CHAPTER XIII

THE MINORITY ESTABLISHES ITSELF

The bitterest hatred Brownlow was able to distill he had flung out against the religious leaders of the Confederacy. He made the Methodist preachers the particular object of his attacks. Since they were of his own Church he knew them best, and they appeared to him to be the most hardened sinners. He might have been able to forgive them individually of their treason, but when he saw them stampeding the Church organization into the Rebellion, he feared they were bent on disrupting religion. By 1862 he had declared that it would "take years of fasting and prayer to heal the divisions."

Under the direction of Bishop Early, the aristocratic brother of the General, the Holston Conference did what religious organizations have always found it expedient and wise to do; it acknowledged the supremacy of the government under which it lived, and loyally supported it. At its conference in 1861, at Greeneville, the home of Andrew Johnson, it inserted in its exercises prayers for the Confederacy, and did not stultify itself by including the United States, the public enemy. The next year it met at Athens, Tennessee, where it logically expelled nine Union preachers and naively elected to life membership in the "Parent Missionary Society," President Davis, and Generals Sterling Price, John Morgan, Simon B. Buckner, Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. The next year (1863) it met at Wytheville, Virginia, and standing true to its policy, expelled more Union preachers. In 1864, Bishop Early held the conference in Bristol. It scanned its membership and found addi-

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1 Parson Brownlow's Book, p. 190.
tional traitors to the Confederacy and promptly expelled them. It also forbade anyone taking the oath to support the public enemy, which was trying to conquer the country. The Confederate Government aided the Holston Conference by arresting and imprisoning those ministers who were too outspoken in their love for the United States.³

When the Confederacy lost the war, the Holston Conference bowed to the inevitable. At its meeting in Marion, Virginia, in September, 1865, with the same Bishop Early presiding, it passed a series of resolutions of loyalty to the United States, and as consistent as ever, declared that it was obeying the Scriptures which taught loyalty to the supreme civil authority. It showed contrition by admitting that it had been hasty in expelling some of its members during the war.⁴

The course of the Methodist Church in East Tennessee during the war, had been an outrage in the eyes of the Parson. In the first number of his resurrected Whig, issued on his return from the North in 1863, he began a fierce denunciation of the "revered traitors." He charged:

They have aided in the work of devastating the country; they have contributed to fill the land with mourning; they have caused tears of tens of thousands of widows to flow, they have done their full part, in handing to posterity an army of orphan children; they have aided materially in filling thousands of graves with the best citizens of the country, North and South; and fearful to relate, they have mainly contributed to send thousands to hell, who might have been redeemed by the blood of Christ, but for this war! We can never hear one of these base hypocrites preach, if we can get beyond the sound of his hateful voice.⁵

The Parson declared that the Confederate Methodists were a depraved set of people, and were wicked beyond compare. They had recently held a religious picnic and they had amused themselves mostly by fiddling and dancing.⁶ Throughout the remainder of its existence Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Rebel

⁴ Ibid., pp. 400-8; Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, October 4, 1865.
⁵ Ibid., November 11, 1863.
⁶ Ibid.
Ventilator held the Confederate Methodists to be the worst element in all rebeldom, and pursued them relentlessly.

The situation demanded something more than condemnation. Brownlow was still a Methodist and he would remain so, but he would not fraternize or commune with the Rebel Methodists. The remedy was simple. The Southern Methodist Church, which had by agreement in 1844 been given the South as its vineyard, should now be dispossessed by the Northern branch of the Church. The violation of an agreement did not seem to matter with the Parson; it was sufficient that the Southern Methodists had been guilty of treason. He now, seconded by the Federal army chaplains, began a correspondence with the Northern organization for the purpose of inducing it to take over the Church in Tennessee.

With the coming of the Federal armies into East Tennessee, many of the churches had been left without pastors and some without congregations. This property Brownlow felt should be seized, and the process was soon started. Bishop Matthew Simpson, who may have believed in the separation of church and state but who certainly believed that the Northern Methodists should join the Republican Party, became interested in extending his Church southward. Such a program would increase the power of his Church and at the same time punish and dispossess the Rebels. He appeared in Tennessee in January, 1864, and organized a few congregations in Nashville before visiting East Tennessee. The Parson invited him to Knoxville, but the Bishop was unable to reach the citadel of Brownlowism on account of high water on the Tennessee.7

The General Conference of the Methodist Church in Philadelphia in 1864 had sanctioned the religious invasion of the South. After attending to some political matters at the Republican National Convention at Baltimore in June (1864) Brownlow had continued his journey to Philadelphia where he consulted with Bishop Simpson. He returned by way of Cincinnati in order to confer with Bishop Kingsley under whose watch-care the South had been placed. Brownlow urged the organization

7Ibid., February 23, 1864; Hesseltine, op. cit., pp. 10-12.
of the Holston Conference as a part of the Northern Branch of the Church.\textsuperscript{8} In more immediate and direct pursuance of this scheme, the Parson and a few other Methodists in May, 1864, issued a call for a convention to meet in Knoxville the following July. In the meeting that took place “fire and brimstone” resolutions were hurled at the Southern Methodists and a committee was appointed to decide on the next step. The decision was quickly made to secede from the old Holston Conference, seize the property and join the Northern branch. The report was adopted unanimously. There were 55 delegates present, 27 being preachers. Brownlow was in chief command.\textsuperscript{9}

Thus far had the religious revolution progressed when Brownlow became the civil head of Tennessee. According to the new governor, Tennesseans had committed more grievous sins religiously than politically, if such were possible. Therefore the Rebel Methodists should expect religious reconstruction no less surely than political reconstruction. The Parson in time past had often accused the Democrats of wanting to unite church and state, but as governor he would not refrain from using the increased power of his position in dealing with the Methodists. In August, 1865, he promised to let them meet and take up their Church affairs if they properly demeaned themselves—otherwise he would arrest them. As for Bishop Early, he should not play bishop within the Parson’s dominions.\textsuperscript{10}

Just as the Governor began the process of rescuing the state from the Rebels with the meeting of his legislature in April (1865), the Parson began the first important work of rescuing the Church in the following June. Bishop Clark was directly in charge of the new Holston Conference, which was called together in Athens, and organized as part of the Northern Methodists. With joy the assembled preachers of religion and patriotism

\textsuperscript{8} Strictly speaking the terms applied to the two branches of the Methodist Church were Methodist Episcopal Church South, and simply Methodist Episcopal Church. The terms Northern and Southern are used for clearness and to emphasize the contrast.

\textsuperscript{9} Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, July 23, 1864; Southern Watchman, August 2, 1865; Price, \textit{op. cit.}, IV, 353-57.

