SOLDIERING IN THE SOUTH DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD
1865-1877
VOLUME I

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The vast amount of attention given to the Civil War and the Indian Wars has completely overshadowed the Army's service in the South between 1865 and 1877. And yet, in an era in which the Army has occupied two defeated World powers and has been ordered to interfere in a minor domestic crisis in our own South, its previous experience in occupation duty in the South seems worthy of some attention.

In a paper read in May 1955 before his colleagues in the Army's Office of the Chief of Military History, Dr. Maurice Matloff wisely observed that the story of Reconstruction in American military history could be studied on three levels: the Washington level which was the scene of the struggle between the Army's Commander in Chief and Congress over who should make Reconstruction policy and, in effect, command the Army in the South; the second or intermediate level or that dealing with the activities and problems of the military governors and the high command in the South, and the third or lower level, the story of the officers and enlisted men who were ultimately responsible for implementing Reconstruction policy. It is with this third level that this study will deal.

Should there be some confusion in the identity of the soldiers discussed in this monograph, it may be well to say
that we are concerned here with the officers and enlisted men in the Federal service and not the numerous and rag-tag militia which were frequently employed by governors during the Reconstruction period. Furthermore, only the service of personnel on duty with military units will be discussed, no effort being made to chronicle the activities of officers assigned to duty with the Freedmen's Bureau.

The geographical area concerned is described in the introduction below. It will be noticed that certain border states - Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia - are included, while others - Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware - are not. The latter were excluded because at no time during the Reconstruction period did they fall within a southern military command and hence, for the purposes of this paper, are not considered as having been in the South.

The sources used are cited in the footnotes and listed in the bibliography. It will be noted that unit histories, personal papers of both soldiers and civilians, and the compilation: The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, were used extensively in preparing the chapters dealing with the first months and years after the War. But then, when the Volunteers had been replaced by the Regulars and these sources had lost their value, others had to be utilized. Because the Regulars seem to have written few letters and diaries dealing with southern service that have been preserved and the
presence of troops in the South ceased to elicit much comment from southern civilians, official records and newspapers had to be relied upon for the story of the soldiers' activities in the latter decade of Reconstruction. It is pertinent to note here that military personnel, who wrote extensively of their life in the West, passed over their service in the South with but a few words if they chose to discuss it at all - a tacit expression of their opinion of an assignment in that area, no doubt.

I am indebted to many persons for advice and aid. My adviser, Professor Henry H. Simms, first saw the need for a study of this subject and suggested it as a topic for a Master's thesis. Later, when its vast proportions became evident, he approved of the thesis' expansion into a doctoral dissertation and has since provided valuable counsel. Patient and necessary aid was also rendered by the staffs of several libraries. My thanks are particularly due the archivists of the Old Army Section, War Records Branch, National Archives, whose aid with scores of feet of records extended over many months. My thanks are also extended to the ladies and gentlemen associated with the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, the University of North Carolina's Southern Historical Collection, the North Carolina State Department of History and Archives, the manuscript division of the Duke University Library, and the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society.
Everlasting gratitude also goes to a friend and former colleague, John W. Wike, whose unexcelled knowledge of Army records and their location enabled me to explore valuable source materials which otherwise might have been overlooked. And last, but certainly not least, I acknowledge the patience and help of my wife who not only tolerated the demands of the research involved in preparing this, but typed its initial drafts after the children had been put to bed and her day's work was done.

Harry Willcox Pfanz
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INTRODUCTION

A. The Reconstruction of the South

The South of 1865 had been severely damaged by war. Military operations had created a waste of the area between Manassas and Petersburg, Virginia, and had ruined the farms of the Shenandoah Valley. Georgia and South Carolina were bisected by the havoc Sherman's march had caused. The Tennessee Valley and portions of Alabama and Mississippi also bore the scars of war. The cities, too, had suffered fearful physical damage. A large part of Richmond had been gutted by fire at the time of the Confederate evacuation and, of course, Atlanta and Columbia had been burned. Charleston stood as testimony to the efficiency of newly developed rifled artillery, and Fredericksburg was all but ruined. The whole of the South in the arenas of battle carried the imprint of military destruction, and only those areas occupied by Union forces without intensive fighting and the remote areas of Florida and the Trans-Mississippi region were untouched by actual conflict.

Damage was not confined, however, to battle wounds. Deterioration of property caused by a lack of proper care was also in evidence. The land could not be tilled by men who were serving as soldiers, and, after the approach of the Union Army, many of the slaves had gone off to enjoy their freedom. The transportation facilities, never plentiful or of excellent quality, were also in bad

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condition. Railroads had been torn up, bridges destroyed, and the roads were no better than they had been before the war. The South presented a forlorn picture.

The people also suffered. The landowners were land poor and no longer had the wherewithal to cultivate their crops or pay their taxes. Many of the former slaves either lolled about their old homes or took to the roads to see what lay beyond their once restricted horizons. They collected about army camps and crowded into the towns where, from the weight of their numbers, if for no other reason, they became a source of trouble and unrest.

Their old masters had also to adjust to a new way of life. Many of the formerly eminent labored at the type of work once allotted only to their slaves, whereas others, neither knowing how nor caring to work, contented themselves with genteel poverty and idleness and gave their time to reminiscence and wishful thinking. The large middle and poorer classes returned to their former occupations, in which, plagued by the postwar conditions, they were forced to work harder for less. Their situation was aggravated further by the fact that the former slaves were now their potential competitors - a situation that was to result in a type of racial antipathy unknown in the days of slavery. Faced by these conditions, a few southerners emigrated to foreign lands and many more moved to other sections to begin life anew, but most remained at home to
share in the South's reconstruction.

The South's recovery from her desolate condition was further complicated by occasional civil disorders. Immediately after the War a portion of her population was restless. Negroes roamed about, ex-soldiers were on the move, and adventurers drifted in from the North. Lawlessness and extra-legal action were encouraged by the weakness of local government. The section thus acquired a reputation which her enemies magnified out of proportion. The Trans-Mississippi area, Texas in particular, attracted many unsettled persons and seemed to outsiders to be beset with unceasing brigandage. New Orleans, the metropolis of the South, witnessed several violent political upheavals which were interpreted as attempts to punish the Negro and to defy the Federal government. Arkansas was rent by a civil war within the Republican party in 1874 and at times the cities of Mobile, Nashville, Memphis, Norfolk, and Charleston were scenes of rioting which the civil authorities could not control.

The majority of these disturbances involved the freedmen. Their efforts to exercise their freedom led them into many activities which irritated their white neighbors. One of the most provocative of these was the Union League, sponsored by the Republican party. At League meetings the Negro was schooled in his newly won privileges, told how to vote, and taught to hate his
former masters. Negroes were also enrolled in militia companies armed by the states and deployed at the behest of the Radical governments.

The answer of the white men to this feared activity was to join the Ku Klux Klan, Rifle Clubs, and kindred organizations, open and secret. Regardless of their origin, purpose, or justification, the operations of these groups against the Negroes and the Radical governments furnished grist for Radical propaganda mills and heightened existing tension. Quiet was restored to the South only after the conservative elements of the white population, representing the majority of the area's citizens, gained control of the machinery of government.

The conditions first described were at once both the cause and effect of the political action which took place in the South during the Reconstruction period. At the close of the War the South, as it will be considered here, was composed, politically, of three types of states. Kentucky had never left the Union and was a recognized member of it. Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia were governed by state governments that had Federal executive recognition. The remainder of the states were required to form provisional governments headed by governors appointed by the President and supported by the presence of Federal troops. This done, they were sites of conventions which revised their constitutions to abolish
slavery, repudiate secession, and initiate other liberal policies in accordance with the spirit of the times. State governments, headed by former Whigs and Unionists and supported by both Unionists and many former Confederates, ratified the 13th Amendment and proceeded to undertake the functions of government.

However, they were not to last long. Citing certain of their activities as proof positive that they were yet rebellious and pointing to the Memphis and New Orleans riots of 1866 as examples of the temper of the people, the Radical dominated Congress then passed a series of Reconstruction Acts which converted the former states of the Confederacy, Tennessee excepted, into five military districts commanded by major generals. These officers, controlled by Radical policy, constituted the final authority in their states until the provisions of the Reconstruction Acts were complied with, new constitutions written and approved by the Republican electorates, the 14th Amendment ratified, and the state governments recognized by Congress. This process was completed in Arkansas, the Carolinas, Louisiana, Florida, and Alabama in 1868 and in Mississippi, Texas, Virginia, and Georgia in 1870.

The readmission of these states into the Federal Union did not bring peace to the South. Instead, it provided the carpet-baggers and scalawags with an unfettered opportunity to make the subject states sites of corruption,
misrule, and extreme political contention. Only Virginia, which had remained under military domination until conservative elements had gained control of the state in 1870, was spared much of the abysmal degredation of Radical government.

The reaction of the white population was first one of resistance in the form of Ku Klux type organizations. However, after the intent of the Federal government to support the Radicals was expressed through the use of force (illustrated by the Enforcement Acts), the southern conservatives resorted less to violence and more to political stratagem to regain their former position. Conservative elements were aided by the bi-racial character and the abject corruption of the ruling Radical party which forced practically all of the white population into the Democratic fold. Thus, by discrediting the Radical cause and marshaling the bulk of the white support, the conservatives were able to gather the reins of government into their hands again.

The hated Brownlow government in Tennessee was turned out in 1868. North Carolina elected a majority of Democratic legislators in 1870 who were able to remove Governor Holden from office in the following year. The Democrats, aided by Negroes and moderate Republicans, won control of Georgia in 1870. Texas elected a Democratic legislature in 1872, and Alabama followed suit in 1874.
Arkansas, in spite of the protests of President Grant, adopted a new constitution by popular vote and elected a Democratic governor in 1874.

Mississippi overthrew the Radical regime in 1875 by tactics later referred to as the "Mississippi Plan." This plan, designed especially for those areas where the Negro vote potentially exceeded that of the whites, simply called for the use of all methods that would solidify the conservative front, bring out the white vote and, at the same time, discourage the Negroes from going to the polls.

Reconstruction in the South came to an end in April, 1877 after all of the southern states attained home rule. A democratic legislature had been elected in Florida in 1876, but a Democratic government was not inaugurated until after the state Supreme Court ordered a recount of votes.

South Carolina Democrats, by an enthusiastic employment of "Mississippi Plan" techniques, succeeded in obtaining a disputed victory in 1876. Two governments claimed to rule the state until the Radical regime collapsed after it lost Federal support in April of 1877.

Louisiana, with South Carolina, had borne the heaviest burden during the course of Radical Reconstruction. Since 1872 the radical Kellogg government had remained in power through its control of the state's electoral machinery and the loyal support of President Grant. As in South Carolina, Radicalism disappeared in Louisiana
in April 1877, when President Hayes refused his support and withdrew Federal troops from their vigil over the Louisiana Statehouse.
3. The Army, 1865-1877

The surrender of the Confederate forces found the Army with a strength of approximately a million men. Although an outstanding military organization, it was primarily a people's Army and could not long be maintained by a land in which full-time soldiering was disliked by the average male and where the Army was considered by the citizen as only a necessary evil. Thus, the weeks and months following the armistices of April 1865 were characterized by a rapid decline in the Army's strength.

The otherwise rapid collapse of this force was somewhat slowed by a necessity which was apparent to all thinking people, though not at all appreciated by the average soldier. Peril existed on both our northern and southern borders. The Fenians, in their hatred of England and desire for the conquest of Canada, threatened to draw this country into a war with an England with whom our relations were already strained. On the southern border the French, hoping to extend their influence, were supporting the government of Maximilian in Mexico. Since both movements were regarded as threats to the security of the United States, measures were taken to curtail them. The Department of State demanded the withdrawal of French troops from Mexico, and to support this demand, the 4th and 25th Corps were sent to Texas under Major General Philip H. Sheridan who strained at the leash which forbade his
marching straight to Mexico City. The Fenian movement was quelled by an executive order outlawing it and by the employment of troops to enforce the decree and prevent attempted invasions of Canada. The French threat ended in 1866, and the Fenian menace was squelched in 1867.

These foreign troubles were accompanied by domestic problems whose solution required the presence of military force. There was brigandage in Missouri and unrest among the Plains Indians. The ever-present Indian disorders were brought sharply to the country's attention by the "Fetterman Massacre" at Fort Phil Kearney, Nebraska, in December 1866. In the South the Army was required to be prepared to maintain order over a large area, to implement the Reconstruction Acts and to operate the Freedmen's Bureau.

The military problem faced by the administration during the course of the above events was twofold: the huge Volunteer Army had to be mustered out, and the Regular establishment had to be increased to meet the commitments of the times.

The mustering out was so rapid that by August 1865, 640,000 men had completed their service and returned to their homes. The rate of discharge continued at about 100,000 men a month until the close of the year. By January 9, 1866, some 900,000 Volunteers had been mustered out, and left behind them a force of 123,356,
a number which was reduced to 47,282 by May. By November 1, 1866, 1,023,021 men had been discharged and only a force of 11,043, white and colored, stood in ranks with the Regulars. These too dwindled away until, a year later, only 203 officer volunteers remained in the service.

The Regular Army at the close of the War was authorized six regiments of cavalry, five of artillery, ten of infantry, with ten companies each and nine infantry regiments of twenty-four companies each. During the War, because they could not compete for enlistments with the Volunteer units, these regiments had become so reduced in numbers that those with the Army of the Potomac in November 1864 were withdrawn from the field. Then, as the Volunteer ranks diminished, measures were taken to bring the Regular Army up to strength.

The peace time establishment provided for by Congress in 1866 included five regiments of artillery, ten regiments of cavalry, and forty-five regiments of infantry. This new

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1 Annual Report of the Secretary of War for 1865-1866, Washington D.C., Nov 14, 1866, Report of the Secretary of War, 1865-1866 and Annual Report of The Adjutant General of the Army for the Year 1866, Washington, D.C., Oct 20, 1867, Report of the Secretary of War 1866-1867, Vol I, p. 418. Hereafter the various annual reports of the Secretary of War will be cited RSW with their date. Unless otherwise indicated all citations will refer to Volume I.

force meant only some reorganization in the structure of the existing artillery regiments, but added four cavalry regiments, two of which were reserved for Negroes. The infantry regiments were standardized on the prewar pattern of ten companies for each regiment. Among the forty-five infantry regiments were included four staffed by Negro personnel, the 38th through the 41st, and four by disabled veterans, the 42d through the 45th.  

This organization remained in effect until March of 1869. The three-year period was free of foreign threat, but included two noted winter campaigns against the Cheyenne and Comanche Indians and the epic stand of a small force under Major George A. Forsyth on Beecher's Island in the Arikaree River. Less inspiring duty was that performed in the southern states by nearly 40 per cent of the Army's 35,000 men. However, in spite of its activities, the luxury of such a large army was too much for the nation's legislators and so, as early as 1867, it was ordered that recruiting cease until infantry companies contained only fifty men.  

In 1869 the forty-five infantry regiments were

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3 War Department General Order No. 56, August 1, 1866. Hereafter cited WDG O with number and date.

4 WDG C 101, November 26, 1867.
Each company was to have present for duty one captain, one first and one second lieutenant and could not have more than six sergeants, eight corporals, two musicians, two artificers, one wagoner and one hundred privates. The size of the Army was thus diminished until its authorized strength in July 1870 was only 30,000 and by the end of the Reconstruction period was down to 25,000 men. Since the number of regiments remained constant, reductions were, by necessity, made in their size. The strength of the infantry companies, the backbone of the Army, ran in some instances as low as 35 men present for duty in the last five years of the Reconstruction period. Cavalry units, because of their role in plains warfare, operated at greater strength.

Indian troubles occupied the Army during the latter half of the Reconstruction period. There were winter operations against the Piegans in 1870, and Crook led his troops against the Apaches in the winter of 1870 and 1871. The Modocs, warring against the Army in 1873, killed General Edward R. S. Canby. In 1876 there were campaigns against the Sioux and Cheyenne tribesmen that reached their climax in the mauling sustained by the 7th Cavalry Regiment along the Little Big Horn River.

\[\text{WDSO 16, March 11, 1869.}\]
While their comrades campaigned against the Indians, the duties of the troops stationed in the South were less burdensome except in the states of Louisiana and South Carolina. New Orleans continued to be a potential trouble spot, and troops were employed in western South Carolina to execute the Enforcement Acts. Military activity peculiar to Reconstruction was brought to an end after the removal of troops from the environs of the Capitol buildings of these two states in April 1877. From that time to the present, the Army's southern garrisons have generally been free to occupy themselves with normal military affairs.
C. Military Commands and Army Strength in the South

The role played by the Army in the South's reconstruction is indicated somewhat by the number of troops stationed in the section and, to a greater degree, by the military commands within it.

Prior to March 1867 and Congressional Reconstruction the South was divided into three military divisions. Then, when the Reconstruction Acts became law, the divisions were replaced by five numbered districts, each headed by a military governor. These areas included those states not in the Union, and the Department of the Cumberland composed of Kentucky and Tennessee. In July 1868 the number of districts was reduced to three, each a single unreconstructed state. By February 1870, with the re-admission of the last prodigal, Texas, the military districts passed out of existence.

When the military districts, symbols of military government, disappeared the section was divided among military divisions which, in turn, were composed of military departments. These area commands were of a type common to the whole country and, while they reflected the Army's readiness to assist in the enforcement of laws, they also implied a decreasing amount of federal participation in state affairs and the Army's greater preoccupation with military duties alone.
From 1868 to 1876 the southern states, excepting Virginia and Texas, were, generally speaking, within one of the departments forming the Military Division of the South. These states shared problems peculiar to their section and, on that score, were well suited to a single overall command. The departments of this division were organized to meet the requirements of the domestic situation and for administrative convenience. To illustrate, the Department of the Cumberland included only Kentucky and Tennessee even after five reconstructed former Confederate states were grouped into a single Department of the South. This, no doubt, was due to size of the two states and the internal disturbances within them. However, beginning in 1870, it was decided that their domestic affairs required less Federal attention than previously, and these states were grouped with the other southeastern states into a single command.

During this era Virginia and Texas were never grouped militarily with a majority of the other reconstructed states. After March 1869, Virginia lay within the Military Division of the Atlantic. Because the Old Dominion experienced little of the turmoil found below her border and was the site of only one Army post, the seacoast fortification at Fort Monroe, it was considered more appropriate to group her with the northern states.
Texas, then on the frontier, shared the problems of the area to her east, but the troops within her borders were employed most actively against the Indians. Therefore, except for a short sojourn within the Military Division of the South immediately after her readmittance to the Union, she was a part of the Military Division of the Missouri.

The end of Reconstruction was heralded in June 1876 when the section ceased to exist as a separate military command. The Military Division of the South was abolished and the country was divided into three divisions whose boundaries ran north and south. The southern states were thus combined with the northern states in the Military Divisions of the Atlantic and Missouri and lost their military identity.

The successive numbers of troops in the South trace the course of Reconstruction less precisely than do the patterns of military commands, but they indicate, somewhat, the degree of importance which the Army attached to the necessity of southern occupation. The million officers and men in the South at the end of the War declined in 1865 and 1866 as the Volunteers and Colored Troops were mustered out and Regular Army units were shifted to the western frontier so that, by October 1867, after military reconstruction was under way, there were only 14,000 officers
This number declined slightly during the first period of military government and then, in 1869, dropped sharply to just above 6,000 in the fall of that year. A further decline in strength took place through 1872, and in the last four years of Reconstruction the number of troops in the area fluctuated between 3,000 and 3,500 officers and enlisted men present for duty.

The sharp reduction in troop strength in the South in 1869 was occasioned by a combination of factors. Foremost among these was the overall reduction in strength in the Army of approximately 14,000 men. This loss of personnel was distributed so that necessary military functions would be curtailed as little as possible. Therefore, since troops were badly needed in the West, a comparatively large reduction was made in the South, where military government had ended in seven states and the need for troops was believed to have diminished. A further decline in numbers occurred in the following year after civil government was restored to Mississippi and Virginia. This trend was

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The figures cited here and in the charts below are based upon the Reports of the Adjutant General as published in the annual reports of the Secretary of War. The troops in Texas were not included in this compilation because a large percentage of the garrisons in that State were engaged in duties peculiar to the Western frontier which had no connection with the functions performed by other troops in the South. The figures cited in these reports are primarily those of September 30 and do not reflect strength fluctuation between these dates.
reversed in 1871 and 1872, however, by a general increase in troop strength to provide security against the Ku Klux disturbances. After 1873 the general good order prevailing in the section is reflected by only minor troop movements and a constant strength in the area of a little less than 3,500 men. One-third of these were stationed in South Carolina and Louisiana, both of which were trouble spots. The remainder were generally to be found in the coast defenses along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, at permanent inland installations and at temporary sites selected for reasons of health.

One other fact is made apparent by an inspection of troop strengths. Even in the first year of Reconstruction the number of troops in the South was small when compared with the size of the civilian population of the section. According to the census of 1870 the area, less West Virginia and Texas, contained 9,891,181 inhabitants. Assuming this to be an average strength for the entire period, in 1867 there was only one soldier for every 708 civilians and in 1876 this ratio had diminished to approximately one bluecoat for every 3,150 persons. This scarcity of uniforms over the South as a whole indicates that the presence of soldiers was felt more than seen and that actual direct military contact with an individual was more of a myth than a reality.
Figure 1
CHAPTER I

ARMY LIFE IN THE SOUTH, 1865-1866

The duties performed by the troops in the South in the first year after the Civil War fell into two general categories: those concerned with the preservation of law and order and the execution of certain Federal policies and those military chores necessary to the maintenance of the Federal Army itself. The tasks within the first grouping were assigned to a vast number of troops in the section who were not scheduled for immediate discharge. Those of the latter class were the responsibility of all units regardless of their proximity to mustering-out.

The military chores common to all units then, as now, were of a routine nature, boring, irksome, often without apparent purpose and seldom deemed worthy of mention in soldier writings. Those necessary in the Volunteer outfits were especially irritating for their men were anxious to be discharged, were generally idle, and had little that was constructive to occupy their minds.

Sergeant William Gould of the 2d Battery, Light Artillery, Connecticut Volunteers, chronicled this pointless situation when he described the activities of a May Monday by recording that, between breakfast and noon, he had nothing to do but

...in the Afternoon I had to detail 1 man to go with the Baggage Wagon & 2 to build
a Sink. then I had to turn out the remainder of my detachment to Grub up Bushes & to clean up everything within one Hundred Yards of the Camp all around. I think a great deal of it is useless work.  

The daily schedule in the artillery also included the feeding and care of the horses, the hauling of forage and manure, the cleaning of the artillery materiel, guard duty and, of course, the care and cleaning of individual equipment.

Camp routine was broken by parades and inspections which were supposed to keep the troops in military trim and inject a little color into Army life. One of these formations which fell short of the mark in a manner characteristic of the volunteer Army was described by Sergeant Gould. Although it was scheduled at 3 P.M., preparations began much earlier for the Sergts had to see that the Harnesses were well wiped & the Brasses well scoured. Boots and Saddles blew at 20 minutes past 2 we did not go a great way / from / Camp. at about 3 Lieut Col Dugan Rode out in front of the Battery. he had on a Straw Hat. After saluting him he rode around the Battery & then we were marched in Review & then to Camp. the Col gave us the reason for being so short that he had forgotten his Hat & was afraid the Boys would rig him.

1 William J. Gould Papers, Diary, May 22, 1865, Library of Congress, (hereafter designated L.C.) Since spelling, punctuation and grammar in this period more often than not varied with the individual, seeming variations in now accepted usage in direct quotations will not be indicated by the word sic unless this designation is required to clarify the meaning of the quotation.

2 Ibid., June 20, 1865.
An equally unique inspection was given some other artillery units by General Thomas W. Sherman. It consisted of a sham battle involving sixteen cannon which were allowed eight shots each. The action, smoke and noise made a grand show to which the "neighbors came flocking to see what was up," but the cannoneers who had to clean the guns after it was over must have found little charm in the grand spectacle.

Artillerymen were also required to fire their cannon on special occasions requiring salutes. The day set aside for the formal mourning of the death of Abraham Lincoln, for instance, was highlighted by the boom of funeral guns every half hour. The next occasion meriting such special observance was a happier one, the 4th of July. Although this day was enjoyed by the freedmen and a few soldiers, artillerymen found less pleasure in it. The cannoneers of the 16th Independent Battery, Ohio Volunteer Light Artillery, had to leave their battery area at 2 A.M. to go

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3 Ellison B. Davee, Diary, June 12, 1865, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. Hereafter designated OSH.

4 WDGO 66, April 16, 1865. This order prescribing mourning for President Lincoln was implemented by general orders of lower commands. See, for example GO 37, Dept of Arkansas, April 29, 1865 and GO 12, Hq, Post of Huntsville (Ala.) April 17, 1865. National Archives. Hereafter source materials on file in National Archives will be denoted by the abbreviation NA.
into New Orleans in order to fire a sunrise salute of thirteen guns. After a breakfast back in camp of coffee, sow-belly, and sour bread, they returned to the city at 10 A.M. to fire a thirty-six gun noon salute. Thirteen loads were fired at 4 P.M. after a speech by General Nathaniel P. Banks, and thirteen more were expended at sunset. In short the 16th Ohio Battery was hard at work most of a very long day.  

Camp life in the cavalry had much in common with that in the artillery. Unlike the long arm, however, the cavalry was particularly well adapted to courier service and patrol duties, especially those performed in rural areas. Their camp chores were light and generally confined to work around the stables. In one command fatigue details for cavalrymen were expressly forbidden except in emergencies and when they were necessary to provide forage for cavalry horses. Sergeant Larson of the 4th United States Cavalry reported that in his regiment the labor actually consisted of only one half hour of stable duty.

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5 Ellison B. Davee, Diary, July 4, 1865, CSM.

6 Ltr., CG, Central Dist., Dept. of Ark., to CG, Post of Little Rock, Sept. 15, 1865. LB 48, Central Dist. of Ark., NA. For the abbreviation here and elsewhere in the footnotes see Appendix C.
morning and evening supplemented by the usual guard details.\footnote{James Larson, \textit{Sergeant Larson, 4th Cavalry}, (San Antonio, 1935) p. 213.}

This light housekeeping was explained by General James H. Wilson who was of the opinion that cavalrymen could not do garrison duty and take care of horses at the same time. Instead they were to be saved for special service of which they alone were capable. It developed that this service, described below, was that of a type requiring speed and mobility in which the troopers earned their respite from camp drudgery.\footnote{Tel., Br., Maj., Gen., J. H. Wilson to Brig., Gen. W. D. Whipple, Macon, Ga., June 15, 1865. \textit{CR}, Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. II, p. 999.}

In contrast to the mounted branches, the far more numerous infantry was drilled as a matter of course, if for no other reason than to keep it occupied and out of mischief. "Hot weather and hard drill," one man moaned, "two articles that do not mix, yet are daily forced together in this Camp - all to have someone say they drill pretty."\footnote{William H. Stewart Diary, May 11, 1865, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. Items from this collection are hereafter abbreviated UNCHSC.}

This estimate of the situation was partly correct. A division commander of the 13th Army Corps reminded his officers that much could still be done to improve their
units' drill and ordered a minimum of an hour and a half of such training each day. This drill was to be done in a precise fashion according to the letter of the manual, and was to be supervised by at least one officer of each company. The general urged these exercises because of their "moral effect" on the southerners and because it was "worth painstaking for each regiment to appear thorough when it returns home."  

Unfortunately their general's feelings were not shared by the company officers and enlisted men, and it is highly probable that such orders were not given any more than token obedience. One infantryman, for instance, has left testimony to the effect that his unit spent much of its scheduled drill time lying beneath a clump of trees in a pleasant Tennessee pasture field.  

Parades, inspections and drill were one and the same for the infantrymen, except, of course, that the parades were formal affairs, customarily held on Sundays, and required a little more collective pomp and individual inconvenience. Sergeant John W. Griffith, 52d Ohio Volunteer Infantry, who was forced to undergo three inspections


and reviews in two days at Raleigh, North Carolina, penned a timeless and popular observation when he recorded that some of the officers appeared to "...enjoy these grand occasions Splendidly - make a magnificent display of their 'Swelled Heads.'"12

A visit from a dignitary provided a more-than-adequate excuse for a commanding officer to show off the troops of his command. The 32d Ohio Volunteer Infantry was privileged to pass in review before Generals Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman, much to the satisfaction of Sergeant Griffith who observed that General Grant was looking "as sedate as ever."13

A street parade including both infantry and artillery units was held by General Gordon Granger in honor of Salmon P. Chase when the Chief Justice visited Mobile. That it was a long procession is attested by Sergeant Gould whose battery had to wait two hours for tired and hot infantry to be reviewed before it could move along the line of march.14 A similar ceremony was held for the governor

12 John W. Griffith, Diary, April 23, 1865. OSK.
13 Ibid., April 24, 1865.
14 William J. Gould, Papers: Diary, June 3, 1865, LC
of Virginia upon his arrival in Richmond. Troops were turned out to escort him in style from the wharves to the governor's mansion and salutes were fired at the time of his landing and on his arrival at the Capitol.  

A comparatively small number of units received some target practice in the autumn of 1865. Troops at Vicksburg, Mississippi, were given two months shooting on a two-hundred yard range. To encourage good marksmanship the best shot for each day in each battalion or detached post was excused from his next turn at fatigue duty; the best shot for the month was to be rewarded with a thirty day furlough and the best shot in the military district for the two month period was to receive a testimonial from the commanding general of the district. Regardless of his ability, the marksman was inspired and cautioned by the admonition that "The soldier will keep his arms like his honor, without blemish."  

In addition to the above duties infantrymen had to walk guard posts in and around their regimental area and camp. Although this required the round-the-clock presence of those soldiers so detailed, it is difficult to see how

15 Ltr., Isaac Richardson to Esther Richardson, Richmond, Virginia, May 26, 1865, Isaac J. Richardson Papers, UNC SHC.

16 30 17, Hq., Western Dist. of Miss., Vicksburg, Miss., Aug. 31, 1865, LB 37, Dept. of Miss., p. 22, NA.
guard duty on infantry posts could have been onerous.

Also at work daily were the regimental and company clerks who had to write and copy official correspondence and were forced to catch up with the clerical work that had been postponed while they were on active campaigns. The painstaking task of these men increased as mustering-out time approached and the forms required in the process had to be prepared.

The work of supply personnel increased after the fighting had ceased. The commissaries again were responsible for providing rations, since the troops were no longer allowed to forage. The quartermasters had to re-clothe whole units whose uniforms had become unserviceable, and company quartermasters had to account for all property issued their units. There had been too little time for keeping accurate records and accounting for property during the war and, as a result, much that was charged to the company commanders could not be found. First Sergeant Larkins, a man whose position would have made him keenly aware of this situation, stated that his captain, as the responsible officer, would have been several hundred dollars in debt to the government had there not been a great deal of "trading" done to make good the shortages in his company.17 Another soldier reporting on the

problems of property observed that "We have been extraordinary lucky in finding our traps. There is not a thing but what we can act for. what one man is missing ...another had in Surplus."\(^{18}\)

The conditions under which troops in the South lived and worked reflected varied degrees of luxury and comfort. Houses, mansions when possible, were often used for military headquarters or officers' billets. An unnamed colonel in Wilmington, North Carolina, occupied a large double house and used another for his office.\(^{19}\) Similar practices were followed in other cities. According to The Charleston Daily News, the "King Mansion" of that city was adorned with a colored sentinel complete with sentry box, and wore a "headquarters and barracks look" until the troops in the area were concentrated in The Citadel.\(^{20}\) This pattern was general to the extent that even the governor's mansion of North Carolina was occupied by troops and that of Mississippi contained a

\(^{18}\) Ellison E. Davee, Diary, July 4, 1865, OSM.

\(^{19}\) Whitelaw Reid, After the War, A Southern Tour, (New York, 1866) p. 47.

\(^{20}\) The Charleston Daily News, May 7, 1866.
quartermaster's office.²¹

That most private dwellings were used without their owners' consent may be readily assumed. A General Alfred S. Hartwell, termed a "vile, miserable creature," by Emma Le Conte, appropriated the Columbia, South Carolina, town house of a Mrs. Bauskett for himself and General John P. Hatch while that lady was visiting at her plantation. Mrs. Bauskett, upon hearing of the intrusion, returned immediately and protested vigorously to General Hatch. In response to her complaints the General threatened to arrest her and forbade her to enter her house or to remove anything from it.²²

Although the general's method was common during the War, a more formal type of seizure was used in peacetime. For example, General P. Joseph Osterhaus required additional space for his Jackson, Mississippi, headquarters and decided that a house occupied by a Russell family would suit his purposes. The General announced this decision to one of his subordinates who informed the tenants of the General's desires and asked them to vacate the premises as soon as possible. The seizure of the house


²² Emma Le Conte Diary, July 4 and 5, 1865, UNC SHC. Emma Le Conte was the daughter of Professor Joseph Le Conte of the University of South Carolina.
was duly recorded by the quartermaster and the Russell's bitter pill was no doubt sweetened by rent money from the federal treasury.\(^23\)

All Federal soldiers were not unwelcome tenants. One North Carolinian had a Yankee lieutenant colonel

"...Actually boarding in his house - he came & requested quarters & as his presence insures protection against his men encamped around the house they were granted him."\(^24\)

Another officer, a Lieutenant David Craft, wrote to his sister that he had moved into

a jolly big House - all to myself - ever so nicely furnished, & servants to wait on me & all that sort of thing. But then you want to know how this came about. Why, there was one of the FFV's who had a very young wife & a very sick mother. - How this sick mother lived in another part of the Town from her son and it was his desire to move in with her;...one day he desired to know if I would occupy his house until such time as he should want to move back. Of course I cheerfully assented.\(^25\)

The days of house seizures and tenancy were numbered.

As Volunteer units were moved north, more space became

\(^23\) Ltr., Maj. Gen. P. J. Osterhaus to Capt. Estelle, Hq., N. Dist. of Miss., Vicksburg, Miss., Oct. 16, 1865, LB 31, Dept. of Miss., MA.

\(^24\) Catherine Ann Edmonston Diary, May 8, 1865, NOSHAH.

\(^25\) Ltr., David L. Craft to Carrie Craft, June 26, 1865, David Lawrence Craft Papers, Duke University. Items in this library hereafter designated DU.
available and troops were concentrated into Army posts
where they could be under constant surveillance and
discipline. Lieutenant Craft's sojourn in luxury was
ended almost as soon as it began, since he was ordered back
to camp. 26 Policy in the Department of Georgia in Sept-
ember 1865 dictated that citizens could not be vacated from
their property except upon orders from that headquarters
and that vacant houses only could be appropriated for
general and staff officers. 27

Still another step is indicated by General Orders 39,
Department of Mississippi, November 28, 1865, which stated
that soldiers and officers could occupy as quarters the
houses of citizens only with the owners' consent and at
their own expense. The order pointed out that tentage was
available for those troops at temporary stations and that,
when the occupation was permanent, a little energy and
industry would soon "hut" both officers and men. 28 The
final word in this matter was issued in War Department
General Order 14, March 10, 1866, which, stressing the
necessity for economy, ordered all rented buildings to be
vacated and personnel to be collected into regular military

27 Ltr., CG, Dept. of Ga. to CG, Dist. of Augusta, Augusta,
Ga. Sept. 14, 1865, LR, Dist. of Augusta, NA.

28 GO 39, Dist. of Miss., Nov. 28, 1865, LB 10, Dept. of
Miss., NA.
Units were sometimes quartered in large buildings. As indicated above, The Citadel was occupied by federal troops and, in fact, remained the home of the Charleston garrison throughout the Reconstruction period. Courthouses, schools and government buildings were utilized by the Army because they occupied central locations in their areas and because their occupancy did not infringe upon the rights of individual citizens. Also used by the troops because they were located on lines of communication and in population centers were hotels, cotton presses and similarly large structures. However, these privately owned facilities were soon vacated because the rent for their use had to be taken from the closely budgeted Army appropriations.

Church properties were also appropriated for military use, after their convent buildings had been converted into

barracks, the Sisters of Mercy at Fort Smith, Arkansas, communicated their plight to the Bishop of Baltimore who, in turn, protested to the Inspector General, General James Hardie. According to the Bishop, the good sisters were greatly inconvenienced by their unwelcome guests whose presence had caused them a pecuniary loss of $20,000.30

Another parochial institution occupied by troops was the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Newberry, South Carolina. It included a building with a flat roof edged with a three-foot wall and drained by a down spout. A protest was raised by the Lutherans when, during the winter after the troops had left, the walls had cracked and the roof had sprung leaks. They accused the men of the 56th New York Veteran Volunteer Infantry, quartered there during the previous summer, of having stopped up the drain so that they could bathe in the water which collected on the roof. The damage occurred later when the water had frozen. The men of the 56th Regiment denied the charges and blamed it all on the institution's former Confederate occupants.31

But, though public and private buildings were used as quarters for a short time, most of the troops were billeted

30 Ltr., Bishop Spaulding of Baltimore to James A. Hardie, Oct. 1, 1865, James A. Hardie Papers, LC.

in Army barracks or bivouacked in camps. The Army posts, discussed later, were composed of permanent structures erected prior to the War or of frame buildings more recently constructed. The camps of the Volunteers were temporary tent communities, the like of which passed out of the service with their inhabitants.

Tent camps were established near towns and near communications centers. They were generally clustered in groves of trees near a stream which provided water for the animals, bathing, washing, and, if necessary, for drinking. If time and material were available, the tents were made more comfortable by flooring and siding them with boards and logs.32

The greatest threats to the comfort of the troops in bivouac were the heat and rain. To protect themselves from these elements it was common practice of soldiers to erect arbors over their tents, both to create shade, if no trees were above them, and to shield the canvas from the direct fall of the rain. In addition to being useful these bowers, when green, were also decorative. The men of the 9th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry encamped near Concord, North Carolina, ornamented their camp with flowers and

32 Ltr., CO, 58th Ill Vol. Inf., to AAG, Dept. of Ala., Nov. 12, 1865, LR, Dept. of Ala., 1865, N A.
greenery and, along the side fronting a road, erected arches of evergreen boughs upon which were inscribed their company mottoes including such pleasant and appropriate words as "Concord" and "Union."\footnote{William Douglas Hamilton, Recollections of a Cavalryman of the Civil War after Fifty Years, 1861-1865, (Columbus, 1915) p. 218.}

Regardless of where he lived, the soldier's quarters were considered as of secondary importance to his rations. Sergeant Cnley Andrus, encamped near Montgomery, Alabama, reported that his

...unit was living better now than we were before the Boats got here. We now receive full rations of tack coffee & pork, and a little so as to help our Rations hold out. We get once in awhile a mess of greens and ditto of bigger peas - So we get along very well. But the govt does not furnish enough to live upon.\footnote{Illinois Studies in Social Sciences, Vol. XXVIII, Fred Albert Shannon, ed., "The Civil War Letters of Sergeant Cnley Andrus," (Urbana, 1947) p. 133.}

Sergeant Andrus' opinion appears to have been shared by others. Private Alpheus S. Bloomfield of the 1st Ohio Volunteer Light Artillery Regiment, at Gallatin, Tennessee, facetiously reported that, after he had previously received a hearty meal of coffee, bread and boiled beef, he had a dinner which "...consisted of coffee and bread for a change. You know it is fashionable to have something..."
good on Sunday." 35 While Private Bloomfield was
dining so fashionably in Tennessee, the 9th Illinois
Cavalry at Gainesville, Alabama, received bread that was
old, rotten, and wormy and meat, bacon, and shoulder,
that was stinking, buggy and rotten, so much so that the
men would not eat it. 36 Sergeant Gould, also in Alabama,
was at this time eating heartily of beans for dinner
("though expecting them to serve me a trick") and fried
shoulder, coffee and bread for breakfast. 37

Although the quality and quantity of the rations
sometimes merited the troops' criticism, much that was
wrong with Army food resulted from its handling after it
had been issued. In some units rations were cooked
individually or by small groups formed into messes; in
others, company kitchens were employed. Minimum require­
ments for the latter were set forth by the Army Regula­
tions of 1863, which, with modifications, were in effect
throughout the Reconstruction period. They stated only
that cooks were to be detailed from among the privates

35 Ltr., Private Alpheus S. Bloomfield to his brother,
June 4, 1865, Alpheus S. Bloomfield Letters, LC.

36 Edward A. Davenport, ed., History of the Ninth Regi­
ment Illinois Cavalry Volunteers, (Chicago, 1888)p. 185.

37 William J. Gould Papers, Diary, May 24 and June 4,
1865, LC.
of each company at the rate of one for every thirty men for periods of ten days. The company kitchen was to be under the watchful eye of a non-commissioned officer assigned temporarily to perform the task in addition to his other duties, and was to be inspected by an officer once each day.  

The prescribed system was modified and it was not uncommon to employ Negro camp followers as cooks or kitchen help. It is also certain that any man displaying either talent or fondness for cooking would have been readily employed. The informality of food preparation in one volunteer company was described by Sergeant Gould who

...found a Ration of Beef for my Detachment & no Cook there to cut it up. on making enquiries I found that he was down digging a Ditch I went down & had a talk with him & he said he did not understand that he was the only Cook. he said if I would get one of the Boys to do it for him he would Pay him well & I did so. 2 of those men who are digging have always said a white man could not work in this Climate & live. they stood it well enough for anything I know.

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38 Revised United States Army Regulations of 1861 with an Appendix Containing the Changes and Laws Affecting Army Regulations and Articles of War to 1863. (Philadelphia, 1863) p. 542, (hereafter designated AR1863.) The ration prescribed included meat, bread, vegetables, grain, potatoes, sugar, coffee, tea, condiments and candles. The basic field ration consisted only of hardtack and beef.

39 William J. Gould Papers, Diary, June 23, 1865, LC.
The soldiers' diet was not confined to the above issued food and company cuisine. The boys of the 9th Illinois and 9th Ohio Cavalry Regiments supplemented their fare by food purchased from the sutler and from local peddlers, while at the same time the 18th Connecticut Volunteers in good Yankee fashion achieved the same end by swapping issued rations to local Shenandoah Valley farmers for milk, fresh eggs and other home grown items. 40

Blackberries and other fruits, in their season, were to be had in abundance, so that in the 1st Ohio Light Artillery, if not in other regiments, berry picking was a daily event. 41 Unfortunately, however, all unofficial food procurement was not to be condoned. Leasons were pilfered with impunity and some troops at Knoxville, Tennessee, not only milked some cows belonging to citizens but those of officers as well! Although many orders forbidding this unauthorized foraging were issued, these habits acquired during the war were difficult to break. 42

Bad cooking and poor food undoubtedly contributed to the sickness which prevailed in the Union Army, for the


41 Ltr., Private Alpheus S. Bloomfield to his Sister, July 2, 1865, Alpheus S. Bloomfield Letters, LC.

42 Ltrs., Chief of Staff, Dept. of Tennessee to CO, Post of Knoxville, July 17, 1865, LB 22, Dept. of Tennessee, p. 3, NA.
camp diseases diagnosed as diarrhoea and dysentery led the list of maladies suffered by federal soldiers. These diseases were most frequent during the hot months of July and August, and, from May through November 1865, they were responsible for a monthly death rate of 1.5 men per thousand over the whole Army. They were followed, in their lethal effect, by malarial fevers which caused one death per thousand men and typhoid which reached its 1865 peak of killing effectiveness with a rate of .5 per thousand in July but sloped to .05 in October.\textsuperscript{43}

Another contributing cause of the large amount of sickness in Army camps was poor sanitation. An inspection of sinks (latrines) and cesspools in the Southwestern Sub-District of Mississippi revealed that those of its artillery regiment were well managed but that the other units had none at all and, in this respect, were in bad condition. The result of this was "...that the atmosphere around the Camps is so loaded with effluvia emanating from the promiscuous deposits of excrement that it is almost stifling." Other records indicate that this situation was not peculiar to the above command but was also to be found in Camps


The effect of sickness on troop morale must have been devastating, especially in the Volunteer units where the men could see no reason for continued military service and exposure to illnesses which were generally associated with the Army and the South. Sergeant Gould reported that the hot July weather at Mobile was telling on the men of his battery and that nearly a third of them were reporting sick. They became quite angry over their situation, especially after the hospital steward showed their captain a list of names of those who ought to have been sent to the hospital and that worthy's reaction was to curse and want to know how the rolls could be made out if men went to the hospital every day. Although he was greatly concerned and irritated over the poor health of his battery, Gould sought solace in reflecting "how little it matters if we are only prepared for Death & the Judgement."\footnote{William J. Gould Diary, June 3-July 9, 1865, LC.}
Equally low morale must have been the lot of some of the members of the 15th Maine Veteran Volunteers, a regiment which had sickness but did not have a doctor. Several of its men whose ailments were beyond the skill of their hospital steward were compelled to visit local civilian physicians who charged four dollars per call. 46

The low morale of troops was also occasioned by homesickness and a lack of healthy diversion. Most men were bored, especially those stationed away from the large cities where some activity could generally be found, for life in camp was characterized by little more than the nuisance of seemingly unnecessary chores, illness and, in the summer, oppressive heat and flies.

The picture was not all dark, however. The pastimes of war, though probably worn thin in many units, were continued in peace. These included card playing, singing, whittling and, of course, writing letters. But, by all odds, then as now the most enjoyable feature of army life was receiving mail. Mail delivery was sporadic and unreliable, and thus a common cause of complaint and dejection. The bright side was seen by one man, however, who, after a delivery, contentedly wrote in his diary:

Mail and two letters from home. This is one of the bright spots in a soldier’s life and I don't know but the carelessness and tardiness with which the mails are cursed is a good thing. It seems so good to get one. Like having the itch. It feels so good to scratch. 47

Soldiers so disposed found a great deal of time for reading. Religiously inclined men could consult the tracts passed out by the Christian Commission or imitate the pious Sergeant Gould who supplemented his attendance at regular prayer meetings by reading the Bible and, while at mobile, finished reading it through for a second time.48 Less pious men could do as Private Gilpin of the 3d Iowa Cavalry, who, when he was not playing his flute or visiting local points of interest, read Tennyson and Sir Walter Scott.49

These quiet activities were supplemented by those requiring some physical exertion. Swings and bars which were constructed in camps received heavy use, and swimming was a universal pastime.50

47 William H. Stewart Diary, May 8, 1865, WiSH S83.

48 William J. Gould Papers, Diary, June 25, 1865, LC.


This latter sport, though popular and of some hygienic value, was in at least one command wisely prohibited except in the less sunny hours of the day. 51

Riding provided recreation for those who enjoyed it and were fortunate enough to have horses to ride. Officers stationed in Richmond made up riding parties and visited nearby battlefields. 52 Other officers, no interesting battlefields to view, sought the company of girls, and rode with them. 53

A few enlisted men, probably a very few, also rode for pleasure's sake. Some troopers of the 4th Cavalry stationed at Macon, Georgia, used the main street of the town as a circus ring and performed equestrian tricks to show their skill. First Sergeant Larson, who should have been setting good examples, boasted that he himself rode the entire length of the street on his running horse while standing in the saddle. This horseplay was brought to an abrupt end one day when the company bugler attempted


53 Ltr., Julia Graves to Henry L. Graves, "Bellwood," Sept. 26, 1865, Graves Papers, UNC SHU.
to jump his mount over a newly dug cellar. The horse failed to make it and the boy was killed. 54

As indicated here and later, there were troops who created an unusual amount of disturbance when they went to town. Lost men, however, were relatively well behaved, especially when their drives found an outlet in quiet forms of diversion. Four soldiers of the 114th Ohio, Harve Salsehouse, Joe Marshall, Ed Waltz and George Jackson, for instance, went into Mobile where they had a "...gay time plenty of Ice Cream Strawberry "Sig" and lots of unmentionables." The identity of the unmentionables will remain a secret, but, whatever they were, they did not prevent this quartet from getting back to camp before dark. 55 When points of interest were available they were visited too. Battlefields drew many uniformed tourists and older national shrines, Mount Vernon and the Hermitage, received the homage of soldiers within visiting distance. Officers who were able to visit the latter place also went


55 George Jackson Diary, May 19, 1865, CSM.
into Nashville to see stage performances of "The Bohemian Girl" and "Our American Cousin." 56

The members of the 15th Ohio were fortunate for their regiment was one that was comparatively well entertained. When on pass, they were able to enjoy such advantages as Nashville had to offer, and when in camp were visited at least once by some "singers." In addition to these pleasures the men of at least two companies were given a treat by the officers from which some emerged boozy and boisterous. Their good morale is further reflected in the fact that the enlisted men made transparencies and took charge of a reception for another Ohioan, Brigadier General Augustus Willich, commander of their brigade. 57

Homage to high ranking officers was paid then, as now, but in that era it would seem that the company officers and enlisted men received a greater return for their efforts.

56 Cope, op. cit., p. 718; Hill, op. cit., p. 355 and William T. Sherman, Memoirs of General William T. Sherman, (New York, 1875) p. 375. An article in The New Orleans Times, July 9, 1865, reported that soldiers were forced to pay twenty-five cents to visit Mount Vernon and were required to pay extra to register in its guest book. It apparently was a custom for troops passing on the Potomac to stop there so that the men they carried could make the pilgrimage.

One such event was an affair given by a brigade for its commander, General Emerson Cadyke. On the evening of June 6, 1865, at eight o'clock the brigade formed, fixed candles in the muzzles of their rifles, lighted them and, headed by the 24th Wisconsin's band, marched in a torchlight procession to General Cadyke's headquarters. The air tingled with excitement as the general made his appearance, and the hills echoed the band's rendition of favorite camp songs. The troops were then entertained by an evening of rousing, and no doubt complimentary, old fashioned oratory by the popular general and other officers of the brigade.58

Smaller affairs were more common than the extravaganza held for General Cadyke. Brevet Major General John L. Brennan, commanding at Savannah, with his staff, was the recipient of a serenade rendered by the 12th Maine Volunteers' band as a tribute from their commander. In return the pleased general responded by inviting the regiment's officers into his quarters and entertaining them "in a very sociable a la militaire style."59

Farther north in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, another regimental band was employed in serenading not only the

58 Charles T. Clark, Cadyke Tigers, 125th O.V.I., (Columbus, 1895) p. 389.

59 Savannah National Republican, October 25, 1865.
troops but also the daughter of former Governor David L. Swain and her neighbors. One evening as their band blared dulcet tones from its bandstand before the governor's home into the surrounding village, an enraptured young private on guard at a house nearby approached its hard of hearing lady and asked,

"Can't you hear that music, Mrs. Spencer?"

Mrs. Spencer replied, "No, not a note."

"Well, I declare," he exclaimed, "I hate to think about it. I'd give two hundred dollars if you could have your hearing."

Soldiers belonging to brigades with bands were fortunate for, although all of these bands were not known for their excellence, the troops, like Mrs. Spencer's safeguard, found their concerts to be a bright spot in their otherwise drab lives. A group of soldiers in Saint Augustine even found them so attractive that, although placed sick-in-quarters by their surgeon, they jeopardized this duty-free status by promenading on the town's plaza during the concerts.

60

Hope Summerville Chamberlain, Old Days in Chapel Hill, Being the Life and Letters of Cornelia Phillips Spencer, (Chapel Hill, 1926) p. 95.

61

Ltr., CO, US Troops, St. Augustine, Fla., to Dr. R. D. Benedict, August 12, 1865, LB58, Dept. of Fla., p. 202, NA.
But neither their meager recreation nor the suspicion that they may have been performing a valuable service could dull the desire of the vast majority of the Union soldiers to be mustered out and returned to their homes. One artilleryman described what may have been a typical scene when he wrote:

...we have nothing to do. We have quit drilling and come on guard only once in six days....It is so warm no one can rest or sleep in one position, so everyone is doing his best to keep his tongue running. The subject that receives the most attention is the discharge of the army. Every order in the paper concerning this receives particular attention and they are read from 15 to 20 times. Then someone takes the paper, reads it off one sentence at a time, giving it a thorough review and thus disposes of each clause separately. Yet, after we get done we know no more about when we are going to get out than we did a month ago.62

Others were not content to sit idly by and await the initiative of the War Department. Many soldiers took their pens in hand and on behalf of themselves and their comrades wrote to influential personages in the hope of securing early discharges. Sergeant William H. Hershon of the 24th Kentucky Infantry informed General Grant that he had been selected by the members of a detachment under his charge to write to the General because it was believed

62 Ltr., Alpheus S. Bloomfield to his brother, Alpheus S. Bloomfield Letters, Gallatin, Tenn., June 4, 1865, LC.
that he would pay attention to their case. They had been recruited as replacements for the 24th Kentucky Regiment in the autumn of 1862 with the understanding that they would be discharged when the regiment was mustered out. Then the war over and their time having expired, the regiment had been mustered out, but the replacements under Sergeant Kershon were to be assigned to another regiment for continued service. If this happened the sergeant believed that it would be a hardship for them and an expense to the government. After reading this mournful plea, a clerk referred this petition to the Department of Kentucky where it was duly filed and forgotten.63

Senator Ben Butler, erstwhile major general, received a similar petition which in the eyes of its writer recounted a virtual tale of slavery. A group of men of the 3d United States Artillery, at war's end, found themselves with a possible eighteen months of service ahead of them and a strong urge to return to their homes. In addition to these dire straits they were "...heartily tired of being attached to the regular service as we haft to do the Drugery in the Battery and (are) very much misused

generally and hardly represented as soldiers..." The Senator, their old commander, thinking their case just, forwarded the letter to The Adjutant General with his blessing. ⁶⁴

The War Department's plan for the discharge of the huge federal army was not a result of mature and serious deliberation. Although units had been mustered out continuously during the course of the war, no attention was given to the problem of disbanding the entire Volunteer force until after the surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, and the first demobilization directive was not published until the surrender of General Johnston on April 28.

When these directives were promulgated they provided that, in their turn, the various units be moved to one of the nine rendezvous areas in the border and southern states. While at camps in these areas the troops were to prepare their muster out and pay rolls and turn in their unit equipment. When this administrative work had been completed the regiments and lower units were mustered out of the federal service and moved to their home states

⁶⁴ Ltr., George J. Conard and others to Senator Benjamin F. Butler, Camp Jackson, Va., June 27, 1865, Benjamin F. Butler Papers, LC.
for final pay and discharge.65

When it is considered that the government had no experience in disbanding forces in any way comparable in size to the 1,025,021 men mustered out of the federal service in the year following Appomattox and that such a task had not been officially contemplated prior to the closing days of the war, the accomplishment seems nothing short of miraculous. General Grant, himself, believed it to have been admirably conducted and marveled at the lack of disturbance and disorder it occasioned.66 Hitches developed which seemed like monumental catastrophes to the troops involved, and the system permitted injustices. However, it remains that the required military tasks were performed and the army was mustered out in what seems to have been an orderly and rapid fashion. The orderly discharge of so many men had never been accomplished by the United States before and, though its efficiency has possibly been equalled, it has not been excelled since.

In summary, several generalizations may be made. The majority of troops in the South in the first year after the war led a lazy and generally dull life. They were


66 Ibid., pp. 6-7
unable to understand reasons for the delay in their
muster ing out. They found no fault with their quarters,
for they were probably an improvement over those occupied
during the war. However, the poor quality of rations
was a source of constant complaint. The health of the
troops possibly improved when hostilities ceased, but,
in peace, camp life was seldom broken by entertainment
not provided by the troops themselves and, as a result,
the tedium of camp life was seldom relieved. With but
few exceptions, it was the desire of the Volunteer soldiers
to return to their homes as soon as possible.
CHAPTER II

OCCUPATION DUTIES, 1865-1866

In contrast with the dull routine of camp chores, the other duties performed by troops were varied. Although many were monotonous, some were challenging, others interesting, a few were dangerous and many were unpleasant. The mission which they embarked upon is described in a letter of instruction to a company commander of the 7th Infantry Regiment whose company was about to take up a station in Florida. He was informed that he and his men were charged with the general security and welfare of the citizens in his district and that they were to arrest all parties disposed to make trouble, interfere with the orders issued by the military headquarters or violate the "settled policy of the general government." They were also to look after the freedmen, find them employment and put them to work. The company commander was further enjoined to sustain the civil law and, at all times, report on affairs in his district. 1

In the execution of such orders, the southern garrisons were frequently involved in the maintenance of peace and security and the enforcement of law. Until civil governments were able to function, the commanding officer in an area, or another officer so assigned, acted as provost marshal and, with the aid of his troops in the role of police, saw that good order prevailed.

It was not often that the provost marshal had to employ troops as city police, but when necessary it was done with thoroughness. Memphis, for instance, was a city torn by racial tension and political turmoil and contained many rowdies of both races. By June 1865 the army found it necessary to assist Memphis' metropolitan police in the performance of their evening duties, and a system of patrols was instituted. A cavalry detail was ordered to ride through the streets between the hours of eight in the

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One officer so assigned described the position of provost marshal as "...an office which combined as varied a responsibility as can well be imagined. In certain civil cases I had, as judge, jury, and executioner of my own decisions, plenty of employment. With an occasional call to join in matrimonial bonds sundry pairs of hearts that beat as one, I had much more frequent cause to settle disputes between planters and employes, where neither party was disposed to meet the other half way. Vexatious and varied as my employments were, and as anxious as I might be to do justice, I was liable to be overhauled by my headquarters from misrepresentations made by angry and disappointed suitors." See: William H. Chenery, The Fourteenth Regiment, Rhode Island Heavy Artillery in the War to Preserve the Union, (Providence, 1895) p. 133
evening and half past twelve and to suppress all disorder
and irregularity, especially in cases where soldiers were
involved. They were ordered to arrest all citizens bearing
arms, all soldiers without cases, and every person con-
cerned in disturbances involving the discharge of firearms.
Colored people were not allowed to assemble, and every
street in which disorders might occur had to be visited
by a squad of cavalry every half hour. City police and
provost guards were to be aided upon request. The Army
was in no mood to abide with the trouble makers of Memphis.

Fortunately, however, the situation in Memphis was not
general throughout the South, and such night patrols were
not characteristic of Federal supervision immediately
after the war. Major riots, resulting from the conditions
that fomented trouble in Memphis, were not experienced
elsewhere until after April 1866 and will be considered
later.

A more active menace to life and limb in the tur-
bulent over-crowded Southern cities appears to have been
street traffic. The post commander at Nashville attempted
to enforce some measure of safety in that city by for-
bidding both soldiers and civilians to drive or ride
faster than four miles per hour, the speed of walking,

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Letter Sent 345, Hq., Cavalry Div., Dist. of W. Tenn.,
June 1, 1865, L3 37, NA.
in Nashville's streets. Although violators of the
Tennessee capital's leisurely pace were to be arrested
by the provost guard, if caught, they were encouraged to
flee by the knowledge that the guard was ordered not
to fire upon them. Similarly, in Jacksonville, Florida,
no one was permitted to travel faster than a slow trot
and when passing the district headquarters they were
required to slow down to a walk.4

A common type of police work performed in towns was
simply that of the military police of today. Troops on
town patrol were ordered to arrest drunken and disorderly
soldiers and civilians and to check soldiers' passes.
This duty then, as now, was generally of a routine nature,
but sometimes the situation got out of hand and became
dangerous. Two men on a patrol in Columbia, South Carolina,
pursuant to their duty, attempted to put a stop to the
fighting of two Negroes. The sable gladiators resented
the interruption, however, joined forces and turned on
the peacemakers with clubs, stones and brickbats. Rein­
forcements arrived for both sides and in the course of
the melee some shots were fired. Finally, discipline

4 30 25, Hq., Post of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn., July 15,
1866, L3 335, Dist. of Middle Tenn., p. 70, and Ltr., CG,
Dist. of Fla. to Brig. Gen. B. C. Tilghman, Cmdg., Post
of Jacksonville, Hq., Dist. of Fla., Jacksonville, Fla.,
May 23, 1865, L3 16, Dist. of Fla., p. 208, NA.
triumphed over mob action, the Negroes were dispersed, and the troops were returned to their quarters. Although the representatives of law and order suffered no permanent damage, several Negroes were believed to have been killed or wounded.⁵

Similarly, in Suttlestown, Tennessee, two men on patrol attempted to arrest an unruly cavalry sergeant. After the trooper was taken into custody, some of his friends attempted to rescue him from the clutches of the military policemen but were foiled when a relief patrol arrived and fired at the fugitive, killing him and a small boy who was standing nearby.⁶

In addition to checking passes and stopping brawls, patrols were sometimes given more satisfying assignments. In some areas enlisted man patrols were ordered to visit "hotels and other places" to arrest officers absent from their units without proper authority.⁷ The views of one man assigned to such duty at Mobile were recorded as


⁶ Daily Gazette (Chattanooga) Sept. 5, 1865. See also GO 11, Hq., Post of Selma, Selma, Ala., June 22, 1865, NA.

⁷ Ltr., Office of the Provost Marshal Gen., Hq., Dept. of Ga. to 30, Dist. of Augusta, Oct. 11, 1865, LR, Dist. of Augusta, NA.
follows: "Detailed for Patrol Guard and was on at the 1st District Hqrs at the Southern market I had lots of fun arresting officers it takes them down so much to be put under guard."  

Mounted patrols were found to be necessary in rural areas near cities or troop concentrations. Company D, 1st Ohio Cavalry, assigned to such duty, was ordered to scour the roads around Nashville for a distance of eight to ten miles, protecting the citizens from the depredations of prowling discharged soldiers and other persons and arresting all soldiers off their posts without passes. Similar measures were found necessary near all large cities and military posts.

The efforts of the Army to enforce military orders provided both comedy and tragedy. Southerners were not accustomed to strong governmental control and were sometimes reluctant to comply with the victor's edicts. The recently restored citizens of Fredericksburg, Virginia, failed to heed President Johnson's request for a day of national fasting and prayer and industriously pursued

8 George Jackson Diary, May 31, 1865, CSK.

their business. The provost marshal, a Maine man, saw his duty and, to the delight of the school children, reacted by ordering the town closed down as on a Puritan Sabbath. All good Fredericksburgers ostentatiously complied with the provost marshal's wishes except one man who was caught in the act of backing a wagon load of wood up to his door so that he might unload it. The 11th Maine's historian rather cheerfully reported that, for this insolence, the culprit was obliged to sit upon his load of wood until sunset before he could commence the labor of unloading it or driving it away.\footnote{Hill, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 337.}

Another blatant violation of Federal orders occurred in festive New Orleans in March 1866 on the occasion of the annual Fire Department parade. When parading opposite the headquarters of the Department of Louisiana, a band, formerly with the Army of Northern Virginia, had the temerity to blaze forth with the erstwhile Confederate air \textit{Bonnie Blue Flag}. A twenty man detachment of the 56th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, ordered to put a stop to the effrontery, did so by intercepting the music makers along their line of march and delicately extracting them from
the procession without undue fuss.\textsuperscript{11}

One of the most renowned edicts of the immediate post-war period was that one requiring that Confederate insignia, including military buttons, be removed from clothing. Since the returning Confederate veteran was quite often short of garments, this was a hard order for him to obey—assuming that he had a uniform in the first place. One of the poignant vignettes of the era resulted from this order. This incident took place in a Savannah hotel lobby when a dignified old Confederate brigadier, surrounded by a mortified and helpless staff, was forced to submit to having his buttons shorn from his tunic by a drunken sergeant armed with authority and tailor's shears.\textsuperscript{12}

Not so helpless was another violator, the Confederate partisan leader, Colonel John S. Losby. A very much agitated Captain of 7th United States Veteran Volunteers requested that a detachment of cavalry be sent to Leesburg, Virginia, to arrest Losby who had appeared in that town wearing a Confederate uniform with military buttons. On learning of this the captain had immediately sent a

\textsuperscript{11} Thomas J. Williams, A Historical Sketch of the 56th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, (Columbus, 1899) pp. 105-107.

\textsuperscript{12} Reid, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 156.
detachment to arrest him. Hosby in his accustomed manner, however, moved faster than his pursuers and

...immediately went into a store and changed his apparel for that of a citizen in which dress he was when found by the guard, he, said Hosby, did use insulting and abusive language and did repeatedly remark that "If an attempt was made to arrest him he would create a force that would massacre every damned Yankee in the town." He did not have on buttons, no farther notice of him was taken until about 11 o'clock A.M., when he reappeared with said uniform and buttons, and, after walking very near the barracks occupied by the troops, he retraced his steps and posted himself on a street corner as conspicuously as possible. This fact being reported to me, I immediately proceeded to said corner, found said Hosby, and said to him "Mr. Hosby, you cannot wear those buttons in the town," to which he replied "You have not got enough men to make me take them off."

About fifteen minutes thereafter Mr. Hosby was taking a northeasterly course, across the fields, fences etc., at an extremely rapid rate pursued by some skirmishers who fired several shots, but without effect, consequently he escaped.13

In retrospect the enforcement of this order was less dramatic than the above accounts would indicate. For instance, the 98th New York Regiment had to request that only a few privates remove some buttons but found it unnecessary to make any arrests. The scarcity of distinctive buttons on Confederate clothing in 1865 and the general lack of bitterness displayed by the veterans

13 Ltr., 30, Post of Leesburg, Leesburg, Va., to AH3, Dist. of Shenandoah, April 9, 1866, Ltr., 654 P339 EB, 1st Ill. Dist., NA.
of both armies toward one another make the above scenes stand out in bold relief because of their drama and rarity.\(^4\)

The duties necessary to the maintenance of law and order extended beyond the police of cities and removal of Confederate buttons into the remote rural areas of the South. One of the tasks of the back areas which was sometimes fraught with peril was the recovery of strayed or stolen livestock. The danger in such attempts was illustrated by an article in the Raleigh Daily Standard of August 24, 1865, which reported that guerrillas had slain three soldiers sent out from Jackson, Tennessee, in search of horses.

A similar incident occurred when Lieutenant Archibald H. Thompson of Company D, 12th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, on orders from General Alvan C. Gillem, took a detail of about twenty men south from Chattanooga, Tennessee, into Alabama to collect some livestock stolen by a guerrilla named Gatewood. When it arrived at the proper place, the detachment was divided into groups of four men each and proceeded to gather up the animals. In the meantime,

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William Kreutzer, Notes and Observations Made During Four Years of Service with the Forty-Eighth N.Y. Volunteers in the War of 1861, (Philadelphia, 1878) p. 351.
however, a posse had been collected by the local sheriff, in accordance with the law, to arrest some "men who had taken stock, robbed houses and taken whiskey out of a wagon." In response to the sheriff’s call, some one hundred local men, many of whom were ex-Confederate soldiers still wearing parts of their uniforms, collected and proceeded against the "cattle thieves." 15

The parties collided near Taylerville, Alabama; one trooper was killed and all of the cavalrymen except those with Lieutenant Thompson were captured by the posse. Later the lieutenant and his small band were able to recover about four of the soldiers and capture twenty of the civilians whom they took back to Chattanooga and imprisoned. These twenty unfortunates protested their innocence on the grounds that they had only been doing their civic duty and had surrendered on learning that the whiskey stealing "cattle thieves" were troops acting under orders. After the entire matter was straightened out, the confined men received a lecture from General Gillem and returned to their homes. One cavalryman,

15 Huntsville Advocate (Alabama) August 31, 1865 and The Nashville Dispatch, August 31, 1865.
Private Edward J. Lawson, was thereupon listed as
"Killed in Action." 16

Detachments were frequently sent out to bring in
certain individuals. Bands of ruffians, some being
ex-soldiers still in uniforms—blue and gray, were con­
stant sources of trouble, especially in the areas where
there had been considerable partisan activity during the
war. General Richard J. Johnson reported some operations
against these men in the most matter-of-fact way when he
wrote from Pulaski, Tennessee:

...last week I sent to the neighborhood of
Lewiscburg and Cornersville, a small party of
Cavalry with instructions to hunt down and
kill Hill Looker, formerly a scout for Brig.
Genl Stackweather, Line Hopwood, Isly and Lo­
Bollum, all notorious outlaws and robbers. The
party caught and disposed of Looker and McCallum:
the others evaded them, but only to fall into
the hands of a similar party, by whom they too
were dispatched.

on the night before last learning of a
proposed gathering on Sugar Creek, Seventeen
miles below here, I sent to the locality desig­
nated a squad of the 5th Indiana Cavalry: they
captured and executed three notorious robbers
and outlaws. Ferguson, Komer and Turner by name:
Komer escaped from the guardhouse at this place
some weeks since being at the time under sentence
of death: both he and Turner I believe were
paroled by Genl Iranger at Decatur in May, and
have been stealing horses, whenever occasion
offered, ever since. This morning, one Morris,

16 Partial accounts of this episode are related in The
Huntsville (Ala) Advocate, Aug. 26 and 31, 1865; The
Mobile Ala. Advertiser and Register, Sept. 5,
1865; and The Nashville Dispatch, August 31, 1865.
See also the Muster Rolls of Company D, 12th OCV,
August 31 to Oct. 31, 1865, in NA.
formerly a scout for Genl Dodge, was captured near this place with a confederate of the same name (name unknown) and executed—by a party of my escort, and by my orders.*

General Johnson was obviously not a man to allow legal red tape to slow the machinery of justice in his command. Federal troops also served at formal executions.

The men of the 56th Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry were formed on March 23, 1866, and marched to the local Louisiana parish prison. Four men were called forth from its ranks, given muskets, three of which were loaded with balls and one with only a blank cartridge. A prisoner with a black cross on his chest was then marched out and halted at the foot of his coffin with his face towards his executors. A command was given, the four men leveled their rifles; another was barked and the soldiers fired. Their marksmanship was sufficient to the task and the condemned men fell. Each Ohioan felt that he had fired the empty gun. **

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* Ltr., Gen. R. W. Johnson, 33, 6th Div., Cav. Corps, I.II. Div. of the Miss., to Gen. W. D. Whipple, 3/3, Dept. of the Cumberland, Pulaski, Tenn., June 22, 1865, H.A. The Ferguson mentioned was not Champ Ferguson, the guerrilla. Champ Ferguson was taken into custody by the 5th Tennessee Cavalry on May 26, 1865, tried before a military tribunal in Nashville and hanged in the presence of troops of the 16th Infantry on October 20, 1865.

** Thomas J. Williams, op. cit., pp. 108-109. Mr. Williams did not see fit to describe the nature of the crime for which the prisoner was executed.
All manhunts did not entail the hell-for-leather pursuit of bearded bandits and end in executions. One, at least, was carried out in a quiet way after an elusive but respectable member of the Confederate cabinet. Sergeant Larson reported that he and two other first sergeants of the 4th United States Cavalry were called one day into the office of the wily provost marshal of Statesboro, Georgia. They were informed that a former Confederate Secretary of State was in the vicinity and ordered to catch him. A lieutenancy was promised to the man who did. The three sergeants were then outfitted in Confederate uniforms and sent off to mingle with the many paroled rebels passing through the town.

Larson related how he fell in with a group of ex-rebels, enjoyed their company and learned the location of what was supposed to be the Secretary's residence, something which the provost marshal should have been able to tell him in the first place. The eager sergeant made a preliminary reconnaissance of the house that evening, but, finding no one at home, spent the night in a warehouse with his rebel friends. Early the following morning, before his deceived comrades awakened, he went again to the suspected house and posted himself nearby. This time his patience was rewarded by the appearance of the whole family, including a man who resembled the portrait shown him by the provost marshal. Sergeant Larson immediately
arrested the suspect, tore him from the bosom of his family and triumphantly marched him off to headquarters. There his quarry was identified as a man of only local importance and not the secretary who was learned to have been elsewhere. Sergeant Larson remained a first sergeant until he was discharged from the service.\footnote{19}

Maintaining law and order also called for more pleasant details. Twelve men, for instance, were assigned to assist the Columbia, South Carolina, police keep order at the local racetrack.\footnote{20} Other men from the 142nd Indiana Regiment were rumored to have been assigned to keep order at a Nashville, Tennessee, boxing match. However, on learning of it, the post commander became indignant and immediately ordered the arrest of the fighters, witnesses, guards and, if one was involved, the officer who detailed the men to the guard. Presumably the fight did not come off.\footnote{21}

\footnote{19} Larson, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 310-312. Sergeant Larson neglected to tell the name of the man for whom he searched, but, since none of the Secretaries of State lived in Macon, it is possible that the Sergeant may have confused the office the gentleman was supposed to have held.


\footnote{21} Ltr., AAG, Post of Nashville to Provost Marshal, Nashville, Tenn., June 5, 1865, LB 326, Dept. of Tenn., NA.
Less interesting forms of guard duty were also experienced by the soldier. On moving into an assigned area the troop commander immediately took possession of all federal and Confederate property there. In the case of some properties, particularly cotton and livestock, a great deal of effort was needed to search the entire command in order to be certain that such items did not remain in private hands. Guards were then posted over both government installations (arsenals, powder mills and fortifications) and whatever contraband might be at hand (normally cotton, livestock, grain, army supplies, fuel and weapons). Some disposition was then made of the contraband—the military supplies often being used by the troops while cotton was shipped to seaports or rail terminals to be sold north or abroad.\footnote{22}

Among the troops assigned to this guard duty were companies of the 15th Infantry at Mobile, Alabama, the site of both military installations and a large amount of seized cotton. These men had an unusually difficult time for they were on guard details every other day with one company alone walking post around the government cotton.\footnote{23}


\footnote{23} \textit{New York Times}, November 2, 1865.
That some of them took their duties seriously is evidenced by the testimony of Lieutenant Charles H. Breckinridge, a member of the famous Kentucky family, who, in a letter to his father, stated that they had to do

...a great deal of guard duty and have to be as vigilant as if we were in an enemy's country, (which by the way we are) and expected an attack every minute. Every one North spoke of how lucky the 15th were to get such a station, and not be ordered to the plains, but we have harder work and a great deal less credit than those that are out in Indian country. I think that I am extremely fortunate when I get two nights out of three in bed, most of the time at present we are up every other night, so of course we can't be very energetic the next day. I rather like it though, for otherwise we would stagnate, and would have time to think of how unlucky I was to be in this branch of the service.24

Other guard details were not so demanding and were probably taken a great deal more lightly by the Volunteer regiments. For instance, sentinels were placed at busy bridges which, undeniably, were excellent places to watch the world go by. Those sentries on the bridge at Knoxville, Tennessee, among others, apparently had some diversion, for their instructions indicate that they were to prevent people from galloping horses over the span and to keep it clear of the bad women who had the habit of collecting there.25

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24 Ltr., Lt. Charles H. Breckinridge to the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, Dec. 21, 1865, Breckinridge Papers, LC.

25 Ltr., C/S, Dept. of Tenn. to CO, Post of Knoxville, Aug. 15, 1865, LB 22, Dept. of Tenn., p. 21, NA.
The laziest type of guard duty would seem to have been that which fell to those men assigned to protect private property against stragglers and roaming negroes. One of these guards, Onley Andrus by name, was left with two other men at the home of a Mr. Abrams of Greenville, Alabama. Abrams treated them kindly to the best the house afforded and to the

...first meal of victuals at a table since leaving Illinois. And as it happened they were blessed with everything in the shape of eatables except coffee—& Potatoes— we furnished them with the coffee, but potatoes we happened to be short of too.

Andrus went on to say that the inhabitants were surprised that they had not come to eat them up

...as they had been led to believe by the stories they had heard, of Old men and children murdered by them and Young maidens ravished and ruined etc. They found them more Hungry for onions & corn bread than they were for virtue. And the same might be said for this place. Montgomery, Alabama

Not so friendly, however, were some people at Hanover Courthouse, Virginia, who were protected by a safeguard from the stragglers of Sherman’s army as it moved north. Their protector thought them

F.F.V.'s of the most aristocratic kind. They live in princely style in a splendid mansion. At the present time they feel rather sober and

26 Fred A. Shannon, ed., op. cit., May 1, 1865, np.
little inclined to converse. Perhaps the Yankee vandals or "northern mud-sills" as we are termed, who at this time are passing, have something to do with their silence."

After the confusion of war had passed away, guards were sometimes distributed to out-of-the-way plantations to maintain peace between the planter and his sable employees and, when necessary, to prevent the encroachment of roving negroes upon the planter's land. One assignment of this nature took place in Georgia at the time of a rumored Negro insurrection. Some women, who were alone on a plantation, requested military protection and two soldiers from the Thomaston garrison were detailed to guard them. Although one of the ladies found her situation most humiliating, she was forced to admit that one of the bluecoats was a

...right clean fellow, considering that he was a Yankee, but we took particular pains to let them know of all the meanness that was done during the raid through the country. They did not get mad at any thing we told them, but said that all soldiers were not as bad as Wilson's men. They asked us about "Old Jeff" but we pretended not to know who they meant until they called his name. We told them we could never forget the Yanks for what they done to us. They said they were not fighting for the "niggers" but for the flag. They pretended to hate the negroes and were very strict with them while down here, made them do more than

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they had for months. I liked one of them better than I thought I ever could like a vile Yankee. They recovered a good deal of stolen property, arms etc. among the negroes in the neighborhood, but could not hear anything of an insurrection. We have regularly organized companies now who are going around every night to keep order. 28

Some guard details on this sort of an assignment were even ordered to obey the lawful orders of the plantation owner. Presumably, however, such occasions were rare and quite possibly reserved for only politically reliable unionists. 29

although the task of supervising the labor relations between the former slave and his white employer became the responsibility of the newly organized Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, many of its operations had to be performed by local military commanders until the Bureau began to function. This extra authority was not sought by most officers who already had all of the work they wanted to do. One of the luckless men assigned these duties recorded his lack of enthusiasm for them when he wrote that the

Negro question has been turned over to me. The Col has got tired of it.
Don't fancy it - but have long since ceased to care for anything. It is none of

28 Ltr., Julia Graves to Fannie, "Bellwood," Dec. 27, 1865, Graves Papers. UNC SHC.

29 SO 19, Nov. 10, 1865, and SO 41, Dec. 16, 1865, Hq., US Forces, Tallahassee Fla., LB 40, Dept. of Fla., pp. 84 and 95, NA.
my business. I have only to make the
machine movements in the regular groove.

+++ The Nigger is a mythical question full of
intricacy and conditions - ignorance and
childishness. I pity those forced to face
it - there is a world of trouble in it.

+++ Ignorant niggers and their ignorant and ugly
masters. I heartily wish they would send on
their freedmen agencies to take charge. I had
much rather fight rebels than talk to the
satisfaction of opposites.30

The problems brought forth by these opposites was
one of great proportions. To many former slaves, in 1865,
freedom meant freedom from work, and they were loath to
engage in gainful employment. This concept was often
enhanced by the loose talk of soldiers who, according to
Henry Watson, Alabama unionist, "...poisoned their minds by advising them not to work, that their
contracts were but temporary, that at Christmas their
master's land would be divided among them, & that
the government would make provision for them."31

It was the Army's duty to rectify this situation.
Commanders urged the Negroes to abide by their contracts
and, when there was a violation, sought to investigate it,
and, if necessary, to punish the offender.

30 William H. Stewart Diary, June 11-14, 1865, UNC SHC.
31 Ltr., Henry Watson Jr. to Sereno Watson, Dec. 10,
1865, Henry Watson Jr. Papers, DU.
The commandant at Weldon, North Carolina, followed this pattern except that he gained the disapproval of the planters there by hiring the most able bodied men as Army laborers and then urged the remainder to go back to their former masters. A planter of the area who had lost twenty of his hands was promised by this officer that the Negroes would return and then if they would not work "he would send a file of men down to the plantation and thrash them until they would be glad to do so!"

Punishments were meted out to both the white and Negro, but it is those given the latter which were the harshest, the most plentiful and the most resented by the ruling Radicals. The ex-slave knew little of contracts, and, having made one, saw little reason for keeping it if his fancy dictated otherwise. Furthermore, unlike the planter, he had nothing invested and, so long as he could scrounge food, had little at stake if a crop were lost. Therefore, when differences arose, the freedman, with the reputation resulting from his attitude, found that disputes were quite often not decided in his favor and was punished accordingly.

In the new order of things the overseers and employers were forbidden to punish their dark laborers.

Catherine Ann Edmonston Diary, May 15, 1865, NCSDAH
and had to call upon the military when punishment seemed warranted. Henry Watson followed this procedure in the case of two unruly field hands, and two privates and a corporal were sent to his plantation. "They took the two men and hung them up by the thumbs, a most agonizing punishment. Mr. Hagan (the overseer) was horrified and begged to have them released, but the soldiers said no, he had called them in and that was the way they punished."33

Army officers were also called upon by employers to discipline insubordinate freedmen. One provost marshal in Tallahassee, Florida, was directed to punish a hotel servant if he found the servant guilty of extreme insolence to the proprietress. The punishment was ordered in accordance with the policy that "It is intended to show by example that domestics are to be civil and courteous to their employers."34

Champions of the freedmen's welfare were not blind to the way things were going for the Nation's wards. The New York Times reported from Raleigh that the Negroes were being treated cruelly and that soldiers were aiding

33 Ltr., Henry Watson to Julia Watson, Dec. 16, 1865, Henry Watson Jr. Papers, DU.
34 Ltr., AG, Dept. of Fla., to Provost Marshal, Tallahassee, Tallahassee, Fla., July 27, 1865, L1 3, Dept. of Fla., NA.
in the abuse. Instead of setting the South aright the army's officers were living a life of "indecent ease" in barracks and being seduced from their duty by former slaveholders whose influence upon them was anything but beneficial. 35 Carl Schurz received information that the military authorities in Oxford, Mississippi, were whipping Negroes, on complaint of the rebels. Although the informant himself did not see the lashing administered, he believed the report because he knew that the post commander at Holly Springs, Mississippi, a Lieutenant Colonel Cameron, was "...a man who calls such a person 'nigger' with altogether needless frequency." 36 Clearly, the freedmen and their liberators were not always the closest of friends.

The hero did not always come out second best, for justice was often on his side and he had friends in high places. One detachment, for instance, was sent to Augusta, Georgia, for the express purpose of investigating alleged outrages against freedmen. 37 Such outrages were


36 Ltr., Chaplain James A. Hawley to Col. Samuel Thomas, July 4, 1865, Carl Schurz Papers, LC.

found and the parties involved were hauled into court when judgments were not of the type that could be made on the spot. Such a novel situation attracted wide attention, and in the early post-war days decisions in favor of Negroes created local sensations.

The evidence now available would seem to indicate that the Negroes received a sizeable portion of the punishments meted out by Federal troops in the year following the war. This situation possibly resulted from the fact that the freedman, unaccustomed to his new privileges, was less proficient in the art of complaining in the first months after the war than they became after the Freedman's Bureau shifted into full operation and the Radical governments came into being. It is also quite probable that the white southerners had the greatest causes for complaint.

But complaints from people without the rights of citizenship received little attention. In order to regain these rights, the residents of the seceding states had to renew their loyalty and take oaths of allegiance to the United States. For most people this occasion was neither a happy nor a proud one. The provost marshal at Fredericksburg, Virginia, reported that the oath was

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Chernery, op. cit., p. 155.
taken by the young women of his district, as one of the civil requirements for marriage, with shy faces and usually in the evening - undoubtedly because it was too shameful a thing to do in the daylight. In some instances he was invited to the homes of those not desiring to take oaths in his public office. These were enjoyable occasions, for through them he was provided with some degree of non-military sociability. There was much oath taking in Fredericksburg among the younger set until it was learned that couples could be married in Baltimore without the oath. Thereafter fewer oaths were taken in Fredericksburg and a correspondingly greater number of steamer tickets were purchased to Baltimore.\(^{39}\)

After taking the oath of allegiance, it was possible for the southern white men to vote as they had before the war. Generally speaking, the conduct of elections during the period of the provisional governments was comparatively orderly, for the dissension aroused by the coming of the Republican party had not yet made its appearance in most of the southern states. Turbulent Tennessee, however, was an exception. In August 1865 troops were sent from Nashville to Lebanon for the purpose of "protecting loyal voters & loyal men who

\[^{39}\text{Hill, } \text{op. cit.}, \text{ pp. 537-538.}\]
wished to challenge parties offering their votes, also to see that the Judges conducted the election fairly and properly." Ten men under an officer, when possible, were ordered sent to each precinct of Wilson county. They carried four days' rations and were to return to Nashville as soon as practicable after the election was over. 40

While the privilege of voting was enjoyed by many, that of paying taxes was enjoyed by a great many more. Some people, however, attempted to avoid this civic obligation and troops were called upon to remind them of their negligence. The 12th Ohio and the 3d United States Cavalry Regiments were both employed in this duty in Tennessee while to the south in Louisiana another cavalry unit was likewise engaged. In the latter state the resistance had taken the form of active threats against the United States tax collectors, and in Morehouse Parish the unfortunate publican was even forced to leave his bailiwick. The resistance was broken, however, by

40 Ltr., CG, Post of Nashville to CG, 138th C.V.I., July 31, 1865, LB 326, Hq., Dist. Middle Tenn., p. 175.
the arrival of cavalry on the scene so that once again the revenue flowed into Federal coffers. 41

The duties performed by the Army in the first year after the war were vital in the transition from war to peace. In the eyes of the victorious North the South was unable to manage its internal affairs in the light of the changes which had been wrought, and the only force capable of doing so was the Army. When all factors are considered, it would seem that the Army’s task, though difficult, was executed in a creditable manner.

