennessee from 1833 to 1875: Their Times and Their Contemporaries (New York: The Cosmopolitan Press, 1912), 273.

[8]Whig, November 13, 1844.

the United States Congress from the First District. His friends urged him to enter the race, and public opinion voiced the expectation that Haynes would declare himself a candidate.[9] However, he postponed his congressional canvass. His refusal to enter the race was probably due to the fact that Johnson was a veteran Democratic leader in the First District while he was only an amateur in the political game without any legislative experience.

In 1845, after refusing to participate in the congressional canvass, Haynes announced his candidacy for the Tennessee General Assembly and he was elected to the house of representatives. In this session, the twenty-sixth, he represented the counties of Washington, Hawkins, and Greene. The first action in the house, when it convened on October 6, 1845, was the election of the speaker. Haynes voted for Brookins Campbell from Washington County who defeated Emerson Etheridge.[10]

In the assignment of the members of the house to the various standing committees, Haynes was appointed to the committees on the Penitentiary and on Federal Relations. During the course of legislative proceedings, Haynes also served on two joint select committees which were composed of three representatives and three senators. One of these joint select committees dealt with appropriation bills. The other examined all reports,

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[9]Temple, op. cit., 229.

[10]Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Tennessee, 1845-46 (Nashville: 1846), 5. Cited hereafter as House Journal.

petitions, and memorials relating to the deaf, dumb, and blind.[11] Haynes supported the bill incorporating the school for the deaf at Knoxville and providing financial aid to the school for the blind at Nashville which was introduced by this committee.[12] This bill was passed by both houses.

Haynes' participation in the twenty-sixth General Assembly was centered chiefly on matters that concerned his constituents. He presented to the legislature several petitions from the citizens of Washington County "praying" for alterations in the laws pertaining to the deaf and dumb, tippling houses, and improving local roads.[13]

Haynes was deeply interested in the finances of the state. Before the legislators began their work on tax bills, he proposed a resolution requesting that the Comptroller of the Treasury, Felix K. Zollicoffer, furnish the house, as soon as possible, with an estimate of revenue derivable from all sources under the existing laws for the next two years, as of October 1, 1845. The resolution also proposed that the estimate should include the probable disbursements out of the Treasury for the same period. This resolution was adopted.[14] Haynes supported the bill "to tax and regulate tippling, and tippling houses, to increase the revenue, and restore the rights of the people." The tippling house, a tavern or inn where a customer could "tip" his bottle and drink its contents after making his purchase, was legalized by the 1831 General Assembly. In 1838 the legislature had repealed the act of 1831 and passed the "quart law," which

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[11] Ibid., 39, 46, 614.

[12] Ibid., 571.

[13] Ibid., 57, 167, 210.

[14] Ibid., 217.

prohibited the selling of less than a quart and drinking on the premises. The 1845-46 legislature repealed the "quart law" and re-established the licensing system for legalized tippling houses. The act of 1846 regulated the sale of liquor in Tennessee until the War Between the States, except for a two-year period during the 1850s.[15]

Haynes wanted the three divisions of Tennessee to be put on equal footing financially in order to decrease the antagonism among the people. He introduced an amendment to the banking bill asking the president and directors of the Bank of Tennessee to locate three branches of that bank in the three grand divisions of the state. The branch banks were to be located in the places where banks were then operating and the bank which had made the largest net profit in each grand division would be selected as the branch bank. However, this amendment was tabled by the house.[16]

While the educational bill to charter Jackson College in West Tennessee and to endow it with $40,000 of land funds received from the United States was being discussed, Haynes added an amendment to that bill providing for the payment of $40,000 each to Washington and Tusculum colleges in East Tennessee to be obtained from the sale of the state's public

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[15]Ibid., 355; Hamer, op. cit., I, 344 et passim. While Haynes was serving in the next session, the twenty-seventh, in the senate, he introduced a bill to repeal the law of the 1846 legislature to legalize tippling houses in order to increase the revenue of the state. It passed the senate by a vote of fifteen to eight, but it did not receive the approval of the house. Journal of the Senate of the State of Tennessee, 1847-48 (Nashville: 1848), 323. Cited hereafter as Senate Journal.

[16]House Journal, 1845-46, p. 372. In the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Haynes introduced a similar bill to the senators and it met the same fate. Senate Journal, 1847-48, 439, 446, 585.

lands. This amendment was accepted by the house[17] but it was not brought before the senate.

The house tried to cut state expenditures by reducing the salaries of state officials. Haynes proposed that this salary reduction be referred to the Committee on Finance for further study, which was approved by the house.[18]

This session of the legislature was faced with the responsibility of electing two governmental officials, one state and one national. In a joint session of both houses, Haynes voted for Robert B. Turner, who was elected for a two-year term as Treasurer of the state. In the United States senatorial election in joint session, Haynes voted for James T. Dunlap, but Hopkins L. Turney was elected. Turney was instructed by the legislators, with Haynes voting "yea," to vote for the admission of Texas into the Union.[19]

The General Assembly adjourned on February 2, 1846. After the adjournment, Haynes returned to his editorial chair with the local newspaper at Jonesboro. He soon realized that journalistic employment could not satisfy his political appetite. Therefore, he began to survey the legislative field because he wanted to be a member of the United States Congress or the General Assembly the following year.

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[17] House Journal, 1845-46, 213.

[18] Ibid., 115.

[19] Ibid., 96, 149.

In 1847 the Democrats of the First Congressional District found themselves in an unusual situation. Andrew Johnson, who had just completed his second term as United States Representative, opened his canvass for re-election. A large per cent of the Democrats, including Landon C. Haynes and his friends, were not satisfied with Johnson's record in Congress; however, they did not want him to be replaced by a Whig because a Democratic representative in Congress was necessary to support President Polk and the Mexican War. Actually, Johnson had no opposition from the Whigs because they were unwilling to run after the two severe defeats he had handed them in 1843 and 1845. Therefore, there was a larger opportunity for opposition to Johnson to develop among the Democrats. Abraham McClellan wanted to run but Haynes had the larger following because of his services in the presidential campaign of 1844 and in the General Assembly in 1845-46. Johnson opened his canvass by denouncing Haynes and all of his friends because he believed that his competitor would be Haynes. For a while Haynes was obviously a candidate. His friends pressed him to announce his candidacy and his followers expected him to do so. Haynes did not officially announce his congressional intentions and late in the canvass he withdrew for a more certain election as senator in the General Assembly. After Haynes' withdrawal, Johnson was left with a clear field. He continued to denounce Haynes and his friends as "an upstart, mushroom aristocracy, who were striving for selfish ends to put him down, and foist one of themselves upon the people," because he was certain that eventually Haynes would oppose him in a congressional election.[20]

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[20]Temple, op. cit., 217-18.

In 1847 Haynes returned to the state legislature to represent the counties of Johnson, Carter, Sullivan, and Washington in the senate. This twenty-seventh session convened on October 4, 1847. The senate began its work by electing the speaker. Haynes nominated James M. Williamson of West Tennessee for that position, but J. M. Anderson of Middle Tennessee was elected by a vote of twelve to eleven.[21]

After Anderson was chosen as speaker, the senators were assigned to the standing committees. Haynes was appointed to the committee on Internal Improvements, Education and Common Schools, Federal Relations, and Enrolled Bills. He also served on a Select Committee of the Judiciary to consider the sinking fund for the gradual payment of the state's debt and a special committee to study the possibility of connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by railroad.[22]

Haynes was very active in this session of the General Assembly, and his activities were scattered over a very broad field. He worked with the committees to which he was assigned and spoke from the floor on practically every issue that was brought before the senators. He proposed several bills and amendments regarding many types of legislation. Some of his propositions were enacted into law while others were unable to receive the necessary votes to be placed on the statute books.

Since Haynes was the chairman of the Committee of Education and Common Schools, he introduced a resolution "directing the Comptroller to

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[21]Senate Journal, 1847-48, 4.

[22]Ibid., 43, 63, 314.

issue his warrant to the President of West Tennessee College for $40,000 belonging to said institution."[23]

Haynes proposed two bills concerning the financial affairs of the state. One of these bills included a provision that would "provide and set apart a sinking fund for the gradual reduction and liquidation of the debt of the State of Tennessee." This bill passed the senate but the house did not vote on it.[24] The other bill proposed "to save the public time and money by facilitating the business of legislation, in requiring the reports from the various departments of the public service, to be made to the governor, to accompany his message to the two houses of the General Assembly." This bill was passed by both houses.[25]

Haynes also presented several petitions from the citizens of his district concerning the improvement of local roads, school, and courts. These petitions were referred to their respective committees for consideration.[26]

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[23] Ibid., 138, 146, 219.