\textsuperscript{10} Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, August 16, 1865.
recorded the success of Federal arms over "a gigantic, unprovoked and wicked rebellion" and announced the dispersal of the Rebels "who crimsoned the land with the blood of our sons and brethren, swept our homes with desolation, and filled our hearts with anguish." They resolved such traitors out of all possibilities of entering Heaven and consigned them to the nether world. Those ministers who entered the rebellion "and imbibed the spirit thereof, are guilty of a crime which is sufficient to exclude them from the Kingdom of Grace and Glory" and they should not be admitted into the Conference until "full confession and thorough repentance." This new Holston Conference of the Northern wing started out with more than a half-hundred preachers, more than 6,000 members, and 51 Sunday schools. 11

Violence both in language and in act for the next half dozen years characterized the Brownlow church régime in its relations with the Southern Methodists. They were plainly informed that the Federal soldiers would soon be returning home, with both the mind and the means for tolerating little from Rebel Methodists. 12 One soldier regulator declared, "We Federal soldiers regard horse thieves and the Southern Methodist Church as the only two rebel organizations but what surrendered with Lee's army." 13 Brownlow characterized the Southern Holston Conference at Marion, Virginia, in September, 1865, as nothing better than a "Rebel Court Martial," and the Whig advised the Northern Methodists to "show no quarters to traitors and treason." The Southern Methodists were a "politican rebel organization." 14

Brownlow attempted to stampede all East Tennesseans of Union proclivities into his Northern Methodist organization, fearing that the Rebels might predominate in Church as they undoubtedly did in state. This new organization should be designed also to capture the Negroes and immigrants. As an effort to capitalize on former Union patriotism, the Northern Method-

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11 Southern Watchman, August 2, 1865; Price, op. cit., IV, 393-94.
12 Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, September 20, 1865.
13 Price, op. cit., IV, 457.
14 Knoxville Whig, May 30, December 19, 1866.
ists in some places labelled themselves the "United States Church." So utterly worthless and depraved were the Southern Methodist preachers that Brownlow was not sure they should be allowed to assume the various stations they were attempting to fill. Of them he said, "With souls panting, no doubt, for spiritual comfort and refreshment, these lovers of Southern religion will groan around the altars of these pious divines."

The onset against the Southern Methodists became one of the chief activities of the Northern Methodists of East Tennessee. J. L. Mann, pastor of the Greeneville church, gave fourteen extensive reasons why he "would not fellowship" with the Southern Methodists, ending up with the charge that they were striving "by all means, both fair and foul, and especially by the latter, to build up and perpetuate one of the most intensely treasonable organizations now out of perdition." Apart from Brownlow, whose time was somewhat divided on account of his gubernatorial duties, the greatest clerical gladiator in East Tennessee was Rev. T. H. Pearne, the presiding elder of Brownlow’s Knoxville district. He kept up a continual agitation against the Southern Methodists and sought to exterminate them with harsh words. After accusing them of all the crimes in the Decalogue, he asked when did they "put away and renounce their treason-abetting and rebellion-promoting political meddling?" He declared, "I have no terms to express the supreme contempt and utter loathing which they deserve." Though accusing Southern Methodist pastors of having engaged in politics, he saw no inconsistency in plunging headlong into the game himself. In 1868, he attended the Republican Convention in Nashville and offered a resolution of praise for Brownlow. He wrote many attacks in the Whig against the Southern Methodists and became so proficient in the Brownlow style of journalism that he later took over the paper and became the sole editor.

Under the tutelage of Brownlow, Pearne, and others, the

15 Price, op. cit., IV, 476.
16 Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, October 4, 1865.
17 Ibid., November 14, 1866.
18 Ibid., December 19.
19 Ibid., February 28, 1868.
Northern Methodists of East Tennessee grew strong in numbers and vindictive in spirit. Brownlow attended a conference in Greeneville in the summer of 1866 and declared that he had never heard better preaching than there. He reported that the Holston Conference contained 6 presiding elder districts, 60 stations and circuits, 200 preachers, and 18,300 members. The pestilential condition of the times, aided by the leadership of the Northern Methodists in East Tennessee, led to a veritable reign of terror in certain parts of the Holston Conference. The Northern Methodist transformed himself into a modern crusader who looked upon every Southern Methodist minister as an unspeakable Turk to be assaulted and his house of worship as a new Jerusalem to be stormed. The Southern preachers were locked out, barred out, and thrown out of their pulpits and if they showed a disposition to dispute or remain on the church grounds they were cowhided or ridden away on rails. So zealous were these crusaders that even Elder Pearne sought to call them off their warfare of violence.

The particular occasion for most of the trouble with the Southern Methodists developed out of the seizure of their church property. The Northern Methodists seized about a hundred churches in East Tennessee and drove their Southern brethren to resort to "public halls, courthouses, private dwellings, and groves." In a land where the Southern Methodists were disfranchised and deprived of valuable civil rights, their only recourse left was to plead the injustice of the seizures and beg for their property to be returned. In 1867, the Southern Holston Conference appointed a committee to memorialize the general conference of the Northern Methodists, meeting at Chicago, to restore their property, and resolving at the same time not to shake the hand of ministers of the Northern Holston Conference until it released from its grasp "all the property of ours which it now holds." Receiving no satisfaction, the Southern

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20 Knoxville Whig, May 30, 1866.
21 Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, December 20, 1865; Price, op. cit., IV, 460-77, 492-508.
22 Ibid., V, 11.
23 Ibid., IV, 444-45.
Methodists petitioned the general conference again the next year, but Bishop Simpson being too busily engaged in directing the prayers and resolutions of the conference toward the removal of Andrew Johnson from the presidency, had the memorial referred back to the Northern Holston Conference. The struggle to regain their property was long drawn out, but they gradually made headway. By 1873 the Northern Methodists still held eighteen churches and one parsonage. The controversy was finally settled by the so-called Cape May agreement a few years later.

The Northern Holston Conference, backed by the government of Tennessee and the Northern Methodist Church, forged ahead of the Southern Holston Conference in membership. Their numbers were increased also by the flocking in of the Negroes. But in this situation there was great need for the most astute diplomacy. East Tennesseans had such a strong antipathy for Negroes that even their extreme Unionism could not efface it. When the Negroes obtained political equality in Tennessee, they believed that religious equality was included. Following out this idea three colored preachers, uninvited, partook of the communion with whites in the Knoxville congregation. Much explanation was necessary to keep the Southern Methodists from gaining a major victory here, as they spread the news of what had happened. In the name of patriotism the Parson and his religious lieutenants had succeeded in setting East Tennessee as far back religiously as politically.