41 Ltr., AAG, Mil. Div. of the Tenn. to Maj. E. H. Leib, 3d US Cav., Hq., Mil. Div. of the Tenn., Nashville, Tenn., Nov. 11, 1865, LB 33, Mil. Div. of the Tenn., p. 221. See also Ltr., AAG, Dept. of the Gulf to AG, East Dist. La., New Orleans, La., Hq., Dept. of La., New Orleans, La., Feb. 2, 1866, LB 80; Dept. of the Gulf, p. 134, MA.
CHAPTER III

DISCIPLINE, 1865-1866

The state of discipline of the troops in the South in the immediate post-war period left something to be desired. Regular units, in the process of rejuvenation, were filled with recruits and were in a low state of training. So unfortunate were the Regular regiments in this respect at the War's end that, when the commanding officer of the Richmond area requested troops for duty in that city, he specifically asked for Volunteers.¹

Volunteer units were also deficient in discipline and many were of poor quality. Although reports indicate the presence of many fine establishments, it can be supposed that all units had relaxed and that a few had done so to a dangerous degree. This relaxation was prompted by the natural let down that accompanied peace, but was intensified by the desire of troops to return to their homes and the generally held idea that their obligation to serve had ended with the War.

In its most benign form this condition resulted in a slight relaxation in military deportment and training so that a unit might have lacked only precision in its drill and appreciation for some of the niceties of military

¹ Ltr., CG, Dist. of Henrico, Richmond, Va., to AAIG, Div. of the Atlantic, Nov. 17, 1865, LS 72, LS 96, 1st. Mil. Dist., NA.
life. The 58th Illinois Volunteer Infantry had reached this state in November 1865 when it was reported that they were not well drilled, possibly because their officers believed that health, cleanliness, and attention to general duties were more important than precision drill. A similar situation was in evidence in the 1st Brigade, 2d Division, Department of Georgia, where the discipline and general effectiveness were all that could be desired. Although they wished to be mustered out, its members were reconciled to serving out their time, were quiet, obeyed orders promptly, and had the good will of the local citizens.

The testimony of citizens, particularly Unionists, to the good conduct of such troops was offered on several occasions. A Richmond resident referred to the troops in that town as gentlemanly and humane. The 44th Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry, a brave and well disciplined unit, won the respect of the citizens of Chattanooga.

2 Ltr., Capt. W.B. Palus, to AAG, Dept. of Ala., Nov. 12, 1865, Hq., 58 Ill. Inf. Vols., Montgomery, Ala., NA.


4 Ltr., H.M. Waterson to Andrew Johnson, Richmond, Virginia, June 7, 1865, Andrew Johnson Papers, Vol. 66, LC.

5 Chattanooga Daily Gazette, September 6, 1865.
and participants in a Union meeting of Morgan County, Alabama, passed a resolution to express their gratitude to the Decatur garrison "for their kindness and courtesy to our fellow Citizens, Since the surrender of the Rebel Forces."6

A poorer unit was the type represented by the 47th Pennsylvania and 25th Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry Regiments, both stationed in South Carolina in August 1865. The inspector found that in each the condition of clothing was poor, the military bearing unsoldierly, the prescribed uniform was not being worn, the hair of the men was not kept short and beards were poorly trimmed.7

The 47th's performance as provost guards in Charleston, South Carolina, was said to have been slovenly and disgraceful: "Guards appear on duty in almost any dress but the uniform one, slouch hats of all shades and shapes are worn. The men lounge around on their posts. Reliefs never pay respect to officers, and sentinels never present arms or stand at attention, they crowd on the sidewalks near their stations to the inconvenience of pedestrians." As a coup de grace to his condemning report, the inspector

6 Ltr., J. P. Wood to Andrew Johnson, Decatur, Alabama, June 17, 1865, Andrew Johnson Papers, Vol. 67, LC.

added: "I am now speaking of the 47th Pennsylvania Vols; as the Company of the 35 U.S.C.T. on duty in the city carry themselves as soldiers."

In short, both regiments reflected no credit upon themselves or the service. In a later report it was explained that this condition was caused by the scattered distribution of the troops and heavy duties which made disciplinary measures difficult. Their demoralization resulted from the fact that the men considered their service at an end and that their officers, sympathizing with them, made no effort to correct these views.

It was believed by many men that the officers were to blame for their not being mustered out, presumably because the commissioned personnel did not wish to lose their high salaries. This would have been especially true in units where the officers seriously attempted to do their jobs. Even Sergeant Gould, normally a level headed person, believed this and went so far as to complain bitterly to one of his lieutenants about it. In the 15th Ohio Regiment the men gave vent to their disrespect for shoulder

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10 Wm. J. Gould, Papers, Diary, June 16, 1865, LC.
straps by rigging up a dummy of a drunken officer and driving it through the camp.\footnote{11}

In an attempt to get themselves mustered out, some units with previously good records sought to appear as undesirable as possible. The commanding general of the Military District of Eastern South Carolina at Darlington reported that, on its way to his command, one squadron of the 1st Ohio Veteran Volunteer Cavalry destroyed the peace and property at Florence, South Carolina, and that the march itself was marked by "straggling and indiscriminate depredations." They behaved in this way, he stated, with the avowed motive of effecting their muster-out. Unfortunately for these Buckeyes, however, the general believed that to discharge them from service by reason of intentional misconduct would be to set a bad precedent and they were required to serve on.\footnote{12}

The behavior of this regiment was not as uncommon as the novel excuse for it. Other units also besmirched their records with improper conduct. Men of the 26th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry used St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Savannah as a hospital and, while in the town, kept it in

\footnote{11}{Cope, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 786.}
good condition. However, just before its departure, vandals, presumably from the regiment, destroyed the Church's organ, stole the ivory and pearl from its keys and stops, and stripped three medallions from the Church's chancel windows. 13

Wanton destruction was also perpetrated at North Carolina's Davidson College by a detachment sent there to remove government stores. Some private soldiers broke into a room containing the school's "Philosophical & Chemical Apparatus" and damaged it materially by breaking and carrying it off. Their officers expressed regret and indicated a possible reason for the bad conduct in their admission that they did not know anything that could be done about it. 14

A rare but more serious charge was filed at Augusta, Georgia, by General LaFayette McLaws. He wrote General Emory Upton that parties of federal soldiers were tramping over Wilkes and Oglethorpe Counties plundering, taking watches and jewelry, and, on some occasions, even assaulting women. McLaws protested that such conduct was a violation of the terms of General Joseph E. Johnston's

13 Savannah Republican, September 14, 1865.
14 Ltr., J.L. Kirkpatrick to --, Davidson College, North Carolina, Oct. 13, 1865, J.L. Kirkpatrick Papers, NCSDAH.
surrender and assumed that steps would be taken to stop such actions.\textsuperscript{15}

Bad conduct was also rendered by the 165th New York Regiment (Duryee's Zouaves) in Charleston, South Carolina. As punishment for their rowdy behavior in the city which exhibited "their old five points spirit," General Quincey A. Gillmore commanded that all personnel of the regiment be sent to Morris Island and that all communication with the island be removed. As further punishment, he ordered that their colors be taken from them.\textsuperscript{16} After receiving these orders, the colonel refused to give the colors up. Then according to the Richmond Times of July 26, 1865, the colonel

\ldots was placed under arrest and the colors demanded of the second officer in command. He, too, refused but on General Hatch explaining that his conduct would be mutiny, while that of his Colonel's only disobedience to orders, he promised to deliver the colors.

The delivery was accordingly made, when it was discovered that only the staffs and the rubber covers had been delivered. It was then determined to disarm the whole regiment. Other troops were brought forward, guns charged with grape and canister, and trained upon the

\textsuperscript{15} Ltr., LaFayette McLaws to Gen. Emory Upton, May 23, 1865, Misc. LR, Post of Augusta, Ga., 1865, NA.

mutinous troops and orders given to fire upon them in case they offered any resistance. The Zouaves, seeing all further opposition was useless, quietly stacked their arms and marched under guard to Ft. Sumter, there to expiate their time.

The Zouaves' colonel, Gouvenor Carr, was tried by court martial and dismissed from the service, but the regiment's colors were returned before its mustering out in September 1865.17

A minor mutiny also took place in the 16th Independent Ohio Light Artillery Battery. According to Private Davee, its men had become incensed when one of the officers told them that "A commissioned officer was better every way than a Private that they had better blood flowing in their veins." Six days later five men, carrying loaded knapsacks as punishment for drunkenness, made a lot of racket. The officer of the day, wearing civilian clothes, ordered the guard to stop the noise and to stick sabres down the prisoners' throats. The guard talked back to the lieutenant who ordered him tied up. Some men in the battery rushed to the aid of the guard while others remained on the side of authority and armed themselves to put down the mutiny. The mutineers were subdued and marched off to jail.

17 Richmond Times, July 26, 1865; New York Express, September 11, 1865. A history of the Regiment, History of the Second Battalion, Duryee Zouave's, ... by John Fleming, ignores this incident completely. New York papers suggest that Zouaves may have been treated unjustly, since their War record had been good.
where they remained for several days, leaving behind only twenty men to do guard duty and take care of the battery's 124 animals.  

Much of the bad conduct was caused by liquor, which was both cheap and plentiful. Pay days came rarely but when the troops were paid they had large amounts of money to spend. On such occasions many men were inclined to behave as those of the 4th Indiana Infantry at Louisville, Kentucky, who

...received their pay and devoted most of their money to inebriety. They got gloriously tangle-footed, and while in this rich and pleasant condition wended their way among the frail inhabitants of Lafayette kicking down doors and firing their weapons promiscuously.

Other troops managed to get drunk without paying for their liquor. Some blue coated guzzlers at Washington, Georgia, broke into the cellar of one of the local people and drank their fill of peach brandy. Not satisfied with helping themselves they then spat into the remainder to keep the "d--d rebels" from drinking it.

Less sadistic thieves were the men of two New England regiments at Goldsboro, North Carolina. These regiments,

18 Ellison B. Davee, Diary, June 18 and June 24, 1865.
19 The Louisville Daily Journal, November 22, 1865.
the 6th Connecticut and 7th New Hampshire Volunteers, enjoyed a pleasant camp site around the local courthouse until one day a party from the 6th Connecticut discovered a barrel of whiskey on a flat car. For reasons not given they sought to reach the spirits by the roundabout method of boring a hole up through the floor of the flatcar and into the cask. The barrel's contents were then imbibed by a sizable number of New Englanders and festivity reigned. As a result of their efforts, however, both regiments were moved to a less desirable camp site two miles out from Goldsboro and its temptations.21

Too much drinking resulted in trouble with the civilian population. One disgraceful incident for both parties concerned occurred on Christmas day near Roberts-ville, South Carolina. About one hundred off duty soldiers and a like amount of citizens collected there, drank, and brawled. The fighting was of a spasmodic nature; the groups would drink, fight awhile, and then return to their liquor supply points for more fuel and, thus fortified, would return to the fray. This disgusting Christmas observance lasted for a considerable length of time until a cavalry patrol arrived on the scene and dispersed the

combatants and the large crowd assembled to watch the "fun."22

Drinking soldiers also transgressed against one another. Musician James H. McBride, an Irish lad who had already attracted his officers' attention to himself by his frowned-upon habit of wearing civilian clothing, further gained their notice by getting roaring drunk and stealing a major's horse. He then "ran the animal through the streets of the city [Columbia, South Carolina] shouting in a boisterous manner, afterward proceeding to the Camp of the 25th Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry through which he rode forward and backward for sometime; ..." McBride was arrested, charged with disorderly conduct, drunkenness, disobedience to orders, and conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline.23

Drunkenness was not confined to the enlisted grades. A guest of the St. Charles Hotel, in New Orleans, who wore a full dress uniform of a colonel, could be seen hourly in the rotunda of the hotel. The colonel, if he was a colonel, was described as having been in a beastly

22 Savannah National Republican, December 28, 1865.

state of intoxication, boring and insulting everyone there, and bringing great discredit upon the service. 24

Some officers, in addition to sharing the enlisted men's feelings about remaining in the service, failing to do their duties properly and drinking to excess, also set poor examples by their thievery. Whitelaw Reid wrote from Wilmington, North Carolina, that "The practice of regarding everything left in the country as legitimate prize to the first officer who discovers it, has led, in some cases, to performances little creditable to the national uniform."

In confirmation of Mr. Reid's observation, General Augustus L. Chetlain confided to his friend, Senator Elihu B. Washburne, that his predecessors at Talledega, Alabama, gave "more attention to cotton stealing than to legitimate duties." Sanctioninously, he continued, "...I find that most of my brother officers by 'hook or crook' have made their 'pile' in the last year or two. There are some honorable exceptions. I have been playing the 'honest Injun'--am the poorer for it." He concluded his letter in the hope that Washburne and some of his other friends, perhaps including


25 Whitelaw Reid, op. cit., p. 48.
General Grant, would find a "hole" for him after his return from the wars. 26

As indicated by General Chetlain, a prime source of corruption among officers and some enlisted men was the cotton which had belonged to the Confederate government. This cotton had been collected from planters by the Confederate authorities in lieu of tax money and, had the blockade not functioned so well, its sale would have contributed greatly to the Confederate war effort. However, it could not be gotten out of the Confederacy in quantity and at war's end was stored in huge amounts throughout the South. This cotton, as government property, became contraband of war and its collection was made the responsibility of the Treasury Department. Because the task of collection was too large for them, it was the practice of the Treasury agents to request the Army's aid in bringing it in and guarding it. In the loosely supervised process of collection, cotton was stolen and sold. Henry Watson reported that the Minnesota Regiment at Greensboro, Alabama, was active in the stealing of Confederate cotton there and then had expanded their operations to include privately owned bales. 27 This practice, which had no doubt declined as the

26 Ltr., Gen. Augustus L. Chetlain to Elihu B. Washburne, Talladega, Ala., Nov. 11, 1865, Elihu B. Washburne Papers, LC.
corrupting cotton became scarce, was halted by instructions which clearly defined and restricted the Army's responsibilities in the handling of the contraband.28

When cotton did not suffice a few may have made "piles" in land speculation. General George H. Gordon was interested in sea island plantations which were offered for sale by their owners to white men and not to the Negroes who stood ready to buy them. The general could see no reason why such land could not be bought, cut up and resold as desired. He urged that an agency be established in Boston where the capital was located and offered to "... go South at once and report upon some of the many pieces of property which I am /apprised/ through the military are for sale and some of which are not known to the public."29

Although cotton was the most abundant temptation, one of the largest thefts involved a quantity of almost non-existent gold. During the course of their stay at a railroad community called Company Shops, North Carolina, some officers and men of the 11th Ohio Cavalry discovered about $100,000 in gold in sacks marked "Commercial Bank of

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29 Ltr., Gen. George H. Gordon, to Edward L. Tobey, Nov. 4, 1865, George H. Stuart Collection, LC.
New Berne of North Carolina." Instead of their turning this money over to the proper authorities it was divided among the enlisted men who found it and some of their company officers.

This lucky find might have gone unnoticed by the high command sufficiently long to prevent their recovery of the money, had it not been reported by an officer of the regiment. His letter was forwarded all the way up to General Grant who ordered General Schofield to investigate. General Schofield, however, had learned of the theft and had already taken steps to recover the gold. All but $30,000 had been returned within the month, but this seemed beyond recovery, for the men who had buried it had disappeared.

In order to prevent such irregularities, commanders attempted to hold their units with a tight rein. General Gilmore's action with the Zouaves no doubt had a salutary effect on those troops of his command who were inclined to be mutinous. To cut down on straggling, orders were issued calling the attention of regimental commanders to the various articles of war, indicating their responsibilities and liabilities in cases of property damage by their commands, and urging them to greater zeal in matters of discipline. Discipline was engendered in some outfits by a greater

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attention to drill and military courtesy and a closer system of passes. Some attention was even given to the recovery of articles reported stolen before units departed for the North.

It is to be doubted that most items, once stolen, were ever restored to their owners. One search which occurred in the 3d Ohio Veteran Volunteer Cavalry was probably typical of what transpired in other units. The regiment was marched three miles out from its camp, halted, and searched for stolen items: watches, gold, and jewelry. Some were reported found in the first company checked, but the men in the remainder of the regiment succeeded in hiding their plunder in the sand beneath their feet until the search was over.32

As the above-mentioned incidents indicate, the conduct of all of the troops in the South in the first year after the War was not exemplary. There was a general relaxation in discipline and deportment and a few units and individuals disgraced their uniform and country. The actions of this minority, however, should not erase the fact that

31 Ltr. Lt. Col. Wm. Watermore to AAG, Dist. of Augusta, Oct. 10, 1865, Hq. 159th N.Y.V.I., Augusta, Ga., NA.

32 Thomas Crofts, History of the Service of the Third Ohio Veteran Volunteer Cavalry in the War for the Preservation of the Union. (Toledo, 1910), p. 204.
the majority of troops and units behaved creditably and performed their duties well. No less a person than Joseph E. Johnston testified to this fact when he wrote that

The United States troops that remained in the Southern States on military duty, conducted themselves as if they thought that the object of the war had been the restoration of the Union. They treated the people around them as they would have done those of Ohio or New York if stationed among them, as fellow citizens. Those people supposed, not unnaturally, that if those who had fought against them were friendly, the great body of the Northern people, who had not fought, must be more so. This idea inspired in them a kindlier feeling to the people of the North and the Government of the United States, than that existing ten years before.33

33 Joseph E. Johnston, Narrative of Military Operations Directed During the Late War Between the States, (New York, 1874), p. 419.
CHAPTER IV
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS, 1865-1866

The friendly respect often exhibited between individuals of the Union and Confederate Armies in quiet periods during the War continued into the peace. Hungry Confederate veterans, journeying homeward, sat at the camp-fires of Union regiments and ate federal rations. Other fortunate ex-rebels were able to ride on river and ocean transports and aboard troop trains carrying their former enemies over the South. In so far as high ranking officers were concerned, this hospitality may have been prompted by prewar friendship or notions of chivalry. Among the lower grades it was, no doubt, a matter of mutual sympathy and understanding.

This reaction, which had occurred in the first days of peace, extended into the weeks and months which followed. Private Bloomfield observed from his vantage point at Gallatin, Tennessee, that the paroled "Johnies" were

...very submissive and all confirm that they were badly beaten at their own game, that the war is over and they are glad of it. Some say they are ready to join the United States Forces at any future time if ever a war breaks out between the United States and any other power. The soldiers converse very freely with them about the war, and are more apt to agree than we are when we discuss the questions with the citizens. The rebel
soldiers say they think more of United States soldiers than they do of the skulking rascals who never joined any army. And then on the other hand we show a rebel private more sympathy than we do the citizens. They are not as rebellious as they.\textsuperscript{1}

Private Bloomfield's observation was echoed elsewhere. A relative of Jubal Early wrote than in Virginia "The rebels that go home are treated well by the Yankee soldiers but badly by Union men. When they have an opportunity [they] are protected by the Yankee authorities."\textsuperscript{2}

These good relations were attested by fraternization and acts of good will. A deed of kindness which was given wide newspaper publicity was one that was performed by General George Stoneman. While walking along the levee in Memphis one day, the General met five Confederate soldiers on their way home to New Orleans from prison hospitals in the North. The general talked with them, learned their story, gave them a five dollar bill, and hurried off before they could collect their wits enough to thank him.\textsuperscript{3}

Soldiers and southern civilians were thrown to-

\textsuperscript{1} Ltr., Private Alpheus S. Bloomfield to his brother, June 18, 1865. Alpheus S. Bloomfield Letters, LC.

\textsuperscript{2} Ltr., Mrs. Jno. N. Clarkson to Capt. Samuel H. Early, June 14, 1865, Jubal A. Early Papers, LC.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Daily Georgia Citizen} (Macon), June 6, 1865.
gether on many occasions, and friendly relationships between them were not uncommon. In Batesville, Arkansas, the members of the 3d Minnesota Infantry mingled freely with the civilians. They found Confederate veterans cordial and assisted local officials in clerical work when civil governments were restored. Their integration into the life of the community was made thoroughly enjoyable when on the 4th of July they joined the citizens in a two day barbecue. Civilian bonds sometimes brought them together as on Saint John's Day when the Freemasons of Goldsboro, North Carolina, invited several brother Masons of the 3d New Hampshire Infantry to participate in a dinner they were holding. Further south, Private Gilpin of the 3d Iowa Cavalry, a young man with a knack for getting acquainted, found the Georgians to be friendly and, on the strength of some pre-war school ties, succeeded in impressing a Georgia lady so much that she sent him two bottles of scuppernong wine.

Soldiers and southerners were thrown together for business reasons to the advantage of both. Officers of the 61st Illinois Infantry at Franklin, Tennessee, took their meals at the boarding house of a widow. Presiding at the head of the table with the hostess were two of her

brothers-in-law, both former officers of Forrest's Cavalry. All got along well together: political and other sensitive topics of conversation were avoided, the fare pleased the gentlemen from Illinois and, presumably, the soldiers' cash pleased the widow.⁶ Other southern civilians in North Carolina peddled farm produce to the 9th Ohio Cavalry, a regiment whose commander was a frequent guest of a former Confederate colonel who lived nearby. The civilians of the area were apparently rewarded for this friendliness, for the Federal Colonel Hamilton made it a practice to consult with the Confederate Colonel Barringer and a committee of citizens before taking any action affecting their community.⁷

Another colonel moved in an even more select circle. Colonel William Kreutzer of the 48th New York Infantry, in company with a Dr. Mayo of Richmond, Virginia, attended Saint Paul's Episcopal Church of that city, where he was introduced to General Lee. A month later he accompanied Dr. Mayo on a social call to General Lee's home. Colonel Kreutzer found the General to be affable to all of his callers, including several other Union officers, and was

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⁶ Leander Stilwell, op. cit., p. 274.

⁷ Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 218-221.
thanked personally for his loan of one of the 48th's buggies which the general had borrowed to carry some things to "White House."  

A less prominent but possibly more welcome guest of the general was an Irish sergeant of the 2d Cavalry, Lee's old regiment, who had heard that his former commander was in want and brought him a basket of food. The general was unwilling to accept it personally but did so with the understanding that he could pass it on to the hospitals of the Sanitary Commission.

General Lee received many callers from the Union Army, some came to express their respects, others simply out of curiosity. The general disliked most of these interviews, but he did not feel that he could decline them. His courtesy to his blue clad callers was so great, in fact, that on one occasion he sent his nephew in futile pursuit of three officers whom someone in his household had turned away.

As acts of courtesy on the part of the southerners were appreciated by the soldiers, so the good conduct of

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8 William Kreutzer, op. cit., pp. 349, 360-361. "White House" was a nearby 4000 acre plantation inherited by W.H.F. Lee from his Custis forbearers.


10 Ibid., p. 193.
soldiers won respect and praise from their former enemies. Emma LeConte, in speaking of Colonel Nathaniel Haughton, 25th Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry, commanding officer at Columbia, South Carolina, confessed in her diary that "It goes against the grain to admit anything good of a Yankee but I have to own that he has acted well toward us." Her good opinion of Colonel Haughton resulted from the exemplary behavior of his men and the colonel's own gentlemanly conduct. Although she admitted that the people avoided the troops and had nothing to do with them except on matters of business, she gained some satisfaction from her belief that the soldiers were not insulted. Miss LeConte observed that, though Haughton felt the coldness with which he was treated, he understood the Columbians' point of view and did not vent his spite on them. She opined that the colonel's attitude was partly accounted for by his being a western man and observed that, like all westerners, he was rough, unpolished and uneducated.  

All southerners were not as inhospitable to the occupying forces as was Emma LeConte's set. The New Yorkers at Marianna, Florida, performed their duties well according to the view of the white civilians and, fearing

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Emma LeConte Diary, May 28 and July 5, 1865, UNCSHC.
they would be replaced by Negro troops, the citizens there petitioned that their captain not be transferred. Flattered by the adulation of his former foes, the captain wondered how the state could have seceded with so many Union men as he found in it.12

The attitudes of southerners toward the Army and the North possibly mellowed by many demonstrations of good will that were offered. Most illustrative of the good will were the measures taken to relieve the suffering of the southern people who lacked food and the means of providing it. Fifteen counties adjacent to Atlanta, Georgia, were particularly destitute, and, although he had already issued tons of meat, meal, and flour, the area commander, General Edward K. Winslow, had to report that 28,000 persons remained destitute and that only sixty-four of the area's families had any surplus. On receiving this report, General James H. Wilson obtained authorization to continue the issuance of rations and further measures were taken to restore the railroads so that trade with the outside world could be resumed.13


In other commands, in addition to supplying rations, officers received permission to issue excess, captured, and unserviceable horses and mules to citizens so that they could put in their crops.\textsuperscript{14} Referring to such relief measures, one Confederate historian in later years commented that "Such expressions of sympathy and desire of the people were common with the Northern soldiers, when operations had ceased."\textsuperscript{15}

Two less spectacular but excellent jobs of public relations were those performed by four soldiers in Virginia. Private Charles Hardenbergh and a comrade of the 20th New York State Militia (80th New York) Regiment at Howard Grove Hospital, Richmond, organized a "Sabbath School" in the chapel of the hospital for the children of the area. Two sessions were held, the afternoon session having forty-five in attendance. Hardenbergh described the children as somewhat uncouth in manner but willing and respectful. All were eager to attend day school, some could read, and they


\textsuperscript{15} J. S. McWeil, War and Reconstruction in Mississippi, 1863-1890, (Jackson, 1918), p. 246.
had been taught to sing some Sunday School hymns. Private Hardenbergh, who was eligible for discharge in the fall, toyed with the idea of returning there to teach as a civilian.  

A similar school was conducted by Private Perry Chandler of the 1st Maine Volunteer Cavalry at Ettricks, Virginia. The school opened with forty students, and when the number increased Private Chandler was assisted by Private Melvin Preble and a local girl, Miss Annie Trueman. The necessary books were obtained by the regimental chaplains. In gratitude for their efforts, the soldiers received a resolution of thanks from the local Methodist Church when, at the end of eight weeks, they were transferred out of the city.  

Another soldier earned praise from a newspaper because he assisted a lady in distress. In the words of the Raleigh Standard copied from the Memphis Bulletin...

...two sable sons of Mars saw fit to occupy the whole width of a crossing on Main Street to the exclusion of an elegantly dressed and beautiful lady, who was forced, ankle deep, in the mud.

16 Ltr., Private Charles Hardenbergh to George H. Stewart, Richmond Va., May 24, 1865, George H. Stuart Collection, LC.

This act was not approved by a stalwart Missourian in blue, who was several paces in the rear of the negroes. His face flushed with indignation, but he did not lose presence of mind, and having assisted the lady to the sidewalk with gallantry more in keeping with a polished courtier than an obscure and rugged soldier, he overtook the negroes, and with two powerful blows sent one reeling into the gutter and the other through a pane of glass.

A fight ensued and the soldier, joined by an Irish drayman, put the Negroes to flight. The lady then wiped the blood from her champion's face, thanked him and took her leave. The newsman conjectured as to the possibility of a romance and asserted that "The soldier was a gentleman, and there are many like him clad in the sombre uniform of the army of the United States."\(^\text{18}\)

Other Union soldiers became acquainted with southern girls through less violent introductions. The diary of Captain James Graham of the 80th Ohio Infantry indicates that he was able to enjoy female companionship in North Carolina almost before his regiment had ceased belligerent operations. Although he allotted the surrender of General Johnston only a line, his social relations with one girl, who on their last meeting was described by the adjective "blooming," received much greater coverage.\(^\text{19}\) Over to the

\(^{18}\) The Daily North Carolina Standard, (Raleigh) January 12, 1865.

\(^{19}\) James E. Graham, Diary, April 27, 1865, OSM.
east in Wilmington another young officer had been on cordial terms with some ladies but had been "cut" after they had seen him go into a Negro school. An officer in New Orleans was sued for breach of promise by a girl whose "honor" was at stake and in another southern metropolis, Charleston, South Carolina, women were said to have accepted "Union offers." In northeastern Arkansas, a captain of the 3d Minnesota Infantry married a local girl and took her back to St. Paul, while at the other end of the Confederacy, in Norfolk, social accomplishments of the 20th New York resulted in tearful farewells from local girls as the regiment sailed for the Empire State.20

Similar activities occurred in Tennessee where feminine attitudes varied in different localities. Officers of the 4th Corps at Greenville attended parties and received letters from Greenville girls after they were transferred to Jonesborough. In the latter town, they were invited to parties by some ladies while others disliked them enough to cross the street to avoid walking by a building upon which the Army's flags were flying.21


21 Ltr., John H. Hines to Florence Vance, Jonesborough, Tennessee, May 9, 1865 and Ltr. Florence Vance to John W. Hines, May 9, 1865, John W. Hines Papers, UNO SHC.
The most publicized romance between a Federal soldier and a southern girl took place in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where a General Smith D. Atkins of Illinois married Eleanor Swain, daughter of David L. Swain, the President of the University of North Carolina and a former governor of the state. The young general called at the Swain residence on business, met Miss Swain, a heretofore ardent Confederate, and immediately launched an unprecedented campaign which included band concerts in the governor's front yard.

The whole Union force was engaged in their general's effort and the occupation of Chapel Hill presented the picture of an ideal armistice: social calls were made by the officers on the citizens of the village, enlisted men lazily under the trees, and, lest anything go amiss, the homes of the townfolk were each protected by a guard. As a result the general's suit was successful and a brilliant August wedding was held which was attended by distinguished military and civilian personages in the area.

One sour: note was injected, however, Many former

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friends of the bride refused to accept their invitations and, even after four years, Mrs. Spencer was forced to write that "...there are people in N. C. yet who believe Ellie was married in finery that General Atkins had taken from N. C. ladies." 23

But even in hospitable North Carolina, soldiers seeking respectable feminine companionship were hard put to approach the good fortune of a few New York officers who were encamped on the estate of a former congressman near Raleigh and were allowed to drop in at the congressman's house to call upon his daughters and their friends. One evening, during an enjoyable visit, they were all surprised by the arrival of several local boys who had just returned from service with the Confederate Army. Embarrassing minutes passed. The New Yorkers looked at their watches and remarked on the lateness of the hour. The Confederates agreed. The young ladies exercised an "English neutrality." The Federal officers, realizing their parlor position untenable, retired to the safety of their camp never to return again. 24

23  Ltr., Cornelia P. Spencer to Mrs. Swain, Chapel Hill, June 26, 1869, The Spencer Papers, NCSDAH.

A few Yankees relished the thought that activities like those described above might be making their old enemies jealous. One observed that "The Confederate Soldiers seem much afraid their ladies will show attention to the federals. They seem to watch them down close and hold over them a threatening rod and we don't care the mass of a finger."25

In reality there was little reason for the returned Confederates to worry, for, by and large, southern women were not inclined to be cordial to Yankee soldiers. Dramatic Emma LeConte of burned Columbia expressed her early post-war reactions to them by exclaiming:

Dear Mel! how the Sight of that blue uniform makes my blood boil! They are camped just in front of the house so that I can not go to the front windows without seeing their hateful forms and the sight fills me with such horrid feelings that I keep in the back parlour & dining room and close my blinds when I go into my bedroom. Yesterday I went into the library for a book - the Sash-door was open and I saw them sitting and lying about on the grass. Before I knew it my hands were clinched and I ground my teeth and such a feeling came into my heart as startled me and I fled upstairs away from the sight of them. These men seem to be the meanest type of a mean nation. Their presence has put an end to our pleasant evening reunions - to our walks - in fact to everything.26

25 William H. Stewart Diary, May 30, 1865, UNC SHC.

26 Emma LeConte Diary, May 13, 1865, UNC SHC. The LeConte home was located on the campus of the University of South Carolina and was no doubt near the college buildings in which the troops were quartered.
This reaction was shared in various degrees by many of the women who had warmly supported the Confederacy. Protected by their sex they were able to give vent to their feelings almost with impunity and, though they were occasionally subjected to acts of rudeness by soldiers, it was seldom that they were unable to give back more than they received.

One officer, who chanced to be seated at a hotel table with a southern lady, sought to be polite and offered her a dish of pickles. His gesture was received with scorn and she hissed, "So you think a Southern woman will take a dish of pickles from a hand that is dripping with the blood of her countrymen?" At a different dinner, another woman, who had received rations from the Army, "glorying in the lofty spirit somewhat peculiar to F.F.V.'s," made some remarks that were considered insulting by the Union officers present. This time, however, a Federal lieutenant emerged victorious when he remarked that it seemed in bad taste for her to speak so when her mouth was so full of Yankee food that she could hardly talk at all.27

In certain rare instances more drastic measures

27 Letters from the South, No. IV, July 31, 1865, Carl Schurz Papers, LC and Samuel H. Merrill, op. cit., p. 382.
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\(^{27}\) Letters from the South, No. IV, July 31, 1865, Carl Schurz Papers, LC and Samuel H. Merrill, op. cit., p. 382.
were taken to curb the clacking of female tongues, but even these were mild and, although a few arrests were made, they were of short duration. The gentleness employed by Federal commanders was emphasized by an action taken by the fiery General Philip Sheridan in New Orleans. In that city it was reported to be the custom of the musically inclined ladies, when seeing a Federal officer approach, to rush to their pianos and play Confederate airs which, of course, could be heard by the officers passing in the street below. This teasing lasted until one Sunday when, at a guard mount attended by General Sheridan and viewed by many local citizens, the bands played only Confederate tunes, which, according to the general, "...ain't rebel tunes. They used to be, but we whipped the rebels and they belong to us." Although Sheridan's methods, in this instance, were more subtle than Ben Butler's had been, they were equally effective and the teasing ceased.28

In spite of the various trends toward reunion, the women of the South, as the section's social arbiters, sought to veil their polite society with a cotton curtain to protect it from contamination which might result from contact

with Scalawags, Carpetbaggers and, for a time, Federal soldiers. One lady in later years recalled that "...when we met a Union officer or a Union officer's wife or sister we simply didn't see them - we just looked through them as if they didn't exist." In a similar vein a friend of Mary Boykin Chesnut was pleased to report that to the credit of the townspeople of Columbia, the Yankee officers complained of the hospitality and the want of attention shown them - especially by the ladies of the town. In explaining this attitude Emma LeConte shrieked

Great heavens! What do they expect? They invade our Country, murder our people, desolate our homes - conquer us, subject us to every indignity and humiliation, and then we must offer our hands with pleasant smiles and invite them to our houses, entertain them perhaps with "Southern hospitality" - all because they act with common decency and humanity! Are they crazy? What do they think we are made of?29

One officer, as if answering this question, described the people at Mobile, Alabama, "...as low a pack of cowardly whelps" as had ever been his misfortune to meet. He expressed the hope to his brother, a former Confederate colonel, that the rebels there were not fair specimen of the race, for, if so, he believed that the Kentuckians had

been the flower of the Confederate Army since they were as far above the Mobile folk as "Demostenes [sic] above a bull frog."30

Others agreed with Lieutenant Breckinridge. First Sergeant Harrison Tripp at Society Hill, South Carolina, lauded Thaddeus Stevens' "glorious work" and was opposed to seeing the Rebels restored to the same rights they enjoyed before the War because he considered them to be rebellious. Up in Kentucky, General Briskin, who was leaving that state for Arkansas, wrote that he was glad to get away from such a disloyal crew.31

The result of the uncharitable attitudes held by people in both camps was unnecessary unpleasantness for all. General Josiah Gorgas reported a tragic incident that occurred in Greensboro, Alabama, after bitterness between troops and the local people could no longer be contained. Some imprudent men of the area fired into the camp of the local garrison. The troops became so incensed that they requested permission to plunder the town and, because of


other ill treatment which they had received from its residents, their colonel actually hesitated before he forbade them to do it. Later, on election day, both the troops and civilians got to drinking and then began quarreling and shooting. One soldier was killed and another wounded. Some troops then sought revenge by attempting to fire the town; others entered houses in search of weapons; a few threatened to burn private cotton while others exacted money to guard it. It was a sad day for Greensboro.32

Individual acts of violence also occurred. Someone took a shot at a General Duval one evening while he sat in a Staunton, Virginia, parlor talking to some ladies. The sniper was never caught but, to be on the safe side, all arms were gathered up on the following day.33

Another general, the Confederate Joseph Wheeler, was set upon by two Federal officers of Tennessee regiments in a Nashville hotel and was beaten. The assailants got off with only a reprimand because General Thomas felt that, since they were leaving the service, they could not be more severely punished.34

32 Josiah Gorgas Journal, Aug. 22, 1865 and Sept. 6, 1865, UNC SHC.

33 Doctor John T. Booth Papers, Diary, May 1, 1865, OSM.

34 G6 11, Hq., 4th Brig., Dist. of Tenn., Post of Nashville, Tenn., Aug. 28, 1865, LB 337, Dist of Tenn., NA.
The southerners also manifested their dislike of Yankee domination in less violent ways. The patrons of a Mobile theater had the audacity one night to hiss "Yankee Doodle," but unspecified measures were taken to see that it did not happen again.35

Others wrote letters, most probably under nom de plume. One of these sent to Thaddeus Stevens from Atlanta invited him to make us a visit - "some of your damned blue jacket thieves are still here - But not enough to keep you from wearing a coat of Tar and Feathers." The authors of such letters, though probably only harmless cranks, unwittingly provided ammunition for their enemies and created discord. A Unionist friend of Alexander Stephens commented on the poison pen of a "Bill Asp" by writing that "He complains of the presence of soldiers; and yet indulges in contumelous language towards them and towards you /General James B. Steedman/ as there commander not calculated to relieve him of their presence."36

The white southerners' opinions of the Federal troops and relations with them were influenced greatly by

35 Ltr., Lt. Charles H. Breckinridge to the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, Mobile, Ala., Dec. 21, 1865, Breckinridge Papers, LC.

36 Ltr. "So Called Rebel" to Thaddeus Stevens, Atlanta, May 1, 1866, Thaddeus Stevens Papers and Ltr., J. A. Stewart to Gen. James B. Steedman, Oct. 28, 1865, Alexander H. Stephens Papers, LC.
the soldiers' attitude toward the freedmen. These attitudes were varied and, although a few troops scandalized the southerners by their easy racial views, others gave them cause for pleasant surprise.

The opinion of most soldiers was expressed by Private Ellison B. Davee, an Ohioan, who was quartered near some Negro troops and their inevitable and numerous camp followers. Davee found them to be "...very impudent and think them Selves much better than the Whites I think that every man who is in favor of 'Equal Rights' Should be compelled to live with the Negroes." Similar views were expressed by the provost marshal at Jackson, Mississippi, who was called down by a higher ranking officer of the Colored Troops for freely expressing his opinion that any officers who had taken part in the Negroes' celebration on the 4th of July had disgraced themselves. A New Jersey soldier in charge of a building containing hospital stores in one end and black folk in the other, recorded in his diary that "to his shame" his guard had to toss out two members of his company who joined the Negroes in a dance.37

The opinions expressed in words by these soldiers was exhibited in harsher graphic form by others. Henry

37 Ellison B. Davee, Diary, June 13, 1865, OSM; Ltr., AAIG, Dist. of Miss. to Prov. Mar., Post of Jackson, Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1865, LB 48, Dept. of Miss., p. 42, NA and Edmund J. Cleveland Diary, May 28, 1865, UNC SHC.
Watson, a Unionist, claimed to have blushed with shame at the tortures, whippings and robbery inflicted upon the freedmen of his locality by the men of a Minnesota regiment. In similar fashion, troopers of the 4th Iowa Cavalry while passing through Augusta committed robberies, fired into the camp of the 23d United States Colored Troops and, on another occasion, shot an old Negro woman, causing her to lose her arm.38

One of the most outstanding acts of violence, however, occurred in Nashville where, in revenge for the shooting of a white sergeant by some colored troops, white cavalrymen wrought havoc on a nearby and innocent camp of contrabands. According to one newspaper account they drew sabers, charged through the area, stabbing and slashing, and emptying their pistols at the fleeing defenseless and frightened darkies. After wounding several of the freedmen and scattering the rest, they left before they could be arrested, shouting threats to return and burn the camp to the ground.39

The Negroes did not always take their abuse lying


down and, as a result, more violence resulted. In Decatur, Alabama, a Negro was hanged for killing a captain. The Negro was reported to have said that he buried an ax in the captain's head because the captain had ordered him to carry water and that he would not "be a servant for a damned Yankee." On a larger scale riots between troops and Negroes occurred in Norfolk in the summer of 1865, and it was the Negroes who suffered the heaviest casualties.40

Although such acts of violence received the greatest amount of notoriety, subtle forms of abuse were most numerous. The Negroes probably suffered greatest from the idle jests of some soldiers and the poor advice of others who spread false promises, destroyed their will to work and encouraged notions of equality which could never have been realized.41

The Negroes were also victims of theft. Robberies of freedmen were a commonly reported misdemeanor, although it is difficult to surmise what the newly emancipated slave may have had worth stealing other than produce from an


occasional vegetable garden or a melon patch. One Negro wrote his former master that

...if they were not so many yankees in this County were there would be some chance of a man making something but a person can't have anything unless he is always watching it to keep the yankees from stealing it. This hole county is full of yankees you can't name a place in Georgia but what they are yankee soldiers there & I wish those all would go home and stay there or some where else where I never would see another one I don't thank any of them for my freedom I had rather live with Miss Kate & Mass Robert than be free.

In spite of the dislike expressed for Negroes by most troops and that reciprocated by the type of Negro represented by Robert Breckinridge, some members of both races became congenial companions. In Washington, Georgia, the troops complained that there were no pretty white girls in town and attempted to compensate for their absence by fraternizing with Negresses. They strolled arm in arm with colored women on Sundays, held balls using Negro belles as partners, and set up a brothel for a few of their girls in

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43 Ltr., Robert Breckinridge (freedman) to Col. W. D. C. Breckinridge, Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 27, 1865, Breckinridge Papers, LC.
one of the nicest houses in the town. As a result of such temptation, after a lifetime of exposure to abolitionist propaganda, a few soldiers succumbed to the charms of the dark damsels. A white lieutenant of a colored regiment at Savannah married a former slave of that town in a colored Baptist church. After the ceremony, the couple left for New York on their honeymoon. Similarly, Private Platt Martin of the 147th Illinois Regiment also sought connubial bliss with a dusky South Carolina girl, but his wedded life got off to a bad start, when, as a wedding present, his comrades treated him to a fine coat of tar and feathers and drummed him out of the regiment. The cupid, a Professor Crose, of a nearby Negro school, was ordered to leave the area within three days.\textsuperscript{44}

Such conduct, of course, was not lost upon the white people of the section - especially the women. A Mary Caldwell of Graham, North Carolina, reported that

\begin{quote}
We have had a sweet mess of Yankees here - they hug & kiss the niggers, promenade the streets with them, & carry the black babies in their arms - aint this enough to make a Christian cuss. & with that in ten years, that there would not be a white man in Yankee land.\textsuperscript{45}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{44} Eliza Francis Andrews, The War-Time Journey of a Georgia Girl, pp. 267 and 307; The Daily Progress (Raleigh), Oct. 4, 1865 and The Huntsville Advocate, Supplement, Nov. 9, 1865.

\textsuperscript{45} Ltr., Mary Caldwell to her sister, Graham, North Carolina, July 17, 1865, Tod R. Caldwell Papers, UNC SHC.
Emma LeConte, viewing similar scenes in Columbia, feared for the Negro and reflected that

...perhaps Negroes may come into contact with them without being contaminated, but I doubt it, for the Negro is an imitative race. He has been elevated to some extent but will no doubt quickly retrograde in associating with such white people as these.46

A third southerner, reflecting upon the fraternalization of Union soldiers and Negro girls, protested to General Sherman that "It surely is not the aim of those persons who aim at the equality of colors to begin the experiment with a whole race of whores."47

In summary, it would appear that the attitudes toward one another expressed by soldiers and southern civilians in their first post-war contacts were mixed. A harbinger of the future was a letter written by a kinsman of the soldier-bishop Leonidas Polk in which he stated that his boy was being taught to ride, to shoot, and to tell the truth

...to which his mother would add, to hate a Yankee...he cannot but hate them, His bread is buttered with hatred, his milk is sweetened with it, his top spins and his ball bounces with it. ...the last thing he sees at night and the first thing in the morning is that

46 Emma LeConte Diary, May 18, 1865, UNC SHC.

47 Bowers, op. cit., p. 51.
flag that his Grandfather did uphold. 48

Another eminent southerner, Professor Joseph Le­Conte, Miss Emma's father, felt that the South had gotten along rather well during the first two years after the War and asserted that the southern people had come to regard the troops as their best friends. Both he and General Joseph E. Johnston agreed that the policies of the Federal government and the conduct of the Federal troops were so satisfactory that "The most despondent apprehended no such 'reconstruction' as that subsequently established by Congress." 49
CHAPTER V

THE UNITED STATES COLORED TROOPS IN RECONSTRUCTION

The role of the 165 Negro regiments in the Union Army is difficult to properly assess. Records indicate that 106 of these units participated in over forty battles and skirmishes and, in these engagements, nearly 2,900 colored soldiers lost their lives. Although some of the regiments fought hard and sustained heavy casualties in the manner of the 54th Massachusetts at Fort Wagner, others performed poorly and reflected no credit upon themselves or the service.

Officers of the United States Colored Troops, radical civilians and many Negro historians have generally credited Negro units with a favorable performance, while other historians have been equally certain of their poor quality. The truth obviously lies between these extreme views, but it is probable that, regiment for regiment, the colored units were inferior to white establishments with an equivalent amount of service.¹

¹ A staff officer of Colored Troops, commenting upon their conduct at Ft. Wagner, wrote that "With long and careful discipline I suppose a regiment of negroes might do as well as a poor white regiment, but negro troops disciplined no better than many of our white regiments are would be useless." See: Bell I. Wiley, The Life of Billy Yank, (Indianapolis, 1951) p. 315.
The War's end found these Negro units scattered throughout the South. They had been employed as a security force along lines of communication, as service troops in rear areas and had taken part in active military operations along the Atlantic coast under Generals Butler and Gillmore. In the spring of 1865, thousands of them were grouped into the 25th Corps whose divisions were established in Richmond, Petersburg, and Wilmington, North Carolina. By June of 1865, practically every portion of the South could exhibit its share of colored soldiery.

Negro troops were employed for a variety of reasons: they were available, unlike white soldiers they were considered to be content with the prospect of peacetime service in the South, and, as symbols of the new political order, their presence in the South was urged by radical elements in the North. In spite of these seemingly good and valid military and political reasons for their continued service, the colored units were ordered from the interior of the South and into coastal fortifications after only six months of postwar service and those troops in excess of the requirements of the coast defenses were ordered discharged as soon as expedient.2

2 WDGO 144, Oct. 9, 1865.
The mission of the colored units in the South was that of the Army - the preservation of peace and the maintenance of law and order. They were unable to perform this duty well because their presence alone created unrest and provided situations which were potentially dangerous, because, as units and individuals, they were not capable of performing the delicate tasks required of a force engaged in constructive military occupation, and because the troops themselves were guilty of violating the law and disturbing the peace.

The mere presence of a Negro unit in a southern community created an explosive atmosphere. The dark soldiers in their new power were often inclined to be too overbearing, even for members of a victorious army. They thronged the streets of southern towns assuming liberties and airs irritating to the native whites and, when on duty, had the habit of marching about in a pompous, official, and bullying fashion, forcing civilians from their path. None less than Tennessee's radical Unionist Governor, "Parson" Brownlow, was knocked on his hands and knees into a gutter by two sable warriors because he did not step from their path quite soon enough.

3 The Vicksburg Herald, March 21, 1866.

4 The Daily Progress (Raleigh) Oct. 12, 1865. Private Ellison Davee observed that Negro troops were impudent and thought themselves much better than the whites. Ellison B. Davee Diary, June 13, 1865, OSM.
Their presence also produced fear for, in the minds of many, the Negro soldiers were Nat Turners in uniform. In recalling her life near Nashville immediately after the War, one lady revealed her terror when she wrote that she worried about what might have happened if

...some of those black soldiers (were) to leave Fort Pickering at night and wander in my direction. Men but lately released from slavery, men but a degree removed from savagery sometimes do terrible things when entrusted with power. Those negroes were armed; they would get leaves of absence; they could walk from Fort Pickering to Ridgeway in an hour, no friends were near me. Can you wonder, my children, that I was uneasy?

The already low opinion of the ability of Negro soldiers held by the white population was not raised by the way they performed their duties. A detachment was sent out from Corinth, Mississippi, to the residence of a planter named Copeland to right the wrong complained of by a Negro woman. Copeland had driven from his plantation. In the course of the adjudication, Copeland received a certain amount of verbal abuse from the sable soldiers. This verbiage was climaxed by the words of one judge of character who after scrutinizing Copeland informed him: "I know you are a d-- rascal by the look of your eye." Of this remark the gentleman who recorded the event could only shake his

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Elizabeth Avery Meriwether Recollections, p. 255, Microfilm, UNC SHC.
head and say, "Such things are hard to bear."\[6\]

Even when they intended to perform what would seem to have been to the white man's satisfaction there were slips. Two men of the 128th Regiment at Beaufort, South Carolina, were sent to a plantation to settle a dispute between a planter and his laborers. To the planter's delight they decided in his favor and punished the freedmen at fault by hanging them up by the thumbs. However, in spite of their judgement and decrees and probably because they were Negroes and lacked prestige, the laborers rebelled and the entire crop was threatened with loss.\[7\]

Other acts were more serious. An authorized posse of white civilians near Greensboro, Georgia, arrested a Negro who was causing some trouble around the plantation of a man named Rhodes and imprisoned him in the Rhodes house for the night. Other Negroes informed the local commandant that the prisoner was to be killed and a detachment was sent out to investigate. On arriving at the Rhodes residence, and before asking questions, they fired into the house and killed a man. At a later trial Rhodes was

6 S.A. Agnew, Diary, October 4, 1865, UNC SHC.

7 The Charleston Daily News, July 30, 1866.
exonerated from any improper activity and, by indirection, the Negroes were condemned for their irresponsible shooting.\(^8\)

Reports of the killing of the killing of white men by Negro troops, though rare, received wide circulation. The most widely recorded outrage of this type was the slaying of a paroled Confederate soldier, Calvin S. Crozier. Crozier was escorting two ladies on a train which stopped overnight at Newberry, South Carolina, near a train occupied by a detachment of the 33d Colored Infantry. The 33d at this time was also traveling and, having had men shot by bushwhackers in the western portion of that state a few hours before, its members were extremely short tempered.

In the course of the lay-over at Newberry some of the blacks used obscene language before Crozier's ladies and, seeing that this created resentment, taunted them. Crozier remonstrated with the tormentors and in the ensuing conflict stabbed and mortally wounded one of them with a Bowie knife.

Although Crozier was arrested, the stabbing had unleashed the smoldering resentment harbored by the Negro troops and they demanded his life. Two hours later the 33d's Officer of the Day received word from his commander, Colonel Joseph T. Trowbridge, that Crozier was to be

\(^8\) Andrews, op. cit., pp. 382-385.
executed immediately and detailed a firing squad. In fifteen minutes the deed was done. The Negroes then buried the corpse and were reported to have danced on the grave.\footnote{9}

In a later investigation it appeared that no attempt had been made to establish Crozier's guilt or innocence by examining the white witnesses to the slaying. It also seems apparent that the commander at Newberry, a Colonel Tyler, was concerned less with the fate of Crozier than he was with a threat by the troops to burn the town. Colonel Trowbridge, like Pontius Pilate, appears to have approved the execution demanded by his regiment in the hope that their excitement might be allayed. The incident reflected the weakness in the discipline of the regiment, engendered fear of the Colored Troops and provided a martyr for southern white men.\footnote{10}


\footnote{10}{Ltr., AIG, Dept. of S.C. to AAG, Dept. of S.C., Charleston, S.C., Oct. 15, 1865. Calvin Crozier is buried in the Rosemont Cemetery, Newberry, S.C. In addition to the usual information found on tombstones, his monument contains the story of his death, which, in essence, is the same as that above. A bronze cross has been erected to his memory in the town square and a local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy is named in his honor. The author is indebted to a South Carolinian, Lt. Col. Willard A. Jones, for this information.}
Calvin Crozier was not the only victim of extreme violence, although, in his case, the officers of the regiment shared the direct responsibility for his murder. Negro troops at Greensboro, Alabama, in reprisal for a casualty suffered in another fracas, are reported to have held a boy prisoner until $9,000 was raised for his ransom. Others near Augusta, in attacking a house, were held off by two boys who killed four of them and wounded a few more. 11

Freedmen were not immune to this treatment. After four members of the 128th Colored Regiment at Charleston, South Carolina, were chased off the property of a freedman named Rawlings, they returned eighteen in number and armed. A corporal fired at Rawlings with a pistol and was in turn wounded by Rawlings who had armed himself with a double barrelled shot gun. After another exchange of shots in which a soldier was wounded, the troops gave chase to the freedman farmer, caught and bayonetted him. When they returned to burn their victim's house they were met by the provost marshal and arrested. 12

More feared than murder were possible assaults by Negro troops upon white women. Although these were

11 Walter L. Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction..., (Cleveland, n.d.) pp. 443-444. Ltr., Jas. Verdery to Miss Blanche —, Augusta, Ga., January 17, 1866, Verdery Papers, DU.

12 The Charleston Daily News, June 1, 1866.
extremely rare, a few were reported. Some members of the 104th Regiment at Pocataligo, South Carolina, robbed and burnt houses and raped some women. For this act two men were hanged. Another similarly sordid case is reported in Dixie After the War, but, though reported as fact, it may have been mostly hearsay. 13

While incidents involving violence were rare and actually experienced by only a relatively small portion of the population, disturbances of the peace and petty thievery were witnessed first hand by most of those southerners unfortunate enough to reside near a colored garrison. Jonathan Gadsden, aide to Provisional Governor Benjamin Perry of South Carolina, made a written complaint to his boss to the effect that members of colored units near Summerville, South Carolina, were "...continually committing the most audacious robberies upon our people. Our cattle, our hogs, & our poultry are either stolen from us or wantonly maimed; & it is useless to apply for redress to their Officers." 14

13 Ltr., CO, Dist. of Port Royal to AAG, Dept. of S.C., Hq., Dist. of Port Royal, Hilton Head, S.C., Feb. 9, 1866, LS, LB 78, Dept. of the South, p. 123, NA. and Margaret L. Avary, Dixie After the War, (New York, 1906) p. 267. This was a particularly heinous crime but Mrs. Avery neglected to say when and where it occurred. No references to it were discovered elsewhere.

14 Ltr., Jonathan Gadsden to William A. Trenholm, Summerville, S.C., October 30, 1865, George A. Trenholm Papers, LC. The regiment concerned was the 33 U.S.C.T., reputedly one of the best Negro regiments in the Army.
In Kentucky small detachments on their way from Columbus to Tennessee were committing "unparalleled depredations" on loyal people, were breaking into court houses and destroying public records, and were doing more damage than had been done during the War. To the south in the Nashville area, colored soldiers who were not satisfied with Army rations were active in raiding melon patches, gardens and chicken yards. Without doubt the most common crime committed by the Negro warrior was thievery.

The southerners also complained because Negro garrisons disturbed the peace. Much of this disturbance was innocent enough, even though it proved annoying. The troops and freedmen in their new status were inclined to enjoy the freedom of movement and behavior denied them as slaves and were anxious to view the world from the other side of the tracks. John H. Cornish reported that a former slave, then a soldier bearing the appropriate name of Hector, and twenty of his comrades returned to visit his old neighborhood. They first stopped by the Cornish yard and, although they left when told, they crossed the street and

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occupied themselves by looking over the fence of a neighbor named Field. Field ordered them away from his property, but, instead of going immediately, they exercised their freedom by cursing the Fields "...in the most violent manner with a number & variety of epithets unequaled by anything ever heard in these parts-showing themselves apt ... scholars} having made great proficiency ...in the familiar language of the Northern army." A similar body of these "Blacks & Blues" (black faces and blue coats), on the same day, went to the local Baptist Church and insisted on sitting with the white folks instead of in the gallery, but, though they flourished their bayonets and cursed the men of the congregation who blocked the door, their entrance into the church's nave was prohibited. 16

There was also some promenading and strutting.

Ellison Davee was awed by black troops in New Orleans, who were "loaded with 'Greenbacks' and 'Silver'" and swaggered about the town

...putting on Style with a Wench hanging to their Arm and tossing up a handful of Silver like the ∑∞}

John H. Cornish, Diary, June 18, 1865, UNC SHC.

Cornish was rector of St. Thaddeus' Church, Aiken, S.C., and a widely traveled man. Although he traveled about over South Carolina extensively during the Reconstruction period, after a few tolerant observations on colored units, he made no mention of the presence of troops in that state.
would a Ball, where they got it I know not
but they have it and plenty too. 17

The strutting and merrymaking were not confined to the daylight hours. The Negro quartermaster drivers of the 25th Corps' artillery brigade at Camp Lincoln, Virginia, had to be silenced after Tattoo because they disturbed the peace and quiet of the camp. Similar orders had to be given to troops of the 15th Colored Infantry at Nashville who had the habit of building fires in the streets and spending the evenings, and sometimes the whole night, dancing, singing, and carousing with their friends, thus disturbing the people of the neighborhood. 18

This combination of the soldier and the camp follower was one responsible for a lot of the mischief with which the soldier was charged. The camps of Negro garrisons were meccas for the black folk and, as a result, practically every colored installation had its squalid, stinking, slum suburb, whose lack of sanitation was a menace to the health of the garrison and the entire community. From these shoddy settlements, the families of soldiers trudged forth

17 Ellison B. Davee Diary, June 13, 1865, OSM. These troops probably had received several month's back pay.

in search of food and excitement, much to the annoyance of the people of the neighborhood, and the prejudice of good order.\textsuperscript{19} The undesirability of these communities was apparent to many, and efforts were made to remedy the situation by having them moved, increasing the restrictions upon the soldiers, and even by reducing the number of laundresses per company.\textsuperscript{20} It is to be doubted, however, that such measures as were taken were able to abolish their annoyance.

The conflicts between the Colored Troops and white civilians was not always the fault of the soldiers. White men sometimes sought to reassert their former authority and, if one party did not back down, trouble developed. Whitelaw Reid described a scene at a Mississippi River landing near the Davis plantation which occurred when a party of paroled Confederates saw a Negro guard.

"A nigger's just like a monkey," growled one, "whatever he sees a white man do he'll imitate; and he'll study over it a cussed sight harder'n


\textsuperscript{20} Ltr., Maj. Gen. P. J. Osterhaus to Col. Herman Lieb, Hqs., W. Dist. of Miss., Vicksburg, Miss., Dec. 3, 1865, LB 32, p. 98, NA. President Johnson was informed that his house in Greenville, Tennessee, had been taken over by Colored Troops and turned into a brothel. At the President's protest General George Thomas had General Stoneman investigate. General Stoneman found it to be untrue. See correspondence in OR, Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. II, pp. 1108-1110.
he will over his work. But how one o’them black devils with muskets’d run ef a white man was to start after him with a whip!" And with this he walked up to one of the soldiers, saying, rather harshly: "Boy, le' me see your gun," and offering to take hold of it. The soldier stepped hastily back, and brought his weapon into position for immediate use. "How the war has demoralized the cussed brutes!" muttered the discomfitted scion of the master race, as he retired.  

In another instance a Negro sergeant home on furlough had the temerity to address a drunken white man named Shook by only his last name. The white man justly requested that he be not addressed by the Negro, and an argument resulted which was ended when Shook drew his revolver, shot and killed the sergeant. An officer was dispatched to arrest the foolish man.  

Such incidents were not without their beneficial effects. According to one observer an ex-mayor of Jackson, Mississippi, while under the influence of alcohol, met a guard from the 5th Colored Artillery on the street "and began to curse him as Southerners are apt to do." The guard arrested the mayor, he was taken before the provost marshal and was sent to jail for twenty-four hours. The reporter avowed that the mayor was cured of cursing Negroes, if not of drunkenness, for he found that such measures had the

21 Reid, op. cit., p. 279.  
22 Chattanooga Daily Gazette, September 5, 1865.
beneficial effect of driving drunks from Jackson's streets, simply because the people found it too mortifying to be marched off to jail by a "nigger guard."\textsuperscript{23}

These small affairs were supplemented by a few riots between Negro soldiers and white civilians. One reported by the Darlington, South Carolina Southerner, occurred in Chester on August 12, 1865. According to one account, a large assembly of citizens gathered in the town to discuss public business. During the course of the gathering, Negro troops of the local garrison insulted some people and jostled them about. A fight naturally followed which was quelled only after the arrival of the provost marshal. Three of the Negroes were killed and a number wounded.\textsuperscript{24}

A similar incident occurred in Lake City, Florida, when the white men gathered in the town on election day. Unfortunately, by order or chance, Negro troops congregated in the public square and like the white electorate, some became intoxicated. Feeling ran high and worsened as one mulatto, who was particularly troublesome, was hustled from the area. The troops then got out of hand, insulted citizens, confined the sheriff to his house and threatened

\textsuperscript{23} Ltr., James A. Hawley to Col. Sam Thomas, July 4, 1865, Carl Schurz Papers, LC.

\textsuperscript{24} Charleston Daily News, August 29, 1865.
to burn the town. Order was restored only by the timely arrival of a company of the 7th Infantry.  

There was also friction among Negro troops and city police. The latter were commonly Irish and, as members of the laboring class, regarded the Negro as a competitor. Consequently there was ill feeling which occasionally surfaced between the forces whose duty it was to preserve law and order. One such disturbance occurred in Charleston's cockpit, the market house, which involved the firing of thirty or forty shots and the wounding of a policeman and two troops. The Negroes were driven from the field into the protective arms of the Freedmen's Bureau.

The most troubled spot in the first year of peace was Memphis. Although trouble did not erupt until after the Negro garrison had been mustered out, there were constant rumblings and rumors which kept the atmosphere tense. Friction between the police and the 3d Colored Artillery was never-ending and the succession of arrests by each force of members of the other frequently involved harsh

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25 Ltr., CO, 7th Inf. to AAG, Dept. of Fla., Hq., Dist. of East Fla., Lake City, Fla., Dec. 3, 1865, LB 16, Dist. of Fla., pp. 422-423, NA.

26 The Savannah Daily Republican, July 11, 1866.
treatment. To this bubbling cauldron was added a large number of Confederate paroled prisoners whose presence was reported to have caused considerable excitement in the colored garrison. Although these ingredients resulted in the later Memphis riot, a great deal of stir throughout the South was created by the reports of an earlier alleged plot of the 3d Regiment to sally forth from its barracks at Fort Pickering in order to kill paroled prisoners in revenge for the Fort Pillow massacre. This plot was foiled only because Federal officers, who had learned of the scheme, had posted white troops at the fort's sally ports and these troops, after a brief skirmish, had prevented the egress of the would-be avengers.

The effects of such brawling between those who were supposed to maintain law and order were hardly salutary. Since the police were local residents and had the sympathy of their neighbors, it was the soldiers who were judged guilty. Writing of clashes between police and Negro soldiers at New Bern and Wilmington, North Carolina, one

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historian noted that public opinion became prejudiced against the Army and the troops were regarded as a menace to the community. 29

In establishing the cause of such affairs, Major General George H. Thomas, a Virginian who did not accept secession, reported to President Johnson that he believed that, in the majority of cases in which the Negro troops had collisions with white men, "...the white man has attempted to bully the negro, for it is exceedingly repugnant to the Southerners to have negro soldiers in their midst, and some are so foolish as to vent their anger on the negro because he is a soldier." Additional evidence may also be found in the comment of General Canby to a petition for the removal of colored units from Shreveport, Louisiana. He wrote that the white "...complainants are unwilling to accept from a colored soldier what they would not object to, if the complexion of the sentinel conformed to their prejudice." Generally speaking, it would seem that there was too much bullying and enmity on the part of

both the white civilians and the Negro soldiers for the good of either. 30

The Negro soldiers' belligerent activities were not confined to the white civilians for, as General Thomas also wrote, "The white troops are particularly hostile to the negro, and with the utmost care it is difficult to prevent collision with them." 31 Mention has already been made of the 3d Iowa's firing into a colored camp at Augusta and of the conduct of Duryee's Zouaves at Charleston but, unfortunately, such behavior was not confined to these occasions.

The Negro's presence in uniform had not been universally welcomed by the white men of the Army and even during the trying days of the War their enlistment had engendered a great deal of dissatisfaction. With the arrival of peace this resentment could hardly have abated, especially in the presence of those Negro troops who tried to give the impression that they were conquering heroes. Trouble resulted, particularly when inhibitions were relaxed by too much liquor.


The temper of the white troops at Fort Smith, Arkansas, was indicated when a colored regiment there became mutinous because it was slated to be sent into the Indian country. The white troops were called out to preserve discipline and were reported to have been anxious to try the mettle of the black regiment in a fight which was prevented only by the firmness of the officers.

Off duty it was another story. A Negro soldier in Tennessee, who had mortally wounded a white soldier, was lodged in a guardhouse to await trial. After the wounded man died, forty or fifty white troops got together, forced their way into the guardhouse, and shot the prisoner. The assailants then disappeared before they could be apprehended.

Brawls were the most common form of controversy indulged in by the two bodies of troops. One of these took place at the wharf at the end of Bay Street in Savannah, Georgia, where detachments of the 153d New York and 103d Colored Troops were engaged in unloading a vessel. Brickbats and stones filled the air, there were charges and counter attacks as the combat surged back and forth.

32 The Vicksburg Herald, June 16, 1866.

33 Nashville Daily Press and Times, August 7, 1865.
Finally, the New Yorkers emerged victorious after one Negro was stabbed and several parties were injured.  

Such disorderly behavior on the part of soldiers raises the question of the capability of their units. As among white outfits, the regiments of the United States Colored Troops were both good and bad. Colonel Alexander von Schrader, Acting Inspector General of the Military Division of Tennessee, stated that the colored units around Memphis and in Mississippi were better disciplined than the white troops in those areas, and Carl Schurz wrote that General Osterhaus at Vicksburg preferred black troops. The 35th Regiment in South Carolina was officially reported to have had a fine record during the War and to have remained good to the end. But of all the Negro units, few received such praise as the 81st Colored Infantry which, according to General Thomas W. Sherman, was superior to almost any Volunteer unit he had ever inspected, and, in some respects, was equal to the best instructed units of the Regular Army. He was especially impressed with their general cleanliness, their care of arms and clothing and

34 Savannah Republican, August 22, 1865.

35 Ltr., AIG, Mil. Div. of Tenn. to AAAG and C/S, Mil. Div. of Tenn., Mobile, Ala., Jan. 31, 1866, LB 53, Mil. Div. of Tenn., p. 38-51, NA and Ltr., Carl Schurz to Andrew Johnson, Vicksburg, Miss., August 29, 1865, Carl Schurz Papers, LC.
their drill and hoped that they would be retained in the service as an example to others.\textsuperscript{36}

Unofficial testimony to the credit of some regiments is also available. Private Alpheus Bloomfield remarked that the 110th Colored Troops "...do guard duty the best of any soldiers I ever saw on duty. They are regulars for sure. No Tennesseans can run over them....three of them tried it yesterday, two got badly bayonetted and the third was put in the guard house."\textsuperscript{37} A reporter in Goldsboro, North Carolina, found the troops of Paine's Division, 10th Corps, spoken of as orderly and well disciplined, and several colored regiments in Florida are reported to have had no complaints made against them.\textsuperscript{38} Rector John Cornish described the Orangeburg, South Carolina, garrison as being "...all nicely dressed & clean apparently as soap and water can make them,"\textsuperscript{39} but few were as enthusiastic over the


\textsuperscript{37} Ltr., Pvt. Alpheus S. Bloomfield to his sister, July 2, 1865, Alpheus S. Bloomfield Letters, LC.


\textsuperscript{39} John H. Cornish, Diary, June 7, 1865, UNC SHC.
potentiality of Negro soldiers as Chaplain James A. Hawley of the 63d Colored Infantry who termed them the "really great Civilizers of the South."\[40]

But the picture was not always so bright. An inspection of the regiments in the vicinity of Nashville found everything in the 15th Colored Infantry to be in as fine a condition "as can be expected of a Colored Regiment" but the inspecting officer was less enthusiastic about the soldierly qualities of the 17th and 111th Regiments nearby. It was noted that the latter unit had been captured by Forrest in 1863 and, for unexplained reasons, had never recovered from the experience.\[41]

Less complimentary was the officer who visited the 63d Colored Infantry, the unit whose chaplain lauded the Negro soldiers' civilizing influence. He found their general condition, disgraceful, officers and men grossly immilitary and ignorant of their duties. More than half of the men are old and crippled, both physically and mentally disqualified for being soldiers. Salute is given in the most awkward manner, in many cases sentinels dropping their muskets and saluting with their hands... On my telling one of the first Sergeants, that when the Inspector makes his appearance for the inspection of quarters he should give the word

\[40\] Ltr., James A. Hawley to Col. Samuel Thomas, July 4, 1865, Carl Schurz Papers, LC.

\[41\] Rpt., AIG, Dept. of Tenn., Hq., Dept. of Tenn., to CG, Dept. of Tenn., Knoxville, Tenn., Jan. 4, 1866, LB 52, I.G.O. Dept. of Tenn., p. 23, NA.
"attention" and the whole (company) salute at the same time, he followed my injunction first by taking off his hat and making a low bow to the men.42

The behavior of its guard was considered to be an accurate indication of what the unit itself was like. Colonel von Schrader lauded the 15th Colored Heavy Artillery at Vicksburg because he was impressed with a guardmount which he observed unnoticed by those taking part in it. A more critical report was given for another regiment at Jackson, Mississippi, whose guard was so unmilitary that

...In place of keeping themselves in constant readiness for any emergency those off post lounge around the quarters in a very loafer like manner Stretching themselves on the ground or other place of their own selection in reckless disregard of their clothing and accoutrements. Another practice much indulged in is the habit of receiving male and female company at the guard house or guard quarters the Soldiers indulging in amusement and Skylarking with their non military acquaintances in a manner which would be perfectly in place at a plantation on Saturday afternoon but which is repulsive and almost disgusting when indulged in by Soldiers of the United States Service.

The inspector went on to say that the visiting extended to the guard posts where sentinels indulged in social chats and even sat down to take things easy.43

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43 Ltr., AIG, Mil. Dist. of Tenn., to AAAG, Mil. Dist. of Tenn., Nashville, Tenn., Feb. 27, 1866, LB 53, Mil. Div. of the Tenn., p. 59 and Ltr., AAG, Hq., N Dist. of Miss., to Co., Sub. Dist. of Jackson, Hq., Northern Sub. Dist. of Miss., Jackson, Miss., Aug. 8, 1865, LB 27, Dept. of Miss., p. 168, NA.
Sloppiness was supplemented by dangerous and careless acts. Guard detail from Knoxville's Negro detachment were reported guilty of discharging their firearms repeatedly while marching to their camp and, on one occasion, "cursed and abused" a citizen riding into town. Similar wild firing by Negro guard details frequently occurred in Louisville, Kentucky, where one of their random shots struck the foot of an express company employee.\textsuperscript{44}

Like other troops, the Negroes were punished for their misdeeds. Private Bland of the 37th Regiment was tried before officers of his regiment for hanging up his equipment and lying down while on a sentry post and, on pleading guilty, was sentenced to a year at hard labor, one month of this wearing a ball and chain, and dishonorable discharge at the end of his confinement. Other troops, including a George Washington, faced a field officers' court and lighter sentences for appearing in dirty and torn clothing at guard mount at infamous Fort Pickering at Memphis, Tennessee.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{44} Ltr., C/S, Dept. of Tenn., to CO, Det. USCI, Knoxville, Tenn., Oct. 12, 1865, LS 22, Dept. of Tenn. and Ltr., Wm. R. Jackson, Agent for Adams Express to Maj. Gen. J. M. Palmer, Louisville, Ky., Dec. 11, 1865, IR J#8, Vol. 2, Dist. of Ky. 1865, NA.

Even the overbearing street patrols were called to account. A sergeant and a six man detachment were halted along a Jackson, Mississippi, sidewalk in such a way that they occupied the whole walk. A lady approached them and, instead of moving out into the street, attempted to pass between the soldiers and the sergeant, who, as she was passing, seized her by the arm and forced her to walk in the street behind him. She complained of her treatment to the officer-in-charge who had been loitering at a house nearby. The whole incident was investigated by another officer who approached the scene shortly thereafter, and, on the basis of his report, the sergeant was reduced to the ranks and the officer scheduled to be court martialed for neglect of duty. Swift punishment of this type may explain the above mentioned good discipline among the Negro troops of Jackson.46

Punishments were also given for thievery. A Private Scott of the 37th Regiment, guilty of stealing a pistol from a sergeant, was fined six dollars of his pay per month for the duration of his enlistment and for fifteen days was forced to stand on a barrel, hands tied behind him, with a paper cap marked "Thief" on his head. Another man of the same regiment was given a similar punishment.

46 Ltr., AAG, Dist. of Miss., to CO, Post of Jackson, Hq., Dist. of Miss., Jackson, Miss., June 16, 1865, LB 27, Dept. of Miss., p. 35.
for sleeping on a guard post, but it was remitted because he had already been bucked and gagged for twenty-four hours. 47

Positive methods were also used to mould the Negro troops to the military pattern. The battery commanders of the 25th Corps Artillery at Camp Lincoln were ordered to inspect their batteries at the Sunday morning inspections and, from them, select their best soldiers. Each of the men selected received a short furlough for his efforts. It must be admitted, however, that such appeals to the soldiers' better instincts were rare in the Reconstruction Army and were not comparable in quantity with the ball and chain and other forms of punishment. 48

The worth of any unit is a reflection of the abilities of its officers, and, as the regiments of the United States Colored Troops were both good and bad, so were their officers. These men, like the units they commanded, were the subjects of partisan testimony and were seldom viewed in an objective fashion.

Southerners had little use for the officers of the Colored Troops. Wade Hampton, in a much quoted letter to President Andrew Johnson, made reference to "...your brutal negro

47 GO 36, Hq., Mil. Command of NC, Raleigh, NC., Aug. 31, 1866, NA.

troops with their no less brutal and more degraded Yankee officers.\textsuperscript{49} Their association with Negro soldiers, although in some respects not unlike the southern planter's relationship with his former slaves, was detested by the southern white man as a symbol of the new social order. Furthermore, a large percentage of these officers held abolitionist views regarding the Negro, and many were liberal enough to fraternize openly with them, and, indeed, some married Negro women. A few may have consorted with the ladylike brown skinned maidens common in abolitionist literature, but many of their friends possibly resembled the bride of Lieutenant Youngston of the 86th Regiment whose reputation was infinitely bad before she was married and who brought the whole command into disrepute.\textsuperscript{50}

Such activity on the part of some officers of Negro troops served only to alienate and make them contemptible to white southerners. Relations thereupon deteriorated further, for it was believed that, in response to this

\textsuperscript{49} Fleming, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{50} Ltr., AIG, Mil. Div. of Tenn. to AAG and C/S, Mil. Div. of Tenn., Mobile, Ala., Jan. 31, 1866, LB 53, Mil. Div. of Tenn., pp. 38-51, NA.
aversion, the officers of Negro units condoned the excesses committed by their men. 51

Testimony from military ranks was also inclined to be unfavorable. The Commanding General at Natchez reported that, after four months of association and scrutinizing, he was satisfied that a third of the officers of the Colored Troops were unfit for their positions. Colonel von Schrader, on finding four of six colored infantry Regiments in the District of Huntsville, Alabama, deficient, placed a great share of the blame upon their officers and recommended that they be examined by a board to determine their worth. A final opinion in the matter was confided to Senator Elihu Washburne by the commander of the 66th Colored Infantry who wrote that "...I fear the Colored Troops will be mustered out of the service owing to the many worthless officers that have wormed themselves into it." 52

All officers of the Colored Troops were not inefficient and, in fact, some carved distinguished military careers for themselves in the remainder of the 19th Century.

51 Reynolds, op. cit., p. 5.

Among these officers was Lieutenant Adolphus W. Greely of the 81st Colored Infantry who rose to later distinction as a signal officer and as an Arctic explorer. Another officer of this caliber was Lieutenant Stephen Perry Jocelyn, a Vermonter, who served with the 115th Colored Infantry and subsequently became a general officer at a period in our military history when to hold that rank was a distinction.

In defense of those officers serving with the United States Colored Troops, it must be said that their experience was unique and difficult. Their regiments were new, the officers lacked experience and were pioneers in a military experiment. Of necessity, the commissioned ranks were staffed with men from the North whose knowledge of the plantation Negro who filled the enlisted ranks was severely limited. Some of these officers were idealists who served with Negro units in the hope of elevating that race to the level which they believed it should attain. Others served with the colored units because, in that capacity, they were able to get commissions and promotions not readily available in white establishments.

The problems faced by these officers were almost without solution. The vast majority of their enlisted men were newly freed slaves, were illiterate, child-like and with little sense of responsibility. They were difficult to discipline because they lacked the fear of social disapproval present in all but the most degraded white
troops and, therefore, were motivated only by fear of punishment and devotion to their leaders. Lieutenant Greely found them to have a greater liking for sweets than liquor but without any sense of chastity. This latter trait, he believed, was the source of their most numerous infractions of the rules. Although they were less inclined toward desertion than white soldiers, possibly because of greater contentment with military routine as they found it, they were less efficient and, according to one officer's estimate, could be replaced by half their number of white troops. What they could have used to greatest advantage and what they lacked most was good leadership.

Before passing from a discussion of Negro troops, it would be well to acknowledge a worthy function they performed - this for the troops themselves. For the first time in their lives these men were exposed to the rudiments of an education in schools formed in many regiments. They were taught by officers, chaplains, and, on occasion, some men received instruction from Yankee "schoolmarms." One of these on a sea island near Charleston reported that her uniformed pupils were anxious to learn. But, in the cases

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53 Greely, op. cit., p. 98.

in which it occurred, the most important effect of military service on the colored soldier was that described by Chaplain Hawley of the 63d Colored Regiment who wrote "It gave him education ... character, position before the world, and a really valuable influence. It made a man of him."

After six months of trial, the Negro troops were found to be ill suited to the delicate tasks of military occupation and were ordered withdrawn from the interior to the coastal installations where there was a minimum of contact with the civil population. Then they were mustered out as soon as practicable. This order was not executed in a hasty fashion, for the last units of the United States Colored Troops were not disbanded until 1867. That it was

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GO 38, Hq., 1st Div., 25th Army Corps, In the field, Virginia, May 10, 1865, LS, Vol. 19, 25th Army Corps, NA; Martha Schofield Diary, January 16, and 20, 1866 and Ltr., Jas. A. Hawley to Colonel Samuel Thomas, July 4, 1865, Carl Schurz Papers, LC.
issued at all is noteworthy, for this action stands forth as one of the bright spots of Reconstruction and the Federal government is to be commended for this far-sighted portion of its Reconstruction policy. 56

WDGO 144, Oct. 9, 1865. Negroes served in the South in Regular Infantry regiments until 1869 when these units were consolidated into the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments and stationed in the West.

It is probable that study of the activities of Negro troops in Germany after World War II would reveal a definite similarity between their conduct and that of the Negro troops in the South after the Civil War. Although the Military Governor, General Joseph T. McNarney, is reported to have at least believed that these troops should be returned to the United States and some measures were taken in 1946 to curtail their shipment to Europe, they were never withdrawn. For partial testimony on the activities of Negro troops in Germany after World War II see the report: Investigation of the National Defense Program, Hearings before a Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, United States Senate Eightieth Congress, Pursuant to S. Res. 16 80th Congress)...Part 42, Military Government in Germany, Washington, 1948, p. 26163-26164.
Unlike the other Confederate states, Texas was virtually untouched by the ravages of war. Federal forces had nibbled at her coastline but, except for a short occupation of Galveston in 1862, their efforts were of no consequence. At the War's end only an insignificant Union beachhead on the Gulf island of Brazos Santiago violated the hallowed soil of the Lone Star state.

But, in 1865, Texas was near the point of collapse. The Confederate currency which flooded the state was worthless even for paying taxes, and trade had come to a standstill. Only food and cotton were plentiful, and they could not be sold. As the Confederacy crumbled the tottering morale of the people gave way to gloom and anxiety.

At the War's end General Grant demanded the surrender of the Trans-Mississippi Department on the terms which had been granted to Lee, but General Edmund Kirby Smith, hoping to be given more liberal terms, rejected them. While negotiations were in progress, the military situation grew desperate. Confederate troops lost their will to resist and became unmanageable. In many places they took possession of the government stores at hand and went home. By May 21, 1865, the Galveston garrison had become a mob and many of its members swarmed to Houston which, two days
later, was given over to anarchy. This disorder spread rapidly throughout the state, and it became the accepted practice for soldiers to divide the Confederate and state stores among themselves. Soon authority existed only at the local level and lawlessness was general throughout the State.

On June 2 General Smith signed an agreement aboard a United States vessel in Galveston harbor which provided that the Confederate troops were to be paroled and returned to their homes and that Confederate property was to be turned over to the United States government. Texas had collapsed like a house of cards.¹

Texas was occupied initially by four distinct forces. The first were those of the infantry of the 13th Corps who were moved across the Gulf to towns along the Texas coast from stations in Alabama and Mississippi. Shortly after their arrival they were joined by the Negro 24th Corps which, after a long water voyage from Virginia, landed at Brazos Santiago and prepared to move up the valley of the Rio Grande. To the north at Indianola and Galveston, one month later, the 13th and 24th Corps were followed by the 4th Corps which had arrived after a river trip from Tennessee. The flag was shown in the northeastern corner

¹ For a description of conditions in Texas at this time see Charles William Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas, (New York, 1910) pp. 51-52.
of the state by the cavalry column of Custer and Merritt which had marched from Alexandria and Shreveport, Louisiana, to Austin and San Antonio. Regardless of the route or time of arrival, these Texas bound troops had one thing in common— they had no desire to be in Texas.

The 13th Corps landed in Texas after a short voyage across the Gulf. Since the reports of this voyage are devoid of details, it is probable that the trip was uneventful and, in the eyes of the participants, no more than just another movement along a Gulf coast with which they were already familiar. On arriving in Texas one division under General Francis Herron moved to northeastern Texas, another under Frederick Steele occupied the line of the Rio Grande and the third, commanded by Joseph A. Mower, landed at Galveston to occupy the railroad line from that port inland to Brenham. All three divisions and the state of Texas were placed under the command of the 13th Corps commander, General Gordon Granger.²

The trips to Texas of the units which followed the 13th Corps merit some notice. Although the voyage of General Godfrey Weitzel's 25th Corps from Virginia was without incident, it began in a most foreboding fashion. Most of the units boarded their ships without protest, but,

when the time came for the 1st and 2d United States Colored Cavalry Regiments to go aboard their transports, some of their troopers balked and a mutiny developed.

These cavalry regiments had been recruited from the Norfolk-Hampton area and many of their men had been able to enjoy the company of their families prior to their sailing. When the time came for parting they were loath to leave for, having not been recently paid, they feared that their families would suffer in their absence. This reluctance to be torn from the pleasures and duties of family life was further increased by idle rumors which circulated a story that a "five year flag" would be hoisted as soon as they were at sea and that they were being transported south to raise cotton to pay off the National debt. Therefore, when sailing time came and the officers attempted to march the regiments aboard the steamship *Hager*, the troopers of the 2d, in particular, refused to board and demonstrated their defiance by yelling and firing their guns.

After this first outburst, the officers talked with their men, refuted the rumors, and persuaded half of them to go aboard. The day passed. On the next day the officers' efforts at persuasion were reinforced by the arrival of another regiment brought up to compel the mutineers to board their ship. A fight appeared imminent but the scales were tilted against the troopers of the 2d Regiment by the timely arrival of artillery. The men boarded the *Hager* which cast off and steamed down the river.
As the Hager slipped away, a few parting shots were fired from her bow by some discontented troopers. In order to prevent further disorder the regiment was disarmed and thirty-one of the mutiny's ringleaders were placed in irons. The major commanding insured continued good order by storing the regiment's ammunition beneath his cabin and threatened to blow up the ship if trouble developed while they were at sea. Mobile was reached after seven days of smooth sailing.

The Corps' trip in its fleet of fifty-seven ships was generally uneventful. Little is recorded of the enlisted men's voyage except that they were required to police the ships and wash the decks thoroughly each day. Some men suffered from sea sickness and a poor diet, and twelve "smoked yanks" died and were buried at sea before the two week voyage ended.

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3 Robert Dornard, Recollections of the Civil War..., (Scotland, 1906), pp. 145-151 and Ltr., Br. Brig. Gen. Coles to Lt. Col. D. D. Wheeler, Eq., Cav. Brig., 25 AC Mobile Bay, June 23, 1865, LB 47, 25 AC, NA. At least seven of the nineteen mutineers were dishonorably discharged and sentenced to terms of from three to fifteen years at hard labor in the Dry Tortugas. See Gen. Court Martial Orders No. 1 and 6, Eq., 3d. Div., 25 AC, pp. 3-6 and 16-25, NA. Although some men of the 1st Regt. were tried, the 2d seems to have contained most of the mutineers.

