CHAPTER XI

BACK IN TENNESSEE

The North made of Parson Brownlow a great generator of war enthusiasm and hysteria. He sang his hymn of hate throughout the country and purveyed shocking accounts of Southern atrocities. In pushing the cause of Northern patriotism he was not unmindful of personal advantages to be reaped and opportunities to be seized. He had left the Confederacy with the stern purpose of coming back as soon as possible to force vengeance upon his enemies. As he could not return until the Federal armies should have driven out the Confederates he never ceased to demand a military strategy which should make its principal object the rescue of East Tennessee; and as he knew the more money he should carry back with him the easier his work would be, he never left his audiences uninformed on his financial needs in restoring his Knoxville Whig.

Naturally, then, he readily consented to write for George W. Childs a book which would tell how the South had provoked the war and how it had harried the Union people in East Tennessee. Such a book would make a great deal of money for the Parson, it would enrich Childs, and it would fire up the furnaces of Northern wrath and indignation and set them at the throats of their erstwhile Southern partners in the Union. Being an enterprising publisher, Childs had hastened from Philadelphia to Altoona to meet the Parson on his first trip east and to engage him to write the book. Brownlow accepted $10,000 for the manuscript and immediately set to work preparing it. Thus he busied himself in his Crosswicks, New Jersey, home, and before setting out on his campaign into New York and New England in May, he had finished the book.¹

¹Temple, op. cit., p. 317.
A work so hastily got together could not have been a model in diction or composition, but the Parson stood out on every page—and the North liked the Parson and his extravagant style. He called his work, consisting of 458 pages, *Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession; with a Narrative of Personal Adventures Among the Rebels.* Perhaps only a person with the sharp perspicacity of the Parson could have noticed an appreciable *decline* in the rebellion by May of 1862. The bookbinders, finding the Parson’s title too long for their skill, reduced it to *Parson Brownlow’s Book,* and by this title it became known to hundreds of thousands. In the first part of a long and fulsome flow of language he dedicated the book to all species of people who loved the Union and despised rebellion and especially to his “companions in the Knoxville Jail”; the second part he gave over to himself, who had opposed recklessly that Rebellion; to Washington, who had revered the Constitution; and to Jackson, who had demanded the preservation of the Union. Then followed as the text, a great conglomeration of editorials from his *Knoxville Whig,* written during 1860 and 1861, most of a diary which he had kept in the Knoxville jail, and withering denunciations of the Southerners which expressed his opinions in April and May of 1862 and which acted as beginning, end, and fillings for the gaps between his quoted material. In part of one chapter, he restrained his burning anger long enough to introduce his readers to the climate, soil, topography, and productions of East Tennessee, but he ended it with the cry of “fraud and villainy” against the secessionists and the declaration: “The Union men of the State are now in the majority, and will have the State back or die in the last ditch!”

One of the most interesting contributions the Parson made to his work was, in his capacity as spokesman of the Lord, to report the divine opinion and pleasure concerning the Rebellion. Since the remotest ages, warring nations have had their god of battles. The Hebrews wrought mightily under their Jehovah; but when the great nations of the earth became Christian and

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2 P. 223.
when deserting their Christian principles they plunged themselves into savage war, both sides perforce must call upon the same God for contradictory blessings. Each belligerent, assuming complete justification for his actions, has sought to appropriate for his own exclusive use the God of all. It vexed the Parson terribly that the wicked Southerners should in "unpardonable prayers" assume to call upon the God he was serving. From the beginning of this Rebellion the Rebels had "arrogantly claimed that God was on their side," and had promised their soldiers that if they should fall in battle the cause for which they fought would constitute "a passport sufficient to introduce them to all that exceeding weight of joy at God's right hand!"

The Parson would readily admit that the Lord had had something to do with the secession movement but only to the extent of permitting the devils to enter the chief leaders "just as He permitted them to enter the herd of swine and precipitate them into the Sea of Galilee!"

In the opinion of the Parson there was no argument on this earth more sure and compelling than that by statistics. With the feeling of divine sanction and finality he proclaimed the wondrous works of the Lord as culled from the trade reports and census volumes, and showed how unmistakably they proved that God was on the side of the North. He exclaimed, "How wonderfully has God arranged all the conditions of this great drama, to favor the Government of the United States and the millions of loyal citizens adhering thereto!" The proof he found in the following facts. The South by an immense cotton crop in 1859 richly supplied the wants of Europe and overstocked England. During the same year and the two years following, the Lord smiled upon the North and gave to her great grain crops, while at the same time He was apparently ungenerous to Europe, in lean crops—but there was a hidden purpose back of it all. Europe was now forced with the wealth the Lord had allowed it to accumulate from the evil South to purchase the surplus

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* Pp. 177-79.

* P. 182.
WILLIAM G. BROWNLOW

grain crop of the North and keep the balance of trade in favor of the Federal Government, even with all the exports of Southern cotton cut off.5

If this argument should seem far-fetched to some people, Brownlow had more direct proof that God was a Northerner: “In a review of the battles lost and won in this war, it is plain to be seen which army has the approbation of Providence.” Thereupon he called the roll of Union victories and found that there had been seventeen in 1861 and twelve in 1862, up to the early part of May. The Rebels had won in some inexplicable way seven victories during the first year, but had been completely shut out during 1862. But even in a more eloquent fashion had the divine approval been shown in the number of towns which the Federals had taken “with the Lord’s permission.” The Parson counted fifty-six towns and cities and twenty-five forts, all safely in the hands of the United States. He banteringly asked, “Do the clergymen who play at this game of Secession brag call this backing up one’s friends?”6