Brownlow's religious program was not his only excursion into the field of organized morality. Temperance had long interested him, and now that he was governor, he would strike a blow in its behalf. In his various messages to the legislature he dealt with the subject, and though he used some vehemence in arguing for it, he was never able to translate it into legislation. He advocated a tax on whiskey so high that no one could afford to pay it, and if he could not win support for this plan, he pro-

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"Ibid., pp. 455-58.
"Ibid., V, 5-31, 89.
"Ibid., IV, 411, 433, 446.
"Knoxville Whig, November 6, 1867."
posed to give the counties the right to abolish completely the manufacture and sale of whiskey within their borders. As he looked around over the state he saw "Intemperance . . . blowing up steamboats, upsetting stage-coaches, and through the carelessness of drunken engineers or switch-tenders, . . . bringing trains in collision or running them off the track." 28

Having the Tennessee government securely in their hands, the Unionists decided they would make it serve their purposes, whatever they might be. They early hit upon the plan of extracting from the treasury, pensions for those East Tennesseans who had borne the brunt of Confederate tyranny. A bounty of $100 each to every widow and orphan of an East Tennessee Unionist was much advocated during the fall of 1865, and the Whig was insistent in its support of the plan, berating all who opposed it. 29 The bill was finally defeated, but in his messages to the legislature on April 13 and 18, 1866, Brownlow changed the scheme somewhat by broadening it and demanding that the state pay all loyal Tennesseans who had suffered losses in the war. He counted on the United States ultimately reimbursing Tennessee. He was already mildly disgusted with the Federal Government for being so slow in doing this elementary justice to Tennessee, especially since it had already paid for damages suffered by Indiana, Pennsylvania, and other Northern states. To raise this money, awaiting the time when the United States would act, he advocated the state issuing small bonds in the denominations of $50 and $100. He was confident the Federal Government would reimburse Tennessee before the bonds should fall due, and so the state would be put to no expense. This became a Radical scheme of first importance after the passage of the franchise act, but it never became a law. Perhaps too many people would share its benefits; the few were the ones who were

28 Senate Journal of Tennessee, 1865-1866, pp. 23-24; Knoxville Whig, October 9, 1867.
29 Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, November 22, 1865; New York Times, November 10, 1865.
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There were, indeed, benefits to be had by the East Tennessee Unionists in their control of the government, but there were also hazards. In the spring of 1866, when the "little rebellion" had broken out in the legislature over the attempt to force through the franchise law, the hazards began to loom up as too certain. At this time a large mass meeting was held in Knoxville for the purpose of determining what should be the wisest course for the Unionists to follow. The old idea of a state of East Tennessee was immediately brought out and refurbished again. They declared that if the franchise law did not pass they would immediately demand a new state to escape the tyranny of the Rebels who largely predominated in Middle and West Tennessee. They had fears of the wrath of those whom they had degraded. Brownlow's Whig seized the new state plan and pushed it with vigor. In March, 1866, it reported that the new state enthusiasm was "increasing very rapidly," that the course of feeling and events in Middle and West Tennessee was "increasing the desire to be separated from them, and to have a loyal State organized here." Middle and West Tennessee had plunged the state into secession and had brought down upon East Tennessee all her woes. She could, therefore, never live in peace and friendship with those parts of the state.

Beside the feeling of certain retribution ultimately for what they had made the rest of the state suffer, the East Tennesseans had additional reasons for a new state. East Tennessee had always differed from the middle and western portions of the state in politics and in economic developments and ambitions. East Tennessee might well become a great mining and manufacturing state. It would not be too small; it would, in fact, be eleven

30 Senate Journal of Tennessee, 1865-1866, p. 425; Knoxville Whig, April 25, May 2, 1866.
31 Knoxville Whig, March 14, April 4, 11, 1866; American Annual Cyclopaedia, 1866, p. 732.
times as large as Rhode Island; it would include 31 counties.\(^{32}\) A more important immediate reason would be the certain admission into the Union of the new state of East Tennessee. The *Whig* declared Congress would admit it at once, as it would be "greatly superior to West Virginia."\(^{33}\) The Congressional Radicals were the friends of industrialism in the North, so they would not be frightened by the appearance of hostile agriculturalist Congressmen as they held Southerners generally to be, for East Tennessee had already embraced the industrial program.\(^{34}\)

A propaganda campaign was started to popularize the new state idea and to arouse the people into a demand for it. A convention was called to meet in Knoxville in May, 1866, and various meetings were held to arouse interest and to elect delegates.\(^{35}\) To the objection raised that if East Tennessee were set up as a state, it would lose the beautiful capitol building in Nashville, a new-state enthusiast replied, "We had rather be governed by good laws made in a hog pen, than rebel laws made in the grand Capitol at Nashville."\(^{36}\) The meeting took place on May 3 and 4 in the courthouse, with 22 counties represented. Oliver P. Temple set forth in a long report the reasons why East Tennessee should become a new state, emphasizing the possibility of the state passing into Rebel hands at the next election and leaving to the imagination what would happen to East Tennesseans in that event. The convention resolved to issue an address to the people and to immediately petition the legislature for permission to divide the state. On May 16 a new-state memorial was presented to the legislature. It was referred to a committee which reported it back favorably. But by this time the franchise law had passed and the keenest edge of the movement was dulled.\(^{37}\) Brownlow declared that the East Tennesseans favored a new state "and if the measure were left to the people at the ballot-box, they would carry it by as great a majority as they voted down secession in 1861."\(^{38}\)

\(^{32}\) *Knoxville Whig*, April 4, 1866.

\(^{33}\) Ibid., April 11.

\(^{35}\) Ibid., April 25.  

\(^{36}\) Ibid.  


\(^{38}\) *Knoxville Whig*, May 30, 1866.
In fact the East Tennessee politicians were opposed to divid­ing the state as long as there was any possibility of their rul­ing the whole, since it would have reduced their power and spoils; and the masses of people in East Tennessee could never be made to see the wisdom of legislating themselves into poverty by the erection of a new state with all the expense of setting up a new government. Proof that East Tennesseans did not want a new state is to be seen in the fact that they had control of every branch of the government when the movement was at its greatest strength, and if they had wanted the new state or had been convinced that the people wanted it, they had it within their power to cut off East Tennessee and apply to Congress for admission. But statehood agitation was destined never to die. In the early part of 1869, when the Radical Tennesseans saw definitely the end of their road, they introduced again the statehood resolution in the legislature, but now they had waited too long. The Morristown Gazette sized up the situation thus, "That party sees that power is certain to slip from their grasp if the State continues as it is, and hence they want East Tennessee, which is so intensely Radical, cut loose from the other portion, so they will have something to fall back upon."