Life was a little more enjoyable for the 25th Corps' officers. During the day they whiled away their spare time fishing and shooting at porpoises and sharks. In the evening they were able to pass the hours playing whist, euchre and old sledge. The more studiously inclined found plenty of time to read. Most of them enjoyed the voyage.

The white troops of the 4th Corps, if anything, were less eager to make the trip than were the Negroes of the 25th Corps. There were no mutinies in its regiments comparable to that of the colored cavalry men, but morale was low, the men were in foul humor and desertions were both numerous and frequent.

Even those units which had previously rendered excellent service became disorderly. Men of the crack 15th Ohio Infantry developed a mutinous spirit and called a meeting to discuss their plight. This meeting was not held for, instead, they received a speech from their brigade commander, and any ideas of mutiny in that brigade were squelched when an agitator in the 71st Illinois Regiment was arrested and sent north in irons. The feelings of the Buckeyes were salved, in addition, by a visit from the paymaster who paid

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them and a state agent who carried their money back to the Buckeye State for deposit.  

This opposition was caused not only by the fact that the Texas expedition meant continued military service, but because some felt that it implied a war with Mexico. The attitude of most men was that they had enlisted to put down the rebellion and had done so. They had not bargained for a war in Mexico and, while they might be persuaded to go as far as Texas, they would not cross the Rio Grande.

The river trips to New Orleans and to the cavalry concentration points at Alexandria and Shreveport, Louisiana, differed in many respects from the ocean voyage of the 25th Corps. Their loading schemes were similar, however, for the officers enjoyed staterooms and the enlisted men occupied the decks. Although the enlisted men were probably not surprised at this arrangement, it was a source of irritation to troops who already carried prominent chips on their shoulders. A historian of the 125th Ohio recorded that, insofar as steamboat operators were concerned, old soldiers were at a discount. Even though there were empty cabins, enlisted men could not

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6 Cope, *op. cit.*, pp. 730-731

7 Ellison B. Davee, Diary, June 26, 1865, OSM.
rent them, nor could they buy meals. It was so bad, in fact, that officers who had taken sick enlisted men into their cabins had a war of words with the ship's officers about it. The case of the indignant enlisted men of the 125th was summed up by their diarist when he wrote with injured pride that "our clothes are old but they are clean." 8

When not performing chores about the ships the men presumably just sat and talked and watched the river banks slide by. When they reached alligator country the men of the 7th Indiana Cavalry amused themselves for a short while by shooting at these reptiles until this diversion became stale. Their enthusiasm was rekindled, however, when the sport was prohibited, and it again became amusing and remained so for quite awhile. 9

Certain rules were enforced aboard the river craft. The vessels were thoroughly policed each morning, blankets were shaken out and routine sanitary measures were ordered observed. Liquor was forbidden and, except at cooking stops, the blue clad passengers were not allowed ashore. Halts were made because cooking aboard ship created a fire hazard and was not permitted. In lieu of hot food, bread was

8 Clark, op. cit., October 7, 1865.
9 Thomas S. Cogley, History of the 7th Indiana Cavalry Volunteers ..., (La Porte, 1876) p. 161.
issued already baked, and hot water for coffee was available from the ships galley or boilers. Prescribed stops were made along the bank so that the men could go ashore and cook the meat ration to be eaten aboard ship.\textsuperscript{10}

Wise commanders exercised caution at these shore stops. General Willich ordered his regiments to go ashore by companies and to encamp regularly so as not to intermingle and cause confusion. The regiment went ashore under arms and a strong guard was posted to prevent straggling.\textsuperscript{11}

When precautions were not taken, desertion and disorder resulted. The desertions were bad enough, but the disorders could be worse. The 125th Ohio's historian reported that after they had passed Cairo, Illinois, a number of men were missing. Then two days later when their steamer, the \textit{Nicholas Longworth}, tied up over night at a large Mississippi island, Buckeyes of the 26th and 125th Ohio Regiments went ashore and raised a great commotion. They broke into the store of a sutler of a Negro regiment stationed there and threatened a colored detachment.


\textsuperscript{11} Orders, Hq., 1st Brig., 3d Div., 4 AC, Aboard Steamer Anna, June 17, 1865, LB 35, 4 AC, np. NA.
sent to arrest them. Instead of preventing this action, officers present took sides with the men and one even was seen carrying off a box of looted collars. All of them returned to their transport when its whistle blew.  

In the course of the trip the men were occasionally allowed to go ashore for purposes other than cooking. At Cairo some units, including the 51st Indiana Infantry, were permitted to go shopping and, in anticipation of a warmer climate, they outfitted themselves in linen coats, straw hats, and thin shoes and then topped off their ensemble by getting short haircuts. In a similar fashion the flotilla carrying the 15th Ohio stopped at Vicksburg so that supplies could be obtained and, in the course of the stop, fifteen men were sent into town to do the shopping for the regiment while the rest were allowed to bathe near the opposite shore.  

The major stop of the journey was made at New Orleans where the troops of the corps went into camp while preparations were made to transport them across the Gulf. Here again, however, they seem to have been denied the pleasure

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12 Ltr., CO, Island 60, Mississippi River to AAG, Dist. of E. Ark., June 27, 1865, Samuel Sexton Papers, OSM and Clark, op. cit., June 18 and 20, 1865.

of city life for they were bivouacked at the site of the battlefield of the War of 1812 and were not permitted to go into town. Instead, in one brigade at least, purchasing agents numbering one man per company were sent in regimental groups to the city to buy for the men of their companies. Lest they become distracted from their duty, these men were accompanied by an officer who was held personally responsible for them. Naturally, this arrangement was not considered to be entirely satisfactory, and there were some adventuresome souls who visited the Crescent City without permission. While some of these men enjoyed themselves, others were picked up by patrols and, in payment for their fling, compelled to "walk the beat" with heavy fence rails on their shoulders.

Life was not entirely dull for those who remained in camp. Troops were permitted to go swimming in Lake Ponchartrain and, in celebration of the 4th of July, the men of the 51st Indiana quaffed lemonade cooled in a wash tub by artificial ice. Other lemonade was peddled by soldiers to their comrades at the exorbitant prices of fifteen and twenty cents per glass, until the trade was brought to a halt and a ceiling price placed on the beverage.  

15 Hartpence, op. cit., p. 323 and Orders, 1st, Brig., 3d Div. 4AC, Near New Orleans, June 26, 1865, L5 35, 4AC, NA.
In addition to the lemonade other items of trade often trafficked near military establishments appeared until they were driven into concealment by an order which informed the troops that:

A great many women of doubtful character come into our camps selling whiskey which they have concealed under their clothes, and try in many cases to sell themselves. The whiskey is of the worst kind and the other article will send the men to the hospital. Therefore, the guard will not allow such women to pass into the camp.... The women will be kept out and the whiskey confiscated.

The trip across the Gulf was uneventful except that the sea proved to be rougher than the Mississippi had been and many passengers became seasick. Three days rations were cooked before the troops embarked, and hot water was again furnished from the ships' boilers or galleys. Just before they passed from the river on to the brackish water of the Gulf, the troops were ordered to fill their canteens.

It was well that water was taken aboard for it was scarce at Indianola, Texas. The landing was slowed before troops had to disembark from the transports and be lightered over a sandbar to the shore. Once on land they

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were forced to march eighteen miles in order to get water. With but a short rest, they then had to push on another twenty miles to Victoria where water and food were plentiful. A similar situation also existed at Brazos Santiago. Wharves had to be built at both places and water had to be hauled. 18

The men transported to Texas by sea had an easier time of it than did the troopers of the cavalry divisions. As indicated above the cavalry regiments bound for Austin assembled at Alexandria, Louisiana, and were placed under the command of General George A. Custer, while those going to San Antonio were gathered at Shreveport under the immediate charge of General John R. West. General Wesley Merritt, Chief of Cavalry of the Military Division of the Southwest, accompanied West's column to San Antonio and apparently had a command relationship with it similar to that once had by Grant with General Meade and the Army of the Potomac.

The cavalrymen, like the infantrymen of the 4th and 24th Corps, demonstrated their lack of love for the Army and the projected trip to Texas. The camp at Alexandria, in particular, is reported to have been a disciplinarian's

18 Sheridan Report, RSW, 1866-1867, p. 46 and Lyons, op. cit., p. 262. Indianola was located on the south shore of Matagorda Bay.
nightmare. Brigadier General James W. Forsyth, one of Custer's brigade commanders who joined his chief at Alexandria, reported that when he arrived in the camp robbery, plundering and murder were daily occurrences and that almost the entire division was in open mutiny. The enlisted men did almost as they pleased, some deserted, took their horses and formed guerrilla bands; others merely rode around the area dressed in such a fashion that a lady with the proprieties of the nineteenth century could not appear in the streets.\textsuperscript{19}

The officers involved apparently could or would not remedy this situation. In the 2d Wisconsin Cavalry the men, incited by some of their officers, attempted to drive off their commander and threatened to banish Custer also. They were likewise freely inclined to desert and to return to their homes where they were warmly welcomed and honorably mustered out. Picked troops of Forsyth's Brigade were posted as guards on this regiment to keep it from deserting \textit{en masse}. Similar testimony is offered by the historian of the 7th Indiana Cavalry who wrote that the men deserted by squads and, on several occasions, his

regiment was called out to prevent the desertions of companies and even of a regiment. The situation at Shreveport possibly resembled that at Alexandria, even though it seems not to have become a matter of record. In any case somewhat successful measures were taken to restore order to the misbehaving units at both camps. Some men of the 7th Indiana Cavalry at Alexandria killed a calf. The owner of the calf complained, the camp was searched and the meat was found. The butchers' regimental commander promised to court martial the men but Custer intervened, ordered that their heads be shaved, that they be given forty lashes and marched in front of their regiment at dress parade. It was done and, though flogging had been abolished by the Army four years before, the punishment probably had a salutary effect on the discipline of the command.

A similar incident involving a Texas bound cavalry regiment has also been reported. The men of this unit picked up the rumor that they had been slated for the Texas expedition because they had the reputation of being a crack outfit. To spoil this reputation and thereby render themselves ineligible for this service, they plotted to

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20 Ibid. and Cogley, op. cit., p. 164.
21 Cogley, op. cit., p. 177
make themselves appear as disreputable as possible and, in the next parade, passed in review in a route order fashion with clothing and equipment all askew.

Their general reacted immediately to the scheme in an unexpected fashion by having the ringleaders of the ruse rounded up and by having a sergeant among them court martialed and sentenced to be shot. Although threats were made against the commander's life, the division was assembled to witness the execution. When the appointed hour arrived, the sergeant and a condemned criminal took their places before the firing squad, preparations for the execution proceeded apace, the criminal was shot and the sergeant was reprieved only at the dramatic last instant. Order was thus restored to at least one regiment. 22

The two divisions left their Louisiana assembly points for Texas about the middle of July. The details of the Custer march to Austin are obscure, except that it is recorded that it was the practice of the division to arise at 2 a.m. and begin their fifteen to twenty mile daily march at about 4 a.m. During the course of the trek the troopers were bothered considerably by the heat and insects and found it practicable to kill many rattlesnakes.

22 Frederick F. Van de Water, Glory Hunter, A Life of General Custer, (Indianapolis, 1954) pp. 130-131. This unit is identified as the 3d Michigan, but the 3d Michigan was in Merritt's column.
Disciplinary problems continued to arise and were dealt with in the usual summary fashion. For instance, one lieutenant caught straggling was dismounted and required to accompany his regiment five miles on foot. However, in spite of these difficulties, Custer's command arrived in Austin and, in the course of their journey, is supposed to have received the congratulations of General Sheridan on its soldierly appearance.23

In the meantime march orders were issued to West's Division. They simply informed the division that it would habitually march by fours and that the position of the regiments in column would alternate day by day. When the country permitted, the brigades would march abreast instead of in column. Halts would be made for the comfort of the men, but no man would quit his place in column except at designated times. In case a man had to fall out he would leave his horse in his set of fours and proceed on foot. Rights of property were to be respected and soldiers were forbidden to enter the houses of citizens under any pretext whatsoever.24

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24 Go 2, Hq., Cav., Forces, Mil. Div. of the Southwest, Shreveport, La., June 24, 1865, LB 281, Dept. of the Gulf, p. 1, NA.
The route was plotted ahead of time with reference to water and forage and the division moved off on its 425 mile journey. The trip was uneventful. The column moved by night when the moonlight was bright in order to avoid the heat of the day. As it marched, 1200 bushels of corn per day were purchased for the horses but vegetables could not be bought for the men. Merritt and his escort usually traveled ahead of the main body and arrived in San Antonio on August 1; West and the remainder of the column closed into the city on the following day. In the course of the trip eight men died and many more became sick. Eighty animals were lost and the remainder were reported to have been reduced in flesh and leg weary but in good condition otherwise.25

As they proceeded across Texas the Union force received a varied reception from the people. In the cotton growing section the Texans were inclined to be a little less than cordial, but the only act of defiance reported was a solo rendition of The Bonnie Blue Flag at Henderson. On their arrival in the German settlements near San Antonio, they were given an enthusiastic reception and on the night of August 5 a Union demonstration was held which was addressed by Generals Merritt, West and Andrews who stated that they

came as friends and not as conquerors. Throughout the trip, the column was greeted enthusiastically by the omnipresent Negroes who attached themselves to it and consumed its rations. So burdensome did these delivered black folk become, in fact, that it was necessary to forbid the presence of those not actually in the hire of the command. 26

In most of its aspects, army life in Texas did not differ from the already discussed routine experienced by troops stationed in other parts of the South. The boring chores still had to be done, discharge from the service seemed even more desirable, and life in general was, if anything, more unpleasant.

Quarters left much to be desired insofar as comfort was concerned. Although troops stationed in the cities were sometimes assigned buildings to live in, such luxurious accommodations in Texas were rare, and most troops were required to abide in tent camps until they were mustered out or until barracks were constructed. 27

Rations, if anything, were of poorer quality and smaller than were those found in other portions of the South,


particularly in the early weeks of occupation. Beef was slaughtered in the grazing areas, where one man reported that a good steer could be purchased for less than five dollars. And yet, in some places there was even a shortage of fresh beef, for the ration to the troops near San Antonio in September 1865 apparently included salted beef and pork, the latter being "hog joles" which contained a lot of bone and which the men would not eat if anything else were available. It was complained that these troops were eating worse than they had during the War. 28

There also seems to have been poor quality in the other portions of the ration. The historian of the 13th Wisconsin Infantry reported that the crackers they were issued while at Green Lake in August 1865 were old and stale and that worms fell out when these biscuits wererapped on a table. Similar difficulties were also found elsewhere, probably the result of the food's being old when it left the storehouses and its spoiling further as it proceeded along the long line of supply to the soldier consumer. 29


In an attempt to solve the problem of food supply, the Commissary General was directed by the War Department, in February 1865, to purchase a "Marching Ration" developed by a Harvard professor, E. N. Horsford. The ration, which consisted essentially of parched wheat in lieu of bread and a special form of compressed beef, was supposed to be imperishable and came in a compact form convenient for transport in the field. It became available at the end of the War and, since campaigning had ended in the Southeast, was shipped via New Orleans to Texas where it arrived during the summer of 1865. The imperishable ration soon spoiled, however, the wheat attracting "vermin" and the beef putrefying. In spite of its manifest poor quality it was tried on the troops and produced diarrhoea among those who ate it. In the words of The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion "That greater mischief did not occur appears to have resulted from the refusal of the troops to use this putrid food to any great extent."  

The supply of water seems to have been no better than the supply of food. It was complained in the camp at Green Lake that there was nothing but warm water to drink, and the troops marching overland to Green Lake had found the water rather bad. In some areas, notably at Brazos Santiago, 

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it was difficult to obtain. One officer recalled that
the water used by the Negro troops there had to be
hailed in barrels from Clarksville ten miles away. These
barrels were rolled down the beach at low tide by means of
tow ropes attached to spindles in their heads. Water for
Brazos Santiago was also transported from the Rio Grande
and condensed from sea water. 31

The rations, or lack of them, and the water were, of
course, responsible for much of the sickness among the
troops in Texas. General Weitzel of the 25th Corps de-
scribed the plight of his command in a letter to Senator Ben
Butler when he wrote that

All of the officers, myself included, have had the
bone break fever, and many the diarrhoea. The men
are dying fast with scurvy and not a vegetable is
to be had. I have nearly 2500 cases of scurvy in
the corps. I have talked, written, entreated
and supplicated but as yet have received no vegetables.
I have not seen a potato for three weeks and a
good vegetable dinner would be the greatest treat I
can imagine. 32

31 Cope, op. cit., p. 763; Lyons, op. cit., p. 224; Dollard,
Forces on the Rio Grande, Brazos Santiago, June 10, 1865,

32 Ltr., Maj. Gen. G. Weitzel to Ben F. Butler, Brownsville,
Texas, Aug. 14, 1865, Benjamin F. Butler Papers, LC and
Ltr., AAI, E. Dist. of Texas, to AAI, Dept. of Texas,
Houston, Texas, nd, LB 10, Dept. of Texas, NA and Lyons,
op. cit., p. 229.
Scurvy seems to have been especially prevalent in the 25th Corps, possibly because of the nutritional shortcomings of the rations consumed during their long sea voyage and their subsequent diet in Texas. However, it and dengue, or bone break fever, and other fevers were also present among other commands.

As elsewhere in the South, measures were taken designed to prevent or reduce the ill effects of these diseases. Commanders urged the purification or covering of all things that might give a poisonous taint to the atmosphere. Orders were published forbidding such unhealthful practices as the using of parade grounds as substitutes for latrines and excessive bathing, particularly in the hot hours of the day. Details of colored soldiery swept the streets of Brownsville and carried off the dirt, and a tax was laid on the saloons of the town, the proceeds of which were used to keep the streets clean. But, probably the best health measure of all, aside from the establishment of quarantines at the ports, was the order causing the sick to be treated in hospitals in Texas instead of being transported to hospitals in New Orleans.\(^{33}\)

The camp duties in Texas may be assumed to have been

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\(^{33}\) New York Tribune, July 29 and Sept. 1, 1865; G0 10, HQ., Dept. of Texas, Galveston, March 7, 1866, LB 29, Dept. of Texas, p. 22 and G0 10, Dept. of Texas, Galveston, Oct. 6, 1865, LB 9, Dept. of Texas, p. 7, NA.
similar to those in other portions of the South. Unless they were otherwise engaged, there was the usual drill, guard duty, police and, of course, there were the customary parades and inspections. Although General Sheridan reported that his Texas command spent a great deal of time drilling in preparation for a movement into Mexico, it would seem, instead, that many troops were engaged in duties peculiar to the occupation. Furthermore, in the 25th Corps along the Rio Grande there was much effort expended in labor which, no doubt, was necessary to provide the logistical facilities necessary in event that a war should develop in that region.

Troops were employed first in establishing port installations, particularly at Brazos Santiago and at Indianola. The wharves had to be repaired at these places, quarters had to be constructed, and at Brazos Santiago a bridge was built over an inlet called the Boca Chica. In addition to such construction work, the colored garrison at Brazos Santiago was employed at one time so extensively as stevedores that less than one hundred men out of three regiments were available for duty around the post.

Along with repairing the wharves, the troops were required to put the railroads in running order. This necessitated the cutting of railroad ties and the repair of the road beds. Regiments were detailed to the task of going to the wooded areas, setting up camps and cutting the ties, which were then laid by other units detailed for work along the railroads themselves. In the summer and autumn of 1865 railroads were constructed by troops from Lavaca to Victoria and from Brazos Santiago to White's Ranch.  

After landing in Texas, the first non-housekeeping duties performed by the Federal Army were concerned with the enforcement of E. Kirby Smith's surrender, the maintenance of law and order, and the protection of freedmen. As in other areas of the South, troops collected Federal property, issued paroles and administered the amnesty oath to persons eligible to receive it. To accomplish these ends posts were established in various towns, and detachments were sent out to the remote and sparsely settled

areas. These post commanders were ordered to afford all necessary and proper aid to the provisional government and to the Freedmen's Bureau, notify the people that until they complied with the terms of Smith's surrender they were not entitled to the benefits of the amnesty proclamation, see that Confederate property was turned over to the Federal government, enforce contracts between the planters and the freedmen if there was no Bureau agent in the area, repress disorder, protect peaceful citizens, and maintain discipline in their commands. In the pursuit of these duties it was later avowed and ordered that military personnel in the performance of their duties would be protected against persecution or suits in state and municipal courts.

One of the first duties performed involved the collection of Federal property. Captain E.B. Kitchen, the Acting Quartermaster of the Eastern District of Texas, was directed to make a tour through the district and inventory the property therein owned and abandoned by the Confederate


37 GO 5, Hq., Dept. of Texas, Galveston, Texas, Jan. 27, 1865, LB 5, Dept. of Texas, p. 19, NA.
government. All post commanders were to aid him in transporting it to local posts and, no doubt, had to provide escorts for him while he looked the district over. That this was a time consuming task is indicated by the fact that two months later detachments were still being detailed to assist Captain Kitchen. Two, of not more than fifty men each, were ordered from the 12th Illinois Cavalry to proceed to Waco and Angelina Counties, with forty and thirty days rations, respectively, to collect government property and, at the same time, to investigate the Negroes' condition and make sure that they were free and being paid for their labor. Similar details were sent to other parts of the state until presumably all available Confederate property had been restored to the Union.

As indicated, the Texas Negro, like his eastern brethren, was also the problem of the Texas garrison. Like Merritt's column the 1st Division, 4th Corps, found his presence a bit burdensome and, in keeping with the government's policy to keep the freedmen at work with

their former masters, sent those around their camps off toward their former homes with rations enough to feed them on their way. Once at home the Negro still occupied the minds of the Federal commanders, for detachments were sent out to investigate outrages that may have been committed against them and to school former masters and slaves in their new relationship with one another. Such details were dispatched at the request of officers of the Freedmen's Bureau when they were present or otherwise as the situation demanded.

A great deal of scurrying about also occurred at the report of a threatened Negro insurrection in December 1865. The commander of the 12th Illinois who was ordered to proceed to the district between the Brazos and Colorado Rivers via Huntsville, Anderson, Navasota and Brenham, called his scattered companies to him as he rode. On arriving in the area of tension, he was advised to see that the freedmen were not being mistreated, to urge them to work and to inform the blacks that the land was not to be divided among them. Possibly the insurrection existed

39 GO 38, Hq., 1st Div., 4 AC, Camp Stanley, Texas, Aug. 15, 1865, LB 15, 4 AC, p. 148, NA.

40 Ltr., AAG, E. Dist. of Texas to CO, 4th Mass. Btry, Houston, Sept. 6, 1865, LB 9, Dept. of Texas, p. 31; Ltr., AAG 1st. Brig. of Cav., to Lt. Mark, 1st. Iowa Cav., Austin, Texas, Jan. 29, 1866, LB 24, Dept. of Texas, p. 37, NA.
only in idle talk or perhaps the insurrectionists were overawed by the troopers from Illinois, but, in any case, the uprising did not materialize and the saddle sore regiment returned to its routine chores.\(^1\)

The men of the 12th Illinois did a lot of hard riding, it would seem. Shortly after having discouraged the above threatened upheaval, they were sent after more genuine game. One of their companies was ordered to Millican, Texas, to arrest a gang of desperadoes who were committing depredations on the Negroes in order to keep them from working in that vicinity.\(^2\) Similar details were sent out all over the state for the purpose of assisting the local law enforcement officials. General Wright, commander of the Department of Texas, reported to General Sheridan that, because of conditions in northern Texas, four companies of the 6th Cavalry had been sent there, two of these to Sherman, one to Waco, and another to Jacksboro. At that time troops of the regiment were also found at Austin, Belton, Waco, and Lockhart and two detachments of fifteen men each were being sent to La Grange and Bastrop. These details were sent out to support the Freedmen's


\(^{42}\) Ltr., AAG, E. Dist. of Texas to CO, Co D, 12th Ill Cav., Houston, Jan. 10, 1866, LB 9, Dept. of Texas, p. 114, NA.
Bureau agents and to overawe small bands of desperadoes which seemed to be cropping up because various former slave holders could not get labor and in lieu of planting were turning to outlawry.\textsuperscript{43}

It is doubtful that the numbers or percentages of outlaws caught by such detachments could be determined, but it is no doubt true that the number was small. The value of such details would seem to lie in their ability to discourage acts of violence, for, when apprehended, the outlaw was not dealt with in a lenient fashion. This is illustrated by the case of a one-time member of the Federal 2d Texas Cavalry who was arrested by a detail of his former comrades after having committed some outrages in Central Texas. The brigand, a certain Diaz, was ordered to New Orleans for trial and, for his misdeeds, was sentenced to confinement in the Dry Tortugas.\textsuperscript{44}

Such detachments were common in Texas but certainly not peculiar to it as a former Confederate state. Some peculiarity did exist, however, in the type of expeditions sent out into the sparsely settled area west of San Antonio. General West, as commander of the 1st Cavalry Division, was ordered to dispatch a force of one hundred men out

\textsuperscript{43} Ltr., CG, Dept. of Texas to AAG, Mil. Div. of the Gulf, Galveston, Texas, March 2, 1866, LB 4, Dept. of Texas, p. 213, NA.

\textsuperscript{44} Ltr., CG, Dist. of the Rio Grande to AAG, Dept. of Texas, Brownsville, Texas, Oct. 10, 1865, LB 12, Dept. of Texas, pp. 48-49, NA.
of San Antonio as far on the Eagle Pass road as Fort Inge. This was not to be a long scout, for they were to carry only five days rations, but, while gone, the officer in command was to report on the nature of the country, the quantity of supplies in it, and the amount of corn grown there. He was also to determine if government property was being carried from Goliad into Mexico and, if so, to end the traffic. In addition to stopping the trade of stolen government property, he was also to investigate Indian depredations and, should he meet the Indians, was to avoid a fight with them, but, at the same time, was to warn the chiefs that they were not to commit depredations. Although this foray was a short one, the officer in charge was given more detailed instructions than were commanders of later expeditions, possibly because his unit was new at the game of scouting Indians. Later similar detachments were sent out with simple instructions to gather all the information available and to stay out of fights with the Indians, if possible. 45

There is no reason to believe that these patrols were anything but routine. Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin F. Marsh of the 2d Illinois Cavalry, reporting on one of them, indicated that he led two hundred men out of San Antonio

on the Eagle Pass road and set up a camp near the Nueces River. While there he went with a small party to Eagle Pass and from there to Fort Clark. He found that the Indians were doing a lot of stealing in the Nueces River - Turkey Creek area and that the grazing was poor. Fort Clark, though dilapidated, was found to be capable of repair, was well watered and in an area where forage could be procured. The only action of the trip seems to have occurred when some of the command were detailed to assist an officer in the pursuit of deserters. A patrol made in the same general area a few weeks earlier by sixty men of the 4th Wisconsin Cavalry elicited the same non violent results and perhaps was even more discouraging, since it ran across an Indian trail which could not be followed.\footnote{Ltr., CO, 2d I11. Cav. to AAG 1st Cav. Div., Cav. Forces, Mil. Div. of the Gulf, San Antonio, Texas, Oct. 27, 1865, LB 282, Dept. of the Gulf, pp. 9-10 and Ltr., Maj. N. Craig to CG, 1st. Cav. Div., Cav. Forces. Mil. Div. of the Gulf, San Antonio, Texas, Oct. 7, 1865, Ibid., p. 6, NA.}

Many other necessary chores were done. At least two courier lines were in operation for a short while, one of which ran between San Antonio and Columbus and was operated by a force of one hundred men. Another line
between Brazos Santiago and Corpus Christi required the presence of twenty-seven men of the 25th Army Corps. Soldiers were also engaged in collecting forage, enforcing quarantines and furnishing escort parties to the numerous supply trains which rumbled from the ports and railheads to outlying posts scattered over the vast Lone Star State.

In addition to the customary duties involved in the maintenance of law and order, the forces in Texas, particularly those stationed along the Rio Grande, acted as an instrument of foreign policy dedicated to the removal of the French from Mexico. No positive action was taken by the troops themselves - they had only to wait while Secretary Seward, using them as a tacit threat, undermined the support that permitted Maximilian to occupy his throne.

According to General Sheridan, their commander, who had little sympathy with the Imperial government, the strictest neutrality was maintained both before and after the Imperialists had been driven from the line of the Rio Grande.

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An examination of the records of the troops along the Rio Grande fails to reveal any bellicose activity on their part. Only one force was ordered into Mexican territory, this at Bagdad in January 1866. In his report of this affair, General Weitzel stated that General Escobedo of the Liberal forces informed him that the town had been captured by the Imperialists on January 5, 1866, and that the proper authorities would be appointed to administer a responsible government. Later, however, the United States Collector of Customs reported that Bagdad was being plundered and that the plunder was being transported into the United States in violation of the law. The Rio Grande ferries were then shut down to stop the illicit traffic across the river.

Escobedo assumed command of Bagdad on the next day and asked General Weitzel, in the name of humanity, for a force of two hundred men to preserve order in the town. The 118th Regiment of the United States Colored Troops, Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Davis commanding, was ordered over immediately. Colonel Davis was directed to preserve peace, protect property and innocent lives and was instructed not to interfere further in Mexican affairs. On Escobedo's plea that the force in Bagdad was insufficient to the task, one hundred more men were sent over on the following day. Everything was quiet until the 14th, when five men were caught plundering with the help of Negroes
in uniform. The 118th was then relieved by the 2d Colored Regiment and the town continued quiet until the 22d when the troops were withdrawn. They were followed on the 25th by the Liberal garrison of the town which was disarmed on entering the United States. As a matter of information, General Weitzel reported that there was constant quarreling among the Liberal leaders while they occupied Bagdad. The behavior of the Mexicans was probably most disillusioning and disgraceful, for they all seemed to the general to be bent on nothing more idealistic than plunder. 49

The strict neutrality maintained by the United States forces was not always easy to maintain. The proximity of the United States to two warring armies brought forth incidents which were potentially dangerous but which seemed to have been settled without too much ado. When the troops first arrived, there apparently was some touchiness, for the situation was new to all concerned and neither the Mexican nor the United States troops were accustomed to being neutrals. Therefore, shortly after their arrival on the Rio Grande, orders were issued in the 13th Corps forbidding enlisted men to cross the river.

This order was followed a month later by another which required that officers sign promises of good conduct before they visited Mexico. This latter order was prompted by complaints of the Mexican authorities to the effect that they had been insulted by officer tourists.50

More trouble resulted from occasional firing across the river, accidental or otherwise, by one force on the other. One of the first incidents of this type occurred in June when some United States troops fired into Mexico. The Mexicans fired back. Nothing further developed.

Another breach of neutrality occurred when some Liberals under a General Cortinas formed in line of battle on the United States shore and fired at some Imperialists across the river. They excused their action by saying that some refugees on the northern bank of the river had been fired at by the Imperialists. Because this ragtag force compromised the neutrality of the United States it was ordered back into Mexico without delay.51

50 GO 3, Hq., US Forces on the Rio Grande, Clarksville, Texas, June 6, 1865, LB 42, 13 AC and GO 14, Hq., US Forces, Clarksville, Texas, Ibid. NA.

Another incident occurred in October 1865 when a large number of men of a white brigade were privileged to sit on the bank of the river and watch a battle being fought on the other side. Their feelings were apparently with the attacking Liberals for whenever they carried a work the spectators would cheer. This cheering ceased, however, when an Imperialist gunboat lobbed some shells their way. Later, the Imperialist commander, General Mejia, apologized for the shelling and the matter was dropped.\(^{52}\)

Ships plying the Rio Grande were the cause of additional complaints. The character of the river came into consideration in one affair which occurred in November after a bullet hole appeared in the starboard side of an Imperialist gunboat which was chugging upstream. Weitzel refused to accept Mejia's charge that the boat was fired upon by American troops on the ground that the river was so crooked that they could easily have received the shot from the Mexican side.\(^{53}\)

One of the last specific incidents bringing forth an exchange of correspondence occurred on November 14 when the French or Imperialist Steamer, \textit{Antonio}, threw some


shells into the camp of Battery D, 4th Artillery. The battery commander, Captain Frederick M. Follett, complained but stated that it seemed to him to be accidental. The complaint was duly noted and an explanation was requested from General Mejia. As usual the firing was said to have been an accident resulting from the fact that the camp was within the lateral field of fire of the Antonio's batteries and, though it is difficult to see why this fire pattern could not have been corrected, Captain Follett was advised to move his camp.\textsuperscript{54}

The Antonio figures in another incident in which some rather unscrupulous officers got themselves into trouble. A Lieutenant Murphy of the 19th U.S.C.T. secured a detail of a sergeant and nine men and marched them to a point one mile below Brownsville where they were joined by a Captain Sinclair and a Lieutenant Fox of the Liberal Army. On arriving at a boat tied up along the stream, Lieutenant Murphy ordered his detail into it but they, being unwilling to embark on a clandestine amphibious expedition, refused to go. In the course of the argument Captain Sinclair occupied the time by taking pot shots at some Imperialist sentries posted across the river and in doing so aroused

the American guard in a nearby camp of the 1st Artillery. He was immediately taken into custody. It developed that a steamer lying near the Mexican side of the river was to be captured by the men and with it the party was to capture the Imperialist steamer *Antonio*, for which the three officers hoped to obtain prize money from the Liberal government.55

Other difficulties resulted from the well known unofficial attitudes of the American soldiery and their zeal to be of aid to the Liberal forces. General Mejia complained to General Weitzel that the Americans affiliated with the Liberals and welcomed them north of the Rio Grande. To this complaint Weitzel replied that the Liberals were fighting for freedom and had the natural sympathies of the American troops, which he would not squelch even if he could. Refugee women and children were welcomed in the United States, he continued, for reasons of humanity. General Weitzel moved a little further from his neutral position when two months later he saw fit to protest the execution of some Liberal prisoners in the name of the "entire civilized world for such a horrible act of barbarity." Although Mejia considered the prisoners

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as no more than bandits, General Weitzel classified them as soldiers performing their duty.\textsuperscript{56}

Although General Weitzel was convinced of the nobility of the cause of these condemned prisoners, he apparently was less convinced of the idealism which inspired three Negroes of his command to throw in their lot with the Liberals. These men were captured by the Imperialists and apparently were to be brought to trial. On learning of their situation, General Weitzel, forgetting that they may have been irresistibly inspired by the Liberals' fight for freedom, asked that the trial court take into consideration their ignorance, their ignorance of the language and the fact that they had been promised large sums of money for their services.\textsuperscript{57}

In this same letter there is a hint of what General Sheridan failed to mention in his reports but which is proudly discussed in his \textit{Memoirs}, namely, the aid furnished by the United States in the form of arms. In the correspondence concerning the trial of the three Negroes, mention is made of a complaint by Mejia to the effect that three pieces of artillery belonging to the Liberals, when in need of repair, were taken across the Rio Grande, repaired and returned to Mexico in condition to be used against the

Imperialists. Such activity would seem to support the boast of General Sheridan that 30,000 muskets from the Baton Rouge Arsenal alone were supplied the Liberals in the winter and spring of 1866.

The correspondence cited above, together with General Sheridan's personal account of how he aided the Liberal forces with arms and threatening troop movements, would seem to give the impression that hard feelings existed between the United States and Imperialist forces, especially when the general said that "...in truth, it was often difficult to restrain officers and men from crossing the Rio Grande with hostile purpose." And yet all relations between United States and Imperialist soldiery were not unpleasant.

The New Orleans Times of September 2, 1865, reported that the Imperialist Minister of the Interior was dined in Brownsville by General Steele and, in turn, returned the compliment by inviting Generals Steele and Weitzel and other officers to a dinner attended by the Imperialist Generals Portilla, Mejica and Olivera. Two days later the Times, quoting the Matamoras Ranchero, reported the presence of Generals Steele and Smith at a ball given in

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58 Ibid.
60 Ibid., p. 217.
honor of a Senor Robles, perhaps the same official, in Matamoros on August 25. A similar report is rendered by the New York Tribune of September 2, 1865 on a ball given aboard a steamboat for Imperialist and American officers.

All of the social affairs attended by American officers, however, were not given by the Imperialists, for at least one described by an officer of the 24th Corps was given by the merchants of Carmargo, Mexico, in honor of Generals Cortinas and Espinosa. This dance was memorable to the American officers not for the Mexican generals who graced it with their presence but for the fact that it was attended by high class Mexican girls. 61

Even the remote possibility of meeting high class senoritas could not make life in Texas pleasing to those troops who sweltered away under the burning Texas sun. It was a dull life with little to do other than drill or work. Troops fortunate enough to be along the coast, or even the Rio Grande, were able to go swimming, except that swimming was permitted only at certain times of the day for reasons of health. 62 In camp soldiers amused themselves in the same manner as troops elsewhere except that the men in


Camp Irwin developed a new form of poker which they dubbed "strap poker" because the losers, having no money at stake, were required to allow the winners to strike their hands with the flat side of a ruler. As the regiment's diarist commented, "It is a little too severe to get into general favor with polite society."\(^{63}\)

In addition to card games, some men found marbles and enjoyed playing with them for a time ("we are big boys after all....We must do something"). While the enlisted men played marbles some officers went to Indianola where they took a schooner to a nearby island in order to hunt seashells.\(^{64}\)

There was relatively little to be done outside of camp, for towns of consequence were few and far between. Once in town there was very little to do. Troops of the 25th Corps at Corpus Christi apparently spent a large amount of time when on pass lounging in barber shops and stores.\(^{65}\)

Those stationed near San Antonio, however, apparently had

\(^{63}\) Clark, op. cit., p. 401.

\(^{64}\) Ibid., p. 407.

\(^{65}\) Ltr., AAG, 2d Brig., 3d Div., 25 AC to Captain J. Scoonover, Corpus Christi, Texas, Nov. 6, 1865, LB 53, 25 AC, ltr. 5, NA.
more to do, for some who went there watched cock fighting, attended concerts, went to church and saw Jeff Davis' camels. 66

When civilians were available there was some social life. The Germans in the San Antonio area were inclined to be hospitable, for, in addition to the above mentioned rally held at the time of his arrival, the citizens of that town gave General Merritt a supper and a ball. 67

Similar good luck was had in Indianola by Lieutenant Stephan Jocelyn who roomed with some former Marylanders with Rebel views who had three daughters, one of whom conducted a flirtation with the Yankee boarder. But, even had Texas been more thickly populated, it is probable that the troops there would have fared no better than those elsewhere in the South, for the blue coated soldiery was not generally popular, and many Texans no doubt held the views of one young woman in Galveston who spat in the face of a lieutenant and was promptly put in jail. 68

If soldiers were not liked by the civilian population, it was not without cause. The white folk in the area garrisoned by the 25th Corps had the same feeling as other

66 Cope, op. cit., p. 780.
southerners who dwelt in the midst of Negro troops and their fears were not without foundation. Troops out cutting ties for a railroad under construction are said to have roamed about the countryside robbing plantations and molesting women, while others stationed in Galveston are reputed to have shot at and attacked some of the citizens of the town including one young lady who was "assaulted and horribly treated". In less violent fashion a portion of the Negro garrison at Indianola and Brownsville left their camps to plunder and commit depredations in the surrounding countryside.

On the other hand, troops of the 25th Corps also received favorable testimony from persons outside the corps. Shortly before their departure for Indianola in September 1865 the 7th Colored Infantry received a letter from thirty-two of the town's citizens in which the regiment was thanked for the law and order prevailing there, which the townsmen felt to be in contrast with the discord found in other sections of the state. This and a letter in return thanking the citizens for their cooperation were printed in the

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69 Ramsdell, op. cit., p. 83.

local paper whose editor took the opportunity to editorialize on the value of the good discipline displayed by the regiment. A similar compliment was rendered by a reporter for the New York Tribune who wrote from Indianola that the conduct of the 4th Corps was so bad the citizens would be glad to see Negro troops because the latter had superior discipline. 71

If the official correspondence and orders originating in the Army units in Texas at this time are to be believed, the Tribune's reporter was not far wrong. There were numerous complaints made by citizens about acts of misconduct committed by soldiers which seemed to fall under the general term, "depredations." These seemed to have been quite numerous and probably included all sorts of willful destruction of property and thievery. 72 Specific complaints included the shooting of cattle and hogs, 73 tree cutting

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and the tearing down of fences. Complaints were also made that riotous conduct of troops was sometimes dangerous to citizens. Drunken soldiers in the streets of Houston were reported to have been insulting citizens and assaulting Negroes. Word had reached General Wright that the presence of soldiers in San Antonio made it unsafe for citizens and officers to be in the streets at night. The Federal uniform was sullied too by those represented by an officer of the 77th Pennsylvania Infantry who got into a state of intoxication, was lying about the streets of Victoria and used insulting language and conduct toward a lady in that town.

The unlucky lady was not the only one to hear insulting language. As General Augustus Willich of the 3d Division, 4th Army Corps, formerly a popular officer, rode through the camp of the 49th Ohio, the men of almost

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74 Cir. 32, Hq., Cent. Dist. of Texas, Victoria, Texas, Oct. 3, 1865, LB 6, 4th AC, p. 76, NA; Ltr., CO, Post of Galveston to AAG, Dept. of Texas, Galveston, Texas, July 3, 1865, LB 34, 13th AC, NA and Ltr., CO, Post of Galveston to CO, 94th Ill., Galveston, Texas, June 30, 1865, Ibid., NA.

75 Ltr., AAG, E. Dist. of Texas to CO, Post of Houston, Houston, Texas, Jan. 1, 1866, LB 9, Dept. of Texas, p. 107; Ltr., CG, Dept. of Texas to CG, Cent. Dist. of Texas, Galveston, Texas, Jan. 15, 1866, LB 4, Dept. of Texas, p. 153, and GO 47, Hq., Cent. Dist. of Texas, Victoria, Texas, Oct. 7, 1865, LB 6, 4 AC, p. 88, NA.
every company greeted him by shouting "Go to hell, I want to go home" and other similar expressions. These feelings were shared by the men of the 51st Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry who rigged up an effigy of a high ranking officer, presumably either General Sheridan or General Stanley, commander of the 4th Corps, and paraded it through the camp on a burro. This was done because the commander of the 3d Division, 4th Corps, had been relieved of his command after some of them had demanded to be mustered out. The popular feeling in their Green Lake camp was that Sheridan wanted the honor of invading Mexico and that another officer, possibly General Stanley, wanted to be the Provisional Governor of Texas.

Other demonstrations occurred which would have had much more serious results, had they not been nipped in the bud. On the morning of March 17, 1866, three companies of the 48th Battalion, Ohio Volunteers, stacked their arms and refused to do duty. They claimed that it was their right to be mustered out because the war for which they had enlisted was long since at an end. They were at once arrested, no resistance to the arrest being offered. All were kept under guard until the 21st when they petitioned

their officers for release, promising good conduct should they be returned to duty. All were released except the ringleaders who were held for trial. 77

Men of another unidentified unit protested their Texas service in a more belligerent fashion. Sergeant Larson of the 4th United States Cavalry reported that his regiment was routed from its quarters near San Antonio, and ordered to saddle up. Their trumpeter sounded "To Horse" and they lined up in a regimental front. The colonel then rode out, ordered them to right wheel by fours and gallop, and off they pounded to San Antonio. As soon as they entered the city, the order "Advance carbine" was given and they moved along, each man with his weapon resting butt on the right thigh, ready for use, not knowing the purpose of their alarm. As they moved through the town and out beyond it where some Volunteer regiments were encamped, they approached a file of soldiers under arms and, when opposite their formation, wheeled into a line facing them and halted. The command to load carbines was given and executed. Emboldened by these reinforcements, the colonel of the Volunteer regiment addressed the armed troops who were in mutiny, insisting that they lay down

77 Ltr., CG, Dept. of Texas to AAG, Mil., Div. of the Gulf, Galveston, Texas, Mar. 22, 1866, LB 4, Dept. of Texas, p. 241, NA.
their arms, which, after an initial refusal, they did.
The ringleaders of the incident were arrested, the matter closed and the 4th Cavalry filed back to its stables. 78

These mutinies, of course, were exceptional occurrences, for those men who wanted to risk a violation of the law simply deserted. That a great many men took French leave of their units is beyond doubt. General West was informed that from the time his division left Shreveport through the first week of August, a period of a month, one hundred men had deserted. A biographer of Custer, discussing this problem in later years, quoted a New York newspaper as saying in March 1866 that nearly half of the Volunteers had deserted and that their example had had a bad effect on the two regular cavalry regiments in the section, nearly one third of whose men had also deserted. 79

It was not the intention of the Army to let these men depart in peace, so stringent if not completely effective measures were taken to prevent their escape. Parties were sent out to round them up and General West ordered

78 Larson, op. cit., pp. 317-318; Cope, op. cit., p. 763 mentions the mutinous spirit prevailing in the 15 OVI at Green Lake, Texas.

officers east to the cities of Houston, Galveston, and Indianola in the hope of catching his fleeing hundred. 80
Frequent roll calls were prescribed in some camps and the 3d Michigan Infantry was ordered to post a guard around its camp not for protection from without, but to keep the men from leaving. 81

Although the impetuous may have been inclined to desert, the less impulsive who sought to leave the Army tried the more correct military channels. A petition signed by 336 enlisted men of the 10th Illinois Cavalry was submitted and soon found its way to General Merritt, who passed it on to General Sheridan. These men petitioned discharge and, as their justification, recited the usual tale - they had enlisted for three years or the War, the War was over and with it their enlistments had expired. They then demanded that they receive discharges or be told why. General Sheridan quickly told them why - the government was entitled to their service for three years, the

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rest of the Volunteer Army had as much right to discharges as they and the Volunteer Army was still needed. Then, for the information of any who cared to read his endorsement, he informed General Merritt that the regulations authorized the punishment of mutineers and that he was ordered to adopt such measures as necessary to suppress anything like a mutiny that might occur.\textsuperscript{82} In contrast, a petition of an individual private, Alfred S. Ingram of the 3d Michigan Cavalry, who requested discharge in order that he might care for his large family which otherwise would be destitute, was favorably considered without comment.\textsuperscript{83}

Officers' resignations and requests for leaves invariably met with refusal. Although officer applicants always seemed to have pressing business elsewhere to attend, their petitions received no more sympathy than they probably deserved and, when an explanation was given for disapproval, it was on the ground that the government

\textsuperscript{82} Endorsement, Petition of 336 enlisted men, 10th Ill. Cav., June 28, 1865, LB 261, Dept. of the Gulf, p. 113, NA.

required their service and that approval of such requests would have a bad effect upon the enlisted men. 84

But, though their service in Texas seemed infinitely long, instructions for the discharge of Volunteers came reasonably soon after their arrival. By the spring of 1866 all of the Volunteer white troops had left the service, and by the end of 1867 the last of the Colored troops had been replaced by regulars. 85 Although their service in Texas had been disliked and had added no laurels to the reputation of many previously good regiments, the troops in Texas in the first year after the War had filled the vacuum left after the collapse of the Confederacy and provided a measure of law and order, had guarded the state against possible Indian forays, and had provided a weapon for Secretary Seward to brandish in his negotiations with the French. In spite of the valuable role that they reluctantly played, however, all Volunteers in the Lone Star State would probably have applauded the sentiments expressed by the


band of the 15th Ohio Volunteer Infantry which played the air *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp* or, as it is subtitled, *The Prisoner's Song of Hope*, as they left San Antonio for Columbus, Ohio.*

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*Cope, op. cit., p. 785.*
CHAPTER VII

THE REGULARS

In 1865 the Regular Army began its vast post-war expansion. Whittled down to 24,000 men present for duty at the War's end, by October 1866 its size had doubled and in the following year was increased to include 56,815 officers and enlisted personnel. To reach this strength the Regulars either enlisted or reenlisted 70,865 men for a period of three years for infantry and artillery and five years for cavalry.¹

White recruits were limited to males between the ages of 18 and 35 with parental consent required for those under 21. These men had to exceed five feet three inches in height and were to be effective, able bodied, sober, free of disease, of good character and habits, and competent in the English language. Recruits with wives and children were not desired, although former Regulars, of course, were not denied reenlistment because of such dependents.²

¹ Annual Report of The Adjutant General of the Army, Oct. 20, 1866, Report of the Secretary of War, 1865-1866, p. 2 and Annual Report of The Adjutant General of the Army, Oct. 20, 1867, Report of the Secretary of War, 1866-1867, p. 116. These annual reports of the Secretary of War will hereafter be designated RSW with the appropriate year. The total 70,865 is the sum of 36,674 recruits enlisted between October 1, 1865 and October 1, 1866 and 34,191 recruits enlisted from October 1, 1866 to September 20, 1867. There were 56,815 men on duty on September 30, 1867.

² AR 1863, p. 130.
These requirements remained in effect, with minor variations, throughout the Reconstruction period. The minimum height for recruits fluctuated between five feet four and five feet six inches and was raised and lowered according to the need for new men. In 1869 the term of enlistment for all troops was lengthened to five years.  

The men enlisted in the decade after the War belonged to diverse groups both good and bad. The 70,865 enlisted prior to the autumn of 1867 was a singular body, however, in that it appears to have included an unusually large number of undesirable persons. One officer reported that, in a 350 man battalion of the 15th Infantry on duty in Mississippi, a great number of the men appeared to be of a character that could be rated from bad to worse. Seventeen of the contingent had been examined by a board on the suspicion that they were idiots or had other traits which would render them dangerous if they should be intrusted with firearms. Fifteen of the men were thereupon recommended for discharge. Similar views were entertained by another officer, who opined that the Army was picking up the worst class of the community and that many of the recruits would commit any crime. The new men of the 6th Infantry in the Carolinas were reported by a third

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officer to have included low thieves and bounty jumpers.\(^4\)

That this harsh criticism of some of the early recruits was justified is readily apparent. Official reports and southern newspapers of 1866 and 1867 abound with accounts of deeds of misconduct on the part of Federal troops. Two recruits of Company G, 6th Infantry, at Darlington, South Carolina, were charged by their commanding officer with setting fire to a house with people in it. In Nashville a corporal and two privates are reported to have attempted to rob a butcher shop near their barracks but were foiled when the butcher seized a meat cleaver, and, grabbing the arm of one of the thieves, threatened to chop off the fellow's hand,\(^5\)

In Memphis, after a fire on Beale Street, a steamboat captain was beaten, robbed and left for dead by four men in Federal uniforms. Down in Alabama another man was robbed by a group of soldiers who represented themselves as a detail sent to arrest him. A crime of less

\(^4\) Ltr., AIG, Dept. of Miss. to AIG, Mil. Div. of the Tenn., Feb. 17, 1866, LB 21, Dept. of Miss., p. 200; Ltr., AIG, Mil. Div. of the Tenn., to Brig. Gen. Whipple, Nashville, Tenn., Mar. 10, 1866, LB 53, Mil. Div. of the Tenn., p. 67 and Ltr., AAIG, Dept. of the South to AAG, Dept. of the South, Charleston, SC., Nov. 10, 1866, LB 72, 2d. Mil. Dist., p. 433, NA.

serious nature was charged against a member of the Little Rock garrison by a proprietress of a local bawdy house, who accused the unfortunate fellow of stealing wearing apparel from her establishment valued at thirty five dollars. The soldier was arrested by the chief of police and bound over in the sum of one hundred dollars until the next term of the Pulaski County Circuit Court.

Additional unflattering character references were also given. A certain amount of loutishness among the troops was implied when a special order was issued at the Post of Columbia, South Carolina, forbidding the "...habit of committing nuisances about the streets and other public places of this City, rendering their persons liable to exposure." More prevalent was the large amount of drunkenness which resulted in an endless parade of men before their commanding officers for punishment both for the drinking to excess and the misdeeds committed while under the influence of alcohol. The prevalence and seriousness of this practice among recruits of the early post-war period is indicated by the great number of orders issued throughout

6 The Evening Republican, (Little Rock) Dec. 3, 1867 quoting the Memphis Appeal; The Louisville Daily Journal, June 20, 1868 quoting The Union Springs (Ala.) Times and The Morning Republican (Little Rock), Mar. 20, 1868.

7 GO 113, Hq., Mil. Post of Columbia, Columbia, SC., Mar. 7, 1868, LB 223, Dept. of the South, NA.
the South forbidding the sale of liquor to enlisted men and, in some cases, by the closing of saloons in areas near military posts. 8

The general caliber of the enlisted troops may also be deduced from the number of deserters among them. In the year beginning October 1866, when there were 34,191 recruits, there were 13,606 desertions. In the year following there were 34,010 enlistments and reenlistments and 10,939 desertions. Although such desertions occurred for a variety of reasons which will be discussed below, the most common cause was the poor character of the men who deserted. 9

But even these desertions were not without their beneficial effects for through them, if the deserter was not apprehended, the Army lost a worthless man, and, if caught, he went to prison and was no longer a burden to his company. As a result, through their crimes, many worthless men ceased to plague their regiments.

A salutary effect on the caliber of men in the enlisted ranks of the Army was also created by the cut-back in strength which began in 1868 and by which, in 1871, the

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8 The Frankfort Commonwealth, Sept. 20, 1867; GO 5, Hq., Camp Schofield, Va., Jan. 13, 1868 and GO 13, Hq., Post of Washington, Ark., April 12, 1867, NA

9 The figures here and below may be found in the section devoted to the report of The Adjutant General in the annual Report of the Secretary of War.
Army was reduced to 30,000 men. This reduction meant that the recruiting officers could and, in fact, were ordered to be more selective in their choice of recruits so that often only former soldiers with good records were accepted, and, by the end of the Reconstruction period, eighty per cent of those who attempted to enlist were rejected. As a result of this selectivity, the number of desertions declined in 1875 to 2521 and in 1876 to 1832.

Further testimony to the better class of personnel which was predominant after 1870 is given by a former officer, General James Forsyth, who observed that

...swearing was a common enough thing in the army of thirty-five years ago, ...and so also drinking to excess especially on pay day. Both of these former habits of the army have steadily become less in each succeeding year since 1870 so that the enlisted men who swear or habitually drink alcoholic liquor form only a very small percentage of our regular regiments.10

But obviously not all men were worthless, even when desertion and criminal activity were at a height. The majority of the men in the Army, if not paragons of virtue and persons of boundless energy and ambition, were at least good enough soldiers to serve out their periods of enlistment in a passable fashion. In reviewing the enlistees of 1866-1867, the Adjutant General commented that the group had been of "unusually high standard", this in spite of

the obviously poor material it contained. The same opinion was held by the officer who has candidly described the men of the 6th Infantry as low thieves when he wrote that the recruits who had served in Volunteer units during the War and who had formed, no doubt, a sizeable portion of the recruits, were better men than those usually recruited and, insofar as punishment was concerned, did not require the type of sentences formerly meted out to wayward enlisted men.  

The more capable post-war recruit was undoubtedly typified in the extreme by one enlisted man, who, during the course of his War service, had commanded a brigade in the grade of colonel and had been breveted a brigadier general of Volunteers. Josiah Sheetz resigned his Volunteer commission in February 1866, probably after his services in that grade were no longer required, and enlisted two months later in the 1st Infantry which, at that time, was stationed in Louisiana. He was promoted from the rank of private to that of first sergeant and then, after thirteen months of service in the enlisted grades, was commissioned a 1st lieutenant. Sheetz's position in the ranks must have provided some food for thought for his fellow soldiers, for

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even the press seems to have enjoyed musing over the idea of a private's wearing the insignia of a brigadier general (if he did) and being inspected by a mere lieutenant.12

Another private with former commissioned service was John D. Raymond of the 4th Artillery. During the War he had served as a lieutenant in the 3d Maryland Cavalry and had been the adjutant of the Camp of Distribution in New Orleans. Hoping to better his lot as an enlisted soldier, Private Raymond, with a display of fine penmanship, sought to obtain a clerkship in the headquarters of the 2d Military District.13

Other worthy men were those of K Company, 24th U.S. Infantry, at Pass Christian, Mississippi. This company, like many Regular units, had received a large contingent of recruits and was in the process of assimilating them when it was struck by yellow fever. The only officer on

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12 Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army ..., (Washington, 1903) p. 879. Daily Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock) June 7, 1867. Another former general who became an enlisted man in the post-war Army was a Wm. H. H. McCall who took part in the fight at Beechers Island in the Arikaree River, (see Introduction). At this time it was permissible for Army officers to display the insignia of the highest rank they had obtained during the War upon their uniforms, though this may not have been applicable in Sheetz's case (see WDGO 86, Oct. 20, 1866).

duty died suddenly and the disease spread through the ranks of the company. In a situation that generally was characterized by panic and low morale "not a man flinched or deserted, and when a nurse went down, another man would step forward and volunteer." According to General Ord, commander of the 4th Military District,

> Nothing more could be desired to attest to the character and discipline of the men, and the quality of the officers. The simple, unpretending devotion to duty shown, is highly creditable to all, and is worthy of the same praise accorded to the gallant in battle.\footnote{14}

It is probable that the good conduct of these men was due in part to the old professional soldiers in their ranks. One of the better of these old soldiers was Sergeant Michael Fitzgerald of the 4th Artillery. Sergeant Fitzgerald entered the service in 1849, had served three enlistments, and on each of his discharges had been rated an excellent soldier. He had participated in several battles including Antietam, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. A native of Ireland, he had been in the United States 21 years but, unlike many of his immigrant brethren, could read and write very well and was entirely "free from all habits of dissipation [sic].\footnote{15}"

\footnote{14} GO 36, Hq., 4th Mil. Dist., Holly Springs, Miss., Nov. 15, 1867. In 1869 the 24th Infantry was redesignated the 11th Infantry.

\footnote{15} Ltr., CO, 7th Inf. to---, Jacksonville, Fla., Mar. 7, 1866, LB 16, Dept. of Fla., p. 511, NA.
Another soldier of the same caliber was Sergeant E. W. Carroll who was described by his post surgeon as

...a man of extremely good physical qualifications, fine form and good soldierly bearing. His record at this post Yorkville, S.C. is one of the best, the officers of his company and the business men of the town one and all speak of him as a most exemplary man and he is strictly temperate. He received a good academic course of education before entering the Army and retains in memory a good general knowledge... He is a single man.

Similar in character and education was Hospital Steward Alonzo D. Hanverman at the Post of Chattanooga who was said to have performed his duties in a satisfactory and intelligent manner and was temperate and honest in every way.16

In addition to representing a stable element within the enlisted ranks of the Army, each of the above men belonged to a variety of national groups of which the Army was composed. In writing of this period General Forsyth remarked that

...in a single company the nations of the civilized world were represented. An Italian stood shoulder to shoulder with a Scandanavian; an Irishman and Russian were "bunkies", while an Englishman would discuss with a German the merits of Chilean comrade; occasionally there was a son of Israel; and always, general belief to the contrary, a very large percentage were Americans.17

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16 Record of Medical History of Post 344, Post of Yorkville, S.C., p. 60, (hereafter abbreviated RMHP with number) and RMHP 61, Post of Chattanooga, Tenn., p. 113, NA.

17 Forsyth, op. cit., p. 291.
General Forsyth's observation was amply supported by an article in the Army and Navy Journal of March 25, 1874, which, quoting a compilation of The Adjutant General, stated that, of the 183,659 men enlisted between 1865 and 1874, 97,066, or slightly more than half were natives of the United States. In the remainder were representatives of 27 countries with the following furnishing the greatest number of recruits:

TABLE I

BIRTHPLACES OF FOREIGN-BORN SOLDIERS
ENLISTED BETWEEN 1865-1874

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>38,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>23,127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>9,037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>4,703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>2,456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That this was the case of the regiments in the South as well as the Army as a whole is evidenced by the "Descriptive Book of the 8th Regiment, U.S. Infantry, June 1865-March 1866". On the rolls of this unit, which was in the South from 1866 to 1870, were the names of 674 men of which less than half, 295, were those of natives of
the United States. Of the remaining 379, 192 were born in Ireland, 108 in Germany, 30 in England, 19 in Canada, 11 in Scotland and 4 each in France and Switzerland. Also represented on this roster were Holland, Italy, Poland, Spain, Cuba and Jamaica. 18

A similar breakdown is to be found in the "Descriptive Role of Company 'G,' 16th Regiment, U.S. Infantry." This unit was in the South from 1869 to 1877. Of the 218 persons who enlisted in it between May 1866 and December 1875, 130 were foreign born. Fifty-four and 53 were from Germany and Ireland, respectively, while, as the pattern above indicates, England followed with 16, Canada with 6, France and Switzerland with 5 each and 4 were from Scotland, Hungary, and Scandinavia. Austria and "at sea" were also listed as places of birth.

As may be expected, the presence of so many men of a variety of nationalities was not an unmixed blessing. Lieutenant Colonel Adelbert Ames, a promising young officer who later resigned his commission to become the carpetbag governor of Mississippi, reported that one of the defects to be found in the companies of the 34th Infantry which garrisoned Grenada, Mississippi, was the national feeling in them. This nationalism was working to the disadvantage

These descriptive books may be found in Record Group 94, National Archives.
of all of the members of the garrison except the Germans, who seemed to hold all of the non-commissioned posts.\textsuperscript{19}

There was additional difficulty brought about by the language barrier. Herman Gottschalk, a private of the 19th Infantry at the post of Little Rock, Arkansas, was nineteen years of age and physically fit but could not be taught to soldier because he could neither speak nor understand the English language. He was of Danish extraction and had enlisted in New York City, possibly because he had landed there and was destitute.\textsuperscript{20}

Poverty was probably the primary contributing reason for the enlistment of foreign born soldiers. Like their fellow immigrants, the majority of these men were of limited means and the Army provided a temporary refuge until an opportunity came for them to better themselves. This was particularly true of the German recruits who had the reputation of enlisting only when they were unable to find civil employment.\textsuperscript{21} One of these men, a certain Jacob Hirsch, had a particularly involved story. In 1864, in Hamburg, Germany, he had signed a contract written in English which he could not read but which was alleged to have

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Ltr., AAIG, 4th Mil. Dist., to AAG, 4th Mil. Dist., Jan. 24, 1868, LR A 15, 4th Mil. Dist., 1868, NA.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} Ltr., AAG, Dept. of Ark., to Consul of Denmark, New York City, Little Rock, Ark., July 26, 1866, LB 3, Dept. of Ark., p. 109, NA.
  \item \textsuperscript{21} Colonel A.A. Woodhull, The Enlisted Soldier, (Washington, 1890) p. 11.
\end{itemize}
promised him passage to the United States if, on arrival, he would work for the state of Massachusetts. Work he did, for on landing in Boston he was forced into the ranks of the 35th Massachusetts Regiment by authorities who informed him that he had enlisted in Hamburg. After his service and subsequent discharge, he sought work but could not find it. Unfortunately, however, he met a recruiting sergeant who, in persuasive tones, told him that if he enlisted, he could become a carpenter and get extra pay. This inducement proved too much for Jacob Hirsch, and he signed up for a tour of duty with the 17th Infantry. Private Hirsch was placed in the regiment's carpenter shops both in New York and Texas but found out that, although as an Army carpenter he wore out more clothes than other men, he received no more pay. Still foolish, he deserted and went to New Orleans where he worked as a carpenter until he was caught and removed to the guard house in San Antonio. From imprisonment he explained his plight to his commanding officer in a letter written in German and succeeded in being restored to duty without trial. 22

Poverty was not the only reason foreigners entered the United States Army. Apparently it also served as a foreign legion for Europeans who, for reasons not explained,

22 Ltr., Jacob Hirsch to CO, 35th Inf., San Antonio, Tex., Sept. 12, 1867, LR, (C) H 41, 5th Mil. Dist., NA
sought to lose themselves within its ranks. Private Charles Becker of Headquarters, 5th Military District, sought unsuccessfully to have the Army change his alias "Becker," under which he had enlisted to his correct name of Conrad Huenerfauth, when he learned that some property to which he had claim was about to be confiscated. 23 Another private, Herman Friedrich Pietzner, who soldiered under the name of Emil Baker, was more fortunate than his compatriot for the German minister successfully secured his discharge in order that he might take advantage of an estate in Germany to which he had fallen heir. 24

In later years certain interesting generalizations were made about the soldiers belonging to these various national groups. Former members of the British forces were said to have been regarded as seldom worth their rations. Although smart in their appearance and familiar with military routine, they were reputed to be constant grumblers, adverse to performing fatigue duty, inclined to drink too heavily and to be ready to desert. 25

Like the British veteran, German recruits were often

23 Ltr., Pvt. Chas. Becker to CG, 5th Mil. Dist., Ltr., B 111, 5th Mil. Dist., Austin, Texas, Mar. 11, 1869, NA.


25 Woodhull, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
found to be well "set up" because many of them had had some previous military training in the fatherland. They were also described as having been patient, subordinate and trustworthy men who, though occasionally "wrong headed," were never mutinous and, in an Army filled with discordant elements, were rarely disorderly.

Comparing favorably with their German comrades, the Irishmen, because of their mercurial temperament, were said to have been restive in garrison and probably a little disorderly along with it. They were subordinate soldiers, however, and because of the cheerfulness, alacrity, and elan displayed by them in the field they were apt to be the pride of their officers. That the Irish recruits were regarded with favor is evidenced by the fact that the Army enlisted so many of them.

Native Americans in this post-war Army probably did not differ materially from their foreign born comrades. Some had learned to prefer military life as a result of their experiences, or lack of them, during the Civil War. Others enlisted in the hope of obtaining a commission eventually, but most of them entered the service because

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26 Ibid. and John F. Finerty, War Path and Bivouac, (Chicago, 1890) p. 402.

27 Ibid.
they were unable to find suitable work or because they sought to avoid work altogether.

One observer, viewing the blue ranks of the post-war establishment, found them to include the same types of men he had known in the Army before the War. Included among his general and unflattering categories were

1. Regular bummers.
2. Bad and runaway boys.
3. Old drunkards.
4. Sober men but never-do-wells
5. Men of education and listless character including a few of real refinement and ability.

In partial explanation of the above alleged groups, it was observed that the native enlisted man frequently came from the slums of our cities and had to be tamed before he became a good soldier. Once properly broken of his bad habits, the city bred soldier was believed to have had no superior in the fine traits of intelligence, courage, and loyalty, but it would seem to have been an unfortunate truth that many deserted or had become frequent inmates of the guard house before they acquired the desired characteristics. Unlike the city recruit, his country reared comrade had few faults and vices but, oddly enough, he was believed to have had less endurance than city men.

Woodhull, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

They were considered by the observer as equals in other respects.30

The native American soldiers also represented nearly every state of the Union. The Descriptive Roll of Company "G", 16th Infantry, indicates that the 118 native Americans who joined its ranks between May 1866 and December 1875, claimed to have been born in no less than 21 states and the District of Columbia. They were distributed according to their birthplaces as follows:

TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30 Finerty, op. cit., pp. 401-402.
Similar trends are recorded in the Descriptive Book of the 8th Infantry for those men enlisted from June 1865 to March 1866. Among the native Americans listed, 40 were New Englanders, 181 were from the middle states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware and 28 were from the Middle West. In this group were also found 31 Marylanders, 3 each Virginians, Kentuckians and Tennesseans, 2 men from the District of Columbia and 1 man from each Missouri and Louisiana.

Although it is only natural to think of those men who wore the blue after 1861 as being from the North, a few southerners served in Union regiments recruited in the South, many served in the regiments of Kentucky, Tennessee, and the other border states and a few deserted to the Union ranks or enlisted in them after being taken prisoner. It is not difficult to believe that some of these men found a haven in the post-war service. An account of the trials of one such man, a Henry Sharpe of Mobile, Alabama, was expressed in a letter written by him to Secretary of State Seward as follows:

Sir it is with some regret that I as a Southern raised man have to unfold the truth to inform you that I am Solgiring for 16 $ per month and have to doo it for a Living I went through Georgia and had to doo So to keep pretended rebbells from Spyly takin my Life came back through Richmond to Georgia and found all propperity gone and disstroyed for simpiscising with fedderal prisners and frequntly saying that President Lincoln had as much wright to an office as Buckhanan had I have been disabled
since I have been in army Sir I think it very hard if I have to be turned out in the world to try and make an indifferent Living.... I wish to know whether the Government will pay me for my losses as I think I should have pay if any person get it....

The Army also provided a refuge for ex-Confederates who found no other solution to the problems which may have come to them as a result of the War and for Southerners who would have naturally gone into the service. One former officer of the 7th Cavalry Regiment, who delved deeply into that unit's history, estimated that between 20 and 25 per cent of enlisted personnel prior to the battle of Little Big Horn in 1876 were men who had served in the Confederate forces. Among the former Rebels was 1st Sergeant James Butler who was killed in the Little Big Horn fight and who is believed to have been a former Confederate colonel of artillery.

Similar testimony to the number of Southerners in the occupying Federal Army comes from other sources. Randolph A. Shotwell, a prominent Ku Klux Klan leader at Rutherfordton, North Carolina, wrote in probable exaggeration that nineteen times out of twenty the...

31 Ltr., Henry Sharpe to Sec. of State Seward, Mobile, Ala., Jan. 10, 1869, Misc. Ltrs., Jan. 1869, Dept. of State, Record Group 59, NA.

Blue Coat is an Ex-Reb, a "galvanized Yankee", who joined the Regular Army from the Prison Shambles of Fort Delaware, or Elmira, or Johnson's Island; or perchance enlisted since the war to escape having to do the work which the slaves formerly did for him.\footnote{33}

In Alabama the Huntsville Advocate reported the enlistment of a former member of the Confederate 14th Alabama Regiment into a local company of the 2d Infantry and commented that a good many ex-Confederates were going into the Regular Army. In copying this article, the editor of the Raleigh \underline{Daily Standard} commented that he personally knew of several soldiers of the Raleigh garrison who had served in North Carolina units in the late war. He went on to say that he had it on "reliable authority" that fully 20 per cent of the men of the regiments garrisoning the southern states were formerly in the Confederate Army. These men, the editor maintained, lived "socially and kindly with their brethren in arms."\footnote{34}

It is apparent, therefore, that the Army was made up of men from every section of the country and every country of Europe. But, if their national origins were diverse, they were no more so than their civilian occupations. Of the 259 men who had enlisted in \underline{G Company}, 16th Infantry


\footnote{34} \textit{The Daily Standard} (Raleigh), Oct. 29, 1869.
Regiment, between May 1866 and December 1875, there were 36 former soldiers, 42 farmers, 17 clerks, 45 laborers, 9 carpenters, 6 bakers, 5 plasterers, 5 tailors, 5 machinists, 7 shoemakers, 4 musicians, 7 seamen, 3 blacksmiths, 4 butchers, 4 teamsters, 8 painters, and 3 cooks. There were two each gas fitters, gardiners, drummers, harness makers, tanners, cigar makers, hostlers and bricklayers. Also present were one each railroader, papermaker, iron moulder, student, basketmaker, barkeep, miller, sugar maker, clock maker, jeweler, book binder, printer, mason, nursery man, carder, apothecary, engineer, file cutter, locksmith, barber, stone mason, performer, chair maker, artist, currier, gunsmith, engraver, brick maker, foreman, fireman, druggist, potter and tobacconist. All in all, if one counts the student, the members of G Company in the decade after the War had some acquaintanceship with 58 occupations.

The same variety in former employment was found in Company A, 16th Infantry, upon whose roles were registered 131 names between March 1866 and January 1869. Again farmers, laborers, and soldiers were the most numerous, with many of the other occupations listed above also included. In addition to these there were also men who had been in the trade of a hatter, moulder, weaver,
spinner, cider maker, car-man, guilder, miner, paper hanger, glass cutter, copper-smith, and photograph artist.  

It may be assumed that the talents of the enlisted men acquired before joining the Army could have been utilized to the utmost in this period when a company at a detached post lived in a world unto itself. In the post-war period the Army was forced to operate on a tight budget and the lavish expenditures and personnel overhead which have in modern wars been associated with the military were non-existent in the 1870's. However, in spite of the overwhelming array of talent suggested by unit descriptive roles, it must be remembered that, though the soldiers asserted that they were familiar with these occupations, they probably had not been successful in them and, in fact, in many cases were no doubt incompetents or misfits. Otherwise they would not have joined the Army.

In command of these enlisted men were officers of almost equally varied backgrounds. The commissioned ranks of the post war Army included graduates of the United States Military Academy, soldiers promoted from the enlisted ranks, and men appointed from civil life--most of the latter being veterans of the Civil War.

35 Descriptive Role of Company A, Sixteenth Regiment, U.S. Infantry, Occupations of Enlistees, March 1866-January 1867, NA.
In the years of the Reconstruction period the Army was officered from the sources prescribed in the organization act of 1866. By this act, which trebled the size of the Regular Army, the original vacancies in the grades of first and second lieutenants of infantry and cavalry had to be filled by selection from among the officers and soldiers of the Volunteers, and one half and two thirds of the vacancies above the grade of first lieutenant of infantry and cavalry, respectively, had to be staffed from the commissioned ranks of the Volunteers. The remaining vacancies were to be filled by officers of the Regular Army. All those appointed were required to have served two years during the War and "...to have been distinguished for capacity and good conduct in the field." Appointments were prorated among the states and territories, western states excepted, according to the number of troops each had furnished during the War reduced to the average of a three year term of service. As might be expected, Confederate veterans were excluded from consideration.

After meeting qualifications, candidates for Regular commissions had to appear before a board of officers of the branch in which they were to serve. This board inquired into their War records and their qualifications. Appointments, when made, were to be without regard for previous rank.  

36 WDGo 56, Aug. 1, 1866.
The boards examining the applicants for commissions completed their work within a year and, in October 1876, the Army's commissioned vacancies were declared filled and new instructions issued regarding future appointments to the commissioned ranks. It was announced that, henceforth, one fourth of the vacancies occurring annually would be filled by the promotion of noncommissioned officers of the Army and that the remainder not filled by graduates of West Point would be reserved for direct appointments from civil life. Candidates were limited to those applicants between the ages of twenty and 28, inclusive, of good health and moral habits.

If the selection board was satisfied that the above basic requirements were met, the applicant's education was tested. He was examined in his ability to read, write, and understand the English language, in his facility in the various fields of mathematics and his knowledge of geography, astronomy, history, and the Constitution. No candidate was passed who did not receive at least one half of the maximum number of marks on each phase of the test. Previous to appearing before the selection board, applicants from the Regular ranks were required to submit to a preliminary screening examination by officers of their regiments. 37

37 WDGO 93, Oct. 31, 1867.
These requirements remained in effect until 1873 when they were liberalized to permit applicants to be of any age between 20 and 30 inclusive. Educational attainments were seemingly simplified, not including questions on higher mathematics and astronomy.38

The number of officers according to the source from which they were appointed during the Reconstruction years was as follows.39

TABLE 3
BACKGROUNDS OF OFFICERS, 1865-1877

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Civil Life</th>
<th>Army</th>
<th>West Point</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>1167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>1271</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>2226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>1691</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>2693</td>
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<td>1609</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>2602</td>
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<td>1869</td>
<td>1508</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>2476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1176</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>2050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>1036</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>1008</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>1902</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38 WDGO 81, Aug. 1, 1873

39 Lenney, op. cit., pp. 148-149. This table was extracted from the chart entitled Distribution Annually of Regular Combatant Officers Actual Strengths as of Midnight December 31, ....
A glance at this table indicates that the greatest number of Regular line officers at the War's end were West Point graduates but, in the great increase in the size of the Army of 1866-1867, they fell behind the civilian appointees in numbers until they comprised less than a third of the Army's commissioned force. However, after only a drop of 3 per cent in their strength in the course of the Army's reduction in 1869-1870, the West Pointers increased in numbers until, at the end of the Reconstruction period, nearly a half of the officers of the infantry, artillery, and cavalry were graduates of the Military Academy.

Regardless of their paucity in numbers, it was the Academy men who set the tone of the Army. The reason for their disproportionate influence is easily discerned: of the 26 general officers serving with the Regular Army in June 1867 only four were not West Pointers and only one of these men, Lovell H. Rousseau, was not a staff officer. At the same time 36 of the 60 regiments of the Army were commanded by graduates of the Military Academy.

The same pattern is apparent after the reduction in strength and the consolidation of the regiments. Of the 20 general officers on active duty in 1872, only 2, the Surgeon General and the Judge Advocate General, were not
graduates of the Military Academy. Twenty-six of the 40 regiments then in existence were commanded by West Pointers. 40

The story of the origins, schooling and careers of graduates of the United States Military Academy is one so familiar that it needs little repetition. The vast majority of cadets were natives of the United States and were from all walks of American life. Graduates from the Academy who desired a military career found no difficulty in receiving commissions in the expanded Army of the post Civil War period and, because of their training and preference, it would appear that between 1861 and 1876 it was the practice for the majority, if not all of them, to be assigned to the cavalry, the corps of engineers, and to the artillery. Only once during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, in 1865, were enough West Point graduates assigned to the infantry to average one graduate to each regiment. However, regardless of the branch to which they were assigned, their professional standing in all arms is indicated by the small number of casualties they received in the Army's 1869 reduction and by the steady increase in their numbers after 1870. 41


41 Ibid., pp. 144-145.
A decreasing minority among the commissioned ranks was formed of those officers who had been promoted from the enlisted grades. Their promotions had come in quantity after the outbreak of the War when it was required that two-thirds of the company officers in the nine newly authorized Regular Army infantry regiments be filled from the enlisted ranks. Enlisted men had also been promoted to the little sought for commissioned War time vacancies in the older Regular regiments.\(^42\)

Those receiving such appointments were worthy men schooled by practical experience. One officer, Joseph K. Wilson, enlisted and joined the 8th Infantry Regiment in 1844, served with it during the Mexican War, and became its sergeant-major. He was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the regiment in 1863, served in various higher headquarters during the remainder of the war, and with the regiment in North Carolina until his death in 1869.\(^43\)

Another career man was Captain Robert Ayers. He began his service as a private in the Corps of Engineers in December 1855 and progressed through the enlisted ranks until he became a 1st sergeant. After the battle at

\(^{42}\)WDGO 16, May 4, 1861.

Fredericksburg, Ayers received a commission in the 19th Infantry and participated in several engagements before he was captured at Ringgold, Georgia, in 1864. After being confined as a prisoner of war, he escaped and rejoined his regiment. Ayers commanded a company at Fort Smith, Arkansas, from July 1866 until 1869. He was honorably mustered out in 1871.\textsuperscript{44}

A veteran of considerable service was Edward Allsworth. Allsworth joined the 2d Artillery in 1842 and served with that regiment in six major battles of the Mexican War. After the War, he served in the 1st Artillery and as a hospital steward until discharged in 1853. Allsworth pursued a civilian career for a decade and in 1863 enlisted in the 38th Massachusetts Volunteers. A year later he was commissioned a captain in the 119th Colored Troops and saw service in the Department of the Gulf and in the Shenandoah Valley. After the War, he was commissioned a lieutenant and assigned to the 40th Infantry and stationed in Charleston, South Carolina. Lieutenant Allsworth remained with the 40th Infantry until 1869 when it was consolidated with the 39th to form the 25th. He was retired in 1878.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 241.

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 236 and Heitman, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 160.
Also decreasing in numbers but continuing as a majority group until 1876 were the civilian appointees. Many of these men had received commissions in the Regular Army, not always because they had been outstanding volunteer soldiers, but because they had been able to secure the assistance of an influential politician in advancing their careers. One former officer asserted that political influence was necessary for all who obtained appointments in the lower grades and wrote that some had actually "...purchased their commissions through claim agents, who, for the price of about five hundred dollars, engaged to procure a senator's influence, and bring the candidate before the examining board." 46

Information on the extent of such practices is, of course, impossible to obtain. That some of the men appointed were of poor officer material and failed to make good soldiers is readily apparent. One lieutenant stationed at Camp Grant, Virginia, with the 11th Infantry who had served as a noncommissioned officer in Indiana and Illinois regiments during the War conducted himself so as to bring forth charges of conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline and conduct unbecoming to an officer and a gentleman. In the first instance it was specified

46 Whittaker, op. cit., p. 333.
that he played cards with a private of his own company in a public room in Richmond for drinks, and in the second it was stated that he had sold his pay accounts for April and May 1867, and that he had refused to pay board to the sum of ninety dollars, telling his landlord falsely that his pay had been stopped. Finding military life incompatible, the lieutenant resigned shortly after the charges were preferred.47

Another rather poor investment was Second Lieutenant William McGee. Lieutenant McGee had served as a musician during the war with the 33d New Jersey and was one of the youths who had received the unofficial title the "Drummer Boy of Shiloh." He was commissioned in 1867 and assigned to the 20th Infantry. Two years later he was tried by a court-martial for the murder of the surgeon at the Post of Baton Rouge, and sentenced to be discharged from the service and to five years confinement in the penitentiary at Baton Rouge.48

A third officer who might have dignified himself and the service with more circumspect behavior was a lieutenant

47 Charges and Specifications preferred against 1st Lt. Thomas D. Shepherd, 11th Infantry by Lt. Col. R.S.Granger, Camp Grant, Va., June 6, 1868. Item G 140, 1st. Mil. Dist., Vol. 3, 1868, NA.

48 Heitman, op. cit., p. 666.
in the 5th Cavalry stationed in Nashville and Knoxville, Tennessee. A clipping from an unidentified Tennessee newspaper referred to the lieutenant as a "consumate booby" and described him as having been the officer who was arrested every other day for fast riding in Nashville's streets. He was further termed "the most consumate ass that ever disgraced a commission, a disgrace to his regiment, and the laughing stock of everyone." Supporting its views the paper quoted a letter written by a deputy collector of internal revenue at Knoxville to his chief, a Colonel Abernathy, regarding his experiences with the lieutenant. Among other things reported, the lieutenant refused to be handed a letter by the collector who was astride his horse because he considered it to be "beneath his dignity to receive any communication from any man when mounted." After receiving the official communication from the revenue officer who had dismounted, he was accused of having gone into a tirade over its contents and refused to grant the Revenue officer's request for assistance. Schenofsky then stated that he wanted to draw his saber once more and would have the opportunity to do so when the impending election came off. This officer resigned at his
own request in 1870, about a year after his regiment moved to duty on the plains. 49

But such officers were in a minority. Seventy per cent of the civil appointees retained their commissions after the reduction of 1869-1871 and among those who left the Army were men who resigned voluntarily and officers who were retired because of physical disability. In the latter group were disabled officers, many of whom had been assigned to the 42d, 43d, 44th and 45th Regiments and had been discharged when their Invalid regiments had been abolished. Among the Invalid officers discharged for physical disability were two who had served in the Carolinas after War - the controversial Colonel Daniel E. Sickles of the 42d Infantry and Lieutenant Charles M. Pyne of the same regiment. 50

In contrast to the civil appointees who had to be discharged for physical disability or inefficiency were those officers who carved distinguished military careers for themselves. Outstanding among these men was Nelson A. Miles, commander of the Negro 40th Infantry Regiment in the Carolinas from 1866 to 1869 and one time officer-
in-charge of Jefferson Davis during the latter's imprisonment at Fort Monroe, Virginia. Miles later attained the grade of lieutenant general and was commander of the Army during the War with Spain. Others who participated in the reconstruction of the South below the grade of general and who gained later fame were Joseph C. Breckinridge, Stephan P. Jocelyn, both soldiers; Elliot Coues, the surgeon and ornithologist, and P. Henry Ray and Adolphus Greely, the Arctic explorers. Less famous but equally devoted were the vast majority of the civilian appointees who served faithfully, and at times heroically, at their stations in the South and West and whose individual devotion to duty has been all but hidden to posterity. 51

Like the enlisted ranks, the commissioned ranks also contained numerous foreign born. One officer, Captain Joseph Conrad, in the South with the 29th and 11th Infantry Regiments, was born in Germany, had graduated from the military academy of Hesse Darmstadt prior to coming to this country and serving with Missouri troops during the War. Another, Frederick Rosencrentz, a Swede, was a member of a Hussar regiment from 1848 to 1850 and a captain of the Swedish Horse Guards until 1861. Coming to the United

51 Henry, op. cit., and William H. Powell and Edward Shippen, Officers of the Army and Navy Who Served in the Civil War. Officers are listed alphabetically in both volumes.
States in 1862, he joined the foreign entourage formed in the staffs of the commanders of the Army of the Potomac and served with it until the end of the War. After the War, he served in the 16th Infantry and in Mississippi with the 39th Infantry Regiment.\textsuperscript{52}

An equally impressive background belonged to Captain Charles S. von Hermann who served 16 years as an officer in the Prussian army before coming to this country during the Civil War and to Lieutenant Charles C. DeRudio, a Venetian who served with the armed forces of Austria and Venice and the Legion of Garibaldi. De Rudio's career in the United States continued to be cosmopolitan for he began it with 79th New York Highlanders, continued service with the 2d U.S. Colored Troops and, after the War, served in the South with the 2d and 16th Infantry and the 7th Cavalry Regiments.\textsuperscript{53}

Although not as numerous as their foreign comrades, there were a few southern officers in the Reconstruction Army. Outstanding among them, of course, was General George H. Thomas who commanded the Third Military District and the Department of the Cumberland. Another Virginian,

\textsuperscript{52} Henry, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 281 and 437.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., p. 483 and Powell, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 122.
Ballard S. Humphrey, served in New Orleans with the 1st Artillery. Tennessee was represented by William P. Chambliss and Andrew Kelly, to mention two men; Kentucky by many officers including Eugene W. Crittenden of the 5th Cavalry and the above mentioned sons of the Unionist, John P. Breckinridge; and Florida by a Captain Augustus Funk. Perhaps it is well that the Army contained only a few of these men for, capable though they may have been, it is to be doubted that the presence in the South of officers regarded as turncoats would have contributed to the Army's prestige in the section.
CHAPTER VIII

SOUTHERN ARMY POSTS

The troops in the South were quartered in three types of military installations. Most of them resided in permanent or semi-permanent cantonments, many lived in tent camps or in rented buildings and a few garrisoned forts along the coasts. Regardless of the type or size of these installations, each contained certain features common to all.