Instead of the Lord smiling on the South, the devil had it well under his control. The Parson declared that there was “in the South a mass of corruption that would poison the atmosphere of Paradise, were it to come in contact with it.” Profane swearing was almost universal among both officers and privates in the Southern army, and “Drunkenness, swindling, fighting, Sabbath-breaking, and gambling are the order of the day.” All of these facts and many others went to show that the Lord was on the side of the Federal Government. As overwhelming and final proof, the Parson cited statistics on the lot that had befallen many Confederate generals. Eight had been killed in battle, one had committed suicide, six had been captured, two had been suspended in disgrace, four had resigned and only one had been allowed to die a natural death.7

The Parson was not always perfectly convincing to the skeptical in his charges of Southern outrages and atrocities,

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6 The Parson did not originate this argument, but he eagerly appropriated it from an “able writer . . . in a religious periodical of high standing.” Pp. 181-82.
6 P. 186.
7 P. 190.
but now and then he cited as additional proof for the doubters the engravings in his book. He offered this species of proof of the atrocity where a Union man was "tied upon a log, his back stripped bare, and cut all to pieces with hickories." He not only wanted to select the limbs from which the sorry carcasses of his enemies should dangle, but he would even destroy some of the states. Of the "Old Dominion" he would make only "a historic cognomen in all time to come." A new rule must arise on her ruins and a new race occupy her soil. "What a fate, and what a retribution!" he exclaimed. He would divide the state among Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, and East Tennessee.

In the preface to his book the Parson said:

Extreme fastidiousness of taste may, perhaps, shrink with oversensitiveness from some of the language I have employed. . . . The traitors merited a sword-thrust style, and deserved the strongest epithet I have applied. My persecution by them was such that I had a fair right to handle them roughly: they were not worth any other mode of treatment; and I have written what I have written.

In concluding his four hundred and fifty-eighth page of terrible vituperation and abuse and of exaggeration and pathos, he admitted "I have spoken plainly, vehemently,—perhaps bitterly: I could not do otherwise in so dear a concernment as my country's good."

Brownlow naturally expected everybody in the North to read his book, and he was going to see to it that the Southerners should swallow it. He declared in New York, "They shall see it, read it at home, and tremble in their boots, as I give a fair and honest but scathing version of their villainy and their murderous course and conduct from beginning to end."

The book was published in the summer of 1862 and it was estimated that by September a hundred thousand copies had been sold and it was predicted that a half million would ultimately be marketed. In early July, George W. Childs sent Ben

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8 P. 274.
9 P. 276.
Butler a copy autographed by Brownlow, with the intelligence that the Parson highly approved of Butler both as a man and a soldier. In fact Butler was "just his style," and the Parson would be willing to support him for the presidency of the United States.\textsuperscript{11}

The principal Northern magazines reviewed the Parson's literary production, but due to the blunting effect their patriotism had upon their critical judgment, they found the book far better than they could possibly have adjudged it in peace-time, if indeed they had noticed it at all. Harper's Magazine considered it a little too severe in its language but felt that the fiery Parson had much provocation.\textsuperscript{12} The North American Review declared: "The writer commands our high respect as a man of massive, though unpolished intellect, of tenacious integrity of purpose, of no ordinary capacity in political satire, invective, and argument, and of a patriotism impregnable equally to bribes and to threats."\textsuperscript{13} Godey's Lady's Book spoke more of the deserving Parson than it did of his literary skill. It believed that most people in the North would read the book, and especially would they be glad to do so when they should find out that the Parson got a liberal royalty on every copy sold. It continued, "When we remember the persecutions that Mr. Brownlow underwent, the loss of all his property, the danger to his life, his separation from his wife and children, his long imprisonment, who will not purchase a copy of this book, and help the long persecuted Editor and Parson to get his rights and money enough to purchase the outfit for his printing office."\textsuperscript{14}

So great a favorite had the Parson become with the literary elite of the North, that he and his publisher, George W. Childs, decided that for the sake of profits they might reissue another literary product of the Parson's, slightly out of date in the Civil War, but as intemperate and blistering in language as his war

\textsuperscript{11} Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War, II, 51.
\textsuperscript{12} Harper's New Monthly Magazine, July, 1862, pp. 203-64.
\textsuperscript{13} October, 1862, p. 568.
\textsuperscript{14} September, 1862, p. 301.
book and as much in keeping with the peculiar literary tastes that seemed to prevail at that time. So it happened that *The Great Iron Wheel Examined* which had revolved more than 100,000 times during the great religious warfare of the 1850's was now once more set in motion. The only patriotic excuse that could be devised for the reissue would be to help the Parson raise money for his *Whig* and to keep alive the reputation of Parson Graves, who was now, according to Parson Brownlow, a cowardly Rebel.  

The Parson in person or the Parson in print was equally attractive to a sufficiently large number of Northerners, because he either entertained them or maddened them, as to make him a financial and patriotic asset in almost any guise. For those who could not afford to buy so stout a work as *Parson Brownlow's Book* there were two other productions which would give them much the same impression of the Parson and of the Rebellion. There was the *Portrait and Biography of Parson Brownlow, the Tennessee Patriot. Together with his Last Editorial in the Knoxville Whig; also, his Recent Speeches, Rehearsing his Experience with Secession, and his Prison Life*. It was published as a pamphlet in Indianapolis in 1862 and was sold for twenty-five cents. It declared that there were no greater exploits in modern times than those of the "patriotic exile, Parson Brownlow, of Tennessee." For those who could spare fifty cents there was published in Philadelphia in July of 1862 another pamphlet entitled *Brownlow, the Patriot and Martyr. Showing his Faith and Works, as Reported by Himself*. To popularize Brownlow's speech in New York City on May 15, 1862, at the Academy of Music, the text was published in a pamphlet, under the title of *Suffering Union Men*. This production contained one of his most delectable Southern atrocities: Rebel soldiers on their return through Knoxville after the Battle of Bull Run proudly held in the windows of their coaches the heads of Union soldiers they had decapitated.  