[24] Ibid., 317, 392, 406. As a member of the house in the next session, 1849-50, Haynes continued to fight for the reduction and liquidation of the debt of the state by proposing an amendment that would set aside $50,000 annually in a sinking fund for the gradual payment of the state's indebtedness. It was not passed. House Journal, 1849-50, 281.

[25] Senate Journal, 1847-48, 373, 400, 556.

[26] In order to satisfy a few of his constituents, Haynes introduced several bills regarding water and overland transportation. Two of these bills were enacted during the last week of the session. One was "to set apart, from the unexpended balance of the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, heretofore appropriated to the rivers of East Tennessee, the sum of eight thousand dollars, three thousand to the Washington and Walnut Mountain Turnpike, and five thousand to the Carter and Johnson Turnpike." Ibid., 258, 339, 589. Another bill, "authorising Carrick W. Nelson, of the County of Carter, to build a turnpike road." Ibid., 189, 387, 661.

Haynes' work with the Committee on Internal Improvements resulted in the introduction of several bills regarding water and overland transportation. The most important bill "incorporated the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company." Haynes fought desperately for its passage. On June 28, 1847, he had addressed the Jonesboro internal improvement meeting which adopted a resolution advocating the construction of a railroad and appointed delegates to a convention at Greeneville, July 5, 1847.[27] At the Greeneville convention, the delegates were divided into two factions, conservatives and progressives. The conservatives, mostly from the region north of the Holston River, supported improvement of the Holston and French Broad Rivers. They depended upon streams carrying their produce to market. Since they had wagon roads connecting navigable streams, they believed that the legislature should provide money to clear from the streams such obstacles as rocks and tree trunks. The progressives, mostly from the region south of the Holston, advocated railroad transportation because they possessed more natural resources and property. They wanted a railroad to be built in East Tennessee between the Holston and Nolichucky rivers in order to unite Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina with Virginia and the North. After three days of discussion, a compromise resolution was adopted. It recommended that the legislature appropriate $250,000 for the improvement of the Holston River from Knoxville to Kingsport and the French Broad to the mouth of the Nolichucky. In addition, the resolution asked that careful consideration be given to the building of a railroad

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[27] Whig, June 30, 1847.

from Knoxville to Charlottesville, Virginia, or that a McAdam road be built, graded suitably for a railroad from Knoxville to the Virginia line, to run through East Tennessee between the Nolichucky and Holston rivers. Major Britain, senator from Greene and Hawkins counties, introduced this resolution in the 1847-48 legislature. Haynes also presented a bill providing for the legislature to appropriate $250,000 for improving the Holston River and $618,000 for an East Tennessee railroad running between Bays Mountain and Nolichucky River. Haynes' bill passed the senate but lost in the house. On January 27, 1848, the General Assembly passed a bill to build a McAdam road from Knoxville to the Virginia line and to charter the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company, providing that 25,000 of the 60,000 shares, at $25 per share, were sold by January 1, 1850.[28]

During this legislative session, Dorothea L. Dix, the philanthropist, visited Tennessee and found the accommodations for the insane inadequate. She visited the legislature and presented her memorializing report, which laid the foundation for the passage of the bill to appropriate $40,000 to create a hospital for the insane near Nashville and $5,000 annually, for the next two years, to finance the operation of the school for the deaf and dumb at Knoxville.[29] Haynes supported this bill.

The legislature adjourned on February 7, 1848, and Haynes spent the next six months preparing for his joint canvass with Nelson in the presidential election of that year.

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[28]James W. Holland, "The Building of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad," in East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, No. 4 (1932), 85-88; Senate Journal, 1847-48, 369, 380, 603; Nashville Daily Union (Nashville, Tennessee), November 1, 1849.

[29]Senate Journal, 1847-48, 661.

Lewis Cass, a Democrat of Michigan, and General Zachary Taylor, a Whig and the Mexican War hero, were the main candidates in the presidential campaign of 1848. Cass' platform endorsed Polk's administration and justified the war with Mexico. Except for condemning Polk's administration, Taylor actually had no platform. In Tennessee, the scenes from the stormy canvass of 1840 were repeated and the main issue was debated pro and con by the same orators as in the 1844 campaign. Haynes as a Cass elector and Nelson as a Taylor elector, again traveled throughout the First District in a joint canvass. In preparation for this canvass, Haynes wrote Nelson:[30]

Rogersville
Sept. 26, 1848

Thos. A. R. Nelson, Esqr.

Dear Sir, I have made out the following list of appointments to wit:

Fork Sullivan County	Friday	29	Sept
Finis Washington County	Saturday	30	"
Jonesboro	Monday	2	Oct
Grassy Cove	Wednesday	4	"
Crab Orchard Smith's		10	"
Stoney Creek Carter's		12	"
William's Tanyard		13	"
Buffalo Ridge		14	"

Your attendance is respectfully requested.

Yours truly,
Landon C. Haynes

In the November election, the Whigs carried Tennessee by 6,000 votes, but Cass carried the First District by 46 votes.[31]

The year of 1849 was a year of decision for Haynes. Should he run for governor, Congress, or General Assembly? Haynes was offered the

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[30]Nelson Papers; Hamer, op. cit., I, 474.

[31]Hamer, op. cit., I, 472; Nashville True Whig, November 25, 1848.

Democratic nomination for governor because it was believed that a candidate from East Tennessee would poll more Democratic votes in that section, which was predominantly Whig. He declined the nomination because Andrew Johnson was anxious to receive it.[32] If Johnson had received the nomination, Haynes would have had an open field in the congressional election. However, William Trousdale accepted the gubernatorial nomination. Johnson immediately opened his canvass for re-election to Congress. Again, Haynes considered running against Johnson. He wanted to run and his friends urged him on, but he refused to enter the contest because he was hopeful of being elected speaker of the house of representatives in the next session of the General Assembly.

The counties of Washington, Hawkins, and Greene elected Haynes as their representative in the house for the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. On October 1, 1849, John Blair of Washington County nominated Haynes for speaker. Beverly S. Allen from Carroll County was also nominated for that position. On the first ballot by "viva voce" vote, Haynes was elected by thirty-eight to thirty-one.[33] By winning this election, he became the third Washington countian to serve as speaker of the house of representatives in Tennessee. He followed in the footsteps of James Stuart and Brookins Campbell.[34]

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[32]Hamer, op. cit., I, 472; Haynes to A. O. P. Nicholson, March 24, 1849, in Joseph H. Parks, ed., "Some Tennessee Letters, 1849 to 1864," in Tennessee Historical Quarterly (Nashville), IV (1945), 234.

[33]House Journal, 1849-50, p. 3.

[34]J. Fain Anderson's Scrapbook (in the collection of his daughter Mrs. Hannah Anderson Henley, Washington College, Tennessee).

In his thousand-word acceptance speech, Haynes thanked the legislators for the honor they had bestowed upon him before he branched off on his favored topic, Tennessee:[35]

> Tennessee occupies a distinguished position in the confederacy. She is the centre figure in the Union. She embraces a million of human, souls of immense moral, intellectual and physical energy. For the last twenty years the dominion of her influence upon the policy of the Federal Government has been admitted. She has given to the Republic some of those great spirits, civil and military, who have rendered her history glorious in eyes of nations. In military prowess and courage she stands foremost, in front of her twenty-nine sisters. Though brought into the confederacy since the "old thirteen" were admitted into the society of nations, she has flashed the sword of her power over the battle-fields of three wars, and on every one adorned her standard with the wreaths of victory. Her brave sons have carried her name to the highest and holiest place in the temple of our national fame, and there as with a beam of light, written it in the golden book of the nation's honor, to exist while the masculine virtues of her constancy, courage, magnanimity and patriotism, shall have admires [sic] among men, and liberty a votary on earth. To be made the parliamentary head of the Representative body of a state so distinguished, is a compliment too high to be justly claimed by one so humble as myself.

Throughout the course of this session, Haynes ordinarily left the responsibility of introducing bills and presenting propositions to the other members, but he voted on all issues. Occasionally, when the opportunity arose, he contributed amendments to the bills that he had supported in the two preceding sessions.[36]

The major political issues of this session were centered chiefly on internal improvement and humanitarianism. This was the reaction to Dorothea L. Dix's memorial and a continuation of the legislation of the

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[35] House Journal, 1849-50, 7.

[36] See footnote 24; Haynes'. bills to charter the Euclid Waterhouse and Company, and the Walnut Mountain Turnpike Company were passed. Ibid., 611.

previous session. While the house was discussing W. H. Hill's bill regarding additional appropriations for the school for the deaf and dumb, Haynes proposed an amendment appropriating $11,000 for the creation of an institution for the blind and $5,000 annually for the next two years to finance its operation.[37] Haynes withdrew his amendment in favor of G. E. Maney's amendment proposing to give the school for the blind at Nashville and the school for the deaf and dumb at Knoxville the appropriations instead of building another institution.