The focal point of each post was the quarters of the enlisted men. Although similar in that they were buildings which usually contained large rooms designed to accommodate several soldiers, they differed in many respects. Most peculiar were those of the three coastal fortifications: Fort Pulaski, Georgia; Fort Macon, North Carolina and Fort Jefferson, Florida, for the troops at these posts were required to live in casemates. These casemates were tunnel-like, sub-surface compartments of varied sizes which extended from the interior of the forts and under their...

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1 This chapter will not attempt to discuss or mention every Army installation in the South during the Reconstruction period. Instead the discussion will be confined principally to the permanent and semi-permanent installations for which descriptive material is available in the sources indicated below.
parapets to the outer walls. They were damp, uncomfortable places, aired only by embrasures in the outer walls, a door and a window or so at their inner end and perhaps a ventilator or chimney which ran through their arched roofs. They were chilly, damp rooms in cold weather for they were heated only by fireplaces, and water sometimes dripped from their ceilings during heavy rains. Casemate quarters had one good feature, however, for when the weather was hot, they remained cool, and at such times were preferred over barracks.\(^2\)

The barracks, though all intended for essentially the same purpose, varied considerably in size and comfort. Some were made of brick or stone, others of green lumber, many were two or three stories in height while others were bungalows, and some were comparatively commodious in contrast to others which were no better than floored tents. This lack of standardization occurred because the buildings

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\(^2\) Record of Medical History of Posts 197, Ft. Macon, N.C., p. 316 (These records will hereafter be abbreviated RMHP with appropriate number and name), Circular No. 4, War Department Surgeon General's Office, Dec. 5, 1870, A Report of Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts, pp. 88, 148 and 154 (Hereafter abbreviated Cir. 4, SGO, 1870); Circular No. 8, War Department Surgeon General's Office, May 1, 1875, A Report on the Hygiene of the United States Army with Descriptions of Military Posts, p. 153, (hereafter designated Cir. 8, SGO, 1875) and Report of an inspection of Fort Jefferson by MG, 3d Mil. Dist., ltr, 56 M, 3d Mil. Dist., 1868, Mobile, Ala., 1868, NA.
were erected at different times and under different conditions. The best to be had were constructed before or after the War, the less desirable were the products of expediency and had been thrown together during the conflict by either the Union or Confederate forces.

Brick quarters were to be found at Fort San Carlos de Barrancas, Florida; Jackson Barracks, Louisiana; Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama; Oglethorpe Barracks, Savannah, Georgia; Ringgold Barracks, Texas; Fort Smith, Arkansas; the Post of Baton Rouge and at The Citadel in Charleston. These buildings were two and sometimes three stories in height and contained squad rooms on their upper floors. The ground floors were seldom if ever used as dormitories but instead contained the company kitchens, dining rooms, day rooms and, at Ringgold Barracks, washrooms, although the latter were normally located in outbuildings. Brick quarters were heated by fireplaces or stoves, ventilated by large windows and had verandas, often on each floor, which were used as sleeping porches in hot weather. Each building was designed to accommodate at least one company. 3

The Citadel at Charleston, South Carolina, though

3 RHFP 723, Ringgold Barracks, pp. 5-6; RHFP 158, Mt. Vernon Barracks, pp. 4-13; Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 157, 162, 173, 274 and Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 160, 172.
constructed of brick and stone, was built originally to house a military academy, and was not designed in the manner of the other posts. Contemporary diagrams of this installation indicate that it consisted of a hollow parallelogram three stories in height and an attached wing two stories tall. On the ground floor, around its quadrangle, were found kitchens, messrooms, wash rooms, and the guard room. Offices of the area and post commands and store rooms occupied the second story, and officers were quartered on the third. Enlisted men were billeted in the building adjacent to the east wall of the main structure.  

Much more numerous and much less pretentious were the whitewashed wooden barracks that indicated the presence of a military post in many large cities and strategically located villages of the South. These buildings averaged about 150 feet in length and 25 feet in width and, as a general rule, were one story in height. Although they served principally as sleeping quarters, it was not uncommon for two story barracks to have kitchens and mess

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4 Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, p. 141 and The Charleston Daily News, May 21, 1867.
rooms in their lower floors.  

Frame barracks need not have been unpleasant— that they often were resulted from the fact that they had been poorly constructed and were sided and floored with green lumber. As a consequence, by War's end they had become dilapidated and many had developed large cracks which made them cold, drafty and often wet. The surgeon at the Post of Lauderdale, Mississippi, whose buildings had been formerly used as a hospital, first for Confederate soldiers and later for freedmen, stated in 1869 that the boards in the barracks' siding had so shrunk that the troops had suffered from the cold during their first winter there, and that, during the rain, the buildings leaked so badly that their inhabitants were forced to shift about in search of dry spots.  

Similar complaints were found at other installations of like background. The Post of Chattanooga, whose buildings had been erected to accommodate laborers in the

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5 Wooden barracks are described in the following circulars: In Cir. 8, SGO, 1875: Fort Monroe, p. 52; Ash Barracks, p. 125; Chattanooga, p. 123; Swayne Barracks, p. 129; Huntsville, Ala., p. 131; Jackson, Miss., p. 134; Lebanon, Ky., p. 150; Ft. McPherson, p. 108. In addition to numerous other descriptions in Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, information may also be found in the following RHFP: 2, Ash Barracks; 47, Columbia; 149, Jackson; 173, Lauderdale; 448, Little Rock; 185, Mobile; 227, Petersburg; and 325, Vicksburg, NA.

6 RHFP 173, Post of Lauderdale, pp. 11, 119.
local national cemetery, had as its barracks a two-story frame building surrounded by a porch and erected on stilts. It contained squad rooms on both floors and two small rooms for sergeants. Although adequate in its design, it was rendered unpleasant by the fact that its interior walls were unfinished and its floors rough. The second floor, in fact, was in such bad shape that when it was scrubbed the dirty water dripped through to the floor below.⁷ The barracks at the Post of Petersburg, on the site of a fair-ground, were two buildings 150 by 25 feet in dimensions and were also described as dilapidated. Those at Shreveport were said to have been old frame buildings, out of repair and badly ventilated. So shoddy were they that windows which lacked glass were simply boarded up.⁸ Other stations containing quarters in similar states of repair included Ash Barracks, Nashville, Tennessee; Fort Monroe, Virginia; Swayne Barracks, Humboldt, Tennessee; Taylor Barracks, Louisville, Kentucky, the Post of Vicksburg and the Post of Huntsville, Alabama.⁹

⁷ RLHP 61, Post of Chattanooga, p. 9.
⁸ RLHP 227, Post of Petersburg, pp. 9-11, and Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, p. 175.
⁹ RLHP 2, Ash Barracks, pp. 9-16, Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 52, 129, 131, and RLHP 325, Post of Vicksburg, pp. 9-12.
In better condition so that they elicited no unusual complaint were the barracks of the Posts of Columbia, South Carolina; Jackson, Mississippi; Lebanon, Kentucky; Little Rock, Arkansas; Mobile, Alabama; Raleigh, North Carolina; and Fort McPherson, Atlanta, Georgia. The troops at Columbia were quartered in four frame barracks and an old brick church on the south edge of the city near the Congaree River. Presumably these barracks had been erected after the War. The Jackson garrison was quartered in two long one-story frame buildings erected in 1876. The longest of these buildings measured three hundred feet in length and was designed for two companies. A squad room for each company was located at each end, and two mess rooms and kitchens occupied the building's middle portion. The smaller barracks was half as long and was designed for one company. Both buildings were white-washed inside and out, were raised two or three feet from the ground and measured 25 feet in width and 18 in height.10

Also one story in height were the barracks at the Posts of Vicksburg, Lebanon, Little Rock, Raleigh and Fort McPherson. The Post of Raleigh was located on a six acre tract a mile east of the city and contained five barracks,

10 R&HP 47, Post of Columbia, pp. 1-7; R&HP 149, Post of Jackson, pp. 1-8 and Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 126, 134.
90 by 26 by 15, all originally wards in the Confederates' Pettigrew Hospital. The enlisted men at Little Rock, though stationed at Little Rock Arsenal, were quartered for several post-war years in nine barracks formerly used as wards of the nearby Confederate Little Rock General Hospital.\footnote{Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 94, 274.}

Unlike the Posts of Little Rock and Raleigh, Fort McPherson and the Post of Lebanon were post-war installations. The latter was established on a rented site on the northern edge of Lebanon, Kentucky, in 1868 and, in addition to several small buildings, consisted only of one barracks—a one-story structure measuring 81 by 29 and having 6 doors, 13 windows and 4 chimneys. Fort McPherson, in contrast, was a much larger place and included ten barracks, 156 by 27 by 13, each surrounded by a veranda.\footnote{Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, p. 150 and Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, p. 146.}

Although one-story barracks seemed to have been preferred in contonments, two-storied quarters for enlisted men were found at Ash Barracks, Nashville and at the Post of Mobile. As indicated above, those at Ash Barracks were poorly constructed, having been hastily thrown together in 1867 from lumber taken from the former Cumberland Barracks.
They were five in number, measured 128 by 23 feet, were sided with boards with battened joints and, until 1870, had flat roofs. As was customary in that day when companies numbered only fifty or so men, the second floor only was used as a dormitory while the first floor contained the kitchens, dining rooms, and orderly rooms. The barracks at Mobile, two in number, differed from those at Nashville in that they were smaller, had verandas on their fronts, and did not contain company kitchens.13

When no such barracks existed in areas to be occupied by troops for short periods of time, quarters were rented or were established in tents. Tents were often employed by small detachments but were utilized by larger units only when rented buildings were not available and during their periodic flights to uninhabited areas when their permanent stations were threatened by yellow fever or cholera. When established on a long term basis these tent camps were similar in almost every respect to other military posts, except that tents were utilized instead of buildings.

Camps of a rather permanent nature included, among others, the Post of Spartanburg, South Carolina, and the

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13 Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, p. 160 and Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 157, 161.
Posts of Jefferson and Tyler, Texas. The Post of Jefferson was located on the outskirts of Jefferson and until July 1870 consisted of cavalry and infantry camps. Two or three enlisted men were quartered in each tent, the tents being grouped in twos or threes, possibly, therefore, by squads. The tents themselves were floored and sided with boards and contained fireplaces or stoves, so that, in effect, the men were living in huts. In similar if not less fortunate straits were the troops at Tyler, Texas, who also had tents but, in October 1869, apparently had no stoves and could not warm themselves. 14

Tent camps in South Carolina were established, among other places, at Unionville, Spartanburg and Sumter. As at the Post of Jefferson, these tents were floored and sided with wood in every case and in the camp at Spartanburg, at least, the tents were equipped with brick fireplaces and chimneys. 15

Rented quarters were widely used throughout the South. At Yorkville, South Carolina, and Crab Orchard,

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RAMP 110, Post of Jefferson, p. 29-30, NA; Cir. 4, 330, 1870, pp. 175-176 and Ltr., CO, Post of Tyler to Hq., 5th Mil. Dist., Tyler, Texas, Oct. 23, 1869, Ltr., T 112, 5th Mil. Dist., 1869, NA.

15
RAMP 283, Post of Sumter, RAMP, 289, Post of Spartanburg and Ltr., AAG to AAG, Dept. of the South, Unionville, S.C., March 1873, LR 702, Dept. of the South, NA.
Kentucky, the rented buildings were hotels and therefore ideally suited for barracks. Small units up to companies in size were generally quartered in buildings erected for business purposes and in large houses which, with the ante bellum air of a feudal manor, contained facilities and outbuildings enough to accommodate a company of soldiers admirably. Troops of Company A, 4th Infantry, in Lexington, Kentucky, for instance, were quartered in a large brick house located on a main street near the west end of the city. On the first floor two rooms were used as dormitories for enlisted men and one for their mess, on the second four were used for sleeping and one as an orderly room and men slept in two rooms on the third floor. A similar arrangement was made in a spacious house in Newberry, South Carolina, for fifty men of the 16th Infantry Regiment. This house had a basement above the ground and ten rooms on its two additional stories, six of which were occupied by the enlisted men as sleeping quarters. As was the custom, the company's cooking facilities and guard house occupied the basement and eating was done in an outbuilding. Other outbuildings and former slave quarters afforded room for married enlisted men and for company offices.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{16} RHMP 169, Post of Lexington, pp. 9-11, RHMP 209, Post of Newberry, pp. 292-293 and \textit{Cir. 8, SG0, 1875}, p. 163.
Billets located in rented buildings other than houses created no unusual problems. The facilities afforded by such quarters, of course, varied but, in essence, the basic requirements were found—namely space, roofs and walls to keep out the weather. It may be assumed, however, that such quarters were not desirable because of their expense and because their proximity to the civilian population made discipline more difficult to maintain. 17

The furnishings of all barracks were similar regardless of the type of building in which the troops were quartered. The main item of furniture was, of course, the bunk. The bunks in use in the first five or six years after the War were massive pieces of crude wooden furniture, six feet four inches in length, five feet four inches in width and, when double tiered, almost six feet high. They were occupied on each tier by two men who were separated by a board about one foot wide. These ponderous sleeping shelves were covered by straw ticks and the Army's gray and brown blankets. 18

17 For examples of these posts see the following RMHP: 90, Post of Elizabethtown; 213, Post of Greenville; 58, Post of Chester; 294, Post of Shelbyville; 60, Post of Crab Orchard; 349, Post of Yorkville, NA. See also Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 162-163 and Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, p. 129.

18 RMHP 325, Post of Vicksburg, p. 14; RMHP 173, Post of Lauderdale, p. 12; RMHP 149, Post of Jackson, p. 5; RMHP 227, Post of Petersburg, p. 126; RMHP 47, Post of Columbia, p. 12 and RMHP 283, Post of Sumter, p. 14. NA.
That these bunks had many undesirable features was readily recognized. Although one post surgeon was able to report that such beds at his post were kept scrupulously clean and those at Vicksburg were described as having been neatly painted sky blue, it cannot be doubted that they left much to be desired.

The Acting Inspector General of the Department of the Cumberland recommended that these wooden monstrosities be replaced by the newly developed iron bunk because they were "...heavy, unwieldy and uncouth: that they fill up and darken the squad rooms and as a general thing are dirty and filled with bugs or other vermin owing to the difficulty of being taken down and cleaned."\(^\text{19}\)

That the wooden bunks were a "harbor for vermin" and were difficult to keep clean had been realized by the Quartermaster General many years before, and steps were taken to have them replaced, but this project had been interrupted by the War and was not completed until the Reconstruction period neared its end. By 1872 the old fashioned wooden structures had passed out of the picture and iron bunks could be seen in most of the barracks.

\(^{19}\) RMHP 227, Post of Petersburg, p. 126; Inspection Report of AIG, Dept. of the Cumberland of the Post of Vicksburg, March 5, 1867, LB 134 A, Dept. of the Cumberland, p. 53, and Ltr., AIG, Dept. of the Cumberland to AAG, Dept. of the Cumberland, Louisville, Ky., Nov. 20, 1867, Ibid., p. 90, NA.
According to one post surgeon, these made for an increased neatness in the appearance of squad rooms, harbored less bugs and provided greater facilities for cleaning both room and bunks. In full agreement with this surgeon the Quartermaster General added that, since these bunks were constructed of iron with wooden slats, they could be taken apart and stacked so that the barracks floor could be cleaned and cleared during the day and at night they allowed the men to sleep singly and thus avoid much discomfort. It must be added that, because they could be taken apart with ease, iron cots could be transported to temporary posts and utilized by troops who otherwise would have had to have slept on floors or on makeshift beds of wood. As in the case of their predecessors, cots were padded by straw ticks for which their users were allotted a monthly issue of twelve pounds of straw.  

Like the bunks the other articles of furniture found within barracks were rather standard. Each squad room, for instance, contained an arms rack for the company's shoulder weapons. Rifles were set in them, unloaded of course, with stoppers in their muzzles, cocks let down, and bayonets in their scabbards. Accoutrements were hung

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up by their belts on pegs. Other furniture in the squad rooms included benches, tables and shelves and, in some units, boxes were used in the manner of footlockers. On the shelves were placed rolled great coats, folded coats, head gear and knapsacks. The knapsacks were designated as receptacles for dirty clothing and other personal items.21

Equally common in all barracks were their fixtures for heating and lighting. Although some rooms continued to be heated by fireplaces, most were warmed by wood burning stoves. Light was obtained from candles and oil lamps which no doubt provided inadequate illumination, even though the walls may have been brightened by liberal applications of whitewash. Since the use of these facilities constituted a fire hazard, many units may have imitated the company at Jackson, Mississippi, whose squad room contained a barrel of water with a tin cup conveniently attached thereto which stood ready to quench both thirst and fire.22

The officers' quarters, like those of the enlisted men, varied in style and comfort according to the post at

21 R.M.P. 58, Post of Chester, p. 244, R.M.P. 47, Post of Columbia, p. 13; R.M.P. 149, Post of Jackson, p. 5; R.M.P. 185, Post of Mobile, p. 8, NA, Cir. 8, SGO, 1873, p. 109, AR 1863, pp. 21-22, 162 and AR 1873, p. 147.

22 Ibid., Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, p. 148 and R.M.P. 149, Post of Vicksburg, p. 14, NA.
which they were found. Army Regulations stipulated that each officer be allotted a kitchen and rooms commensurate with his rank—lieutenants one room each, captains two, majors and lieutenant colonels three and colonels and brigadier generals four. If excess quarters were at hand and if the post commander approved, more spacious accommodations might be obtained. Should quarters not be available at a given station, as at the Posts of Columbia, Yorkville, Crab Orchard, Frankfort, Spartanburg and San Antonio, commutation was furnished at the rate of nine dollars per room per month.23

The quarters supplied by the Army, if adequate, do not seem to have been palatial. Most unique again were those at Fort Macon, North Carolina, Fort Pulaski, Georgia, and Fort Monroe, Virginia, which were located in casemates. At Fort Pulaski, the officers' quarters included seven apartments of two rooms, all in casemates, in addition to wooden buildings constructed above ground. At Fort Monroe casemate accommodations supplemented those in brick and frame structures.24

Most agreeable, perhaps, were the facilities avail-

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23 AR 1863, pp. 159-161 and AR 1873, pp. 145-146.
24 Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 74, 99 and 148.
able in the older permanent posts. These were large brick buildings two or three stories high, which contained apartments for several officers. Buildings of this type were to be found at Mount Vernon Barracks, Oglethorpe Barracks, Jackson Barracks and The Citadel. Preferred among these brick edifices, however, were possibly the smaller two family buildings located at Fort Brown and at Ringgold Barracks, Texas. These houses were one and a half stories in height and each had four rooms, two up, and two down, and a veranda and a kitchen in a separate building in the rear. As may be expected, the houses of the post commanders were larger and more comfortable.

More numerous, of course, were the frame buildings occupied by officers at the less permanent installations. Although not as imposing as the brick structures, a few of the wooden buildings contained apartments enough to house several families. That at Lebanon, Kentucky, was a barracks-like place measuring 60 by 30 feet and subdivided into eight rooms, while another at Humboldt, Tennessee, measured 96 by 32 feet and contained 12 rooms 16 feet square. These wooden apartments, however, were much less

25 Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 119, 136, 140, 151, 160 and 172.
26 Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 188 and 232.
common than the frame cottages found in the majority of the contonments. Such buildings were raised from the ground on stilts or piles, were coated with whitewash or paint, and commonly consisted of a veranda and two rooms, possibly a bedroom and parlor, and had a kitchen in a separate building behind. Like their companion barracks these frame houses were occasionally of an indifferent quality, and a few seem to have been almost uninhabitable. Those at Huntsville, Alabama, for instance, had been built of green lumber which had since shrunk, leaving cracks in the walls, whereas those at Goldsboro, North Carolina, were in such a shape that one officer complained that draughts of air through the walls extinguished his lights and caused his carpet to rise from the floor. It would seem, however, since it was the custom to paint and plaster officers' quarters, that, except for their small size, they must have compared favorably with equivalent houses in the surrounding community. 27

Although officers in the South were seldom quartered in tents for any extended period of time, it would seem that when they were every effort was made to obtain

the type of quarters befitting their rank. As indicated above, the Post of Jefferson, Texas, was one of these and, for reasons not given, the officers at this post, unlike those in the camp at Spartanburg, South Carolina, could not live in rented buildings but were required to abide in camp. In such circumstances Assistant Surgeon Carlos Carballo reported that, if married, officers utilized a hospital and a wall tent, all floored and framed, of course, and, if single, two wall tents. Behind these were found two or three other tents which were used as the kitchen, mess tent and as servants' quarters. When the wear and tear on tents is considered, it is not strange that officers were often allowed to collect a quarter's allowance of nine dollars per month and live in hotels or boarding houses.28

Officers' quarters, like those of the enlisted men, were lighted by candles or oil lamps and were heated by stoves or fireplaces. As fuel for the latter, officers were allotted from two to four cords of wood each month during the winter, the exact amount depending again upon the grade of the recipient.29

28 Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, p. 176.

Basic items of furniture were also supplied with the quarters, at first only when special appropriations were made and later without exception. These items were described as plain and included tables, chairs, bedsteads, bureaus, washstands and wardrobes. Although this furniture was probably supplemented and replaced by privately owned pieces, it is to be doubted that single officers made much of an effort along this line. In fact, the furnishings of a cabin occupied by two officers at the Post of Jackson are said to have consisted of only an iron bed stand, a table, washstand, and a couple of chairs. 30

The third group of quarters provided on military posts were those allotted to laundresses. Since these women almost without exception were the wives of enlisted men, it may be assumed that quarters for laundresses and those of married enlisted men were one and the same. Although Army Regulations stipulated that these women were to be allotted one room, in practice many in the South obtained two. In either case, these rooms were anything but spacious even according to the standards of that time. This was particularly true when the laundress and her soldier husband had several children as was often the case. 31

31 AR 1873, p. 146.
It would seem that laundresses' quarters compared most favorably with those of the officers at the Posts of Little Rock, Shreveport, and Mobile and at Forts Johnson and Barrancas where each had two rooms. Certainly, if not comparable to the officers' quarters, they were on a lowly par with those of the rest of the garrison when they occupied casemates at Forts Johnson and Macon and floored tents at temporary camps. As a rule, however, it would appear that laundresses' accommodations were substandard on practically every Army post. 32

It was the practice to billet the laundresses and their families in a particular area appropriately nicknamed "suds row". At Fort McPherson, a newly constructed post and presumably the product of the then current military thought, laundresses lived in four-room cottages, four laundresses per cottage, each having but a single room; and at Ringgold Barracks, another installation with elaborate facilities, they are reported to have occupied a row of tents constructed on frames and generously patched with odds and ends of lumber. Among the worst imaginable, however, were the shanties at Fort Pike which were situated in such a position that they were flooded each year by

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32 Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 157, 160, 175; Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 142, 151; RHP 61, Post of Chattanooga, p. 12, MA.
high spring tides. Equally bad in another respect were those two-story buildings at Fort Monroe which, in their 87 by 30 foot dimensions, included 14 apartments, seven up and seven down. Not only were these quarters small, but those on the second floor were described as having been practically uninhabitable in the summer. Each living unit contained a cook stove, and the pipes of those on the lower level passed through the second story apartments, thus providing them with heat the year around. They were rendered further undesirable because, having been constructed with green lumber, their warped partitions were so full of cracks that privacy for their occupants was at a minimum.33 This lack of comfort in the quarters of laundresses is explained not only by the stinginess of the government but by the social and military position of the laundresses themselves. Their station seems clearly indicated not only by the fact that they occupied former slave quarters at the Post of Newberry, but that at the Post of Jackson their tents and log huts were inspected along with the barracks each Sunday morning.34

Another major installation on every Army post was

33 RMHP 205, Fort McPherson, NA; Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 52, 233; RMHP 229, Fort Pike, p. 1, NA.

34 RMHP 149, Post of Jackson, p. 9, NA and Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, p. 163.
its hospital. This building, when built as a hospital, was usually either one or two stories in height and, like many barracks, was often fronted, if not surrounded, by a veranda. Although local circumstances required that hospitals be located in or near the barracks, it was customary for them to be removed to a position isolated from the main body of the troops and indeed, if troops were billeted in a private building in a town, it was the practice to locate the hospital in a rented house entirely separate from the rest of the garrison. Extremes in the matter of isolation were to be found at Fort Jefferson where the hospital was situated in five rooms of one of the barracks, as opposed to that at Fort Pike where it was banished to a point three quarters of a mile from the fort itself. 35

Among the best hospital buildings in the South during the Reconstruction period were those at Fort Brown and Ringgold Barracks, Texas, both of which were built of brick and in accordance with a plan issued by the Surgeon General's Office in 1867. Each of these structures consisted of a two-story administration building which contained an office, dispensary, store room, steward's room, and dining

35 Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 156-167 and Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, p. 127.
room and was flanked by two one-story wards. Around each building was a broad covered veranda, that at Ringgold Barracks being embellished by Moorish arches. The wards of each were well ventilated, well heated, and contained wash-rooms and storerooms. 36

Of almost identical design but constructed of rough boards white-washed with lime and yellow ochre was the hospital at Ash Barracks. Since this one was of wood and possibly crude in appearance, it was outwardly similar to the majority of hospitals in the South though of more modern design. Although, like the barracks, they differed in style, hospitals were of wooden construction, built on a one-floor plan and were fronted or surrounded by a veranda. Within each building was at least one well-ventilated ward, an office for the doctor and hospital steward, a lavatory, store rooms, and dispensary. Also a part of the hospital plant but generally found in adjacent outbuildings were the hospital kitchen, its sink and, on some posts, a dead house.

When posts were established on a temporary basis, as many were during the course of Reconstruction, it was not unusual for the hospital, like the barracks, to be found in

36 Cir. 8, 360, 1875, pp. 190, 233.
tents or in rented accommodations. That at Jefferson, Texas, occupied at least fifteen tents. Three housed the ward, one each was used to cover the office, dispensary, steward's quarters, lavatory, store room, laundry and matron's quarters; three for the attendant's quarters, two for the dining room, and one tent and two flies housed the hospital's kitchen. All were floored and framed with pine boards, heated with stoves and lighted with candles. Similar but less elaborate hospitals could be found at various times at other posts including Corinth, Mississippi, Charlotte, North Carolina, and Sumter, South Carolina.\textsuperscript{37}

It is to be presumed that, if available, houses or other rented buildings were preferred to tents, if, for no other reason, because their rental was cheaper than the cost of using tents. When houses or private buildings were used as they were in San Antonio, Columbus, Mississippi, Lebanon and Grab Orchard, Kentucky, in Columbia, South Carolina, and in numerous other places, the hospital facilities were simply scattered throughout its rooms and premises and functioned as they would have at a more permanent

Behind each hospital, officer's quarters, and barracks were usually found kitchens and mess or dining rooms. The kitchens seem to have been small buildings; those at Mobile measured 23 by 11 feet while those at Shreveport were only 13 by 14, were very plain in appearance, and some were little more than shacks. As indicated above, when barracks buildings were two stories high, as at Jackson and Swayne Barracks, the kitchens were located within the barracks itself, and in Fort Macon, the kitchens, like the quarters, were in casemates. Regardless of its location the kitchen's contents seem to have been simple and confined to an iron range, cooking utensils—kettles and skillets, shelves and tables. Certainly more complex tools would have been wasted under the system of food preparation in vogue during this period.

Mess rooms were as plain as the kitchens. Like them, they were usually found in the lower floor of two-story barracks and behind those only one story high. Some-

38 Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 92, 139, 160, 162, 175, 182; Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 124, 132, 162, 177; RHP 161, Post of Chattanooga, p. 10; RHP 197, Fort Macon, p. 10 and RHP 2 Ash Barracks, p. 10, NA.

39 Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 92, 160, 182; RHP 47, Post of Columbia, p. 15; RHP 61, Post of Chattanooga, p. 10; RHP 169, Post of Lexington, p. 72 and RHP 58, Post of Chester, p. 294, NA.
times, as at Fort Johnson, the kitchens and mess room were located under the same roof, but the more common practice seems to have been to have had them separate. Dining quarters were small in size, just large enough to seat a company—those at Mobile measured only 20 by 23 feet. Their furnishings were simple and included the necessary tables, benches, tinware, though in some organizations table cloths and crockery were in evidence, having been purchased with money from the company fund. There is little to indicate that the War Department went to any more trouble and expense at providing adequate dining facilities than it did in assuring the preparation of nourishing victuals. 40

In addition to kitchens and mess rooms each post contained a bakery. On the smaller posts this was a small one-story building typified by that at Petersburg, Virginia, which measured only 15 by 25 feet, while at the larger installations, which naturally required more bread, the bakery was found in larger buildings like the barracks-sized bake-house at Ash Barracks. Within the bakery the most prominent feature, of course, was the brick oven in which

40 Cir. 4, SGC, 1870, pp. 92, 160, 162; R.I.H.P. 47, Post of Columbia, p. 15 and R.I.H.P. 61, Post of Chattanooga, p. 10, R.I.H.P. 169, Post of Lexington, p. 72; R.I.H.P. 58, Post of Chester, p. 294, NA.
the bread was baked. These ovens varied in size and number according to the needs of the post and were measured according to their capacity—the post of Mobile's was 280 loaves, that at Lancaster, Kentucky, was only 120 loaves while that at Fort Barrancas contained three ovens which could bake 500 loaves at one time. It was pointed out, however, that production at Barrancas was hampered by the fact that two of its three ovens were out of order and that the third was in such poor repair that bricks occasionally fell upon the bread. In addition to the ovens, the furnishings of bakeries seem to have included bake pans, kneading troughs, and tables and perhaps shelves upon which the bread was stored after it was baked. As may be surmised, the bake houses on the older permanent installations were of brick while those at the majority of posts were of wood.  

Also important and seemingly recipient of much more official attention than messing facilities were the Army's latrines, then called sinks, water closets, and necessaries. They were commonly found in a small building behind and at a distance from the barracks if possible, not because of the flies but principally because of their odor. Company sinks were generally small buildings, those at the posts

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Cir. 4, 1870, pp. 158, 160, 164, 183, 210; RMHP 47, Post of Columbia, p. 13; RMHP 2, Ash Barracks, p. 15; RMHP, Post of Lancaster, p. 9 and RMHP 227, Post of Petersburg, p. 25, NA.
or Nashville and Jackson, for instance, measured 7 by 12 and 4 by 12 feet, respectively. It was only rarely that one sink was provided for all the enlisted men on a large post, as at Ash Barracks, where the oversized structure measured 12 by 50 feet and contained 13 seats and two urinals. 42

There were three principal types of sinks in use, denoted by the method employed in collecting and removing the waste. The simplest types found at inland posts were those in which the building was placed over a deep pit and remained in place until the pit was deemed to be sufficiently full. At this time the outhouse was removed to a newly dug pit and the old pit was filled with dirt. Lime and other disinfectants and fresh earth were thrown into these holes to render them less offensive, but this effort was often without marked success. The weakness of this system at a permanent installation is indicated by the report of the Post Surgeon at Ringgold Barracks who stated that, on foggy mornings when there was no wind, the odor of the post was most offensive, because of the noisome soil created during the war years by the contents of numerous latrine pits. A similar situation also prevailed at the Post of

42 Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 134, 163 and Cir. 65, Hq., Post of Nashville, Dec. 23, 1868, LB 335, Dist. of Nashville, p. 271, A.A.
Nashville, where, according to its commander, "During the occupancy of about ten years the ground has been dug over and holes upon holes have been filled up, so that there is hardly a spot in any yard but what has been a privy."

Sinks of this type were in use at many installations in the South including the Posts of Columbia, Huntsville, Jackson, and the Post of Lebanon, Kentucky. 43

More scientific in design, hygienic, and common at permanent installations were those sinks which employed the so-called "dry earth system". The buildings employing this system were elevated enough above the ground so that sliding boxes could be inserted under their seats and be removed when filled. In the process of their use, dry dirt was placed in the box and more soil and disinfectants were added as the boxes filled. These boxes were removed daily by details of soldiers or prisoners, emptied, rinsed out, disinfected and returned to their places in the sink. Since latrines of this type were less offensive than the pit variety and were regarded as the most sanitary available, they created enthusiasm among all those not having to empty them. They were in use at many southern posts including Fort McPherson and Fort Brown and at the Posts of Mobile,

43 RHNP 273, Ringgold Barracks, p. 202; Ltr., CO, Post of Nashville to MG, Dept. of the South, Nashville, Feb. 6, 1875, LB 357, Dept. of the South, LS 8, NA, Cir. 8, SG0, 1875, pp. 127, 131, 134, 150.
Saint Augustine and Raleigh.44

Military installations located on the shores of the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico and on the banks of a few rivers utilized a third method of disposal. At these posts the sink was simply located over water so that the flow of the tide or current of the river would carry the sewage away from the vicinity of the installation. Latrines of this type sometimes reflected a certain amount of ingenuity. The one at Fort Jackson, Louisiana, for instance, projected over the water from the remains of an old gunboat which had been sunk against the river bank at the front of the fort and, in the words of the post surgeon, "Disinfection is thus accomplished by the current." With no gunboat to utilize, the sink at Fort Johnson, North Carolina, was built out over the Cape Fear River in such a way that at high tide the water of the river came to a level two feet below the seats and the offal was moved away by the flowing of the tide. A similar system was employed at Forts Macon, Jefferson, and Fike except that at the latter forts the sewage was dumped into foul-smelling moats which the tide flushed in an imperfect fashion.45

44 Cir. 4, SGC, 1870, pp. 95, 147, 160 and MEP 295, Post of St. Augustine, pp. 174-175, NA.

45 Cir. 4, SGC, 1870, pp. 170, 92, 88, 155 and 157.
In modern barracks latrines include washing and bathing as well as toilet facilities and are located within the barracks building. This was seldom true of the post Civil War Army. In letters to the *Army and Navy Journal* a soldier of this period in speaking of his service complained that he knew of not a single post at which the barracks contained equipment for bathing; another soldier knew of one but thought it unusual, and a cavalry officer with 21 years service maintained that he had only served on one post where there were facilities for bathing for enlisted men and these had been built by the men themselves. An examination of the posts in the South, though revealing some bathing accommodations, would tend to bear these men out for, when they did exist, they were seldom more than rooms containing tin basins.  

Such accommodations were provided at Fort McPherson when the garrison was small so that kitchen buildings not used for cooking could be converted to wash rooms. Otherwise, the troops of the garrison depended upon long troughs which were under the barracks when there was room or, otherwise, in their rear. Similar washrooms were provided at the Posts of Charleston and Chattanooga and at Ringgold and Ash Barracks. The surgeon at Charleston was able to report

that, at one time in the seventies, wash rooms contained
tubs but filling and emptying them was so troublesome that
their use was discontinued. Tubs were provided, however,
at Oglethorpe Barracks and at the Post of Newberry seem-
ingly at the initiative of the officers of the post.\textsuperscript{47}

The problem of filling and emptying wash tubs con-
veniently and without creating mud holes was probably the
major deterrent to the creation of bathing facilities on a
post and a solution was attained only at Fort Macon, North
Carolina. At Fort Macon a bathhouse measuring 16 by 20
feet was built on a nearby river beach at low water mark.
It was sided on one side by boards one-half inch apart
which allowed water to enter at high tide. On the land
side the building was partitioned into a dressing room.\textsuperscript{48}

Such bathing as there was on most posts, particu-
larly in the winter, was confined to sponge baths from
basins in the barracks. During the warmer seasons, it
seems to have been the custom at seaside installations, in-
cluding Forts Pulaski, Jefferson, Pike and Macon, for men
to bathe in the ocean and, if inland, in creeks and ponds.

\textsuperscript{47} Cir. 3, SGO, 1875, p. 109, 162; RLHP 40, Post of Char-
leston, p. 91; RLHP 61, Post of Chattanooga, p. 9;
RLHP 213, Post of Newberry, p. 32, NA and Cir. 4, SGC,
1870, p. 143.

\textsuperscript{48} Cir. 4, SGC, 1870, p. 93.
Since the general subject of bathing and cleanliness is discussed below, it is sufficient to say in agreement with the three above correspondents of the Army and Navy Journal that bathing facilities were rare on southern Army posts.

Unlike bathing facilities, guardhouses were common and one was to be found at every military installation. Then, as now, they performed a dual function serving both as quarters for the men on guard and as a place of confinement for prisoners on the post. This twofold purpose was reflected in their construction for, practically without exception, each contained a guardroom and one or two prison rooms which were supplemented in some guardhouses by small cells.

Guardhouses were generally small buildings constructed either of wood or bricks according to the nature of the post. Typical of guardhouses at small posts was that at Swayne Barracks which measured 24 by 16 feet overall and contained a guardroom and two cells. More elaborate but typical was that at Oglethorpe Barracks which, being somewhat larger, included a guardroom, two prison rooms and three cells. Among the largest was that at Fort McPherson which comprised a large building and a wing which were divided into two guardrooms, a prison room of five cells, and two additional cells.49

49 Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 110, 130 and 172.
These guard houses were most plain. The windows and outer doors were confined to the portion of the building occupied by the guardroom, which, incidentally, seems to have also had a monopoly on stoves and fireplaces, lamps, and furniture. The cells and prison rooms were extremely plain and were practically bare. They were lighted and ventilated principally through apertures which may have existed between them and the guardroom, and when full must have been extremely uncomfortable.50

Casemates served as guardhouses at Forts Pulaski, Jefferson, Monroe and Macon. Those set aside for prisons were veritable dungeons. The main prison room at Fort Monroe is described as having been 44 feet long and 17 feet wide and with a large door and two windows in front and an embrasure in the rear. The post surgeon described it more fully as follows:

Both the windows and the embrasure are shielded by immovable blinds, which prevent the ingress of sunlight and interfere greatly with the wind. The only ventilation to this room, which often has from twenty to forty men confined in it, is furnished through the small embrasure, not more than 3 by 4 feet wide, which is greatly interfered with by the crossed bars built into it and by the screen outside. Into this prison-room sunshine never enters and practically never warms. During the winter the room is heated by stoves, which keep it comparatively dry and comfortably warm.

50 Ibid., pp. 114, 125, 129, 137, 142, 150, 151, 162, 172, 189; and RG525, Post of Vicksburg, p. 14, NA.
In the summertime, however, it is always damp, and the water condenses in large drops on the walls and trickles thence to the floor. The prison-rooms are well floored, and they are made as tenable as circumstances will permit, but at night, when the doors are closed, they are unendurable in consequence of the very imperfect ventilation. The smaller of the prison rooms is the worse, in point of ventilation, than the larger as it has not even the embrasure to allow a current of air to pass through. The cells are much worse, in a sanitary point of view, than either of the prison-rooms. They are contracted, ill-ventilated, never warmed, and the light of the sun never enters them. They are always cold, damp, most disagreeable, and really unfit to confine men in.

Forts Macon, Pulaski and Jefferson were used at various times as places of confinement for general military prisoners and, therefore, contained many men not belonging to the local garrison.\footnote{\textit{Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 77, 88, 149; Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 53-54.}}

If the Army's numerous misfits made the guard house and its prison facilities an essential feature of every Army installation, by the same token the small size of Army staffs made office space and a post headquarters building almost non essential. Imposing post headquarters buildings with their numerous offices were practically unknown even at the larger southern posts. Fort McPherson contained one building which housed the offices of the quartermaster and commissary and, in all, included eight

\footnote{\textit{Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 77, 88, 149; Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 53-54.}}
office rooms; Ash Barracks' office space was confined to four rooms in one of the buildings housing officers and, at Ringgold Barracks, the adjutant had a separate building containing three rooms. 52

Office space on smaller posts was even less prominent. Separate buildings were employed at a few places: at Frankfort, Kentucky, the offices of the adjutant and quartermaster and the quartermaster stores occupied a building the size of the barracks of the enlisted men; at Fort Johnson the commanding officer had a small brick office which measured 22 by 20 feet; and at the Post of Newberry the commanding officer and the adjutant occupied a frame cottage which contained the offices of the quartermaster and commissary, the dispensary and the hospital's storeroom. The adjutant and the quartermaster at Fort Barrancas had offices in a small building of two rooms each measuring 14 by 16 feet and at Fort Macon each of these officers had office space and storerooms in casemates. 53

When separate building were not available it was not unusual for offices and orderly rooms to be located

52 Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, p. 146 and Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 152, 232.

53 Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 116, 139, 164; RMHP 114, Ft. Johnson, p. 10 and RMHP 197, Fort Macon, p. 10, NA.
in barracks. At Elizabethtown, Kentucky, company offices were not only in the barracks but also contained the bunks of the first sergeants. The Post of Baton Rouge, an old installation, had no separate buildings for offices but, instead, relegated them to storerooms in the barracks. The rented quarters at Lancaster, Kentucky, and Yorkville, South Carolina, not having been designed as barracks, of course, made no provisions for a headquarters building but, at the same time, the officers were probably not surprised at the prospect of having to locate their offices in the troops' barracks. 54

The dearth of headquarters buildings is explained by the fact that prior to 1873, though not necessarily permitted, they were not authorized. The Regulations in force throughout the major portion of the Reconstruction period only allowed one room to be used as office space for the post commander, the post quartermaster and the post commissary. In 1873, however, the erection of post headquarters buildings seems to have been encouraged by the authorization of a separate two-room building for the post commanders and store houses with offices for the post

54 RMAF 90, Post of Elizabethtown, p. 3, N4; Cir. 4, SG0, 1870, p. 175 and Cir. 8, SG0, 1875, pp. 147, 177.
quartermasters and commissaries. By these regulations the office space allotted could be furnished prior to 1873 with two common desks or tables, six common chairs, one pair of andirons, shovels and tongs and, after 1873, with an additional stove, poker and coal scuttle—when necessary.

The housing provided for supplies perhaps merits a little additional discussion. In the smaller posts of company size, as indicated above, such facilities were combined with other installations on the posts. At larger installations separate accommodations were required. The quartermaster and commissary at Ash Barracks occupied frame buildings, the former having a structure which measured 40 by 220 and the latter one which measured 20 by 60 feet. A single building which measured 50 by 100 feet was occupied at the Post of Columbia, and the storeroom at Ringgold Barracks was located in an old rickety barracks which was infested with vermin. Casemates were used for storage at Forts Monroe, Bacon, and Pulaski. Regardless of location, however, no Army post could boast a storehouse with as much historical background as that of the Post of San

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55 AR 1861, p. 160 and AR 1873, p. 144.

Antonio whose forage, camp, and garrison equipment and workshops were located in the Alamo. 57

Also to be found on some posts were stables and corrals for horses, small buildings housing sutler's stores, shops for the tailor, carpenter, blacksmith and saddler, if such were employed, school rooms, chapels and magazines. Such installations, however, were not common and merit little attention. The facilities for providing water which were of extreme importance and were prominent features of every military installation will be discussed below.

In rented facilities the above buildings were located without pattern, but on planned installations a certain design was apparent. The center of each post was the parade ground, a grassy area which was quite often rectangular in shape. On one side of this plot were found the barracks of the enlisted men, on another side were the officers' quarters all erected in a straight line. Also fronting on the parade at some posts were the office buildings and, if the area was large enough to afford a measure of isolation, the hospital. The parade ground itself was laid out in a formal design created by walks, and its focal

57 Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 162, 127, 232, 53, 154, Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 149, 163.
point was the flagstaff.

Behind each barracks and officers' quarters, also erected in nicely dressed lines, were the kitchens and dining shacks, if of course these had not been included in the barracks themselves. Sinks formed another row to the rear and somewhat removed from the kitchens and barracks. Laundresses' quarters were generally located somewhere in the area in back of the enlisted barracks. Other buildings on the posts were located where convenient away from the barracks and quarters.

The appearances of these posts varied. If brick or stone as Jackson Barracks, Oglethorpe Barracks, Ringgold Barracks, Mount Vernon Barracks, and the Post of Baton Rouge they must have been pleasing to the eye. Otherwise even such an installation as Fort McPherson must have looked rather drab at their whitewashed best and otherwise rather disreputable. Coastal installations were grim in appearance from the outside and from within no doubt gave promise of comfort that was not fulfilled.

In summary the military installations in the South were varied, extending from mere tent camps and rented quarters to strong fortifications. Most prominent throughout the ten years of Reconstruction were the semi-permanent cantonments which were located near strategic points and in the larger towns of the South. Much more plentiful were
the temporary camps and rented quarters which were es-

established for short periods during emergencies. Regardless
of the type of structure utilized several generalizations

can be made: these installations, when measured against
the standards of World War II, were neither comfortable nor
healthful and reflected the lack of interest held by the
general public and the government in the professional sol-
dier. However, they were adequate for the performance of
the Army's mission, as good or better than those utilized
by other Armies of the period and they embodied much that
was in keeping with the times.
CHAPTER IX
RATIONS AND CLOTHING

The food eaten by soldiers in the South during the Reconstruction period could not have tempted a person with a discriminating taste and a delicate constitution. An examination of numerous menus reveals that meals were inclined to reflect a limited imagination on the part of the persons responsible for their planning and a complete avoidance of what is now considered a proper diet.1

Breakfasts on all posts were similar. Meat, beef or pork, was served either fried, boiled, roasted, cold or, perhaps, as hash along with home made bread baked in the post bakery. This meat and bread were washed down with coffee.

The noon meal, dinner, was the largest and possibly the most appetizing meal of the day. The dinner menus varied considerably but always included the two staples, bread and meat, and a vegetable. Potatoes were commonly eaten at

1 Sample menus may be found in RMHP 40, Post of Charleston, p. 92; RMHP 450, Post of Little Rock, p. 102; RMHP 61, Post of Chattanooga, p. 162; RMHP 151, Post of Jackson, p. 151; RMHP 724, Ringgold Barracks, p. 78; RMHP 213, Post of Newberry, p. 213, and RMHP 49, Post of Columbia, p. 48, NA.
noon meals and so were beans and onions. Peas, hominy, rice, and sweet potatoes were served less often. Both varieties of meat were either boiled or roasted and the pork was sometimes fried. Stew and soups were each eaten once or twice a week, and onion gravy was not an uncommon dish. The dinner included no hint of a dessert.

Supper, like breakfast, was a monotonous meal as predictable in content as the setting of the sun. Almost without exception it consisted of bread and coffee. When something else was served it was not a spectacular variation. Instead of bread the Post of Columbia, South Carolina, featured corn bread and syrup every other day in 1875. At the Post of Little Rock in 1874, syrup provided a sweetening for Saturday suppers and tea replaced coffee on Sunday.

A typical bill of fare, therefore, was that enjoyed by Company K, 18th Infantry, at the Post of Newberry, South Carolina, during the week ending December 19, 1874. It was as follows, with bread and coffee served with breakfast and dinner but alone at supper:

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2 RMHP 49, Post of Columbia, pp. 47-48 and RMHP 450, Post of Little Rock, p. 102, NA.

3 RMHP 213, Post of Newberry, p. 35, NA.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Breakfast</th>
<th>Dinner</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Boiled Pork</td>
<td>Mashed potatoes, roast beef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Potato stew, beef, onions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Roast beef, bean soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mashed potatoes, roast beef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Roast beef, bean soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Roast beef, pea soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Roast beef, mashed potatoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Somewhat better meals were served at the Post of Charleston at the same time. Bread and coffee were also regular items on the menu at this post, being the entire menu for all suppers but one, which included mackerel, each week.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Breakfast</th>
<th>Dinner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S Hash</td>
<td>Beef stew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Hash</td>
<td>Boiled beef, beef soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T Boiled ham</td>
<td>Roast beef, potatoes, onion gravy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W Hash</td>
<td>Vegetable soup, boiled beef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T Boiled ham</td>
<td>Roast beef, potatoes, onion gravy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Hash</td>
<td>Vegetable soup, boiled beef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Roast beef, onion</td>
<td>Pork, baked beans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quality and quantity of food was dependent upon two factors, the cooks and the supplies issued. The food reported purchased by the Commissary General included pork and beef, flour and corn meal, various and sundry vegetables, some fruits, the usual condiments, and tea and coffee. As indicated above, the amount of this food

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4 RMHP 40, Post of Charleston, pp. 92-93, NA
received was based on Army Regulations which specified how much food should be issued. This food was probably adequate but sometimes was of poor quality, particularly when it had an opportunity to spoil. For instance, an inspector at the Post of Mobile found that the beef issued there was of poor quality and the vegetables, having been purchased in New Orleans, were spoiled on arrival. Similarly, potatoes and onions shipped to Fort Jefferson, Florida, by steamer from New Orleans were rotten and had to be dumped overboard on their arrival and two thirds of the flour was unfit for use. But such complaints were generally rare after 1866, and it was common for reports to indicate that the rations issued were good.  

The want of variety in the ration was compensated for in two ways. Money was saved on rations issued: this was done by accepting cash in lieu of rations that were not needed or by selling rations that were accepted but were not eaten. Such money was placed in the post or company fund and was often used to buy food to supplement the soldiers' diet.  

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Secondly, the commissary's issue was supplemented by food raised in post gardens and acquired in other ways by the troops themselves. For instance, at the Post of Lebanon in one summer the following items were produced in a post garden of 2 3/4 acres:

- 26 bu. of early potatoes
- 33 bu. of sweet potatoes
- 8 bu. of sweet corn
- 1600 heads of cabbage
- 194 bu. of late potatoes
- 75 bu. of tomatoes
- 28 bu. of beans
- 20 bu. of radishes

In addition to this produce the company had enlarged its fare by chicken, fresh pork, veal, salt beef, ham, mackerel, cod fish, eggs, and milk, all purchased by money from the company fund.\(^7\)

Similar gardens were made at other posts. Comparable produce was grown at the Post of Newberry, catsup was made from tomatoes grown at the Post of Columbia and a large amount of food was grown in the garden at Fort Barrancas, but in 1870, at least, nearly everything was dried up by the sun. Post gardens were regarded as legitimate and necessary features of almost every post where such gardens were feasible and did much toward preserving the health of the enlisted men.\(^8\)

Food from gardens was supplemented by that from

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7 RMHP 162, Post of Lebanon, p. 69, NA.

8 RMHP 47, Post of Columbia, p. 15; SC 1870, p. 156, RMHP 213, Post of Newberry, p. 29, NA.
other sources on a few posts in the South. The garrison at Fort Macon, North Carolina, added to its rations and built up the amount of money in the post fund in 1874 by fishing. As a result of their efforts the men of Company L, 4th Artillery, fishing with a large seine, caught 101 barrels of mullet and nine of bluefish. The whole catch was salted. Sixty of the barrels of mullet were sold at five dollars a barrel, which paid for the seine and boat used in the operation and left a surplus for their company fund. The rest of the catch was kept for the company's consumption. At the same time Company L, 2d Artillery, on the same post, seined for one day and caught nine barrels of bluefish.9

Inland at the post of Little Rock the same plan was pursued. One company had a net and was able to get a few fish from the river. Hunting parties were also sent out to bring in game and were able to shoot wild ducks, pigeons and quail.10

All of the hunting that was done was not sanctioned by military authority. The commander of the Post of Franklin, Kentucky, announced to his men that he had learned with regret that some of them had been absent from their

9 RMHP 197, Ft. Macon, p. 240, NA.
10 RMHP 450, Post of Little Rock, p. 102, NA.
quarters after "Taps" for the purpose of stealing fruit and vegetables. Another post commander, at Richmond, Virginia, faced the same problem, for he was informed by an irate citizen that soldiers from Camp Williams were plundering his grapes. Neither of these cases seems to have aroused the furor later exhibited by the commander of the Post of Grenada who learned that his messes were being scorned by a group of enlisted men from Company E, 34th Infantry, who were eating in a private boarding house. The men were ordered to eat with their companies thereafter.\(^\text{11}\)

These men must have eaten out because they did not like the way food was prepared back in their companies. Food preparation throughout the Reconstruction period continued to be governed, as during the War, by Army Regulations which rotated the job of cooking among the men with each man serving as cook for a ten day period. The kitchen was under the general charge of a noncommissioned officer and inspected daily by an officer.\(^\text{12}\)

These Regulations were modified in various degrees by company commanders. At the Post of Chattanooga the

\(^{11}\) SO 37, Hq., Post of Franklin, Ky., Oct. 4, 1867 and Ltr., Wm. H. Richardson to CO, Cp. Williams, Va., Richmond, Sept. 3, 1868, LR R 37 (Cp. Williams) 1st Mil. Dist., 1868, Ltr., AAG, Post of Grenada to CO, Co. D, 34th Inf., Grenada, Miss., March 4, 1868, LB 66, Dept. of Miss., p. 51, NA.

\(^{12}\) AR 1863, p. 23.
cooking was the responsibility of the first sergeant, the cooks were appointed according to the Regulations with the most competent of the two being designated chief cook. At the Post of Newberry the cooks were on duty for a twenty day period staggered so that a new man came on every ten days. The new man became the number two cook, the ten day veteran the chief, having had ten days of valuable experience behind him. A longer period was in vogue at the Post of Columbia, being described as for a "considerable period of time"! That a man who had talent or a desire for cooking could be persuaded to spend extended periods in the kitchen is illustrated by a listing of the cooks of Company A, 7th Infantry, on its regimental return of 1866. The names ran in the following fashion:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>Cannon and Tagartz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Cannon and Brennan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>Cannon and Sparr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>Cannon and Sparr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Slade and Roberts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>Bell and Pruteman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>Hall and Stowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Lashley and Whitmore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Herbert and Lanahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>Brennan and Lanahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Cannon and Farrell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Cannon, Farrell and Weiler</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Private Cannon seems to have had a special aptitude for the kitchen, but even he slaved over Company A's stove only six months of the year while others cooked for lesser periods.  

13 RMHP 61, Post of Chattanooga, p. 191; RMHP 213, Post of Newberry, p. 30 and RMHP 49, Post of Columbia, p. 46, NA.
The evils of such a system are apparent. They were aptly summed up by Dr. Richard S. Vickery, the surgeon of the Post of Little Rock in 1875. Dr. Vickery stated that

The diet of the Companies could be improved materially by having skilled cooks who could make a more varied and economical use of the same material. At present a man is detailed as cook without any extra pay, his duty is more constant and laborious, so that generally in a month or six weeks when he begins to learn how to cook properly, he gets dissatisfied, and goes back to his Company duties, and a green hand is detailed, to go through the same process again.14

The food when prepared was well cooked. Speaking of the Army in general, the Surgeon General observed in 1875 that beef was usually roasted and, probably, as with most other meats, was overcooked because few soldiers would eat rare beef. One other facet was also noted. Ice was at a premium and its scarcity resulted in warm drinking water and melted butter, particularly during the hot summer months.15

If any Army cook book was in common usage during the Reconstruction period it received scant attention in Army records. An ideal for cooks was held up for them in 1875 by the Surgeon General who probably incorporated in his "The Cook's Creed" the better thinking on food preparation in the post Civil War period. Although the real

14 RMHP 450, Post of Little Rock, p. 105, NA.
15 cir. s, SGO, 1875, pp. XXXIII, XXXIX and RMHP 61, Post of Chattanooga, p. 158, NA.
value of such a creed is debatable, it is presented below in full as a goal toward which the better cooks may have been striving.

Cleanliness is next to godliness, both in persons and kettles. Be ever industrious, then, in scouring your pots. Much elbow-grease, a few ashes, and a little water, are capital aids to the careful cook. Better wear out your pans with scouring than your stomachs with purging; and it is less dangerous to work your elbows than your comrade's bowels. Dirt and grease betray the poor cook, and destroy the poor soldier, while health, content and good cheer should reward him who does his duty and keeps his kettles clean. In military life punctuality is not only a duty, but a necessity, and the books should always endeavor to be exact in time. Be sparing with sugar and salt, as a deficiency can be better remedied than an overplus.

Remember that beans, badly boiled, kill more than bullets; and fat is more fatal than powder. In cooking, more than in anything else in the world, always make haste slowly. One hour too much is vastly better than five minutes too little, with rare exceptions. A big fire scorches your soup, burns your face and crisps your temper. Skim, simmer, and scour, are the true secrets of good cooking.16

Cooks had nothing to do with the water drunk on southern Army posts but, like the food, it varied in its source of supply and its quality. It was taken from wells, cisterns, streams, springs, and city water mains and was brought to the soldiers in pipes and in barrels.

16 Cir. 8, SGO 1875, p. XI. Reprinted from Camp Fires and Camp Cooking; or Culinary Hints for the Soldier by Capt. James M. Sanderson, Washington, 1862.
Wells, of course, were the logical and most sanitary place of origin. The Post of Lebanon, Kentucky, was supplied by a dug well five feet in diameter and 43 feet deep. In contrast to this mammoth hole, water at Fort McPherson was taken from 22 wells each located behind a kitchen building. These wells produced soft water. Wells were also found at most other posts including the Posts of Lancaster, Jefferson, Texas, and, in 1871, of Chattanooga, Tennessee. 17

Artesian wells or springs furnished drinking water at the Posts of Mobile and Huntsville and supplemented the well at the Post of Lancaster, Kentucky. By 1875 the Post of Chattanooga was also supplied from a spring—this one being three quarters of a mile from the post.

Less fresh in all probability was water taken from cisterns. Four hundred thousand gallons each year were collected into cisterns at Fort Pulaski, Georgia. This supply was supplemented by a thousand gallons which could be condensed daily but was not used for drinking. Two cisterns stored water for the Post of Shreveport which, when strained, answered the purpose "tolerably well." Good water was also supplied from cisterns at the Post of Baton

17 Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 149-150, Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 147, 175, RMP 150, Post of Lancaster, Ky., and Cir., Hq., Post of Chattanooga, Tenn., Aug. 5, 1871, LB 377, Post of Chattanooga, p. 168, NA.
River water quenched the soldiers' thirsts at Jackson Barracks, Louisiana, and at the Post of Jackson, Mississippi. No comment was made about the Mississippi River water that supplied Jackson Barracks but the commander at the Post of Jackson had a great deal to say about the source of supply at his post. According to Colonel Biddle, the water was obtained from either a creek that passed through the town or from Pearl River. The creek was described as having been small and filthy and to have been used for washing horses and carriages and dumping sewage. It could only be used as a source for drinking water during high water. At low water the river was tapped for its water, but even it was muddy and filthy and caused much sickness in the Jackson garrison. To remedy this, Biddle requested authorization to build six cisterns, which permission was granted.  

The water from these sources reached the soldiers by several methods. It must be assumed that when there was a well or cistern the water was simply gotten out by hand pumps or buckets. When the water had to be obtained from

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18 Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, p. 150, Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, pp. 173-175.

19 Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, p. 163; Ltr., CO, Post of Jackson to AAG, 4th Mil. Dist., Jackson, Miss., Aug. 14, 1868, LR J 42, 4th Mil. Dist., 1868, NA.
points distant from the posts for some reason or other, it was hauled in barrels by wagons. This method was resorted to at the Post of Chattanooga in 1875 and during dry spells at the Posts of Lancaster and Mount Sterling, Kentucky.  

Running water was supplied by utilizing gravity and pumps. In general the water was pumped into reservoirs by steam engines from its sources of supply—a city reservoir at Ash Barracks and the Post of Nashville, the river and a spring at Jackson Barracks—into reservoirs or tanks. Gravity then pulled the water through the pipes which distributed it over the posts.

One of the most complicated systems was that employed at the Post of Huntsville, Alabama. The water came from a spring in a hill at the rear of the post. It was carried underground through wooden pipes for 500 feet, then 550 feet across a ravine on a trestle 27 feet high into a 3200 gallon tank on the north side of the post. From this north tank water was distributed to the officers' quarters, was reserved for fires, and was passed into another pipe which carried it 534 feet through a fountain in the center

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20  Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, p. 125; RMHP 160, Post of Lancaster, p. 69 and Ltr., CO, Post of Mt. Sterling, to AAG, Dept. of Ky., Mt. Sterling, Ky., Sept. 16, 1871, LB 202, Dept. of Ky., NA.

21  RMHP 2, Ash Barracks, p. 16, NA.  Cir. 4, SGO, 1870, p. 163, Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, p. 160.
of the parade ground and downhill to a tank below. From this tank water was drawn for use by the enlisted men, the laundresses and the hospital and then was siphoned off to yet a third tank below. At the lower level the water ran into horse troughs and spilled over on the ground to flow away. The entire system extended over 1600 feet. In addition to the spring water, rain water was stored in cisterns at the rear of the officers' and the enlisted men's quarters from which it was drawn by chain pumps.22

The water available on southern posts may have been either pure or teeming with bacteria but, potable or not, during the summer months, it was warm. As late as 1875 the Surgeon General of the Army noted that ice was scarce at southern posts and that its absence was strongly felt. Commenting on this situation the Surgeon General quoted a complaining officer stationed in St. Augustine to the effect that tepid water was just as disagreeable in the South where the temperatures soared over ninety as it was in the North. He asked only that the government build ice houses so that the enlisted men could buy ice with money from the company funds. The need for ice becomes very apparent when it is remembered that the drinking water often was kept in

22 Cir. 8, SGO, 1875, pp. 132-133.
storage tanks or reservoirs exposed to the southern sun. 23

The soldier was furnished with one other item for his inner consumption, namely tobacco. By acts of March 3 and 20, 1865, it was provided that plug tobacco, in grade not less than the best "Navy plug," be furnished the troops in quantities of no more than one pound a man each month. This was to be supplied once a month at cost and paid for by deductions made from the soldiers' pay. 24

In addition to being supplied with his food and tobacco the enlisted men of the Army were also issued their clothing. Army Regulations stated that a soldier was to be allowed specified articles of clothing or their equivalent in money value. This clothing was drawn and issued by company commanders twice a year as a usual thing. Should the clothing not be needed, its money value, as announced annually in general orders, was credited to the soldier's account which was balanced out at the time of his discharge. Articles of clothing issued during a five year enlistment were as follows: 25

23
Ibid., p. XXXIX.

24
WDGO 64, Aug. 15, 1866.

25
AR 1863, pp. 163-171.
Prior to the early 1870's the soldiers of the United States Army were clothed in the uniform that had been worn during the Civil War—dark blue coats, light blue trousers, the kepi, flannel shirts, muslin or flannel drawers, heavy brogans, and leather stocks to encase the neck. Not only was the same type of uniform being worn, but the post-war Army in that day of economy was clothed in the surpluses from the Quartermaster's depots and continued to wear leftovers until the new uniform was finally

### TABLE 4

CLOTHING ISSUED DURING A FIVE YEAR ENLISTMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cap, complete</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hat with trimmings</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cover</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coat</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trousers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flannel shirts</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flannel drawers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bootees, pair</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockings, pair</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather stock</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great coat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatigue overalls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanket</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable frock for mounted men</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
distributed in 1874.\textsuperscript{26}

This policy resulted in a saving of Army funds and occasionally in some rather ridiculous looking soldiers. Major William B. Royall, on inspecting companies of the 5th Cavalry in South Carolina in 1867, found that some of the trousers issued were so small that, to make them long enough, their saddle pieces were ripped from the crotch and spliced to the bottoms of the legs. The same trouble was experienced at the same time in the Department of the Cumberland, where there were complaints that tall men could not get pants that came much below the knees.\textsuperscript{27}

Proper fitting seems to have become a problem after 1870 when supplies of clothing began to grow short. The Quartermaster General in his annual report stated that some clothing supplies were exhausted—namely, the larger sized clothes and smaller sized hats and shoes. In explaining this lack of large sizes, the Quartermaster General remarked that it had been the practice for men to draw large size garments and then have them cut down to fit by their company tailors. To meet this shortage the tailoring method was reversed. The smaller sizes on hand were issued togeth-

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26} RMHP 227, Post of Petersburg, p. 126, NA.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Ltr., AIG, 2d Mil. Dist. to AAG, 2d Mil. Dist. Charleston, S.C., May 21, 1867, Ltr., R 47, 2d Mil. Dist. 1867, Vol. I and the IG, Dept. of the Cumberland to AIG, Dept. of the Cumberland, Louisville, May 9, 1867, NA.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
er with additional cloth which was used by the tailor to enlarge the garments that were too small. 28

The practice of using the left over uniforms obtained from a variety of manufacturers during the War was detrimental to a military appearance in one other way. In his annual report of 1870 the Inspector General complained that quartermasters had not taken care to supply the men of the same company with the same shades of blue coats and trousers. Therefore, it was not uncommon for units to present a motley appearance with five or six shades of blue appearing in the ranks of a single company. The quality of the cloth was as varied as the colors. 29

The uniform had served its purpose during the War, even though its more dressy non-essentials had been cast aside and had rusted or rotted in southern thickets shortly after the beginning of its owner's first campaign. After the War the veterans, remembering the uniform's defects as they were to do after World War II, were critical and reexamined it with an eye toward its improvement.

Foremost among the examiners was the Surgeon General who made his survey and published his report in 1868.

In general he found that the chief complaint against the uniforms had to do with their poor quality. They were tailored carelessly, so that it was generally said that they could not be made reasonably comfortable until they were remade. As a result the Surgeon General reported that the men felt that they were being neglected and defrauded and developed a hatred for the service which impaired discipline and morale.\textsuperscript{30}

There were specific comments on each item. Because of their lack of ventilation the hat and cap were deemed to be oppressive in the heat. The cap gave no protection for the face and neck and was difficult to clean with soap and water because of the pasteboard it contained.\textsuperscript{31}

Three shirts were described as having been issued the troops: a large one of white flannel, another of bluish gray and a third of knitted wool. The latter two were criticized for troops in the South because they irritated the skin with their coarseness.\textsuperscript{32}

The lower reaches of the soldiers' bodies were covered by woolen stockings which, the surgeon maintained,

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{30} Alfred Woodhull, \textit{A Medical Report upon the Uniform and Clothing of the Soldiers of the United States Army}, (Washington, 18-\textemdash ) p. 4.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., p. 5.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., p. 15.
\end{flushright}
were miserable in texture. Their drawers, when worn with the trousers, were so oppressive in warm weather that they were discarded and the trousers worn alone. These trousers, described as being of "undeviating" thickness, were a source of complaint in warm weather and, when they became saturated with dust and perspiration, irritated the soldiers' drawerless legs. 33

The uniform coat was considered to have been too tight and insufferable in the South during the warmer months because of its thickness. It was observed that "The reports from southern stations represent with almost pathetic earnestness the serious consequences following its use in summer." 34

The footwear was criticized as well as the rest of the wearing apparel. The shoe issued to infantry men was described as having been below standard in material and fit. The boots issued to cavalrymen were likewise of poor quality and were both too small around the legs and too short for wearing the trousers tucked in. As a result, in order to obtain both comfort and ultimate economy, the men were said to have bought their shoes from private dealers at higher prices than they would have had to pay at the

33 Ibid., pp. 16-20.
34 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
The soldiers' clothing woes were climaxed by the uncomfortable and outmoded leather stock. This was a useless item which had been early discarded by troops on active campaigns during the War, if it was ever issued in the first place, and in the post-war period the stock was said to have been generally discarded in practice, though Regulations still required that it be worn. It was stiff, impeded the motion of the neck and chafed the skin. Its popularity Army-wide is attested by the fact that out of 168 reporting surgeons, only one came out in its favor.

Along toward the middle of the 1870's certain changes were made in the uniform in the hope of bettering it. In the words of William Walton, a nineteenth century authority on the armed forces,

The full dress hat of the infantry was still the light felt one, and the fatigue caps were lower than those worn during the war, the top falling forward. The skirt of the coat, which was designed as a basque, was shortened, and was trimmed with sky blue on the collars, cuffs and skirt; the number of the regiment was placed on the collar. The plumes of the field officers and the pompoms of the commissioned and noncommissioned officers were white. The cap ornament of this arm of the service was a bugle ... and when the helmet was adopted ... it was distinguished by a

36 Ibid., p. 10.
spike, the plume for full dress remaining white.37

There were other changes, of course. Walton might have noted that the members of other branches than infantry had their own particular colored facings and that cavalry wore a comparatively short blouse. Pompoms could be placed upon the caps, for the helmets mentioned had only been given to mounted troops prior to 1876 when other soldiers began to get them. In addition to these changes, new shoes were ordered whose soles were held to the uppers by screws of brass wire. An improved blanket was also adopted.38

But even these new uniforms were subject to criticism. The surgeon at the Post of Sumter complained that it cost too much for the men to have them altered. A dress coat was priced at five dollars and then two dollars and a half were charged by company tailors for alterations or five dollars if the coat were taken to a civilian tailor. A blouse cost two collars thirteen cents, a dollar and a half to be altered without binding, two fifty, or more than the original cost, with binding.39


39 RMHP 283, Post of Sumter, p. 73, NA.
Insofar as southern posts were concerned, the new uniform, unlike the old, was of good quality but, like the old, was too heavy for comfortable wear during the warmer months. The seriousness of this situation resulted in a divergence of views. The surgeon at the Post of Baton Rouge believed that wearing so much unsuitable clothing was conducive to disease. However, the surgeon at the Post of Jackson, Mississippi, believed that heavy uniforms in the heat of the southern summer constituted only a matter of "inconvenience" since the amount of sickness there had been relatively small due to the fact, so he believed, that the heavy uniforms protected their wearers from the dire perils of sudden cold. 40

Some concessions were made in an attempt to make the uniform more comfortable during the warmer weather. In 1868, for instance, the troops at the Post of Raleigh received permission from General Canby to wear blouses instead of uniform coats, black ties or cloth bands instead of leather stocks, and straw hats of the type used in the Navy instead of uniform hats. 41

40 RMHP 450, Post of Little Rock, pp. 113-114; RMHP 25, Post of Baton Rouge, pp. 207-208 and RMHP 151, Post of Jackson, pp. 161-162, NA.

41 Ltr., AIG, 2d Mil. Dist. to CO, Post of Raleigh, Charleston, S.C., April 15, 1868, LB 73, 2d Mil. Dist., LS 34, NA.
Straw hats were a popular summer headdress. From July through September 1868 straw hats, with crowns not to exceed four inches in height and brims less than two and a half inches wide, were permitted to be worn in the First Military District on all occasions except for parades and reviews. This so long as they were uniform in each command. At the Post of Jackson straw hats were available for purchase from the post quartermaster and they were imported in quantity from the North by the Post of Vicksburg. The surgeon at Vicksburg was pleased to report that since the Vicksburg garrison had been wearing straw hats they had suffered less from the "coup de soleil" than formerly. So popular were they that the surgeon general in his special 1868 report commented that at nearly every post south of Washington the regulation headdress gave way during the summer to a lighter hat, generally made of straw.42

For some reason or other, perhaps because they did not like the quality or fit of the uniform or because they sought to achieve some measure of individuality, the men serving in the Army during the South's reconstruction were constantly failing to wear the uniform in the prescribed manner. It was complained that the men at the Post of Nashville wore items of citizens' clothing, especially

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42 RMHP 149, Post of Jackson, Miss., p. 6; RMHP 325, Post of Vicksburg, p. 78, NA. Woodhull, op. cit., p. 5.
black hats which, it will be remembered, were rather popular with soldiers during the War. And some of the infantry soldiers of the garrison, possibly hoping that a little of the glamor would rub off, were found to be wearing cavalry coats without the proper insignia. While these complaints were being registered at Nashville, the adjutant at the Post of Columbia, on behalf of the post commander, thundered at the commander of Company H, 5th Cavalry, because his men were also caught wearing civilian clothing, particularly hats and caps.43

But the practice continued, for it was reported at the Post of Columbia on the following year and ten years later the adjutant at the Post of Nashville continued to carp at company commanders because their men were out of uniform—this time because buttons being worn on uniforms were not of the proper design or amount.44

The Army has long been plagued with the apparent determination of its men not to wear the uniform as pre-


scribed by regulations. The desire to assert a measure of individualism prompted some of this without doubt, as did vanity. One sergeant at the Post of Lauderdale, Mississippi, for instance, was observed by an inspector to be wearing velvet chevrons. 45

Non-regulation clothing may also have been purchased because it was cheaper than that sold by the quartermaster or because regulation clothing was not available. As indicated above, soldiers could receive money in lieu of authorized clothing not drawn and, with soldiers' pay being low, it can be readily understood why they may have tried to save money on uniforms which, though not regulation, were almost so. 46 Clothing should have been available at the larger posts, but smaller installations in remote areas were in short supply. The commander of a detachment at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, wrote that his men were partially clad in civilian clothing because none other was available. Civilian clothes were likewise worn by officers at the Post of Austin, Texas, and the men there, because of a scarcity of boots, wrapped their feet in blankets. It was inferred

45 Ltr., AIG, 4th Mil. Dist. to AAG, 4th Mil. Dist., Lauderdale, Miss., May 30, 1869, LR, p. 67 ("A" 4th Mil. Dist.) 1869, NA.

that in this instance the responsibility for the deficiency rested with the commanders and not necessarily with the system.47

The system, therefore, was an odd one when viewed from the vantage point of eighty years. Soldiers were issued food, adequate according to dietary standards of the time, and then discouraged from eating it by a system of preparation which was almost totally impractical and by an inducement to make money either by not accepting rations or by selling them. As this system made for poorly nourished soldiers, the way in which clothing was supplied made for a poorly dressed occupation force. The desire to save money meant that, before new uniforms could be adopted, the quartermaster warehouses had to be emptied of those purchased for use during the Civil War. Though these were unsuited for wear in the South, modifications were not made until the new uniform was adopted in the early seventies, and then comfort was a secondary factor. Neither in matters of dress nor diet was the soldier indulged by a generous government.

47 Ltr., Capt. E. F. Ryan to CO, Post of Selma, Ala., Tuscaloosa, Ala., May 18, 1868, and AIG, 5th Mil. Dist., New Orleans, La., Mar. 1867, LR A "F" 8, 5th Mil. Dist. 1867, NA.
The Regular Army, 1866 to 1877, was a healthier organization than its post-war Volunteer predecessor had been. The fruits of experience and its improved discipline were evidenced by a decline in the sickness and mortality rates as the years encompassing Reconstruction passed. The mortality rates of 1865, 1.5 per 1,000 per month between May and November, declined until by the year June 1868-June 1869, the Surgeon General was able to report that only 2,589 persons per 1,000 had been counted among the ailing and, of these, only 13 in each 1,000 had died. A further gradual decline continued until in the year 1874-1875, the year preceding the Custer debacle which made a shambles of the Surgeon General's overall figures, only 1,683 troops of each 1,000 had gone on sick call and 11 per 1,000 had died. Included among those counted were the men wounded, hurt in accidents, fallen prey to the prosaic ailments of mankind, and attacked by the violent epidemics which swept the United States in that era.¹

The most spectacular and most dreaded scourges which threatened the garrisons in the South were yellow fever and cholera. Less dramatic but more prevalent maladies included malaria, intermittent and remittent fevers, syphilis, gonorrhea, rheumatism, catarrh, diarrhea, and dysentery.

Army personnel suffered most from yellow fever during the summer and early fall of 1867. The disease was carried by a schooner from Vera Cruz, Mexico, in May, to Indianola, Texas, where, in a relatively mild form, it spread through the civilian population. The troops were quartered in a camp on the windward side of town and were free of disease for two weeks before it was brought into camp by some men who had been guarding quartermaster property in Indianola. It was transmitted to additional men until it reached epidemic proportions. The garrison was moved to Green Lake, 22 miles inland where two men who had the disease died but where no new cases occurred. Of the 29 men who had caught the fever, 15 recovered and 14 died.2

Victoria, Hempstead, Brenham, Brownsville, Austin, Jefferson, Goliad, Galveston and Houston were also visited by the death bearing aedes aegypti, whose role in the epidemic was, as yet, quite unsuspected. The drainage on

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Galveston Island was described by Assistant Surgeon Cyrus Bacon as having been very bad for a pond of filthy water, the beginning of Hitchcock Bayou, was right in the city. Officers, men, doctors, and their families caught the fever and, among the fatalities, was Major General Daniel Grifphen, the district commander, who had turned down an opportunity to go to New Orleans in order to remain at his place of duty in Texas. Approximately nine thousand civilians caught the disease and about 14 per cent of them died. Of the 199 who became infected there were 79 fatalities. It was believed that the Army suffered so heavily because its personnel were not acclimated. The disease was brought to a halt, not only by the coming of winter but because a violent storm in October flooded the lower part of the city. It was feared that the storm would spread the fever, but apparently it flushed the island clean with the opposite result. The effects of this scourge were also mitigated by the efforts of a group called the Howard Association which devoted itself to caring for the stricken.³

At Houston where nearly every man in the garrison fell victim to the disease and 25 of the 71 infected died, measures were taken to stem the deathly tide to no avail.

³_Ibid., pp. 71-75, 84-88._
On learning that the disease had broken out in Galveston, the post commander ordered that the camp be moved to the windward side of the city. It was kept thoroughly policed and at night was smoked by pine wood fires burning around it. Disinfectant was used liberally, and the troops were fortified internally by doses of quinine and whiskey given each morning and night. But, the surgeon complained, for some reason traffic with Houston could not be stopped and convalescents got improper items of diet which they ate and which brought on new attacks more severe than those from which they were recovering.\

Yellow fever was introduced to New Orleans by a ship from Havana. From New Orleans the virus was spread to various points in Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee including Ship Island, Vicksburg, Memphis, and Mobile.

While infecting other portions of the South, the disease did its work in a deadly fashion in New Orleans. A surgeon on duty there reported that, of all the troops of six companies and a battery in Jackson Barracks, less than fifty men, one company, escaped the disease. At its height on September 28, 283 were on sick report while only four officers and 112 men were on duty. During the course of

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Ibid., pp. 71-75, 93-94.
the fever the post commander came down with it and left the post for a civilian hospital in New Orleans. For awhile then, panic prevailed and many men got drunk. It was observed that among the habitually drunk who got the disease but few recovered. On the other hand, among the few who escaped the disease entirely were numbered several old inebriates who seized upon the epidemic as an excuse for being continually drunk.

Two other factors were also observed by Surgeon Bennett A. Clements. In the companies whose officers showed a great deal of concern for the welfare of their men and visited them several times during the day and night, the men were more contented and seemed less liable to die than their more neglected comrades. Furthermore, of the 22 colored cavalrymen on the post and the numerous Negro servants there, only one colored soldier became ill. The same pattern was found in New Orleans as a whole. Among the white troops there at a mean strength of 761, 659 caught the disease and 195 died. Of a mean strength of 313 Negro troops, 163 fell victim to the fever but only 23 died. In short, the Negroes seemed to be all but immune.5

New Orleans' yellow fever germs fathered the disease in Mobile. The virus was believed to have been carried there unwittingly by a Lieutenant John K. Hezlep

5 Ibid., pp. 71-75, 125-126.
who arrived at Fort Morgan, Mobile, from New Orleans, complained of being sick and fell dead suddenly on August 13th. His death was followed at Fort Morgan by that of 11 others, one half of the number who contracted the sickness.

Before he died Hezlep was nursed by a brother officer, Lieutenant Charles H. Breckinridge, who, on the following day, saw fit to sit down and write out his will. Lieutenant Breckinridge apparently anticipated his fate and met it calmly writing:

> In case the Yellow Fever becomes prevalent at this Post & I die of it or in any other manner. Please have me buried & have all my personal effects sent to the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge....If my body is taken from here & it is not too much trouble, I would prefer being buried in Lexington Ky, though I am by no means particular where I am buried.

Disease came to Lieutenant Breckinridge and death followed on August 27th. The tragedy was heightened on the following day when his death was announced by a general order which stated that he had been offered leave but had refused it to remain with his company. Before the mourning badges worn in Breckinridge's honor by the officers of the 15th Infantry had been removed, his successor, Lieutenant Frank C. Brunk, also died and another thirty day period of mourning began.6

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The plague was carried to isolated Fort Jefferson on the Florida Keys by a ship stopping there after having been in Havana. The virus first infected the troops quartered in casemates whose walls were slimy and covered with mold and which stood above an unfinished moat which stank at low tide. The official opinion held that the disease originated in the moat, was caused by deficient drainage there and a consequent accumulation of decomposed and decayed matter therein. Therefore, to stop the progress of the disease, the gun ports over the moat were closed and the company moved to new quarters. 7

An account of the progress of the disease was reported by a prisoner at the fort, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, who had been confined for setting John Wilkes Booth's broken leg. Mudd reported that the first case appeared on August 18th and further cases were reported on the 20th and 21st. There was a two day lull and more sickness appeared on the 23d. Two hospitals were set up to handle the cases, one in the fort and one on nearby Sand Key. By September 7th, these hospitals were full.

Dr. Mudd noticed that the disease spread among men quartered close to one another and traveled from one group to another. The disease began, as was noted above, in

Company K, it spread first to Company L, then to the prisoners, and from there to Company I quartered in the center of the fort. A fourth company, M, was quartered upwind from Company L, and, presumably, from other units, and was free of disease until September 16th, when the wind changed. Thirty men caught it on the next night and the remainder of the company on the following two nights.\(^8\)

Gloom settled over Fort Jefferson. Mudd was released from his prison casemate on about September 6th and asked to assume the responsibilities of post surgeon in place of the assigned surgeon who had become infected and was about to die. On September 3d he reported the troops panicky. By September 8th he reported that nearly every man on the island had taken sick but that one company had been moved to an adjacent key. On September 13th there were scarcely enough well persons to attend the sick and bury the dead, and all of the officers were down. On September 16th, no one was exercising the function of post commander.\(^9\)

The post surgeon, Doctor Joseph S. Smith, died on September 8th, his small son ten days later. The post commander's wife died on the 21st, and the commander himself expired later while attempting to take his son north.

\(^8\) Mudd, op. cit., pp. 288-292.

\(^9\) Ibid., pp. 257-267.
The number of cases at Fort Jefferson was only 186 out of a mean strength of 263 and, of these cases, only 32 proved fatal. But the whole atmosphere was naturally gloomy. Mudd wrote on September 25, 1867, in a letter:

You can't imagine the gloom and indifference which pervades the whole garrison. No more respect is shown the dead, be he officer or soldier, than the putrid remains of a dead dog. The burial party are allowed a drink of whiskey, both before and after the burying, which infuses a little more life in them. They move quickly, and in a half hour after a man dies, he is put in a coffin, nailed down, carried to a boat, rowed to an adjacent island, the grave dug, covered up, and the party returned, in the best of humor for their drinks. Such are life and scenes in the Tortugas. But ten men appear at roll call, and not more than twenty fit for duty in the garrison. Two companies have been sent away, which thus far have escaped the disease. ¹⁰

All told in the yellow fever epidemic of 1867, 1804 white soldiers were stricken by the disease and 368 of these men died. At the same time, of the Negro troops in the South, 25 of the 166 who caught the disease died. ¹¹

Yellow fever hit again in 1869, not at Fort Jefferson but at nearby Key West. A quarantine had been established, but somehow it was ineffective and the fever invaded the town in the bodies of some Cuban refugees. The garrison at Key West was attacked on June 28th and, before

¹⁰  Ibid., p. 27.
¹¹  SGO 1868, pp. XXIX, XXX.
the scourge had run its course, 42 of the 116 men on the post were infected and 18 had died. Too late, perhaps, those still healthy were evacuated to Indian Key on July 31st.  

Another invasion of yellow fever took place in 1873. Fever began at Fort Jefferson again on September 24th and was recognized and reported on the 28th. All women and a few married men were immediately ferried over to Loggerhead Key nearly three miles away. Two days later, after four men had died and were buried, most of the remainder of the garrison were sent to the island. At this time volunteers to remain behind were called for, and all but two or three men of the garrison offered to stay.

The weather was hot, the supply boat was in Key West and no supplies or ice were brought in until the 30th. Finally, a relief ship with a doctor and five nurses arrived to aid the two doctors already laboring there, both of whom had sick children. In all, civilians excluded, 25 persons contracted the disease and 13 died. Among the dead were the hospital matron whose child had also contracted the malady and the post commander, Lieutenant James E. Bell, who had remained at the fort to nurse the sick.  

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13 RSW 1876, p. 10.
Fort Barrancas was attacked by fever in 1873 as was Fort Jefferson again in 1876. Casualties of the 1876 attack numbered 74 and included 19 deaths among soldiers and their dependents. 14

Another dreaded scourge, cholera, swept the United States and several of its Army posts in 1866. The Army's first case was detected at Fort Columbus, Governors Island, New York, on July 3, 1866, and was found in a recruit from Minnesota who had probably carried it to Fort Columbus from New York City. From Governors Island the disease spread to Tybee Island off Savannah, to New Orleans and to Galveston. From New Orleans the disease spread into the lower Mississippi Valley, and, from Galveston, it invaded Army posts in Texas. In each instance it was apparently carried by recruits being distributed to their new places of assignment. The disease was also borne from New York to Newport Barracks, Kentucky, and, from the recruit station there, was transported to commands at Nashville, Atlanta, and Augusta. The men at Camp Grant, Richmond, Virginia, acquired the disease from Richmond and then passed it on to Norfolk. 15

14 Rept. of the Surg. Gen. to the Secy. of War, Washington D.C., June 30, 1874, RSW 1874, p. 231 and Rept. of the Secy. of War, June 50, 1876, RSW 1876, p. 10.