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15 This re-publication was announced in an advertisement in the rear of *Parson Brownlow's Book.*  
16 P. 17.
speech, which he made on May 19, 1862, was published in pamphlet under the title, the *Irreligious Character of the Rebellion*. Even when not in the center of the picture, the Parson was made to do service for patriotism and profit. This method of exploitation was used by resourceful Allen M. Scott, who wrote in 1863 his *Chronicles of the Great Rebellion*, in which using the Biblical style of language, he devoted two chapters to Brownlow.17

When it seemed that the Parson had been sufficiently portrayed in book and pamphlet, and his speeches in the North properly circulated, enterprising newspaper editors afforded their readers amusement or made them more patriotic by reproducing some of the literary gems formed and polished by the Parson while he was yet in East Tennessee. Making such industrious use of him, the *Boston Evening Transcript* published his undelivered gallows speech;18 and the *Boston Morning Journal* reproduced his famous answer to Jordan Clark, informing him when he expected to join the Democratic Party.19 The exploitation of the Parson was not complete, however, until he should be taken in hand by Erastus Beadle and made the hero in one of his dime novels, which were now beginning to be read so widely by soldiers and civilians alike. And, so, there appeared *Parson Brownlow and the Unionists of East Tennessee*, published in New York, 1862.20

The North had shown its high regard for Brownlow in many ways, but it remained for Lee & Walker, 722 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia to set him to music and publish, on January 12, 1863, the “Parson Brownlow Quick Step.” No other form of music, of course, could so appropriately express the excitable Parson. His picture adorned the centre of the sheet.21

There were many people who were his admirers but who had never had the opportunity to see him or to behold his likeness on

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17 Published in Cincinnati, by C. F. Vent & Co.
18 May 28, 1862. See pp. 192-95.
20 For the significance of the Beadle dime novels, see A. C. Cole, *The Irresistible Conflict, 1850-1865*, p. 224.
21 A copy of this piece of music is in the Library of Congress. During the progress of the Civil War the dedication of music to the principal heroes became a widespread custom.
the “Quick Step.” They must be served and at the same time a few honest and patriotic pennies turned by the resourceful photographers, who heralded his approach by advertising fine likenesses of him which they held for sale. The Parson would also make a remarkable addition to the numerous picture albums which patriotic citizens kept and filled with the nation’s heroes. His first visit to New York City in May, 1862, led one photographer to announce that “GLORIOUS PARSON BROWNLOW” was for sale and that “Twenty-five cents in stamps will bring the Parson by return mail.” Another photographer advertised

“PARSON BROWNLOW
a
CARTE DE VISTE
IN
SIX ATTITUDES
Ready this day.”

As he proceeded over the North he set the photographers into a whirl of activity and gave them one of their greatest opportunities to exploit a patriotic figure. Philadelphia offered the Parson on a card for twenty-five cents, and in a steel engraving for only ten cents. The energetic Boston photographers secured a supply of photographs of the Parson and had them on hand before his arrival.

But things were never done quite as well in other parts of the country as in Boston; so, it remained for those artists who captured the Parson after his arrival to offer the best likenesses. This notice was posted, “The very best photograph of this Apostle of Freedom was yesterday taken by Black.” It could be had either in wholesale lots or by retail. One, assuming to be an authority on Brownlow’s appearance, declared, “There have been many pictures of him made, but none equal to this work of our Boston artist.” As Brownlow progressed over the country many other pictures of him were made.

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24 Boston Evening Transcript, May 21, 1862.
Among many people in the North the name of Brownlow became as well known and more favorably than that of Lincoln. In the name of patriotism he exploited the North, and the Northern war-makers exploited him equally as much. In addition to these two principals who profited, was a third party as has appeared, made up of those enterprising and resourceful business men who were not so fortunate as to be manufacturers of war materials but who nevertheless produced things which the spirit of war made the people buy. This third class printed books and pamphlets about the Parson, put his likeness upon paper, and set him to music; and after they had fully exploited him they began upon his flag-defending daughter. There came out of Philadelphia a brochure by Major W. D. Reynolds, "late acting adjutant of the Western Army," entitled *Miss Martha Brownlow; or the Heroine of Tennessee. A Truthful and Graphic Account of the Many Perils and Privations endured by Miss Martha Brownlow, the Lovely and Accomplished Daughter of the Celebrated Parson Brownlow, during her Residence with her Father in Knoxville.* It was "beautifully illustrated" with the vigorous heroine on the front cover and at the end of the text. It contained, in addition, two drawings of fights with the Rebels by Union people and a third, whose artist might well have been recently whetting his imagination on Dante's Inferno. He represented a terrible monster with a face half hidden by a cloak thrown around its shoulders, concealing a dagger in the left hand and brandishing a flaming torch in the right, accompanied by a drove of venomous snakes, and trampling upon the Constitution. In the background was a flaming city. The whole was the spirit of the Confederacy. The Parson's daughter defended the flag in Knoxville for a page or two, but soon the story got far beyond. Brownlow came to the front and was jumbled into scenes, bringing in the slaying of Zollicoffer at Mill Springs and the fall of Fort Donelson. He hid out again in the Great Smokies and finally reappeared in Knoxville, with his reunited family. The author freed a few Negro slaves and made of them heroes slightly less in magnitude than the Parson himself. They spoke the purest English on proper occasions, but now and
then, the writer, nodding, allowed them to drift into "nigger talk." Though declared to be "truthful," many elements in the account were highly imaginative, and the whole assumed a level of intelligence among Northerners far lower than must have been the fact.