The whole Brownlow régime, political, constitutional, and religious, was watched throughout the United States with feelings as diverse as the watchers. Some comments were far from friendly, and if Brownlow considered his critics worthy of his wrath, he replied with double the venom they used. The quarrel most bitter and spectacular in the language used grew up with George D. Prentice, the brilliant editor of the Louisville Journal. It had its innocent and obscure origin back in 1864 when Prentice, who had come to distrust Lincoln and had been bold enough to publicly say so, accused Brownlow of suddenly departing from his coolness toward the President and entering into a full support of him because of a Federal job that had been bestowed upon the Parson. This accusation led to a mild passage of arms between the two, but the full fury of the fight did not develop until 1866 when Prentice began to find fault with Brownlow's management

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*Quoted in Knoxville Whig, February 17, 1869.*
of Tennessee. The Parson had early in the quarrel struck back with the charge that Prentice had swindled the United States Government in connection with army contracts during the war.\textsuperscript{40} He then, as was his custom, drifted into personal and private abuse. He declared that Prentice was no longer a person of influence, that "For more than a year he has been in a state of beastly intoxication."\textsuperscript{41}

Prentice now began a denunciation of Brownlow which, perhaps, equalled in its severity anything the Parson had ever been able to produce—a denunciation so extreme and devoid of good taste as to suggest the disintegrating effects of old age. He became brutally personal. The Parson's face looks "like that of a dead man, who mistaking a boy's tooting horn for Gabriel's trumpet has got up for judgment before his time." He professed to guide people to "heaven and curses them to hell." "He lies with his pen, lies with his tongue, lies with his gestures, lies through every pore of his shrivelled hide." He was as extreme as "the lowest and worst radical in the nation. He would gladly bathe his hands and feet and wash his face in the blood of every man who is not a radical." No state had ever been disgraced by such a governor as Brownlow. "He is a parody, a caricature, a broad burlesque on all possible Governors. He is a monstrosity. He is a thing as much out of nature as Barnum's wooly horse, or his giants and dwarfs, or his calf with two heads and eight legs—four of the legs pointing toward the zenith. His blood is hell broth, which Satan will one day sup with a long spoon." Prentice declared, "He never argued a question in his life, approaching no subject but with fierce, bitter, coarse, low and vulgar objurgations." He called himself a clergyman.

He preaches, prays and exhorts, draws down his face, drops the corners of his mouth, and undertakes to look sanctimonious.... He can't offer up a prayer in the House of God without telling the Lord what an infernal scoundrel, that or the other neighbor is. From his youth up to his old age, he has had no personal contro-\textsuperscript{40} Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, November 9, 1864, May 9, 16, 1866; Temple, op. cit., p. 289.\textsuperscript{41} Knoxville Whig, April 4, 1866.
versities without attacking the wives, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, grandmothers, brothers, sisters, children, uncles, aunts, and nephews of his opponents. He has sought to strew his whole path of life with the dark wrecks of wantonly ruined reputations. He has never had an hour's happiness except in the unhappiness of others. He never had a friend on earth outside of his own family.

He was destined to go down in disgrace a prey to his own conscience. He was in fact a wild animal and Tennessee ought to catch him "with a lasso and cage him." The Parson having met in Prentice his match in the art of vituperation, and having many less skillful enemies to fight soon began to devote his attention to the latter. Among these he found John Baxter, an East Tennessee Unionist who nevertheless had had sufficient standing with the Confederacy in 1861 to secure the promise of a passport for the Parson when he was hiding out in the Great Smokies. Baxter aroused the anger of the Parson by refusing to support his regime as governor. Brownlow now devoted many columns of his Whig to low abuse of Baxter, taking up his career from 1861 on down. In 1867, when the fight was at its height, he denounced Baxter through three columns of the Whig, and then declared "As a LIAR you are at the head of the list, and if a Liars' Fair were to be held in Tennessee, you would take all the premiums." He also fell to fighting W. B. Carter whom he charged with stealing and embezzling. Editor Fleming, who ran the Conservative newspaper in Knoxville, the Parson notified should have his attention as soon as he had finished with writing his message to the legislature. The Parson disliked Fleming because of uncomplimentary remarks the latter had made about him in his paper. He also found it easy to castigate terribly Frederick S. Heiskell.

John B. Brownlow, who edited the Whig, either inherited or

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42 Quoted from the Louisville Journal by the Southern Watchman, May 2, 30, 1866.
44 Knoxvile Whig, May 16, 1866.
44 Ibid.; March 7, 1866, May 15, 22, June 5, 1867.
44 Ibid., October 31, 1866.
44 Ibid., May 2, 1866, September 4, 1867.
developed the propensities of his father for combats both mental and physical. He naturally disliked J. W. Patterson, the editor of the Knoxville Commercial in 1866, and to show his contempt for him, he informed the readers of the Whig how he had accosted Patterson on the streets of Knoxville and would have caned him properly had a gentleman not interfered. He added a generous amount of cowardice to the other characteristics he gave the editor of the Commercial.\textsuperscript{47}

The longest and most constant fight the Parson ever engaged in began early in his long life and with few interruptions lasted until the candle was finally snuffed out. This was his feud with Andrew Johnson. Their ante-bellum differences had been buried in the common cause they made for the Union from 1861 to 1865, and with the coming of peace goodwill continued to prevail. Governor Brownlow became the President’s chief adviser concerning the granting of pardons to Tennesseans and during the early part of Johnson’s term all pardons went through Brownlow’s hands. As has appeared the Governor and the President worked together in the early development of the Brownlow régime to the extent of the President’s promise of the United States army if it should be needed. In November, 1865, the Parson’s son, John, visited Washington and was so cordially received by the President that he returned to Tennessee a Johnson enthusiast. The Tennessee Unionists were equally pleased with the President and as proof, the legislature in October, 1865, passed resolutions of endorsement, though they carefully specified why they liked him—they liked “especially his declaration that ‘Intelligent treason must be made odious, and traitors punished.’”\textsuperscript{48} Their faith in him continued on into January, 1866, when they passed another resolution of support.\textsuperscript{49}

The situation was not, however, without its dangers to the continuance of the entente cordial. Thaddeus Stevens had early laid plans to control the presidential policy concerning the

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., May 2, 1866.
\textsuperscript{48} Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, July 19, August 16, November 29, 1865; Acts of Tennessee, 1865-1866, p. 413.
\textsuperscript{49} American Annual Cyclopaedia, 1866, pp. 727-28.
South even if it were necessary to break the President. When Congress met in December, 1865, there were signs of discord, and in less than three months there was open and bitter warfare between Johnson and the slowly forming Congressional oligarchy, led by Stevens. The break came on the Freedmen’s Bureau bill, which Johnson successfully vetoed in February, 1866. East Tennesseans, who had always disliked Negroes, were much pleased with the veto and redoubled their support of the President, though they were somewhat upset by Johnson’s pardon of too many Rebels too soon. They hoped he would not forget his dictum about treason being made odious.  

Brownlow was not entirely pleased with the President’s course. He was soon saying that the Freedmen’s Bureau veto was the greatest victory for the Rebels since the battle of Bull Run, and he became especially suspicious of Johnson when he noticed who in Tennessee were loudest in his support. As has appeared the Parson had been having some trouble among his own Unionists. In the session of his legislature, in November, 1865, there had been rumblings of discontent when a member wanted Brownlow impeached for his extravagances and violation of law, and again when a resolution was introduced to require Brownlow to tell why he threw out so many votes in the August, 1865, election. Undoubtedly there was developing an anti-Brownlow party among the Unionists, and William Heiskell, speaker of the house, was gradually becoming their leader. This group held a Union State Convention in Nashville on February 22 to endorse Johnson’s stand on the Freedmen’s Bureau measure and to stand behind him in his Reconstruction policy. So it happened that the Parson, if he had had no other reasons for breaking again with Johnson, would have been forced into conflict by his enemies in Tennessee embracing the President.