Cholera in its most deadly form attacked a large detachment of recruits being transported from Governors Island to garrisons of the 7th Infantry in Florida. The detachment numbered 476 and was under the command of Lieutenant Edward A. Ellsworth, 11th Infantry, and three other lieutenants. These recruits were, without doubt, little more than a potential mob, undisciplined, not trained and unaccustomed to living and working together. They were placed aboard the steamer San Salvador which carried about 75 cabin passengers and about 60 persons as crew and steerage passengers. The troops were crowded into an area forward of the wheel commonly referred to as "between decks".16

Cholera was introduced among them by a recruit who was believed to have shown symptoms of the disease when he was taken aboard. It definitely appeared among the closely confined recruits on the second day out from New York, July 16, 1866. The San Salvador then attempted to put into Hilton Head, North Carolina, but was ordered away. She steamed on to Tybee Island just off Savannah where, on July 18th, her military passengers were put ashore and quarantined. By this time three recruits had died and 25 had become sick while the passengers and crew had escaped the disease completely.17

16 Ibid., pp. IV, 29.
17 Ibid., pp. IV, 31.
A camp was set up on a stretch of beach and bedlam and despair reigned. The assistance of doctors, a hospital steward and a Roman Catholic priest was secured from Savannah. These men found the recruits on Tybee Island in a terrible condition. A severe type of diarrhea which seemed to culminate in cholera raged in the camp. This diarrhea was aggravated by green vegetables rifled from nearby gardens. Many men had already fled the camp and had died of cholera in the interior of the island or while attempting to swim to the mainland.\(^\text{18}\)

Discipline was practically non-existent and the officers with drawn pistols had to accompany details carrying the sick to hospitals to insure that the work was done. Supplies were short, the grounds were not policed, and the sick suffered for the lack of necessary care.\(^\text{19}\)

The hospital was first placed in an old fortification surrounding the "Martello Tower" but, since its walls cut off the circulation of the air and it was considered as an undesirable location, its tents were moved from inside the walls to the beach. The camp itself was moved down the beach a mile, its tents were separated widely and a rigid


\(^{19}\) \textit{Ibid.}
system of police enforced. Bathing was scheduled and sentinels were stationed about to compel the men to relieve themselves in disinfected sinks. Sick call was held every two hours, and acting first sergeants were ordered to keep close tabs on their men and to report all those who visited the sinks more than once each day. Belated hygiene instruction was given and, instead of relying upon the persuasion of their pistols, the officers sought to inspire courage and confidence among their men. Fires were kindled twice daily to burn clothing and bedding deemed infected, and chlorine was used freely as a disinfectant.\(^{20}\)

The disease diminished steadily after the camp was moved on July 25th but continued nevertheless into August felling, among others, Acting Assistant Surgeon James F. Burdett who had landed on Tybee on August 5 and died shortly thereafter. After the scourge had run its course, it was found that 202 had become sick and 116 had died. Of this number 18 had fled the camp and died in the woods. Nine of the ten unfortunate residents of the island contracted the disease and six died of it. Of the 476 recruits who had left Governors Island on the San Salvador for the 7th Infantry only 284 finally joined it in September.\(^{21}\)

\(^{20}\)Ibid., p. 30.

\(^{21}\)Ibid., p. 31, Ltr., CO, Dist. of Fla. to AAG, Mil. Div. of the Gulf, Tallahassee, Fla., Sept. 11, 1866, LB 6, Dept. of Fla., p. 459, NA.
At about the same time that the recruits on Tybee were falling victim to cholera, other recruits from Hart's Island in New York Harbor were landing at Jackson Barracks south of New Orleans. Cholera was aboard. Those troops showing signs of the disease were placed in quarantine and the remainder disembarked at Jackson Barracks. Two recruits were then sent to the hospital and the rest were shipped on to Galveston three days later.

The first case of cholera occurred in Company G, 6th Cavalry, at Holmes Foundry, the second among troops of the 6th Cavalry at Jackson Barracks. It made an almost immediate appearance among the troops of the 81st Colored Infantry and was seen at every barracks in the city within three days' time. Troops on duty in the city during the 1866 riot carried it to posts south of the town. 22

The regiment hit hardest by the plague was the 81st Colored Infantry which happened to be on duty in the town at the time of the disease's arrival. This unit was quartered in tents pitched on the levee at the foot of Canal Street, and while there its men were brought off guard and from the hovels of the city hourly in states of collapse. Water for drinking purposes at this time, from August 2d to August 10th, was drawn from the river and the troops are said to have purchased all sorts of edibles from hucksters.

22 SGO, 1867, pp. VII-VIII.
On the 10th the 81st was returned to its barracks, sanitary measures were taken, and the cholera abated.\textsuperscript{23} Three other colored regiments had similar experiences. When the cholera hit the Companies A and D, 10th Cavalry, they, like the men of the 81st, were encamped near the river on Canal Street, where they were drenched by rain, drank river water and bought trash from hucksters. Men of the 116th Colored Infantry, the 9th Cavalry and 39th Infantry likewise caught the disease while they drank river water, but it abated after they were forced to drink distilled water.\textsuperscript{24}

By the time the cholera had run its course in New Orleans, 271 colored troops had gotten the disease and 160 of them had died. Ninety-three white troops had also become infected and 24 of them had succumbed. To Lieutenant Adolphus Greely the cholera epidemic was worse than a yellow fever epidemic and a great deal worse than war.\textsuperscript{25}

Other posts that were visited by cholera in 1866 included Nashville with 72 cases and 39 deaths, Vicksburg with 59 cases and 25 deaths, San Antonio with 387 cases and 64 deaths, Richmond with 271 cases and 103 deaths and

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p. 38.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., pp. 36-38.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., pp. 2-9, 15-18, and Greely, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 96.
Brownsville with 99 cases and 57 deaths. In short the majority of posts in the larger cities of the South were visited by the disease with Charleston standing forth as a notable exception. That Charleston was not visited was said by Lieutenant Stephan P. Jocelyn to have been a source of amazement to the best medical authorities but not to Jocelyn himself. To him it was "...perfectly plain that as bad as the disease is, it yet possesses sufficient self respect to shun the villainous atmosphere that pervades Charleston and so it passes it by in disgust!"\(^26\)

After all of the surgeons' reports were in and the evidence reviewed, the Surgeon General was forced to admit that no new light had been shed on the subject of cholera and that treatment had proved to be unsuccessful. However, it seemed that hygienic measures had been salutary and the Army's attention was directed to the practice of using pure drinking water as had been done in New Orleans.\(^27\)

Another visit by cholera occurred in 1873 at the Posts of Lebanon, Kentucky, and Nashville, Tennessee. Nashville was hit in June and, as the disease seemed to be spreading, the troops were evacuated to a camp on White Creek, twelve miles from the city. The camp itself was

\(^{26}\) Jocelyn, op. cit., p. 74.

\(^{27}\) SGO, 1867, pp. XVI, XVII.
located on a ridge, and its water was obtained from a nearby spring. Except for trips to the barracks for bread every other day, all contacts with the city were severed until the epidemic abated, at which time the troops were returned to Ash Barracks. While the garrison was at White Creek Camp, a picked detachment of one officer and eight men of temperate habits were left behind to guard Federal property. Of this group four men came down with cholera but none fatally. Less fortunate, however, was the eight year old son of Lieutenant William A. Clapp, 16th Infantry, who died from the disease. 28

The cholera traveled to Lebanon, Kentucky, where it arrived, unfortunately, at the time of the county fair and was thus spread rapidly throughout Marion County. Life went on as usual at the Post of Lebanon and morale remained good. However, extreme precautions were taken to detect the disease at once should it appear. Guards were placed at the post latrine and the stools of those visiting it an abnormal number of times were examined. Two cases appeared. A little two year old girl, the daughter of the company shoemaker who lived in private quarters, contracted the malady and died within eight hours. Her father, a private

28 RMHP 2, Ash Barracks, pp. 130-131 and Ltr., CO, Ash Barracks to CO, Dist. of Middle Tenn., Nashville, Tenn., July 22, 1873, LB 327, Dist. of Middle Tenn., NA.
described as weak minded, then began to drink freely, diluting his whisky with large doses of quinine. He soon became sick and also died. His was the only case among the military personnel on the post.\(^29\)

Yellow fever and cholera were dramatic and deadly, but, fortunately, were not as prevalent as the more prosaic illnesses. Included among these were the so-called remittent and intermittent fevers, malaria, rheumatism, consumption, the venereal diseases, catarrh, bronchitis, pneumonia, pleurisy, diarrhoea, dysentery, and probably the numerous other ailments men acquire. An idea of the prevalence of sickness at an Army post may be gained by examining the reports of the surgeons at the Post of Mobile from 1868 to 1873.\(^30\)

\(^{29}\) RMHP 162, Post of Lebanon, pp. 331-332, NA.

\(^{30}\) SGO 1870, p. 159 and SGO 1875, p. 159.
### TABLE 5

**SICKNESS AT THE POST OF MOBILE, 1868 TO 1874**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>69</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>71</th>
<th>72</th>
<th>73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean Strength</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remittent Fever</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermittent Fever</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow Fever</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venereal Diseases</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diarrhoea and Dysentery</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typhoid Fever</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malarial Fever</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catarrhal Infection</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

McPherson Barracks suffered the same health problems. The following table illustrates the similarity:

Other posts in the South shared the ailments of McPherson Barracks and the Post of Mobile in varying degrees depending on the geographical area in which they were located and their proximity to the temptations of cities.

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31 [SGO 1870, p. 148 and SGO 1875, p. 143.](#)
TABLE 6
SICKNESS AT McPHERSON BARRACKS, 1868 to 1873

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>69</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>71</th>
<th>72</th>
<th>73</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean Strength</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>440</td>
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Intermittent, remittent, and malarial fevers were present at every post. Not only does there seem to have been a certain amount of indecision as to the exact nature of these fevers but their causes, particularly that of malaria, were unknown. Some correlation was observed between the proximity of marshy areas and the incidence of
malarial fever, but it was assumed that the sickness resulted from breathing marsh gases and the role of the anopheles was not suspected. As a result certain salutary measures were taken to prevent these fevers: swamps were avoided and efforts were made to clean Army posts of decaying debris which was supposed to have given off the noxious gases that were feared so much. When it was necessary to be located near a swampy site, troops were camped on its windward side to avoid having the marsh gases wafted their way. As a result of such measures the anopheles was evaded unwittingly, and the incidence of fever was reduced. 32

Venereal diseases wasted the Army of the post Civil War period as it has hamstrung armies before and since. Even in the days of imperfect diagnoses the rates were known to have been high. At the Post of Columbia in the year 1870-1871 there was a mean strength of 180 officers and men and there were 47 cases of syphilis and 15 of gonorrhea. This number declined, however, for four years later, with a strength of 326, there were only 18 cases of syphilis and 16 of gonorrhea. The figures at Ash Barracks, Nashville, during the same year were comparable: with a

32 SGO 1870, p. 94. The Post Surgeon at the Post of Columbia in RMHP 47, Post of Columbia, described how the Marsh gases rolled up hill from the bottomland along the Congaree to the post.
garrison of 190 there were 56 cases of syphilis and 23 of gonorrhea. At Oglethorpe Barracks, Savannah, in a garrison of only 60 persons there were two with syphilis and eight with gonorrhea. The story was much the same at posts located in the smaller towns, where, presumably, temptation would have been reduced in quantity if not in quality. The Post of Jefferson, Texas, in 1869 had a mean strength of 401 and 101 cases of venereal disease and, during the same year, the garrison at Fort Barrancas, Pensacola, Florida, 59 strong, had 24 cases of venereal disease. However, since these diseased were not diagnosed possibly until they had reached an advanced stage, and, since the troops may have been transferred in from elsewhere, the origin of the disease can not be determined. Other high rates were at the Posts of Lebanon and Lancaster, Kentucky, which were garrisoned by one company each but which would have had a four year mean of eight and 14 cases, respectively. In contrast to these posts, however, was the isolated garrison at Fort Jefferson which, with a mean strength of 210 men in 1868, contained only eight cases of venereal disease and the well disciplined company at the Post of Newberry which over a three year period averaged only four cases of these diseases a year. 33

33 SGO 1870, pp. 155, 157, 176 and SGO 1875, pp. 128, 149, 150, 152, 154, 173.
Although any dogmatic claims to the effect that Negro troops had an excessively high rate of venereal disease might meet with objections because of a lack of proper scientific data on this score, a few comparisons at hand indicate this to have been the case. Among the colored soldiers at Fort Macon, North Carolina, for five months in 1869, there were 26 cases of venereal disease in a mean strength of 173 while of 128 white troops stationed there throughout the year there were 16 venereal cases. Venereal infections at this post during this period were incidentally described by the post surgeon as having been at a minimum.34

Inland at the Post of Raleigh in 1868 the Negroes of the 40th Infantry, with a mean strength of 262 over a three months period, had 67 men with venereal infections in contrast with 292 white troops who were found to have had 43 cases in an eight months period. The same pattern is apparent at Jackson Barracks, Louisiana, where, in 1868, a garrison of 301 white troops spawned 66 men with venereal infection while, in nine months of the following year, the Negro 39th Infantry's garrison's 294 men produced 116 cases of syphilis and gonorrhea.35

34 SG0 1870, p. 89.
35 Ibid., pp. 95, 166.
Although the means of transmission of yellow fever and malaria were still unknown to Army surgeons, the way in which venereal diseases were transmitted was no mystery to them. Writing of the high rate of disease at Jackson Barracks in 1869, the doctor there averred that "the large number of cases of venereal disease is to be attributed to the unclean habits and salacious disposition of the colored troops who compose the garrison nine months of the year."

The surgeon at the Post of Baton Rouge reported that the social diseases at his post were contracted from the Negro women in the town and were obstinate in yielding to treatment. Eastward in Mississippi the surgeon at the Post of Vicksburg in July 1868 reported that the Negro women in that city were infected to an alarming extent and that a large enough percentage of soldiers had gotten it from them so as to seriously impair the efficiency of the command. Northward at the Post of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, the surgeon reported in 1871 that every fifth store in town was a "rum mill" and that nine tenths of the colored women were prostitutes. As a result, the troops got drunk and some became infected. Under such surroundings he wondered that as many escaped bad health as did. As it was, in November 1871, 13 men were reported unfit for duty because of the diseases and that did not include 35 on the post who had some sort
of venereal infection but were trying to hide it.36

The other majorcripplers were diarrhoea and dysentery, two diseases so much associated with the military service that their germs might just as well have been issued by post quartermasters along with the recruits' uniforms and equipment. As indicated on the above tables, between the years of 1868 and 1873 the number of cases annually at the Post of Mobile and McPherson Barracks ran from a little more than 10 per cent to a little less than 50 per cent. At the Post of Newberry, South Carolina, outstanding for its lack of venereal infections, 24 cases developed in a garrison of 48 officers and men in 1871. In the following year, however, the number declined to 10 in a garrison of 63 but in 1873 arose again to 18 on a post of 50.37

And so it was at other posts, enough disease to cause trouble but not of such a serious nature as to cause death. The cause of the condition was not known, neither was it known whether the loose bowels were a symptom of another disease or of dysentery itself. And, if there was doubt as to the identity of the malady, there was an equal

36 SGO 1870, p. 166; RMHP 25, Post of Baton Rouge, p. 150; RMHP 325, Post of Vicksburg, p. 83 and RMHP 90, Post of Elizabethtown, pp. 230-231, NA.

37 SGO 1875, p. 164.
amount of doubt as to its origin. Some doctors believed the disease to have been caused by food, others by climatic changes. In short, diarrhoea and dysentery were enigmas to the medical profession.

Of course certain measures were taken to keep the troops healthy. The surest method adopted was simply to separate military personnel from the disease either by attempting to keep the disease from the soldiers or the soldiers from the disease. The first method, employed principally when yellow fever threatened, was that of establishing a quarantine. When the fever approached Fort Jefferson in 1869, for instance, sentinels were posted to watch for incoming ships. When one approached they informed the corporal of the guard who in turn notified the officer of the day and the post surgeon. A blank charge was fired from one of the cannons at the fort as a signal for the ship to haul to. If it did not, a solid shot was fired across her bow and, if that did not suffice, she was taken under fire. However, it was customary for ships to stop when warned to do so and when they did they were visited and examined by the quarantine officer, the surgeon, who, if all was well, authorized the ship to dock at the port. But even these measures were deemed inadequate for, as the summer progressed, only one ship was allowed to stop near the fort, that one plying between Key West and
a key adjacent to that upon which Fort Jefferson stood. It landed the supplies and mail. As further precaution the mail was fumigated by sulphur fumes and it was recommended that supplies be disinfected with sulphate of lime for two days. 38

The regulations at Fort Jefferson were general elsewhere. The commanding officer at the Post of Saint Marks, Florida, was ordered to make the usual arrangements for quarantine by setting up a boarding station from which a yellow flag was to be flown. The shots, as described above, were to be fired upon the approach of a ship. Speaking of such duty, Lieutenant Charles Breckinridge described the firing of the cannon at Fort Morgan, Mobile, as about the only excitement they had there. 39

Equally or more effective was the practice of simply moving a threatened command to a so called "healthy" area away from the disease. The 1st Artillery, for instance, with garrisons at Charleston, Key West, Fort Jefferson, and Fort Barrancas had summer camps at Summerville, South Carolina, Indian Key, Loggerhead Key and Santa Rosa

38 RMHP 155, Fort Jefferson, pp. 122, 129-130, NA.

39 Ltr., AAG, Dept. of Fla. to CG, Dist. of East Fla., Tallahassee, April 20, 1866, LB 6, Dept. of Fla., p. 321, NA and Ltr., Lt. Chas. Breckinridge to Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, Fort Morgan, Ala., July 5, 1867, Breckinridge Papers, LC.
Island, Florida, respectively. The Mobile garrison moved to Mount Vernon Barracks and New Orleans garrisons took refuge in the hills near Holly Springs, Mississippi. 40

As indicated above, little was actually known about the transmission of yellow fever, cholera or malaria. The sum of their knowledge would seem to have been illustrated by a general order issued at Galveston in April 1867. It reminded the troops that the "epidemic season" was approaching and suggested certain measures which should be followed, if they were to remain healthy. Commanders were urged to enforce the highest possible hygienic standards and to cooperate with civil authorities in encouraging sanitary practices outside their posts. Sinks were to be frequently inspected and attended, decaying matter buried, and lime applied liberally to woodwork, cellars and sinks to keep them as dry as possible. All of this was to be done in accordance with the prevailing theory that

The whole value of all known preventive measures against infectious or pestilential diseases, consists in the perfection with which the noxious gases, emanating from decomposing organic matters, are neutralized or destroyed or prevented from spreading; consequently, every place or thing liable to give out a poisonous taint to the atmosphere, should be purified, covered up, removed or disinfected, as the case may require.

40 Haskins, op. cit., p. 260; RMHP 187, Post of Mobile, pp. 138-139, NA.
The command was further enjoined to eat wholesome food, take the proper amount of exercise, get their sleep, and report any dangerous symptoms as soon as they appeared.\textsuperscript{41}

The sanitary condition of posts was a cause for some concern as well it might have been. When posts were located within a city they were exposed to conditions around them which were often quite deplorable. Company A, 7th Cavalry, in Elizabethtown, Kentucky, was not only in an area subject to overflow from nearby Valley Creek, but was near a cheap hotel with a foul privy and a surface drain that was constantly choked with garbage that was stirred up by hogs. In the words of the post surgeon these hogs "were representative of the only sanitary force the town possessed." As mentioned above, the Post of Galveston was menaced by a pond of filthy, stagnant water outside its limits which served as a breeding place for the mosquitoes that carried yellow fever and malaria. The troops at New Orleans and at the Post of Jackson, Mississippi, received the fruits of the pollution of the rivers from which their water was obtained.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{41} G0, 16, Hq., Dist. of Texas, Galveston, Texas, April 24, 1867, NA.

\textsuperscript{42} RMHP 90, Post of Elizabethtown, p. 5, NA; SG0 1868, p. 87; SG0 1870, p. 163 and Ltr., CO, Post of Jackson to AAG, 4th Mil. Dist., Jackson, Miss., Aug. 14, 1868, LR J 42, 4th Mil. Dist., 1866, NA.
As indicated above, the posts and camps occupied by the Volunteer forces that policed the South immediately after the War were too often in themselves filthy holes and reflected the sanitary practices of the era. Subsequent installations manned by the Regulars were, no doubt, an improvement but still were not precisely ideal. Witness of this were conditions as described at certain posts: at the Post of Chattanooga in 1872 the post surgeon complained that the men's sinks were foul and that the refuse collected from other places over the post was dumped behind the hospital where it rotted and made the air offensive. Over at the Post of Savannah in 1869 the surgeon reported that their privies were also foul and in need of cleaning but that, instead of their refuse's being dumped behind the hospital, the servants and laundresses were throwing their "slops" into dry wells. At the same time the Post of Galveston was deemed threatened by the carcass of a mule lying upon the beach near its hospital, the effluvia of which was wafted by the Gulf breezes into the confines of the post. Two years later Camp Hamilton, Virginia, was harassed by a ship anchored nearby which was used, somehow, in the process of extracting fish oil that gave off an annoying odor that was believed dangerous to the health of
the garrison.\textsuperscript{43}

Not too much was apparently done to clean up the towns in the vicinity of military posts even though, during the period of military reconstruction, military commanders no doubt had the authority to take any measures along this line which they would have deemed necessary. However, posts were supposed to have been policed daily, although to get it done occasional prodding was needed from higher headquarters and from the post surgeons.\textsuperscript{44}

Other measures were also taken. That disinfectants were used in latrines has already been mentioned. That they were used freely otherwise is to be assumed from a statement in \textit{The Charleston Daily News} of May 24, 1867, in which it was reported that a visit to The Citadel revealed that "...if the fragrant chloride of lime can prevent a pestilence, a healthy season may be looked for, as the villainous smelling salt is freely distributed in every conceivable nook and corner of the barracks."

Personal cleanliness was also advocated but not


\textsuperscript{44} Cir. 3, War Dept. SGO, Washington, April 20, 1867 and SO 32, Hq., Ft. Macon, N.C., Mar. 18, 1869, NA.
always practiced. Army Regulations provided that when there was convenience for bathing men were to bathe once or twice a week. Therefore, bathing was required at some posts and was, in effect, entirely voluntary at others. At Fort Pike, Louisiana, the garrison was marched twice a week to Lake Ponchartrain to bathe. At the Post of Lebanon, Kentucky, a group was taken to bathe each night after Tattoo in a nearby pond and every Saturday the troops at the Post of Grenada were marched to a river for bathing by a noncommissioned officer. Retreat and Tattoo marked bath time at the Post of Newberry.45

They were less fussy about bathing in other places. At The Citadel in 1875 there were no facilities for bathing and so the best that the surgeon there could report was that the men generally took sponge baths in the wash room. A similar attitude prevailed at the Post of Yorkville where no bathing regulations were in effect and where the garrison was allowed to bathe "at pleasure". Down at the Post of Saint Augustine two contrasting situations are described. In May a lot of bathing was indicated by the report that, though left to the discretion of the men, a

45 AR 1863, p. 21; SG0 1870, p. 171; RMHP 169, Post of Lexington, n.p.; RMHP 209, Post of Newberry, p. 319 and GO 12, Hq., Post of Grenada, Grenada, Miss., April 24, 1868, NA.
majority took every opportunity to bathe and that the 1st sergeants had encouraged it by appealing to their pride. Later, in November, Assistant Surgeon Alfred Delaney drew another picture. He stated that he had never met

...with soldiers, who so far as I was able to judge, were faultless in neatness of dress and in the case of their accoutrements, who had such a fear of soap and water that the soil obscured the natural color of their extremities.

He was unaware of any orders on the subject of bathing or any inquiries on the part of the officers into the personal habits of the men. He further quoted a former surgeon as saying that some of the men had appeared for physical examinations "so filthy, bodily as to nauseate him."46

Another subject that evoked some comment was the cleanliness of blankets, and once again both extremes are indicated. At the Post of Chattanooga, at one time at least, blankets were never washed. At the Post of Newberry blankets were said to have been aired daily, and at the Post of Yorkville in July 1874 they were washed every other week, but in 1876, though not washed, they were "frequently exposed to the sun and whipped free of dust". A higher standard was held at The Citadel where, though they were not required to bathe in 1875, blankets and bedding were

46 R:\HP 40, Post of Charleston, p. 91; R:\HP 344, Post of Yorkville, p. 199 and R:\HP 295, Post of St. Augustine, pp. 122, 145, 146, NA.
aired twice a week, bed sacks were washed once a month and blankets twice a year. A possible clue to the medical theory of the period regarding bathing and bed clothing were the remarks of Assistant Surgeon John O. Skinner of the Post of Yorkville who, in the face of the above mentioned conditions, recommended that the men at that post be required to bathe once a week and that their blankets be washed at least every four months and be dried by being exposed to the sun before being used again. ⁴⁷

In other matters of personal cleanliness Army Regulations held that hair should be cut short, beards trimmed, hands and faces washed daily, and the beard brushed and combed. Since this portion of the Regulations applied to those portions of the anatomy visible to an inspecting officer's eye, they were no doubt complied with. And, as indicated in the above lament of the doctor at the Post of Saint Augustine, the clothing, arms and accoutrements of the individual soldier, being visible to the naked eye, were also kept in a condition that would have enabled them to pass inspection. Underclothes, however, were never mentioned and perhaps it was just as well since

⁴⁷ RhHP 61, Post of Chattanooga, p. 9; RhHP 344, Post of Newberry, p. 32; RhHP 344, Post of Yorkville, pp. 199, 201 and RhHP 40, Post of Charleston, p. 91, NA.
they were no doubt in about the same condition as the bodies they covered. 48

Clothes may have been washed by their owners, as no doubt they sometimes were, but laundresses were available for those who would accept their services. There was one for each 19 men or from two to four per company as a general thing. They were usually the wives of enlisted men, who, on Army pay, could not have had the pleasure of being husbands and fathers without the income earned by their wives from the laundering of their comrades' dirty clothes. 49

In addition to receiving rations, fuel, quarters, and transportation when their companies moved, the laundresses were allowed to charge a certain amount of money for their work. The fee was determined by the company officers and seems to have varied. For instance, at the Posts of Savannah and Chattanooga, and probably as a general thing, they were permitted to charge each man one dollar per month, therefore obtaining a possible 19 dollars in addition to the above allowances. At the Post of Natchez, however, instead of a flat fee they charged by piece--

48 AR 1863, p. 21.

49 AR 1863, p. 24 and WDGO 72, Aug. 21, 1868.
overcoats and trousers 25 cents each, blouses 15 cents, shirts 10 and drawers, stockings and gloves a nickel per pair. It will be seen that when privates received but 13 dollars per month and sergeants only 20, the laundresses' income was not to be taken lightly. 50

One other precaution worthy of mention was taken to protect the troops from sickness. Smallpox was seldom listed among the ailments suffered by the troops in the South, this, quite possibly, because they were vaccinated. Apparently it was the custom for checks to be made from time to time to insure that all persons on Army posts were rendered immune. As early as 1866 a drive was made in the Department of Arkansas to get its troops vaccinated and the 6th United States Colored Cavalry was put to the needle. In the following year everyone at the Post of Morgantown, North Carolina, including children and indigent persons in Morgantown, were vaccinated. Six years later down in Baton Rouge all persons at the post were given injections but, since the vaccine was worthless, the vaccination was not effective. Then, on July 5, 1875, the whole command, 180 strong, were vaccinated, but again the proper reaction was not forthcoming. The surgeon presumed that this time it

50 RACHP 61, Post of Chattanooga, p. 10; GO 17, Hq., Post of Natchez, Natchez, Miss., July 2, 1870, NA.
did not take because the troops had been vaccinated previously in New Orleans.  

Children were among the patients treated on the various posts. At the Post of Little Rock in 1873, mumps and measles were listed as the diseases that attacked the children there. Of the 47 children sick, six died. At the Post of Yorkville, one Belle Benner, two year old daughter of Lieutenant Hiram Benner, swallowed a one inch iron screw. Medicine was given and the screw was passed.

There were other accidents to be treated, of course. In the year 1868-1869 Army personnel had 10,940 accidents, in the year 1870-1871 29,365 white troops had 8,797, in 1873-1874 25,647 white troops had 7,084 accidents, a rate of 276 per 1000. From 1868 through 1876 approximately 50 per cent of the deaths throughout the Army resulted from wounds or accidents, mainly accidents. No doubt many accidents were caused by drinking, as possibly was the case at the Post of Yorkville, South Carolina, where five men in one year fell out of barracks windows. Others were caused by the careless handling of guns, as was the death


52 RMHP 448, Post of Little Rock, p. 305 and RMHP 344, Post of Yorkville, pp. 134, 153, NA.
of Private William H. Verley and the paralyzing of Private Walter Trahan, 16th Infantry, both of whom were shot by another man who was cleaning his rifle in their quarters at Ash Barracks. West at the Post of Washington, Arkansas, Lieutenant Thomas Wenie was forced to miss several formations because of a knee injury sustained when his horse collided with that of another officer.53

Army life in the South, therefore, was characterized by the usual accidents and ailments experienced in garrisons throughout the country but was also rendered particularly hazardous by certain diseases more or less peculiar to the section. Malarial fevers were certainly more prevalent in the South than either in the plains States or the North and yellow fever must have made service in the Gulf States dreaded during the summer months. But, even under the most trying situations, with but few exceptions, there is no evidence which indicates that the vast majority of the troops in the section failed to remain at their posts and do their duty as well as they would have done it had they been stationed elsewhere.

SOLDIERING IN THE SOUTH DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD
1865-1877
VOLUME II

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of The Ohio State
University

By
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The Ohio State University
1958

Approved by:

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<td>1:00 P.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drill</td>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>2:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recall from drill</td>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>3:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recall from fatigue</td>
<td>3:45</td>
<td>3:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water *</td>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>3:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable *</td>
<td>5:00</td>
<td>4:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supper</td>
<td>6:00</td>
<td>5:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retreat</td>
<td>Sunset</td>
<td>Sunset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guard mount</td>
<td>Immediately after Retreat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tattoo</td>
<td>8:30</td>
<td>8:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taps</td>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>9:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Inspection</td>
<td>8:30 A.M.</td>
<td>9:00 A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>10:30 A.M.</td>
<td>10:30 A.M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the day is considered to have begun at the beating or sounding of Reveille, the silence of the night, and the soldiers' sleep, was broken initially by First Call or, as it was also known, Drummer's Call. This was sounded from five to fifteen minutes ahead of Reveille and at large posts was a signal for the assembly of musicians.

1 RMHP 264, Post of Shelbyville, p. 9. Those calls indicated by an asterisk were for the care of horses and would not normally have been sounded on an infantry post. For schedules on other posts see RMHP 2, Ash Barracks, p. 83; RMHP 262, Savannah, p. 180; RMHP 325, Vicksburg, p. 20; RMHP 227, Petersburg, p. 127 and RMHP 283, Sumter, p. 71, NA.
It also served a warning to all men who did not care to stand in the Reveille formation in their underclothing to awaken themselves and get dressed.  

A few minutes after the rattling drums had disturbed the night's sleep of its garrison, Reveille was played and the military installations became beehives of activity. Not only was the hated call played at this early hour but the morning gun was fired and the troops were fallen out of their barracks and into a formation for roll call. These formations were assembled in front of the individual barracks with the men standing at Parade Rest and facing their first sergeant who called the roll. At the Post of Marshall, Texas, the Reveille was drummed for six minutes during which time the chiefs of squads roused their men and made certain that they reached the formation before the drums ceased to rattle.  

A certain amount of ceremony was injected into the Reveille formation at least at one of the larger posts where there were several musicians. At Fort McPherson, fifteen minutes after first call had been sounded, the

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2 AR 1861, p. 39, AR 1873, p. 49, GO 36, Hq., Post of Atlanta, April 10, 1874, NA.

3 Circular, Hq., Post of Marshall, Marshall, Texas, Sept. 18, 1868, NA.
fifers and drummers played a march. The morning gun was fired. After the firing of the piece, the musicians paraded in front of the officers' quarters and to the guard house where they played Reveille and then Assembly.\footnote{GO 36, Hq., Post of Atlanta, McPherson Barracks, April 10, 1874, NA.}

If the activities of the musicians did not arouse the garrisons, the firing of the morning gun is sure to have done so. The surgeon at the Post of Jackson, Mississippi, complained that the shock created by the weapon's blast caused the plaster on the walls of the hospital to crack and wondered if something could not be done about it before the plaster fell. A similar problem arose and was solved at the Post of Frankfort where the firing was dispensed with on account "...of the security of the buildings, on having the wall cracked by concussion and the other shaking when the gun is fired to such extent as to endanger the Safety of the buildings and the government property stored in them."\footnote{RMP 151, Post of Jackson, Miss., p. 158, and Ltr., CO, Post of Frankfort, to AAG, Dept. of the South, Hq., Post of Frankfort, Ky., Jan. 5, 1874, LR 32, Dept. of the South, 1874, NA.}

That Reveille was a disturbing ceremony to civilians living in the neighborhood of a military installation.
cannot be doubted. The trying effect of the boom of morning and evening salutes is well illustrated by an article in a newspaper which opined that the caliber of the gun at Ogelthorpe Barracks was too large and went on to say that

our military friends at the United States Barracks would oblige the nurses and babies, if not the adult population of the city, by using a smaller piece of ordnance when they fire their signal permitting the sun to rise and set in District No. 3. The one now in use makes a terrible racket and is trying to the nerves of sick persons. A gentleman living in the vicinity of the Barracks was shaving himself a day or two since, when the gun went off suddenly, startling him so that he involuntarily committed suicide.6

The common soldiers of all ages and armies would agree that Reveille ceremonies were held too early in the morning. One champion of this cause among the troops in the South was the post surgeon at Fort Jefferson, who felt that 4:15 A.M. was too early an hour to start the day because "...It is the almost unanimous opinion of writers on Physiology, that Sleep immediately preceding the dawn of day is best calculated to produce the recuperation necessary to recovery after a day of labor."7

The day of labor in mounted units began immediately

6 Savannah Daily Republican, Sept. 20, 1867.
7 RGHP 155, Fort Jefferson, p. 123, NA.
after Reveille with Stable Call pursuant, no doubt, to the military principle which requires that a horseman care for his mount before he cares for himself. At Stable Call the horses were watered and fed, curried and brushed and their stalls were cleaned of manure and wet straw. This done, the cavalryman was able to go to breakfast. Troops having no mounts and no Stable Call went to breakfast immediately after their Reveille formation.

Breakfast was a rather heavy meal of meat, bread, and coffee which was consumed within the half hour allotted for it on most Army posts. It was ended by either Fatigue Call or Surgeon's Call, depending on the will of the post commander. Surgeon's Call, as the name implies, was the signal for all those ailing who felt able to walk to the post hospital to place themselves under the charge of a noncommissioned officer who conducted them to the post surgeon for examination. There the men able to stand were made to remain in ranks until they were examined while those too sick to stand were allowed to sit. Those unfit to walk were visited by the surgeon in their quarters. It is interesting to note that it was not general policy to schedule work at the same time as Surgeon's Call, possibly to

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8 AR 1861, p. 39; AR 1871, p. 49.
avoid malingering.\textsuperscript{9}

At least one half hour each morning was devoted to necessary chores which had to be done around the post. This period was announced by Fatigue Call and, if confined to the half hour period, consisted in no more than the daily police of the area. This policing activity was done by the enlisted men under the supervision of the noncommissioned officers and was inspected by the officers of the day. It included not only the grounds of the post but the interior of the barracks as well: bunks were made up, clothing neatly folded or put away, and the interiors of the squad rooms cleaned to perfection.\textsuperscript{10}

This daily police of the post was supplemented by never ending construction and maintenance chores which consumed the time of large numbers of troops. Since the Army of the Reconstruction period had virtually no service personnel or specialists as found in the Army today, soldiers assigned to labor for more than ten days at a non-military task that could not properly be performed by a fatigue party were termed "extra duty" men and received additional pay for their work to the amount of twenty cents a day when

\textsuperscript{9} GO 26, Hq., Fts. Jackson and St. Phillip, La., Sept. 11, 1868, NA.

\textsuperscript{10} GO 3, Ft. Fisher, N.C., April 29, 1866; SO 71, Post of Darlington, S.C., May 12, 1866 and RMHP 229, Ft. Pike, La., pp. 4-5, NA.
employed as laborers and 35 cents a day when employed as skilled mechanics. Work of this type was no doubt plentiful in the West where surveys had to be conducted, roads built, and forts established, but in the South where civilian labor was abundant and the physical plant already in existence, extra duty seems to have been confined primarily to those men having specialties needed at individual stations. A list of extra duty assignments in existence in the Department of the South in 1874 included engineers, masons, wheelwrights, carpenters, painters, saddlers, and blacksmiths, all of whom received thirty-five cents extra daily, and wagoners, teamsters, hostlers, and laborers who received 25 cents per day in addition to their regular pay.\footnote{WDGO 48, July 19, 1866; WDGO 79, Sept. 26, 1866 and Ltr. Chief QM, Dept. of the South to AAC, Dept. of the South, Louisville, Ky., July 24, 1874, LR 1208, Dept. of the South, 1874, NA. For pay scale see Appendix B.}

Listed always with the extra duty men in the records of units stationed in the South were the troops which were assigned to what was called "daily duty" or, more simply, those special details at military installations which were of short duration and merited no extra pay. The Regimental Returns of the 7th Infantry for 1866 listed 28 extra and daily duty tasks as having been performed as part of the dreary routine experienced by that regiment.
while it was in Florida. The daily and extra duty chores included those of clerks, carpenters, cooks, tailors, orderlies, couriers, bakers, saddlers, buglers, mail carriers, hostlers, butchers, gardeners, printers, wood choppers, wagon masters, boat crew men, and grave yard workers. Within a single company there was naturally less variety in special tasks that had to be performed. Company B, 6th Infantry's daily and extra duty men in December 1866, for instance, included 1 carpenter, 1 wagoner, 2 teamsters, 1 baker and 1 cook. K Company of the same regiment at the same time listed two each orderlies, laborers, hospital attendants and clerks and one each acting quartermaster sergeant, wagon master, acting provost sergeant, saddler, baker, teamster, hostler, acting hospital steward and sergeant detailed to duty in the Freedmen's Bureau. During the month of December 1866, 87 men or nearly two companies of the regiment were engaged in chores which kept them from their drill and other military duties. 12

As the lists of details suggest, the desire of officers to employ their men at military training was always frustrated by a variety of housekeeping chores. Buildings had to be repaired and whitewashed periodically,

12 Return, 6th Infantry Regiment, December 1866, NA.
sinks and stables had to be cleaned, wood chopped for fuel, grass cut and a certain number of men had to be detailed daily to assist the post quartermaster and work in the company kitchen. Often when the men of a garrison were employed in duties off the post, the few men remaining were employed solely in these housekeeping tasks which meant that all military training with the exception of guard duty had to be suspended. One commander of a small post complained

I have for duty twenty-six Enlisted Men three of whom are on duty in the Q.M. Depot in charge of Stable and animals. One Man as Post Baker, One as Bugler and one as Acting 1st Sergt. leaving nineteen Men to perform the guard duty which at present consists of two posts, one at the Commissary, and one at the Stable - taking Eight men daily, six sentinels, and two acting Corpl. of the guard, leaving one without the means to place a guard over the quarters.  

Another officer with similar problems reported that the garrison of his post from June 12 to July 1, 1867, was able to have only six drill periods. The reason he could have no more, according to his report, was that the excessive amount of fatigue duty required of the one company in the construction of the camp demanded that its forty men be constantly at work. Hence, there was no drill. This lamentable condition prevailed during the

13 Ltr., Post of Huntsville to AAC, Dept. of Ala., Huntsville, Ala., April 4, 1869, Ltr., H 2, Dept. of Ala., 1867, NA.
early years of Reconstruction when troops were scattered over the South in small posts. However, with the gradual concentration of units into larger installations, a minimum overhead was attained and units were able to give an increased amount of attention to gaining military proficiency.  

Military proficiency in the post Civil War army was engendered by close order drill. As indicated in the above schedule, troops were drilled twice a day, if possible, an hour or so in each the morning and in the afternoon. Drill movements were simplified in the months after August 1867 by the adoption of a new set of drill regulations, Upton's Infantry Tactics, which had been devised by the brilliant young officer, Brevet Major General Emory Upton. Upton's system, like those of Silas Casey, Winfield Scott, and James Hardee which had preceded it, included the so-called schools of the soldier, company, and battalion but was based on the movement of four men as a unit. In addition to providing increased maneuverability, this system was easier for the soldier to learn and execute.

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14 Ltr., C0, Post of Brookhaven to AAG, Sub Dist. of Miss., Brookhaven, Miss., July 1, 1867, LS Post of Brookhaven, Miss., NA. Consolidation of units was urged by the ranking officers in the South for a variety of reasons but principally because it would increase the discipline and efficiency of the troops. See, Tel., Maj. Gen. George G. Meade to the Sec. of War, Charleston, Aug. 5, 1866. Papers Accompanying the Report of the General in Chief, RSW 1866-1869, p. 116-117.
and, though modified, remained the basis of infantry drill until almost the outbreak of World War II.\textsuperscript{15}

It was common practice for those men available at Drill Call to be instructed in the school of the soldier—the manual of arms and movements by fours in the morning drill period and, should enough troops be available, in the school of the company or battalion in the afternoon. The instruction in the school of the soldier was often given by the noncommissioned officers and the company officers were supposed to attend all company drills. That officers often begged off being present during drill, however, is to be inferred from the general orders which pointedly ordered them to be in attendance and to conduct company exercises.\textsuperscript{16}

Their presence was particularly required after the adoption of Upton's Tactics, for its novel movements were unknown to the sergeants and corporals and had to be taught properly when first presented to the troops. The seriousness with which the proper learning of these exercises was viewed is evidenced by the fact that Upton himself was called upon

\textsuperscript{15} Emory Upton, A New System of Infantry Tactics, Double and Single Rank, (New York, 1867), Gance, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 317 and Mahon, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 31.

by the commander of the Post of Vicksburg to settle a dispute resulting from a difference in views over their execution, and by the trip of a captain from Greensboro to the 8th Infantry's headquarters at Raleigh to get the opinions of the regimental commander as to how they were to be performed.\textsuperscript{17}

Instruction during drill periods was commonly supplemented by recitations for commissioned and noncommissioned officers. Recitations for the latter were conducted two or three times per week by company officers and were primarily concerned with lectures and practical exercises in the "School of the Company" and in Army Regulations. Officers' recitations also embraced the School of the Soldier but progressed into the higher levels of the company and the battalion and into the Army Regulations.\textsuperscript{18}

Recitation periods were also devoted to the important subject of target practice. The importance attached to these exercises is indicated by general orders

\textsuperscript{17} Ltr., GC, Post of Vicksburg to Bvt. Maj. Gen. Emory Upton, Vicksburg, Miss., Dec. 10, 1868, LB 55, Dept. of Miss., p. 159 and SO 11, Post of Greensboro, N.C., Aug. 18, 1867, NA.

which allowed ten ball cartridges a man each month to all troops armed with breech loading rifles and carbines. This practice was guided by the methods prescribed in Wingate's Manual of Rifle Practice and included theoretical instruction, lessons in nomenclature, sighting, arming and position drill, range estimation, firing with blank cartridges, and finally actual firing on the range. ¹⁹

The actual time spent at target practice appears beyond determination—it was held irregularly and for different amounts of time on individual posts. At Fort Macon in 1869 there was firing on Tuesdays and Fridays of each week. At Fort McPherson in the autumn of 1875 target practice was held three times a week, and at the Post of Sumter, South Carolina, there was one hour of shooting each day except during the hot months. This regularly prescribed practice was supplemented by the small amount of firing done by men going off guard, who, after they were dismissed at guard mount, fired off the loads in their rifles before returning them to the barracks. It is interesting to note that range firing was regarded as recreation by the men at the Post of Sumter and that their doctor believed them to have been healthier during the time

¹⁹ WDGO 50, May 12, 1869 and WDGO 103, August 5, 1874.
in which target practice was held than during any other part of the year. 20

Target practice, like drill and other military exercises, was held amid difficulties. Special arrangements had to be made to accommodate the men on extra and daily duty details and those men away from their posts on detachments. The garrison of the Post of Columbia, and possibly others in heavily settled areas, had difficulty in finding ranges on which to fire. The post commander at Columbia complained to regimental headquarters that he had to suspend target practice until the crops were harvested because people had complained about bullets falling near men at work and animals grazing in the neighborhood of the rifle range. 21

Infantrymen in the South in the first year after the war were armed with the weapons they had carried during the conflict, presumably, in most cases, with the Springfield rifle musket, calibre .58—a muzzle loader. Although


21 Ltr., Col. Thos. Ruger to CO, Post of Rome, Ga., Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 15, 1867, LR, Post of Rome, Ga., and Ltr., Maj. J. D. Wilkins to Adjt., 8th Regt., Columbia, S.C., Sept. 9, 1869, LR C 198, Dept. of the South, 1870, NA.
there was some opposition to a conversion, troops were gradually supplied with breech loaders so that, by 1868, it was reported that all infantry, heavy artillery and engineer units were armed with breech loading weapons. The earlier breech loaders, Springfield models 1865 and 1866, were simply the muzzle loading weapons modified, the later model to a caliber .50. On the 1868 and subsequent models an entire new barrel was introduced, though the external appearance of the new weapon was not markedly changed. After 1873, conversion was made to a .45 caliber weapon.

Cavalrymen were initially armed with a variety of weapons, but principally with breechloading Sharps single shot caliber .58 carbines and the Spencer caliber .50, seven shot repeating carbines. After 1870, conversion was made to a Springfield single shot weapon, initially of .50 caliber and after 1873 of a caliber .45. 22

Artillery at the coastal forts drilled with rifles as did the infantry but were instructed especially, of course, in the duties of cannoneers. Such instruction was given according to the Instructions for Field Artillery, Heavy Artillery Tactics, Gibbon's Artillery Manual and in

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22 Rept. of the Secretary of War, War Dept., Nov. 24, 1873, RSW 1872, p. 16, and Arcadai Cluckman, United States Muskets Rifles and Carbines, pp. 278, 287-289, 405, 406, 421, 438. The latter publication contains detailed technical information on these weapons.
Robert's Handbook of Artillery. Daily instruction was supplemented by semi-weekly classes for officers and noncommissioned officers in the contents of the above manuals and by annual service practices. Since firing cannon was an expensive business, the ammunition was rationed so that, between 1867 and 1876, 12 projectiles could be fired by each company from guns with bores exceeding eight inches and twenty rounds from those smaller. These rounds were fired during three service practices conducted at southern posts during the months of April, June and October.23

Before firing, the areas within the batteries' fields of fire were charted and the ranges within them marked with buoys. During the practices, the position of each piece was noted and each shot plotted as it splashed. Results were tabulated and forwarded to the War Department for study. Although such reports were of importance in the improvement of weapons, they were of greater value to the fort itself as a means of registering guns which, incidentally, never fired a shot in anger thereafter.24

Less time consuming than drill and target practice was a brief course in signaling. The Signal Corps had

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23 WDGO 67, Aug. 21, 1865 and WDGO 14, Feb. 25, 1876. Allowances varied according to the number of companies at each post.

24 AR 1863, pp. 61-62 and AR 1873, pp. 61-63.
been established during the War but, in spite of its good service in battle, was little more than a paper organization in the ensuing years of peace. In order that trained signalmen would be available when needed, however, a program of signal instruction was begun in 1869 in which selected line officers and enlisted men were taught the mysteries of signal communication. For this the Chief Signal Officer supplied each department with one acting signal officer. This officer with two enlisted assistants traveled from post to post offering both learning and temporary diversion from the routine. Philip St. George Cooke, commander of the Department of the Cumberland, was able to report in 1869 that all of the officers in his department had voluntarily undergone signal instruction and that each post had been supplied with signal apparatus. Less fortunate, however, were the troops in the 1st Military District for their signal lessons had to be postponed a year. The overall fruits of this program were indicated by the Chief Signal Officer who in October 1870 reported with satisfaction that 190 officers and 321 enlisted men at 76 posts had been properly instructed, 155 officers and 351 enlisted men at 24 posts had been partially instructed and, to aid in further instruction, a copy of the Manual of Signal Service Drills had been issued to
all installations.  

It will be noticed that insofar as records are concerned, at least, there was no special drill or instruction in duties peculiar to Reconstruction work. There was no instruction say, in military government or in the more basic problems that might arise in the course of military occupation. Neither, in fact, was there any drill in special formations that might be used in quelling riots. However, since troops appear to have had little difficulty in dispersing mobs, it would seem that their regular drill was sufficient to the need.

In addition to recitations and drill, each and every daily schedule listed monotonous interior guard duty. Guard duty began than as now with a guard mount in which the new guard, already formed and inspected, was brought to the parade ground and, after a brief ceremony, relieved the old guard of the responsibility for the security of the post. Guard mount was usually held in the middle of the morning at most installations but at others, as the above schedule at the Post of Shelbyville indicates, it was held

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late in the afternoon.26

The duties of the guard then were much the same as they are today. Instructions to sentinels had not as yet been neatly packaged into 11 general orders but in their place were orders set down in Army Regulations. Sentries were to give alarm in case of fire, be relieved by no one except officers and noncommissioned officers of the guard, keep alert and report every breach of orders or regulations they were instructed to enforce, hold conversation with no one not necessary to the proper discharge of their duty and were to challenge every person on or near their posts between retreat and daylight. They were to pass on all calls from other posts further from the guard house than their own and were to salute all officers. Since the guard was charged with the safekeeping of prisoners, additional instructions were given on individual posts admonishing sentries to prevent the escape of prisoners by all means in their power and to have no conversation with them.27

26 The ceremony of guard mount is described in Upton, op. cit., pp. 355-356, and in AR 1863, pp. 58-61. Guard mount was held at 7:30 A.M. at Ash Barracks and the Post of Lebanon, 8 A.M. at the Post of Vicksburg, 9 A.M. at the Posts of Savannah, Petersburg and Sumter and at Forts Macon and Fisher.

27 AR 1863, pp. 62-64; AR 1873, pp. 57-58; Cir. No. 30, HQ., Post of Washington, Ark., July 14, 1868; SO 35, Post of Vicksburg, Miss., Feb. 27, 1868, LB 54, Dist. of Miss.; GO 5, Ft. Macon, N.C., Mar. 12, 1869 and GO 33, Post of Jefferson, Texas, Mar. 22, 1869, NA.
The guard was inspected prior to guard mount for deficiencies in dress and for dirty arms and equipment. Additional checks on sentinels were made during the 24 hours the guard was on duty. The officer of the day was required to visit sentinels as much before midnight as he deemed necessary and, after 1872, he was ordered to inspect each relief at least once during his tour and to make at least one of his rounds between midnight and Reveille. Although these visits were no doubt generally of an informal character, Regulations prescribed that his tours of inspections take the form of "grand rounds" in which case the officer of the day, accompanied by an escort of one noncommissioned officer and two enlisted men, visited the guard posts and, on approaching the guardhouse itself, had the whole guard turned out in their honor. Additional inspections were made by the officer of the guard of each relief before it was mounted and after it had been relieved together with whatever inspections he deemed necessary while the sentries were at their posts. A further check of sentry posts occurred every half hour when the sentinel at post number 1, outside the guardhouse, would be given the time by the Corporal of the Guard and would shout "Post

28 AR 1863, pp. 64-65 and AR 1873, pp. 58-59.
number one, -- O'clock and all's well." This call would be repeated in order with each sentry giving the number of his own post until the last post had sounded, at which time the man at post one would cry "All's well round," or perhaps just "All's well." On hearing this the corporal of the guard, or anyone else on the post for that matter, could relax with the knowledge that the post was secure.29

This guard duty was a burdensome task on most posts. Each garrison, of course, had sentries at its gates, its storehouses and at the guardhouse. The purpose of this guard was dubious in some instances, but might be said to have consisted in watching for fires, keeping unwanted visitors outside the post and in holding the men of the garrison without passes inside. Further need was apparent at certain other installations like Forts Monroe, Jefferson and Macon where Federal prisoners were confined. No matter the installation, it was not considered desirable duty. The guard was divided into three reliefs which spent two hours standing post and four hours waiting their turns in the guardhouse or barracks. During the 24 hours of duty, the men on guard were not allowed to remove their clothing or accoutrements without permission from the

29 AR 1873, p. 57 and Cir. 21, Hq., Post of Grenada, Miss., Oct. 21, 1867, LB 66, Dept. of Miss., p. 20, NA.
commanding officer and were virtual prisoners themselves.\textsuperscript{30}

The tedious boredom of this duty was especially troublesome to the garrisons of small posts where men and officers received the duty regularly and often. At the Post of Nashville in 1873 there were about 35 men available for guard duty—the rest were cavalrymen and excused from it, and in the words of Captain William Wedemeyer, 10th Infantry, who complained that the cavalrymen should do their share

\begin{quote}
My men go on guard with two nights in bed; the old guard from the day before is for fatigue, leaving the guard which comes off, to do the company police etc from guard mount in the Morning until they have to go to general fatigue.... It is true, work keeps men out of mischief but when half the men of a Post do all the work of the whole and particularly work which the soldier considers the hardest work of all, guard and general fatigue, with no time he can call his own, it will certainly give dissatisfaction, the first cause of lack of discipline and dissertation. When a man wants rest, he commits a breach of discipline, gets into the Guard house, where he has no more work to do then when out of it but he gets him some sleep.\textsuperscript{31}
\end{quote}

There was also hardship at other places. At Fort Pulaski, Georgia, where there were fifty prisoners there were 25 men present for duty to man four sentry posts

\textsuperscript{30} AR 1863, pp. 61-62, AR 1873, pp. 55-58.

\textsuperscript{31} Ltr., Capt. Wm. Wedemeyer to AAG, Dept. of the South, Nashville, Tenn., Jan. 27, 1873, LR 325, Dept. of the South, 1873, NA.
which meant that, in essence, each man had guard duty every other night. At Fort Macon, in 1867, 94 prisoners were held where only 74 enlisted men were available for duty as sentinels and at the Post of Jackson, Mississippi, a post of 180 men, 71 were required for guard per day which meant that, if they took turns, practically each man was on guard almost every other day. 32

It would seem that no post was too small to be without its guard. The Acting Assistant Inspector General of the First Military District complained to General Stoneman, his commander, that on three visits to the Post of Fredericksburg he found that the guard book had no officer of the day listed and that there had been only one inspection of the guard. He regarded this situation as defiance to orders. In reply to these charges the post commander replied that there had been only one officer on the post during one of the months and that his appointment would have been incessant, and in the following month there were still not enough officers present to comply with the

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regulations in the matter. The commander at Fort Jackson received similar admonishment from the Headquarters of the Department of Louisiana in a letter which stated that even a post having only nine men should have a sentinel posted in a conspicuous place and go through the mechanics of complying with the Army regulation.33

As may be expected, guard duty was performed both well and faithfully by some soldiers and poorly by others. Three civil prisoners including the controversial Englishman, George St. Leger Grenfell, escaped from Fort Jefferson, Florida, on the night of March 7, 1868, through the connivance of a guard from the 5th Artillery. Out in Bowie, Texas, a private of the 29th Infantry, standing post at the guard house of the Sub Post of Bowie, wrenched the lock off the jail door and deserted with two of the prisoners he was entrusted to guard. At the Post of Vicksburg, Mississippi, so many prisoners escaped that strict measures were taken to increase the guard's efficiency and the officer of the guard was threatened with court martial if a prisoner escaped during his tour. There was also a certain

amount of sleeping on post and drunkeness while on duty—both serious offenses even in times of peace.34

In contrast with those who performed poorly, most soldiers did their jobs well enough. Private Nelson Johnson, Company A, 24th (now 11th) Infantry Regiment, was commended in a general order for successfully subduing three prisoners in his custody who attacked him with the intention of making an escape. Three other men of the 28th Infantry at the Post of Washington, Arkansas, were commended in general orders for being efficient, clean and soldierly during several tours of guard duty and, for their efforts, received relief from fatigue and guard duty for several days. Another sentry's commendable zeal was tragic in its results—one night Lieutenant William S. Alexander, 8th Infantry, post commander at Fort Macon, on hearing a fire alarm, rushed out through a sally port and, failing to notice that he had been challenged twice by a sentinel who thought him to be an escaping prisoner, was shot and killed. An orderly who was following close on the lieutenant's heels was wounded by the same ball. No blame was

attached to the guard, who was simply following orders.  

Before or after guard duty the principal occupations of the day, fatigue duty and drill, were suspended for an hour or so at noon for dinner which, as the name suggests, was the heaviest meal of the day. Although it was not mentioned on most drill schedules, the above one of the Post of Shelbyville being an exception, supper was held in the evening after Recall had been sounded on infantry posts and the animals watered and fed on cavalry posts. Supper, the lightest meal of the day, was only a recess, particularly in the summer months, for its place on the daily schedule was dependent on the time of retreat parade which was held at sunset. 

These parades were full dress affairs and similar in many respects to those still in use during World War II. The troops were fallen in one half hour before parade time and were inspected by their company officers. Ten minutes later Adjutant's Call was sounded, the band played, and the companies were marched to the parade ground where they halted and were dressed in line with the band on their right. After the formation was completed the band was

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ordered to "beat off" and trooped the line playing as it marched. On its return to the right of the line the ranks of the companies were ordered opened by the adjutant, who then turned them over to the commanding officer with a salute and the announcement "Sir, the parade is formed."

Then, as a possible symbol of his authority, the commander exercised the troops in a few movements of the manual of arms. After this activity, the adjutant was directed to receive the reports, the first sergeants were called out front and center and reported, were dismissed and marched back to their places in the ranks. The adjutant then read these orders and dismissed the parade. After the parade was dismissed, the adjutant marched the officers front and center to the strains of martial music and halted them before the commander whom they saluted in unison. Upon receiving their instructions, they dispersed without further ado and the 1st sergeants marched the companies off the field to the music of the band. Such parades were ordered held once a day except on "extraordinary and urgent occasions". 36

It will be noticed in passing that in the dress parade the troops did not pass in review. Furthermore,

although the dress parade was held and the evening gun fired each night at Retreat, neither the Army Regulations nor the Drill Regulations indicate the place of this call within the framework of the ceremony. Only one exception to this strange omission has been noticed: Special Order 28, Headquarters, Fort Macon, North Caroline, dated March 11, 1869, indicates that at that post the morning gun would be fired and the flag raised at Drummer's Call before Reveille and that the evening gun would be fired and the flag lowered at the last tap of the drum beat at Retreat.

After the troops were marched from the parade ground, they were free, so long as they stayed in the vicinity of their barracks, until eight-thirty or nine in the evening and the day's final formation. Tattoo was a time honored ceremony which had originated in the practice of clearing rowdy soldiery from drinking spots near barracks and marking the end to their nightly libations by putting and sealing taps in the bung holes of the vats which contained their liquid refreshment. This act of putting the "tap to" evolved into the simple last roll call of the day which was signaled by either the rattling of a drum or the notes of a melodious French bugle call. In

WDGO 70, 1867 states that morning and evening guns would be fired at Reveille and Retreat at all posts having suitable cannon, six pounders, and ammunition.
the United States Army the formation and its accompanying roll call was held sometime between eight and nine in the evening, earlier in the winter than in the summer. The troops, alerted by the blowing or beating of First Call, fell into ranks at the sounding of Tattoo. The 1st sergeant called the roll under the watchful eye of the officer of the day and possibly other company officers who were supposed to be on hand to supervise the roll call and to receive the reports of the 1st sergeants. After the roll call was finished and the report made, the men were dismissed and returned to their barracks to make ready for bed. Fifteen minutes later Taps was sounded, lights were extinguished and another long day had passed.  

The above mentioned routine was modified on Saturdays by abolishing drill in order to give the men time for preparing for the weekly Sunday inspection. The inspection required that the floors had to be scrubbed, tables and benches scoured, bunks and bedding overhauled so that a minimum of effort would be necessary in making them up in the following morning, and equipment and uniforms put in order. It goes without saying that a portion of the men were detailed to wash windows and to scrub down the kitchen,

38

AR 1863, p. 40; AR 1873, pp. 48-49; Cir., Hq., Post of Marshall, Texas, Sept. 18, 1868; RMHP 2, Ash Barracks, p. 88; RMHP 252, Post of Savannah, p. 181, RMHP 325, Post of Vicksburg, p. 20, NA.
mess room, bakery and the orderly room in addition to the work in their barracks, so that Saturday had all of the earmarks of having been a full day on almost any Army post. 39

Sunday, the day of rest and worship, was a tedious day for military personnel. Although the Articles of War earnestly recommended that all officers and soldiers attend divine services on this day, there was little positive action taken to see that the recommendation was put into effect. The opportunities for attending church services were limited for, throughout the Reconstruction period, only thirty chaplains were authorized for the whole Army. The chaplain's small impact on Army life is probably also indicated by the fact that their work merited very little notice in Army reports. For instance, Fort Jefferson, one of the largest posts in the South, had no chaplain and was visited by a pastor only three or four times yearly. Another, the Post of Brownsville, had a chaplain but, if his testimony is accurate, his influence must have been small. Since he had no chapel at the post, he officiated at a

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39 Ltr., David L. Craft to Carrie Craft, Charleston, S.C., Dec. 14, 1868, David L. Craft Papers, DU; Ltr., CO, Dist. of Miss. to AAG, Dept. of the Tenn., Hq., Dist. of Miss., Vicksburg, Oct. 29, 1866, LS 88, Dist. of Miss., Vol. 2; GO 49, Post of Lebanon, Ky., Sept. 18, 1869; RGHP 325, Post of Vicksburg, p. 20; RGHP 262, Post of Savannah, p. 181 and GO, Ft. Macon, Mar. 18, 1867, NA; AR 1863, p. 21.
church in nearby Brownsville where, he said, a few soldiers attended and others would have if arrangements could have been made—apparently in the form of compulsory attendance.\textsuperscript{40} 

Apart from the encouragement printed in the Articles of War, the Army seems to have offered little spiritual encouragement beyond permitting the men to attend local civilian churches if they so desired and had no duties to perform. But, since many of the soldiers of European origin, especially, were undoubtedly of Roman Catholic background, and these men were stationed in the Protestant South, it is doubtful if they attended church. Furthermore, it is to be wondered if any but the most enthusiastic Protestant among them would have sought the inside of a church attended by what was considered to have been an unfriendly population.\textsuperscript{41} 

Church attendance was also hampered by the inspections which were commonly held on Sunday mornings and sometimes on Sunday afternoons. Such inspections were

\textsuperscript{40} AR 1863, pp. 485, 36-37; AR 1872, pp. 204, 46-47; RMFP 155, Ft. Jefferson, p. 4 and Ltr., Chaplain Elijah Grewe to Adjt., 41st Inf., Brownsville, Texas, Nov. 5, 1867, LR (C) G 65, 5th Mil. Dist., NA.

\textsuperscript{41} Army and Navy Journal, June 25, 1870.
mandatory on every Army post and, if the garrison of a post included two or more companies, the inspection had to be preceded by a formal review. In the review the battalion was formed in line as on parade. After the reviewing officer had taken his post opposite the center of the formation, the ranks were opened and aligned and the reviewing officer saluted. The reviewing officer then moved to the right of the line of troops and passed down their front around to the rear and along the rear of the battalion until he completed his tour of the formation, the band playing all the while. After the reviewing officer had returned to his place in front, the ranks were closed and the commands given to wheel the companies into a column behind the band and move it first to the right, then left and left again so that it passed by the reviewing officer. On reaching him the band moved out of line and posted itself opposite the reviewing officer and continued to play until the last company had marched by. It then followed the companies to the original ground where they again opened ranks and terminated the review with a salute.42

The review ended, the inspection then began. The proper commands were given to form the companies into a column once again and the inspecting officer proceeded to

42 Upton, op. cit., pp. 348-351.
inspect the column company by company and rank after rank from front to rear. As he approached each successive company, the company commanders brought their men to "Inspection Arms" and weapons and accoutrements were inspected. This done, the command "Open Boxes" was given and each man opened his cartridge box for the inspector. After this portion of the inspection was completed, successive commands were sometimes given which caused the arms to be stacked, and the knapsacks unslung and laid out at the feet of their owners so that the sacks' contents could be examined. After the inspector was through, the knapsacks were closed and slung and, as each company was finished, it was marched off the field to its quarters.43

After the troops were inspected on the field, the inspecting officer visited the guard house, hospital, and other buildings on the post and then made an inspection of the quarters of the enlisted men. By the time he arrived they had prepared their personal belongings for his inspection and were standing at attention in front of their respective bunks. The inspector looked over the personal equipment, examined the interior of the barracks, the bunks, bedding, and furniture and moved on down into the

43 Ibid., pp. 351-354.
mess room and the kitchen, where he looked over the cooking and eating utensils and to the orderly room where he inspected the company records and brought the inspection to a close. It was said that these nine o'clock Sunday morning inspections were thorough and included all of the enlisted men on the post. They were supplemented by daily inspections of an informal nature, formal monthly ones on the last day of every month including that held when the troops were mustered for pay on the last day of alternate months when possible. In protest against the Sunday morning inspections, disgruntled officers in letters to the *Army and Navy Journal* complained that they were long and tedious and that the inspections, reviews, guard mounts and necessary fatigue duty made the day of rest one of the hardest days of the week.44

The life and duties of officers were not regulated to the same degree as those of the enlisted men. Although they were responsible for the supervision of all that transpired in their commands, this supervision was done through their sergeants and was not an exacting chore.

Lieutenant David L. Craft, 6th Infantry, stationed at the

small Post of Raleigh, wrote of his day as follows:

... What do we do did you say? Why, I'll tell you. - get up in the morning at "7:30" or "8" - go to breakfast - get back by "9" - Then I finish my office duties in about an hour (I've been appointed the Adjutant) We all adjourn to one of our rooms, and swelter yet positively swelter all the rest of the day.

It will be noted that Lieutenant Craft did not get up for Reveille and does not mention drilling with the troops or supervising their activities in any way.45

 Lieutenant Craft's testimony is supported to a certain extent by a letter of Lieutenant Charles Breckinridge, 15th Infantry, who, being one year out of West Point, wrote that he was gradually becoming acquainted with the duties of an infantry subaltern "...and the purely military portion gives me but little trouble that portion, however, that relates to papers is almost a continual source of worry and vexation but I am slowly learning that it is a prerogative of my rank to submit."46

The paper work which vexed Lieutenant Breckinridge could be enormous if it fell to one or two officers--especially if their enlisted clerks and 1st sergeants re-

45 Ltr., Lt. David Craft to Carrie Craft, Raleigh, N.C., July 17, 1868, David Lawrence Craft Papers, DU.

46 Ltr., Lt. Chas. Breckinridge to Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, Mobile, Ala., Feb. 11, 1866, Breckinridge Papers, LC.
quired a great deal of supervision. Reports to regi­
mental headquarters had to be made out within the companies re­
lating to monthly returns, pay, clothing and food. Since com­
panies were often at detached posts, further reports had to be made to the adjutants general of their department and records of the post quartermaster had to be submitted with reports to higher headquarters. To this administra­
tive activity were added service with courts martial, meet­
ings of the post councils of administration and their accom­panying reports, the administration of the post fund, sitting on board of survey, and recruiting duty. These duties were all the responsibility of the company or post commander who parcelled them out to his subordinates, who, in turn, acted in the roles of acting assistant adjutants general and acting assisting quartermasters. The manner in which these duties were assigned is indicated by another letter from Lieutenant Craft who, after being transferred from Raleigh to The Citadel, reported that

...i'm Post Adjutant - Post Treasurer and Reg­
imental Recruiting Officer, and if that isn't enough for one person, why you can eat my hat...
...you want to know how I "kill" time - well I tell you - about four hours each day

47

AR 1863, pp. 20, 24, 34-36, 50, 64-71, 124, 128, 172 and AR 1872, pp. 36-37, 91-102, 107-114, 143.
I'm in the office - an hour and half on drill... Lieutenant Craft thus was busy at least five and half hours a day on days when he was not officer of the day and officer of the guard. Furthermore, it will be recalled that officers were not as a rule confined to the post and had little to do toward the maintenance of their quarters and equipment.

In summing up the life of the soldier on military posts in the South it seems apparent that it was boring, uninspiring and monotonous. The only relief from the tedium was the limited amount of recreation on the outside, the temporary refuge of drunkeness, and the performance outside the posts of the duties deemed necessary to the South's reconstruction.

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CHAPTER XII
DIVERIONS AND DISSENSIONS

The life of an enlisted man at most of the Army posts of the South was well ordered but dull. Life for the Volunteer soldier had been tedious, but he could look forward to being mustered out. The Regular, with months or years of service ahead of him, had to look more to relief in some diversion.

Escape from the daily grind was sometimes sought, not only in drinking, but in commendable forms of both quiet and active recreation. Soldiers played a variety of games, the most popular of which was baseball. Baseball was played in practically every part of the South and, at the Post of Lauderdale, Mississippi, it was enjoyed so much that forbidding men to play it who had been absent without leave or disorderly was deemed more effective punishment than confinement. Baseball was listed as a recreation at the Posts of Newberry, Greenville, Chester and Charleston, South Carolina, the Posts of Jackson, Mississippi, Paducah and Shelbyville, Kentucky, Mobile,
Alabama and McPherson Barracks, Georgia.¹

It was only natural that, if baseball was played on a post, an Army nine would be formed to meet any competition that existed on the outside. In April 1876 The Citadel's "Garrison Base Ball Club" challenged any and every other ball club in the state to play them for the championship of South Carolina. In May 1876 it played a team called the "Carolinas" before a crowd of "several thousand" spectators and won by a score of 28 to 24. The Garrison Club's uniform was described as having consisted of a blue shirt with a white shield on its front which contained the letter "G", white duck knee pants, blue striped stockings and red belts and gaiters.²

These ball clubs did not always play for the pleasure of the game alone. The 24th Infantry Base Ball Club challenged the Mississippi Valley Base Ball Club of Vicksburg, Mississippi, to play a match game for a ball and bat.

¹ RMHP 173, Post of Lauderdale, p. 143; RMHP 209, Post of Newberry, p. 319; RMHP 213, Post of Greenville, p. 50; RMHP 58, Post of Chester, p. 294; RMHP 223, Post of Paducah, p. 6; RMHP 264, Post of Shelbyville, p. 10; RMHP 149, Post of Jackson; RMHP 205, McPherson Barracks, p. 88, NA.

² The News and Courier (Charleston), April 22 and May 27, 1876.
The challenge was accepted and the Army team won by a score of 61 to 34. The game, which was scheduled to start at 1 p.m., was called after eight innings because of the "advanced stage of evening."³

These games, being interesting exhibitions, were often viewed by comparatively sizeable crowds. A description of one game covered by the New Orleans Republican of June 12, 1867, ran as follows:

On a recent afternoon, at the camp of Company E, Fourth United States cavalry at Greenville, was witnessed by a numerous assembly of spectators a hotly contested and splendidly played game of baseball between the "Reveille" B.B.C. of company E, fourth United States cavalry, and the "Jackson" B.B.C. of the First United States infantry.

The most noteworthy play was exhibited by Brown of the Reveille and White of the Jackson, the former making no less than six fly catches without a muff, as will be seen by the score. The latter did as well in his position as catcher and made some tip catches. Nine innings were played by the Jackson who went first to the bat, while the Reveille played but eight.

At the conclusion of the game the defeated club were invited by the victors to a model repast in the shape of a camp dinner. All that could be desired was furnished, and the lager beer and the refreshments disappeared mysteriously.

Other games on record include one played by the "Government Stockings" (Battery C, 5th Artillery) and the "Bean Crackers" (Battery A, 3d Artillery) for a set of

³ The Vicksburg Herald, Mar. 28, 1867.
"foul flags". This game was followed by a dance. An intra-post game at the Post of Lauderdale for a keg of beer resulted in the participants all being drunk by Tattoo. Better results were believed to have been obtained in Mobile where the town's champions, the "Excelsiors", were beaten by the post team, the "True Blues", and it was believed that the game provided an example of good feeling between the citizens and the garrison.\(^4\)

Although football was said to have been played at one post—Chester, South Carolina—there were no other reported games involving team play—with the possible exception of bowling. Mount Vernon Barracks had an outside tenpin court as early as 1867 and a bowling alley, being built on a veranda at McPherson Barracks in January 1874, was reported in the following month to be in "constant requisition". Mount Vernon Barracks also had a billiard table which belonged to a noncommissioned officer who charged 15 cents per game, and a billiard room was in operation at Fort Jefferson in 1870.\(^5\)

\(^4\) Army and Navy Journal, Aug. 27, 1870; RMHP 173, Post of Lauderdale, Oct., 1869; NA; Army and Navy Journal, May 22, 1875.

A certain amount of recreation "after the manner of children of smaller growth" was found in playing marbles by Negro troops at Fort Pike, Louisiana, in 1870, and it was just as well, since no other amusement was afforded them. Slightly more strenuous exercise was provided at the Posts of Mobile, Jackson, and Newberry, where there were small gymnasiums fitted out with trapezes, horizontal bars, rings and ropes.\(^6\)

A certain amount of recreation not requiring physical skill or strength was indulged in. Soldiers are reported to have played cards and backgammon at the Post of Paducah and, at the Post of Lauderdale, the surgeon confided to his medical history that the enlisted men played cards in their barracks, all of which did not speak well for their morality and would be stopped if their post commander knew of it. Although no other testimony to the effect that the soldiers played cards was offered, there can be little doubt that it was a common pastime.\(^7\)

The arts were sometimes enjoyed by the common soldier. At the large post of McPherson Barracks there was

\(^6\) RMHP 882, Ft. Jackson, p. 8; RMHP 149, Post of Jackson, p. 11; RMHP 185, Post of Mobile, p. 83; RMHP 209, Post of Newberry, p. 11, NA.

\(^7\) RMHP 223, Post of Paducah, p. 6; RMHP 173, Post of Lauderdale, p. 141, NA.
enough talent for a minstrel troupe which, in February 1874, gave two expert performances. These shows were given in a barracks, one end of which was converted into an assembly room having a stage draped with flags and lighted by a candelabra. A similar stage was erected at Mount Vernon Barracks by its minstrel troupe and at Shelbyville, Kentucky, theatricals were listed among the post's recreations.8

There was also straight musical entertainment. Many of the women at the Post of Vicksburg were said to have been passable musicians and entertained themselves and others with their playing. The same sort of diversion was practiced at the Post of Mobile and, no doubt, at many other places, but lucky was the post which was fortunate enough to have the twenty or so musicians who formed the regimental band. There were few of these bands and they were stationed at posts housing the regimental headquarters. However, when a band was available, it could be heard at parades, Reveille and Retreat formations and at concerts. At the Post of Columbia, for instance, the 10th Infantry's band in 1873 daily played light music that suited its capabilities and the tastes of its audience. The 6th Infantry Band at The Citadel gave concerts three times a

8 RMHP 205, McPherson Barracks, p. 108; RMHP 159, Mt. Vernon Barracks, p. 158; RMHP 264, Post of Shelbyville, p. 10, NA.
Books were much more numerous than bands. The Post of Columbia had a library of 275 bound volumes, 38 pamphlets, four weekly and four daily newspapers. Ash Barracks' library had 740 volumes and an unstated number of newspapers. In 1875, the surgeon at the Post of Lancaster, Kentucky, boasted of having eight hundred to a thousand miscellaneous volumes, plus Louisville and Cincinnati papers. Other posts, in 1870, are reported to have had the following numbers of publications in their libraries: Fort Macon 200, Raleigh 85, McPherson Barracks 550, Fort Pulaski 107, Fort Jefferson 500, Fort Barrancas 25, Jackson Barracks 500, Jefferson, Texas, 199 volumes, but, at Forts Johnson and Jackson, there were none.10

These collections included a wide range of selections. McPherson Barracks had mostly novels on its shelves but also had several histories and biographies. Fort Pike, which in 1870 had only a small collection, was said to have had a "good selection" of English and American

9 The News and Courier (Charleston), Aug. 26, 1873 and Jocelyn, op. cit., p. 73.

10 RMHP 47, Post of Columbia, p. 69; RMHP 2, Ash Barracks, p. 12, NA; SGO 1875, p. 147 and SGO 1870, pp. 90, 93, 95, 147, 154, 158, 164, 167 and 171.
military works. A group of books called "Harper's Select Library" was found among the shelves at the Post of Savannah, and the Post of Sumter's collection consisted principally of Charles Dickens' novels. Probably about the most avoided set of books in the Army, however, were the 117 volumes of Henry A. Wise's law library which, until 1867 when they were returned to the Wise family, rested in the custody of the librarian at Fort Monroe.11

Although many volumes were purchased in the hope that they would be of some educational value, most were novels or light reading material. The library at the Post of Savannah's 200 volumes was made up principally of popular novels together with its "Harper's Select Library"; McPherson Barracks' 500 volumes were mostly novels and the same was true, it was said, of the libraries at Fort Barancas and Fort Macon. That the vast majority of library books in Army libraries would have fallen in the category of light reading would seem to be quite probable, for otherwise the libraries would have failed to have met with the soldier's attainments and desires.12

11 SGO 1870, pp. 147, 167; RMHP 262, Post of Savannah, p. 178; RMHP 283, Post of Sumter, p. 11; Ltr., Maj. Wm. Hays to CG, 1st Mil. Dist., Ft. Monroe, Va., Aug. 8, 1867, LHR 456, 1st Mil. Dist., Vol. 4, 1967, NA.

12 SGO 1870, pp. 90, 147, 158 and RMHP Post of Savannah, p. 178, NA.
Books, newspapers, and periodicals were purchased, as a general rule, with money allotted from post funds, which was acquired chiefly through the savings on bread and other rations. Some literature, over fifteen thousand dollars worth of it in 1871, was also received from an organization by the name of the Military Post Library Association, whose object was the social, moral, and religious improvement of the Army through the distribution of religious and secular reading matter to military posts.\textsuperscript{13}

There was no building set aside for library purposes as a general thing. At best there was a reading room, as was the case at the Post of Yorkville. But, since libraries were generally small, they could be tucked away in corners or share space with other recreational facilities. At Fort Jefferson, for instance, the library and billiard room were located in a building also used for officers' quarters. At Ash Barracks the library was in the band barracks, at Fort Macon in the hospital steward's room, at McPherson Barracks in the hospital for a time and then in post headquarters. The headquarters, often only a

\textsuperscript{13} RSW 1877, p. vii; RHJP 724, Ringgold Barracks, p. 192; RHJP 283, Post of Sumter, p. 11, NA and The Atlanta Constitution, Mar. 19, 1872.
room in the barracks or a small place at best, was one of the common locations. The office of the post commander was used at Sumter, the adjutant's office at Savannah and Fort Barrancas. 25 novels shared a room with the first sergeant. At Fort Pulaski the library collection was housed in a casemate which was also used as the fort's schoolroom. 14

As at Fort Pulaski, libraries and school rooms should have been found at the same posts, even though they often were not. According to War Department General Order 56, July 31, 1866, every post, garrison, and permanent camp should have a school in which the enlisted man could be provided with instruction in the English language and in the history of the United States. The post commander was to provide a room for this school. Such schools were undoubtedly established, but were apparently of little importance, since there is little mention of them in Army records.

Nevertheless, there were some in operation throughout the Reconstruction period and they were especially necessary in the colored regiments where literacy was uncommon. In May 1867, for instance, a company commander in

the 9th Cavalry requested that his company be supplied with nine intelligent white men from among recruits to serve as noncommissioned officers and clerks until he could get his company in shape. He was having trouble because his men had been recruited from a French speaking section of Louisiana and could not speak, much less write, English. Possibly because it was of interest to numerous officers of colored regiments, this request was referred to and answered from Washington with a note of disapproval and the suggestion that the company commander solve his problem by starting the school provided for in General Order 56. In the 40th Infantry, where such a school was established, they tried to educate in a big way. School hours were from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m., from 2 to 4:30 p.m. and in the evening from 7 to 10, Saturday evenings and Sundays excepted. Although the identity of the instructor was not revealed, he must not have been a line officer, for each day a noncommissioned officer was to be appointed to attend classes for the sole purpose of maintaining order.\(^{15}\)

There were schools in the white regiments as well. A school was started at the Post of Sumter in May 1872,

complete with a noncommissioned officer as its teacher, books, paper and a slate. Nine men attended classes for a short while but, of these, only three had any evident desire to learn. To make matters worse, the progress of the three was hampered by the fact that their duties often conflicted with school hours, and, as a result, they missed many classes. Beset by these hardships, the school limped along for three weeks and, with the advent of hot weather, closed.  

16

There were other schools though, a very few taught by chaplains and most of the remainder by noncommissioned officers. These schools were usually attended by either children, enlisted men or both. It is to be doubted, however, that as a general thing the average run of them had fates better than that at the Post of Sumter.  

17

The enlisted men did a few other things to while away their time. Many of the more ambitious no doubt did as some of the men at the Post of Jackson, Mississippi, and hunted small game, while those on the water followed the example of the Fort Macon garrison and fished. Few, however, could enjoy the pastime of the Fort Jackson,

16 RMHP 283, Post of Sumter, p. 18, NA.

17 RMHP 205, McPherson Barracks, p. 132, NA; SGO 1875, pp. 111, 132.
Louisiana, troops who, having alligators in their moat, had trained them to come and eat when called.\textsuperscript{18}

Although Army records have little to say on the subject, it is certain that there were many pets on southern posts. For instance, the commander of the Post of Columbia, in 1868, complained of the great number of dogs at his post and "the practice of the enlisted men, causing them to fight, making not only the night but the day hideous." He gave their owners two days to dispose of them. The order may have had some temporary effect, but not for long, for it had to be repeated five months later. Similar orders were published at the Post of Bryan Texas, and later again at the Post of Columbia. They were topped, nevertheless, by one issued at Fort Smith, Arkansas, which not only threatened sudden death to dogs which strayed from their masters' care and were found roving the reservation, but to goats, deer and chickens as well.\textsuperscript{19}

Everyday routine was broken for both these pets and their masters on certain holidays. Foremost among these was Independence Day which had the then unique

\textsuperscript{18} RMHP 149, Post of Jackson, p.125, NA; SGO 1875, p. 156; SGO 1870, p. 169.

\textsuperscript{19} GO'S 12, 17 and 1, Post of Columbia, Columbia, S.C., Mar. 16, 1868, Aug. 30, 1868 and Jan. 22, 1870; Go 12, Post of Bryan, Texas, April 15, 1869 and Cir., Ft. Smith, Ark., Feb. 12, 1869, NA.
distinction of being recognized in Army Regulations, but only to the extent that, at noon, a National Salute was to be fired on every post having a cannon and powder. Where these facilities were available there were a variety of salutes. At the Posts of Savannah and Little Rock, for instance, National Salutes of thirty-seven guns were fired. At Fort Pulaski and at Battery Rogers, Virginia, where there seems to have been plenty of powder, Federal Salutes of 13 guns were fired at sunrise in addition to a noon salute. And then, if two salutes per day were not enough, at posts having an excess of powder, two of these being Fort Macon in 1873 and the Post of Baton Rouge in 1874, another Federal salute was fired at sunset.20

When cannon were not available, salutes were sometimes given with rifles. Three volleys of musketry were fired at the Post of Lauderdale, Mississippi, in 1867 and an old fashion feu de joie was popped out at the Post of Morgantown in 1868.21

20 Savannah Daily Republican, July 6, 1867; RMHP 448, Post of Little Rock, p. 273; Post Order 34, Hq., Battery Rodgers, Alexandria, Va., July 2, 1867; RMHP 25, Post of Baton Rouge, p. 177; RMHP 197, Post of Fort Macon, p. 328, NA.