Such books were highly entertaining, but everybody in America could not read English—some people could read only German. They must be told in their own language the exciting experiences of the Parson's daughter. So the enterprising Philadelphia firm of Barclay and Company published in 1863, *Miss Maude Brownlow oder Die Helden von Tennessee*. It mattered not that Reynold's Martha Brownlow now became Maude, for her real name was Susan, and most of her exploits were fictitious.

Before the end of 1862, Brownlow was ready to return to East Tennessee. He had made a triumphal procession through the North, and receiving for many of his lectures an average of $1,000 each, he had accumulated enough money completely to reestablish in Knoxville himself, his family, and his newspaper. He had also collected enough proverbial rope for hanging all his enemies. Why tarry when the harvest was ripe for its reaper? The answer must be given by the Federal army and the National Government, and Brownlow often impatiently pressed for action. He wanted the army to start immediately; he would accompany it and point out those rebels who should receive attention. "We will shoot them down like dogs," he declared, "and hang them on every limb we come to." He pleaded, "Let an army—'a terrible army, with banners'—go at once into East Tennessee, and back up the loyal citizens, while the latter shoot and hang their persecutors wherever they can find them. I want the army to serve for me as a forerunner,—a sort of John the Baptist in the wilderness,—so that I may go back with a new press, type, and paper, and resurrect my Union journal, and tell one hundred thousand subscribers, weekly, what is going on upon the borders of civilization." The Confederates had

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*Suffering of Union Men*, p. 19.

been doing all the hanging; now he would like to do some.\textsuperscript{28} If the Federal Government should never do anything else, "it ought at least, and at any cost of money and blood," to rescue East Tennessee.\textsuperscript{29}

While waiting for his country to act, Brownlow had been continuing his speechmaking in the North through 1862, but by the beginning of 1863 he had determined to come closer to the center of operations. Shunning Kentucky on account of her lack of enthusiasm for her armies of occupation, Brownlow left his family north of the Ohio and ventured down into the domains of his former bitter enemy, Governor Andrew Johnson. On February 22 (1863), he spoke to the soldiers, in the capitol at Nashville, on the virtues of George Washington.\textsuperscript{30} When jobs with the government were so plentiful, especially for those with the proper influence, it seemed almost preposterous that Brownlow should be left out. Perhaps, he had been too critical of the government to expect to be favored like Andrew Johnson, or perhaps, at this time, he had no great ambition for political or financial preferment. So it came about that he became only a United States Treasury agent with headquarters at Nashville. It was his duty to permit or prohibit the ordinary trading and commercial activities of all classes of people, powerful or insignificant, and especially to keep close watch on all cotton which should come into the possession of the Federal army, to guard it from the cupidity of speculators, whether private or officer or civilian.\textsuperscript{31}

As has previously appeared, it was not the fault of Lincoln or of McClellan that the Federal armies had not marched into East Tennessee. The President held this movement as one of the most important that could be made and the occupation of East Tennessee "nearly as important as the capture of Rich-

\textsuperscript{28} Portrait and Biography, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{29} Parson Brownlow's Book, pp. 216-17.
When Buell had in the spring of 1862 moved on Nashville instead of Knoxville, Lincoln set about some other scheme for getting what he wanted; but it should have left no hope with intelligent people that there could be success when the marplot John C. Frémont, lately removed from Missouri, was intrusted with the task. Taking command of the “Mountain Department,” which extended as far south as Knoxville, Frémont planned to find a path through the Southern Highlands to East Tennessee, but the sudden incursion of Stonewall Jackson into the Shenandoah Valley in May, 1862, so completely disrupted Frémont’s plans to take possession of the East Tennessee portion of his Department that he never made the attempt. Brownlow had vivid expectations of accompanying Frémont to Knoxville. He declared to a Chicago audience, “I want a big war-horse and military suite, and the General and myself will ride down among those rebels, and, if you will excuse my apparent egotism, I do believe the scoundrels had rather see the Devil coming after them."

The Parson was doomed to disappointment. He declared that if he were the governor of Tennessee like Andrew Johnson he would resign “on the ground of not being backed up by the government.” He was completely out of patience. It seemed preposterous to him that the loyal part of Tennessee should remain in the hands of the Confederates, while only the disloyal part should constitute the Tennessee over which Andrew Johnson should rule. It was pleasant enough to hold under domination the Rebels, but it was entirely distasteful to allow the Rebels to dominate the Unionists.

After the fall of Nashville the armies of Grant and Buell, instead of directing their attention to East Tennessee, marched southward into Mississippi and began preparations for clearing the Mississippi River of every Confederate obstruction. Mem-

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33 R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel, eds., Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, II, 278.
34 Portrait and Biography, p. 71.
35 C. R. Hall, Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee, p. 58.
phis fell in June and West Tennessee was soon overrun. Then the Confederates made a great rebound northward into Ken­tucky, which might have carried them far had a wiser command­er than Braxton Bragg been the leader. In October (1862) they retreated back into Tennessee after the battle of Perry­ville, and now at last Lincoln felt sure Buell would pursue Bragg and go to the rescue of East Tennessee. Instead, Buell went back to Nashville, seemingly his first love; and so after having begged Buell for two years to seize East Tennessee, Lincoln now removed him from command and put Rosecrans in his place, with the order to seize and hold East Tennessee. Union generals seemed to shun East Tennessee as they would a plague—Rosecrans stayed in Nashville for weeks before marching eastward to Murfreesboro there to fight at Stone's River a battle during the last days of 1862 and the first two of 1863. Now the capture of Vicksburg became the chief concern in the West for the first part of 1863, and not until after its fall in early July, was East Tennessee made a major objective.