Railroad legislation was the most controversial issue that faced the legislators. Haynes was interested in state aid to railroads because he was a stock holder in the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company and he lived south of the Holston River, which possessed more natural resources than the land north of the river. The 1847-48 legislature had chartered the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company, providing that 25,000 of the 60,000 shares of stock were sold by January 1, 1850. On October 30, 1849, the house started the debate on extension of time for the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad to get the subscriptions. Samuel Powell of Hawkins County offered an amendment to leave the location of the railroad "open" instead of prescribing the location as south of the Holston River, between Bays Mountain and Nolichucky River. Blair and Haynes of Washington County opposed Powell's amendment. They pointed out that the amendment would undo all that had been done. They argued that a convention had been held in 1847 and a compromise had been reached

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[37] Ibid., 684-85.

between the two factions. The counties north of the Holston would get appropriations for improving that river for allowing the location of the railroad to be south of the Holston. Since $200,000 of shares had been sold with the understanding that the location would be south of the Holston, Blair and Haynes argued that to reopen the location would destroy all that had been done. Finally, Blair offered an amendment that partially satisfied the viewpoint of Hawkins County. With Blair's amendment the bill passed its third reading.[38] On November 6, 1849, the legislature extended the time limit for two years.

On December 13, 1849, John Blair introduced an internal improvement bill, containing twenty-five points, covering state-wide railroad transportation and river improvement. Its chief provisions authorized state loans to specified railroad companies, including the East Tennessee and Virginia and the East Tennessee and Georgia. After several days of discussion, Haynes spoke in favor of the bill on January 17, 1850. He argued that the bill would not, as its opponents had stated, bankrupt the state. He proved by quoting figures that the state had sufficient funds available if properly invested, to pay off the $3,000,000 indebtedness of the state in the next twenty years. He then discussed the success of railroad construction in other states and pointed out that the proposed railroads in Tennessee, when finished, would be able to pay off the public debt for their construction within the same twenty-year period. Haynes also enumerated the advantages that the railroads would bring into

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[38]Nashville Daily Union, November 1, 1849.

Tennessee.[39] But his efforts were in vain since the bill was defeated.

On February 2, 1850, Haynes returned the senate bill chartering the Bear Creek Turnpike Company with an amendment attached requesting the loan of $7,500 per mile to the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company to help it complete the road to the Virginia state line. The total of the loan would not exceed $200,000 before January 1, 1852. The General Assembly adjourned before the senate acted on the amendment.[40]

Another railroad resolution introduced in the house requested that the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad Company and the Charleston and Nashville Railroad Company work out connecting stations that would produce better and faster transportation. Haynes moved that the rule requiring resolutions to lie one day on the table be suspended for the purpose of immediate consideration of the above stated resolution. His motion was passed by a forty-eight to nineteen vote. After the resolution was debated, it was referred to the Committee on Internal Improvement.[41] It was not passed, but state aid was given to the East Tennessee and Georgia railroad.

On February 11, 1850, Haynes pronounced the adjournment of the house. A portion of his adjournment speech briefly summarized the

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[39]Nashville True Whig, January 19, 1950.

[40]House Journal, 1849-50, 740. State aid was given to the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad by the 1851-52 legislature.

[41]Ibid., 264.

accomplishments of that General Assembly:[42]

> Much has been done, gentlemen, during the session of the present General Assembly, for the benefit of the State at large, whilst other propositions of a general character, and interesting to many, have failed. But it is a duty, which I presume, you all understand, to bow to the authority of the State with respect and submission. Much has been done in the way of granting charters to the public institutions of the State and much in the way of reform. Resolutions have been passed to give the State an elective judiciary, by which any citizen may find his way through the ballot-box up to the highest stations of judicial trust. You have opened a liberal hand to all charitable institutions of the State. The deaf, whose ears have never been saluted with the voice of harmony; the blind, who have never seen a mother's face, nor a star of the heavens; and the insane, whose reason has shot from its place like a falling star: these all have been provided for. You have taken these children of misfortune, with the fondness of a mother, you have drawn them to the bosom of the public charities and made them to feel they have a home and an abiding place in their own native State.

After the adjournment of the state legislature, Haynes adjusted his political sights in the direction of higher legislative service. After six years of indecision and frustration, he finally decided to engage in a contest with Andrew Johnson for a seat in the United States House of Representatives. This canvass was conducted between the two leading Democrats of the First Congressional District. The Whigs did not enter a candidate because they had hopes of disorganizing the Democratic Party.

Johnson, who had completed his fourth consecutive term in Congress, entered the canvass with a great deal of confidence because he had sown the seeds for this political harvest during the canvasses of 1847 and 1849 by focusing his speeches on Haynes and his friends. On May 11, 1851,

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[42] Ibid., 861.

Johnson wrote A. O. P. Nicholson, "I can beat Haynes and any whig that may think proper to made the venture. . . ."[43] Haynes was equally confident, believing that the Democrats of the district as a whole were not entirely pleased with Johnson's record in Congress.

This canvass was the greatest campaign of Johnson's congressional career because Haynes fought him with his own weapon of vituperation. Accusations of dishonorable conduct were made by both candidates. Some of the charges, if proven, were of such a nature as to disqualify either of them to represent a congressional district in Congress.[44]

The most decisive debate of the canvass occurred at Blountville. The crowd that had assembled in the Blountville Church to witness the arguments of the candidates was predominantly the followers of Haynes because Attorney Matthew Haynes and Lavinia Haynes Gannon, a brother and sister of Landon, were leading citizens of that community, and the family of his wife, Eleanor Powell, were former residents of Sullivan County. This opportune setting benefited Johnson because Haynes' tactics backfired. Haynes had the advantage since he was the first speaker. In his speech, he asked Johnson for whom he had voted in the presidential election of 1836, Martin Van Buren or Hugh L. White. Johnson replied, "Judge White." Haynes had planned to use this illustration to prove that Johnson was not always loyal to the Democratic party, but Johnson took this opportunity to ask Haynes for whom he had voted in the gubernatorial election of 1839, Newton Cannon or James K. Polk. Haynes refused to answer the

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[43]Johnson to A. O. P. Nicholson, May 11, 1851, in Parks, loc. cit., 237.

[44]Temple, op. cit., 378.

question. Then Johnson declared that he could prove that Haynes voted for both Cannon and Polk.[45]

Haynes' refusal to answer Johnson's question brought about a state of confusion in the minds of Haynes' followers. This Blountville incident caused Johnson to receive the majority of the Whig votes which ultimately defeated Haynes by 1,653 majority. The votes by counties were:[46]

	Johnson	Haynes
Washington	780	1194
Hawkins	1741	650
Greene	1774	992
Cocke	322	646
Sullivan	1220	602
Carter	353	545
Johnson	293	201
	6482	4830

Haynes' defeat was a great disappointment to him because he had long desired a seat in the United States Congress. After this canvass of 1851, he went into political retirement for the next eight years and devoted his time to the practice of law throughout East Tennessee.

The voters took Haynes out of public office, but they could not take the political aspirations out of him. In 1859 he came out of his political hibernation and entered the congressional race against his former law instructor, Thomas A. R. Nelson.

Nelson received the Whig and American, now known as the "Opposition," nomination at the Greeneville convention on February 18, 1859. Haynes was

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[45]Anderson to Nelson, June 25, 1859, Nelson Papers. Johnson could not use the same election of 1836 on Haynes because he was not old enough to vote that year. The accusation by Johnson regarding Haynes' vote in 1839 was possible because at that time a citizen could vote in the county in which he lived and in the county where he owned property.

[46]Whig, August 16, 1851.

nominated by the Democratic Convention which also met at Greeneville on April 20, 1859. From the day of Haynes' nomination until early August, Haynes and Nelson jointly canvassed the district. They spoke in nearly every town, village, and hamlet. This campaign of 1859 by Haynes and Nelson is considered one of the most memorable canvasses in Tennessee.