21 RMHP 173, Post of Lauderdale, p. 129 and GO, Post of Morgantown, N.C., July 3, 1868, NA.
These salutes were supplemented, of course, with formations. Troops of the 2d Infantry at Taylor Barracks, Louisville, had to fall out for a review, inspection and a reading of the Declaration of Independence at seven in the morning. A dress parade and a reading of the Declaration was held at Battery Rodgers in 1867, and a proper celebration in 1868 at the Post of Morgantown by troops of the 5th Cavalry included a mounted parade through the town's streets at 8 a.m., followed at noon by a dismounted formation. The Army, being the Army, few posts probably imitated the Posts of Darlington and Baton Rouge which suspended all unnecessary duties after Reveille.22

After the formal ceremonies were completed, there was some time for relaxation. In 1872 the Post of Little Rock had what might be termed an old fashioned 4th complete with band music, orations and foreworks. Local civilians were invited to join the garrison in its festivities, and, presumably, a good time was had by almost all. Exceptions,

22 GO 22, Hq., Post of Louisville, Taylor Barracks, July 3, 1866; Post Order 34, Hq., Battery Rodgers, Alexandria, Va., July 3, 1867; GO 5, Hq., Post of Morgantown, N.C., July 3, 1866; RMHP 25, Post of Baton Rouge, p. 177 and SO 24, Hq., Post of Darlington, S.C., July 3, 1866, NA.
no doubt, included the family and friends of one civilian who was wounded fatally by a rocket.23

The celebration at the Post of Little Rock was no more jubilant than at some other posts. Their fireworks were rivaled at Fort Macon in the following year, where the artillerymen used the 4th as the occasion for firing off some condemned ammunition from their 10-inch mortars which, no doubt, made quite a spectacle. The Savannah garrison's festivities in 1867 could not rival Fort Macon's noise but they were reported to have enjoyed themselves in a highly social manner, the result being that on the following day a few were said to have been "ailing (ale-ing)". The same type of celebration was carried on that year at the Post of Lauderdale, where all the men were reported to have been drunk but good natured. That such conduct was not uncommon was evidenced by a letter from the Headquarters, 3d Military District, to its posts which ordered troops that turned out for civilian celebrations to be accompanied by an officer who would keep them in hand and that saloons near these celebrations be closed. Likewise, the commander at Battery Rodgers felt it necessary to remind his men to be on their good behavior and to tell them that it was

23 RMHP 448, Post of Little Rock, p. 273, NA.
their "...special duty as it should be their pride to sustain the reputation of the country whose birth is celebrated...".24

Other holidays observed were Christmas and Memorial Day. Christmas was a feast day—the barracks and mess rooms were decorated and special meals were served. Since duties were suspended, games were planned at some places to make the day festive and then, of course, there were no doubt a few commands like that at Lauderdale, Mississippi, which used the holiday as another excuse for an alcoholic binge. Oddly enough there seems to have been no recorded religious observances on Christmas day. Memorial Day, however, was a day of dignity above all others, but, since it came to be celebrated with the civilian population, it will be discussed below.25

The deaths of two ex-presidents were occasions for additional breaks in Army routine. James Buchanan died on June 1, 1868. On June 2, President Johnson ordered that suitable honors be paid to his memory and, on the following

24 Savannah Daily Republican, July 6, 1867; RMHP 197, Ft. Macon, p. 325; RMHP 173, Post of Lauderdale, p. 129; Ltr., AAG, 3d Mil. Dist., 1867; Post Order 34, Hq., Battery Rodgers, Alexandria, Va., July 3, 1867, NA.

day, a general order was published. One day after receiving it each post was ordered to have a parade at 10 a.m. at which the President's death was to be announced. After this formation, all labor on the post was to cease. Thirteen guns were to be fired at sunrise and single guns were to fire every half hour throughout the day. At sunset a National Salute of 37 guns was ordered fired. The flag was flown at half staff throughout the day. Identical honors were paid to the memory of President Pierce in October 1869.  

The deaths of military personnel did not occasion as much noise as the deaths of Presidents but in their way they were just as impressive. First Sergeant Lorenz Hochstetter of the 5th Artillery Band at The Citadel died of apoplexy. After a funeral service in the Charleston's German Lutheran Church, his flag draped coffin was placed on a caisson drawn by four horses and flanked by six sergeants, and the funeral cortege, led by the band, wound through the streets to Magnolia Cemetery. Graveside services were held, three volleys were fired, and the sergeant was buried.  

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27 The News and Courier, July 28, 1873.
An equally impressive funeral took place in Columbia in the same year. This time a Private Johnson, 18th Infantry, had an Episcopal service after which his body was placed upon a hearse and carried to the Wilmington Station. The hearse was followed by the entire Columbia garrison, the band alternated dirges with the beat of muffled drums, the escort carried reversed arms, and the long line of soldiers was said to have made an "imposing and mournful appearance."  

At the Post of Lauderdale there was yet another funeral. Instead of one like those described above, however, it was a humble one befitting a place like the Post of Lauderdale. Private William Kingsley of Company H, 16th Infantry, was honored at Retreat on June 2, 1867, when his pine coffin was inclosed in a rough box for transportation to the National Cemetery at Corinth, Mississippi. The burial service of the Episcopal Church was read in the presence of the company who were said to have been much affected. 

The monotonous life of the enlisted man at southern posts was shared by their officers, although, in their

28 The Columbia Daily Union, Mar. 25, 1873.
29 RG173, Post of Lauderdale, p. 126, NA.
off duty hours, commissioned and enlisted personnel lived in worlds apart. There were certain distinct differences in their situations. Officers, unlike all but a few non-commissioned officers, could enjoy family life and its privacy. Officers could not mingle socially with enlisted men, and, except at larger posts where a number of officers were stationed, an officer's companionship was limited to possibly one or two other line officers and the post surgeon. This lack of friendship, together with the hierarchy of the military system, created tensions and situations which might better have not existed.

Foremost among the causes of dissension was the question of military rank and authority. The majority of officers in the post-war army had received their military training in the informal Volunteer regiments during the War and no doubt found it difficult to adjust to the formalities of the Regular service. This situation was rendered difficult further because, with but few exceptions, all had held higher rank in the Volunteer army than they obtained in the Regular forces and most had brevet grades higher than those in which they served. As an illustration of the ridiculous state into which the officer corps had fallen, the 5th Cavalry in the fall of 1866 had forty officers, the highest ranking of whom was a lieutenant colonel. However, in this group there were brevet ranks including 3 major
generals, 3 brigadier generals, 2 colonels, 5 lieutenant colonels, 5 majors and 9 captains. Only 23 of these officers were on actual duty—10 officers were on detached service, 1 was in arrest and 3, a lieutenant colonel and captain both of whom were brevet major generals and a major who was a brevet brigadier general, were on extended leaves of over three months. This confusion was carried further by the practice permitted officers of wearing their brevet ranks on their uniforms and using their brevet titles on duty. This was not terminated until July 1870. Mrs. Roe, a lieutenant's wife, writing of this situation, noted that her husband's company commander, a captain, insisted on the title and the courtesies of his brevet rank of general and that the other lieutenant was addressed by his brevet title of "major".

Protocol caused a great deal of haggling among officers. Everyone seems to have wanted the prestige to be obtained from commanding a post, for promotions were slow, opportunities few, and any favorable entry on a man's record was important. That is possibly why a captain at

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30 Return, 5th Cavalry Regt., Sept. 1866, NA.

31 WDGO 92, July 22, 1870 and Frances M. A. Roe, Army Letters from an Officer's Wife, 1871-1888, pp. 2-5.
Mount Vernon Barracks felt compelled to inquire if he was entitled to the command of his regiment, even though it had never been turned over to him. It seems that his colonel was absent sick, his lieutenant colonel and major were absent on detached service and that he was the highest ranking officer actually present at the regimental headquarters. The same sort of problem occurred at the Post of Selma where, under the same circumstances, a lieutenant signed some correspondence over the title of "Post Commander", and was taken to task for it and told to use instead the phrase "in the absence of the Post Commander". A further twist to the problem was illustrated by a complaint of an assistant surgeon with the rank of captain who reported that at his post there were two line officers and, when they left it, they turned the post over to the care of a noncommissioned officer instead of to him. 32

Such jealousy over small things by a few officers scattered in small posts could and did lead to some feeling prejudicial to discipline. Captain Aaron S. Daggett, 16th Infantry, requested an inquiry to investigate the

charges of a major that in his company the officers had "a spirit of fault finding and dissatisfaction amounting almost to insubordination." In reply the major said that he was not required to make explanation of his acts to subordinates but was ready to prove all that he had said. The type of thing the major was probably referring to was represented by the case of a Captain William G. Galloway of the 15th Infantry who, after being placed in arrest for breaking arrest to be married, was placed in arrest again, according to his father-in-law, for striking an "old enemy" who happened to be his superior officer.33

Another unique instance of insubordination occurred in the 15th Infantry garrison at the Post of Marshall, Texas. It appears that the post commander, a Lieutenant Colonel Julius Hayden, wrote an endorsement on some correspondence to which one of his officers, a Lieutenant Thomas Blair, replied in an additional endorsement that "...the preceding indorsement be written in English character and not in hieroglyphics, or that a translation be furnished as I am unable to read it."34


34 Ltr., CO, Post of Marshall to AAG, 5th Mil. Dist., Marshall, Texas, Dec. 29, 1869, LS 77, Post of Marshall, Texas, 1868, NA.
As might be expected Lieutenant Blair's endorsement did not endear him to Hayden and the feud continued until December 1868. Blair was instructed to have window frames made for some buildings on the post and to show Hayden the first frame upon its completion. That night while the captain rested in his room at a Marshall hotel, two enlisted men entered its crowded lobby with a window frame, pushed their way through the wondering onlookers and marched the frame up to the colonel's room. Hayden, of course, was a trifle upset by all of this and placed Blair under arrest. Although this episode was not the end of Blair's career—he was promoted to captain later—he was dismissed from the service in 1877.35

There were other feuds involving all sorts of petty things, but by far the most fantastic was that enjoyed by Lieutenants Jonathan A. Payne and Thomas A. Wenie at the Post of Washington, Arkansas, during the summer of July 1868. At this time Payne was the post adjutant and Wenie the post quartermaster, and, when writing for the record or the post commander's eyes, each addressed his letter to the adjutant, Lieutenant Payne.

35 Ltr., CO, Post of Marshall to AAG, 5th Mil. Dist., Marshall, Texas, Dec. 29, 1869, LS 77, Post of Marshall, Texas, 1868, NA.
Their skirmishing came to the surface when Lieutenant Payne, in a letter addressed to himself as the post adjutant, announced that Lieutenant Wenie, the quartermaster, had erected a kitchen shack behind Payne’s quarters, but, being at odds with Payne, he had placed the kitchen door on the side of the building farthest from the house, so that, in going from the house to the kitchen immediately behind it, one had to walk completely to its rear. Wenie had also seen that a chicken coop was thrown together for Payne but, somehow, had neglected to have a roof placed over it. Payne went on to record that, in his mind, Wenie lived in the finest quarters on the post, far better than those of officers who outranked him.

There was further bickering over the furnishings of the mess room, its drainage and its lack of windows. Finally, Wenie was ordered to see that Payne’s mess house was moved to a more accommodating position and, until this was done, Payne was authorized the use of Wenie’s mess house. Soon Adjutant Payne received a letter from Quartermaster Wenie which ran as follows:

I have the honor to state that, this day, at noon, 2d Lieut Jno A. Payne took an axe and

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knocked out about one third of my side of the mess house, breaking the boards badly by knocking them out so roughly. It seems that he waited to do so in my presence in order to aggravate me as much as possible, although I did not allow him to perceive that I noticed it.

Wenie then concluded by requesting that Payne be required to put the building in as good a condition as it was when he first occupied it.37

The post commander viewed all of this activity with disapproval and instructed Lieutenant Payne, the adjutant, to order himself to vacate Wenie's mess house at once. Wenie was informed of this by Lieutenant Payne but was told that Payne, himself, could not fix it up but that the work had to be done by workmen under Wenie's supervision.38

Feuding with the intensity of that waged by Wenie and Payne was uncommon, of course, but when it is considered that Army posts were small and without secrets, the effect of any dissension in the commissioned ranks would seem to have been of importance. The officers' families could not have remained aloof from it and the enlisted men


were no doubt entertained and demoralized by it. But, somehow, the Army carried on in spite of its worst enemies, who were then, as now, a few of the people within its ranks.

Little has been recorded of the family life of married officers at southern Army posts, but it can be assumed that it was like married life elsewhere except that the Army families were dependent upon one another to a considerable extent, even when stationed in towns and cities. Furthermore, it can be assumed that the ladies took charge of all social activities and that their prestige and authority correlated closely with the rank of their husbands. The position of the ladies in an Army community is indicated by the remark of Lieutenant David L. Craft who wrote from The Citadel that "Every Army officer is supposed to be a faithful devotee to the 'Dear fair sex' and if he isn't he loses 'standing' at once." 39

When there were several members of the fair sex along officers' row, they saw that there was no lack of social activity, though the social circle may have been restricted. Dances then as now were the favored form of party entertainment. Lieutenant Roe's wife wrote that the troops in New Orleans during the turbulent seventies

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Ltr., David L. Craft to Miss Carrie Craft, Charleston, S.C., Dec. 14, 1868, David Lawrence Craft Papers, DU.
enjoyed cotillions which they held every two weeks. These affairs featured two orchestras, one for dancing and one which played between dances. Mrs. Biddle, wife of Captain James Biddle, 24th Infantry, wrote that there was an informal dance every Friday night at most garrisons, but she, presumably, was thinking of the larger posts. At the time of her writing she was stationed at the Post of Jackson, Mississippi, and, as a sign of the times, their Friday night dances were held in the Governor’s Mansion, then occupied by former officer and carpetbagger, Adelbert Ames.

There were no professional society reporters to give the details of such affairs to the public and to posterity, but two persons made valiant attempts. A member of the staff of the Little Rock Evening Republican wrote that

Last evening the officers of the Arsenal gave an elegant and recherche soiree. We happened in while enjoyment and pleasure seemed for an hour to reign. Music and her sister song, and the poetry of motion, gave to the scene more the appearance of a one of the glorious tableaux from fairy land, than tangible reality, while where we figure, music flowed freely, and wit sparkled as brightly as on any Page we ever read.

Altogether it was a success, and we doubt not many eyes will sparkle brightly when invitations are sent for repetition. 41

40 Roe, op. cit., p. 153 and Biddle, op. cit., p. 49.

41 Little Rock Evening Republican, June 21, 1867.
Another affair held at Fort Jackson, Louisiana, was described in a letter to the editor of the Army and Navy Journal. This one was a masquerade party held in a hall decorated with flags, wreaths, and palmetto leaves and lighted by several chandeliers. A band supplied music for dancing from a flag draped platform. There was dancing, the unmasking, refreshments, and then more dancing until what was said to have been a very late hour. Many of those present maintained that they had never enjoyed any occasion more in their lives and perhaps some significance might be attached to the reporter's comment that the affair passed off harmoniously without a solitary unpleasant incident to mar the enjoyment of the participants.  

These dances took some preparation. Again, of course, little is known of the details but an indication of their importance may exist in a special order issued at the Post of Vicksburg which stated that, in order for the officers of the garrison to be able to attend a party, dress parade would be cancelled. The band was ordered to report at 7:30 that evening and its members who were not needed for the dance were dismissed. On the other side, from The Citadel where dances were often held and attended by a few northern people and school teachers at Negro schools,

Army and Navy Journal, June 4, 1870.
Lieutenant Stephan F. Jocelyn, then single and twenty-three, prepared himself by ordering a variety of toilet articles from the North. Included among these was a tooth cleaner called "Sozodent," "Night Bloom," "Bay Rum" and "Pomade".\(^3\)

In addition to dances, there were other get-togethers when an excuse for them presented itself. For instance, the arrival of a Spanish frigate at Fort Jefferson in February 1867 called for entertainment of its officers. And, when Captain Henry P. Brewerton, 5th Artillery, and Mrs. Brewerton returned to Charleston after a trip north, they were met at the station by officers of the garrison and some civilian friends. This was followed by a serenade rendered by the 5th Artillery band, and in the evening a reception was given for them at the Charleston Hotel.\(^4\)

The most exciting and possibly the rarest social

\(^3\) SO 31, Hq., Post of Vicksburg, Miss., Feb. 21, 1865, LB 54, Dist. of Miss., p. 34, NA and Jocelyn, op. cit., pp. 76-77. A Sozodent advertisement common in newspapers of the period made the following claim: SOZODENT - Hardens and invigorates the gums, purifies and perfumes the breath, cleanses, beautifies and preserves the teeth from youth to old age. Sold by all druggists.

\(^4\) R&HP 155, Fort Jefferson, Fla., p. 109, NA and The News and Courier, (Charleston), Dec. 18, 1876, NA.
events were weddings. Among these was that of Assistant Surgeon Elliot Coues, 6th Infantry, who married a Miss McKainney of New York whom he had met in Columbia where she was a teacher in a Negro school. Of this wedding and his role in it Stephan Jocelyn wrote:

The arrangements for the ceremony were entrusted to General Greene and, as gotten up, proved to be a grand affair, quite astonishing to Columbians...All the officers were in full dress, epaulettes, side arms and the freshest kids, and while the young ladies were all beautifully dressed in white, many had very elaborate fixins. I had the honor to escort a Miss Scott from Yonkers, N.Y., on the occasion, who is altogether a very pretty young lady except that she has such a huge opening between her nose and chin that I was constantly in the greatest trepidation lest I might in an unguarded moment disappear through the aperture.

Between weddings, receptions, and dances the officers and their families enjoyed a quieter existence. The socially well organized Post of Jackson, Mississippi, was the scene of a lot of informal visiting and, according to Mrs. Biddle, an evening at home might include music and cards followed by a snack at 9:30. At another comparatively large post, The Citadel, the social life was apparently just as well organized. As part of the duties of "devotee to the Dear fair sex", Lieutenant Craft sometimes went on sailing parties and played croquet but, being

45 Jocelyn, op. cit., p. 83.
single, he often was left to his own devices and went hunting nearly every Saturday.\footnote{46}

These activities were supplemented by a few others. A few officers at McPherson Barracks, and probably elsewhere, played baseball and, as at The Citadel, the officers at the Post of Lauderdale played croquet. A few may have passed some time, as did General Meade, in visiting battlefields but, if they did, they did not see fit to record their visits. Very few, however, spent their off-duty hours as Elliot Coues spent some of his before he was married. According to Jocelyn, Coues secured the body of a hanged man and dissected it in his quarters.\footnote{47}

Monotony was also broken for both officers and men by infrequent catastrophes, principally fires and floods. At Ash Barracks, in December 1869 there was a fire that began in a room in the band barracks and consumed two buildings before it was subdued by the garrison and a steam fire engine from Nashville. In the following May another fire destroyed a commissary building and two nearby civil-

\footnote{46} Ltr., David Lawrence Craft to Carrie Craft, Charleston, S.C., Dec. 14, 1868, David Lawrence Craft Papers, DU.

\footnote{47} RMHP 205, McPherson Barracks, p. 86; RMHP 173, Post of Lauderdale, Miss., p. 142, Tel., AAC, 3d Mil. Dist. to CO, Post of Chattanooga, Atlanta, Ga., June 3, 1868, LS Vol. 1, Tel. 1296, 3d Mil. Dist., 1868, NA and Jocelyn, op. cit., p. 82.
ian buildings and the remainder of the post was saved only by the arrival of equipment from the city. Oddly enough, the fire hose at the post was rotten beyond effective use and, though another had been ordered, the requisition had not be filled. 48

Floods should not have been a great menace but when a post was flooded life was no doubt quite uncomfortable. Probably the worst flood at an Army installation was that experienced by the Post of Chattanooga in February 1875. Ten days of rain fell in the Chattanooga area with the result that the Tennessee River is said to have risen 51.5 feet, covering the parade ground with six feet of water. All of the buildings on the post except the barracks had to be abandoned on a chilly February 26th. Its second story was a place of refuge for the residents of the post, the people of the nearby countryside, and the quartermaster's mules. Here they were marooned for two days until a steamboat nosed up to the barracks and carried the humans and mules off to a nearby hilltop where a camp was made. There they languished, assailed by both heavy rains and high winds, with the result that many of them were drenched for several days. As may be suspected, their camp soon was churned

48 Ltrs., CO, Ash Barracks to CO, Dist. of Middle Tenn., Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 5, 1869 and May 7, 1870, LB 326 Dist. of Middle Tenn., NA.
into a quagmire and, in consequence, they were forced back into post before it had been cleaned up and allowed to dry out. There was sickness for several weeks, six children of one officer all being sick with the croup, but, fortunately, there seem to have been no fatalities. 49

One post is reported to have been struck by a tornado. On the evening of October 7, 1867, a so-called tornado hit the camp of Battery I, 1st Artillery, near Brownsville, Texas. Nearly all the temporary buildings used as stables and quarters were swept away, leaving the camp in ruins. After the storm had subsided, the men of the garrison hurried to attempt to rescue the horses from the ruins but, before they had done so, the wind blew even harder from the opposite direction. The troops sought refuge in the protection of bushes. When the wind had again died, they again looked to their horses and found that 36 were injured, three so badly that they had to be shot. Of the members of Battery I, nine were more or less seriously injured, one to the extent of a broken arm. 50

If life on the post became wearing, some diversion could be sought on the outside. Officers went on leave, although there seems to have been no standard leave policy.

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R.M.P. 61, Post of Chattanooga, pp. 166-168, NA.

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Furloughs for enlisted men were handed out sparingly, seemingly only in the case of emergencies, and again there was no policy which would have granted a soldier a certain amount of furlough time per year.

Passes, however, were often liberally bestowed, and, in fact, they were quite often not even needed if a soldier merely wished to visit the towns near their posts. Probably no passes were used when troops were quartered in buildings scattered in a town, and, at many posts, they were apparently allowed to leave the post if they obeyed certain rules. For instance, at the Post of Columbia, troops were required to be in their quarters between Tattoo and Reveille and the first sergeants made bedchecks to see that they were. The same rules were enforced at The Citadel where there was a nine o'clock curfew but, in the words of The News and Courier, "...like the cadets of olden time, they /the soldiers/ manage to elude the guard by making mysterious exits." At the Post of Marshall, Texas, there were curfew regulations but the post commander also felt it necessary to remind his men that they must be neatly dressed, with their boots blacked, and that the first sergeant and squad leaders should arrest all those who returned drunk. Likewise at the Post of Tallahassee the officer of the day was ordered to arrest and confine all those men out of camp whose clothes were not neat and clean.
and whose hair was not cut according to Army Regulations. In contrast to this policy, requirements at other posts were more strict. Men could not go beyond a mile from Camp Williams near Richmond, Virginia, without a pass. At Fort Macon, even with a pass, a man could not be out after Retreat, officers were required to carry passes and married men with permission to live off the post had to have special passes signed by both their company commander and the post commander. Passes at the Post of Little Rock in 1868 were limited to 6 per cent of the company present for duty which, as can be seen, was quite a small number.

Once off the military reservations there was actually little for soldiers to do. When the saloons were open soldiers spent a lot of time in them with the usual results. Some, too many, visited the Army's other perennial curse, brothels, staffed by both black and white infected women. While most commanders either ignored these places or, with tongue in cheek, ordered their men to avoid them, one offi-
cer, at least, sighed in resignation and told the troops in the District of Henrico, Virginia, that if they had to visit such places, they should conduct themselves in such a manner as not to disturb persons in the neighborhood or subject themselves to arrest by the civil authorities. There were few other things for an enlisted man to do on pass, especially if he were stationed in one of the smaller towns away from the attractions found in large cities. At Grenada, Mississippi, where, even in World War II, a soldier's life was at best a dull one, some of the enlisted men whiled away spare time loitering in the neighborhood of the Emma Merier Institute for Young Ladies. They tarried there, at least, until a Mrs. Holcomb complained and the post commander informed them that he was "...loth to believe that any of his men would offer indignity or annoyance to a young lady." From the charms of the institute the Grenada garrison then drifted over to the railroad station and hung out there watching the trains until February 1870, when even this pleasure was denied them. What they might have done in Grenada after these attractions were no more could hardly have been condoned by a puritanical chaplain, for it is to be doubted that any desirable forms of recreation were available. For those at

53 Ltr., AAAG, Dist. of Henrico to CO, Camp Grant, Va., Richmond, Va., Feb. 5, 1867, LB 72; 1st Mil. Dist.; NA.
the Post of Columbia who wished quiet evenings in the South Carolina capitol, in contrast, the Y.M.C.A. had established a reading room in which a large number of troops were said to have spent their evenings.54

Officers without their families were probably a little better off than the enlisted men when they left the confines of their posts if only because they had more money. That some of them frequented saloons is indicated by the drunkenness described above. Speaking of this, one South Carolina historian wrote that some of the officers of the Post of Columbia gathered in an "evil" all-night saloon on Gervais Street where they relaxed and hilariously sang Benny Haven's Oh and Annie Laurie.55

The other forms of recreation enjoyed by an officer on the town are not discussed at length. Stephen Jocelyn wrote that when Don Costello brought his show, presumably a circus, to Charleston, the best carpeted box was reserved for officers of the 6th Infantry. And in Columbia again the bachelor officers had quarters in an establishment that boasted of a billiard room, which they

54 Cir. 4, Hq., Post of Grenada, Grenada, Miss., Mar. 11, 1868 and Cir. 3, Hq., Post of Grenada, Grenada, Miss., Feb. 13, 1870, LB 66, Dept. of Miss., pp. 25, 42, NA, The Union Herald, Nov. 25, 1876.

55 Williams, op. cit., p. 392.
enjoyed. At Richmond, there was a race track which was so attractive to one officer, at least, that he broke arrest to go there. 56

Betting at race tracks as well as gambling elsewhere, though practiced, was officially frowned upon. The chief of police of Galveston wrote the commander of the Fifth Military District that he had seen Lieutenant Darwin C. Jenno playing faro and twenty-one at a gambling house in that city. Another faro player was Captain Eugene Carter, 11th Infantry. According to charges preferred against him, Carter lost over eight hundred dollars and then turned around and told the winner that he, Carter, had been acting as a detective, took about five hundred dollars back from him, placed him under guard and sent him out of town, ordering him not to return. 57

A third case of gambling involved another faro player who got into trouble. Captain James P. Martin of


57 Ltr., Chief of Police, Galveston, Texas to CG, 5th Mil. Dist., Galveston, Texas, April 15, 1869, LR M 248 V 2, 5th Mil. Dist., 1869; Charges against Capt. Eugene Carter, 11th Inf., CO, Post of Clarksville, LS JV 3 94, 5th Mil. Dist., 1869, Jefferson, Texas, June 29, 1869, NA.
Oglethorpe Barracks, Savannah, played faro with a gambler, lost his watch and a considerable amount of money. Martin maintained that he lost because his liquor had been drugged and went to see the police about it. The police chief, said to have been General R. N. Anderson, made some attempt to get the property back and then advised that the military take action. They did, the gambler was arrested and, for a time, was said to have been held without seeing his counsel until the counsel got a warrant out for the captain on the charge of gambling. The two parties then got together in a hurry and the prisoner was released on his promise to return the watch. 58

Therefore, it can be seen that life either on or off southern Army posts was apt to be quite dull. With the exception of a very few cities, southern cities were small and had only limited recreational facilities for soldiers to enjoy. On the posts themselves the duties were not stimulating and off duty hours were apt to be equally routine. Some sought to pass their time by reading and in varied forms of active recreation, particularly with the new and popular game of baseball. A few enlisted men were married and enjoyed some family life, but, when all is tallied, the impression of a dull life remains.

58 Ltr., Capt. J. F. Martin to AG, 3d Mil. Dist., Savannah, Ga., July 9, 1868, LR, 3d Mil. Dist. 1868, NA and The Daily New Era, July 1, 1868.
Officers, like their men, found life on Army posts dull and life not always to their liking. Most were jealous of their prerogatives, accustomed to having enjoyed higher rank in the excitement of war and, chafing under the restrictions of peacetime soldiering, often sought an outlet in petty bickering. However, their outlook was not always drab. When stationed at the larger posts, they enjoyed an active social life, a constant round of visiting and more formal entertainment which must have equalled any that they would have experienced as civilians. Those on smaller posts were not so fortunate, however, and had to rely on civilian friendships which, as will be shown, were not always plentiful or of good quality.
The Army's performance of its mission in the South was too often embarrassed by the misbehavior of some of its personnel. Probably of all misdeeds the most prejudicial to good order, discipline, and military efficiency was the widespread practice of excessive drinking.

There was more liquor consumed in some commands than others, of course. For instance, there was very little drinking done by the enlisted men at Fort Pike, simply because the fort was on an island and the only liquid available was water. Fort Pike was an exception. More common was the situation that was reported at the Post of Saint Augustine where, according to the post surgeon, the

...use of intoxicating liquor is very general throughout the command, and the only means resorted to for restraining the men has been the prompt trial and punishment for any breach of discipline arising from drunkeness.\(^1\)

Drinking was also a popular pastime at the small isolated Post of Lauderdale, Mississippi. Notations in the surgeon's report ran this way:

\(^1\) SGO 70, p. 176; RHIP 295, Post of St. Augustine, p. 333, NA.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 23</td>
<td>First sergeant drunk at drill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 29</td>
<td>First sergeant drunk after being paid. Relieved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 30</td>
<td>Quite a number drunk but not disorderly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 3</td>
<td>Carpenter drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 16</td>
<td>Company baker drunk. Relieved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 18</td>
<td>Cook drunk, relieved. Nurse drunk and relieved. Had been drinking hospital liquor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 27</td>
<td>First sergeant drunk. Placed in guard house. Commanding officer made out charges but did not prefer them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 16</td>
<td>Men drunk. Get liquor in the village by the gallon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 8</td>
<td>A good many non commissioned officers drunk.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And so it was at the Post of Lauderdale.²

To be able to drink, of course, the troops had to have liquor and this had to be purchased with money. Since the soldiers' pay was small (See Appendix B), money was available in quantity only on pay day—with the expected disastrous results. At the Post of Little Rock the post surgeon reported on May 20, 1872, that drunkenness prevailed among the troops, including some of the noncommissioned officers, as a result of their having been paid the day before. He then predicted that the usual courts martial and confinements would follow and closed with the observation that good discipline existed except for such eruptions on pay day. Two years later things were much the same at the Post of Little Rock where its surgeon noted

² RMHP 173, Post of Lauderdale, Miss., pp. 131-141, NA.
that the troops had been paid "...and the consequence was as usual, an increase in drunkeness for some days, and also several cases of wounds and injuries therefrom." The same thing occurred at McPherson Barracks where the surgeon noted both drunkenness and disorderly conduct and that the guard house was filled to overflowing.

When troops got drunk on post the guardhouse was filled and the trouble ended. When they got drunk in town the consequences could be dire. In January 1869 the Acting Inspector General of the 5th Military District at Austin, Texas, reported that the recent pay day had brought disgrace upon the service. The streets were filled with rioters—insubordinate, armed and drunken soldiers. Only one officer from the post was seen in town and he was openly defied by a drunken sergeant. There was no way for a lady to walk down the street without hearing obscenity and pistol shots, and there was shouting throughout the long night.

Drunkenness produced similar results elsewhere. In May 1868 a Negro was publicly hanged in Montecello, Florida,

3 RMHP 448, Post of Little Rock, p. 236; RMHP 450, Post of Little Rock, p. 238 and RMHP 205, McPherson Barracks, p. 97, NA.

4 Ltr., AIG, 5th Mil. Dist. to A.G, 5th Mil. Dist., Austin, Texas, Jan. 13, 1869, LR F 31 5th Mil. Dist., 1869, NA.
for the murder of a white man. As was usual on such occasions, a large crowd gathered and a large amount of whisky was consumed. Among the heavier drinkers was a sergeant who got fighting drunk and gave vent to his urges by knocking down some Negroes loitering nearby. He then got himself into trouble by firing his pistol wildly, shooting the sheriff in the arm with a ball which passed on into and through both breasts of the jailer's sister and then lodged in the wall of the jail. The sergeant was placed in irons for his share of the day's entertainment.  

Another enlisted man, a private from Company E, 5th Cavalry, in May 1868, entered a saloon in Montgomery, Alabama, in a drunken condition and used insulting language toward some officers present. He was ordered to leave but refused to do so, maintaining that he had as much right there as any ___ ___ commissioned officer. A captain who tried to throw him out was punched in the eye and a lieutenant helping the captain was struck and bitten in the neck. Appropriate charges were drawn up.  

Up in Crab Orchard, Kentucky, on January 7, 1872, three enlisted men left the post, went to a saloon, got

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5 Copied from the Quitman Banner May 29, 1868 by The Louisville Daily Journal, June 5, 1868.

drunk and then became guilty of indecent exposure. The town marshal tried to arrest them, there was a fight, pistols were fired and, when it was all over, one drunken soldier was dead.  

Not all such behavior occurred when the troops were off duty. A squad escorting a prisoner on a train running between Augusta and Atlanta bought some whiskey, drank it freely, and shared it with their prisoner. The prisoner got roaring drunk, boisterous, and profane and danced about the car unchecked by his guard. Then, getting a pistol, probably from his guard, he pistol-whipped an old Negro who was seated quietly in the car, cutting his face and knocking out his teeth. The former Union officer reporting this incident concluded by noting that it was "most detrimental to the interests of good order and the reputation of the Army."  

Another traveling party, fifty recruits for the 9th Cavalry, were transported down the Mississippi by steamer under the charge of a sergeant and two corporals. Though possibly sober when they started, they succeeded in breaking into the freight and found some whiskey. The noncom-

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7 RGHP 60, Post of Crab Orchard, p. 249, NA.

8 Ltr., Trumbull to CG, 3d Mil. Dist., Atlanta, Ga., April 24, 1868, LR 66T, 3d Mil. Dist. 1868, NA.
missioned officers in charge lost control of them, and the drunks made nuisances of themselves throughout the night, firing pistols and so forth to the especial annoyance of passengers on the deck above who were separated from them by only a board floor. When the steamer arrived in Vicksburg the situation was reported to the local military authorities who, on investigating, found the facts to be as stated and the sergeant in charge badly beaten up. An officer and 12 men were then put aboard to keep the recruits quiet during the rest of the trip.9

A third traveling group, Company E, 7th Cavalry, passed through Atlanta, Georgia, on its way from its Ku Klux campaign in South Carolina to its destiny in the West. While laying over in Atlanta one man became drunk and disorderly, was taken to jail by local police and fined five dollars and costs. Soon a rescue party of an officer and several men came to take him out without paying the fine. They were threatened with jail if they did not leave. A near riot developed outside the jail, but, finally, the cavalrymen decided to pay the fine and things quieted down. Later in the evening, though, three more soldiers were arrested for being drunk and disorderly, but the

9 Ltr., CG, Dist. of Miss. to Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas, Vicksburg, Miss., Dec. 29, 1866, LB 2, Dept. of Miss., p. 387, NA.
7th took the path of peace and no demonstration was made. Enlisted men held no monopoly on drunkenness and disorder. Captain Patrick N. Houlihan, 16th Infantry, reported that the surgeon at his post was an habitual drunkard and that he had been evicted from his boarding house because of his filthy habits. At the time of Houlihan's complaint the doctor was reported so stupid from either drink or inhaling ether that he was unable to speak. Endorsements on Houlihan's letter of complaint ordered the surgeon to be discharged.

Public disgrace was the due of officers who had imbibed too freely. Three officers in Texas made fools of themselves one night when drunk. One, a medical officer, got drunk and galloped his horse through the streets and on the sidewalks of Brenham, Texas, in company with another officer, a lieutenant who, on being criticized by a civilian, cursed the man out and threatened him. That night both officers, with a civilian, rode their horses into a saloon. It was pointed out that such behavior was the exception and not the rule for, according to the post commander, the officers at the Post of Brenham were usually gentlemanly, quiet, and orderly.

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10 Ltr., Capt. P. N. Houlihan to AAG, 3d Mil. Dist. Station No. 11, CRR, n.d. 1868, LR 243 M, 3d Mil. Dist. 1868, NA.
11 Ltr., Wm. Edwards to CO, 5th Mil. Dist., Brenham, Texas, May 6, 1868, and Endorsements, Misc. Ltrs., 5th Mil. Dist., 1869, NA.
And, a final incident which must have set the tongues of Savannah clacking was the case of another surgeon who got drunk and was found by local authorities in the Negro gallery of a Savannah theater. The authorities arrested, jailed, and were said to have tied and gagged him. The event was given publicity in the local newspapers but was never reported officially. Nevertheless, it came to light in the report of his successor who made the situation known as an explanation why the post surgeon's records were fouled up.13

Men drank then for the same reasons that they drink now, but though many deplored the practice, few seemed to try to explain it. One of the latter, a surgeon at the Post of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, in the winter of 1872, noted that the duties there were light with no drills because of bad weather. There was no work for the men to do and their recreation was confined to "...sitting on a hard bench and staring at a rickety old bunk - all day - keeping all of the liquor aboard that can be carried with dignity."14

This condition was present also at the Post of

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13 MHP 262, Post of Savannah, p. 272 B, NA.
14 MHP 90, Post of Elizabethtown, Ky., p. 249, NA.
Sumter, South Carolina, where, according to the surgeon, no matter how abstemious a recruit may have been, he became a drunkard in a short time. This, he presumed, was due to the fact that the soldiers' minds were not occupied—they needed recreation, none was provided and, as a result, they were almost compelled to drink. As a secondary reason he believed that their drinking was due to the example of "old soldiers". Meanwhile, at Mount Vernon Barracks, a comfortable post, in an ordnance detachment of twenty men, many of whom were specialists and a cut above the average soldier, there was said to have been a great deal of drunkenness. This drinking was said to have been caused by the example of a few of the bad soldiers in the group.\textsuperscript{15}

The army's authority to curb this malignant evil was definite, concise, and seemingly unheeded. The 45th Article of War stated that

Any commissioned officer who shall be found drunk on his guard, party, or other duty shall be cashiered. Any non-commissioned officer or soldier so offending shall suffer such corporeal punishment as shall be inflicted by sentence of court-martial.\textsuperscript{16}

This article was put into effect after a fashion, especially in so far as the enlisted men were concerned.

\textsuperscript{15} RLHP 283, Post of Sumter, S.C., p. 12; RLHP 158, Mt. Vernon Barracks, Ala., p. 126, NA.

\textsuperscript{16} AR 1863, p. 506.
Officers were tried and convicted under the 45th Article of War, no doubt about it, but there were those who somehow got by. A captain of the 16th Infantry died in 1874 of apoplexy and the surgeon noted that his health had been failing because of his habits of intoxication. Another officer, a lieutenant, was found drunk to the point of insensibility in a hack on the streets of Montgomery. He was picked up by the police and another officer but released on the promise that he would behave in the future. Another officer overly inebriated while in Charleston, South Carolina, wrote back to the Post of Sumter in the following light vein:

...I shall return to Sumter in a few days. My case will be tried tomorrow and I don't think anything serious will be the result. Conduct to the prejudice of good order & Military Discipline - the truth is that I had a glass "too much" and unfortunately I was in uniform.

It is to be assumed that equal leniency was extended to enlisted men so long as the soldier rarely abused his privilege and complications did not develop. However, occasional crackdowns were attempted, at which time the enlisted soldier was threatened with confinement.


in the guardhouse. At the post of Humboldt, Tennessee, in fact, the post commander went so far as to threaten solitary confinement without blankets on a menu of bread and water.  

Punishment for drunkenness proved ineffective, particularly to those firmly devoted to Bacchus, and attempts were made to cut off the soldiers' supply. This action naturally met with a singular lack of cooperation from those people who stood to gain from liquor sales to soldiers. General Gillem, as commander of the 4th Military District, ordered that all saloons in the state of Mississippi near military posts be closed from sunset Friday until sunrise Monday. A howl of protest arose. A Meridian paper sobbed for its poor saloon keepers when it urged stricter discipline for the soldiers and prophesied that clandestine places would spring up in the absence of the properly licensed taverns.  

Liquor sales control was attempted more commonly on the local level. At Washington, Arkansas, soldiers could not buy liquor and so had others buy it for them.

19 GO 12, Post of Washington, Ark., April 12, 1867; RHHP 295, Post of St. Augustine, p. 333 and 30 5, Post of Humboldt, Tenn., Mar. 25, 1869, NA.

20 The Frankfort Commonwealth, Sept. 20, 1867.
The result was an order prohibiting the sale of liquor to freedmen without a permit from the Freedmen's Bureau agent. Saloon keepers in Lynchburg, Virginia, were not only forbidden to sell liquor to enlisted men but were ordered not to allow them in their establishments on the pain of losing their licenses, their stock and being declared a public nuisance. Such orders could be issued only while military government was paramount. When states were in charge of their own affairs, the army had to restrict itself to the control of its personnel in the manner indicated above and by mounting provost guards to attempt to keep the wayward blue coats in line. 21

Some of this police work was rendered necessary for a variety of reasons, many, of course, involving a certain amount of drinking. In the 6th Infantry in 1866, for instance, 227 men were tried by general, regimental and garrison courts martial, this figure including 34 men tried for desertion but not including 261 men who had deserted, some no doubt because they might have been tried for some sort of misbehavior had they not run away. Two years later in the 12th Infantry 1 man, later acquitted, was arrested for rape, 14 for disorderly conduct, 1 for man--

21 GO 13, Post of Washington, Ark., April 12, 1867; GO 5, Camp Schofield, Lynchburg, Va., Jan. 13, 1868, NA.
slaughter, 16 for drunkenness 7 of whom were convicted and 4 for burglary and highway robbery, 1 of whom was convicted. In 1870 the Department of the South, with approximately 3,400 officers and men, had 287 men before a general court, 180 before a field officer court and 1,077 before a garrison court.22

Among the violations for which soldiers were most commonly tried was that of desertion. In the 6th Infantry regiment in 1866 there were 261 desertions, 140 from Charleston and 28 from Georgetown, South Carolina. During 1867, 244 men deserted from the 33d Infantry in Georgia and, in 1868, 142 men deserted from the ranks of the 16th Regiment. At the Post of Vicksburg in 1868, with five companies, there were 48 deserters, 1869, 15, and up until June 1870, when the Post was discontinued, there were already 24. In one year, April 1872 - March 1873, from the 46-man garrison at the Post of Sumter, South Carolina, there were 13 deserters. Army wide in 1873 there were 7,271 desertions, but this number declined annually to 1,844 in 1876. As is readily apparent, desertion was a problem throughout the Army.23

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22 Annual Returns of Alterations and Casualties, 1866 in the 6th Infantry, 1866 in the 12th Infantry; Rept. CG, Dept. of the South CG, U.S. Army, Atlanta, Oct. 10, 1870, RG 1870, p. 40.

23 ARRAC 6th Inf., 1866, ARRAC 33d Inf., 1867, ARRAC 16th Inf., 1868, RG 325, Post of Vicksburg, p. 80, RG 283, Post of Sumter, p. 72, NA and Annual Cyclopedia, 1877, p. 80.
Desertion was attributed to many possible causes. It was believed that many of the deserters had enlisted because they were out of money and had joined up in order to find some temporary employment and get a little cash. This done, they were off to greener pastures. 24

Others are thought to have deserted out of fear. Among these were the men who had made themselves liable to punishment for some misdeed or other and had gone off to avoid the consequences. And then there were others who deserted because they feared falling victim to one of the epidemics that swept the South. 25

A third factor was Army pay. There were those who joined up and then found Army life boring and Army pay not as sufficient as they had believed. Dissatisfaction for this reason ran especially strong in 1870, when a private's pay was reduced from the 16 dollars enlisted for to 13 dollars (see Appendix 3). Others were encouraged to desert when, according to an act passed in July 1870, the "Soldiers' Deposits" were abolished and those who had

24 RHHP 283, Post of Sumter, S.C., p. 72; RHHP 325, Post of Vicksburg, Miss., p. 80, MA and RSJ 1871, p. 6.

25 RHHP 283, Post of Sumter, S.C., p. 72 and Ltr., A.A.G. Dept. of the South, to A.G. Dept. of the South, Charleston, S.C., Sept. 15, 1866, LB 72, 2d Ill. Dist., p. 425, MA.
money banked away were given it in a lump sum. This put a comparatively large amount of cash in the hands of some men who otherwise would not have had it until their enlistments were up, and they took the opportunity to leave.26

One further reason for desertion was given by an enlisted man in a letter to the Army and Navy Journal. In it the man writing the letter attributed desertions to the poor food the soldiers were given. This he maintained became more intolerable when the sutler's stores were abolished, taking from the men some of their luxuries and necessities.27

Deserters were recovered in three ways. A few returned of their own free will. Three hundred and fourteen did so in 1866 under a promise of pardon from the President. Thirty of these were from the 6th Infantry in South Carolina. In 1868, in the 16th Infantry, of 142 men who deserted 37 returned of their own free will.28

The Army did not feel free to rely exclusively on the desire of troops to return to Army life and took meas-

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26 RMP 264, Post of Shelbyville, Ky., p. 14; RSW, 1871, p. 7. For more on Soldiers' Deposits see Appendix B.

27 Army and Navy Journal, June 23, 1866.

28 WDGO 43, July 3, 1866; ARRAC 6th Inf., 1866, ARRAC 16th Inf., 1868 and WDGO 102, Oct. 10, 1876.
ures to have them apprehended. Rewards were paid to persons that brought them. A reward of five dollars was paid for each man, this not coming from the army's coiffers but from the pay of the deserter.29

Troops were sent out in pursuit of deserters, if there seemed a chance of bringing them in. This practice was possibly most common in the less thickly settled regions where a fugitive's tracks were difficult to hide. One chase in Texas will illustrate the ends to which it was possible to go, probably less with the idea of getting a worthless man back than to discourage others to follow his example. A sergeant and three men left the Post of Livingston, Texas, early in the morning of April 12, 1869, in pursuit of a deserter. They picked up a hot trail and followed it in an easterly direction, passed through Woodville, rode through Newton County and to the Neches River ferry where they learned that they were but one hour behind. They pushed on to the Angelina River Ferry and were told that he had crossed just ahead of them. Then, as they were closing in, a cavalry detachment moved on to the route, the hoof tracks of the deserter's horse were mixed with those cavalry mounts and the trail was obscured and lost.

29 AR 1863, p. 29.
Having lost the trail, they continued on in a likely direction until they reached Jasper, Texas, and then on to a ferry over the Sabine. They were told that their quarry had not passed that way and remained there overnight to wait for him. When morning came they started back towards Livingston. On the way they stopped at a blacksmith's shop to have their horses shod and learned that the deserter had passed that way. But it was too late, the horses were jaded, no longer capable of pursuit, and the chase had to be abandoned. Miles of hard riding had come to nought.

Most deserters got away. The methods of apprehending them were inadequate and the country was too large. The following table shows the number of deserters apprehended in some of the regiments in the South in the year October 1866 to September 1867 and the amount of reward paid to persons who turned them in.

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30 Ltr., 1st Sgt. J. F. Leonard, Co. B, 6th Cav., to CO, Post of Livingston, Texas, Livingston, Texas, April 21, 1869, IR, Post of Livingston, Texas. For other similar detachments ordered out see 30 79 and 80, Hq., Mt. Smith, Ark., Oct. 12 and 23, 1868, 30 5, Post of Greensboro, N.C., July 1, 1867 and Return, 8th Inf., 1867, N.A.

31 RSJ 1867, p. 475.
Another form of trouble-making was simple disorderly conduct resulting, in all probability, from excessive amounts of boredom, energy, and liquor, touched off with a spark of imagined or real provocation. At noon one February day in New Orleans a group of soldiers heard an insulting remark aimed their way by a passing drunk. The soldiers chased the man into a house, possibly a saloon, at 26 Girod Street, caught him, beat him severely and smashed glasses and bottles about the house. They refused to stop their vandalism until the officer of the day arrived and routed them out. The owner of the place said that the man who had started the fracas was a stranger.
to him and was believed to have been from Chicago. 32

Another eating house was visited by four soldiers in Smithville, Georgia. The proprietor of Johnson's Dining House complained to the commander of the Post of Macon that four men, under arms, entered his restaurant and ordered breakfast. After being served, they ate their food in a loutish manner, wasting it by scattering it around on the table and floor. While doing this they used vulgar language loudly enough so that other diners left the room. On leaving they refused to pay for their meals and threatened the proprietor with their weapons when he attempted to collect. 33

A third instance will suffice to illustrate the undeniable fact that the behavior of soldiers left much to be desired. A grocery in Galveston was visited by a group of soldiers including the sergeant major of the 11th Infantry, a first sergeant, another noncommissioned officer and some privates. They came to buy but somehow got out of hand, began to talk loudly, dance and carry on. Mr. and Mrs. Weinberg, the proprietors, asked them to leave, and Mrs. Weinberg was slapped in the mouth. The Weinbergs

32 The New Orleans Times, Mar. 1, 1875.

33 Ltr., Proprietor, Johnson's Dinner House, to CO, Post of Macon, Smithville, Ga., June 18, 1867, Misc. LR, Post of Macon, Ga., 1867, NA.
got them out of the place with the help of two musicians after they had broken bottles, windows and the door. They were arrested by the officer of the day and turned over to civil authorities for trial. 34

There was a certain amount of robbery as well as vandalism. In April 1875 two soldiers attempted to rob a citizen of New Orleans as he passed before their barracks. The civilian resisted and, for his pains, was cut and stabbed several times. The would-be robbers then fled, leaving their victim to die. 35

Three years earlier in Rome, Georgia, a Private Kelly of Company G, 33d Infantry, went into the store of Lowenstein and Pfeffer to buy a knife. He apparently looked at it and, when a sergeant walked by the store, began to argue that he had paid for it. The sergeant intervened, and told him to take the knife and go back to his quarters. As they were leaving Pfeffer, the proprietor, pulled a revolver and ordered them to leave the knife behind and get out. The marshal then appeared on the scene and attempted to arrest that soldier. A scuffle followed, the sergeant was hit with a club and Kelly fled for the

34 Galveston Tri-Weekly News, Sept. 8, 1869.
35 The New Orleans Times, April 8, 1875.
barracks for reinforcements. They came and arrested the marshal. As they were taking him off to the barracks, the marshal tried to escape and was shot in the thigh. The whole affair was investigated, the above facts noted but, other than blaming the townspeople for the whole thing, no action was taken.36

There was another less violent case of theft in North Carolina. Musician John Brown of the Negro 40th Infantry entered a store in Goldsboro, and asked for and obtained a "fine pair of ladies kid skin shoes, the lowest cash price for which was $4". He was given the fine shoes, oddly enough, so that he could see if they would fit some woman or other. If they did he would bring in the money—if not he would return the shoes. He did neither and the storekeeper complained.37

There were other more serious crimes as well. An Episcopal church was set on fire and destroyed in Alabama by some soldiers in 1871. In 1876, at a place called Navy Cove, presumably near Mobile, an intoxicated soldier of the 15th Infantry set fire to a house and burned it to the ground. East in Yorkville, South Carolina, in March

36 Ltr., Lt. Adams to Hq., Dist. of Ga., Rome, Ga., Oct. 31, 1867, LR 9 "R" Dist. of Ga., 1867, NA.

37 Ltr., Storekeeper to CO, Post of Goldsboro, Goldsboro, N.C., Mar. 30, 1868, LR B 52 Post of Goldsboro, 1868, NA.
1876, three men of Company O, 18th Infantry, attempted to burn down a saloon. All three were locked up but only one was held, he being identified by someone who saw him fleeing the building. This man was turned over to the civil authorities for trial.\textsuperscript{38}

By far the most ambitious project for soldier arsonists, however, was the town of Brenham, Texas. Apparently a soldier in the course of a fight had been shot by a citizen, and, in revenge, some of his comrades tried to burn the town. A portion of it was fired but the fire was squelched before the town was consumed. The soldiers involved in the act wisely deserted, fearing that if they stayed in Brenham they might be hung.\textsuperscript{39}

In an area where men went armed there was naturally a certain amount of assault with deadly weapons. On a Saturday evening late in the month of February 1869, a lady tidying up a family lot in Magnolia Cemetery, Mobile, Alabama, looked up from her work and saw a soldier standing near her. He swigged a drink from a bottle, drew a pistol and pointed it at her head saying "I will shoot

\textsuperscript{38} Fleming, op. cit., p. 446; Ltr., CC, Post of Ft. Morgan to AAG, 3d Mil. Dist., Ft. Morgan, Ala., April 2, 1867, LSP 12 Post of Ft. Morgan, 1867; RHNP 344, Post of Yorkville, p. 209, NA.

\textsuperscript{39} Rept., E. D. Townsend, AAG, to Gen. F. A. Sheridan, Sept. 7, 1866, Philip A. Sheridan Letters, LC.
you, if I don't damn me." The lady, though almost paralyzed with fright, managed to get to her carriage and was driven rapidly to the barracks where she reported the incident to the commanding officer. A detail was sent to the cemetery and the man was arrested. He was turned over to the municipal court, adjudged a lunatic, and by order of the mayor remanded to the military authorities for confinement.  

At about the same time in Alabama a party of soldiers, liquored up, went to the Early Hotel in Huntsville for additional liquid refreshment. The proprietor refused to admit them. In response they threw bricks at the building, threatened to burn it, and commenced shooting at it. The fire was returned, twenty or thirty shots were exchanged. As a result one soldier was killed and two wounded.  

Soldiers also fought this way among themselves. Corporal Kelly of Company A, 29th Infantry, stabbed Private Patterson of his company just outside the Post of Lynchburg wounding him mortally. Corporal Kelly was lodged in the Lynchburg jail. Another private, this time from the 40th Infantry, a Private Tilly, was shot in the

40 Mobile Daily Register, Mar. 2, 1869.
41 Alabama State Journal, Mar. 1, 1869.
abdomen with a four-barrelled pistol, not fatally, by a Private King. And again at the Post of Lynchburg a soldier armed with a rifle called at the quarters of his commanding officer, asked to see him and, when the colonel appeared, quickly leveled his musket, fired and missed. The colonel grabbed at the gun, jerked it from the soldier's hand and clubbed him on the head, fracturing his skull. The soldier was taken to the hospital where it was thought that he would not recover.42

One shooting that was rather well publicized occurred in Mobile in the fall of 1867. Captain Schaff of Mount Vernon Arsenal made some derogatory remarks about a Colonel Sheppard of Mobile. Sheppard wrote the captain a letter in which he asked for an explanation and made some reference to the "military despotism" which protected persons in the Army from the results of their unwise utterances. Schaff replied that he was insulted by Sheppard's inferences and the colonel asked for satisfaction. Schaff ignored this request and Sheppard demanded an answer. Not receiving one, he had placards posted about the

city on which Schaff was denounced as a "puppy" and a "poltroon".

Now it was one thing for a southern colonel to have opinions about officers of the Federal Army but another thing to placard them all over town. Schaff reacted immediately by sending a detail for Sheppard and having him brought to the arsenal. The arrest was made and the colonel was brought to the post. The two antagonists met face to face immediately on the colonel's arrival. Words, hot words, were exchanged and, as Sheppard sat upon his horse, unarmed and surrounded by guards, Schaff shot him dead.43

The sequel to this shooting was noted by the press. The Savannah Daily Republican quoted an article from the National Intelligencer which mused as follows:

Several months ago Captain Schaff [sic], of the United States Army, shot and killed Colonel Sheppard, an old and respectable citizen of Alabama, at Mount Vernon Arsenal near Mobile. The murder was pronounced a most cowardly affair. He has been recently tried by a court martial, and sentenced to pay a fine of three hundred dollars, and to be imprisoned at Fort Pulaski for six months. Some time ago a young negro committed rape upon the person of a young lady in North Carolina. Her friends captured and hung him. Five of them were arrested and tried by a military court, and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment at hard labor. Here, says a contemporary, we

43 The Savannah Daily Republican, Sept. 12, 1867.
have military justice illustrated. The life of a Southern white man is only worth three hundred dollars and six months imprisonment; that of a negro 15 years imprisonment at hard labor; notwithstanding the former may have been an upright citizen and the latter a criminal.

The paper then went on to comment that justice administered in such a manner did not advance the cause of Reconstruction or breathe the spirit of reconciliation.\(^\text{44}\)

There were other improper acts committed in what might have been called the line of duty, but which were hardly as vital as the Schaff case. The Constitutional Eagle of Camden, Arkansas, made some unflattering remarks about the conduct of the members of the Post of Camden when they visited the town. In retaliation, or so the Eagle believed, the Eagle's presses were visited and destroyed by a detail from the post headed by Captain George S. Pierce. However, the act was entirely unauthorized and, as a result, the captain was tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and made to forfeit one year's pay and was dropped fifty names on the roll of captains of infantry.\(^\text{45}\)

Hogs figured largely in the difficulties of an-

\(^{44}\) Ibid., Feb. 1, 1868.

\(^{45}\) The Evening Republican, (Little Rock), Aug. 22, 1867 and Daily Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock), Oct. 23, 1867.
other detachment. Seven citizens of Red Land, Mississippi, charged that a detachment of the 34th Infantry Regiment, all under the influence of alcohol, spent the night in a Baptist church. While there they killed three hogs and a dog which happened to be nearby, and apparently dressed the hogs in part in the church building, for the floor and the communion table were quite greasy. The intestines of the hogs were found within a tomb and the dog's carcass was left at one of the graves.

In reply to these charges, the officer in charge, a Lieutenant Stanley D. Humason, stated that, on arriving in the Red Land area, they looked around for suitable quarters and that the only ones they could find were in a building without either windows or doors. They did not suspect that it was a church, and he maintained that the only harm possibly done to it was through the dirt which may have been carried in on the men's shoes. As for the hogs, he ordered one shot and another was killed accidentally by the same shot. The third was killed during the night without his permission—in any case he had paid their owner 12 dollars for them on the following morning. The enlisted men backed the testimony of the lieutenant.

This statement was forwarded by the investigating officer to the leading plaintiff who thought it over and allowed that it was pretty close to the truth. His
temper was soothed, churchman that he was, he declared the
damage to the church to be immaterial but that the govern-
ment would have to pay 25 dollars for the hogs. As a
result the investigating officer recommended that twenty
be paid, the District Commander so approved and Lieuten-
ant Humason was reprimanded for his carelessness.46

There was also trouble with the people themselves.
A sergeant and a detachment at Greenville, Georgia, were
ordered by a certain Fannie Randall to search the house of
a Mrs. Jackson for a man. She threatened to make trouble
for the sergeant if he did not make the search. According
to the Jacksons, the sergeant entered the private dressing
room of the blind Mrs. Jackson and her two daughters,
opened boxes and trunks and even went to the bed upon
which the woman was lying and looked through the bed
clothes. While all of this was going on one of the daugh-
ters stood by pleading that the woman in bed was her "poor
blind mother" and "that there was certainly no man in bed
with her". Not finding the man, the sergeant and his de-
tachment gave up the search. The Jacksons complained and
the Army investigated, apparently finding that the

46 Rept., AAIG, 4th Mil. Dist. to CG, 4th Mil. Dist.,
Vicksburg, Miss., Nov. 7, 1868, LR A 16 "B"
4th Mil. Dist., 1868, NA.
sergeant and his man had conducted themselves poorly.\textsuperscript{47} A similar search was made in Atlanta. Two soldiers and a federal marshal entered the home of a Dr. J. B. Terrell in search of the doctor and his son. They went over the house with a fine tooth comb, even entering the forbidden chambers of two young ladies. From the Terrell house they went to two other houses nearby, taking 15 dollars from one of them. Throughout the raid, their conduct was declared by The Atlanta Constitution to have been rude, insolent, and overbearing in the extreme.\textsuperscript{48}

As indicated here and elsewhere, the behavior of detachments was occasionally bad but was sometimes criticized only because the people affected believed that they were being tyrannized. Although enlisted men seem to have been most often involved in these misdeeds, they enjoyed no monopoly in them. Officers were sometimes guilty of the results of excessive drinking and were also involved in other violations of other articles of war. These were not usually the simple and violent acts that brought trouble to the enlisted men, but were crimes that involved a certain amount of imagination and thought. A

\textsuperscript{47} Ltr., Lt. Chas. Johnson to AAC, 3d Mil. Dist., La Grange, Ga., April 19, 1868, LR 123, 3d Mil. Dist., 1868, NA.

\textsuperscript{48} The Atlanta Constitution, Oct. 29, 1872.
Captain F. C. Steinburg was tried and found guilty of embezzlement of government property, having sold some commissary stores and kept the money for his own use. For this he was dishonorably discharged from the service and fined two thousand dollars. 49

Another captain was accused of similar activity. He purchased eighteen hundred rough coffins for the Vicksburg Cemetery at the "unnecessarily high price" of $2.50 each. Of the $4,500 which he was supposed to have paid for these, he retained $1,850. He also was charged with having made a deal with a sutler at the Vicksburg Cemetery, whereby he collected for the sutler at the pay table and then retained half of the sutler's profits. The captain was tried, found guilty and sentenced to be dismissed from the service, but, when the proceedings were forwarded to President Johnson for final approval, he ordered the man restored to duty. 50

Another officer in Raleigh was charged with forgery. This man had access to government checks which belonged to some cemetery laborers. This fellow simply kept the checks and endorsed them for his own use. His


guilt was described as clear. A fourth officer, charged with neglect of duty, also connected with the Vicksburg Cemetery, contracted for 750,000 bricks, but when they came got only 500,000, 250,000 of which were of poor quality. Although no crime was apparent, the captain failed to examine the purchase and gave the contractor vouchers for the full 750,000.51

A final instance of misbehavior which topped them all was that of which an officer of the 34th Infantry was charged. This officer, a lieutenant, attempted to rent a room at the "Scruggs House" at Corinth, Mississippi, for himself and "a woman of lewd character". On being refused the room, he declared that the woman had consented to be his companion, and, if he could not get the room in one way, he would get it in another. He thereupon called the corporal of the guard and had sentries posted at the doors of the hotel to enforce his wishes and presumably had his way. The lieutenant was dismissed effective September 18, 1867.52

The punishments meted out were supposed to fit the


52 Charges approved for Lt. B. F. Bucklin, 34th Inf., IR C B 130, 4th Mil. Dist., 1867, NA and WDGO 11, Feb. 24, 1868.
crimes, and, like the crimes, were many and varied. The legal punishments prescribed by Army Regulations for soldiers by a sentence of a court martial were death, confinement, confinement on bread and water, solitary confinement, hard labor, ball and chain, forfeiture of pay and allowances, discharges from the service and reprimands. There were also other punishments ordered by officers or noncommissioned officers which, on occasion, were as severe as those ordered by courts martial. 53

One common punishment for minor offenses was forfeiture of pay. In November 1866, for instance, 18 enlisted men of the 5th Cavalry were required to forfeit sums ranging from five to 15 dollars after being charged with conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline. At the same post two years later 13 men forfeited comparable amounts for having been found guilty of being absent without leave. This form of punishment for minor offenses continued popular at Nashville where, in 1873, as punishment for pilfering, the commanding officer threatened that the amount pilfered would be taken from the guilty soldier's pay and, if he could not be caught, from that of his company. Its effectiveness in a low-salaried army was attested to by the post surgeon at the Post of St. August-

53 AR 1863, p. 126.
ine who, in 1875, weighed it against confinement and hard labor and then decided that it was the most effective punishment.  

More spectacular than a mere forfeiture of pay and possibly somewhat degrading were the various physical punishments. The most common was that of requiring the offending soldier to carry some sort of heavy object. At the Post of Montgomery a private was caught trying to coax a comrade into slipping away from the post to a "low grog shop", and was required to carry a log on his shoulders from the time he was apprehended until "Tattoo". Captain James Biddle at the Post of Hatches commanded some troops of the 11th Infantry whom Mrs. Biddle described as including some rough men. The captain punished some of their ringleaders for fighting by having them walk some earthworks in barrels with the ends removed and having others carry logs on their shoulders. Logs were also carried other places including the Post of Plymouth, North Carolina, the Posts of Jackson and Vicksburg, Mississippi,

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GQ 25, Hq., Post of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn., Nov. 15, 1866, LB 335, Dist. of Mid. Tenn., p. 145, GQ, Hq., Post of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn., April 2, 1866, LB 335 Dist. of Mid. Tenn., p. 227; GQ 21, Hq., White Creek Spring, LB 335, Dist. of Nashville and R.H.P 295, Post of St. Augustine, p. 174, Mh.
Ringgold Barracks, Texas and the Post of Charleston, South Carolina. 55

Harsher punishments included flogging, bucking and gagging, standing on a barrel and wearing the ball and chain. Flogging had been prohibited as far back as 1861, but it continued to crop up again and again in the post-war years. Custer was said to have had a man flogged in Texas immediately after the war. It was the practice to spank young musicians after the authorization of the post commander had been secured, but this had been extended at the Post of Huntsville to the whipping of a 25-year-old private named Cannon, of Company K, 53d Infantry. Cannon was stretched across a table and lashed thirty times in the presence of the post surgeon and under the watchful eye of a Lieutenant Edward Lynch. However, no blood was drawn and no marks were left. For his part in this Lieutenant Lynch received a reprimand. A third soldier was said to have been given 39 lashes for horse stealing in

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Lumberton, North Carolina, in 1866.\textsuperscript{56} Bucking and gagging was an uncomfortable punishment in which the victim was gagged and placed in a sitting position, knees drawn up under the chin, hands clasped in front of the shins with a stick inserted under the knees and over the outstretched arms. Although this punishment was common during the War, it was less used in the Reconstruction period. The surgeon at the Post of Savannah reported having found a prisoner in the guard house bucked and gagged and almost dead. He was cut loose and revived and then the officer of the day had him trussed up again. In response to his protests, the post commander supported the action of the officer of the day who maintained that the man had been drunk and disorderly and had been bucked and gagged to keep him quiet.\textsuperscript{57}

Standing on the barrel was another monotonous and tiring punishment employed by company commanders. Private Richard Suggs, 37th Colored Infantry, for having been absent without leave, was forced to stand on a barrel for

\textsuperscript{56}Van der Water, op. cit., p. 130; Ltr. -- to AAG, Dept. of the South, Huntsville, Ala., 1869, LR C 42, Dept. of the South, 1869, NA and Washington S. Chaffin Journal, Feb. 11, 1866, Washington S. Chaffin Papers, DU.

\textsuperscript{57}RMHP 262, Post of Savannah, p. 240, NA.
four consecutive days. At about the same time Private John Knecht, 5th Cavalry, found guilty of having been absent without leave, was punished over a period of four weeks, the second and third being spent standing on a barrel and the first and third in solitary confinement on bread and water. Solitary confinement as well as the ball and chain were usually reserved for the inmates of military prisons but apparently were used occasionally as punishment on posts. 58

Soldiers found guilty of major offenses were commonly sentenced to terms of hard labor at military prisons. Those placed in guardhouses for less serious offenses were often employed in certain chores around their posts. These tasks, usually done under the supervision of a guard, included the collection and hauling of garbage and other refuse, the care of latrines, whitewashing barracks, and cutting wood. In short, it was the practice to assign prisoners the details least liked by men not undergoing punishment. 59

58 GO 1, Ft. Johnson, H.C., June 15, 1866; GO 39, Hq., Mil. Commission of H.C., Raleigh, H.C., Sept. 5, 1866 and SO 5, Post of Humboldt, Tenn., Mar. 25, 1869, NA.

At times, when the court deemed that a man's continued service would benefit neither the United States nor its army, he was given a dishonorable discharge. A soldier at the Post of Huntsville, convicted of stealing, was sentenced to dishonorable discharge. To illustrate the ignominy of his status, his head was shaven, and he was tied to a cart. Then, as the Rogue's March was played by the band, he was paraded from the post through the streets of Huntsville for all to see and to the depot where he was placed on a train leaving the town.60

Another such ceremony was described in the Memphis Daily Press and Times, February 1, 1869. Three privates at the Post of Memphis were tried for desertion, convicted and sentenced to a dishonorable discharge, accompanied by a few extra touches designed to impress their disgrace upon them. On the morning of their discharge a barber shaved their heads, leaving them bare as a cleanly-shaven face. Their pants were then removed and the letter "D", signifying deserter, was stamped on their hips with India ink. That afternoon at dress parade they were fallen out in their undress uniforms without hats and paraded, first before their comrades, and then out into the city where, headed by a drum corps and followed by a guard, they were

60 The Huntsville Advocate, Jan. 7, 1868.
exhibited in several of the city's streets, returned to the post and ordered to leave which they did "with an air of deep shame and mortification".

At the same time that such punishments were meted out there was also clemency. The trumpeter of Company E, 7th Cavalry, deserted but was caught and charges were drawn up against him. Colonel Sturgis of the 7th Cavalry requested that these charges be dropped on the grounds that the trumpeter had served one enlistment with good service, that he had been talked into deserting by older men, and, possibly most important of all, he was the best trumpeter in the regiment. The request was approved.61

Another soldier, Private Blentz of Company B, 5th Artillery, was in the process of serving out a sentence in the prison at Fort Johnson, North Carolina. There was a fire and Blentz displayed conspicuous zeal in saving government property from the flames. In reward he was released from confinement and ordered back to his company.62

A third man upon whom fortune promised to smile was a private of the 16th Infantry at the Post of Jackson,

61 Ltr., CO, 7th Cav. to AAG, Dept. of the South, Taylor Barracks, Louisville, Ky., April 9, 1872, LR 924 LR Dept. of the South, 1872, NA.

62 302, HQ., Ft. Johnson, N.C., Jan. 15, 1869, NA.
Mississippi. He had been charged with having been drunk on duty and was locked up in the guardhouse. From there he petitioned that the charges against him be removed on the grounds that he was serving the last year of his third enlistment and had never been tried, and that his condition had been a delayed reaction to some drinking that he had done before he had gone on duty. Endorsements on the letter up to that of the regimental commander approved, but the colonel disapproved on the grounds that all the facts would be considered at the time of the trial.  

Clemency of a sort was also rendered on another account. A company commander requested that a private be released from confinement. After a three-hour absence the man had been caught a mile from the post with a dollar belonging to one man and the shoes of another. He was charged with desertion and theft and confined but protested the accusation of his guilt. Clemency was requested not only on the grounds of possible innocence but because he had been confined fifty days without trial, he seemed penitent and had had an excellent record to that time. The request was approved.  

63 Ltr., Pvt. Wm. S. Holden to CO, Co. G, 16th Inf., Post of Jackson, Miss., July 22, 1869, LR P 83 ("A" 4th Mil. Dist.) 1869, NA.  

64 Ltr., CO, Co. B, 8th Inf. to AAG, Mil. Command of N.C., Salisbury, N.C., July 14, 1866, LR A 14, Vol. 1, Mil. Cmd. of N.C., 1866, NA.
The same sort of thing happened to another. Captain Charles B. Gaskill, 40th Infantry, requested the release of a Private Dennis from confinement on the grounds that the private, who had been locked up on the charge of sleeping on post, had already been locked up two months and nothing had been heard from the charges. The irregularity of such proceedings is apparent when it is considered that Article of War 79 specifically stated that no man should continue in confinement for over eight days without trial or at least until a court martial could be assembled.\(^6\)

There is small doubt that the soldiers in the south after 1866 were not a band of angels and the long lists of persons tried under the various Articles of War are mute testimony to this fact. The misdeeds of soldiers were not without cause—they were recruited from a group that did not have a reputation for scruples, they were of a boisterous age, they had very little diversion from the dull routine of army life, they drank too much and they were stationed among a hostile people who too often demanded more sympathy and understanding than they were willing to give. As a result, the troops sometimes

got out of hand and discredited themselves and the uniform. However, if a tally could be made it would probably show that, aside from offenses against the army itself including desertion, the misdeeds were mostly of a minor nature consisting in great part of street corner or barroom brawls. Considering the length of the Reconstruction period and the number of troops stationed in the area, often living in small posts or on detached service, the major crimes were scarce. Rape was seldom ever charged, and, though troops were found guilty of assault, murders were scarce. The cases of arson reported stand out because of their rarity.

When offenses were committed and charges were made, the army usually did not hesitate to punish and its punishments were not light. It is only to be regretted that threats and punishment were so heavily relied upon to prevent offenses against military and civil law and the causes of crime were almost completely ignored.
CHAPTER XIV

RECONSTRUCTION DUTIES - GENERAL

The duties performed by troops in the South beyond the limits of their military posts were many and varied. Prior to the autumn of 1866, as indicated above, detachments were stationed over the section according to the wishes of the top commanders, assisting in the preservation of law and order and performing tasks deemed necessary in bringing the rebellion to a close. Since the South was still technically in insurrection, though the armies in the field had ceased to fight and were disbanded, the federal army was in no way responsible to local authorities and law.

This condition prevailed until April 1866 when the President proclaimed the insurrection at an end except in Texas, which did not attain peace until August. The courts were reopened, the right of habeas corpus was restored, and civil governments became paramount so long as they performed their functions and did not come into conflict with federal law and the newly freed Negro, who was the ward of the federal government and jealously
guarded by the Freedmen's Bureau.\(^1\) The Army's activities in this period are well illustrated by the report of Colonel John T. Sprague, commander of the district of Florida, who wrote that

...Three companies of the 7th Infantry are at Tallahassee, Fla. from this command detachments are made as circumstances require to protect the freedmen, and to enforce the law under the provisions of the Civil Rights bill and the Bureau of Freedmen and Refugees. Small detachments now occupy Marianna, Jackson County, and Monticello, Jefferson County. The presence of this force, under judicious officers allays excitement and insures satisfactory adjustment of claims between the whites and freedmen. One company...is at Lake City...another at Gainesville, and the third at Jacksonville... small commands are at Ocala, Marion County and at Cedar Keys. From these points detachments move through the country when necessary, and take post where disorders occur, and where citizens apprehend danger from freedmen or from the hands of marauders infesting this frontier. ...One company of the 7th Infantry is at Fernandina, Fla. The presence of this command has had a good effect on the large number of freedmen in that vicinity and allayed much angry feeling between citizens of all political opinions in regard to tax titles, and the occupation of property obtained under them. The officer in command was instructed to keep the peace, secure

\(^1\) In WDGO 26, May 1, 1866, it was directed that military courts were not to try civilians in areas where civil courts were in operation. In WDGO 44, July 6, 1866, it was stated that military authorities were to arrest persons charged with crimes against inhabitants of the United States when the civil authorities did not do so and to hold them until proper courts were ready to try them.
property, and protect life, and to arrest all parties attempting to obtain their rights by force.

A similar passive role was followed in other commands. General Sheridan reported that when the Governor of Louisiana appealed to him for support and when the support was "proper and legitimate to serve the ends of justice such support was given" but, when it was to serve only partisan ambitions military aid was refused. General Thomas J. Wood, commander of the District of Mississippi, echoed this attitude but held the reins of his command tightly by requiring that detailed written instructions be given to all troops intervening in the field of civil law enforcement, and that a copy of the instructions and the report of the operation be sent to him when the intervention was terminated. From the Carolinas, General Daniel Sickles viewed the situation with contentment as he recalled in October 1866 that one year before civil authority had not existed, governors were appointed by the President, and justice was dispensed by military tribunals. Now, in 1866, he was pleased to say that except perhaps on the Sea Islands, civil courts were in operation, public officials were chosen by the people, the police was exclusively municipal, and taxes were levied by civil authorities.

2 Ltr., Col. John F. Sprague, to AAG, Dept. of the Gulf, HQ., Dist. of Fla., Tallahassee, Fla., Dec. 31, 1866, LB 6, Dept. of Fla., p. 535, NA.
In short, the situation in the South was, on the whole, such that General Grant thought that in a short time the bulk of troops occupying it could be sent to the West where they were much needed. 3

The year of 1866, its riots notwithstanding, was a calm before the storm for, instead of decreasing thereafter, the Army's civil responsibilities soared. By the provisions of the Reconstruction Acts of March and July 1867 the former Confederate states were converted into military districts and were placed under the authority of military governors.

The military governors were allowed great leeway in the performance of their duties. Major General John Pope of the 3d Military District complained that he was forced to operate without the benefit of official knowledge of the views of his superiors, and was guided only by opinions expressed in Congressional debates at the time of the passage of the Reconstruction Acts over the President's veto. From the acts and debates he was given to understand that the state governments were only provisional and were subordinate to military control in every respect.

These governments existed for the convenience of the military and were held responsible for the protection of persons and property and the preservation of law and order. So long as the civil authorities conducted themselves properly, it was the duty of the Army to support them and, should they prove uncooperative, they were to be dismissed. Civil laws in existence remained in effect so long as they did not conflict with federal legislation. John Pope's deductions were deemed more correct than his decisions during the 2d Manassas campaign and his views were shared by his four fellow military governors and their successors throughout the existence of the military districts.

The military districts were dotted with numerous small military posts from which detachments were dispatched when summoned. In October 1867 North and South Carolina contained 11 and 12 posts respectively, Georgia 6, Florida 9, Alabama 7, Mississippi 14 and Arkansas 11. Texas had many garrisons within her borders to maintain law and order and guard against Indiana, and Virginia played host-

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ess to 12 more. The latter state, as the 1st Military District, was divided into areas under the charge of commissioners who were officers clothed with the authority of county justices and police magistrates and had control over law enforcement officers and troops within their domains. In the other four military districts it was the practice to hold post commanders ultimately responsible for the preservation of peace, law, and order.5

Such an arrangement was, of course, fraught with danger of usurpation and, as will be shown below, a very few despots did appear upon the scene. Realizing this danger the Army had placed curbs on the activities of its southern proconsuls. The 32d Article of War required that each post commander keep good order and redress all disorders committed by his command. It also provided punishment for those who failed to see justice done in cases where soldiers committed offenses against citizens and participated in disorders. In one incident which occurred in the 4th Military District and involved a party of soldiers entering a private residence, the commanding general illustrated the official attitude when he called for an explanation from the post commander at Camden, Arkansas, and informed him that

5 GO 31, Hq., 1st Mil. Dist., Richmond, Va., May 28, 1867, NA; RSW 1867-1868, pp. 243-244.
Your assertion that the military forces are not servants of the people of Arkansas, but rather their masters, is unjust both to the people and to the military, and unfounded in fact. The military are the servants of the laws, and are for the benefit of the people. Section 3d of the Act of Congress "for the more efficient government of the Rebel States" makes it the duty of the Military to protect all persons in the right of their person and property, to suppress insurrection, disorder and violence, and to punish or cause to be punished all disturbers of the public peace etc.; so that instead of presuming to violate these laws to gratify private wrongs, troops are placed in Arkansas to insure their execution equally upon, and for the benefit of all. The assumption that a party of soldiers can, at their own option, forcibly destroy a citizen's property, and commit a gross violation of the public peace, would not be tolerated under a "Napoleon."

Similarly, when, after the post commander at Mobile interfered with the publication of a newspaper in that city because he believed its writings treasonable, an order was published condemning the act and stating that it was the duty of the Army to secure to the people freedom of speech and of the press and not to restrict either. For future guidance it ordered that "... No officer or soldier in this command will hereafter interfere with newspapers or speakers on any pretext whatever." Fortunately, this policy was general and two officers who later violated it

in Camden, Arkansas, and Selma, Alabama, were court mar- 
tialed for their misplaced zeal.  

With the abolition of the military districts and 
of the re-admission of the former Confederate states into 
the Union, normal relationships were resumed between civil 
and military authorities as provided for in the Constitu-
tion. Such relationships had presumably been in effect 
immediately prior to the passage of the Reconstruction 
Acts in 1867 and continued in the Department of the Cumber-
land (Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia) while 
the remainder of the South was under military law. In 
respect to military assistance to civil governments, the 
authority for intervention was based on Article IV, Sec-
tion 4, of the Constitution of the United States which 
provides that the United States shall protect a state a-
gainst domestic violence on application of the state's 
legislature or governor when the legislature cannot be 
convened. This provision was interpreted to mean that 
local law enforcement officers had the right to call for

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GO 28, Hq., 3d Mil. Dist., Atlanta, Ga., June 3, 1867, 
RSW 1867-1868, p. 326; Charges and specifications 
against 1st Lt. Chas. Johnson, Hq. Post of Selma, 
Selma, Ala., July 2, 1868, NA and Daily Arkansas 
Gazette, Oct. 23, 1867.
assistance from troops within their districts and that military commanders would be required to render assistance, provided they considered such service necessary. Should the commander have doubts, he could appeal to higher headquarters. 8

Since the newly formed legal, carpetbag governments were not firmly established, they tended to rely heavily upon the assistance of federal forces to maintain order among their unruly constituents. Likewise federal marshals and revenue officers sought to utilize the troops in arresting violators of federal laws. To curb this abuse the administration felt called upon to advise the military commanders that their obligation to obey the summons of a marshal or sheriff was subordinate to their duty as a member of a military unit, and that they could only act as a military body under their own officers. Further, officers were advised to judge carefully whether the services requested were lawful, necessary and compatible with their military duties and to limit their actions absolutely to

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proper aid in the execution of "lawful precepts exhibited to them by the marshal or sheriff."\(^9\)

In accordance with these instructions, Colonel Samuel W. Crawford, 2d Infantry, testified before a congressional committee that he had been instructed by General Alfred A. Terry that his troops were to initiate no action themselves but were to wait the call of authorized civil authorities. Speaking of the same instructions, General George G. Meade had reported the year before that he had received instructions from the President to confine the work of troops to the simple preservation of peace and that they were to be employed at this only after the civil authorities had exhausted all means in their power to do so and had called on the military through the proper channels. An illustration of how such orders were meant to be implemented is found in a letter of instructions to Captain Lieb when that officer was cautioned about his possible intervention in a local municipal squabble. Lieb was told that he was

...not to act at all in the matter unless called upon by the properly constituted Civil authorities and then only to protect them from violence while in the discharge of their duties or unless a riot takes place, when as heretofore instructed you will stop the same by interposing your troops

\(^9\) Annual Cyclopædia, 1868, p. 42.
between the parties and keeping them apart.... Should it come to the ejection of the present encumbent from office, you will not use your troops for that purpose; but if properly called on, you will, with your men stand by while it is done by those whose proper business it is and protect them from the violence of a mob.10

Such instructions were modified locally in 1871 for the benefit of those troops stationed in the areas affected by the Enforcement Acts. Regular forces in the vicinity of the violators of the act were to be

...employed by their commanding officers in assisting the authorized civil authorities of the United States in making arrests of persons accused under said act, in preventing the rescue of persons arrested for such cause; in breaking up and dispersing bands of disguised marauders, and of armed organizations, against the peace and quiet or lawful pursuits of citizens in any state.11

In enforcing the provisions of the acts, troops were employed primarily by federal marshals and their deputies


in making arrests in the South Carolina counties in which the writ of habeas corpus was suspended.

During the latter half of the Reconstruction period, the numbers of troops and posts fluctuated according to the tenseness of the political situation, which increased during the period of the Enforcement Acts and at election time in carpetbag states and decreased as the carpetbag governments passed out of existence. Detachments were frequently sent out to assist civil officers: more than two hundred temporary ones were made in the Department of the South in the year ending October 1871, forty in the Department of the Gulf in 1872--two at the request of governors and the remainder at the application of federal marshals and, during the same year, over 160 were ordered out in the Department of the South. By 1876 the number in the latter department had declined to 71. From one installation, Fort McPherson, Georgia, an eight company post, the temporary detachments reported for one quiet year were as follows:

February 1874 - one detachment of six men absent from the 5th to the 20th assisting U.S. Marshall at Gainesville,

Georgia. One officer and fifteen men dispatched to assist U.S. Marshal in Rockdale Co on the 26th.

March 1874 - Officer and fifteen men sent out on February 26 returned on March 26.

May 1874 - Detachment of five enlisted men absent a few days assisting Internal Revenue officers near Dalton.

June 1874 - Four detachments sent out to assist Revenue officer. All rejoined.

July 1874 - Five small detachments sent out to assist Revenue officer. All rejoined except one dispatched on 28th.

August 1874 - Four small detachments sent out to assist US Marshall.

September 1874 - Large detachments made to unidentified cities.

October 1874 - Detachments still out. One company present for duty.

November 1874 - Troops sent to polling places on election day at the request of the U.S. Marshall.

December 1874 - One company returned. Three detachments sent out to aid U.S. Marshall.13

The delicacy of these duties in general cannot be over-emphasized and was fully appreciated by the intelligent personnel involved. In editorializing on the Army's

13 RGHP 205, McPherson Barracks, Ga., pp. 107-146, NA.
conduct of affairs in Georgia when that state was in the 3d Military District, The Daily New Era, an Atlanta, Republican paper, likened the military administration amid the various pressures to a trip through the channel between the Scylla and Charybdis and termed the duties performed by the officers as extraordinary and embarrassing. Writing six years later, Brevet Major General William H. Emory, commanding the Department of the Gulf, described the difficulty and frustrations connected with southern military duty during carpetbag administration when he reported that

...At present the troops are expected to keep the peace without having any power to correct abuses, however flagrant, or any power to arrest parties for the most criminal offenses, and yet their presence on any occasion of riots and disorder renders them liable to civil suits if casualties should occur even by accident.\textsuperscript{14}

The accountability of military personnel to civil law seems not to have posed any difficult problems, but the lines of jurisdiction were not always plain. Although, as indicated by General Emory, the government may have been liable to suit for acts committed by individual soldiers in the legitimate performance of assigned duties, there is no reason to believe that soldiers involved would have

\textsuperscript{14} The Daily New Era, (Atlanta) July 26, 1868 and Rept., CG, Dept. of the Gulf to AAG, Div. of the South, Holly Springs, Miss., Sept. 15, 1875, RSW 1874, p. 55.
been subject to civil suits. Instead, like the above-mentioned officers who closed down the newspapers, they would have been subject to courts martial. It was ordered by the War Department in January 1866 that no officer or soldier could be prosecuted by civil courts for executing in a military capacity any order issued by proper military authority. Pursuant to this order, it was ordered in the Department of Texas that the right of trial by the military before a military tribunal would be exercised. Likewise, the commander of the Post of Nashville informed the officers and men of his garrison that they would not permit themselves to be arrested by city police while within the limits of a military installation or while on duty outside of such limits, but that such arrests must be made only by the post commanders on application of the proper civil authority. However, the order also stated that this ruling was not intended to prevent the arrest by civil authorities of soldiers outside of their camps who broke civil laws while off duty.  