In the summer, plans were put into play for the final con­quest of this long-sought region. Rosecrans was ordered to march southeastward to drive Bragg out of Chattanooga, while Burnside was to lead an army from Lexington, Kentucky, across the Cumberland Mountains to Knoxville. Rosecrans flanked Bragg out of Chattanooga, and in the last days of August Burnside's entry into East Tennessee led Simon B. Buckner to evacuate Knoxville. During the first days of September the Federals marched in, more than two years after Brownlow, Johnson, and the other East Tennessee Unionists had begun their frantic calls for help. Now that this region was in the hands of the Federals, Lincoln determined that they must hold it, for if they did, the "rebellion must dwindle and die."36

The importance of East Tennessee was vividly brought home to the Confederates when after Lee's retreat into Virginia, following the battle of Gettysburg, he ordered Longstreet with about 11,000 men to go to the support of Bragg. With Knoxville now in the hands of the Federals, the direct railway connections were

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36 Nicolay and Hay, op. cit., IX, 129, 164.
broken; as a result, Longstreet entrained his troops by way of Petersburg, Wilmington, Augusta, Atlanta, and northward to Ringgold, Georgia, requiring ten days to make the trip. In the meantime the hard-fought battle of Chickamauga had taken place, and the Federals were now bottled up in Chattanooga. Arriving on September 25, Longstreet marched northeastward through East Tennessee and laid siege to Knoxville. After delaying an attack that might have succeeded, he remained around the city until December 3 when he retreated northeastward to the region between Russellville and Greeneville, there to spend the winter. He lived off a country already famished. His foraging parties were often attacked by the bushwhacking Unionists, who developed the habit of taking no prisoners, so bitter had they become in their privations. In the spring he rejoined Lee in Virginia and East Tennessee was freed from any further major molestations by the Confederates.

After Longstreet’s retreat from Knoxville in December, Lincoln on the 7th issued a proclamation of thanksgiving for the deliverance, and called upon all loyal people everywhere to assemble in their churches and thank God “for this great advancement of the national cause.” East Tennessee had rested heavily on Lincoln’s heart, and it was with genuine joy that he saw it back in the hands of the Federals. Since the beginning of the war its recovery had been a question of sentiment, politics, and military strategy inextricably bound up.

Brownlow was vastly pleased with the recovery of his old home. He had been much in evidence in the preparations by Burnside for the march and in supporting it later with fresh reinforcements. While Knoxville was under siege by Longstreet, Brownlow declared, whether Burnside should hold the city or not he was “a glorious moral and military hero, and deserves everlasting honors.” He had done more than any other Union general could be induced to attempt. The old idea of the military railroad from Lexington to Knoxville arose again, and

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37 Johnson and Buel, op. cit., III, 745-51.
Burnside made preparations to construct it. Brownlow informed Lincoln that "all men of sense" agreed to the wisdom of such an undertaking, and asked the President to press it on Congress in his next annual message.40

The Parson returned to Knoxville on the heels of Burnside's army and before the end of September he had secured an order from Secretary of War Stanton for enough ambulances for Burnside's army to transport his wife and children and those of Horace Maynard from Cincinnati to Knoxville.41 He immediately made preparations to set up his newspaper, and carry out the promise he had been making all over the North. He had held up to his prospective subscribers a paper which would take a hand in all the controversies of the day, which would be independent in everything and neutral in nothing. It would be an 

unconditional Union Journal, holding up all participants in the late Rebellion—now almost played out—as a choice collection of men for a Rogues' Gallery! At the same time, it will make war upon all the gamblers, the thieves, North and South,—those whose trade it is to rob the public, as well as private pilferers, the whiskey-bloats, the bullies in elections, oppressors who grind the face of the poor, extortioners in trade, who swindle by wholesale and retail, and all foul-mouthed Secession sympathizers and other disturbers of the peace in the various sink-holes of society!42

To help carry out such a laudable undertaking for the promotion of Unionism, the United States Government and the Federal armies lent their aid. A Federal brigadier ran upon "a new printing-press, type, and some ink" in the little town of Alexandria in Middle Tennessee, and immediately informed General Rosecrans that he would turn them over to Brownlow, unless he were otherwise instructed.43 The Government gave him $1,500 to aid his paper, together with the use of five army wagons to bring paper and other material from Cincinnati.44

40 Ibid., p. 278.  
42 Prospectus in Parson Brownlow's Book.  
44 Knoxville Whig, April 14, 1869.
At last there would be a rallying point for Unionism south of the Ohio and the Potomac, and the truth would once more be spread out over the land.

On November 11, 1863, the first issue of the revived Whig, phoenix-like, made its appearance from the ashes of its former existence, after a silence of more than two years. It came out under a more extended title, speaking defiance in the addition. It was now Brownlow’s Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator. The pent-up anger, indignation, and vengeance of two years’ standing were now to find their old-time channel of expression. The first issue contained his old valedictory and a new salute to the faithful. The halter awaited the intelligent and crafty leaders and forgiveness, the deluded masses—“With high regards for our friends, a decent respect for honorable enemies, and the lowest contempt for the leaders in the Rebellion, this Journal, with whatever of talents its editor can muster, launches upon the troubled sea of life!” On each page appeared a waving United States flag surmounting a selected stanza of poetry.