On April 26, 1859, Haynes and Nelson published the following list of appointments to speak in the Jonesboro Union; later other places were added to the schedule:

Union, Sullivan County	Monday	May	2
Jonesboro	Tuesday	"	3
Greeneville	Wednesday	"	4
Russellville	Thursday	"	5
New Market	Friday	"	6
Dandridge	Saturday	"	7
Wayland's Shop, Rocky Sp'g Sevier	Friday	"	13
Sevierville	Saturday	"	14
Fair Garden, Sevier County	Monday	"	16
Jones' Cove Meeting House	Tuesday	"	17
McNabb's n'r Wilton Sp'g Cocke Co	Wednesday	"	18
Newport	Thursday	"	19
Mooreburg, Hawkins County	Saturday	"	21
Sneedville, Hancock County	Monday	"	23
William Sullivan, on Upper Clinch	Saturday	"	28
Rogersville	Monday	"	30
Surgoinsville	Wednesday	June	8
Kingsport	Thursday	"	9
Fall Branch	Friday	"	10
Greeneville	Monday	"	13
Warrenburg, Greene County	Saturday	"	18
Parrottsville	Monday	"	20
Flat Creek Church, Cocke County	Tuesday	"	21
Cedar Creek, Greene County	Wednesday	"	22
Camp Creek, Kennedy's Store	Thursday	"	23
Carter Station (Camp Ground)	Friday	"	24
Rheatown	Saturday	"	25
Jonesboro	Monday	"	27
William Love's	Thursday	"	30
Swingleville	Friday	July	1
Buffalo Church, near William Tan Y'd	Saturday	"	2
Elizabethton	Monday	"	4
William Creed's, Story Creek	Thursday	"	7

Cobb's Creek Meeting House	Saturday	July 9
Taylorsville	Monday	" 11
Jesse Cole's School House	Wednesday	" 13
Bristol	Thursday	" 14
Fork Church, Sullivan County	Friday	" 15
Arrawood's, Washington County	Saturday	" 16
Blountville	Monday	" 18

This canvass was conducted by two personal friends who possessed oratorical ability but could not agree on political issues. Throughout the course of their speeches and debates, both men followed the rules of gentlemanly procedure. Nelson was universally known for his fairness and honorable respect for his opponents, and Haynes met him on the same grounds. The canvass was a serious one since the competitors seemed evenly matched and the followers of each prognosticated "victory." In argument and logical organization of facts, Nelson was probably superior. In declamation, Haynes had the advantage; many people considered him the greatest orator living in 1859. In a letter to T. A. R. Nelson, August 8, 1859, H. M. Folsom of Elizabethton referred to Haynes as the "Cicero of America."[47]

During the early days of the canvass, the enthusiastic supporters of the candidates left no stone unturned in urging them on persistently into an intense campaign. One of Nelson's followers, William Anderson of Beaver Creek, tried to get Nelson to use jokes in his speeches. Anderson recommended to Nelson that he should use anecdotes on Haynes since Polk had won over Cannon with them in the gubernatorial election of 1839.[48]

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[47]Temple, op. cit., 168-69; Nelson Papers.

[48]Anderson to Nelson, June 25, 1859, ibid.

One of Haynes' adversaries, C. W. Heiskell of Rogersville, claimed that Haynes had prepared the list of speaking appointments to his own advantage. In the counties where Nelson had the largest following, several speaking places were scheduled, whereas the list included only one appearance in the counties where Haynes' supporters were more numerous. For instance, in Hancock County, where Haynes was sure to receive the majority of the votes, the appointment list scheduled only one speech, at Sneedville, the county seat. Heiskell told Nelson that he should speak more in Hancock because he would have all to gain since the "men are as madmen and will fight to defeat you."[49]

The day that Haynes and Nelson spoke at Captain Sharp's house in Sevierville, May 14, Nelson's friends arranged a big show including the exhibition of an elephant in order to attract a crowd. Nelson attended the show and the crowd followed him to the speaking. This helped to advance the cause of the Opposition Party in Sevier County.[50]

The animation of the canvass began on May 2, 1859, when Haynes and Nelson spoke at Jonesboro. The fact that they were both former citizens of that community added a dramatic touch to the occasion. During Haynes' two-hour address, he asked Nelson whether he would support John Bell if he were endorsed for the presidency by the Black Republicans of the North and the Opposition Party of the South. Nelson replied that he would support Bell because the Black Republicans would have to drop their policy

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[49]Heiskell to Nelson, June 22, 1859, ibid.

[50]Armstrong to Nelson, May 4, 1859, ibid.

of abolition if they endorsed Bell. Two days later, May 4, the local newspaper, the Jonesboro Union, stated that Nelson would vote for a Black Republican for President. This new story promoted a mass of opposition to Nelson because its readers thought that Nelson was fighting for the freedom of their slaves. On May 6, Haynes and Nelson spoke at New Market. Haynes spoke first, delivering another two-hour address and denying the charges of corruption in the Buchanan administration and explaining why the pension bill for war veterans was defeated. The Democrats had refused to enact this bill because it would have increased the national debt. Nelson began his speech by denying the Jonesboro charge and explaining how the newspaper had misquoted his statement. At this time, Haynes voluntarily arose and sustained Nelson's denial.[51]

After the first few speeches, it became apparent that the canvass was the biggest attraction of the day. Crowds of voters traveled many miles to witness one of the most decent campaigns in Tennessee. Haynes and Nelson displayed great political courage as they debated the planks of their respective party platforms. The campaign material of Nelson consisted mainly of criticizing the Buchanan administration. He condemned the corruption of the administration, the defeated pension bill for war veterans, and the increase of the national debt from $40,000,000 during Millard Fillmore's administration to $75,000,000 in 1859. Haynes tried to justify the action of the administration in these matters.

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[51]Nelson to Turner, June 14, 1859, Turner to Nelson, June 14, 1859, ibid.; Hamer, op. cit., I, 515.

Nelson held the advantage over Haynes from the standpoint of political issues because it was easier to point out faults in the administration than it was to explain satisfactorily to the East Tennesseans the reasons for the administration's actions.

Another advantage of Nelson was that the voters were discontented with their Democratic senator because he had supported the administration's policy on the pension bill.

In many places, such as Carter County, Haynes had to side-step the principal issues as much as possible. If he had declared himself in favor of the pension bill, he might have placed himself at war with his party and its administration. If he had opposed this measure, he would have promptly conceded the election because the voters of the First District wanted a man in Congress to support a money bonus for the veterans.[52]

Since Haynes was forced to a middle-of-the-road stand on the main political issues, he spoke extensively on the states' rights policy of the southern states. He believed that the North had been encroaching on the South for the last twenty years. If a break should come between the North and South, Tennessee should back the South because "it would be a traitorous son who would stab the mother who bore him."[53]

On August 8, 1859, Nelson was victorious at the polls by ninety votes with the overwhelming support in Cocke, Sevier, and Jefferson counties.

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[52]Folsom to Nelson, May 4, 1859, Nelson Papers.

[53]Clipping from The Democrat (Greeneville, Tennessee), July 13, 1859, in Nelson's Scrapbook.

His small majority in Carter, Sullivan, and Johnson counties shows that the "Taylor-Whig" relatives of Haynes were not true to their party. Haynes carried the counties of Washington, Hancock, Hawkins, and Greene. His majority in Greene County was secured through the influence of Johnson.[54]

The defeat did not end Haynes' political activity. He continued to speak on behalf of the states' rights policy of the South preceding the presidential election the following year.

In 1860 there were four candidates running for the presidency: John Bell of Tennessee, Constitutional Unionist; Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, Republican; Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, Northern Democrat; and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, Southern Democrat. However, the race was only a triangle affair in Tennessee; Lincoln was completely left out. Major canvasses were conducted in favor of Bell and Breckinridge. Shortly before the election, a minor canvass was organized for Douglas which proved to be more of an anti-Breckinridge rather than a pro-Douglas movement.

The Douglas canvass originated in Memphis and it operated primarily in West Tennessee where Breckinridge was the leading contender. The leading speakers in behalf of Douglas were: V. K. Stevenson, William H. Polk, Harvey M. Watterson, and Henry S. Foote. They argued that Breckinridge supported the policy of "disunion."[55]

The Bell canvass was a state-wide affair. His ticket included such prominent Tennesseans as O. P. Temple, N. G. Taylor, J. C. Brown, Alvin

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[54]J. B. Brownlow to O. P. Temple, January 13, 1894, Temple Papers.

[55]Hamer, op. cit., I, 518-19.

Hawkins, and Bailie Peyton. Their cause was supported by famous orators: T. A. R. Nelson, N. S. Brown, G. A. Henry, and Horace Maynard. Their platform was to maintain the principles of the National Constitution in order to preserve the Union. They were determined to crush the secessionists who had nominated Breckinridge in the same manner that Andrew Jackson had crushed nullification.[56]

Breckinridge's policy was for the "protection of slavery in the territories" and the annexation of Cuba. Haynes served as a state-at-large Breckinridge elector. His colleagues were: Gideon J. Pillow, D. M. Key, Governor Isham G. Harris, W. C. Whitthorne, William B. Bate, J. D. C. Atkins, and A. O. P. Nicholson. They covered the state thoroughly with individual and joint canvasses. Their speeches and orations were filled with impetuous sentences opposing the "mean and damnable dogma of squatter sovereignty" and professing their love and honor for the South. Haynes as a Breckinridge elector and his brother-in-law, N. G. Taylor, as a supporter of Bell, covered the state in a joint canvass.[57]

The result of the election in Tennessee was as follows:[58] Douglas 11,384; Breckinridge 65,053; and Bell 69,710. Bell received all of Tennessee's electoral votes. Breckinridge probably would have carried the state if the last minute canvass for Douglas had not interfered.