It would be a grave matter to desert the President, for East Tennessee was no less the home of Johnson than of Brownlow,
and the Parson could not be sure how this region would react. He knew that East Tennesseans liked Johnson's Negro policy. For a month or two the Whig ceased to praise Johnson, yet it feared to blame him. Within a month the period of groping gradually disappeared and the Parson began to assume a critical attitude. On March 24, in a speech in Knoxville before the Germans, he declared he had not yet been able to determine clearly what the President had in mind, but if it was to resurrect the Democratic Party, then he would part company with Johnson. His suspicions had already been aroused by the President's leniency toward Rebels. After all it was becoming more evident every day that the Congressional party were the true patriots, and the Parson declared, "I hold that a more talented, and patriotic body of men never occupied the Halls of Congress since the foundation of the Government." On April 2, he spoke in Knoxville for an hour, and pulled farther away from the President. For a month or two the Parson and his Whig were able to keep their quarrel from developing into the stage of personal abuse, by centering their attacks largely against the Tennessee supporters of the President. The Johnson Conservatives were "secessionists whitewashed"—"They are the Southern Democratic party resurrected." In June, 1866, the Whig declared, "If such a pack of men were to join in our praise, we should doubt our own integrity, and therefore it is that we will not fall into the support of any man they favor."

Soon the floodgates of wrath were opened and the fight with Johnson began to resume its ante-bellum severity. In a letter to Salmon P. Chase, the politically ambitious Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Brownlow confided that he had once thought the President would remain true but he had "long since given him up." He declared that East Tennessee was full of Johnson emissaries, forming clubs and drumming up support. Out of nine newspapers in that region seven were for

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64 Knoxville Whig, February 21, April 4, 1866.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid., March 14, April 4, 25.
67 Ibid., June 13.
68 Ibid., June 20.
THE MINORITY ESTABLISHES ITSELF

Johnson. If the Rebels should get control of Tennessee, "we Union men will have to leave the State." Brownlow believed Johnson had helped to promote the "little rebellion" against the passage of the franchise act, for he charged him with appointing six of the bolters to Federal jobs. Brownlow was soon announcing that back in 1862 when he and Johnson met in Nashville and were reconciled, he had forgiven Johnson with mental reservations and that all the praise he had given him since that time was to be taken as merely a comparison of what he would have thought of Johnson if he had become a Rebel. Brownlow now discovered that Johnson had opposed his nomination for governor in 1865, because he wanted to be both vice president of the United States and military governor of Tennessee at the same time. Now did Brownlow bitterly repent of his support of Johnson for the vice presidential nomination in 1864. He would admit that "it was the worst act of his protracted and somewhat eventful life."

The national issue on which Brownlow completely broke with Johnson and joined the Congressional Radical party was the Fourteenth Amendment. After the veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill, warfare between the President and Congress developed fast. Stevens, Sumner, and their lieutenants malignantly abused the President and cast out his Reconstruction program and by June, 1866, they developed the Fourteenth Amendment as a part of their Southern scheme. At first Brownlow had not felt that Tennessee was being given proper consideration, for when Congress met in December, 1865, the Tennessee Congressmen were not admitted. In fact Stevens had seen to it that not even their names should be called in the organization of the

50 Knoxville Whig, June 27, 1866.
51 Putnam's Magazine, vol. III, no. 16 (April, 1869) p. 434. An examination of thirty volumes of the Johnson Papers in the Library of Congress, shows that little correspondence passed between Johnson and Brownlow during the period of their truce (1862-1866). Brownlow's communications were generally short telegrams.
52 Temple, op. cit., p. 344.
53 Knoxville Whig, August 22, 1866.
House—even the staunch old Unionist Horace Maynard was unacceptable, though he was allowed the courtesy of the floor. But Brownlow had kept in touch with Johnson and, therefore, knew how bad he was; there was no course left but to join the Congressional Radicals, even if he had not been otherwise willing. He wanted Congressional recognition of Tennessee by her admission into the national legislature, and he also wanted pay for the damages suffered by the Tennessee Unionists. If Tennessee’s course so far had not been radical enough to please Stevens and Sumner, Brownlow would oblige them by doing whatever else they might require. So when the Fourteenth Amendment was submitted to the states he made immediate preparations to ratify it. He called a special session of the legislature to meet on July 4 (1866), for what could be more patriotic than to prepare for ratification on the “Glorious Fourth”? The Tennessee Radicals also made merry in their celebrations over the state, both for the Fourteenth Amendment and for the Fourth of July. To honor Brownlow and the legislature, the symbols of patriotism in Tennessee, the merry radicals at Loudon boomed forth their cannon ten times.

On the meeting of the legislature Brownlow submitted the amendment with his reasons. He was undoubtedly somewhat perturbed over the possibilities of difficulties in persuading the legislators to ratify, for a storm of opposition had been raised throughout the South on this stern measure of the Congressional Radicals. There were already mutterings that the South would never be a party to its own dishonor, and in this determination the President seemed to agree, for he had let it be known that he was opposed to its ratification. In his message Brownlow put great stress on the necessity of ratifying the amendment for the purpose of getting Tennessee into the Union again—he had the most complete assurance that if Tennessee ratified she would be immediately admitted. And after all, the amendment was a most gracious act of Congress. It exhibited “a magnanimity on the

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"Noted Men of the Solid South, p. 186; Fertig, op. cit., p. 62; The South in the Building of the Nation, II, 328-29; Knoxville Whig, June 27, 1866.

Ibid., July 11, 1866."
part of the American people . . . which challenges our admiration. . . . Viewed as terms of final adjustment between the conqueror and conquered, their mildness and freedom from all penalties is without a parallel in the history of nations."