The Parson was taut and ready for the fray. Lincoln had been too lenient, he would likely make a soft peace. “The mediation we shall advocate, is that of the cannon and the sword; and our motto is—no armistice on land or sea, until all ALL the rebels, both front and rear, in arms, and in ambush are subjugated or exterminated! And then we are for visiting condign punishment upon the leaders in the rebellion, who may survive the struggle, in the unholy crusade against civilization.” He was soon digging into the happenings of 1861 to draw out terrible indictments of his dearest enemies. He burdened his paper with scathing attacks against them and with the threat of terrible vengeance that should go out against them. Those aristocrats who had lorded it over East Tennessee for the past forty years should now be driven out. They were a class of people “whose consciousness of superiority has been sticking out, whenever a family has owned from three to ten kinky-headed Negroes. This was an aristocracy founded alone upon the nigger, and so far

*Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, November 11, 1863.*
has it carried its insolence for years" that its members spoke to mechanics only with an air of great condescension.\footnote{Ibid., February 20, 1864.}

Brownlow saw many things to dislike and conditions to reform. Though gallant among the Northern ladies, he thoroughly detested the "female rebels," and frequently cried out against them. As time went on they seemed to become more incorrigible. "Female rebels," he declared, "old and young, married or single, widows or orphans, ought to be required to behave themselves, and failing to do so, they ought to be sent beyond our lines where their disloyalty and bad behavior will be appreciated. And those who complain of their bad treatment in sending them out, ought to be sent after them."\footnote{Ibid., November 2.} "Ill-bred soldiers and insolent negroes" riding up and down the sidewalks of Knoxville should desist. He wondered whether such maneuvers were born of military strategy or necessity.\footnote{Ibid., January 30.} Knoxville had suffered much in its manners under Confederate control.

Brownlow had seen much violence, personal and national, and it seemed to have unbalanced his better judgment. He not only used violent language but he counselled personal and private violence on the part of the people in preserving their rights and punishing their enemies. Perhaps he did not see that there was a difference between violence organized and stamped with the governmental approval and violence unorganized and willed by individuals. East Tennessee, though held in its principal strongholds by the Federal troops, was in the country districts subjected to the raiding parties of both armies, and the boundary lines between organized troops and guerillas were not always clearly drawn. In a conflict with a group of seventeen men, whom the Parson denominated guerillas, a Union man had been killed. This deed aroused in him a burning vengeance on the seventeen. He published in his paper the names of all he could discover, to serve as their decree of banishment or death: "We tell the world that such men can't live in East Tennessee. They must die if they ever return to this country. Let Union men kill them like dogs if they ever meet with them. We have procured all
the names but four, and record them that Union men and soldiers may shoot them down wherever they find them."

It pleased Brownlow much when he learned that General A. C. Gillem in a somewhat questionable manner had seen to it that John Morgan had not been taken prisoner in the fatal brush at Greeneville, Tennessee. He praised Gillem "for the timely and religious act for terminating the life, robberies and wholesale thefts of John H. Morgan, the most renowned land pirate of the nineteenth century."

The disorganizing effects of warfare in East Tennessee were keenly felt in the realm of private property. Each government in the day of its power had seized the property of its enemies, but with the passing of time the process of restoration entered the slowly emerging courts. Brownlow favored a hard and even course against the Rebels here. He believed that the Federal court at Knoxville was entirely too light in its dealings with the Rebels, in both property and personal rights. He called it "a complete farce." The magical and powerful title of "A Union man" the Parson would not lightly bestow on former Rebels, unrepentant and unashamed. "A Union man" was fine metal that had passed through the fiery furnace. He warned Governor Johnson against making it possible for so-called Union men to establish claims for damages done by marching armies or overzealous patriots. He also believed that the slaveholding Unionists should not receive pay nor expect it for any of their slaves which the government found it necessary to use. Other Unionists had suffered losses; let the slaveholders do likewise.

It was an outrage that Rebels should be suing Union men to recover their property. The courts might aid the Rebels and restore it, but the Union man still had one last resort. He might slay the Rebel as a discharged soldier had recently done, and the Parson would applaud. The courts might do whatever they pleased, "but injured, insulted and oppressed Union men will

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49 Ibid., April 30, 1864.
50 Ibid., September 21.
51 Hall, op. cit., p. 135.
52 Andrew Johnson Papers, Brownlow to Johnson, January 28, 1865.
53 Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, April 16, 1864.
redress their own wrongs—and, for the life of us, we are not able to see that they are in error."\textsuperscript{54} The Parson was giving dangerous counsel for the peace and repose of East Tennessee.

But all courts were not bad; their wickedness depended on the character of the decisions they handed down. Brownlow, himself, resorted to the courts to settle certain matters which he had not been able to dispose of in his \textit{Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator}. He had roasted over the brimstone pits of hell Sneed, Crozier, and Reynolds, whom he charged with causing his arrest, imprisonment, and banishment; but newspaper abuse was of no monetary value. Therefore, he would sue them for damages, in the courts. In the circuit court for Knox County he brought suit against the demon trio, and within five minutes after the case had gone to the jury, a verdict for $25,000 damages came out. Had he asked for double the amount, he might have got it just as easily, he boasted. Another Unionist who had been outraged to the extent of $25,000 was likewise pacified. In such matters, this was the Parson’s article of faith: “Impoverish the villains—take all they have—give their effects to the Union men they have crippled and imprisoned—and let them have their ‘Southern Rights.’ ”\textsuperscript{55}

There was one governmental authority in East Tennessee that could not be imposed upon or terrifi ed; Parson Brownlow was still a United States Treasury agent, and until a great amount of red tape should be pulled and time consumed he was judge, jury, and executioner for matters that came within his province in East Tennessee. He was East Tennessee’s dictator in its commercial affairs. No one might sell goods, buy goods, or import goods without his consent. This power he exercised through his right to determine who were Union men, and he let it be known that he could easily detect impostors. No Rebel should be allowed to engage in any sort of commercial activities, and taking a prescribed oath did not make a Rebel into a Union man, the Parson held. “They may take all the oaths prescribed by the President, by Congress, by the military, and by Gov. Johnson,”

\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Ibid.}, February 22, 1865.

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Ibid.}, March 1.
but they would still remain Rebels to the Parson. Besides being the arbiter of trade relations, Brownlow was also the custodian of much Rebel property such as abandoned farms and plantations. These lands he offered to rent out to persons properly qualified.  