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[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.; Speer, op. cit., 213; Marguerite B. Hamer, "The Presidential Campaign of 1860 in Tennessee," in East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, No. 3 (1931), 15.

[58] Hamer, op. cit., I, 519.

Before serving as a Breckinridge elector for the state-at-large, Haynes' reputation as an eloquent orator and convincing debater was limited to East Tennessee. This canvass made it possible for him to extend his reputation over the entire state. This was the avenue which led to his election to the Senate of the Confederate States of America the next year.[59]

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[59]Moore and Foster, op. cit., II, 148.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOUTHERN STATESMAN

One of the most courageous fighters of the South was Landon C. Haynes, "but there was no sword in his hand" because he fought with tongue and pen. During the War Between the States, David Haynes, speaking of his son, stated ". . . smart man he is . . . a statesman whom Calhoun would be proud to call a colleague."[1]

From the presidential election of 1860 until his election as senator to the Confederate Congress, Haynes devoted his time to speaking and writing letters on the behalf of the Confederacy. On January 2, 1861, he spoke at Knoxville, declaring that Tennessee should separate from the Union and join the Confederacy because she was:[2]

> Bound to the South by identity of institutions; bound to the South by soil and productions; bound to the South by reciprocal interests; bound to the South by the lines of her latitude; bound to the South by eternal laws of nature and of God; bound to the South by the great rivers that pour their floods into the Gulf of Mexico, and give her an easy transit to the consumers of her products through the world; let her feel that her union with the Southern States . . . is natural and inseparable, and the unalterable condition of her present and future safety, prosperity, and independence.

Five days later, Governor Harris called an extra session of the legislature which passed an act permitting the citizens to vote for or against a convention. The convention would determine whether Tennessee would or would not leave the Union. On February 9, the people voted

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[1]Beahman, loc. cit., 26.

[2]Quoted in Hamer, op. cit., I, 531.

91,803 to 24,749 against a convention.[3]

Two months later, following the firing on Fort Sumter, the April Proclamation of President Lincoln calling for volunteers caused many of the strongest union men in Tennessee to declare themselves in favor of secession. Governor Harris called another session of the legislature on April 24. It favored separation from the Union and planned another vote of the people.

Throughout April and May, "stump speaking" was the order of the day for both political factions. The day Johnson and Nelson came to Jonesboro, they were greeted by a disrespectful crowd flying the Confederate flag. Each time Johnson opened his mouth to speak, his words were drowned out by "boos." After several useless attempts, he left the platform. The people let Nelson speak, but they shouted their desire to hear Haynes, who was unable to attend on that particular occasion.[4]

On May 17, A. E. Jackson of Carter County wrote Haynes regarding the coming election:[5]

> You may expect to hear a poor account from Carter in the coming election, they will no doubt bully southern rights' voters at the polls and will force into the ranks of the opposition many who would otherwise vote for sustaining the action of the legislature. They have forced Burrow to resign the clerkship of the circuit court and are threatening

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[3]Alexander H. Stephens, A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States, 2 vols. (Atlanta: National Publishing Company, 1868), II, 365.

[4]W. H. Crouch to T. A. R. Nelson, April 24 and May 6, 1861, Nelson Papers.

[5]A. E. Jackson to L. C. Haynes, May 17, 1861, ibid.

> violence to the open secessionists in the country. N. G. T[aylor] is following in the wake of Johnson and Nelson and has pledged himself to remove to Kentucky if Tennessee goes out of the Union.

In the same letter, Jackson asked Haynes to use his influence to get him an appointment as general in the Confederate Army.

Two weeks preceding the election of June 8, Thomas C. Hindman and a regiment of soldiers en route from Arkansas to Virginia stopped overnight in Knoxville. During the evening, Hindman and other leading secessionists were the guests of Haynes. The topic of conversation finally focused on Johnson and Nelson, who were to speak the next day at Rogersville. Even though the state had not yet voted for separation, Hindman suggested that he and his soldiers go to Rogersville the next morning and arrest Johnson and Nelson for speaking on behalf of the Union. All of those present, except two, agreed with Hindman. Haynes did not commit himself on Hindman's proposition but stated that the arrest of Johnson and Nelson would not silence the unionists because there were other influential men that would carry on; therefore, Hindman did not go to Rogersville.[6]

By a vote of 104,913 to 47,238 on June 8, Tennessee left the Union, and approximately one month later, she joined her sister states in the Confederacy.[7]

On July 6, four days after Tennessee became an official member of the Confederacy, Haynes wrote L. P. Walker, Secretary of War for the Confederate States of America, concerning affairs in East Tennessee. He

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[6]Temple, op. cit., 402.

[7]Stephens, op. cit., II, 392.

assured Walker that civil war in East Tennessee was inevitable since there were about ten regiments of Union men now "under drill and armed with rifles and shot-guns" who would immediately start a rebellion if they had the assurance of aid from the Lincoln Government. In this same correspondence, Haynes also presented a plan to prevent immediate violence:[8]

> (1). A small, inadequate force is as bad or worse than none, because while it irritates, it invites aggression.
>
> (2). The question as to whether the presence of a force will irritate and incite to rebellion ceases to be a practical question, because the irritation grows worse without it and independent of it.
>
> (3). The presence of six regiments properly distributed will quiet the passions of rebellious and secure peace in spite of Thomas A. R. Nelson, William G. Brownlow, Conly [sic] F. Trigg, and William B. Carter, who are the leaders of the Union men. Moral power can no longer be relied on to crush the rebellion. No man possesses that power. Bell had more than any other man, but he is as helpless as a child. Maj. Gen. S. R. Anderson, or some gentleman equally calm, brave, and judicious, and six or eight regiments, properly stationed, armed, and equipped, will, I think, secure the peace without any violence.
>
> (4). I am looking every moment also to hear that the bridges have been burned and the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad torn up. Nothing can save it but a sufficient guard. The Confederate States have no marshall in East, Middle, or West Tennessee to assist in keeping the peace. Ought they not be appointed? . . . I would respectfully suggest, as a gentleman every way worthy and fit to be appointed marshall, if but one be appointed, General J. B. Clements, of Nashville, Tenn., for the state. He could then select such deputies in East and West Tennessee as might be necessary.

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[8]The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 70 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, vol. IV, 364-65. Cited hereafter as Official Records.

Walker accepted Haynes' plan and three days later he requested Governor Harris to send two regiments to Jonesboro or Haynesville (Johnson City).[9]

Because of his firm stand and continuous labor in the support of the states' rights policy, Haynes received his most distinguished governmental position by being elected to the Confederate Congress. On October 24, 1861, the legislature elected Landon C. Haynes and Gustavus A. Henry to represent Tennessee, as senators, in the Congress of the Confederate States of America.

As senator-elect, Haynes immediately assumed his responsibility by writing President Davis on November 11, 1861, regarding General Zollicoffer's perilous position at Cumberland Gap. Zollicoffer, who was more experienced in political matters than military, had taken that command on July 26, 1861.[10]

> It is thought here, by all who are acquainted with things in East Tennessee, that re-enforcements, if practicable, ought to be sent forthwith. It is, I fear, a grand mistake to suppose the Union party in East Tennessee has lost its hostility to the Confederacy. At the election day before yesterday, with perfect unanimity, that party refused to cast a vote for men who had been its late leaders, because they were running for seats in the Confederate Congress; and if a force shall be thrown into East Tennessee or on the line, which now seems probable, and which General Zollicoffer is unable to defeat, the flames of rebellion will flash throughout East Tennessee, the railroad will be destroyed, the bridges burned, and other calamities not necessary to mention will follow. I regard the state of affairs, from all the information I possess, as perilous.
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> Would it be consistent with the interest of the public service elsewhere and the security of the army on the Potomac to send Colonel Vaughn's regiment, and indeed the brigade of which

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[9]Coulter, op. cit., 163.

[10]Official Records, Series I, Vol. IV, 529-30.

his regiment is one, to re-enforce General Zollicoffer? If not, could there be any troops sent to East Tennessee from any other quarter?

Any volunteers that might be raised here would be wholly inefficient for want of arms.

Haynes waited a month for the re-enforcements that never arrived; then he went to Richmond, Virginia, to visit President Davis and personally impress upon him the perilous state of affairs in East Tennessee.[11]

The efforts of Haynes to secure necessary troops to stabilize General Zollicoffer's position at Cumberland Gap were fruitless and his anticipation regarding the insuffisiency of the troops that were stationed there came true in the early days of 1862. General Thomas' Union Forces took advantage of the situation and delivered a severe blow to the Army of the Cumberland at Mill Springs, near Cumberland Gap. The Union Army gained the victory while the Confederacy lost both General Zollicoffer and Cumberland Gap.