In Florida in 1866 the same views were held too strongly by Colonel Sprague's predecessor who informed the

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GO 25, Hq., Post of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn., Sept. 18, 1866, LB 335, Dist. of Middle Tenn., p. 139, NA. WDGO 3, Jan. 12, 1866, Ltr., AAG, Dept. of Texas to CO, Cent. Dist. of Texas, Galveston, Mar. 23, 1866, LB 4, Dept. of Texas, np.
Intendant of Tallahassee that he would not allow his officers and soldiers to be arrested for municipal offenses but offered to have the offenders tried before a military court if the charges and witnesses were furnished him. More drastic measures were reported to have been taken earlier by General Thomas in Tennessee. A party of soldiers, supposed to have killed a guerrilla named Thornhill, were indicted and imprisoned at Dandridge, Tennessee, by order of a local judge. A small party then sent to release them was also arrested by the sheriff and imprisoned. And then, so the unbelievable story goes, two hundred troops were sent into the town to clear the matter up.  

Such activity could be carried on with impunity during the period of Reconstruction when military authority reigned supreme. Two privates of the 21st Infantry at Fredericksburg, Virginia, became involved with a small party of citizens who called them a variety of uncomplimentary names. Their post commander reported the incident as one of many which had taken place in the town and urged that the case be tried before a military tribunal. A more flagrant case of military justice under such an arrangement was illustrated by the above-mentioned case of a Captain

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Schaff who shot a Confederate Colonel Sheppard after he had been arrested. For the murder of the colonel he was fined three hundred dollars and sentenced to spend six months in prison. As a contrast this case was compared to that of five white men who hanged a Negro who had raped a white woman, and were sentenced to 15 years at hard labor. Even the Republican papers were shocked at the double standard.17

The lack of authority of civil courts of states undergoing reconstruction to indict military personnel without permission from military authority seems beyond question. However, the right of civil courts in sovereign, reconstructed states to try soldiers for offenses against civilians and their property according to civil laws was clearly defined in the 23d Article of War. Commanding officers of offenders were not only ordered to deliver offenders to civil authorities but were instructed to assist law enforcement officers to locate them in case they had fled beyond immediate reach. Officers refusing or neglecting to heed application for a criminal were to be cashiered.18

17 Ltr., CO, Post of Fredericksburg to CO, Sub. Dist. of Fredericksburg, Va., Nov. 9, 1867, LR G 440, 1st Mil. Dist., Vol. 6, 1867, NA, and The Savannah Daily Republican, Sept. 12, 1867 and Feb. 1, 1868.

18 Articles of War, Article 52, AR 1861, p. 400.
There is evidence that this rule was obeyed. Private Anthony Boyle was arrested on charges of drunken and disorderly conduct and of striking two civilians in Charleston, South Carolina. He was fined three dollars and, in default of payment was given twenty days in prison. In Galveston a party of soldiers, which included the sergeant major of the 11th Infantry, got out of hand in a store and one of the men hit the proprietress in the mouth. They were arrested by the officer of the day and turned over to the civilian authorities for trial.¹⁹

Improper acts committed by duly authorized post commanders were not out of the jurisdiction of the civil authorities. The post commander at Gallatin, Tennessee, published an order in 1867 forbidding saloon keepers there to sell their wares to soldiers and arrested one of the proprietors who violated the order. On learning of this, his commander in Nashville informed him that, since Tennessee was not under martial law and the military was subservient to civil authority, his action was not warranted. He went on to inform the captain that

Should the man arrested prosecute you for such arrest the case of false imprisonment would clearly be established against you unless you have orders from Dept. Head Quarters authorizing

¹⁹ The News and Courier (Charleston) July 18, 1873 and Galveston Tri Weekly News, Sept. 8, 1869.
you to issue such orders and even in that case
it is not clear that you would be justified
by civil courts.

He was further advised to adjust the matter at once and to
be more careful in the future. A final comment "Under
your construction however you might close every business
house in Gallatin. A construction which is obviously ab-
surd." completed the reprimand. 20

In summary, therefore, it can be said that the
Army assumed its Reconstruction duties reluctantly, mind-
ful always that it was to be the servant of the people.
Civil officials were encouraged to function whenever pos-
sible and were freely supported by the military. Although
the Army was completely responsible for civil affairs
during the months of actual military reconstruction, it
encouraged its civilian provisional officials to operate
even then. After states had returned to their normal
status in the Union, the Army interfered in Civil affairs
only when properly requested to do so in accordance with
the law. An indication of the sovereignty of local
governments is indicated by their right to try military
personnel for off duty violations of their laws - except
during the periods of military reconstruction - a right

20 Ltr., Adjt., Post of Nashville to CO, Post of Gallatin,
Nashville, Tenn., July 17, 1867, LB 326, Dept. of the
Cumberland, p. 438, NA.
not more fully enjoyed, theoretically at least, even by the northern commonwealths.
The Army's task of preserving law and order was generally a passive one. Sometimes, however, direct action by the military was necessary, and troops intervened in local affairs either to put down trouble or to prevent it before it started.

Unhesitant positive action was taken by Lieutenant Wilson T. Hartz to prevent a serious riot in Greenville, Alabama, in the latter days of 1867. The lieutenant, accompanied by another officer and 25 men of the 5th Cavalry, rode into Greenville and found the town in a great commotion. For undisclosed reasons a policeman had shot a Negro and had then taken refuge in a store building from a mob of Negroes who sought revenge and had collected around the store. Lieutenant Hartz took immediate action: he closed all saloons, sent out patrols to break up crowds, and confined Greenville's intendant and police in their homes under arrest. He had thought to arrest all of the city's officials but, before he could do so, orders were received to permit them to continue to function. Efforts were made to find the fugitive policeman to no avail. After receiving written affidavits describing the affair, he
left a small detachment in the town and returned to Montgomery. It will be noted that Lieutenant Hartz's decisive action was possible because military authority was supreme and he could act without delay.

A disturbance of larger dimensions in South Carolina was allayed by equally quick action. Trouble began in September 1874 in the vicinity of Edgefield when the Negro militia, armed by the state, behaved in such a way as to irritate their less responsible white neighbors. Tension mounted and erupted when five white men fired into the home of Ned Tennant, a particularly obnoxious Negro Republican and a captain in the militia. They apparently missed their mark, for Tennant signaled for aid by beating a drum, and his militiamen began to gather. A nearby white man, named Glover, learning of threats being made against him by the assembling Negroes, called for help and the white men of the county were aroused. The impending struggle was reported to the commander of the local garrison at Edgefield.

On learning of the threatened race war, the commander of the Edgefield garrison and Company D, 18th Infantry, Lieutenant Michael Leahy, loaded 11 of his men into a

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wagon borrowed from a citizen and rattled off at top speed toward Glover's plantation. On arrival he found three hundred white men assembled and eighty Negroes collected nearby with more hiding in an adjacent woods. Lieutenant Leahy first tried to talk with the colored leaders but could not find them. He then conferred with the white men and persuaded them to disband and to discuss the situation with the colored folk on the following day.

What happened next day is not reported, but a few days later the white men of the area met and agreed that the Negroes should either be required to turn in their arms or to get off the whites' plantations. The Negroes refused to abide by this decision and again gathered under their chieftain, Ned Tennant. Trouble brewed until the Negroes, who were the weaker party, realized that discretion was the better part of valor and offered to turn in their guns. When the Negroes arrived in Edgefield to surrender, the mayor asked Lieutenant Leahy for assistance, and the Edgefield garrison was marched into town to collect the surrendered arms. After the Negroes were disarmed, Company D escorted them to their homes and then returned to their camp.  

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Ltr., CO, Post of Edgefield to AAG, Dept. of the South, Edgefield, S. C., Sept. 21 and 26, 1874, LB 399, Dept. of the South, pp. 499 and 502, NA.
Less dramatic occasions in which potential disorders were prevented were much more common. While in Jackson, Mississippi, for a haircut Captain Samuel S. Sumner heard someone shout "a fight." The captain with his companion, Lieutenant Daniel Hitchcock, went over to the spot where a large crowd was gathered and found two politicians pummeling one another in the gutter. Since the state was under military control, the two officers felt no qualms about halting the spectacle and, to prevent further disorder, the captain ordered out a small detachment to take post in the town square while he investigated the quarrel. The two gentlemen in the gutter were found to have been local politicians, one a high officer at the state's constitutional convention. One had been threatening the other with a revolver and a whip when the fight started but, thanks to the intervention of the military, neither of the dignitaries was hurt and order was restored to Jackson.³

Another minor dispute of a more formal nature also illustrates the ends to which post commanders went to maintain order in their districts. Captain Henry C. Cook, commander at the Post of Augusta, was called upon by a minister to prevent a duel between two Augusta hot bloods.

³ Ltr., Capt. S. S. Sumner to AAG, Sub Dist. of Miss., Hq., Post of Jackson, Jackson, Miss., April 16, 1868, LR N 49, Sub Dist. of Miss., 4th Mil. Dist., NA.
Their duel had been forbidden by the local authorities, but it was feared that the duelists would cross the river into South Carolina and out of the post's jurisdiction. In order to prevent this, Captain Cook took immediate action, first wiring for instructions and getting permission to cross into South Carolina and then, to prevent the duel's being fought without his knowledge, having one of the principals and seconds arrested and notifying the other participants to come in. When all persons were assembled they were given the alternative of giving their paroles not to duel or of remaining under arrest until a decision could be given in the case by General Pope, with the understanding that violation of their parole would make them subject to rearrest and trial by a military commission. Their blood cooled, their honor satisfied, the paroles were given and Captain Cook felt the affair of honor was at an end.4

Prevention of disorder took other forms as well. One heavy-handed officer at Corinth, Mississippi, resorted to threats instead of diplomacy. On November 4, 1867, he threatened a man who had seized the personal property of another with arrest in case an investigation proved the

4 CO, Post of Augusta to AAG, 3d Mil. Dist., Augusta, Ga., April 14, 1867, LR C 41, 3d Mil. Dist., 1867, NA.
threatened civilian to be in the wrong. In a similar letter written two days later, he threatened to arrest two men and place them in irons in case they forcefully ejected a man from a plantation instead of bringing their grievances before a court. The methods of this officer possibly had much to recommend them in so far as efficiency was concerned but, fortunately, were exceptions rather than the rule.⁵

Disorders were controlled customarily by anticipating them and being ready to take action should they occur. Gatherings of freedmen were quite often causes for alarm, even though harmless in their intent. This being so it was customary for law enforcement officers to keep an eye on them and, when the Army was responsible for the peace, wise military commanders followed the same course. The commander of the Post of Augusta, for instance, was directed to detail a noncommissioned officer and ten privates to Louisville, Georgia, in anticipation of trouble that might occur there during a 4th of July celebration with the special warning that unlawful military organizations were reported to be ready to stop the celebration.

⁵ Ltr., CO, Post of Corinth to Wm. Brockawan, Corinth, Miss., Nov. 24, 1867, LB 70, Dept. of Miss., p. 59 and Ltr., CO, Post of Corinth to Jas. W. and Philip Mitchell, Corinth, Miss., Nov. 27, 1867, Ibid., p. 66, NA.
In Alabama another officer was ordered to break up an unauthorized freedmen's military organization at Prairie Bluffs and he was told that such organizations appeared from time to time but always peaceably disbanded when ordered to do so.  

It was also not uncommon for troops to be sent to a town in which violence was expected to center around a trial or execution. Lieutenant George H. Palmer, 16th Infantry, and a detachment were sent to Winchester, Tennessee, in March 1871 to insure order while two men were tried there by the state court. The two men feared violence and had appealed to the state for protection. The Governor requested military aid and Lieutenant Palmer was instructed to see that peace was maintained. In doing this, however, the troops were to be most sly, were to give the impression that their presence in Winchester had no connection whatever with the case before the court and were to do nothing whatever to incite violence.

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6 Ltr., AAG, 16th Inf. to CO, Post of Augusta, Hq. Dist. of Ga., Macon, Ga., June 28, 1867, and Ltr., AAG, Dist. of Ala., to CO, Post of Selma, Ala., Hq., Dist. of Ala., Montgomery, Ala., July 12, 1867, Misc. Letters, 3d Mil. Dist., 1867, NA.

7 Ltr., AAG, Post of Nashville, to Lt. G. H. Palmer, Nashville, Tenn., Mar. 5, 1871, LB 327, Dist. of Middle Tenn., p. 72, NA.
In South Carolina similar service was rendered in November 1876 by the temporary garrison at Greenwood. A Negro shot a white man and was arrested by the civil authorities. It was first feared that there would be a lot of excitement over the shooting, but the dead man had been a person of bad character and so the whites felt little resentment over his death. It was then feared that associates of the murdered man would create some disorder at the trial. As a result the lieutenant in command of troops there was asked to furnish a guard and did so. The trial passed off without mishap and, since there were no safe jails in the village, the prisoners were given to the Army to hold. On the following day a guard was furnished to escort the prisoners to Abbeville, and the Army’s part in the episode was ended.\(^5\)

Slightly more gruesome work fell to a few troops who assisted local authorities. At the request of the sheriff of West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, a company of the Baton Rouge garrison marched out to his bailiwick in order to be present at the hanging of two Negroes who were being executed for murder. Although there were strong fears that local Negroes would attempt to rescue the

\(^5\) CO, Camp at Greenwood to AG, Dept. of the South, Camp at Greenwood, S.C., Nov. 9, 1876, LR (2652-2859) Dept. of the South, 1876, NA. See also Rept., CG, Dept. of La. to AAG, Div. of the South, New Orleans, Oct. 15, 1869, RSW 1869, p. 98.
condemned men, the presence of the troops kept the community quiet and the company was able to return to its barracks without delay.\footnote{SO 43, Hq., Post of Madison, Ark., Oct. 16, 1867, NA.}

The presence of troops prevented many outbreaks, but soldiers could not be everywhere and upheavals did occur. Although most of these were handled by local law enforcement agencies, the Army was called upon when the situation got out of hand and, in such cases, the mere arrival of uniformed disciplined men was often enough to restore order. As will be illustrated below, the action of the military at such outbreaks was passive--they only sought to preserve the peace. They were not concerned with the claims of the participants and, officially at least, only sought to uphold the legal government.

The first major upheaval in which troops became involved was that in Norfolk in April 1866. It appears that a sizeable group of Negroes from both Norfolk and Portsmouth gathered on the morning of April 16, 1866, to celebrate the passing of the Civil Rights Act. Somehow, during the course of their celebration, a white man was shot. Although the commander of the local garrison had not policed the Negro meeting, he had watched it closely, and, on hearing of the shooting, took a company to the scene,
disarmed the Negroes present, dispersed the meeting, and escorted the Portsmouth Negroes to their homes.

In spite of the captain's decisive action, the trouble was only beginning. It was reported that white men were arming, gathering, and planning to seek revenge after darkness. The mayor, feeling that he could not keep order, requested and received continued aid from the garrison, troops being posted at strategic points in the troubled area. After darkness there was occasional firing, a few Negroes were shot, and large bodies of rioters were broken up by troops shuttling to and fro between danger spots. On the following day the excitement continued, but another night of bloodshed was prevented by the arrival from Fort Monroe of two hundred reinforcements. The Norfolk garrison was allowed to rest after having been on duty constantly for 36 hours.\textsuperscript{10}

A similar riot occurred in Memphis, Tennessee, two weeks later. On April 30, 1866, the troops of the 3d U.S. Colored Artillery, were discharged. This regiment had been recruited from local Negroes in 1863 and had been stationed continuously in Memphis since that date, often performing duties which made it unpopular with the Con-

\textsuperscript{10} Federal Aid, pp. 108-109.
federate element of the local population. Furthermore, its members sometimes conducted themselves poorly in their off-duty hours. On being discharged these troops spent the evening of April 30th and the 1st of May strolling about the city in groups, firing guns, and whooping it up. Such activity naturally brought the revelers to the attention of their old enemies, the Memphis police, six of whom arrested two of the boisterous merrymakers and ushered them off toward the station house. Before they had gone far, however, the police were attacked by a crowd seeking to rescue the prisoners and retaliated by firing into the mob and wounding one Negro. The fire was returned and pandemonium reigned. The police were reinforced by additional police and a large crowd of white citizens and proceeded to attack and arrest every Negro in sight. This rioting was quelled for a short time by a detachment of federal troops who disarmed and dispersed the rioters, black and white. Although some Negroes were sheltered within the Post of Memphis, one newspaper reported that, while quelling the rioting of others, the troops "...used no light persuasion as the condition of negroes sent to the station house testifies." 11

Rioting was renewed on the following day in South

11 The Daily Avalanche, May 2, 1866.
Memphis. The local garrison, which had only 180 men and a great amount of property to guard, could do little more than shelter some Negro refugees in the post. During the course of the day a detachment of 45 men cleared one area by sweeping through it in a skirmish line and arresting several persons, including some policemen who were caught beating Negroes.

The rioting was brought to an end on May 3d when General Stoneman assumed control of the situation and suspended the civil government. People were forbidden to gather in groups, troops were posted about the city, and patrols were instituted. Reinforcements arrived from Nashville on the 4th and the Memphis garrison was relieved after over 48 hours of continuous work.\textsuperscript{12}

The third of the large 1866 riots which were to be so influential in gaining the North's indorsement of the forthcoming Reconstruction acts was the first of a decade of outbreaks destined to occur in New Orleans. This riot possibly has had more notoriety than those at Norfolk and Memphis, but the troops sent into the city did not arrive until after the rioting itself had ended and, therefore,

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., pp. 110-111; Ltr., CO, Post of Memphis to AAG, Dept. of Tenn., Hq., Post of Memphis, Memphis, Tenn., May 21, 1866, LB 65, Dept. of Tenn., p. 17, NA.
had little part in it. The riot occurred after members of
the former constitutional convention, then defunct, had
reassembled in the Mechanic's Institute, much against the
will of the Mayor of New Orleans and the anti-Republican
elements in the city. Although a disturbance was ex-
pected and troops were alerted to move from Jackson Bar-
racks to the city at a moment's notice, no further measures
were taken to have troops on the spot because it was be-
lieved that the police could maintain order. However,
since the police participated in the riot, instead of pre-
venting it, the partisans of the convention, mainly
Negroes, were overwhelmed and the rioting was ended before
the troops arrived. After they appeared on the scene,
martial law was proclaimed, arrests were made, and quiet
restored. The feeling of at least a sizable segment of
the white population over the arrival of the troops is in-
dicated by the presence of a crowd in LaFayette Square
which greeted their arrival with enthusiastic cheers to
which the soldiers "courteously responded."15

The assistance of troops was requested in 1867 to
suppress sizable disorders in Mobile, Alabama, and in
Richmond, Virginia. The commotion in Mobile began in May
when Negroes in that city sought to ride in the streetcars.

15 Federal Aid, pp. 132-142 and The New Orleans Times,
Aug. 3, 1868.
and riots were averted only after the local commander was able to persuade them not to exercise this new privilege. The tension remained, however, and was touched off by a disturbance in a crowd collected to hear Pennsylvania's Congressman William D. Kelley speak. Shots were fired and panic ensued. An officer present, keeping an eye on things, sped in his carriage to the Post of Mobile to bring in troops who were held in readiness there. They hurried from their barracks at a double quick step until they met two streetcars which were commandeered and used as transportation. On reaching the riot area sentries were posted and the streets cleared. The police force was suspended, and a provost guard of 24 men established. A few days later General Pope appointed Union men to the offices of mayor and chief of police, Congressman Kelley returned to Pennsylvania, and the provost guard was relieved.  

Negroes in Richmond, riding high after the advent of military reconstruction, began rioting after one of them had knocked down a fireman who had told him to stand out of the way of contest participants at a firemen's convention. The Negro and a white man were arrested but other Negroes wrested their dark brother from the police

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14 Ibid., p. 113, and The Savannah Republican, June 8, 1867.
shouting, "Freedmen to the Rescue." They then marched up the street carrying the man high on their shoulders to such chants as, "This is our country." The potential of such behavior was not lost upon the authorities and attempts to quiet them were made by the mayor, the chief of police and, finally, by General Schofield himself. The entreaties of these officials availed nothing and, as a last resort, a large detachment of the Richmond garrison was ordered out to disperse the mob. Apparently the troops went to work with gusto, one editor described them as striking right and left with "freedom and emphasis" and in striking contrast with the forbearing Richmond police.

The troops' tactics had a most positive effect. One officer, who was an eyewitness to the affair, reported that when the soldiers charged upon the noisy ebony mob with their bayonets fixed

The blacks fled faster than they came, running and rolling over each other in furious flight. Such an exhibition of eyes and ivory as they made while seeking their dens can never be forgotten by those who saw it. Yet the sublimest part of the whole farce was their exclaiming, as they ran away that "the soldiers had gone back on them." These deceived and demented creatures really thought that, if they got into a conflict with their former masters, the military would side in with them .... Great, therefore, was their disappointment when General Schofield sustained the civil authorities.

The conduct of the troops on this occasion was approved by the white people of the city. The Richmond Enquirer and
Sentinel commented that the soldiers discharged their duty firmly and in an admirable style and felt them entitled to praise for their promptness and moderation.  

Troops were called in to suppress rioting in Franklin, Tennessee, in July 1867 and Mobile, Alabama, in August 1869. Their trip to Franklin from Nashville was hardly necessary for the town was quiet by the time they arrived and, after a stay of two days, they returned to Nashville. Although they were held at hand during the riot in Mobile, they took no active part in suppressing the disturbance. They had been requested by the Mobile Mayor, who looked for trouble at a Negro meeting to celebrate Radical victories in local elections, and were placed at his disposal in a guardhouse near the meeting place. The expected affray materialized, there was a flurry of shooting from which the people of both races fled and in a few minutes the whole thing was over. Throughout the firing the troops remained in the guardhouse and only after the town became quiet were they used in street patrols.

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16 Federal Aid, p. 114.

17 Ibid., p. 129 and Mobile Daily Register, Aug. 6, 1869.
The largest and most dangerous disturbance at which United States troops were employed to maintain a semblance of order was that in Little Rock, Arkansas, in the spring of 1874. This upheaval centered around the contested governorship of Arkansas by two factions of the Republican party: the Grant supporters in the election of 1872 headed by Elisha Baxter and the Greeley faction led by Joseph Brooks. Baxter won by a very close margin, but Brooks contested the election. After some legal hearings, a local court declared in favor of Brooks and the struggle was on. Both men called out their supporters as militia, Little Rock became an armed camp for the two forces, and each governor appealed for federal recognition and aid. Brooks seized the capitol on April 15, 1874, there were many manifestoes issued from both camps, and many telegrams were sent to Washington. Finally, one month later, the Brooks government collapsed when, after a study of the merits of the case advanced by each claimant by the Attorney General of the United States, the President recognized Baxter as the legal governor.

The position of the federal troops in Little Rock at this time was a difficult one. On April 16th, Captain Thomas Rose, Commander of the Post of Little Rock and its garrison of two companies, C and I of the 16th Infantry, was instructed to take no part in the conflict unless it
should be necessary for him to prevent bloodshed or a collision of armed bodies. On receipt of this message Captain Rose marched his companies to the city, occupied the City Hall and addressed a note to both Brooks and Baxter enjoining them not to move their forces so as to bring on a collision with one another and not to impede the movements of his troops. He then stationed his men and some field pieces at strategic street corners and took possession of the telegraph office to prevent any partisan interference with the free flow of messages.

On April 20th troops were moved between two armed bodies. Although no rioting took place, it was at this time that the most tragic event of the occupation occurred. Private William Harrington of C Company, 16th Infantry, one of a squad of men sent to the Arsenal to get a cannon, was thrown by his horse. His foot became tangled in a tug chain on its harness, and he was dragged through the streets by the runaway mount until they came to a parked dray. Harrington was pulled against the dray in such a way that his legs straddled a portion of it and, in doing so, jerked the horse to a stop. Harrington was unconscious when reached and was found to be critically injured. In time, however, Harrington recovered and served Company C as a private until 1893.

On the day after the accident an incendiary speech
was made by a Baxter supporter to a group of Negro militia collected in Markham Street. Captain Rose noted that the militiamen were getting overly excited and rode with his orderly into the mob and ordered them to disperse. One militiaman fired a shot at him, and more shots followed. The troops moved up in a hurry and barricaded the street with a fire engine, thus dividing the partisan forces in the area and allowing the frenzy to subside. The coolest man on the ground was said to have been Walter Wallace of I Company, the captain's orderly, who sat on his horse in the line of fire without once moving from his captain's side or becoming flustered.

Other incidents occurred. Forty reinforcements arrived from Humboldt, Tennessee, on the 23d, and on the same day a Corporal Jones was shot in the leg. On May 4th, there was mounting excitement and C Company formed in Markham Street to prevent its use by a Baxter force. A shot was fired and a squad charged the crowd to capture the man who was responsible, but he got away. On May 8th a sergeant and a squad were sent to the penitentiary to guard it against a threatened attack that failed to materialize. There was more shooting on the 11th and, as a result, the fire engine was again moved out to barricade Markham Street. Elm Street was blocked, rifle pits were thrown up on the bluffs behind the city hall, and two cannon were
placed at the corner of Markham and Louisiana Streets.

On the following day the troops dismantled sixteen hundred rifles belonging to the state so that they could not be used, and Company D again moved between the two forces to keep them apart. Six days later six men of the Baxter forces were arrested for carrying arms in a restricted zone.

The tedious task performed by the Little Rock garrison was a dangerous one. The undisciplined, swaggering, drinking, boisterous, bullying mobs of militia were unpredictable and, since each vastly outnumbered the Federal force, they could have overwhelmed it at any time. Of the two, the Brooks army was probably the better controlled, for it was composed primarily of white men who had had military training. The Baxter force was a hodgepodge of both races and even included the cadets of St. John's College. Both armed mobs were a disgrace to the military profession.

While stationed in Little Rock, the neutral Federals maintained as much as possible of their usual garrison routine. The men were drilled in the streets much to the delight of some of the lookers-on who applauded them frequently. When not otherwise engaged they spent their time reading, writing, or sleeping. Although the Little Rock Gazette is reported to have referred to them as "military dogs" and disturbers of the peace, the Daily
Republican described them as gentlemanly and well behaved.\textsuperscript{16} A disturbance of the magnitude of that in Little Rock was hardly common in South Carolina, but the garrisons of the state were continually employed in watchful waiting, taking care of minor disorders, aiding federal marshals in making arrests, and being on hand in trouble spots to discourage any acts calculated to disturb the peace. They were called upon to aid in suppressing riots in Charleston in 1869, were posted in western counties to suppress disturbances in accordance with the provisions of the Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871, assisted in quelling riots in Lancaster and Laurens in 1874 and in Ellenton and Cainhoy in 1875. In these melees the only variance from the usual pattern occurred in the riot at Lancaster.\textsuperscript{19}

A controversy took place between two citizens of Lancaster, no doubt political in origin, in which the townspeople took sides. Rioting resulted on September 19, 1874, but the intervention of troops was not requested. However, aid sought on the 20th was given and extended into

\textsuperscript{16} Federal Aid, pp. 164-181 and Little Rock Daily Republican, April 20-May 18, 1874.

\textsuperscript{19} Rept., CG, Dept. of the South to AAG, Dept. of the South, Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 31, 1869, \textit{RSW} 1869, p. 88; Ltr., CO, Det. at Laurens to AAG, Div. of the South, Laurens, S.C., Nov. 4, 1874, LR 2168, Dept. of the South, 1874, NA and The News and Courier, Oct. 20, 1876.
the 21st. On the 22d persons of one faction found their opponents in a house, surrounded it and set it afire with turpentine balls. Soon afterwards, the collector of revenue requested their aid in suppressing the rioting. The detachment moved to the scene of the disturbance and, while attempting to disperse the mob, were fired on and had one man slightly wounded. The troops returned the fire, scattered the rioters, rounded up the parties imprisoned in the burning house, took them back to their camp but released them at the request of the town marshal.20

The greatest excitement in the state occurred during and after the election of 1876. This election not only involved the closely contested presidential race between Hayes and Tilden but an equally close gubernatorial contest between the Republican Governor Chamberlain and Wade Hampton. As a result there was much excitement and, during the election, military detachments were distributed to some seventy different points within the state. Although the election passed off in an orderly fashion, Governor Chamberlain feared that there would be armed resistance to the installation of a Republican governor and applied to the President for troops to preserve the peace.

This application was granted and eight companies of the 18th Infantry Regiment and six batteries of artillery were assembled in Columbia under the commander of the Department of the South, Colonel Thomas H. Ruger, and Lieutenant Colonel Henry M. Black, commander of the Post of Columbia. The atmosphere of the city was charged with excitement. Although there were only about five hundred troops in the city, so many uniforms had not been seen there since Sherman had passed through the city in 1865. Both sides were rather pleased—the Democrats sought to win the occupying force to their support, the Republicans, of course, regarded them as their mainstay and the Negroes, never learning better, believed them to be their special protectors and were quite jubilant. A portion of the troops which had been stationed in the North were said to have been agreeably surprised not to have been fired upon when they entered the state.21

General Ruger was ordered to abstain from unlawful use of his troops, but at the same time was informed that Governor Chamberlain was legal governor of the state and was to be supported by federal troops. These orders were transmitted to Colonel Black who, at 11 a.m. on the 27th of November, called on Governor Chamberlain and

21 The News and Courier (Charleston), Oct. 26, 1876.
offered him the services of his command within the spirit of the instructions of the Secretary of War. Governor Chamberlain gratefully accepted the offer and replied that he knew of no immediate necessity for using troops but that many reports of anticipated violence had come to him which would be confirmed that day. At 4 p.m. Governor Chamberlain called upon Colonel Black and informed him that he had learned of a proposed attempt by an armed body to seize the Statehouse that night, hold it until after the time of the convening of the state legislature and then to allow only those to be seated of whom they approved. The Governor then presented him with a formal application for troops to take possession of the Statehouse and guard it. This application was presented to Colonel Ruger on his timely arrival that evening, and the Colonel ordered that a company be sent to the Statehouse at once.  

Company A, 18th Infantry, Captain Edward R. Kellogg commanding, was ordered to the Statehouse at 11:30 p.m. and was instructed to take post in the building and to exclude from it, during the night, any persons not authorized to enter by a designated member of the Governor's staff. The order was obeyed and troops were posted at

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22 Ltr., CO, Post of Columbia, to AAG, Dept. of the South, Columbia, S.C., Dec. 6, 1876, LR 3076, Dept. of the South 1876, NA.
the doors of the Capitol. On the following morning such persons as were approved by the Governor's aide were admitted and then, later in the morning, immediately prior to the time of the first session of the legislature, those men bearing bona fide certificates of election to the legislature were allowed to enter. Entrance to the eastern portion of the building up to a point beyond the chambers of the Supreme Court was available to all.\textsuperscript{23}

In spite of the precautions taken, an assistant sergeant-at-arms hurried to Captain Kellogg with the news that a crowd was milling around in the upper corridor outside of the hall of the House of Representatives, thus interfering with the doorkeeper and his efforts to admit only properly authorized legislators. A detachment from Captain James Stewart's H Company, 18th Infantry, which had just arrived to reinforce A Company, was sent to the upper corridor under the command of 2d Lieutenant John Anderson. Although it was charged by some Hampton people that the 18th Infantry's sentinels were swayed by political bias and failed to admit some worthy Hampton solons, the officers at the Capitol emphatically denied interfering with the admittance of any authorized persons and said

\textsuperscript{23} Ltr., Capt. E. R. Kellogg, to Adjt., Post of Columbia, Columbia, S.C., Dec. 1876, Incl. to LR 3079, Dept. of the South, 1876, NA.
that their men were used only to keep back persons who were disorderly. To do this a "treble" file of soldiers was said to have been placed in the main entrance of the Capitol, and before the main door of the House Chamber was an avenue of two files of soldiers with fixed bayonets. Close at hand, lounging in the lobbies near their stacked rifles, was a reserve of fifty more Federal troops.24

Posterity has not been favored with a description of the experiences of the companies of the 2d and 18th Infantry during their sojourn in the South Carolina Statehouse. There is no reason to believe, though, that the duty was anything but boring—except perhaps for a few tense hours when an excited mob threatened to take over the place until it was forestalled by Wade Hampton. The rival governments carried on concurrently—the Chamberlain partisans and troops occupying the Statehouse and the Hampton forces holding forth down the street in nearby Carolina Hall. This situation prevailed until the following spring when, after a talk with Hampton in Washington, Hayes promised to remove the Army from Chamberlain's support.

President Hayes ordered this withdrawal of troops

to take place at twelve noon on April 10, 1877. General Winfield S. Hancock, commander of the Military Division of the Atlantic and first recipient of these orders, forwarded them on to General Ruger with the notation that he expected them to be executed with promptness and precision.  

On the day of the evacuation a detachment of Company B, 2d Infantry, Lieutenant Abner Haines Jr. commanding, was on guard in the Capitol building. All preparations for their departure had been completed ahead of time and bedding and personal effects had been sent on ahead. One sentry was posted before the door of the Governor's office, and the remainder of the detachment sat idly before the Comptroller General's office which was used as an orderly room. Colonel Black, upon whose shoulders the responsibility of the occupation rested, was present, pacing the floor in a nervous fashion and infecting a crowd of civilians, mostly Negroes, with his tenseness so that they chatted together nervously in small groups.  

At ten minutes of twelve the sentry was removed from his post. Officers' watches were synchronized with the City Hall bell which, in turn, was controlled by a  

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Ltr., AAG, Mil. Div. of the Atlantic to CG, Dept. of the South, New York, N.Y., April 6, 1877, LR 716, Dept. of the South, 1877, NA.
clock in the telegraph office that was set according to an official clock in Washington.

The troops were formed in a column of twos as noon approached. At the first clang of the City Hall bell they were commanded to shoulder arms. This was followed by the command "Forward, March" and the head of the column crossed the Capitol's threshold at the fifth stroke of the bell. As soon as the file closer passed through the door, it was slammed by a Negro constable.

Lieutenant Haines marched his detachment back to the Post of Columbia and dismissed them. Reconstruction in South Carolina was over.26

The experiences of the troops in South Carolina were somewhat duplicated in Louisiana. While the Pelican State was under military government, New Orleans, the trouble spot of the South, was quiet, for the city was occupied by federal troops and opposition to federal authority was not tolerated. However, after the reins of government were turned over to the Radical government, the suppressed tensions exploded and unrest continued until 1877. On September 12, 1868, all troops in the area were gathered in the city at the request of Governor Warmoth to

26 The News and Courier (Charleston) April 11, 1877.
prevent threatened trouble. Subsequent disorders there were limited in size until 1871 and were squelched by the mere arrival of troops at the scene of the unrest. In 1871 three companies of infantry prevented what promised to be a major upheaval when, on August 9th, they occupied the Customhouse around which three to five thousand people milled, threatening a Republican convention going on inside. A similar showdown between political factions was avoided in January 1872 when troops appeared on a scene where bloodshed was imminent and dispersed the adherents of two antagonistic factions. In connection with the Army's role in the riot of 1872, Colonel Emory, commander of the Department of the Gulf, observed that

The presence of troops allayed excitement, and probably prevented collision of armed bodies. The troops, and those who commanded them, however, took no part in any the discussions, arrests or other acts of the contending parties, and it cannot be said, with the shadow of the truth, that the action of the troops or those who controlled their movements had any other object or effect than to hold the situation in the interest of justice or peace, and give an opportunity to the parties aggrieved to seek redress through legitimate channels. At no time was the General Government or its troops a party to the contest.27

27 Rept., Colonel W. H. Emory to The Adjutant General, New Orleans, Oct. 4, 1872, RSW 1871, pp. 94-95. Unless otherwise indicated the primary source of information on the Army's New Orleans' activities was Federal Aid, pp. 130-163.
Conditions did not become better in 1872. Republican factions fought among themselves, there were rival governors and rival legislatures, each with its own statehouse. In preparation for sessions of the legislatures and inaugurations of the governors in 1873, troops were again collected in the Crescent City and on the 7th, the day of the convening of the legislatures, were stationed about the city but, in spite of the tenseness in the air, no serious disturbances occurred. A week later on the 14th, two governors, Kellogg and McEnery, took the oath of office. Though armed henchmen of the two factions, including police detachments with Gatling guns, roamed the streets, United States troops occupied the vantage points and again there were no serious disturbances. During these events Companies F and L, 1st Artillery, were sent to New Orleans from Fort Barrancas, Florida, and were quartered in the Statehouse. Although they were present throughout this explosive period, their stay was uneventful, and its monotony was broken for them only when three companies of infantry joined them in the Statehouse one evening and departed the next morning. So removed were they from partisan activities of the day that the artillerymen did not even know exactly why they were there. 28

The Kellogg regime was recognized by the President but not by all of the people of Louisiana. There were many disorders in the state, the vast majority of which received no federal attention. On one occasion troops were dispatched to Colfax to put down a disturbance, but order was restored before they arrived. Inhabitants of St. Martin's Parish refused to pay their taxes to the Kellogg government, and, to enforce the payment, metropolitan police with rifles and field pieces were sent against them. The rebels erected fortifications and resisted the police until May 1st when they surrendered to newly arrived federal reinforcements and were allowed to return to their homes. This affair was followed by a proclamation by President Grant which recognized the Kellogg government and promised it support. McEnery bowed to the President's authority and instructed his followers to abstain from future resistance.

Although disturbances continued, including the famed Coushatta massacre, federal troops were not called to intervene again until the autumn of 1874. On September 14th a mass meeting of several thousand persons was held on Canal Street. The persons assembled urged that Kellogg be deposed and McEnery be recognized as the rightful governor of Louisiana. McEnery's lieutenant governor, D. B. Penn, took control of the situation and ordered F. N.
Ogden to command his militia. Over two thousand men were called up. Kellogg, of course, did not resign and ordered out his forces under General James Longstreet, the commander of his militia. The two bodies met that afternoon and a battle of sorts ensued in which the Kellogg force was defeated. Armed reinforcements for McEnery continued to arrive, so that an estimated ten thousand had collected and had assumed control of the city that night. Penn then telegraphed President Grant that the coup de état had taken place and asked that Grant not support Kellogg.

Kellogg had not been idle and had turned to his only reliable support, the federal government, for aid. The President responded by ordering the "insurgents," the McEnery supporters, to disperse and return to their homes within five days. Should they not disperse the Army was to intervene.

There were no troops in New Orleans at that time. What units there were in Louisiana were spread out over the interior of the state in reaction to uprisings in Coushatta, Colfax, and elsewhere, and the remainder of the troops in the department not similarly employed were summering at Holly Springs, Mississippi, in order to escape yellow fever. However, before the trouble had hardly begun the first unit on the scene, a small detachment of infantry, came down from Jackson, Mississippi, at the re-
quest of the federal marshal, who had called for them to guard the Customhouse. It was reinforced late that afternoon by the arrival of four companies hurried in from Holly Springs, and their presence prevented further hostilities. Within five days nearly two regiments of troops were in the city and a third was on its way down from the Great Lakes area. General Brooke was ordered by General Emory to take command of the city.

Emery, who had been out of the state at the time of the coup de etat, received the reins of government from Penn upon his return and turned them over to General Brooke. On the 19th the government was returned to Kellogg but tension continued. This was caused first because state elections occurred in the following months and then, the elections being close, further trouble seemed forthcoming when the legislature began its session.

In the latter part of December and prior to the seating of the legislature, the Army became further involved in the Louisiana politics. This came about when General Sheridan was ordered to visit New Orleans to look into the situation there for the President, and to take command of the troops in the area if he deemed it advisable. Sheridan assumed command of the troops on January 4th, 1875, the date of the seating of the legislature. Prior to the session Governor Kellogg, anticipating dis-
order, had requested that troops be posted around the Statehouse. This was done, preventing, it was believed, its seizure on the 3d. On the 4th a crowd collected about the building when the legislature convened.

The subsequent activities of the legislature were quite involved. It will suffice to say that the Army's hands were soiled when General de Trobriand, commanding troops at the Capitol, intervened and instructed troops to aid the Kellogg faction in removing legislators of the opposite faction from their seats. Sheridan, however, approved the action and it stood. Further rumblings were heard from the people of Louisiana, but no more significant trouble occurred before the troops were withdrawn from the vicinity of the Statehouse and the support of the Kellogg government in 1877.

The stay of the troops in New Orleans was not particularly exciting. The 1st Artillery's Company F went to New Orleans on September 19, 1875, and went straight to Jackson Barracks, where it remained until election day, November 2d. On this day they took up station in court room of the Customhouse where they remained undisturbed throughout the day and then, on the next day, moved back to Jackson Barracks. On January 4, 1875, the day of the seating of the legislature, they moved into town with a Gatling gun and a 12-pounder and went into position a
block from the Statehouse, not far from companies of the 3d and 13th Infantry. They remained in the streets the whole rainy cold day and prepared to spend the night there but, at 11 P.M., were ordered to drag their guns into the Statehouse. All troops in the area, except, fortunately, the cavalry, were in the building. As a result it was neither quiet nor comfortable and the floors were filthy with street dirt tracked in. The enlisted men spread tarpaulins where they could and bedded down while the officers took up lodgings in the Senate Chamber. There being no alarms, the artillery was ordered back to Jackson Barracks on the following day leaving the building to its customary one or two company guard.29

The sympathies of the troops cannot be determined. One source reported that on September 14th, the day of the Penn coup de etat, when two thousand of the Penn militia marched by the Customhouse with their captured cannon, the federal troops gathered there greeted them with cheers and hat waving which was returned enthusiastically by Penn's militia. A Republican paper commented on the Army's part in the entire affair by saying that the troops behaved well after the riot and on election day and that it could see

no reason for their being maligned. The President believed that any error committed by the Army was on the side of preservation of order and the protection of life, and that their bearing reflected credit upon them as soldiers.30

The final scene of Reconstruction in New Orleans and the South took place in the old Orleans Hotel in April 1877. The garrison at this time was composed of portions of three regiments, the 3d, 13th, and 16th Infantry, which occupied four buildings in the city: the Customhouse, Saint Mary's Hall, the Mechanics' Institute and the Orleans Hotel. These units preserved the formalities of garrison life as much as possible, particularly in the Customhouse where there was ample room for military formations. Parades in the streets were avoided for fear of exciting the people and the commissioned officers, who had private quarters in the city, seldom appeared in the streets in uniform.31

This surreptitious occupation came to an abrupt but long-awaited end on April 25, 1877. That morning the flag flew gracefully from the Royal Street balcony of the

30 The News and Courier, (Charleston) Sept. 16, 1874; New Orleans Republican, Nov. 7, 1874; Federal Aid, p. 163.
31 Army Navy Journal, April 21, 1877.
Orleans Hotel, and next door, in front of the Statehouse, were collected a group of the Radical regime's dusky adherents. At eleven-thirty a squad of police arrived and sealed off Chartres Street in front of the hotel to all civilians. Precisely at noon drums rattled in the hallway of the hotel and, in a moment, out marched the band of the 3d Infantry, quite colorful in their full dress musicians' blue uniforms trimmed in red. The band was followed by five small companies of infantry numbering about 160 men, dressed as for a parade with white gloves and clean uniforms. During their march down to the wharves, the troops were saluted by one hundred guns fired by the Washington Artillery of New Orleans. They were greeted at the river by gaily decorated steam boats. They boarded a waiting steamer and embarked for Jackson Barracks. The Reconstruction period was over.  

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32 Army Navy Journal, April 27, 1877; The New Orleans Times, April 25, 1877, The Times maintained that the coup de grace had been given the Radical regime when it became known that the President had refused to support them. The removal of troops from the hotel was only a symbol of what had already occurred.
CHAPTER XVI

ELECTION DUTY

One of the most delicate duties performed by soldiers in the South during the Reconstruction period was that of preserving order during hotly contested elections. Troops were so utilized at the request of civil officials in areas where discord or intimidation at polling places was probable, but, in the view of military commanders, at least, were employed as sparingly as possible.¹

Among the early and more violent elections in which federal soldiers supported the police were those in Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee, in 1867. Companies of four nearby posts were ordered to reinforce the Memphis garrison and assist the mayor and police of that city keep order during a gubernatorial election on August 1, 1867. Likewise, troops of the 45th Infantry at Ash Barracks were ordered to report to the Statehouse on the same day for the same purpose. They were told to carry twenty rounds of ammunition and a day's cooked rations, and company commanders were especially advised to keep their men well in

hand and away from the polls. As an extra precaution cavalry patrols were ordered to ride through the streets in order to apprehend any disturbances and report them to municipal officers so that they could be suppressed. These orders were carried out and, as a result, there was no trouble in either city.²

In the following month there was again cause for alarm during a municipal election in Nashville. This time even the civil officers were at odds, the mayor and the governor disagreeing as to who should be qualified to vote and to officiate during the election. General Thomas was ordered by General Grant to prevent conflict but not to deter the legal state forces from executing their orders which, of course, placed him on the side of the governor in any disturbance that might develop.

In preparation for the election troops were called in from nearby garrisons and were divided among the city's wards. Troop commanders were ordered to have a guard posted near every precinct by seven o'clock with orders to preserve the peace and sustain the judges of elections. This was done. The polls were opened at nine and continued

² Ltr., AAG, Dept. of the Cumberland to CO, Dist. of Memphis, Louisville, Ky., July 18, 1867, LB 46, Dept. of the Cumberland, p. 212, and GO No. 7, Hq., Dist. of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn., July 30, 1867, LB 20, Dept. of the Cumberland, p. 4, NA. It will be recalled that troops were used to preserve order in Lebanon, Tenn. in 1865.
open without disturbance until four in the afternoon. United States troops in the area were then ordered to return to their regular stations.  

The peace that characterized most elections held under the watchful eye of soldiers was shattered in Nashville in the following year. The mayor requested that troops be available to support his police on the 26th of September 1866, and, in response to the mayor's request, a force of 75 men from the 25th and 45th Regiments were set aside for his use and were ordered to be ready to go to Nashville on the following morning with twenty rounds of ammunition and a day's cooked rations.

Instead of waiting until election day, however, trouble developed on the evening before when a political procession was fired upon and rioting began. A request for assistance was sent to Lieutenant Colonel George A. Woodward, the District Commander, the "Long Roll" was drummed and a detachment of seventy men was hurried, guns loaded, to an assembly point at police headquarters. As usual, the disturbance had ended before the troops arrived on the scene and, as a result, one company was left in the town while the remainder of the garrison returned to Ash Barracks.

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On the following morning at seven-thirty, the requested force of 75 men was sent into the state Capitol to be at hand in case trouble developed during the election itself. All was quiet until the middle of the afternoon when rioting began near one of the polling places. Troops were sent to the scene immediately and the trouble ceased on their approach. When another outbreak occurred in another ward at 4 P.M., troops were sent and again the disturbance collapsed. No further disorders occurred and the last detachment of soldiers was returned to its quarters at 10 P.M. According to the report of the police commissioner, every movement of the troops was made in subordination to the civil authorities and neither in appearance nor reality was there any interference by the troops in the election.4

Although interference at the polls was avoided whenever possible, it was not entirely absent, particularly during the period of military government. All election officials in the states undergoing reconstruction were subordinate to the district commanders and subject to their dictates. In the 1st Military District 32 of the 102 presidents of the Virginia boards of registration were

officers of the four line regiments in that state and 42
were officers in the Veterans Reserve Corps. Such out­
ward participation was less apparent in other districts
but, in the 2d, close tabs were kept on registration boards
by local post commanders, and officers inspecting them
were empowered to remove any whom they judged guilty of
incompetency or misconduct.5

The danger of armed intervention in elections is
readily apparent. One officer of the 11th Infantry, Cap­
tain Thomas E. Rose, apparently was indiscreet in perform­
ing his duties as President of the Board of Registration
in Richmond in 1867 and, as a result, a board of inquiry
recommended that he be tried on four charges with 12 speci­
fications which not only included drunkenness but alleged
that Captain Rose kept white voters from the polls while
encouraging voting by colored Radicals.6

5 Rept. CG, 1st Mil. Dist. to AG, U.S. Army, Richmond, Va.,
Post of Darlington, Darlington, S.C., Aug. 26, 1867, NA.
In Tel. AAAG, 4th Mil. Dist. to CG, Post of Little Rock,
Vicksburg, Miss., Mar. 10, 1868, RSW, 1868, p. 551, for
instance, troops were not allowed at polls though offi­
cers controlled elections.

6 Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry in the case of ... 
Thomas E. Rose, Capt. 11th Inf., ... LR, F 344, 1st Mil.
Dist., Vol. 6, 1867, Richmond, Va., Dec. 13, 1867, NA.
An examination of Capt. Rose's service record fails to
reveal any court martial, so it is probable that for
unknown reasons the recommendation of the board of in­
quiry was not acted upon.
All officers were not so indiscreet as Captain Rose and at least sought to give an appearance of impartiality. Colonel Sprague in Florida spoke of his officers' conduct during the elections of 1867 as follows: "Though entertaining political views they abstained from expressing opinions, and went studiously at work to carry out the reconstruction laws of Congress." But such work could be trying, as illustrated by the experiences of troops elsewhere in the 3d Military District.  

In the spring of 1868 a sergeant and a squad were sent to preserve order at polls at Perry, Georgia. Conditions were rather bad in Perry: the president of the board of registrars there was an illiterate colored gentleman who rejoiced in an illustrious Georgia surname, one Benjamin Cobb. Cobb did not see eye to eye with the sergeant sent to aid him for, in April 1868, he had a letter sent to the Post of Macon in his name in which he accused the sergeant and his detachment of being drunk, killing one Negro, forcing Negroes to vote Democrat or pay 25 cents for the privilege of voting Republican and the sergeant of leaving the detachment behind to get drunk while he went out and electioneered for the Democrats! In another

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7 Ltr., CO, Dist. of Fla. to CO, 3d Mil. Dist., Jacksonville, Fla., Dec. 5, 1867, LR 87F, 2d Mil. Dist., 1867, NA.
letter written one week later he reported that the whole detachment was electioneering for the Democrats and forcing Negroes to vote contrary to their wishes. Registrar Cobb then requested a detachment that had not been "tampered with" and wanted a commissioned officer sent along to aid him because he could neither read nor write and, with two precincts to look after, he feared that there might be fraud.  

Benjamin Cobb's wish was granted and lst Lieutenant James M. Ingalls of the 16th Infantry was ordered to Perry to help him out. He too failed to please Cobb for early in May the registrar reported that Lieutenant Ingalls did not arrive until the last day of voting and then only looked in before going off to the country with some Democratic friends.  

Lieutenant Ingalls' report contained different information. The lieutenant stated that he arrived in the town at 10 A.M. and went to the area in the courthouse in which the polls were located. There he found the room full of people some of whom were arguing with the election officials. He immediately cleared the polls and

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8 Ltrs., Ben. Cobb, Perry, Ga., to CO, Post of Macon, April 14 and 21, 1868, LR C 95, 3d Mil. Dist., Vol. 2, 1868, NA.

9 Ltr., Ben. Cobb to CO, Post of Macon, LR C 96, 3d Mil. Dist., Vol. 2, 1868, Atlanta, Ga., May 3, 1868, NA.
placed a guard at the door with orders to admit but one or two persons at a time. Except for an hour's absence for dinner, Ingalls maintained that he was at the polls until they closed. While he was there about 150 persons, most of them colored, voted and he heard no complaints of intimidation. To the contrary, he found that some colored people were voting under names which differed from those under which they had registered and that persons who had registered elsewhere were being allowed to vote without taking proper oaths. Benjamin Cobb's activities during the day consisted in dropping an occasional ballot in the box and then, after the election was over, of going off and taking the ballot box with him. There was no disturbance during the election and, after the polls closed, the crowds which had collected in the village quietly dispersed.10

Less difficulty was had by Lieutenant Henry R. Williams of Headquarters, 4th Military District. Lieutenant Williams, escorted by a detachment of twenty men from the Post of Natchez, arrived in Vidalia, Louisiana, on the day before the election of 1868. He reported to the sheriff whom he was ordered to support and was given

10 Rept., Lt. Jas. M. Ingalls to Adjt., Post of Macon, Macon, Ga., May 19, 1868, LR, 3d Mil. Dist., 1868, NA.
a room in the courthouse as quarters for his men. On the following morning he posted his detachment "... a short distance from the Polls, - near enough for service in case of necessity, but sufficiently removed to give no ground for charges of military interference or the influencing of voters in any way." It was a quiet election, the lieutenant was asked for a guard to prevent crowding at one of the polls but refused it because he believed the sheriff could do the job with his own resources. After the votes were counted, the troops returned to their courthouse room and on the following morning returned to their quarters.11

A similar detachment was sent to an odd election held in Arkansas. Lieutenant Merritt Barber was ordered to Columbia, Arkansas, to maintain order there during the election which was held, first, to vote acceptance or rejection of the proposed state constitution and, second, to elect state officials in case the constitution were adopted. The Radicals who conjured up this plan explained that if the constitution was approved time would be saved, if not, no harm would be done. The real reason behind this maneuver is not known, but apparently the white men understood the situation, for less than ten voted in the polls

11 Ltr., 2d Lt. H. R. Williams, to AAG, 4th Mil. Dist., Vicksburg, Miss., Nov. 5, 1868, LR W 48 "B", 4th Mil. Dist., 1868, NA.
for state officers and the election passed off quietly. The sheriff requested that a couple of soldiers be stationed at each polling place but the request was denied and, instead, it was announced that the troops could be had if really needed. Although Barber visited the polls occasionally to see that all was quiet, not a man of his command was within a half mile of any precinct—and yet all went well.  

With the return to civilian control, the military sought to have as little participation in southern elections as possible. Although troops were at hand to keep order at various contests through that of 1876, their role was as passive as they could contrive to make it. For example, the post commander at Dover, Arkansas, detailed an officer, a noncommissioned officer and nine other enlisted men to proceed to Russellville, Arkansas, to keep the peace during an impending election. His instructions advised that "The troops will in no way interfere with the election and will not be allowed to approach the polls, except by request of the Sheriff or his Deputy, and will not be used except in case of urgent necessity...." Other post commanders echoed this order and it became general practice for

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troops to be kept in their quarters during election days, often having several periods of drill, both to have the men at hand in event they were needed and to forestall their being charged with any interference with the voting.13

Typical of the activity of a majority of the detachments engaged in preserving peace during elections was that reported by Captain Henry Egbert, 12th Infantry, at Montgomery, Alabama. Captain Egbert wrote that the presidential election of 1868 had passed off quietly in Montgomery insofar as he knew. There had been some minor disturbances and he had received a message from the sheriff asking for a file of men at each of the polls, but he replied that the sheriff and his deputies should be able to repress any disorder that occurred if they acted promptly and did not permit it to get out of hand. In case of dire need, however, he promised the sheriff that the troops would give him aid. During the day the captain visited each of the polls several times to be sure that all was peaceful, while the greater portion of his garrison re-

mained under arms in the lower part of the town awaiting the emergency that did not arise.14

Other units had the same experience. A detachment was stationed in Hamburg, South Carolina, under the command of a Major William L. Haskin. Once, when a disturbance appeared imminent, Major Haskin offered himself as a peacemaker and was able to settle the dispute alone. The soldiers with Major Haskin remained in their barracks throughout the day.15

In cities the story was the same, except that preventive measures were taken on a larger scale. Violence was feared during an election to be held in Charleston in August 1871. One small detachment at a central point did not seem sufficient so troops were posted near each polling place and a mounted detachment was held in reserve at the Charleston Arsenal. Although there was some protest from Democratic elements against the idea of having federal bayonets at polls, the soldiers apparently behaved discreetly and the election passed off quietly.16

14 Ltr., CO, Post of Montgomery to AAAG, Dist. of Ala., Hq., Post of Montgomery, Montgomery, Ala., Nov. 6, 1888. LR, 428 M Dist. of Ala., 1888, NA.

15 The News and Courier (Charleston, S.C.) Nov. 11, 1874.

16 Atlanta Daily New Era, Aug. 17, 1871.
A similar situation was chronic in New Orleans. In one election that was held in Louisiana in 1874 after the frustrated attempt of the McEnery faction to secure the reins of government from Governor Kellogg and his cohorts, the tension was particularly high. In order to allay any trouble that the local police might not be able to handle, troops were moved into various cities. The largest concentration was at the Customhouse in New Orleans but others were posted at five police stations and one at the Marine Hospital in the city. Additional companies were placed in the towns of Shreveport, Colfax, Natchedoches, St. Martinsville, Lafourche, and Terrebonne. Troops were held in their quarters on election day, those in New Orleans going forth only upon a request of the United States Marshal to General Emory's headquarters. Although detachments were sent from their barracks at certain unmentioned requests, General Emory testified that no disturbances were brought to his attention of sufficient importance to warrant a report.17

In the Department of the Gulf in 1876, troops were distributed in detachments of five or six men at various

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points of that four state command. They had nothing to do, however, for the election was a quiet one. Not a single offense was charged against them in connection with the performance of their duty and only a very few had been involved in any disorder. So pleased with his men was General Augur that, striking a classical note, he believed them to have been "activated by the spirit" prescribed for the guidance of Roman soldiery in Judea: "Do violence to no man; accuse no man unjustly."\(^1\)

The reaction of the people of the South to the presence of soldiers near their polling places varied. The southern white people of conservative background were always opposed to the presence of troops at polls in principle but in practice, as will be shown below, they reacted first in accordance with their principles but then, as Reconstruction progressed, they found that they had to temper their reactions to the demands of political expediency. The attitudes of the Radicals, however, remained constant, for without the aid of troops they could have no political existence. Even when the presence of troops at polls seemed no longer to aid them, they could not alter

their views. Their argument ran—the troops do not interfere with the voting, they only maintain order so that each voter can cast his ballot without interference. Republican editors pointed out that the troops behaved themselves and asked Democrats when any of them had been forced to vote the Republican ticket and when troops had ever prevented them from voting. 19

A situation wherein eligible voters could vote without fear appealed to the Republicans. Not only did such a condition make for good propaganda, but it worked to the advantage of their party. They had fallen heir to the state governments after the southern states had been declared reconstructed and, so long as order was maintained, their control was almost assured. Not only did they operate the electoral machinery, deciding who was able to vote, but they counted the votes themselves.

The good order provided by the presence of troops near polling places worked to the Republicans' favor for it enabled the Negroes to vote without interference and gave them encouragement to do so. This theory was generally accepted by radicals and conservatives alike in the

first few years after military reconstruction had ended but, by the end of the period, conditions had so changed that it was all but discredited. As early as 1870 the Mobile Daily Register observed that the Radicals and Negro voters were startled and demoralized by the presence of federal soldiers near their polling places, for they had learned that the troops did not disturb the white folks but, to the contrary, often fraternized with them. Six years later, in connection with the election in Petersburg, Virginia, a Richmond paper which had announced that the sudden appearance of troops in Petersburg was a political ruse designed to get local Negroes to vote Republican, subsequently reported that the Radicals had been exultant at the time of the troop's arrival but, having seen the soldiers associate publicly with their Democrat enemies, had lost faith in the federal government's disposition to uphold them.20

The vast majority of the southern white folk did not approve of the use of troops to police elections and of the support it afforded their political opponents. And yet, it would appear that even relatively early in the Reconstruction period this disapproval did not extend to in-

20 Mobile Daily Register, Dec. 20, 1870; Daily Dispatch (Richmond), Nov. 4, 7 and 8, 1876.
individually detachments of troops and that by the final election, that of 1876, the aid and friendship of the blue-coats was openly sought. As early as 1870 the Mobile Daily Register reported that troops were being sent to Tuskegee for the election and urged the Democrats to take special pains to vote, advising them that they had nothing to fear from the Army. Further evidence of amicable relationships between the two groups was given later when the Register was able to copy a card from the Talladega Watchtower in which a detachment which had been in Talladega expressed their thanks to the local citizenry for the kindness, friendly feeling, and interest in their comfort taken by the white citizens of the village.21

By 1876, following the leadership of Wade Hampton, the southerners had reversed their attitudes sufficiently to welcome the federal polls guards as good friends. At a speech in Yorkville on October 13th, Hampton keynoted this attitude by declaring that the more troops sent to South Carolina the better, for the soldiers of the Regular Army were manly fellows and their officers were generally gentlemen. In another address in Aiken in the same month Hampton reiterated this view by telling his supporters that

21 Mobile Daily Register, Nov. 3 and 16, 1870.
These men who met us in war, when we laid down our arms, and recognized the supremacy of the Union were no longer our enemies but the best friends we have in the North. Treat them kindly. They do not come willingly. You could not impose a more disagreeable duty on them than sending them here. I am glad they have come, for they will recognize and sympathize with our efforts in behalf of republican freedom.

Hampton's views were adopted by his party. The "Straight-Outs," the Democrats who advocated a policy of no-compromise with radicalism, contended that the more troops the better, for they protected the whites and disheartened the Radicals.22

In the days when Hampton's militant partisans, the Red Shirts, were everywhere in the Palmetto State, trotting about in massed formations and hurrahing for Hampton, it is doubtful whether the average white South Carolinian felt himself endangered in spite of the armed Negro militia that was scattered over the state. Nevertheless Hampton's hint was taken and acted on. Charleston's News and Courier fairly gushed with joy when it reported that troops would be sent there and to surrounding villages and islands during the election of 1876. The editor felt that soldiers were especially needed in certain precincts where, he maintained, Democrats could not vote except at the risk of their lives. He went on to muse wishfully that a

thousand or two soldiers should be sent but satisfied himself with the observation that three companies of federal soldiers were better than none.23

The classic example of the length that South Carolinians travelled to allow incoming units to know that the white Democrats appreciated their arrival is that of the welcoming of two companies of the 18th Infantry to Edgefield Courthouse. Their entry was like a triumphal march. As they neared the town they were greeted by two or three hundred "dismounted troopers" who gave loud voice to several hurrahs and escorted them back into town where they were greeted with an uproarious ovation by the townsmen. It is said by some that the troops appreciated the humor in the situation and rather enjoyed it, but others believed that the men of the 18th were rather glad when they reached their quarters because they were at somewhat of a loss to know how to react to this novel situation.24

South Carolina was rather unique both in the number of troops sent to the state and their universal good reception. Discussing the Department of the South as a whole, the Army Navy Journal reported that the presence of

23 The News and Courier (Charleston), Nov. 6, 1872.

24 Army and Navy Journal, Nov. 4, 1876 and Williams, op. cit., p. 106.
soldiers was like oil upon troubled waters and that each party had tendered most hospitable receptions. It quoted the *Atlanta Constitution* as saying that the idea that soldiers were partisans because one party always requested their aid was a false one. Soldiers were not bugbears of the southern people and, when their actions were guided by law, prudence, sound discretion, and courtesy their presence was not even a matter of uncommon note. It then urged the people to be wise and prudent.25

The story of the sojourn of one detachment is indicative of the better relations that may have existed under the newly developed attitude characteristic of the election of 1876. Tension had developed in Petersburg, Virginia, prior to the election and, though it had been four years since troops had performed such duty in the Old Dominion, a small company of artillery was sent to Petersburg from Fort Foote, Maryland. This company, B of the 2d Artillery Regiment, was commanded by Captain Joseph C. Breckinridge of Lexington, Kentucky, a future Inspector General of the Army, son of an ardent Unionist and brother of both a former Confederate colonel and an officer of the United States Army who had died in Mobile while engaged in Reconstruction (see Chapter X).

The artillerymen arrived in Petersburg via Fortress Monroe and, according to Captain Breckinridge, were courteously and even hospitably received. The election they had come to police went off in an almost phenomenally quiet and orderly manner, and on election day the company was kept close to its quarters in the custom-house. Otherwise, good fellowship reigned. Some of the men had been stationed there before and had friends in the town, and many others behaved themselves and were recipients of the traditional southern hospitality. On the night before their return trip to Fort Foote a group of the soldiers got together and serenaded such local celebrities as a candidate for Congress, ex-Confederate General and future Senator "Billy" Mahone and the mayor. On the following day many citizens are said to have gone to the station to see the artillerymen off amid hearty handshakes, frequent cheers, and good feeling all around. There was one exception, however: one unreconstructed rebel lady apparently took Captain Breckinridge to task for his recreance in having remained with the Union during the Civil War, but in the words of the captain "the feminine sponge of that wormwood and gall has lost much of its bitterness to my lips."  

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26 Ltrs., Joseph C. Breckinridge to Col. Wm. C. P. Breckinridge, Fort Foote, Md., Nov. 15 and Dec. 19, 1876, Breckinridge Papers, LC. and Daily Dispatch (Richmond) Nov. 7, 8, and 15, 1876.
Evidence of soldiers' attitudes toward the elections held early in the Reconstruction period is woefully lacking, but it would probably be incorrect to say either that they enjoyed the duty or were strongly partisan. Both political opinions were represented in the Army, without doubt, but as Reconstruction progressed it seems apparent that Army personnel tended to become increasingly conservative.

In the years immediately after the War, when the crusading spirit still burned, officers of reputed radical persuasion were not difficult to find. A Pennsylvanian, W. W. Nevin, made a junket into the South and took pleasure in reporting that, against his expectations, every Army officer he encountered in the Southwest from Major General Thomas down was intensely radical and would be willing to testify to almost anything as to the wretched and barbarous conditions in the South and how they were getting worse under President Johnson's administration. He also passed on the information that General Gillem, who apparently knew which side his bread was buttered on, wanted Thad Stevens to know that he was reliably "Union" even though he had been a protege and appointee of President Johnson. As proof of Gillem's loyalty, he mentioned that the general's appointments in Mississippi had been
received by the Rebels with great bitterness.27

Within another year, however, at least one conservative appeared in the Southwest. Louisiana's carpet-bag governor, Henry Warmoth, was quite worried about the 4th District's new commander, Winfield Scott Hancock, for he felt that the general's conservative views would lead him to appoint enemies of Reconstruction to Boards of Registration. There was no doubt in his mind that the general was opposed to Reconstruction and that Mrs. Hancock was an outspoken "rebel." Governor Warmoth wondered if Hancock could not be gotten out of the state and his command turned over to General Moore so that Moore could appoint the election officials.28

The year of 1868 may have marked a turning point in the Army's radicalism. The editor of the Daily Arkansas Gazette published a letter he had received from a subscriber, presumed to be a soldier, who stated that the greater part of the Regular Army wished for the success of the Democrat party in the election of 1868 and believed that the success of Radical candidates would result

27 Ltr., W. W. Nevin to Thaddeus Stevens, Lancaster, Pa., Feb. 4, 1867, Thaddeus Stevens Papers, LC.

28 Ltr., Henry C. Warmoth to Senator Wilson, New Orleans, La., Mar. 8, 1868, Henry C. Warmoth Papers, LC. General Hancock was transferred in March 1868 to the Division of the Atlantic.
in a race war. He begged off signing his name for fear he would be punished for making public political profes-
sions.29

If the above writer was correct, the reasons be-
hind the soldier's views may possibly be explained by an officer who had been assigned to registration duty in Vir-
ginia in the previous year. This unknown officer stated that when he was first assigned to this duty he had no friendly feelings for the southern people, both because of unfriendly discourteous treatment received from southern-
ers and because they had rejected constitutional amend-
ments which he believed were reasonable. After his service as a registrar and contact with Virginia's electorate, he changed his mind and began loving them for the enemies they had made—the Radicals and their pawns, the Negroes, whom he found to

...have proved so ignorant, degraded and un-
manageable, that I have been forced to the con-
clusion that manhood suffrage may prove danger-
ous if not a disastrous experience. Its effects cannot be confined to this section. Northern Utopians may find that it will return to plague the inventor....

Other soldiers of the same opinion took action in the election in Mississippi in 1868 and are reported to have

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Daily Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock), Aug. 20, 1868.

Similar examples are found for following years. In 1869 General Terry, then commanding the Department of the South, received a letter of complaint from a Radical congressman, S. L. Hoge of South Carolina. Although he expressed approval of Colonel Bomford and other officers in his area, Hoge was much infuriated with Captain Henry M. Lazelle of the 8th Infantry. He charged that Lazelle not only operated in the interest of rebels, but was opposed to the state constitution and probably to the government of the United States. Hoge was determined to have Lazelle transferred because he would not tolerate rebels in federal uniform in his district.\footnote{Ltr., S. L. Hoge to Maj. Gen. A. H. Terry, Columbia, S.C., July 5, 1869, LR, H 40, V 2, Dept. of the South, 1869, NA.}

Lazelle was apparently only one of many. In Georgia, where one carpetbagger complained that soldiers arriving were no sooner off the train than southerners were buying them drinks, troops fraternized openly with
conservatives. Not only were they charged with partaking of the rebel spirit, as well as spirits, but they sent notes of thanks through newspapers for hospitality received and had aroused the suspicions of the Negroes, who had begun to think that, perhaps, the troops were not on their side. 32

Similar dissension is reported in Louisiana just prior to the election of 1874. The News and Courier commented that the President might better have sent an unarmed unit to duty on the plains rather than in support of elections run by Radical governments. Somehow, it obtained the information that General Emory had no confidence in this regiment's ability to keep order at polling places because, as soon as they were spread out over the state in squads, the men would most certainly associate with white people and therefore aid them in winning elections. 33

Although there may be doubts as to the views of soldiers on elections and election duty prior to 1876,


33 The News and Courier (Charleston), Aug. 29, 1874. The unit referred to was possibly the 3d Infantry Regiment.
their feelings in that contest have left but little to the imagination. Captain Breckinridge wrote that his troops, who usually enjoyed a "jaunt," for once had been more eager to return to Fort Foote than they had to leave it. Speaking of the same body of troops, the Richmond Daily Dispatch said that they felt keenly the false position which they had been required to occupy, for the soldiers were not partisans and had no heart for the work assigned them. Twenty-two of 26 soldiers in the company are said to have been supporters of Tilden over Hayes.34

The election of 1876 in South Carolina, according to one historian, was a contest between right and wrong, and it did not take the junior officers and enlisted men long after their arrival in the state to see that the Democrats were in the right. While it may not have been quite that simple, it seems apparent that when sympathies were expressed by soldiers, they were in favor of Hampton and the Democrats. But, even before they arrived in the state, some of them had said that they did not care for the dirty work before them and that they were supporters of Tilden. A few others, interestingly enough, had heard so many tales

34 Ltr., Jos. C. Breckinridge to Wm. C. Breckinridge, Fort Foote, Md., Nov. 15, 1876, Breckinridge Papers, LC, and Daily Dispatch (Richmond), Nov. 7 and 8, 1876.
of violence in South Carolina, that they were sure that they would be fired upon as soon as they entered the state.35

Without doubt, the majority of troops in South Carolina in 1876 performed their duties properly and did not become involved in the election. According to Columbia's Republican Union Herald, the election was the quietest ever held and not a soldier was seen on the streets of the city all day. It is well that the Union Herald was satisfied, for others had tales to tell which should have evoked endless protest from all good Republicans. In case trouble developed and soldiers were ordered to fire on civilians, the white Democrats were told not to worry. A few drinks were enough to secure the promise of enlisted men: "Of course if we're ordered to fire on you boys, we'll shoot all right. But jus' you watch us bust hell outer th' stars." But, since they had no cause to shoot, the opportunity to test this promise was not forthcoming. Instead, in spite of the observation of the Union Herald, they did take part in an active way: In both Newberry and Columbia, if not elsewhere, United States troops changed into civilian clothing and moved from polls to polls voting

for Hampton. And in Columbia just before the election, at the climax of the campaign, the Columbia Flying Artillery, which, because its organization was officially banned, termed itself the "Columbia Musical Club with four twelve pounder flutes," fired salutes for Hampton so precisely as to invite both admiration and investigation. It was found that the firing was directed and aided by federal troops. 36

In summary, it can be said that a difficult and tedious task was by and large performed creditably by the troops stationed in the South. Although the principle of occupation was disliked, seldom did complaints arise over the performance of the troops and when they did they involved misdemeanors having nothing to do with elections. Captain Breckinridge voiced the Army's view when he wrote that the American people little realized how much they owed the soldiers for their work at elections. He went on to observe that the sooner the President stopped sticking the Army's head in domestic broils the better the Army would like it. 37

36 The Union Herald (Columbia), Nov. 8, 1876, Williams, op. cit., p. 338 and Henry, op. cit., p. 574.

37 Ltr., Jos. C. Breckinridge to Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge, Fort Foote, Md., Dec. 19, 1876, Breckinridge Papers, LC.
The most dangerous duties performed in the South were those involving the arrest of unruly or wanted civilians. Such arrests were made by troops acting as posses, sometimes under military control, but more often while assigned to assist sheriffs, police, federal marshals, and revenue officers. The number of such detachments dispatched annually was not always compiled but, judging from figures that are available, it must have been large, particularly in the first three or four years of Reconstruction. As late as 1871, for instance, more than two hundred temporary detachments to aid civil officers were made in the Department of the South. This number declined to 160, not counting numerous ones made in South Carolina, in 1872 and was supplemented by forty more in the Department of the Gulf. In 1876 the number was reduced to 71 in a smaller Department of the South.¹

The reason troops were employed at such duties is plain - the civil officers could or would not make the more

difficult arrests without military aid. One of the most 
ardent dispatchers of posses, Major Lewis Merrill, 7th 
Cavalry, believed that the presence of soldiers, when 
necessary, had a moral effect essential to good order and 
observance or enforcement of law, while General Terry 
noted that the presence of troops with civil officers had 
a very marked effect in preserving the public peace and 
maintaining quiet and good order in the community. Less 
sympathetic, however, was the opinion of Major General 
Henry Halleck who viewed the use of soldiers as the 
means by which the civil officers avoided danger and 
trouble and increased their own emoluments at the expense 
of military appropriations.

Also taking a negative view was Colonel Galusha 
Pennypacker, commander of the 16th Infantry when that 
regiment was in Mississippi. He believed that detachments 
sent to aid civil officers were of doubtful value in pre-
serving the peace and, so long as they operated under 
civil officers, the presence of troops had no moral 
effect. Agreeing with General Halleck and Colonel Penny-
packer, no doubt, but being more vehement, Randolph 
Shotwell, an ardent North Carolina conservative, said 
that troops accompanied "...the mongrels to protect their
cowardly necks while engaged in deeds of violence, insult and rapine."  

Assisting revenue officers in suppressing illegal distilleries was one of the major tasks to which detachments of troops were assigned. Although there is little connection apparent between moonshining and Reconstruction, and the use of soldiers to suppress such activity has not been confined to the post Civil War South, revenuing was a major non-military sideline of troops stationed in the section. Then, as now, the illicit distilleries were located in the hilly areas, principally, it would seem, in Kentucky and Tennessee. Among the garrisons most active in furnishing aid to revenue officers was that at Lebanon, Kentucky. This post, located in the hills of central Kentucky, during the six months encompassing the summer of 1869, sent out 35 detachments which arrested 52 people and destroyed twenty distilleries. In doing all of this, its men marched an estimated aggregate distance of over four thousand miles through 15 of Kentucky's counties.
During the same period, the commander at Chattanooga reported that his men had topped this score by having destroyed sixty stills in that area. While in North Carolina, detachments of the 2d Artillery had destroyed 11 stills, 105 tubs, 105 gallons of whiskey, 120 gallons of singlings, and 10,660 gallons of beer in an unstated period prior to March 1877.3

These detachments went out prepared for the worst, going armed, of course, and in numbers sufficient to handling the anticipated trouble. The account of the activities of one will illustrate the difficulties they could encounter: On February 6, 1869, Lieutenant Charles C. De Rudio and thirty men of the 2d Infantry, all mounted, accompanied a deputy marshal on an expedition from Lebanon, Kentucky. They passed south through Taylor, Adair, and Russell Counties to the village of Monticello in Wayne County just north of the Tennessee border where they found a man for whom they had a warrant sitting on a log and holding a rifle. After the marshal had placed the man under arrest, Lieutenant De Rudio took the prisoner's gun, fired it, returned it to him, and then

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3 Rept., CG, Dept. of the Cumberland to AAG, Mil. Div. of the South, Louisville, Ky., Oct. 29, 1869, RSW 1869, p. 82; Army and Navy Journal, Mar. 10, 1877.
allowed him to go home, escorted by four soldiers, to change his clothes and get a horse. The party then moved on three miles to a camp site. Here the comfort-loving prisoner, a certain James Lair, asked permission to spend the night at home and the marshal ordered De Rudic to allow him to go, escorted again by a guard of four men. It rained all night but the prisoner, presumably, slept dry even though his captors probably did not.

On the following day the detachment conducted a search for two stills believed to be in the area. They found the first still house without difficulty and then located and destroyed its equipment, which had been hidden in a nearby ravine on their approach. They then moved two miles further to another distillery hidden in a cave behind a waterfall. Part of the equipment had been moved but the movers, one feeble minded and the other a man who claimed that he was there only to drink beer, were caught red handed. The feeble minded man was pressed into service and guided the party three miles further on where they found three copper stills, 52 tubs of mash and forty gallons of whiskey. The marshal procured some oxen and a wagon and these stills were taken along with the column.

The detachment began its wet march back to Monticello
but they had gone but two miles when a storm arose, catching the caravan on a narrow trail edged by a ravine. The storm scared the horses, causing great confusion which allowed the prisoners to slip away in the turmoil and early darkness. Disgusted, the troops moved to a wide spot in the trail and made camp for the night.

They returned to Monticello on the following day and learned that their luxury loving prisoner had just left the town after boasting about how he had escaped "the damned blue coats." The marshal requested that ten men be given him so that he could go to the Lair home and arrest the culprit at midnight. The new party was formed and off they went but only to get lost and flounder about the Kentucky hills until daylight. When they arrived at last at Lair's home they were rewarded by catching sight of the object of their search who, on being ordered to stop, fled, spurred on by the crack of cavalry carbines, and disappeared in the morning mists.

Without Lair the whole party began its laborious return to Lebanon slowed down by the wagon carrying their booty. At Albany they picked up two desperate prisoners in order to escort them to Louisville. Two days later they met an informer who guided them to two stills which they destroyed. The growing procession pressed on to the Cumberland River which was crossed in the slow time of
four hours. Another desperado named Harris was arrested in Russell County as they passed through. About two days later they arrived at the Post of Lebanon. In summing up, Lieutenant De Rudio stated that they had marched about 250 miles, captured four men, destroyed nine distilleries and brought in forty gallons of whiskey and five copper stills.

Although all raids were not as lengthy as De Rudio's and were possibly conducted in better weather, there is no reason to believe that they were much more enjoyable. A year before a detachment of 15 men under 2d Lieutenant Josiah Kerry, 2d Infantry, journeyed afoot from Lebanon into a mountain area which was infested with bushwhackers and inhabited by people who had not learned that the War was over. They had two federal marshals with them and hoped to arrest several outlaws as well as destroy some distilleries but were disappointed in their quest, for no prisoners were taken and only one moonshiner was put out of business. In the course of the raid Lieutenant King reported that

The detachment suffered terribly with cold on Sunday, as we were exposed to the rain & sleet, and had to travel all day in order to get out

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4 Ltr., Lt. C.C. De Rudio to CO, Post of Lebanon, Ky., Lebanon, Ky., Feb. 7, 1869, LR D 9-D.C. -1869, Misc. letters, Dept. of the Cumberland, 1869, NA. Lt. De Rudio's totals are difficult to understand.
of the Knobs before the ground thawed too much; as it was the mud was ankle deep, and the men had to march nearly all day; the roads became so heavy - we traveled about sixty miles; reached New Haven Sunday Evening.

I took the cars at New Haven and returned to Lebanon Monday the 10th inst.

In spite of their ordeal the detachment returned to Lebanon in good condition except for two men who had chills. 5

Such activity of course did have its effect on the civilian population. One officer, the commander of a so-called military station at Jacksonville, Alabama, succeeded in putting a sizeable number of moonshiners temporarily out of business and then observed that, as a result "...the people seem more cheerful and everything assumes an air of prosperity and plenty." 6 If these benefits were general they made no impression on the suffering distillers who resorted to every means, active and passive, to keep themselves in business and not to enjoy the type of prosperity experienced at Jacksonville.

Passive means were most common - on the approach of a revenue officer and his military escort most moonshiners


6 Ltr., Capt. Alfred Hedberg to AAAG, Dist. of Ala., U.S. Military Station, Jacksonville, Ala., Mar. 17, 1868, LR H 35 Sub Dist. of Ala., 1868, NA.
sought to conceal their equipment and flee. The above mentioned Lieutenant King complained that, though his men had destroyed upward of fifty stills, they rarely captured any whisky and seldom laid their hands on the owners of the stills. Usually, the people picked up were only ignorant employees and not the persons really wanted.

Furthermore, the stills themselves were hard to find. Not only were they hidden in out of the way places, but some were concealed with ingenuity. As indicated above, one detachment found a still hidden behind a waterfall. Another, even more ingeniously hidden, was found near Lebanon concealed in a sawmill. The entrance to the still was through a passage dug underground, three feet high, two wide and 15 long, which led to a large room located within a huge pile of sawdust. The installation was found only because an informer reported it. Two men were arrested there, one found hiding in a pile of sawdust and the other under the floor of the kitchen of the owner's residence.7

As such actions would indicate, moonshiners were reluctant to resist federal officers accompanied by soldiers and seldom did so. In fact, the only outstanding case of

7 Ltr., Lt. J.R. King to AAG, Dept. of the Cumberland, Hq., Post of Lebanon, Lebanon, Ky., Mar. 8, 1869, LR L 17, Dept. of the Cumberland, 1869, NA.
resistance offered occurred in the last days of the Reconstruction period and in the already reconstructed and redeemed state of Georgia. Lieutenant Augustine McIntyre, 2d Infantry, headed a detachment of one non-commissioned officer and four enlisted men into the Frog Mountain area in support of a deputy collector of revenue and two deputy marshals who hoped to arrest some distillers. After a bone chilling march, the party arrived at about one o'clock on the morning of February 10th at the mountain home of a man named Jones. The party stopped there for rest and six of them, including Lieutenant McIntyre and Corporal Hugh Calloway, relaxed before the Jones fireplace. While they were warming themselves the door banged open and they were confronted by a group of armed men. One shouted: "God damn you, sons of bitches, now stand!" and with this they fired at the men in the room.

The fire was returned by McIntyre, Calloway, and one deputy, the exchange of shots going on for five minutes while the men in the room attempted to shelter themselves and then to escape out of the back door. Lieutenant McIntyre, smoking revolver in hand, crouched behind a hand loom and then, rising up, staggered toward the back door, hand on his left breast. As he crossed the threshold he cried, "I am shot through the heart" and lurched to the ground. Leaving his body behind, McIntyre's
party retreated to a hill two hundred yards from the house where they were joined by two more marshals and another soldier.

The soldiers and revenue officers remained on the hill throughout the remainder of the chilly February night, but at 7 A.M., all things being quiet at the cabin, they sought to rejoin Lieutenant McIntyre. Covered by the remainder of the party, one deputy marshal went to the Jones house, politely knocked and inquired as to the whereabouts of the lieutenant, whom they believed wounded.

A woman's voice answered, "I don't know where the dam man is, I know nothing about it."

At this instant a party of 25 or so armed men showed themselves in the woods across a nearby ravine and one called, "Here is the dam son-of-bitch- take him away from here - he is dead, god dam you - as you all ought to be - you dam sons-of-bitches."

Shots were again exchanged and, without the body of Lieutenant McIntyre, the federals retired to a point ten miles away to await reinforcements from their base at Ellijay. These arrived that afternoon in the amount of 22 men under the command of Lieutenant James Ulio. The combined force immediately headed for Frog Mountain and late in the afternoon approached the Jones house. The troops were fired upon by men hidden in the woods and
thereupon formed a skirmish line and pushed to the spot where Lieutenant McIntyre's corpse lay. The looted body was picked up and hand carried under the bush-whacker's fire to a wagon over three miles away and taken back to the camp at Ellijay. Had any laurels been awarded for this action, they should have gone to Lieutenant Ulio and his command who, half mounted and half on foot, had traveled 54 miles over rough terrain in a little over 12 hours and had brought off Lieutenant McIntyre's body while being harassed by enemy fire.

Less bloodthirsty moonshiners are reported to have foiled a similar party seven years before in Tennessee. In July 1870 soldiers aiding "one Bradshaw, of revenue stamp notoriety and one Phillips of no notoriety at all", captured 35 barrels of wildcat whiskey and brought it triumphantly into Tullahoma to be shipped from there to Shelbyville by railroad while the soldiers and revenuers moved ahead on horseback to meet it. A Tom Hill, its distiller, who felt that he had too much invested in the 35 barrels to give them up without a struggle, gathered a few of his friends to his side and set forth to rescue his property from the clutches of the law. This

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Ltr., Capt. H.C. Cook to AAG, Dept. of the South, Camp near Ellijay, Ga., Feb. 11, 1877, LR 362, Dept. of the South 1877, NA and Frederick B. Shaw, ... History of the Second Infantry, United States Army, (Detroit, 1930) p. 336.
This he did simply by stopping the unguarded train and with an engine captured at McMinnville, hauling his cargo back into Franklin County.