Brownlow was not only the dictator of the economic welfare of East Tennessee; he was also its journalistic lord. Between these two absorbing duties and his proclivity to be interested in everything that engaged people’s attention, he found the days were likely to be made up of insufficient hours. He gave notice of the division of his time: He allotted his mornings before ten o’clock to his newspaper; the rest of the day he devoted to his Treasury duties. He warned the public to respect those hours: “We don’t want to be stopped and bored on the streets, and in the mud, on our way to and from our meals, and don’t intend to be in the future.”  

Instead of having her trade and economic recovery stifled by nice considerations of personal hatreds and political proscriptions East Tennessee should have been treated to a broad program of humanitarianism. This region suffered fearfully from both armies. Its horses and mules had been driven off, its cattle and swine slaughtered, its granaries emptied, its crops devastated, and its fences burned. The Federal armies marched into a destitute region, only to use up what substance there was left. This situation was soon on the road to developing into a major disaster. Outside aid must come or starvation would actually begin its ghastly work. In order to call the attention of the country to the dire needs, there was formed the East Tennessee Relief Association, made up of the Unionists of the region. On February 9, 1864, they sent an appeal to Lincoln, which the President on April 28 submitted to Congress. The appeal recounted the destitution that prevailed and suggested again the great desirability of building the railroad from Lexington to Knoxville. In sending the document on to Congress Lincoln expressed his deep commiseration for “these most loyal and

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66 Ibid., February 20, 27, April 23, 1864.  
67 Ibid., April 23.
suffering people,” and recommended again to Congress the construction of the railroad.58

Brownlow was a member of the Relief Association and one of the signers of the appeal to the President. His sympathy for the starving was excelled only by his bitterness against the Rebels, for according to his reasoning they were responsible for the situation. He declared that only the Union destitute should be fed “and none others”—and he would say so “unhesitatingly.” He termed as “barbaric” the plan advocated by some of the military experts to evacuate the civilian population. He declared that the East Tennessee Unionists “understood the government of their choice was sending an army here to protect them, and not to banish them cruelly from the land of their nativity, and the graves of their relatives. We will fight this unjust, cruel and inhuman order to the last, no matter by whom made or defended.”59

The call went out to the North for aid, but wiser heads than the Parson saw to it that humanitarian considerations were somewhat broadened. No Rebels of fighting age should be fed with the proceeds, but if anything should be left after the Union element had been taken care of, the old men and women and the young children of Rebel taint should share it.60 The generosity of the North for the destitute quickly expressed itself. Cities such as Philadelphia, New York, and Buffalo raised over $100,000, and widespread contributions throughout the North brought to East Tennessee sufferers more than $250,000. Northern relief organizations made appropriations from their funds or set about raising a specific East Tennessee donation. The Sanitary Commission gave many articles of comfort, the Pennsylvania Relief Society busied itself, and Edward Everett aided the cause with his oratory.61

East Tennessee was made to assume the position in national

58 Report to the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee, pp. 29-38; Nicolay and Hay, op. cit., X, 86, 87; Richardson, op. cit., VI, 204.

59 Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, April 16, 1864.

60 Report to the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee, pp. 11-12.

sentiment which Belgium was later to occupy in the Great World War. It had its atrocities to be believed and its destitute to be fed, and it became the subject as well as object of much promotion writing. J. R. Gilmore, assuming the name of Edmund Kirke, wrote his *Down in Tennessee and Back by Way of Richmond*, and had it published in 1864. He described the pathetic plight of a suffering people against whose sorrows the government had closed its eyes and ears, and predicted that this story would "be read of and wondered at, when this generation has passed away." In 1863, J. T. Trowbridge wrote his *Cudjo's Cave* to direct the attention of the country to the sufferings of the East Tennesseans. This book sold in immense numbers, touching the hearts of the North for Southern Unionists in much the same way that Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had appealed to them concerning the slaves. In the estimation of a poet too modest to sign his name, East Tennessee was worthy of an epic poem if not two, so he wrote *Secession or Prose in Rhyme and East Tennessee A Poem by an East Tennessean*. In these two poems he told of the crimes of the barbarous Rebels and the coming of the rescuers. This book was published in 1864.

As tenacious a form of Unionism as existed in the whole country was to be found in East Tennessee; yet this region was not an equal partner in the object of its devotion. It was neither a state nor part of a functioning state—fully neither in the Confederacy nor in the United States. On the attack of Fort Donelson on February 15, 1862, the Tennessee Government fled to Memphis where the legislature convened on the 20th. Exactly a month later it adjourned *sine die*, and never again did a Confederate legislature meet in the state. With the overrunning of middle and western Tennessee, civil government went out of existence and Governor Harris joined the Confederate army. On February 22, Grant had declared civil government suspended and martial law in effect. On March 3, Lincoln appointed Andrew Johnson military governor of Tennessee, and on March 12 he assumed his duties in Nashville.

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62 P. 105.
It was no easy task to distill out of the alarms of war a civil government, yet during 1862 Johnson busied himself with trying to set up civil rule in local affairs. The spectacular raids of Nathan Bedford Forrest and John Morgan and the great sweep of Bragg’s army made Governor Johnson’s efforts futile. But the Governor was not alone in his attempt to restore civil government; the Confederates had not yet abandoned the state. In June, 1863, they held a convention at Winchester, near the Alabama border, and nominated a governor and candidates for the Confederate Congress. The elections were held in the following August, and a governor, Robert L. Caruthers, and congressmen were chosen. The congressmen took their seats in Richmond, but Caruthers was never inaugurated.