After Zollicoffer's death, Generals Carroll and Crittenden were given the command of the Army of the Cumberland which was left disorganized and demoralized. The confidence of the soldiers and citizens was lost and only natural obstacles and bad roads prevented the enemy from immediately occupying East Tennessee; however, they were more interested in occupying Middle Tennessee than East Tennessee. Haynes wrote President Davis, January 27, 1862, that only an appointment of a "brave, skillful, and able general" such as "General Marshall, General Floyd, General Pillow,

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[11] Ibid., Series II, Vol. I, 858.

General Smith, or General Loring" would restore confidence in the ranks and among the citizens.[12]

While Haynes was preparing to go to Richmond for the opening session of the first permanent congress of the Confederate States, another blow was delivered by the Union forces against Tennessee. In February, 1862, General Grant captured Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, respectively, and General D. C. Buell occupied Nashville. General Albert S. Johnston, the Confederate General, was charged with evacuating Middle Tennessee uselessly and retreating to Corinth, Mississippi. This evacuation by General Johnston shook the morale of all Tennesseans because Nashville was to the West what Richmond was to the East: a depot of arms, ammunition, equipment, and supplies. Public opinion demanded General Johnston's removal; so Haynes and the entire Tennessee congressional delegation,[13] except Judge Swan, called on President Davis and asked for Johnston's removal.[14] The Confederate authorities failed to act, but Johnston was soon removed by death during battle.

The members of the Confederate Congress, when it convened on February 18, 1862, worked continuously for the protection of civil and

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[12]Ibid., Series I, Vol. VII, 849.

[13]The Tennessee congressional delegation included L. C. Haynes and G. A. Henry, as senators; David M. Currin, Henry S. Foote, Thomas Menzis, George W. Jones, William G. Swan, William H. Tibbs, E. L. Gardenhire, John V. Wright, Joseph B. Heiskell, John D. C. Atkins, and Meredith P. Gentry as representatives.

[14]Jefferson Davis, The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1881), I, 40.

local rights against the domination of military power. The major legislation of Congress dealt primarily with conscription, financing, and suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. In the assignment of the members of the Senate to the various committees, on February 25, Haynes was appointed to the committees on Patents, Post-Offices and Post-Roads, Enrollment and Engrossment, and Judiciary.[15]

President Davis asked Congress for a conscription act on March 28, 1862. During the discussion regarding the draft, Haynes offered two resolutions which were referred to the committee on Military Affairs. One proposed to pay the soldiers a monthly allowance: sergeant-majors, $25; first sergeants, $24; sergeants, $21; corporals, blacksmiths, farriers, $17; and privates, $16.[16] The other resolution suggested that the pay of soldiers, who were prisoners-of-war, be given to their wives and children.[17] The first conscription law was enacted on April 16. It provided for the drafting of men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five and the retainment of the soldiers then in service for a term of three years from the date of their enlistment. Certain professional men, such as ministers, editors, doctors, governmental officials, and owners of fifteen or more slaves were exempted. During the course of the war, the draft

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[15]Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America 1861-1865, 7 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, Reprinted 1904), II, 20-21.

[16]Ibid., 44.

[17]Ibid., 181.

law was changed several times. On September 22, 1862, Haynes introduced an amendment to exempt members of state militias from the conscription act. This amendment was passed by a vote of fifteen to two.[18] Haynes' amendment to exempt plantation overseers from the draft providing there were more than twenty slaves on the plantation, more than ten persons living on the plantation, and the overseer was employed for his job before April 16, 1862, was passed by an eighteen to seven vote on April 17, 1863.[19] While the senators were discussing the possibility of drafting slaves during the last session of Congress, Haynes introduced a resolution, January 23, 1865, requesting that the President furnish the Senate with a report containing (1) the number of officers and non-commissioned officers and privates on the army muster roll for duty, (2) the number now present for duty, (3) the number of officers and privates absent without leave, (4) the number of officers and privates in hospital or on sick leave, (5) the number of soldiers on detached service, (6) the number of persons detailed from duty, (7) the number of Confederate prisoners in enemy hands, and (8) the number of officers and privates killed, died of disease, and permanently disabled for service. The Senate approved this resolution.[20]

Financing the war was one of the most difficult problems that faced the Confederate Congress. The blockade of southern ports cut off almost

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[18] Ibid., III-12.

[19] Ibid., III, 305.

[20] Ibid., IV, 479.

all income from customs duties. Congress passed an internal revenue act, similar to the one used by the North, but the South did not have as much wealth to be taxed as the North possessed. Subsequently, the Confederate Government issued bonds and paper money. After the first year of the war, the value of the Confederate treasury notes depreciated rapidly and many holders wanted to cash their notes. Haynes introduced a bill directing the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange 1,000,000 bales of cotton and 30,000 hogheads of tobacco, which the government had on hand, to redeem the notes. However, this bill was defeated by the Senate.[21] In 1864 Congress passed a property tax, which was paid in produce and cattle by farmers and planters. Haynes proposed an amendment to this law to exempt persons whose property was held by the enemy on May 1, 1864. This amendment was passed by the Senate by a twelve to nine vote.[22]

During the war, Congress suspended the writ of habeas corpus three times and on numerous occasions declared martial law in the invaded territory. Congress suspended the writ of habeas corpus on February 27, 1862, giving the military officers authority to put traitorous persons in prison. During the second session, the legislators decided that another law suspending the writ of habeas corpus should be enacted. On September 10, 1862, Haynes spoke on the need of a new law providing protection for the people arrested while the writ of habeas corpus was suspended by assuring all persons, besides members of the army and navy, arrested a trial by a

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[21] Ibid., II, 455.

[22] Ibid., IV, 188.

civil court if the grand jury found sufficient evidence of guilt. He proposed that the arresters make a report to the President stating the cause and nature of the accusation of the arrested person, and that the President should report the accusations to Congress at certain intervals. He concluded his speech by declaring that martial law was unknown to the constitution and that the officers who had proclaimed it should be punished. In October, 1862, Congress passed a law limiting military law to the members of armed forces.[23] Before the war ended, Haynes recommended a more severe policy dealing with persons accused of treasonable activities. On February 11, 1864, Haynes proposed the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus throughout the Confederate States for persons charged with (1) treason, (2) trading with the enemy, (3) destroying government property, (4) spying, (5) burning bridges, (6) exciting mutiny among the troops, (7) exciting slave insurrections, and (8) harboring deserters. This bill failed by a vote of fifteen to ten.[24]

Because of his position as senator, Haynes was asked at times to refer to higher officials certain suggestions from his constitutents. William B. Bate wrote Haynes on March 24, 1863, asking him to call on President Davis to retain General Braxton Bragg. Bate believed that Bragg was the best general in regard to drill, discipline, and organization. He also believed that General Joseph E. Johnston was superior

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[23]Ibid., II, 271; Frank L. Owsley, State Rights in the Confederacy (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925), 166-67 et passim.

[24]Confederate Journal, III, 711.

in the same way. Therefore, Bate suggested that they should be kept together since they made a happy combination. Haynes sent Bate's letter to President Davis who in turn sent it to the Secretary of War.[25]

When the Confederate Congress was not in session,[26] Haynes toured the battlegrounds in Tennessee and its vicinity. Once while visiting Knoxville, during the critical year of 1863, he temporarily shouldered a rifle. On June 19 and 20, Haynes, William H. Sneed, John H. Crozier, James L. Martin, and other white-collared gentlemen reported to Milton A. Haynes, Lieutenant Colonel of the Provisional Army of the Confederate States, to help defend Knoxville from the Union forces. After that Knoxville skirmish, Colonel Milton Haynes reported to the War Department that "with such compatriots and such fellow-soldiers a man might willingly at any time meet the foe."[27]

The compatriots of Milton Haynes were probably good soldiers but they could not repel the Union forces indefinitely. On August 29, 1863, Landon C. Haynes reported the fall of Knoxville to President Davis:[28]

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[25]Official Records, Series I, Vol. LII, Part II, 442-43.

[26]The first permanent congress met four times. The first session was from February 18, 1862, until April 21, 1862; the second session from August 18, 1862, until October 13, 1862; the third session from January 12, 1863, until May 12, 1863; and the fourth session from December 7, 1863, until February 17, 1864. The second permanent congress met twice. The first session from May 2, 1864, until June 14, 1864; and the second session from November 7, 1864, until March 18, 1865. All the sessions met at Richmond.

[27]Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXIII, Part I, 391-93.

[28]Ibid., Series I, Vol. XXX, Part IV, 566.