The senate ratified the amendment without a struggle, but there were an unterrified few in the house who had agreed with the rest of the South that the amendment would cause a revolution in the old form of the national government and would bring degradation and vengeance upon the South. They acted immediately. Some who were in Nashville refused to attend the session and others appeared only to resign. M. E. W. Dunnaway resigned his seat the day following the first meeting. Brownlow replied, "As it is evidently the design of your resignation to reduce the House below a quorum, and to break up the Legislature, the same is not accepted." It seemed that there was in the making a second "little rebellion" and that the disorders attending the passage of the franchise bill were to be reenacted. Eight bolted in the house, and either fled to their homes or took to hiding in Nashville. They succeeded in preventing a quorum. Brownlow was so determined to have the amendment ratified that he now called upon the United States army to aid. General Thomas, to whom he applied for troops, was instructed by the President through Secretary Stanton, to take no part in the political turmoil. The Federal army had not yet been given the additional duty of ratifying Federal amendments. The house instructed Speaker Heiskell to issue warrants for the arrest of the absent members, and Captain Heydt, the superintendent of the capitol and the sergeant-at-arms, set out to serve them. Pleasant Williams, of Carter County, who had taken part in the first "little rebellion," and was now a leader in the second one, fled to his home in the mountains of East Tennessee, only to be followed by Captain Heydt, who arrested him and returned him to Nashville. Another member defied the Captain and was defended against arrest by a group of his friends who had armed

"House Journal of the Called Session of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, July 4, 1866, p. 27; Knoxville Whig, July 11, 1866.
"Ibid."
themselves. By July 19 the house had been able to round up enough members to make a quorum provided two in the custody of the Captain were brought to the floor. To prevent their escape they were held in a committee room in the capitol. Speaker Heiskell ruled that there was not a quorum present, but the house overrode his decision, voted the two prisoners in the committee room present, and ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. Heiskell then refused to sign the resolution, and thereupon abdicated the chair. John Norman, the speaker pro tem then signed it. In the meantime Williams and A. J. Martin, the two legislator-prisoners, sued out a writ of habeas corpus before Thomas N. Frazier, judge of the Criminal Court for Davidson County, who ordered the prisoners to be released. The house disregarded the decision of the judge and held them. Heydt, for his zeal in arresting and detaining citizens of Tennessee against the orders of a judge, was himself arrested in his quarters in the capitol building early one morning by the sheriff of Davidson County with twenty-five assistants. He was brought before Judge Frazier and fined ten dollars. Williams also brought suit for damages against each member of the legislature who had aided in his arrest, but when the sheriff attempted to serve the warrants he was ordered from the house. 68

The boldness of Judge Frazier amazed the Radical legislators. He was declared a Rebel, though he was one of the East Tennessee Unionists who had fled to Nashville during the war and who had been appointed to his judgeship by Military Governor Andrew Johnson. The Whig declared that rather than see traitors trample upon the law, “we would see our beautiful State converted into a vast battle-field.” 69 At its next session, in May, 1867, the house brought impeachment proceedings against Frazier, and the next month the senate convicted him, removed him from office, and declared him henceforth ineligible for a public trust in Tennessee. The constitutional convention in 1870 restored his rights to him and him to his old judgeship. 70

68 For the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment by Tennessee see, Knoxville Whig, July 18, August 1, 1866; Fertig, op. cit., pp. 77-78; American Annual Cyclopaedia, 1866, p. 729; Noted Men of the Solid South, pp. 186-88, 191.

69 Knoxville Whig, July 25, 1866.

70 Fertig, op. cit., pp. 77-78.
The senate having ratified the amendment on the eleventh, the action of the house on the nineteenth completed the process, and on the same day Brownlow telegraphed the clerk of the Senate, John W. Forney: "A battle fought and won. We have carried the constitutional amendment in the House. Vote—43 to 11, two of A. Johnson's tools refusing to vote. My compliments to the 'dead dog' in the White House." A few days later Forney replied: "All honor to the fire-tried Unionists of Tennessee. The loyal millions are everywhere celebrating your fortitude and courage, and praising Congress for preparing to admit you into the National Council."

Brownlow's violent course in forcing the Fourteenth Amendment through his legislature led many people throughout the country to wonder what he would next do in the name of law and patriotism. Gideon Welles, the Secretary of the Navy, recorded in his diary that news had arrived from "the coarse, vulgar creature who is Governor of Tennessee" that the amendment had been ratified by a legislature chosen "under circumstances and animosities which would not be justified or excusable in peace." The method he used to secure ratification was "an exhibition of Radical regard for honest principle, for popular opinion, and for changes in the organic law." The Richmond Examiner, wearied and disgusted, said, "If there is any law, written or unwritten, which can reach this old scoundrel Brownlow, it should be appealed to at once. Patience has ceased to be a virtue."

Congress immediately passed a joint resolution admitting the Tennessee delegation, after reciting that Tennessee had passed the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments, had repudiated the Confederate debt, had organized a state government, and had "done other acts proclaiming and denoting loyalty." They had now admitted Johnson's home state into Congress but under conditions that were galling to him. With evident joy they now placed the President in the dilemma of indirectly approving the

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71 Knoxville Whig, July 25, 1866.
72 Ibid., August 1.
73 Diary of Gideon Welles, II, 557, July 19, 1866.
74 Quoted in Knoxville Whig, August 8, 1866.
Fourteenth Amendment or making himself the instrument for the attempted continued exclusion of his own state. Johnson immediately signed the resolution stating that it was merely the expression of an opinion and an unnecessary act, as Congress was the sole judge of the qualifications of its own membership. He had serious doubts that Tennessee had constitutionally ratified the amendment, and furthermore, no notice had been sent to the President or to the Department of State. Brownlow had with evident contempt for the President ignored the regular form of notification. On July 24, the day the statement was written, it was read in the house with sarcasm and laughter, and on the same day Horace Maynard and two of his associates were sworn in. The next day Senator Fowler was seated in the upper chamber, but Senator Patterson, the President's son-in-law, was insulted and kept waiting three days while a committee investigated his war record, and he was seated only a few hours before final adjournment. The Tennessee legislature thanked Congress and adjourned to the strains of "Hail Columbia, the Star Spangled Banner and Yankee Doodle . . . played in the Halls of the Capitol on a full band.”

Tennessee was, thus, the first Confederate state to be readmitted, having been the last to secede. She escaped the heavy hand of Congress later exhibited in the military reconstruction of the rest of the Confederacy, but her deliverance was at the hands of her own Radicals, who in their extremism antedated and even surpassed the Congressional Radicals. Tennessee, thus, became the first Radical stronghold in the South, who proudly pointed to her record of accomplishments in bold contrast to the Rebel-ridden state of Kentucky to the northward.

Brownlow's haste and extreme methods employed in forcing

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78 Acts and Resolutions of the State of Tennessee passed at the Extra Session of the Thirty-fourth General Assembly, July, 1866, pp. 29-30, 34. The music was provided for by a senate resolution.
79 See Brownlow's message to the legislature, November 6, 1866, in *Senate Journal of the Second Adjourned Session of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee*, 1866-1867, pp. 10-22.
ratification through the legislature were due, first to his rekindled and burning hatred of Andrew Johnson and to his knowledge that the President was opposed to the amendment; and secondly, to the professed fear that Johnson was planning to destroy the state government and supplant Brownlow with a military governor. The state having been saved by Congress should now be placed under the watch-care of that body. The Parson declared that the amendment had been ratified "in the face of the direct opposition of the Federal administration, and in defiance of its power and patronage." He directly charged Johnson with encouraging the bolters, and otherwise attempting to defeat ratification by letter-writing and bribery. Some people had criticized the Governor for his reference to Johnson as "the 'dead dog' in the White House"; in answer Brownlow wrote three columns for the Whig in which he defended his "dead dog" expression, heaped further abuse upon the President, and recalled for those who might have forgotten, the drunken exhibition Johnson had made of himself when he was inaugurated vice president.  