On the first day of July (1863) the Unionists held a convention for the purpose of deciding on what step to take next. East Tennessee was still under Confederate control and Brownlow was still an exile, but he and other East Tennesseans attended. Brownlow was made a member of the important committee on Federal Relations. It was distinctly to the advantage of the East Tennesseans to delay all important steps until their section were freed from the Confederates, otherwise they would play little part in a government which they considered to be peculiarly their own. Furthermore, they had in the person of Governor Johnson the chief position as long as the military régime prevailed. But Lincoln would hurry the process and make Tennessee function again as a state as soon as possible. In September, after the fall of Knoxville and Chattanooga, he instructed Johnson to prepare the state for civil government, and on December 8 he issued his first amnesty proclamation and plan for reconstruction.

Tennessee now had the plan; the President had laid down the conditions the National Government would require. The next month Governor Johnson ordered local elections for March in those regions under Federal control, and established qualifications for voting more stringent than those Lincoln had required. The attempt ended in failure, since too many people
either refused to vote or found themselves unable. East Ten­
nesseans, who considered themselves the only unterrified and
uncorrupted part of the state and the only "truly loyal," now
decided to succeed to their heritage. They recalled the old
Greeneville Convention, which had adjourned in 1861 with the
right to reassemble, to consider the situation. It met in Knox­
ville on April 12, 1864, and was soon torn with dissensions as
to whether it would seek to secure civil control of all Tennessee
or confine itself to demanding statehood for East Tennessee.
After four days of confusion it adjourned to ward off a worse
fate. It recommended Lincoln for president and came out for
its own Andrew Johnson for vice president, and placed East
Tennessee in an advantageous position for any eventuality in
civil developments by appointing a state central committee.

East Tennessee’s past devotion to the Union would be a sac­
rifice almost worthwhile if it could now seat its favorite son in
the vice presidency. The National Union (Republican) Con­
vention was held in Baltimore in June, and among the delegates
present was the inevitable Parson Brownlow. The perplexing
question of the admission of delegates from Tennessee imme­
diately arose, for the status of Tennessee as partner in the
Union was an issue with which legal minds had been tussling
considerably. Was Tennessee a state? If not, what was it?
While the question was uppermost, Brownlow was spied in the
Convention. A clamor went up for a speech, a voice which he
always heeded. As he made his way to the platform “he was
greeted with deafening applause. The Convention and audi­
ence rose to their feet, and amid the waving of hats and hand­
kerciefs, the gallant old loyalist of East Tennessee” mounted
the rostrum. He declared that he was sick, very sick, and could
not make a speech. Yet he would say that the Tennessee delega­
tion must be seated. Down in Tennessee the people did not
recognize secession; this Convention must not. He remarked
that Tennessee might have a candidate to propose for the vice
presidency. The delegates were seated with full rights; Andrew
Johnson was nominated for Lincoln’s running mate; and Ten­
Tennessee was thereby through inference recognized as a state, for vice presidents must be residents of states.\footnote{New York Times, June 8, 9, 1864; Milton, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 52-53, 122.}

If Tennessee was a state it should vote in the coming presidential election. This duty emphasized the fact that all Tennesseans competent to take part in elections did not agree on political matters. Many people in middle and western Tennessee who had either been amnestied or had never departed from the faith, were not anxious to come under the domination of the radical East Tennesseans. They were conservatively constructed and were inclined to think that there were other men who would make a better president than Lincoln had been or gave promise of being. The trouble broke out in a convention called by the East Tennessee Central Committee to meet in Nashville on September 5. The East Tennesseans and their radical allies seized control of the convention and named Lincoln and Johnson men for the electors. The Conservatives later put out a McClellan and Pendleton ticket, representing the Democratic Party, but so restricting and stringent were the voting qualifications made by Johnson that the McClellan ticket withdrew. The Lincoln and Johnson electors received a stragglng vote. Congress refused to count the Tennessee returns, presumably because the group did not want to consider Tennessee a state, and yet she nevertheless elected a candidate from Tennessee. If Tennessee was not a state then Andrew Johnson was not vice president.

Now that Johnson would be inaugurated on the following March 4, East Tennessee must be prepared to maintain her dominant position in Tennessee. The East Tennessee Central Committee, therefore, called a convention to meet in Nashville in December, but General Hood's operations prevented its assembling until January 9, 1865. Its control by the East Tennesseans was cleverly provided for by allowing every county one vote and one additional vote for every 150 Union votes cast in the secession election of June, 1861. Thus East Tennessee Unionism was finally rewarded and its adherents placed in a position of dominance. This convention became the all-powerful
dictator of Tennessee's civil restoration, as far as state power could be exerted. It provided for amending the constitution in various particulars, including freeing the slaves; it repealed the secession ordinance, dissolved the military league with the Confederacy, repudiated the Confederate debts, and declared all acts of the secession government null and void.

Before adjourning it provided for two elections, one to be held on Washington's birthday for the purpose of ratifying the constitutional amendments, the other to be held on the Lincoln and Johnson inauguration day for the election of a governor and legislature. This body not only acted as constitutional convention and legislature, it also served as a political convention—it nominated Parson Brownlow for governor, and selected the legislative ticket. The Parson was the logical choice for the convention to make, for he had been in the midst of the East Tennessee leadership which had now got control of the whole state. He had served continuously on the Central Committee which had brought about East Tennessee's present good fortune. He was the most prominent East Tennesseean outside the vice presidency—Johnson had received his reward, Brownlow must have his.

In the February 22 election the constitutional amendments were adopted by a vote of 26,865 to 67, and on March 4 Brownlow was elected by a vote of 23,352 to 35. According to Lincoln's plan, if the number of voters in the election for restoration should be as large as one-tenth of the votes cast in the presidential election of 1860, the state should be considered validly in the Union again. In each election Tennessee had met the test. 64

64 For the main facts concerning Tennessee's political history during the Civil War, see J. W. Patton, Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869, pp. 26-50; Fertig, op. cit., pp. 34-60; Temple, op. cit., passim; The South in the Building of the Nation, II, 517-22.