> The Federals have taken Knoxville. By this time East Tennessee is sundered. Bragg's army is separated from Upper East Tennessee. From Knoxville up to Abingdon, Virginia, is held by a very small force. If from five to eight regiments could be sent to co-operate with General Buckner, he could protect East Tennessee with all its iron, niter, salt, and lead interests. All the rolling-stock of the East Tennessee and Virginia road is idle at Bristol, and might be used if a brigade or so could be sent there. Can it be done? I earnestly urge it.

The idleness of the railroads was a severe handicap to the South since the rivers ran the wrong way for communications between sections, but they served as roads for invaders. Therefore, the railroads were necessary to carry on military affairs. Within a week, Haynes received his reply from Davis:[29]

> Assistance has been ordered and is on road. The movements of enemy require concentration of our forces, but General Jackson will not, I hope, fail to give all practicable protection. Dispatches from General Bragg and Buckner are more encouraging than yours.

Having visited the battlegrounds in Tennessee, Haynes returned to Richmond through southwest Virginia by way of Wytheville. He was interested in the military situation in that vicinity because his family had taken refuge there after the Union soldiers had taken control of his estate, "Green Meadow," near Johnson City. Landon's family could not stay with his father, David Haynes, because their presence would have caused the seizure of his property. David's property was unmolested throughout the war because he told the Yankees that he was the father-in-law of Nathaniel G. Taylor, and he told the Rebels that he was the father of Senator Landon C. Haynes. Therefore, neither side disturbed him.[30] From

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[29] Ibid., Series I, Vol. LII, Part II, 521.

[30] Bachman, loc. cit., 26.

Wytheville, on September 9, 1863, Haynes wrote Secretary of War Seddon:[31]

> Sir: It is reported that a Federal force of mounted men and infantry, 4,000, advancing through Tazewell County on the road and bridge. Sixteen of the advance men were captured last night. No troops, except two or three companies of home guards, here. Wires down between Wytheville and Abingdon. These facts are deemed correct. Can any assistance be furnished? The Otey Battery is here.

During the latter part of 1863 and early 1864, General James Longstreet held the upper northeastern corner of East Tennessee. This section was the only part of Tennessee left in Southern hands. It included Johnson and Carter counties, which were the most devoted to the Union cause and furnished more Federal troops than any other congressional district of its size. On February 5, 1864, Colonel G. G. Dibrell wrote Secretary of War Seddon requesting that General Longstreet leave the vicinity of Knoxville and attack Nashville, with 10,000 troops, because an attack of this kind would be a serious blow to the Yankees and they could never regain the hub of the state. Haynes recommended Dibrell's letter to Seddon by telling him that Dibrell was better acquainted with Tennessee than any other man.[32]

Haynes and Henry, senators from Tennessee, became concerned about General A. E. Jackson, the Carter countian for whom Haynes had helped to get an appointment as a general from Governor Harris before Tennessee had withdrawn from the Union. On June 7, 1864, they wrote President Davis:[33]

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[31] Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXIX, Part II, 716.

[32] Ibid., Series I, Vol. XXXII, Part II, 745-46. While Longstreet was in Knoxville, he used the old Bleak House as his headquarters. The Bleak House is the home of the late Roy M. Lotspeich. The Knoxville Journal (Knoxville, Tennessee), September 10, 1951.

[33] Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, 753.

> Sir: Brig. Gen. A. E. Jackson has been, we understand relieved of the command of his brigade in Western Virginia, and ordered to report to General Joseph E. Johnston. We regret his removal from that department, and, whatever may have been the representations of others, we take it upon ourselves to say that he can be relied on with as much confidence as any officer in that department. He has been badly treated and stripped of his troops for the last year. His full and intimate knowledge of the country, his known zeal, courage, and ability, make his detention in that department the subject of public anxiety. We respectfully request, if practicable, that he be assigned to command a brigade in Western Virginia. The loss of General W. E. Jones, we think, makes it the more necessary and proper.

President Davis sent their letter to Seddon, who in turn answered their request by explaining that the small, ill-trained troops of General Jackson were not worth his service. He was transferred to serve with General Johnston in order to promote the general service.[34]

While Haynes was visiting his family in Wytheville during September, 1864, before attending the last session of Congress, he was informed that General John S. William and his 2,500 troops were there en route to Georgia. Haynes wrote Seddon that this section of southwest Virginia could be defended from the enemy if William and his troops were temporarily detached to this department. Seddon ordered William and his Middle Tennessee soldiers to report to General Breckinridge, who was commanding the Southwest Virginia and East Tennessee Command.[35]

At the end of the war, Haynes was arrested by the Federal authorities because of his service in the Confederate Government. His sister, Mrs. Nathaniel G. Taylor, who was living in Washington, D. C., at the time of

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., Series I, Vol. XXXIX, Part II, 878.

his arrest, appealed to President Johnson for his release. Johnson, who had been a political enemy of Haynes before the war and defeated him in the congressional election of 1851, pardoned Haynes.[36] Haynes returned to East Tennessee but moved to Memphis to spend the last decade of his life. In Memphis Haynes supported Johnson's plan of reconstruction. In 1866, along with ex-rebels G. A. Henry and N. B. Forrest, he spoke endorsing Johnson's policies of government.[37] Haynes practiced law in Memphis until his death on February 17, 1875.

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[36]Bachman, loc. cit., 26.

[37]Hamer, op. cit., II, 617.

CHAPTER V

THE ORATOR

The most prominent feature of Landon C. Haynes' lifetime achievements was his recognition as an eloquent orator. His oratorical ability and fascinating speeches have survived his statesmanship because he was a natural born orator: "orator nascitur, non fit."

Oratory, the art of speaking eloquently and in accordance with the rules of rhetoric, has been used by politicians since Demosthanes dignified it in the Athenian state. In America oratory has been the common means of communication between politicians and voters. William Cocke was considered the first orator in Tennessee, because he had "no equal" in his day as far as public speaking was concerned. Sam Houston was given the honor of being the "Father" of Tennessee oratory since he was a good drawing-card due to his military distinction and romantic living. James K. Polk's gubernatorial canvasses developed oral expression in Tennessee and lifted it to the rank of an art.[1]

It was in the footsteps of these earlier Tennessee orators that Haynes was destined to travel. How he compared with the others is difficult to determine; however, it is a substantial fact that he was one of the greatest orators of Tennessee during his day. In a letter to Thomas A. R. Nelson on August 8, 1859, H. M. Folsom of Elizabethton referred to Haynes as the "Cicero of America." In the opinion of Oliver P. Temple,

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[1]Hale and Merritt, op. cit., II, 485.

Haynes was a popular orator but "glittering rather than solid."[2] Frank Richardson in his book From Sunrise to Sunset: Reminiscence mentioned Haynes as the "silver-tongued orator of eminent fame." Doctor Charles Collins, an early president of Emory and Henry College, said that Haynes was the "finest declaimer he had ever heard." Mrs. Robert Bachman claimed that Haynes could not "be surpassed as an impromptu speaker."

Haynes was a born orator. This was discovered during his early school days when the schoolmaster held his weekly recitations. From the time he was ten years old until he left home to go to college, it was his custom to gather around him the laborers and slaves on the farm and hold them spellbound for hours and hours. This was his first training as a "stump speaker." He was clothed with an enriched gift of speech. He would rather win the hearts of his countrymen with his flowery discourses than work beside them in the dusty fields. At college, he continued the training of his oral expression.[3]

According to Richardson, Haynes' style was proficient. All of his natural talents were used in his speech. He would begin slowly and gradually warm up to his subject. His voice harmonized in accord with

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[2]Temple made this statement when he was comparing Haynes with Andrew Johnson during the congressional canvass of 1851. Temple believed that Johnson's solid facts were more convincing than Haynes' flowery words. Temple, op. cit., 378.

[3]Mullins' Scrapbook; interview with Mrs. Hannah Anderson Henley, Washington College, Tennessee, on May 31, 1951. While taking the 1950 census in Carter County, she talked with an old Negro woman whose mother was one of Landon C. Haynes' slaves. However, this Negro woman died shortly before the research for this paper was started.

his points. It "was loud as a trumpet or soft as a lute" to fit the moment. His facial expression displayed every movement of his heart and mind. Each gesture was gracefully executed. While speaking, he had complete control of his audience. He "made them laugh or cry at will." His reservoir of facts and logic seemed perpetual but his principal force was "description and word-painting" and his soul was filled with "exquisite sentiment as a bird is filled with song." [4]

Haynes' oratorical masterpiece was his tribute to "East Tennessee."[5] He delivered this eloquent oration in 1872 while the Supreme Court of Tennessee was in session at Jackson. One evening, after several days of legal proceedings, a party was given in honor of the members of the Tennessee Bar Association. During the evening, General Bedford Forrest, who was serving as toastmaster, arose and said, "Gentlemen: I propose the health of the eloquent gentleman from East Tennessee, a country sometimes spoken of as the God-forsaken." Haynes, smiling, arose and began:[6]

Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen:

I plead guilty to the impeachment. I was born in East Tennessee, on the banks of the Watauga, which in the Indian vernacular

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[4]Frank Richardson, From Sunrise to Sunset: Reminiscence (Bristol, Tennessee: King Publishing Company, Leroi Press, 1910), 90.