The Parson now considered it his patriotic duty to attack the President at every possible opportunity, for a new rebellion was in the making and Johnson would be its head. On August 9, he wrote, "We are to have another war. Johnson has gone over to the rebels, and in the next rebellion, will take the place of Jeff Davis. . . . We want another war to put down the rebellion." Then there would be an opportunity to do "a large amount of hanging." The Whig said, "That we are to have another conflict of arms we have no sort of doubt. . . ." When it should break out, a million loyal men would surround the Capitol and White House and soon be "disposing of the heads of leading traitors after the most approved style of the age, in which the King of England lost his head." Then, the Parson declared,

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79 Senate Journal of Tennessee, 1866-1867, pp. 10-22; Knoxville Whig, July 25, August 8, 22, November 7, 1866.
80 MS letter in the Library of Congress, to "My dear Sir," written at Knoxville, August 9, 1866.
81 Knoxville Whig, August 29, 1866.
82 Ibid., August 1.
the loyal masses will "make the entire Southern Confederacy as God found the earth when he commenced the work of creation, 'without form and void.' They will not, and ought not leave a rebel fence-rail, out-house, or dwelling in the eleven seceded States." Taking a hint from some of Thaddeus Stevens' speeches, he would exterminate the Rebel population and confiscate and sell their land to pay the expenses of the war.83

Johnson's course had lost him many friends throughout the country, but there were still many left, and they would show their faith in his plan of reconstruction by holding a convention in Philadelphia in August, 1866, to be followed in September by a soldiers' and sailors' convention in Cleveland. These meetings would be valuable for developing sentiment favorable to Johnson in the Congressional elections in the fall. The Radicals, not to be outdone, prepared to hold similar conventions. Their first convention met in Philadelphia and their soldiers and sailors convention came together in Pittsburgh, both in September.

As the main purpose of the Philadelphia convention was to prove to the country that the South favored the Congressional leadership, a great effort was made to produce as many Southern delegates as possible. It met in two divisions, a Southern and a Northern. The latter division was made up of the "honorary delegates," consisting of such well-wishers as Anna Dickinson and Frederick Douglass, and was presided over by Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania. Brownlow appeared with a group of Tennessee Radicals and immediately became the greatest attraction in Philadelphia, where he was well-known on account of his various visits for conventions and speechmakings. He headed all processions and sat in the front row on the rostra. A grand parade of delegates, who according to the New York World were "self-appointed, representing nobody but themselves," accompanied by fire-wagons, and various other vehicles decorated with flowers and flags, made its appearance on the streets. Brownlow and other important Radical leaders in a carriage, headed the procession, followed by the seventy-five members of the Tennessee delegation. In another display of strength on the

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83 Ibid., August 22, 1866.
streets, Brownlow and Andrew Jackson Hamilton, the late provisional governor of Texas, headed the march in an open barouche. In the assembly halls Brownlow was equally prominent. At one of the meetings he was introduced by Judge W. D. Kelley, and for five minutes the applause swept the hall. The Parson was obsessed with the idea that another war was imminent, and on almost every occasion he spoke of it. He had already decided that this war would be fought in three divisions, and he wanted “a finger in that pie.” The first division should be armed with rifles and artillery “to do the killing”; the second should “be armed with pine torches and spirits of turpentine, and let them do the burning”; and the third should be equipped with compasses and chains “to survey the land into small parcels and give it to those who are loyal in the North.” “Great applause” followed this short speech—short because the Parson was very sick with the palsy. At another time he informed the convention that if Johnson should win in the approaching election the Union men would be forced to flee from the South, but as for himself, when he hid out in the Great Smokies in 1861 he had decided that that would be his last time to flee from the Rebels. “I will sooner expire on a lamp-post under the shadow of the Capitol of Tennessee!” he exclaimed. At the mention of Andrew Johnson, three groans “for the dead dog in the White House” were given and three cheers for Brownlow.

Brownlow was in demand at all times of the day and night. The Liberty Cornet Band serenaded him at the home where he was staying. To show his appreciation the Parson came out and delivered from the steps “a short and telling address.” On the Sunday preceding the meeting of the convention “The Nitroglycerinical Parson,” as he was called by a friendly reporter, had promised to preach in the Methodist Church, but when the time came he found himself not well enough, but not to disappoint the congregation he “gave the audience a little hell-fire, by way of a closing exhortation before pronouncing the benediction.”

Before the two conventions went home they held a joint meeting in front of the Union League House. The Parson in
order to see the crowd to better advantage, Zacchaeus-like, climbed up and secured a perch on top of the building and soon found himself in the company of Chief Justice Chase and General Cameron, who had developed similar strategical plans for viewing the multitude. Brownlow declared that he looked down upon 100,000 people—some appraisers said more. The Johnson "Bread and Butter Convention," he declared, in comparison looked like a common town meeting. In the confusion the League House caught fire, but Brownlow declared that the "Copper-Johnson incendiaries" had set fire to it and had damaged it to the extent of $40,000.

These Southern Radicals did much parading and engaged in much loud noise-making, but when it came to resolving their articles of faith, they broke up in confusion. The Rebel states representatives, in order to secure and maintain control back home, seized upon Negro suffrage as the remedy. The convention refused to follow. As for the Parson, he favored it. He would rather be elected by loyal Negroes than disloyal whites; he would rather be buried in a Negro graveyard than in a Rebel one; and when he should go either to hell or heaven, he would rather go with Negroes than with white Rebels. The convention agreed on its hatred of the President, and according to the Parson the document issued was "the most powerful bill of indictment ever presented to the world against any offender." Inside Independence Hall or in its shadow, the main activities of this convention had taken place—according to the Whig the "grandest Convention which ever assembled on this continent (save that of 1776 when independence was proclaimed.)" 84

Thus had the influence of the President's "Bread and Butter Convention" been snuffed out by the Southern Radicals, aided by the "honorary delegates" from the North. At the very time they were carrying out this task, Andrew Johnson accompanied