[5]This speech was used by the Knoxville Journal in welcoming the fifty-two governors from the forty-eight states and territories to Gatlinburg, Tennessee, for the forty-third Annual National Governors' Conference on September 30 through October 2, 1951. The Knoxville Journal (Knoxville, Tennessee), September 30, 1951.

[6]Bachman, loc. cit., 42. Mr. Simmerly said that Haynes prepared this speech during his early life and saved it for an appropriate time to deliver it. Since there is contradiction as to where it was given, it may have been spoken more than once by Haynes.

means beautiful river, and beautiful it is. I have stood up on its banks in my childhood and looked down through its glassy waters and beheld a heaven below, and then, looking upward, beheld a heaven above, reflecting, like two mirrors, each in the other, its moon and planets and trembling stars. Away from its banks of rock and cliff, hemlock and laurel, pine and cedar, stretches a vale back to the distant mountains as beautiful and exquisite as any in Italy or Switzerland. There stand the great Roan, the great Black and the great Smoky Mountains, upon whose summits the clouds gather of their own accord, even on the brightest day.

There I have seen the Great Spirit of the Storm after noontide go and take his evening nap in his pavilion of darkness and of clouds. Then I have seen him aroused at midnight, like a giant refreshed by slumber, and let loose the red lightnings that ran along the mountain tops for a thousand miles, swifter than an eagle's flight in heaven. And again, I have seen the lightnings stand up and dance like angels of light in the clouds, to the music of that grand organ of nature whose keys seemed to have been touched by the fingers of Divinity in the halls of eternity.

Then I have seen the darkness drift away beyond the horizon, and the morn arise from her saffron bed like a queen, put on her robe of light, come forth from her palace in the sun, and stand tip-toe on the misty mountain tops, and while night fled before her glorious face to his bed-chamber at the Pole, she lighted the green vale and beautiful river where I was born and played in childhood with a smile of sunshine. O, beautiful land of mountains, with thy sun painted cliffs, how can I ever forget thee.

While Haynes was expounding his flowery phrases regarding East Tennessee, General Forrest stood astonished. At the close, he commented that he would not have been more surprised if a bolt of lightning had struck him from the top of Old Smoky.

In a joint declamation with John M. Preston of Virginia, who had a national reputation as an orator, Haynes delivered a dramatical oration. A mass railroad meeting was held at Abingdon, Virginia, in 1852 in order to promote the building of a railroad from Knoxville, Tennessee, to Lynchburg,

Virginia. Haynes was chosen to appear on the program with Preston because of his support of railroad legislation during his terms in the Tennessee General Assembly. The site and speakers were selected to attract the attendance of citizens from Tennessee and Virginia. On the day of the convocation, an enthusiastic crowd congregated at Abingdon to witness the venture. A spirit of rivalry between Tennesseans and Virginians filled the atmosphere, especially among the students of nearby Emory and Henry College. The Virginians were sure that Preston would overshadow Haynes while the Tennesseans predicted that Haynes would tally an upset victory over Preston. The only victory that Preston scored that day was at the time of his arrival. Preston entered Abingdon in an open carriage drawn by two thoroughbred black horses and Haynes arrived on horseback. Preston spoke first and delivered a very beautiful address. His speech was beautiful and nothing else. At one time he referred to Virginia and stated, "There is not a pine on her bleakest mountain or rock on her most desolate shore but I love her." He was interrupted occasionally by the applauding of the aristocrats from Virginia and the pounding of their gold-headed canes. After Preston had finished, Haynes was introduced. He immediately struck the core of the meeting by speaking in behalf of the proposed railroad. His voice, which was known for its beautiful modulation, held the attention of the audience as he explained his points. During his lengthy oration, he described a Negro driver who was stuck in the mud with a six-mule team. His illustration was so realistic that the audience could visualize the stranded wagon with the mules turning from side to side in their desperate efforts to free the wagon from the sticky mud and the

profanity of the driver. Then he gave the contrast to this pitiable, distressful situation by depicting a railroad train moving the products of the nation across the country and bringing new life into the out-of-way places. The significance of this striking contrast had magnetic effect on the audience, some of whom stood with tears in their eyes as he painted numerous pictures of an industrial nation which would arise with the coming of an ironhorse. He spoke also of the natural beauty of East Tennessee and told of its wealth that would be developed through the building of a railroad. He tried to close several times but continued because the crowd cheered him on. At the close, the Virginians apologized for Preston and said that he was not at his best on that particular occasion. In the minds of the blue-blooded Virginians, according to Richardson, a Virginian cannot be surpassed by anyone when he is at his best.[7]

After this speech at Abingdon, Landon's sister, Mary Haynes Gifford remarked that someday a railroad would run in front of Landon's home. Her prediction came true forty years later in 1892, when the Clinchfield Railroad Company built a line through the frontyard of Landon's old home near Johnson City.[8]

The faculty of Emory and Henry College was so pleased with Haynes' railroad oration that they invited him to address the literary societies of the college in 1857. This address was only a literary production, but

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[7]Richardson, op. cit., 88-90. Haynes was interested in the railroad because he was a stockholder in the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company.

[8]Interview with Mr. Simmerly.

at the time of its delivery, it was welcomed with admiration by those who heard it. This address is his only published work. In this speech he paid his usual tribute to his native state of Tennessee: "The foot of man hath never trod the soil of any spot on earth where purer fountains gem the hills, or brighter streams falling from loftier heights, thread their shining ways through sweeter, greener, or lovelier vales."[9]



Haynes' Home Showing the Railroad

Haynes the orator, as an evangelist of the South and its doctrine of states' rights, delivered numerous orations on its behalf. Throughout the preceding chapters several of his political speeches and southern

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[9]Mullins' Scrapbook.

orations have been mentioned and quoted; therefore, they will not be used again. Haynes' ability as an orator lives only in tradition and was known only to those who heard him, but "fama semper vivat."[10]

On October 12, 1946, the Tennessee Historical Commission erected a monument as a permanent memorial to Landon Carter Haynes on the site of his Johnson City home.[11]



Civil War Period

Landon C. Haynes, who was the maternal uncle of Governors Alfred A. and Robert L. Taylor, lived on this site from the early 1840's until after the close of the Civil War.

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[10]English translation: "May his fame live forever."

[11]Since the inscription is not legible in the picture, it is quoted beneath it.

He was born in 1816, the grandson of George Haynes, a Revolutionary soldier of the continental line of Virginia. After serving in campaigns in South Carolina late in the war, George Haynes started for his home in the Valley of Virginia. Traveling on foot through the mountains he met a girl at a spring, and decided to remain in the neighborhood. The marriage of the two resulted.

Their son, David Haynes, became one of the largest owners of lands in the region. He purchased the Tipton homestead in Washington County, which he gave to his son, Landon Carter (named for Gen. Landon Carter, for whom Carter County was named).

The log home was weather-boarded, and the law office, which yet stands on the lawn, was built. There Landon C. practiced law in the Upper East Tennessee counties. Gifted in oratory, he turned to a political career; served in the legislature of 1845 and 1847; was elected speaker of the lower house in 1849; ran for Congress but was defeated in a Whig district by his opponent. He served as presidential elector for the state-at-large in 1856 [sic]. His canvass of the State was so brilliant and successful that it led to his election to the Senate of the Confederate States, in which he served from February, 1862, to war's end.

SUMMARY

During the ante-bellum period, Landon Carter Haynes was closely associated with the history of Tennessee. As a member of the General Assembly from 1845 to 1850, he proposed and supported legislation regarding internal improvements, humanitarianism, education, reduction of state expenditures and indebtedness, and the location of a branch of the Bank of Tennessee in each of the three divisions of the state.

One of Haynes' chief objectives both as a public servant and a private citizen was the establishment of adequate railway transportation. As a member of the state legislature, he fought for state aid for railroads. Even during his political retirement, he continued to promote railroads by public addresses. These railroads were important transportation facilities during the War Between the States because of the lack of available water transportation.

Politically, Haynes was a pre-southern Democrat who believed that Tennessee should co-operate with the South even if war were inevitable. His stand on states' rights earned him a seat in the Confederate Senate during the war. Besides participating in the activities of that legislative body, he worked to improve the military situation in Tennessee.

Regardless of his political achievements, Haynes' fame as an orator was deeply embedded in the next generation. Today, most Tennesseans have forgotten his political attainments but they remember him as an orator.

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