84 For the main facts concerning these conventions see, Knoxville Whig, September 12, 19, October 24, 1866; Cincinnati Daily Commercial, September 3, 4, 7; Oberholtzer, op. cit., I, 391-95; H. K. Beale, The Critical Year. A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction, p. 331. The Parson was much pleased with A. J. Hamilton, and especially glad to know that his father had been born in Knox County, Tennessee.
by William H. Seward, Ulysses S. Grant, Admiral David G. Farragut and other notable people, was making his “moccasin tracks” in his “Swing around the Circle” to attend the ceremonies in Chicago incident to the laying of the cornerstone of the Douglas monument. These “tracks” must be “wiped out,” and no person would be better able to do so than the Parson with a flying squad he would organize. The conspiracy of newspaper reporters, mayors, and governors to misquote and insult the President of the United States might have seemed sufficient to discredit Johnson before the country, but Brownlow was sure there was a type of work to be done which only he and his helpers could do. The Parson selected twenty-seven Southern Radicals from the Philadelphia collection and set out across New Jersey for New York and the New England States. They would properly expose Johnson's “bush-whacking pilgrimage” and answer well his “abusive speeches, made for the most part under the influence of liquor.” Though Brownlow's body was filled with pain and shaken with the palsy, he felt he had a patriotic duty to perform. He generally spoke from fifteen to twenty-five minutes, and gave his plan for the conquest of the South in the next war, which he had exposed at Philadelphia. For this sentiment and because he was the inimitable Parson, he received louder and longer applause than any other member of his party. This small army operated somewhat after the fashion of cavalry raiders. They deployed and broke up their group into as many as seven divisions in some regions, rejoining one another preparatory to a new invasion. The Parson carried the warfare as far into New England as Rutland, Vermont, and then headed his forces westward through Albany and central New York. Never since the days of “Tippecanoe and Tyler Too” had the Parson seen such enthusiasm as greeted the raiders. They made an excursion to Auburn, New York, the home of Seward, to disperse his forces in that region. They successfully carried that stronghold amid a rousing reception, with bells ringing, cannon roaring, and beautiful ladies waving handkerchiefs, and tossing bouquets. They reached Buffalo on Sep-

88 Knoxville Whig, October 3, 1866.
tember 19, having during the past two days held twenty-two
mass meetings.

They now set out for the Middle West, passing through Erie and Cleveland and on to Cincinnati, holding thirty mass meet-
ings on the way. The reception they received in the “Queen City of the West” was “grand beyond conception, and excelled any-
thing that has come off in Cincinnati for years.” Here the next
war was made to assume the character of a recruiting campaign. One placard prominently displayed in the demonstration bore
the inscription: “250,000 OHIO MUSKETS FOR THE
SECOND REBELLION.” Brownlow declared that Johnson
was already making preparations for evacuating Tennessee and leaving it to the Rebels, by his recent removal of General Thomas’
headquarters from Nashville to Louisville.

Leaving Cincinnati, the party now reduced in number to
twenty, set out for Indianapolis with the intention of holding
from thirty to forty mass meetings on the way. Much weakened
by his strenuous campaigning, the Parson now deserted the
main party, and boarding a sleeping car, set out for Chicago. Here he was entertained by Lieutenant Governor Bross in his
mansion on Michigan Avenue, in full view of Lake Michigan. Though now primarily taking the rest cure, Brownlow could
not refrain from engaging in the excitement when the army
arrived and began operations in five divisions. Chicago was
soon ablaze with processions of marching pedestrians, rumbling
carriages, blaring bands of music, waving flags, and “shouts
that rent the air, with torch lights that illuminated the Heavens,
and every other conceivable display, and the story is not half
told.” William B. Stokes introduced Brownlow, who made a short
speech; he was too sick to speak long. He informed the crowd
that the Radicals would carry Illinois by a vast majority, as
indeed they would carry all other parts of the country.86

Governor Brownlow returned to Tennessee in triumph. Rec-
ommendations began to be made that he run for the vice presi-
dential nomination, and there were even suggestions that he

86 Ibid., September 19, October 3, 10, 24, 1866; Daily New Era, October 12,
1866.
would make a good president. Not all Tennesseans, however, agreed with his campaign of vilification of the President; they felt that it was not the Governor's business to be touring the country in a seven ring circus. In answer the Parson declared that he had at least not run up liquor bills of $400 each in the various towns he had visited and then absconded without paying them.  

With Brownlow in such complete control of Tennessee it seemed needless for him to give much attention to the campaign there. Yet the fight was exhilarating and he would not rest. He published again his classic answer to Jordan Clark in 1860, informing the expectant Arkansan when he would join the Democratic Party; he also ran every week at the head of the editorial page of the Whig, a radical speech Johnson had made in September, 1864, to draw the contrast with his present position. He also formed the determination that the Johnson party in Tennessee should not interrupt the unanimity of feeling in the state for the Radicals. A Johnson ratification meeting had been announced for Knoxville to be held on September 19. The Whig declared that such a convention would be treasonable and revolutionary and that it must not be held; "LET THEM CALL IT IF THEY DARE.—Whenever they do so it shall be dispersed at the point of the bayonet, or the loyal militia in the State will perish in the attempt." The Parson declared that this corrupt party had been "sired by a Massachusetts traitor and born of a South Carolina harlot. Baptized in a wig-wam at Philadelphia, in the august presence of a vast army of government dependents, political turncoats and apostate Republicans, Rebel Congressmen and Rebel Generals, the ceremonies were gone through with by an association of old clerical hacks, who had lied and drank themselves out of countenance during the rebellion."

In the Congressional elections the Radicals gained a two-thirds majority in Congress and made a clean sweep of the

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87 Knoxville Whig, October 24, 1866.  
88 Ibid., September 19. See also Ibid., October 3, November 7.  
89 Daily New Era, October 12, 1866. This was part of a speech the Parson delivered in Chicago.
Tennessee delegation. The President had been terribly worsted in the nation, and Brownlow had annihilated him in Tennessee. The Parson's war talk and the general campaign of the Radicals to assassinate the character of Johnson had stampeded the people to support the policy of extremism. Brownlow had been a good general and strategist. He had chosen the winning side and had placed Tennessee in a strong position with the rulers of the nation. Now he need not fear anything that Johnson could do. He hated the President so profoundly that he was unable to recognize in him a friendly act. Soon after the election the President promoted in the Federal army, James P. Brownlow, the Parson's son, who had been the adjutant general of Tennessee, and detailed him to San Francisco. Instead of regarding this as a favor to his son, the Parson declared that Johnson had sent him to the wild West to fight the savage Indians and doubtless be scalped by them—and this after all James had done in taking care of the President's drunken son during Civil War days.\footnote{Knoxville Whig, December 5, 1866.}

There was one person, however, whom Tennessee delighted to honor, the commander of the Federal troops in the state, whose headquarters the President had transferred from Nashville to Louisville. The legislature made preparations to celebrate the battle of Nashville, on December 15 (1866), and invited General Thomas, the hero of that conflict, to be present as the chief guest of honor, and to receive a gold medal which it had voted him. A downpour of rain forced the ceremonies into the capitol, where Brownlow made the presentation speech. During the ceremonies Captain Heydt presented to General Thomas, Governor Brownlow, and Speaker Frierson of the senate, large bouquets of flowers.\footnote{Ibid., December 19.} It was felt that General Thomas would have been much more liberal in his use of the troops in aiding Brownlow to secure the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment if the President had permitted.

Brownlow had succeeded in intrenching himself and the Radicals in Tennessee and in tying the state to the Radical juggernaut of the nation. His position was strong, but there were yet forces which must be reckoned with.