The story did not end there. The above account of the raid was published in the July 12, 1870, issue of Nashville's Republican Banner where it was read by Hill. Not finding all of the details correct and complete, he wrote a letter to the editor in order to set the record straight. First of all, according to Tom Hill, the revenuers and soldiers had captured only thirty barrels of liquor and one and one half barrels had been burned in the still house which, of course, had been fired by the Federals. Twenty-one of these barrels had been recaptured, leaving nine remaining in the hands of the revenuers less that which they had imbibed. Hill then charged that the whole party had been drunk from the time they had made the seizure until they had left and that they had been cowardly in the extreme. Not only did they attempt to drive his hogs into the burning stillhouse but, on their return trip to Tullahoma, they had passed a hack full of ladies with their guns cocked and pointed toward the vehicle and had pointed their weapons threateningly at every man they met along the road.  

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Republican Banner (Nashville), July 14, 1870.
How much liquor was consumed by soldiers engaged in destroying stills is not a matter of record, but when the military support included only a few enlisted men, discipline must have been lax and soldiers, being soldiers, would, no doubt, have taken opportunities to indulge. In a Nashville editor's account of two forays made by detachments of the 18th Infantry into Sumner County, Tennessee, in which the troops captured an undisclosed amount of whiskey and $5,000 gallons of beer it was noted that "We understand that through the strict exertions of Sergeant Pahy the men refrained from the use of spirits, and what is most unusual in such raids, none of them became intoxicated."  

Equally or more dangerous in character and less rewarding insofar as liquid refreshment was concerned were the numerous detachments sent out from military posts simply to arrest people guilty of breaking the law in one way or the other. Separate statistics on this type of activity from those on revenuing are fragmentary but are sufficient to leave impressions. In June 1866 when post-war conditions were still unsettled, for instance, H Company, 5th Cavalry, at Columbia, South Carolina, sent

10 Nashville Union and American, Jan. 27, 1872.
out detachments which marched an estimated eight hundred miles in making arrests. Although troops were used less and less for such purposes as the years passed, except in specific areas for short periods, and such posses were detached only after persons who were too rough for local civil officers to handle, they continued to provide individual posts with sufficient exercise. In three months at the Post of Canton, Texas, for instance, the following parties were sent out:

April 4  One officer, six enlisted men to Jourdans, Saline and Gardern Valley
May 4   One officer, four enlisted men to Jourdans, Saline after desperadoes. Captured Bill Allen.
May 5   One officer, - privates to Cedar Grove after murderers of Jasper Karbes. Captured three accessories.
May 26  Two officers, sixteen enlisted men after Lindsey and Ashton - Unsuccessful.
June 2  1 Sergeant, two privates after Lindsey. Unsuccessful.
June 16 1 officer, five enlisted men after Lindsey. Unsuccessful.
June 22 1 Corporal, four privates to Jourdans and Saline after Lindsey. Unsuccessful.
June 28 1 officer, eleven enlisted men to Cedar Grove after desperadoes. Captured one deserter from the 15th Infantry.

In contrast, during the whole year October 1873 through

11 Return, 5th Cavalry Regiment, June 1866, NA.
12 Rept. of Scouts of I Company, 6th U.S. Cavalry for 2d quarter ending June 30, 1869. Eq., Post of Canton, Canton, Texas, July 1, 1869, NA.
September 1874 only four detachments were made from the Post of Humboldt, Tennessee, to do this sort of work.13

The vast majority of such detachments, though potentially dangerous like all police work, met with no resistance and were no more than routine. The reports fail to indicate that their work was anything but dull. For example, Lieutenant Edward M. Hayes, 5th Cavalry, sent to aid a sheriff in making an arrest, reported that he left his post at Morgantown, North Carolina, on May 7, 1867, at six in the morning and arrived in Hendersonville three days later. He put himself at the disposal of the sheriff and assisted him in making arrests. No trouble resulted. He left Hendersonville on the 13th and returned to Morgantown via Asheville on the 16th, averaging 27 miles daily during the trip in spite of a scarcity of forage. He found harmony between blacks and whites and observed that the people had a desire to obey the law.14

Down in South Carolina in the following year Captain James W. Piper reported that he had proceeded with a company of the 5th Artillery to Fort Mott, South Carolina, to restore order after a disturbance and found that a

13 Yearly Rept. of Temporary Movements, Post of Humboldt, Tenn., LR 1624, Dept. of the South, 1874. NA

planter had shot a freedman, but that the civil authorities were doing their job and the place was orderly. A detachment was left there under Lieutenant William Cameron to try to arrest some persons who were obstructing the work of civil authorities. This group arrested and brought in six freedmen and reported that the trouble was over. Seemingly, neither group had trouble of any sort but their work was interesting only when compared with the dull routine of life within the posts themselves. 15

Not only could posse work be dull—sometimes it was unrewarding as well. One detachment of four men was taken out by Lieutenant Frank C. Morehead, 5th Cavalry, by train from Atlanta to Roanoke, Georgia, where they unloaded their horses and pushed on a short distance to arrest a man for shooting a freedman. On arriving at his residence, they found their quarry gone and sat down to await his return. It is not surprising, however, to learn that the object of their trip had been warned of their presence and had hidden out in the hills until Lieutenant Morehead and his four men returned to Atlanta. In his endorsement to Morehead's report of his fruitless trip Colonel Caleb C. Sibley indi-
cated a great deal of dissatisfaction with its outcome and noted that it was Morehead's second failure to arrest this man. 16

Equally unsuccessful but in a more spectacular fashion was Lieutenant Thomas Wiene. In one attempt to arrest a certain Sam Billingsly he pursued the culprit from Rocky Comfort, Arkansas, into the Indian Nation but had to give up when his horses gave out. On this foray one of his men was injured when his horse fell. Shortly thereafter, Wiene left his camp at Rocky Comfort for Richmond, Arkansas, in search of a horse thief. He pursued the thief with a vengeance, traveling 52 miles, but again his horses gave out throwing 13 shoes in the course of the trip. Wiene was undaunted by his failures, however, and vowed that he would bring in the villains in a week or ten days or "put their lights out." He did not like their bragging about fooling him! 17

Soldiers sent to make arrests in the frontier South often had a rough time of it, for distances were broad and desperadoes were formidable. The commander at the Post of Prairie Lea, Texas, reported that the "rebels" in that area had not been accustomed to a strong civil government

16 Ltr., F.C. Morehead to AAG, 3d Mil. Dist., Atlanta, Ga., Mar. 28, 1868, LR 128 M 3d Mil. Dist. 1868, NA.

and were acting up and committing robberies. This activity had been sparked by a family named Burns. To encourage law and order Lieutenant Hamilton C. Peterson, 26th Infantry, was sent out to bring the Burns men in under arrest. They arrived at the Burns house at midnight, surrounded it and made two demands for the surrender of its occupants—preferring this to simply setting fire to the house because they did not want to harm any innocent parties who may have been inside. Believing that the Burnses were surrendering, the lieutenant and two of his men entered the house, were fired upon by four men and returned the fire. After a flurry of shots, it was found that two of the Burnses had been killed, and it was believed that, of those who had escaped, one had been mortally wounded. On the side of law and order a civilian guide was mortally wounded and a soldier was shot in the arm.16

The Burns affair was small in comparison with the operations in which troops at the Post of Piolet Grove participated two years later. Lieutenant James H. Sands, 6th Cavalry, commander at Piolet Grove, reported that on September 3d he had received word that the Post of Sulpher Springs, Texas, was surrounded by five hundred armed men

16 Ltr., Post of Prairie Lea to AAG, 5th Mil. Dist., Prairie Lea, Texas, April 5, 1867, LR A "T" 10 Misc. Letters, 5th Mil. Dist., 1868, NA.
led by a ruffian by the name of Ben Bickerstaff. He combined his detachment with two others into a force of unstated, but no doubt small, strength and set out for Sulpher Springs that afternoon.

They marched 23 miles the first afternoon and 36 the next day over a bad road and, for a time, in the company of a wagon train. Skirmishers were out part of the day and Lieutenant Sands was told by a gleeful civilian that they would have to fight their way into the besieged post.

On arriving in Sulphur Springs, they found the garrison under arms but not surrounded. A party was immediately sent out after armed men and found some nearby. Skirmishing followed in which one man was wounded and several horses were killed. That night sentries were fired upon. No more trouble occurred at Sulpher Springs but on the return trip to Piolet Grove they routed out an ambush and captured one man.19

But even Sands' arrival furnished only temporary relief to the Sulpher Springs garrison. Bickerstaff and his outlaws brought fear to the Army people, not just because of himself alone, but because it was believed that

19 Ltr., CO, Post of Piolet Grove to CG, 5th Mil. Dist., Piolet Grove, Texas, Sept. 9, 1868, LR 9 71, 5th Mil. Dist., 1968, NA.
even the law abiding elements had been organized into the new and mysterious underground, the Ku Klux Klan, which would soon revolt and openly join Bickerstaff and other outlaws in an attempt to drive the federal troops from the area. As it was, the garrison was in a precarious position for it was apparently in rented quarters in the town and officers and their families lived in hotels. Captain Walter B. Pease, the post commander, was uneasy over the situation, for a large portion of his men were employed away from Sulpher Springs on scouting and escort duty and he was afraid that even as many as forty men might not be able to fend off an attack should one come. Already two attempts had been made to fire the town and the fires had to be extinguished by troops. This threat hung over the garrison at Sulpher Springs until April 1669 when Bickerstaff was killed by a posse of citizens of Alvorado, Texas, who, being public spirited persons, claimed the reward money for their county school fund.

Another threat of comparable dimensions occurred at about the same time at Woodville, Texas. It began when Captain Louis Senger, 17th Infantry, and ten mounted soldiers


21 Ltr., M.P. Eunnicatt, to AAG, 5th Mil. Dist., Alvorado, Texas, April 7, 1869, LR H 197, 5th Mil. Dist., 1869, NA.
rode out from Livingston, Texas, to arrest two men in Woodville by the names of Steele and Kirkwood. On arriving in Woodville, they found neither of the men in town so they rode out in the country to their homes. While on the road Sanger learned that Steele and Kirkwood had assembled a large gang for the purpose of attacking his detachment in Woodville. The captain thereupon decided to return to town.

On the way back the troops proceeded with utmost caution. Skirmishers riding to the front uncovered a large band of men armed with shotguns. This group was warily and successfully avoided and the soldiers hurried into Woodville and barricaded themselves in the county courthouse. A courier was dispatched to Livingston for reinforcements, the town square around the courthouse was cleared of horses and wagons, and six days' supplies were laid in. Citizens were informed that anyone appearing in the square would be ordered into the courthouse and would be fired upon if they failed to obey.

The troops had hardly settled down to their siege when they received a message from the outlaw band. They avowed that they had no intention of being aggressive and that they would return to their homes peaceably if they could be assured that they would not be molested. To this Captain Sanger replied that he had been ordered to arrest
them and, as an Army officer, he had no reply to make to their "impudent" communication.

Night came and passed. There were no developments on the following day, and the second night passed without incident. It was learned that peaceably minded citizens took this lull as an opportunity to try to talk the outlaws into quitting the siege. On the following day an armed man rode into the square. He was ordered into the courthouse, relieved of his horse and weapons and released.

Two neutral citizens of the town came up to parley with Captain Sanger and asked him to return the man's horse saying that the people of the town were stirred up and that the return of the horse would have a soothing effect. The captain informed them that he cared too much for the honor of the Army to listen to the demands of armed ruffians. To this the civilians replied that the soldiers would probably be attacked by fifty men and the courthouse burned.

The captain took measures to further secure his position in anticipation of an attack. Another night passed without incident.

On the following morning, Christmas Day, reinforcements rode in from Livingston in the form of a Captain George W. Ballantine and four men. They circulated the report among the townspeople that they were closely followed
by sixty additional reinforcements. With this news the crowd around the courthouse square began to disperse.

The besieged men waited but not for the sixty men conjured up in the minds of Ballantine's small troop. Four days passed without further trouble or aid. At last on the 29th the vigil was ended by the arrival of Lieutenant James Davidson, 29th Infantry, and 33 men from Jefferson, Texas. After an epic two hundred mile forced march of seventy hours, their energetic officer rested but two hours before taking his men out to search for armed outlaws. After they had examined the environs of Woodville, the troops returned to the courthouse and rested. On December 31st Lieutenant Davidson began operations once again and in the next two weeks made 24 arrests. The persons arrested were taken to the Post of Livingstone to be held for trial, and the siege of Woodville was at end.22

Other parts of the South were scenes of strife when soldiers attempted to arrest civilians. North Carolina had harbored a gunman by the name of Reddick Carney, a man responsible for murders and other crimes. Carney had made one mistake in his career, however; in January 1866 he had killed an Army officer, Lieutenant John E. Kenyon

22 Ltr., Capt. L. I. Sanger to AAG, 5th Mil. Dist., Post of Livingston, Texas, Jan. 2, 1869, LR L 8, 5th Mil. Dist., 1869, NA.
of the 28th Michigan Volunteers, and from that time on had ranked high on the list of men wanted by the Army. The Army's search drew to an end on April 1868 when Captain Wyllys Lyman in Pitt County on election duty learned of Carney's presence there and went after him with a detachment from Company A of the Negro 40th Infantry. Carney was warned of their approach and barricaded himself in a house which he had stocked well with firearms.

Captain Lyman approached Carney's stronghold, requested that Carney give himself up and was refused. The detachment then battered down the door. Lyman moved to enter and was shot. A sergeant and a private were then slain by the bullets of the desperadoes. Their deaths marked the end of Carney's killing for in the following exchange of shots Carney and his son George were killed and his son-in-law was badly wounded. The detachment returned to its home station at Goldsboro with Captain Lyman who recovered and served until his retirement in 1882.23

There were other shootings as well. An officer and enlisted man of the 10th Infantry were both wounded when they tried, but failed, to arrest three men holed up in a

23 Ltr., CO, Post of Goldsboro to AAG, 2d Mil. Dist., Goldsboro, N.C., April 28, 1868, LR G 9, Vol. 3, 2d Mil. Dist., 1868, NA.
log cabin near Nicholasville, Kentucky, in May 1867.

Two years later in Jefferson, Texas, an elderly civilian named William Perry was shot and killed by a detachment of soldiers when near a house under surveillance by the troops and a federal detective. Their commander, in reporting the slaying, stated that the old man had approached the house after dark in what was believed to have been a suspicious manner, and had not halted when challenged by the troops. Colonel George P. Buell described Perry as a good man whose death was regretted by everyone.

Another civilian was killed in the following year in Grenada, Mississippi. A corporal and four privates accompanied a deputy sheriff to arrest a Doctor Gibson. Hearing a knock on his door, the doctor opened it, saw who was there, drew his pistol, attempted to close the door, and shot the deputy in the side. As he fell, the deputy fired his gun but succeeded only in wounding the corporal. Immediately thereafter the doctor and a private then ran to a window, fired through it and put a bullet in the

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doctor's head. According to the story of the troops, they left without much further ado taking their wounded with them but leaving the doctor's lifeless body behind. Civilian rumor, however, had it that before leaving the troops picked the doctor's pockets clean and insulted his family. An investigation made by the commander at the Post of Grenada revealed no basis for this rumor, but the post commander was of the opinion that, if an officer or noncommissioned officer had made the arrest instead of a civilian officer only supported by troops, Dr. Gibson could have been taken into custody without trouble.25

Most of the people arrested by troops were lawbreakers of one kind or another, at least in the eyes of whatever government happened to be in power. Many were presumed to belong to the Ku Klux Klan, which received the credit for almost all anti-Negro and anti-Republican lawlessness after 1868. How much of the Army's efforts were expended in rounding up Klansmen can never be gauged, for it was seldom known whether persons sought or arrested actually belonged to the Klan or not and, in any case, Klansmen would only be arrested by troops properly engaged in law enforcement activities and then.

only after they had broken the law—except, of course, in South Carolina when the Enforcement Acts were in effect and habeas corpus proceedings suspended.

Concrete evidence to the effect that lawbreakers were Ku Klux was seldom found. A noncommissioned officer and five privates were sent out one night to help a deputy marshal arrest some citizens. Three were brought in after fifty miles of travel and in the possession of one was Ku Klux regalia which consisted of a black cotton cloak and hood, the hood having two red horns on top. The men arrested were lodged for safe keeping in the custody of the local garrison.25

Another instance of contact occurred in the summer of 1869 when a detachment of cavalry sent to Batesville, Mississippi, to protect a Negro, who had caused a white man to be arrested, collided one night with a body of Ku Klux. For reasons not stated, the troops are supposed to have halted and to have commenced firing. After a number of rounds had been fired, the Klansmen fled leaving behind one of their fellows, a Jesse Rhodes, who was mounted upon a

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25 Ltr., Capt. C.E. Morse to AAG, Dept. of the South, Hq., Det. U.S. Troops, Fitchburg, Ky., June 28, 1871, LR M 231, Dept. of the South, 1871, NA.
mule which had balked at fleeing. Rhodes was captured and thrown into the Vicksburg jail. 27

Ku Klux arrests were, of course, most numerous in South Carolina in 1871-1872 where a number of Carolinians were picked up and jailed under the provisions of the Enforcement Acts. These arrests were sparked by the efforts of Major Lewis Merrill, 7th Cavalry, whose efficiency and zeal in this respect while he commanded at the Post of Yorkville were noted by his supervisors and who was subsequently appointed by the President to execute the acts against the Carolina Ku Klux. 28

The Carolina arrests, though numerous, posed no particular problems for the soldiers involved since they met with no notable resistance. A great deal of indignation was stirred up by these arrests, and much of it was directed at the head of Major Merrill. "Dog" Merrill, as he was called by incensed Carolinians, was the target of all sorts of charges, the most serious being that his enthusiasm in rounding up suspected Klansmen was motivated not only by the desire to do his duty but by the promise


of rewards made by South Carolina's carpetbag Governor Scott for the capture of persons convicted of belonging to the Ku Klux. In order to assure himself of his reward money, The News and Courier charged that Merrill was instrumental in lobbying a bill through the South Carolina legislature appropriating the necessary funds. As a result, so the charges went, Merrill was awarded $21,400 for his efforts and was actually able to pocket $17,000 of it. Subsequent efforts by Senator Bayard of Delaware to have a Senate committee investigate Merrill's activities were reported squelched by Bayard's Radical colleagues.  

Merrill, of course, had his partisans. In reply to charges that arrested suspects had been ill-treated, the Army's unofficial organ, the Army and Navy Journal in 1871, speaking of his zealous activities as commander of the Post of Yorkville, could find no instance of Merrill and his men's treating their prisoners other than with the utmost respect. It admitted that the Yorkville jail was crowded but reported it to be in excellent sanitary condition. Prisoners were far more humanely treated than were criminals which the Army had in the past turned over to Yorkville's civil authorities. Finally, the Journal stated that stories printed by newspapers

29 The News and Courier, Feb. 10, April 2 and Nov. 7, 1874.
about harsh treatment accorded prisoners and cruel conduct of officers and men when making arrests were all denied by the prisoners. What the Army believed officially about Merrill's conduct is not known. He remained on active duty until he retired in 1886 in the grades of lieutenant colonel and brevet brigadier general.

The Army's records certainly reveal no friendly or tolerant intercourse between it and its popular foe, the Ku Klux Klan, but, if one of the Klan's historians is to be believed, the two groups were not always at swords' points. In Rome, Georgia, in 1870, a detachment arrested a man named Etheridge and put him in jail. Habeas corpus proceedings were denied. In response to this a large body of Ku Klux rode to the home of the local circuit court judge and told him that they would kill him if he did not persuade the lieutenant in command of the troops there to let the prisoner go free. When the judge approached him with the request, the lieutenant refused to comply at first but was told that there were enough Klansmen to take the prisoner from him. The lieutenant asked to see them and was taken into the woods where the Klan was waiting. After being duly impressed by the numbers that could be arrayed against him, and after

receiving the promise that Etheridge would be available for any court proceedings involving him, the lieutenant is reported to have released his prisoner.\(^\text{31}\)

Another lieutenant met up with the Klan in Athens, Alabama, during the 1870 elections. A Lieutenant Lynch and twenty men were camped on the town square, minding their own business when, at eight o'clock one morning, they were visited by 12 men dressed in Klan regalia. Their leader asked Lynch what his instructions were. Lynch refused to discuss the matter and asked them to leave, but they stayed. Lynch then went nearby to talk this awkward situation over with the local agent of the Freedmen's Bureau. While he was talking, the Cyclops in charge conferred with the mayor and, on the lieutenant's return is said to have addressed him as follows:

We have seen the mayor and he tells us that you are here to prevent disorder. That is what we want to do, so there is no use in our staying; but, Lieutenant, if they don't behave themselves, just scratch the ground and we'll be with you.\(^\text{32}\)

A third peaceful encounter was related which involved no less a personage than General Thomas Ruger.

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\(^{32}\) Ibid., pp. 135-136. The officer was possibly 2d Lt. Edward Lynch, 33d Infantry.
This occurred in Huntsville, Alabama, in October 1868 at the time of a big political rally held for Negroes. During the course of the meeting the assembled colored men became agitated over the Klan and made threats against it. News of these developments got to the Klan in no time at all and a demonstration was ordered. One hundred and fifty Ku Klux thereupon donned their costumes, rode into town that night in a noiseless martial fashion, paraded around the courthouse, then drew up silently in the square, sat down, and waited. Trouble soon erupted, the crowd got excited, and a shot was fired. The Klansmen made no move. After the local authorities had restored order and dispersed the crowd, the Klan rode off as silently as it had come.

General Ruger is said to have watched all this from a balcony of a hotel and to have commented favorably on the Ku Klux discipline. When pressed to interfere with the procession he refused, because he knew of no law that the masked riders were breaking.\(^33\)

General Ruger's attitude as it is expressed here probably explains, in part, why the Ku Klux Klan, which played such a prominent role in the struggle of the South to throw off the Radical yoke, had little contact with the

\(^{33}\) Ibid., pp. 132-134.
Army. In the first place the Klan did not function on a broad scale until after 1868, and by this time the reins of government and the responsibilities of law enforcement had been transferred from the Army to the state governments. Therefore, unless the Army was called in by the prescribed methods, the Army had no responsibility in Ku Klux affairs.

Secondly, the Ku Klux wanted no quarrel with the Army. A Ku Klux Klan historian wrote that the Klan’s differences were almost always with the Loyal League and that they sought to avoid collisions with United States troops. Furthermore, when troops were employed to aid the local officials in the pursuit of Klansmen, as they often enough were, the Klansmen were "in no instance ... known to burn powder against their country's armed servitors."34

A third consideration was brought out in the Ku Klux Conspiracy investigation made by Congress in 1872 - this being that stories of the type above were the exception and not the rule, for, in reality, Army personnel saw very little of the Ku Klux Klan. Lieutenant George S. Hoyt, 18th Infantry, told the committee in 1871 that he had been in Georgia since 1869 and had heard of the Klan

34 James M. Beard, KKK Sketches, Numerous and Didactic, (Philadelphia, 1877) p. 82.
and received complaints about it but, personally, had never seen any of it. Lieutenant John H. Todd, 18th Infantry, gave the same testimony and added that he had always been kindly treated in Georgia. 35

A third Lieutenant, Frank B. Taylor, 18th Infantry, had more to add. He had been in Georgia since 1869 also but had seen no Ku Klux in White County, in which he, presumably, was stationed. However, he had seen some in a railroad station elsewhere in 1868, but they had passed him by without any sort of demonstration. Like the other officers he had heard of them and mentioned that a Lieutenant Hyer, probably Benjamin F. Hyer of the 18th Infantry, had been forced to release a prisoner to the Klan at Summerville, Georgia, and that Lieutenant John W. Summerhayes of the 33d Infantry had had a fight with a group of them somewhere. 36

It will, therefore, be seen that soldiers seldom seem to have come into contact with the Ku Klux Klan and that it was only in very rare instances that blue clad soldiers pursued bands of masked and robed Klansmen. Only in South Carolina was the Klan sought with a vengeance, and there posses arrested individuals believed to belong


36 *Ibid.*, pp. 505, 506. It will be noted that Taylor's stories resemble the incidents described above.
to the secret organization much as a sheriff would have arrested parties suspected of a crime.

Two other incidents that occurred during the Reconstruction period can be cited to illustrate to what ends soldiers could be employed in man hunts. The first of these involved a search made by the troops at Jackson Barracks, Louisiana. General Hancock received a letter from Philip D. Bangle of Amherst, Wisconsin, which told him that the Bangles had received word that their son, a Union soldier who had been missing since 1865, was imprisoned in a shanty along the Mississippi River near enough to Jackson Barracks so that he could hear the beating of its drums. Twelve men had been imprisoned there originally, but only five survived and these were being held because their captors feared to release them. Bangle asked that an eight mile stretch of river on both sides be searched in profound silence so that the captors would be alarmed and harm the prisoners.

General Hancock forwarded the letter on to the post commander of Jackson Barracks for appropriate action. A search was made but no prisoners were discovered. Suspecting something wrong, General Hancock then wrote the postmaster of Amherst for information on the matter and learned that the Bangles had spent several hundred dollars in searching for their son, who was believed dead, and
that a "Medium" in Milwaukee had probably been the source of the Bangles' information. The case was closed immediately.37

An experience of more substance was afforded the New Orleans garrison about six months later. Word was received from the Mexican Consul at New Orleans that he had learned that a filibustering expedition for Mexico was being fitted out on Lake Pontchartrain. A few days later the caretaker at Fort Livingston reported that a party of 75 men had landed at Fort Livingston over his protests and that he feared that they would steal the ammunition stored there.

The sergeant's letter stirred officialdom to action, and a force of 62 troops was put aboard a quartermaster steamer which carried them to the fort. On landing, a sloop and 74 men were found and, since the men were trespassing on government property and were at a loss to explain their presence, they were arrested and taken to Jackson Barracks and their sloop turned over to the Navy.

The case against the men arrested was a thin one and they were apparently released. It appears that the government acted hastily for it was maintained, with some

37 Ltr., Phillip D. Bangle to Gen. W.S. Hancock, Amherst, Wis., Dec. 23, 1867, LR B 161 (c), 5th Mil. Dist., 1867, NA.
justification, that the men arrested had pooled their resources in order to travel to Texas to work and had stopped on the island only to await word from some advance men. Later they went on to Houston and from there to Kansas. 38

Closely connected with the maintenance of law and order but often involving no arrests were the numerous details sent out from Army posts to investigate seeming violations of the law. Some of these investigations were trivial in the extreme and others were quite serious. In the latter vein Lieutenant Robert Avery, 44th Infantry, was ordered to investigate the death of the above mentioned Lieutenant John E. Kenyon of the 28th Michigan Volunteer Infantry. Apparently he had no trouble in getting a certain amount of information - that Kenyon had arrested some men for killing some Negroes, that he foolishly allowed them to go alone into a room of a house at which his party had stopped and that they had escaped. On finding the group again, Kenyon was shot before he could take them into custody. This information was reported to the Judge Advocate of the 2d Military District, and it is interesting to note that this officer

38 Ltr., Mexican Consul, New Orleans to CO, 5th Mil. Dist., New Orleans, La., June 15, 1868, LR D 43 (d), 5th Mil. Dist., 1868, NA.
advised that the case be dropped because the information was vague and the case, after almost two years had passed, had become stale. His recommendation apparently carried little weight, however, for as indicated above, a ruffian by the name of Reddick Carney was hunted down and shot for the murder.39

Another investigation of what was thought to be a very serious matter was conducted by a second lieutenant in Virginia in 1868. Lieutenant William V. Richards and a detachment from the 11th Infantry arrived in Warrenton on March 13, 1868, to investigate a report published in the Washington Chronicle to the effect that John S. Mosby was about to lead another rebellion against the government in Washington. The lieutenant secured quarters for his party in a dilapidated old church and immediately embarked upon his investigation. One of the first persons with whom he talked was Mosby himself. Mosby was informed by the lieutenant that he had come to preserve order between the races, and apparently he learned little from Mosby. Richards then questioned other citizens of the town, including a Radical school teacher from Massachusetts, in what he believed to be a most offhand and disarming fashion

but could find no one who knew anything of a rebellion except, perhaps, for what some of them may have read in the Washington papers. The closest thing he could come to anything rebellious was a report that Mosby had been instrumental in importing some Scots as laborers and that some of the Highlanders had brawled with some Negroes. Richards, therefore, concluded that reports of any rebellion at Warrenton were false and possibly had their origin in some kidding that the son of a teacher of a Negro school had received from some local boys. He found such Radical advisors of the Negroes to be "of very weak calibre and no judgement" and, in contrast to their reports, believed the relationship between the races at Warrenton to be, in the main, quite amicable.  

Another investigation of an incident of Reconstruction involving an "outrage" against a Negro school was made by a lieutenant in Georgia in 1867. Lieutenant John W. Summerhayes of the 33d Infantry, with a detachment of men from the 5th Cavalry, went to Newton, Georgia, to investigate a report that rocks had been thrown at the school. On arriving he asked the local authorities about the incident and found that they knew nothing of it.  

He then went to see the teachers and learned from them that three rocks had been thrown at the school but that no one had been hit by them and that none of the throwers had been recognized. From what he could learn, however, it seemed apparent to him that the rocks had been hurled by some vocalists returning to their homes after attending a meeting of a "singing school" in a nearby church. His next step was to talk to the head of the singing school and from him obtain the names of those who traveled past the school after the singing was over. An investigation of these persons was held at the church in lieu of a service that had been scheduled there. The lieutenant learned nothing at the investigation but, pretending to have evidence proving their guilt, arrested three young men who had ridden by the Negro school. In order to secure their release, he then exacted a pledge in writing from others in the church that, if the three were released, no more pranks would be played on the Negroes. With the report of this rather unusual procedure, he enclosed two clippings from newspapers from towns near Newton which proclaimed Summerhayes' investigation as an outrage and announced in screaming headlines "Sabbath School at Bethany Church Broken Up - Some of the Scholars Arrested by the Military - Between Forty or Fifty Citizens Under Arrest - The Church Desecrated on the Sabbath by a Court Martial." Apparently, Summerhayes' methods were not
universally approved by the citizens of Georgia.\footnote{1}

About the same time that Lieutenant Summerhayes was playing the role of a detective, other bluecoats were performing as simple guards. Paymasters carrying soldiers' pay between posts were always accompanied by troops in any area of the county where danger possibly lurked. This same service was provided to other government officials when needed. A Treasury agent carrying money from Louisville to Cincinnati was given a guard of one officer and twenty men from the post of Louisville. Another detachment of soldiers from the Post of Raleigh accompanied an Indian agent from Raleigh to western North Carolina, where he paid off an annuity granted by the federal government to the North Carolina Indians. The Indians are reported to have received this payment with great satisfaction and to have exhibited their gratitude to the Great White Father by entertaining his agent and soldier escort with great hospitality. A similar escort was also employed to protect the mail agents on the Louisville, Frankfort, and Lexington Railroad, a detail

\footnote{1 Ltr., Lt. John W. Summerhayes to AAG, Dist. of Ga., Atlanta, Ga. (nd) LR 29 Sub Dist. of Ga., 1867, NA}
which was considered to have been of utmost importance by the mail agents, if not by the soldiers involved.\footnote{42}

Soldiers were also called upon to guard more animate cargoes than government pay or mail. One of the leading Republicans and militiamen of South Carolina was a certain Joe Crews. Crews had a part in running the election of 1870 in Laurens, South Carolina, and apparently had reason to fear for his life because of his role in it. As a result he hid out for awhile and then, to gain greater security, asked the commander of the local garrison, a Captain Charles Estes, to escort him safely out of the county.

The captain, an obliging fellow with a sense of humor and little sympathy for Crews, promised to help him. In doing this he had Crews wrapped up in a canvas like a "side of beef" and loaded him on a hand car manned by four soldiers and himself. The car rolled off down the track. After they had traveled awhile, Crews' muffled voice complained that he was suffocating in his cocoon. A slit was cut in the canvas to give him a little air. As they

pumped on Crews complained further and so, to keep him quiet, the soldiers stopped their car and pretended that they were about to be ambushed by Crews' enemies. Once they halted just to pick blackberries. The halts so upset Crews, who could see nothing of what was going on, that Estes averred that they could hear his heart beating and see his perspiration as it soaked through the canvas. In spite of the imagined hazards of his trip, Joe Crews finally was delivered safely out of Laurens.  

Although Army records make little of it, troops escorted a party of Indians from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to Fort Marion at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1876. This group numbered 65 and, according to the Assistant Adjutant General of the Army, contained the "ring leaders and worst criminals" of the Cheyenne, Kiowa and Comanche tribes. They were escorted by a small party under a Lieutenant Richard H. Pratt, 10th Cavalry, on what apparently was a reasonably uneventful trip, except that in Nashville one Cheyenne "crazed by the Excitement of Trip stabbed himself Twice in the neck with a pocket knife & then Two of the guard Corpl Allen Twice in the back Severe and Priv

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Henderson once in the Breast slight Indian will die...

The Indians were lodged in Fort Marion which had been prepared to receive them. They were low in spirits in the months after their arrival and were sent to a nearby Anacostia Island to improve their health and morale. About a year after their incarceration, a petition was introduced by the Kiowa tribe in the West asking for their release. To this the Secretary of War replied, no - the imprisoned Indians were docile, many had learned to read and write, and they were treated with great kindness at Fort Marion. To let them go would destroy all that had been accomplished. It can be assumed that these Indians were still the Army's guests at St. Augustine when the Reconstruction period ended.

A certain amount of real property was also guarded. For a few days in the late summer of 1866 a guard of five men was placed at the house of Governor Wells in Jefferson City, Louisiana. In the following year the 8th Infantry reported having safeguards of one man each on two North

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44 Tel., AAG, Hq., Army of the U.S. to Gen. E.D. Townsend, St. Louis, Mo., April 22, 1875, LR 182, Dept. of the South, 1875 and Tel., Lt. R.H. Pratt to AAG, Dept. of the South, Wartrace, Tenn., May 19, 1875, LR 950, Dept. of the South 1875, NA.

Carolina plantations for a period of several months. A similar safeguard was sent from an unidentified unit to a plantation near Savannah in 1869, and their treatment by its owner indicates that this soft duty might not have been as desirable as it would seem. In spiteful tones the mistress of Darien Plantation wrote that she had heard of a proposed Negro insurrection that was to take place on her offshore island and, to get protection, she wrote to a nearby military post and asked that a guard be sent to help her. The guard was sent but

...as they came without an officer, and conducted themselves generally disagreeably, stealing oranges, worrying the negroes, and making themselves entirely at home even to the point of demanding to be fed by me. I packed them off, preferring to take my chances with the negroes rather than my protectors.

It is to be wondered what sort of harm would have matched this woman's sense of gratitude. 46

Keeping an eye on the Negroes was the special job of the Freedmen's Bureau, but troops were often employed to aid the Bureau officer in his work. Colonel Nelson Miles, 40th Infantry, a commissioner of the Bureau in North Carolina, was of the opinion that two men ought to be assigned to each Bureau agent, one of whom would be mounted

46 Frances Butler Leigh, Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation Since the War, (London, 1883) p. 131.
and serve as a messenger. Although he, as both a regimental commander and Bureau commissioner, may have
installed this scheme in his command on a rather permanent basis, it seems not to have been a common practice in
the rest of the South. Instead troops were assigned to specific agents on application when they were believed to
have been needed. 47

Agents of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, as the title of their agency suggests,
were charged with a multiplicity of duties but, especially, they were the freedmen's official guardians and, in this
guise, the tentacles of their authority spread into business affairs as well as into the general field of law
enforcement. The line of demarcation between the authority of the post commander and the Bureau agent was a shadowy
one, particularly when the two offices were combined in the same person. When they were not, the problem was
apparently solved by placing local military forces at the Bureau agent's disposal. The extent to which this was done
is indicated by instructions to a post commander in Alabama

47 Ltr., Col. Nelson Miles to AAG, 2d Mil. Dist., Raleigh,
N.C., Dec. 7, 1867, LR M 76, 2d Mil. Dist., Vol. 2,
1867, NA.
Commanding officers of Stations or detachments will be instructed by you to consult fully with the agents of the Bureau of R.P. and A.L. and to be guided by their advice and suggestions as may be deemed best for the public peace, acting within the bounds of sound discretion. In similar vein another post commander was instructed to send a detachment of an officer and 15 men to Kingstree, South Carolina, and, on their arrival, the officer commanding the detachment was to

...render all assistance in his power to Act. Asst. Commissioner of the Bureau R.P. and A.L. at Kingstree in renewing peace and good order in that district.

The activities of detachments of this type are described above. They were probably less common than the small bodies of men of the type urged by Colonel Miles who were sent to help the Bureau agent on a more temporary basis than the colonel wished. These did the odd jobs for the agent that were beneath the dignity of his office. For instance, planters and freedmen made share cropping contracts with each other by which, in payment for his labor, the freedman was given a certain percentage of the crop. When the time came to divide crops, it was the practice for enlisted men to be detailed to the Bureau

48 Ltr., Capt. S.C. Green, AAAG, Dist. of Ala. to CO, Post of Selma, Montgomery, Ala., Dec. 22, 1867, LR 3d Mil. Dist., 1867, NA.

49 SO 76, Hq., Mil. Dist. of S.C., Charleston, S.C., Dec. 17, 1866, NA.
agent who then assigned them to go to plantations and see that the division was fairly made or at least see that the freedman got his just dues. For instance, one such detachment which aided the Bureau agent at Marianna, Florida, was given the services of a corporal and six privates for a whole month.50

Other little details were performed by the Bureau's soldier assistants. Since the Bureau agent presided over all judicial actions involving freedmen, soldiers oftentimes acted as his policemen. For instance, one Bureau agent, Stephan Moore, in Salisbury, South Carolina made two requests of the commander of the Post of Salisbury at the same time, one for a suitable guard to arrest a local white man and haul him before his Bureau court and another for a reliable man with three days ration and a horse to serve a summons. Another agent sent a private he had borrowed from the Post of Macon to a plantation to quell the insubordination of some Negro workers, but the attitude of the Negroes rubbed off on the soldier who

became insubordinate himself and had to be returned to his company. Another soldier in Georgia was sent by a Bureau agent to escort a troubled Negro woman to her home. In the words of the Augusta Constitutionalist of December 11, 1867,

Ferdinant Smith, colored, having imbibed rather freely on the night of the circus, went home and slapped the face of his wife. Yesterday she complained to the Bureau, and desired to get her clothes and leave the unconjugal lord. The Bureau sent a soldier with her, and as Smith bore a belligerent reputation, the soldier took his rifle along. On entering the house, they found Smith seated with his musket in his hands. Whether he made any attempts or threats to shoot the soldier, we have not been able to learn definitely; but the result was that the soldier shot him and the ball passed through his shoulder into his body. Smith died an hour or two after he was shot.

The Army was not favorably inclined toward its role as handmaiden to Bureau agents. As indicated above, soldiers generally were not fond of the role of policeman and commanders were opposed to constant detachments which frittered away the strength of their commands and made discipline difficult to maintain. It also put temptation in the way of troops who lacked the strength to resist it. In a letter written to the commander of the 3d Military

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Ltr., Lt. Col. Stephen Moore to CO, Post of Salisbury, Salisbury, N.C., July 13, 1866, LR Post of Salisbury, 1866 and Ltr., Agent, Div. of Americus to CO, Post of Macon, Americus, Ga, 1867, LR Post of Americus, 1867, NA.
District, a Mr. Hillyer, who neglected to identify his home town, and others requested that more troops be sent to their town. Their only garrison, they complained, consisted of three privates and a corporal who were described as entirely inefficient and worthless and who were under the charge of a Bureau agent who was "...far less efficient as a post commander, than the humblest citizen in the country." He ended his plea by lamenting that "...here amidst Bloodshed and riot, the 'Reign of Terror' still holds sway." 52

Supporting the hint of evil in Hillyer's letter was a letter to the Adjutant of the Post of Washington, Arkansas, from a corporal he had sent to Rocky Comfort to aid the Bureau agent there. The detachment, according to its commander, a corporal of Company F, 28th Infantry, was in bad shape. He was unable to discipline his men who were out drinking and wearing out their horses day and night. He had seen the agent he was to support only once since his arrival and then only on the street. Since he had no one on the scene with authority to back him, the men refused to pay heed to his orders. His stripes meant nothing. 53

52 Ltr., Hillyer to CG, 3d Mil. Dist., No address, no date, LR 151 H, 3d Mil. Dist., 1868 (33), NA.

53 Ltr., Corp. Weinard Vogel to AAG, Post of Washington, Ark., Rocky Comfort, Ark., April 24, 1868. LR, Post of Washington, 1868, NA.
This situation did not escape those in authority, although, so long as the Freedmen's Bureau functioned, there was little that they could do about it. The Assistant Adjutant General of the Department of the Cumberland gently nudged the Bureau's high command when he wrote that the commanding general had heard that the Bureau agents at Columbia and Pulaski, Tennessee, who were guarded by detachments, had brought the trouble on themselves and asked the Tennessee Bureau agent to investigate and find out if this were true.\footnote{Ltr., AAG, Dept. of the Cumberland to Asst. Comm., BRF and AL, Nashville, Tenn., Louisville, Ky., Mar. 29, 1867, LB 46, Dept. of Tenn. and Dept. of the Cumberland, p. 87, NA.} On another occasion an officer, a Lieutenant Jacob Almy, 5th Cavalry, was ordered to take six men to St. Peter's Parish, South Carolina, and offer to the local Bureau agent his services in preserving the peace. After arriving, he was also to report just what he was doing there and what local conditions were.

Lieutenant Almy followed his orders. He reported that in 11 days his command was only used once to arrest a freedman for housebreaking, something the local magistrate could have done. In the remainder of the time he had been besieged by black and white persons with complaints. In short, the detachment was not needed there and a closer
attention to his business on the part of the Bureau agent would have been beneficial.\footnote{55}

The value of the Freedmen's Bureau is a matter of controversy possibly never to be decided. As indicated above and in Chapter III, the soldiers looked forward to the Freedmen's Bureau's taking over the thankless task of advising the newly freed slaves but, once the Bureau was established, the troops still had cause for complaint over the way in which they were required to do tasks that the Bureau itself might have handled alone or with the aid of civil officers.

In addition to helping the Negro along freedom's road, there were other loose ends that had to be tidied up after the War. As late as 1867 some Confederate property had yet to be secured. Corporal Charles E. Russell and Private Patrick Heffren, 8th Infantry, were sent to a farm near Greensboro, North Carolina, for the purpose of bringing in two mules, late the property of the Confederacy and now the property of the federal government. In South Carolina, Corporal Dumbrowski was ordered to proceed from the Post of Darlington with six men to a place called Peedee Station and there take possession and hold all

\footnote{Ltr., AAG, Post of Aiken to Lt. J. Almy, Aiken, S.C., Nov. 24, 1867, LR A 14 Vol. 3, 2d Mil. Dist., 1867, NA.}
buildings and other property formerly used by the Confederates as a naval station. In contrast to the immediate post-war period, however, such duties seem to have become rare by 1867 and to have occupied but little of the Army's time. 56

Another rare duty having to do with the War was that with which a small detachment of troops in Georgia concerned itself in 1867. In preparation of the Atlas volumes of the official records of the War of the Rebellion, a civil engineer by the name of Dodge was hired by General George H. Thomas to survey the battlefield areas along Sherman's route south from Chattanooga and in the vicinity of Atlanta. This operation began in the late spring of 1867 and seems to have continued, with a winter recess, into 1868. Mr. Dodge was at first escorted by a small detachment under the command of a sergeant, but trouble seems to have dogged the heels of this group. At first it was claimed that the sergeant was not keeping a proper control of his men and that they were being lured into grog shops located on their route of march and, as a result, Mr. Dodge had a difficult time keeping his escorts from becoming drunk and disorderly. And then, to add to the difficulties of Mr. Dodge, it was found that such a small

number of troops invited trouble with lawless elements and, as a result, in November 1867, the mapping guard was picked on by civilian ruffians and one man was shot. In order to remedy this situation, the detail was enlarged to 25 men commanded by an officer and the trouble seems to have diminished.⁵⁷

The Army also dabbled a bit in natural science. The civil activities of the Corps of Engineers is out of scope of this study since line troops on Reconstruction duty had nothing to do with their work. Possibly nothing that is, for a certain Private John A. Perkey at the Post of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, was, for unexplained reasons, ordered by his post commander to make a daily survey of the rise and fall of the Arkansas River.⁵⁸

Private Perkey's scientific observations not withstanding, such matters, if handled by troops stationed in the area, were usually left to the more capable and idle hands of the post surgeons. As the better kept Records


⁵⁸ SO 9, Hq., Post of Pine Bluff, Ark., Mar. 6, 1869, NA.
of Medical History of Posts show, the doctors were expected to record the types of flora and fauna found in the area of their posts, average mean temperatures, the amounts of rainfall and numerous other bits of non-medical data. In 1868 there were even some archaeological expeditions made by the surgeons and troops from the Posts of Jackson and Vicksburg, Mississippi. In accordance with orders from the Surgeon General's Office and the Medical Director, 4th Military District, Indian mounds were excavated at Chickasaw Bayou, Calhoun Station, Washington, and Warrenton, Mississippi. Considering the fact that the persons involved probably had little or no experience in archaeological work, their efforts seem to have been rather professional. Mounds were explored by digging trenches and by sinking shafts into them. The enlisted men, of course, did the manual labor. Their finds were recorded, and some artifacts were collected and presumably forwarded on to Washington. That these undertakings were not exactly small in size is indicated by the report that a mound explored at Chickasaw Bluffs was 17 feet high and 120 feet in diameter. This mound was a burial mound and was estimated to have contained the cremated remains of from 3,500 to 4,000 persons lying upon layers of white clay and covered with surface earth. It was one of a group of three which had been used by the Confederates as gun emplacements. Another group of five probed by troops
had a large earthwork which measured 225 by 160 and was 25 feet high.59

Soldiers were, therefore, employed in a multiplicity of duties not often meted out to a peacetime Army. They were often ordered to assist marshals, sheriffs, Freedmen's Bureau agents, and Revenue agents and, in fact, were sometimes required to do their work for them. They were called upon to arrest outlaws, to quell riots and protect property - in short they were part time soldiers, part time underpaid law enforcement officers, no more, no less. Their non-military duties were generally disliked for the soldiers felt that they were doing work of a type for which they had not enlisted and for which others were paid. Furthermore, this police work was often dangerous and, being of a controversial nature, gained them little in prestige. A historian of the 16th Infantry described these duties as "distasteful to a military man." The Army and Navy Journal termed them unpleasant because the troops were subordinated to civil authorities which neither respected nor appreciated their services. It went on to quote a correspondent who complained that it did not take Army people long to tire of playing a subordinate role to county sheriffs and wondered

59 RMHP 325, Post of Vicksburg, Miss., pp. 97, 99 and 104 and RMHP 149, Post of Jackson, Miss., p. 101, NA.
darkly what Napoleon's veterans would have thought had they been assigned such tasks. A more impressive complaint was voiced by officers of the 5th Cavalry who maintained, in 1867, that their men so disliked their duties in Tennessee that, when discharged, many of them paid their own fares to Texas and Kansas in order to reenlist in units serving on the plains. In short, soldiers cared little for the type of duties they were called upon to perform in the South.  

CHAPTER XVIII
SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS

In the months immediately after the War the people of the South reacted to the presence of federal troops in a variety of ways. The Negroes and scalawags, of course, as a class were friendly and regarded the soldiers as their saviors and mainstays. Confederate veterans also were inclined to be rather friendly while other white men were probably less so. Southern white women, however, were generally bitter and regarded the soldiers as alien oppressors or worse, although among them there were those who openly fraternized with Union soldiers even to the point of marriage. In short the soldier was both feted and hated, dined and despised, depending not only on the attitude of the civilians but much upon the soldier himself and the conduct and actions of his comrades.\(^1\)

The same pattern continued into succeeding years, the soldier experiencing both hostility and cordiality depending upon his conduct. However, if anything, the role he was forced to play during the periods of military and carpetbag governments fostered resentment and created an unfriendly atmosphere which was not dispelled until the latter years of Reconstruction.

\(^1\) See Chapter IV above.
This atmosphere both bred and was the product of clashes between white civilians and the troops. As indicated above, some brawls provoked by the soldiers were the results of drinking while others were prompted by criminal intent. There were enough of these but there were others too for which civilians seem to have been responsible. For instance, a sentinel was posted in a barroom in Union, West Virginia, to prevent the bartender from selling liquor to enlisted men. Although he minded his own business, the sentry was accosted by a former Confederate captain with the words "You damned Yankee, you damned Yankee son of a bitch" and other uncomplimentary phrases. The captain was arrested and forced to apologize to the soldier.²

Likewise, in Fredericksburg, Virginia, about the same time two privates walking along Commerce Street passed a restaurant known as "Our House" before which a group of men was gathered. These men began calling them "Damn Blue Jackets" and worse. The soldiers, paying no attention to these insults, continued on their way, followed by shouted threats of physical violence. They reported all this to the post commander, who passed it on to the commander of

² Ltr., CO, Post of Union, W. Va., to AAAG, Mil. Dist. of Ky., Louisville, Ky., June 9, 1867, RSW 1867, p. 221
the sub-district of Fredericksburg with the observation that the entire command was incensed by the treatment it was receiving from the people of Fredericksburg and that trouble was avoided only through the restraining efforts of the noncommissioned officers. More light on the situation was shed by an endorsement of the sub-district commander, who remarked that the better classes of citizens were involved in such activity and that they had become more outspoken and overbearing after recent elections in the North.  

Another act in Tennessee in 1867 illustrated an attitude which did nothing to encourage the soldiers' friendship. One member of a party of soldiers riding through central Tennessee pulled up at a house and asked a man at the door if he might have a drink of water. The man condescended to point to the well and, when the soldier asked for something to drink from, the man sneered that he did not give cups or anything else to United States soldiers and then concluded his remarks by saying, "You can force it but I know what to do afterwards." Captain Edward Lieb, who did not care for Tennesseans in the first place.

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3 Ltr., Co., Post of Fredericksburg, Va., to Co, Sub Dist. of Fredericksburg, Fredericksburg, Va., Nov. 9, 1867, LR G 440, 1st Mil. Dist., V 86, 1867, NA.
place, commented that this and like instances were of every day occurrence. \^4

There were occasions on which these insults were translated into violence. Private John Calvin, 29th Infantry, while quietly walking down the main street of Lynchburg, Virginia, was overtaken and stabbed in the back three times by a young civilian who had been drinking and who had threatened to kill a Yankee before night. Colonel Orlando B. Willcox, commander at Lynchburg, reported this case with the recommendation that the offender be tried before a military commission instead of a civil court because a jury would not convict the man - stabbing affairs for some reason were not believed to receive jury trials in that area. Willcox was right, for the man was acquitted. \^5

Another shooting occurred in Warrenton, Georgia, in 1870. Grady's Circus was in town and twenty enlisted men were given permission to attend. During the performance, there was noise outside and three of the men were directed to investigate it. Apparently they did and nothing happened. After the show, the three soldiers were threatened outside the tent by men with pistols and, one soldier

\^4 Ltr., Capt. E.H.Lieb to AAAG, Dept. of the Tenn., Gallatin Tenn., Dec. 20, 1866, RSW 1867, p. 202

\^5 Ltr., Col. O.B.Willcox, to AAAG, Dept. of the Potomac, Lynchburg, Va., Mar. 12, 1867, LR W 2, 1st Mil. Dist., 1867, NA.
being unarmed, the bluecoats returned to the tent where they left the unarmed man and recruited an armed one to replace him. They then walked through the streets but met no trouble until they passed by a saloon. Their enemies, four men, were inside and fired at them. The soldiers returned the fire and the men ran. No sooner was this over than three more men came out of the saloon and exchanged shots with them until all were out of bullets at which time the men ran and the soldiers beat a retreat toward the post. Before they got there they were hailed by a civilian who told them he wanted to apologize for the whole thing. He approached and, while he was talking, he stealthily leveled his pistol to shoot one of the soldiers. The soldier detected the move and pistol whipped the man, felling him to the ground. While all of this was going on an alarm was raised at the post and a detail was sent out to pick up those responsible for the trouble. The whipped man was found to be bruised, another had been wounded in the neck. The soldiers were believed innocent and were not confined.

Such deeds of violence were sometimes committed in retaliation for similar acts done by soldiers themselves, but others were the result of the ill feeling engendered

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5 Ltr., CO, Post of Warrenton to CO, 1st Sub Dist. of Ga., Warrenton, Ga., Feb. 14, 1870, LR W 18, Dept. of the South, 1870, NA.
by the activities of soldiers in the enforcement of the Reconstruction Acts and in their support of the odious carpetbag governments. One particularly useless bit of nonsense which received a lot of publicity occurred in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in 1868. There a Lieutenant Johnson had a flag hung over the sidewalk and people were forced to walk under it. One girl, who attempted to cross the street to avoid doing this, wrote that she was halted by a soldier brandishing a rifle and a bayonet, and forced to pass under the flag.\footnote{The Louisville Daily Journal, June 23, 1868 and Independent Monitor (Tuscaloosa), June 16, 1868.}

This action was denounced by the editor of the Tuscaloosa \textit{Independent Monitor} in no uncertain terms. In one article the troops were referred to as hirelings three times and dastards once, they being "...hirelings who never knew what gentlemanly conduct was until they came South to behold it in Southern gentlemen." He asked "Must free born men and women tamely submit to these things in silence, and to persons who in every way are their inferiors?" For this drivel the \textit{Monitor} was suppressed for "language calculated to arouse the prejudices and passions of the people." Although the editor was tried for these words and acquitted, a guard was placed near his office under a Lieutenant Johnson. Johnson was identified to the readers of the
Monitor as the officer who had broken a crutch over the head of a cripple who had opposed Johnson's arrest of a certain Judge Pope. 8

Another story that probably received some circulation in the South concerned a Mr. Hatch, aged seventy, who was arrested for reasons unknown to him and had to post five hundred dollars bail in order to get out of the Selma, Alabama, guardhouse. Although Hatch was finally freed without a trial, he never got his money back. 9

A third story which no doubt received some attention in the South had as its villain a Captain Johnson, possibly the same man who was involved in the furor in Tuscaloosa. This captain, an organizer of the Loyal League and evidently a Freedmen's Bureau agent, was said to have urged a Negro to propose marriage to the daughter of his former mistress. The freedman did so but was apparently unsuccessful in his suit, for the maiden took a shot at him. The next day a file of soldiers arrested both ladies and took them before the captain, who, presiding over the Freedmen's Bureau court, offered them the choice of a thousand dollar fine or six months in jail. In response

8 Independent Monitor (Tuscaloosa), June 16, 1868 and The Louisville Daily Journal, June 20, 1868.

white men gathered in the town and threatened to wipe out its garrison. Johnson left town and was replaced.\textsuperscript{10}

A certain amount of friction was probably caused by officers who, with proper motives, took arbitrary action doing what they believed to have been their duty. Captain Edward H. Lieb, 5th Cavalry, was stationed at Gallatin, Tennessee, an area that was infested with bushwhackers during the War and had never quite settled down to enjoy the fruits of real peace. Moonshining and horse stealing were both practiced there, but it was the latter that gave Lieb the most trouble. After some horses were stolen in the fall of 1867, Lieb took action which he deemed expedient - confiscating, in turn, some horses belonging to people whom he considered to have been friendly with the thieves if they were not the thieves themselves. If he had not already been unpopular with those who cared little for law and order and the blue uniform, he soon became so. Among those with whom he was at odds was an Ellis Harper. Lieb arrested Harper for horse stealing in 1868, but, on petition of the citizens of Gallatin, Harper was released. Lieb was exposed to the Harper popularity and reminded of his own station in the community later when he and his wife attended the local county fair. There they were insulted by Harper's brother and sister,

\textsuperscript{10} Avary, op. cit., p. 266.
and, although the Harper family had been publicly branded for what Lieb believed that they were, Harper's sister was allowed to compete in riding contests and was toasted by prominent people in the community. To indicate the amount of prestige a person could attain by flaunting the authority of the federal garrison, Lieb, speaking of Miss Harper, described her as

a plain, rude, and immodest country girl, having the impudence, on various occasions, to expose the unmentionable parts of her person to soldiers, and to pat it with her hand, with an invitation to kiss, if they like the looks of it, by the extraordinary conduct of herself on last Thursday is transformed, all of a sudden, into a belle, at whose feet now bows every whimpering pup of rebellion, and around whose charming (1) person cluster close, what are regarded here, the fairest of the fair, among the quondam disciples of the doctrines of the lost cause.11

Unpopular official acts were supplemented by personal actions not conducive to furthering good will. Lieutenant Stephen P. Jocelyn probably did not promote Christian love when he attended a Presbyterian Church and formed the habit of marching "... up the central aisle and into the pew best supplied with fans and hymn books, where, if in uniform, I am sure to be undisturbed."12

12 Jocelyn, op. cit., p. 74.
Some soldiers were poor credit risks. A woman complained to General Meade that she had cooked and washed for an officer at McPherson Barracks for a month and he had refused to pay her. Furthermore, she wrote, when the officer saw her coming from his colonel's office where she had complained about him, he cursed her and called her an Irish whore.13

On rare occasions storekeepers had their troubles too. A proprietress of a dry goods store complained she had forty dollars in notes from the men of Company G, 16th Infantry, and the company had moved out. Although she had turned them over to the company commander for collection, she had never heard from him. The company commander endorsed the letter saying that the debts had been unauthorized, that Mrs. Beck had been informed that she was taking a chance, and that he doubted that, because of the character of the men concerned, she would ever collect.14

Rent was sometimes hard to collect too, it seems. Lieutenant Burnett E. Miller of the 8th Infantry owed money

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13 Ltr., Delia Blackman to General Meade, Atlanta, Ga., Dec. 16, 1868, LR 119 B, Dept. of the South, 1868, NA.

14 Ltr., Mrs. C.M. Beck to CG, Dept. of the South, Columbus, Ga., Nov. 4, 1868, LR 82 B Dept. of the South, 1868, NA.
to the Nickerson House in Columbia and to a Mr. Moore, the proprietor of an officers' boarding house. Several letters which brought on some official pressure were written before the lieutenant paid his bill in full. The same sort of thing happened to a sergeant in Atlanta. A constable attempted to arrest a sergeant because of $84.00 rent money he owed, but the sergeant, whose company was leaving town, ordered his men to keep the constable off the train. The constable called for reinforcements, and the sergeant was forced to pay up. 15

In spite of this contention between soldiers and civilians in the early years of Reconstruction, evidences of good will cropped up occasionally. Professor Joseph Le Conte at the University of South Carolina spoke of two of the five officers who commanded the Post of Columbia in 1866-1867 as having been good fellows toward whom the gentlemen of Columbia were very cordial. He swam daily with them during the summer and he and other men visited them but, to the women, the officers were socially not acceptable and were, therefore, not invited into the gentlemen's homes. 16

15 Ltr., Lt.B.E.Miller to AAG, Post of Columbia, LR C 27, Dept. of the South, 1869, NA and The Daily Constitution, (Atlanta), Nov. 18, 1871.

In August 1866 the urbane citizens of New Orleans who, after four years of federal occupany, were beginning to get used to the blue uniform, were said to have greeted the troops who marched through the town to the scene of the riot with enthusiastic cheers. This was the first such demonstration of approval received by United States troops there since Louisiana had seceded. A letter commenting on this tribute from the citizens to the troops involved explained this reaction by saying that "...no act or word, derogatory to the character of gentlemen and soldiers, sullies the record of this [the 1st Infantry] regiment." 17

Charitable acts were partially responsible for the degree of respect the citizenry accorded the soldiers. In December 1866 troops of the Vicksburg garrison aided firemen in putting out a large fire in that city and policed the burned out area to prevent pillage. Then, on being offered a sum of money by grateful citizens for the work they had done, the soldiers refused to accept the money for themselves but urged that it be given to those who had suffered from the fire. 18

Speaking of fires, General D. H. Hill wrote in June 1867 that

17 The New Orleans Times, Aug. 3 and 4, 1866.
18 Ltr., AAG, Dept. of the Tenn. to CG, Dist. of Miss., Louisville, Ky., Jan. 30, 1867, LB 46, Dept. of Tenn., p. 21.
...At a recent fire in a Female College of our town of Charlotte, the most active persons in extinguishing it were United States Soldiers. We believe that the same spirit, to save and not destroy, actuates all who have been fighting soldiers. 19

The comradeship of veterans was expressed in other ways. The New Orleans Times, July 12, 1866, told of an incident wherein a federal sergeant surreptitiously slipped some money into the hand of a one-legged indigent Confederate veteran. In commenting the editor expressed the view that people like the soldier could never be enemies and that they did more to consolidate the Union than all of the "freedman's bureaus, reconstruction committees, and Radical legislation that could be crowded into a century."

Confederate feelings were salved by two other well circulated reports of sympathy of the federal soldier for Confederate veterans. The Daily Richmond Enquirer of April 26, 1866, reported that United States officers who happened to be passed on the street by the funeral procession of Confederate General Robert Hatton in Nashville, Tennessee, doffed their hats as Hatton's casket was carried by them. The editor went on to hope that perhaps this was an indication that the northern people regarded the South with some degree of sympathy. The same reaction was expressed

19 Land We Love, June 1867, p. 177.
by the *Daily Arkansas Gazette* of Little Rock, June 20, 1867, when it noted that the commander of the Post of Columbia, South Carolina, attended the funeral of a Colonel De Saussure of that city.

Two additional sources indicate the southern view of the relationship between the federal army and Confederate veterans during the period of military reconstruction. The historian of the Richmond Light Infantry Blues wrote that, in a world turned upside down in Richmond, the one redeeming feature was the presence of the federal garrison. Its soldiers were under discipline and, instead of cherishing an enmity for the Confederates, seemed to entertain a sort of an affection for them as late comrades in arms.  

In the same vein as early as 1867, the *Land We Love*, speaking of governments controlled by persons of the ilk of William Holden and "Parson" Brownlow, wrote

> Better a military ruler for a century than a single term for such ...a man! The military rule has no partisans to reward, and no enmities to gratify. The fair assumption is that he will be just and impartial, having no motive but a sense of duty. There is not one of the five Districts in so unhappy a condition today as is Tennessee in the Union.

This observation made, General Daniel H. Hill editorialized further that

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we would rather trust a soldier of the government, who has fought for flag and country, according to the convictions of duty than one of our renegades, whose only guiding principle has been his own supposed self interest. The Districts, which can elect consistent Union men of honesty and intelligence - sincere lovers of country - ought unquestionably to do so. But where the selfish and renegade element is too powerful for the honest, honorable and consistent; then the Brigadier ought to be clung to with hooks of steel.21

The wisdom of Hill's remarks is illustrated beyond doubt when the corrupt regimes that followed military government in the majority of the reconstructed states are compared with the comparatively chaste political evolution which took place in Virginia. The benefit of having an Army post or so in a state was recognized by the citizens of Nashville as early as 1869, though at the time they were not overly friendly with the troops. According to the post commander, their conflicting attitudes were the result of a fear of the great number of Negroes that were in Nashville and the fear that more would come. 22

Appreciation of troops was expressed, possibly with tongue-in-cheek, by the Mobile Daily Register on April 1, 1871, after it learned that two regiments were being transferred from the plains and Indian troubles to the South and its Ku Klux agitation. The Daily Register

21 Land We Love, May 1867, pp. 86, 267.

22 Rept., CO, Ash Barracks, Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 11, 1869, LB 326, Dist. of Middle Tenn., p. 664, NA.
maintained that the Mobile people liked to see troops about for they behaved well and, instead of fraternizing with the Negroes, had a "rather wholesome moral influence over them." Furthermore, in case of a collision of races, the editor opined that no white man would be shot by a soldier.

The complete reversal of opposition to the presence of troops in the South, not to be confused, of course, with outside control which they had represented, had taken place in South Carolina in 1876. When there was talk of sending troops to the troubled Edgefield area The News and Courier predicted that the men sent there would be met with a cordial welcome and would want to be naturalized before they were there a month - this so long as they confined their activities to maintaining order and did not seek to operate in the interests of the Radical party.23

The editor of The News and Courier, of course, was correct for the companies that went to Edgefield were greeted by the cheers of a Red Shirt escort and life was made pleasant for them. This was to be expected, for none other than Hampton himself had termed the Army people as

23 The News and Courier, Aug. 21, 1876.
the best friends the Carolinians had in the North and had urged that they be treated kindly.\textsuperscript{24}

The evolution from at least partial hostility between the troops and the white citizens of the South to an atmosphere of outward cordiality was not confined to the political areas alone. At first, as we have seen, the troops were accepted only by a few of the men of the town, and, of course, by the Radicals and Negroes. Then, as the years passed and it was found that an advantageous distinction could be drawn between the soldiers and the Radical and Negro elements they were called upon to support, their popularity grew so that, by the end of the Reconstruction period, relations were beginning to assume a normal appearance.

As indicated above, the social arbiters of the South were the women and, once acceptance from them was obtained, a normal social relationship was apt to follow. Although the women were reluctant to be sociable with Army people, there were exceptions among them.

Lieutenant Jocelyn, a New Englander who had no great love for the South, reported that though, in 1866, the people of Charleston were cold and reserved toward the soldiers in their city there were occasional introductions

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Army and Navy Journal, Nov. 4, 1876.}
to Charleston girls which resulted in flirtations made all the more romantic by the secrecy in which they had to be conducted. 25

And then, as early as 1867, the San Antonio Express reported the marriage of a Gertrude Cassiano to Lieutenant Charles P. Smith of the 35th Infantry. Miss Cassiano was described as a member of one of San Antonio's oldest and wealthiest Spanish families. Later in the seventies one of the captains of the 2d Infantry married a charming and socially prominent Atlanta lady, and in 1877 two Mississippi girls married two officers of the 3d Infantry at Pass Christian. 26

Along in 1868 another lieutenant, this one of the 1st Infantry in Louisiana, was having about equal success with a southern girl - at least until he ran into some complications. It appears that this officer courted the young lady for a short time with such ardent and honorable intentions that the officer and the lady became engaged. Now, for a young officer to show an interest in girls is one thing, but marriage was something else entirely, and the lieutenant's announcement of his betrothal prodded

25 Jocelyn, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

26 San Antonio Express, Nov. 27, 1867; F. B. Shaw, One Hundred and Forty Years of Service..., History of the Second Infantry..., (Detroit, 1930) p. 332 and Joe, op. cit., p. 134.
his older and wiser comrades into action. They told him without mincing words that the lieutenant's projected marriage would result in his disgrace and that if he went through with it he would have to leave the regiment. This set the dismayed lieutenant to investigating and, when he found out what type of medicine the girl had been given by the post surgeon, he broke the engagement. The girl's father became quite incensed, and wrote none other than General Hancock denouncing the lieutenant for alleged ungentlemanly conduct and dishonorable intentions toward his daughter. Hancock forwarded the letter to the post commander, who told him the story behind all of this and said that not only did the lieutenant not gossip about the girl but that the reputation of her and her family was so bad that even the enlisted men did not associate with them.  

While all of this courting was going on there were other less spectacular victories on the social front. Bachelor Lieutenant David L. Craft wrote his sister in 1868 that he had been two weeks in Beaufort, South Carolina, with a military commission and found it to have been a pleasant town. The people there went out of their way to

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Ltr., Robert Connolly to Maj. Gen. W.S. Hancock, Amite, La., Mar. 8, 1868, LR C 18 (d), 5th Mil. Dist., 1868, NA.
entertain the members of the commission, giving them croquet parties, dances, sailing excursions, and everything else in the social calendar. 28

At about the same time that Craft was enjoying the hospitality of South Carolina, Captain and Mrs. William Biddle were having equally good fortune in Natchez, Mississippi. The Biddles apparently enjoyed only Army companionship until the captain made a report which supported the views of the southern whites as opposed to those advocated by the local Radicals. As a result he gained instant popularity. Not only were the Biddles offered a house in which to live, but they were invited by the townspeople to dinners and receptions and joined them at fox hunts and cock fights. On leaving Natchez they were so well established with the former Confederate element that the Natchez town band and the veterans of a local Confederate company escorted them and their troops to the boat. 29

The most successful social beachhead made by Army people was in New Orleans. It was reported that at one of the gala festivities held during the 1869 Mardi Gras no Negroes or scalawags were present, but some northern

28 Ltr., David L. Craft to Carrie Craft, Charleston, S.C., April 2, 1866, David Lawrence Craft Papers, DU.

29 Biddle, op. cit., pp. 30, 31, 34, 41.
ladies and gentlemen and federal officers were there. It went on to say that there was no distinction made on the basis of section or opinion, but the lines were drawn against those who came to Louisiana to plunder, slander, or incite the Negro.  

Mutual need brought some soldiers and civilians together. Cornelia Phillips Spencer of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, wrote a friend that one of her neighbors was swollen with a sense of importance because the officers temporarily stationed in Chapel Hill and their families were boarding at her house. However, Mrs. Spencer seemed pleased to relate, she had heard that the landlady in question was a poor housekeeper.  

As proof that the above attitude was not an isolated one, Mrs. Spencer also noted that the local Methodist congregation was going to have a church supper to raise funds to repair their church. Mrs. Spencer went on to say that she supposed that they hoped to get the troops there to attend, for she did not know of anyone else likely to do so.  

Speaking of boarders, Mrs. Avary of Richmond wrote of

30 Coulter, op. cit., p. 299.
31 Ltr., Cornelia P. Spencer to Mrs. Swain, Chapel Hill, N.C., Dec. 20, 1869, The Spencer Papers, NCSDHA.
32 Ibid.
a value that Army people had to southern landlords, which, as indicated above, had been appreciated during and immediately after the War. An Army officer in the house was considered better protection than any watchdog and the people who had one were deemed fortunate. When an officer was in the house, Mrs. Avary observed, there was usually mutual kindness, consideration, and politeness, and points of sharp difference were kept in the background. However, in spite of all these efforts, Mrs. Avary was of the opinion that sectional dividing lines still forbade free social intermingling.33

One other aspect of friendship based on need was expressed by Lieutenant Charles Breckinridge. Breckinridge was, at the time of writing, both the commander and quartermaster at the Post of Huntsville, Alabama, and felt that his dual role saved "...the natives a good deal of trouble, for it is a rule not to be departed from, that they must be on the good side of both, heretofore they had to bootlick and soft — soap? two officers, now they have only one." In conclusion, he added that people came to his office for favors but refused to speak on the streets. The older and more respectable people of Huntsville, he

33 Avary, op. cit., p. 113.
found gentlemanly and honorable, the younger surly and stiff necked.\footnote{34}

Although relations between soldiers and civilians became noticeably better as the years passed into the seventies, there continued to be a certain amount of ill feeling which cropped to the surface on occasions. In Mount Sterling, Kentucky, not too far from the Ohio River and the North, three soldiers said to have been walking peacefully through the streets, were insulted publicly by some ruffians. Although the civilians were brandishing revolvers, the police did not arrest them but managed to quiet them down. This incident was not the first of its kind which had occurred in Mount Sterling, for, although the townspeople and the troops got along in a friendly fashion, the country people were less cordial. It would seem probable that the civilians involved here would have been less concerned with the troops' relationship with Reconstruction than they were with the troops' connection with Revenue agents.\footnote{35}

Another sore spot that had festered since the end of the War was a feud that seemed to exist between soldiers

\footnote{34 Ltr., Lt. Chas. Breckinridge to Rev. Robt. P. Breckinridge, Huntsville, Ala., Aug. 2, 1866, Breckinridge Papers, LC.}

\footnote{35 Ltr., CO, Post of Mt. Sterling, to AAAG, Dept. of the South, Mt. Sterling, Ky., Aug. 26, 1871, LR M 266, Dept. of the South, 1871, NA.}
and the Atlanta police. They had brawled as early as 1868 and strained relations continued into 1874. A dangerous situation was narrowly avoided in May 1874 when a private of the 2d Infantry was shot in the back by a policeman. Although the man was not seriously hurt, the incident, being one of several that had recently occurred, so inflamed the troops that some of them gathered for the purpose of taking vengeance on the police. Fortunately, the move was detected and averted, and the odium of a riot was avoided.\(^\text{36}\)

The attitudes of some civilians were bitter still as late as 1876, when the July 10th *New Orleans Democrat* was alleged to have spoken of the administration there as "overrunning Louisiana with Dog Merrills, Phil Sheridans, De Trobriands and their ruffian soldiery."

This statement is interesting since it was made at the time of the Custer Massacre and contrasts with a comment by the Democrat organ of the other southern metropolis, Charleston. The *News and Courier* reported that most of the officers who were killed were well known and respected by the people of South Carolina, since they had been in the upper portion of the state executing the Enforcement Acts in 1872 and 1873. However, both papers

\(^{36}\) Ltr., Chief, Atlanta Police to CG, Dept. of the South, Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 30, 1868, LR 221 A, Dept. of the South 1868 and RMHP 205, McPherson Bks., p. 123, NA.
were in agreement on the character of Merrill who as The News and Courier reported, was not in the fight and who "...never gets into a fight except when hunting crooked whiskey for reward." 37

In spite of these and other indications of dislike for the soldiery, and there were many, the relations between the southern people and the troops continued to improve. After being stationed in Mississippi, the above mentioned Biddles were transferred to Macon, Georgia, where again Mrs. Biddle found herself welcome in local society. As she reported it, the second time she attended a church there she rolled up to its door in an Army ambulance, alighted and was escorted to a pew down front. Thereafter, she claims to have made many friends in the parish, including the Rector and his wife. 38

Lieutenant and Mrs. Roe, stationed in Mississippi and Louisiana during the seventies, were equally friendly with civilians. While at Vicksburg the Roes boarded with a niece of Jefferson Davis, and during their stay their hostess was visited by Davis himself. Mrs. Roe reported that Mr. Davis' visit lasted three weeks and that often

37 New Orleans Republican, July 11, 1876 and The News and Courier, July 8, 1876.

in the evenings he and Lieutenant Roe would sit on the front porch and discuss West Point and the Army.\(^{39}\)

In the three years that Roe's company was in the South it moved 29 times with the result that Mrs. Roe lived in many localities. Possibly as a result of their friendship with the Davis family, the Roes found social life in Vicksburg charming. However, they found Holly Springs in 1874 less hospitable and learned that they were referred to by the local folk as "Yank Tanks." Pass Christian in 1877 was different, for they were received there hospitably and, as stated above, two officers married Mississippi girls.\(^{40}\)

Of all the places, however, New Orleans in the healthy season was the gayest. Not only was there a large military and naval social circle but the regiments participated in the Mardi Gras parades and the officers were invited to the Rex and Comus Balls. In addition, they attended Creole Balls in Gruenwald Hall and dances given by the Washington Artillery.\(^{41}\)

\(^{39}\) Roe, op. cit., p. 153, 154. In June 1868 a reprint of an article entitled A Military Missionary in Virginia in De Bow's Review stated that though the officers were not vindictive, as a group they were of the unanimous opinion that Jefferson Davis should be tried for treason.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., pp. 156-157.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., pp. 153-154.
Mrs. Roe failed to report it, but she must have made the acquaintance of one of the South's distinguished but tarnished sons, for the New Orleans Bulletin reported on November 13, 1874, that General James Longstreet had made a sudden recovery from an alleged illness enough so that he was able to attend a dance given by Colonel Delaney Floyd-Jones and the officers of the 3d. Infantry at Jackson Barracks.\textsuperscript{42}

Receptions of the New Orleans variety were given probably less often in Little Rock where on July 7, 1872, one was held for Colonel Charles H. Smith, 19th Infantry, by some citizens of the town. Of this particular event the post surgeon reported, "The entertainment was elegant and recherché in all its appointments."\textsuperscript{43}

Had he been present, the surgeon might have written the same thing about a ball held in Pensacola in 1875. This affair was given by some civilians in the town in return for one to which they had been invited by the Navy. It was attended by Army and Navy officers, some Confederate veterans and selected civilians, including a few who were described as distinguished guests. It was a good party with both dancing and food and was so enjoyed that it


\textsuperscript{43} RMHP 448, Post of Little Rock, p. 273, NA.
was daybreak before the guests left for home.\textsuperscript{44}

National holidays provided opportunities for soldiers and civilians to mingle. In Baton Rouge on July 4, 1873, a "fete champêtre" was held, highlighted by a race between the garrison and local fire companies. The garrison’s company won and, on the 13th, the city companies, headed by a band, delivered the trophy, a flag made by some ladies of the town. The presentation was a grand affair with speeches and refreshments. After the ceremonies, the band marched back to town to the tune of Yankee Doodle.\textsuperscript{45}

Independence Day and a summer shower combined to bring soldiers and civilians in Savannah into closer contact. On the morning of July 4, 1875, as the Jasper Greens, a local militia company, marched by Oglethorpe Barracks there was a sudden downpour and the Greens fled to the shelter of the Barracks' sally port. They were asked inside the post and their enlisted men were invited to the enlisted men's quarters while the officers enjoyed the shelter and hospitality of the post adjutant's quarters. This was an auspicious occasion, for it marked the first time that a southern military unit had entered Oglethorpe

\textsuperscript{44}Army and Navy Journal, June 5, 1875.

\textsuperscript{45}Army and Navy Journal, Sept. 27, 1873.
Barracks since it had been evacuated by the Confederates in 1864.\textsuperscript{46}

The 4th also brought forth patriotic sentiment in Augusta. On July 4th a party of militia units and the 1st Artillery band left Charleston for Augusta to the booming of a 19 gun salute fired in their honor by a battery of the 1st Artillery. In Augusta a parade was held, the Confederate flag being carried side by side with Stars and Stripes. The militia units were divided into battalions, the 1st Artillery Band furnishing music for the Charleston Battalion and the 18th Infantry Band music for the Columbia and Augusta Battalion. Officers of 18th Infantry, as guests of the Columbia and Augusta Battalion, marched with the Richland Rifles Club of Columbia, and afterwards, the 18th Infantry Band gave a benefit concert for the Oglethorpe Infantry. On the way out to Augusta the 1st Artillery Band played at every principal stop, mingling the strains of Yankee Doodle and Dixie for the first time in many years. On arriving in Augusta they played a medley of Yankee Doodle, Bonnie Blue Flag and the Star Spangled Banner. The Stars and Stripes was said to have been displayed everywhere.\textsuperscript{47}

Washington's birthday was the occasion of a similar celebration in Charleston. A parade including the Post

\textsuperscript{46} RMHP 262, Post of Savannah, p. 333, NA.

\textsuperscript{47} News and Courier, July 5, 6, 7, 1875.
Band, Washington Light Infantry, Sumter Guards, Palmetto Guard, Wagner Artillery, National Zouaves, German Fusiliers and Fusiliers Band, Montgomery Guards, and the Washington Artillery wound through the streets of Charleston and, as it passed into Calhoun Street, a salute of 36 guns was fired by a battery of United States artillery. After the parade, some ceremonies were held in the Hibernian Hall. The Washington Light Infantry appeared there with the Eutaw Flag, which had been carried during the Revolution at the battles of Eutaw and Cowpens, and received a thunderous ovation. The program opened with the garrison band playing Hail Columbia. This was followed by several speeches which praised national unity and patriotism and, at their conclusion, the Post Band played the Star Spangled Banner. As the audience was about to leave the hall, an arrangement was played of Yankee Doodle and Dixie with the strains blended. Officers of the Army were in attendance and the post commander, Colonel Israel Vodges, sat in a place of honor on the stage.48

By the seventies, officers of the Charleston garrison were included in many of the regular social activities of the very social militia companies of that city. In 1873, for instance, the garrison commandant and his staff

48 News and Courier, Feb. 23, 1875.
were numbered among the over three hundred guests of the Washington Light Infantry on a moonlight cruise around the Charleston harbor.\footnote{49}

The cruise was just a harbinger of good times to come, for 1875, the centennial of the Revolution, was a banner year for military sociability. Among the first events was the one hundredth anniversary celebration of the German Fusiliers which, of course, furnished an excuse for a parade. Among the units involved was Battery K, 1st Artillery, which, in the course of march, gained the admiration of the crowds by wheeling into battery, dropping trails and firing a 13 gun salute. Then, limbering up, they stood in line and received a marching salute from the militia brigade as it passed by. Commenting on this The News and Courier stated that

The blue and gray saluted each other - the much talked of bloody chasm notwithstanding. It was a graceful complement to the day by the brave and thoughtful officers who command the military forces at this post, and it will long be remembered by the celebrants.\footnote{50}

There were receptions as well. Officers of the 1st, 2d, and 5th Artillery and 18th Infantry Regiments who were stationed in Charleston, with their illustrious commanders, Generals Vodges and Henry Hunt, were entertained at

\footnote{49}{The Aiken Tribune, July 12, 1873.}
\footnote{50}{The News and Courier, May 4, 1875.}
the Charleston Hotel by the officers of the Washington Light Infantry, the German Fusiliers and the Palmetto Guard. After the reception, they banqueted and were entertained by speeches and toasts. According to The News and Courier the whole affair was marked by good feeling and cordiality.  

This friendship was born in spite of adversity and continued through the final acts of Charleston's reconstruction. Although in February 1877 the militia units were forbidden to hold their much loved parades, the Washington Light Infantry invited the Clinch Rifles of Augusta down for a sociable get together. Once again there was a lot of speech making and numerous toasts were proposed. One of the favorites in attendance was General Hunt who, on arising to speak, was greeted by two minutes of thunderous applause. The general responded by reminiscing about a tour of duty he had spent in Charleston before the War.  

This good feeling was the result of many things. There were acts of individual courtesy which, given a bit of publicity, must have created a favorable reaction.

51 Ibid., Dec. 7, 1875 and Army and Navy Journal, Dec. 18, 1875.
Mrs. Avary, whose publication included much that was derogatory to the Army, mentioned two small incidents which reflected favorably upon it. One occurred when a Richmond lady, dressed in the style which dictated that she wear a veil, was walking along a street when a gust of wind tore her veil from her face and deposited it at the feet of a federal officer. Much to Mrs. Avary's approval, the officer reacted by covering his eyes with his hat as he picked up the veil and returned it to its owner.

At another unspecified time an Atlanta woman, who believed the troops of the Atlanta garrison to be thievish, was pleased to note that at least one was not so bad, for an Irish soldier did her weekly washing and no doubt pleased her by cursing the Negroes for not working.⁵³

There were other more useful ways of restoring good will. Colonel Lovell of Ash Barracks, Nashville, was active in his community to the extent that he accepted an invitation to speak in behalf of a charity drive for the local Confederate Orphan Asylum. Unfortunately, he had to withdraw his acceptance because of laryngitis.⁵⁴

A little later at Port Macon, North Carolina, the post surgeon reported to the Medical Director of the Department


⁵⁴ Ltr., AAG, Post of Nashville to Mrs. S.R.Woods, Ash Barracks, Jan. 20, 1870, LB 326, Dist. of Middle Tenn., p. 690, NA.
of the East that he had been giving medical advice to civilians in the vicinity who asked for it. Unfortunately, he found that many of the people who called upon him were too poor to buy medicine so he felt called upon to request permission to give them medicine from his stores.\footnote{RMHP 197, Ft. Macon, p. 121, NA.}

Medical service of this kind was probably rather rare. Entertainment provided by the presence of a large post was more common. In an age before an abundance of formal entertainment, military parades with their pomp and ceremony must have been an attraction for even the most diehard rebel. In 1869 the \textit{Nashville Daily Press and Times} reported that the soldierly appearance of the United States troops in the funeral parade of John Bell attracted a great deal of attention and made for many complimentary remarks, and the performance as sentinels at his bier in the Capitol contributed much toward the imposing appearance of the funeral.\footnote{\textit{Daily Press and Times}, Sept. 13, 1869. John Bell had been a candidate for President on the Constitutional Union ticket in 1860.}

Evening parades were also attended by many persons. Hundreds of residents of Little Rock attended parades at its arsenal where they watched the 28th Regiment and Battery G, 5th Artillery, go through the evolutions of the
Retreat parade to the music of the 18th Infantry’s band. Reports of other well attended parades are numerous. A large number of persons are reported to have witnessed the pomp and ceremony that accompanied General Irving McDowell’s inspection of the Post of Columbia in 1874 and, in the same year, a review was held by General William H. Emory and troops in Louisiana which were gathered on Canal Street for the occasion. This grand event was, of course, viewed by many of the townspeople and the Times concurred with the Picayune in its belief that the Army was most creditably represented in New Orleans.

The main attraction at such ceremonies was possibly the music played by the garrison bands. In his report on South Carolina, James S. Pike noted that military music was always heard at sunset at the Post of Columbia and that Among the airs often played was that which refers to the late John Brown of Ossawattomie....the music seems to create no ripple of discontent. It is the favorite pastime of the "Gig Society" of Columbia to drive every evening to the parade grounds and listen to such strains as the band chooses to discourse. Out of the multitude no one runs away at the sound of John Brown's name.

Echoing Pike's observation, The Daily Richmond Enquirer of

Little Rock Evening Republican, June 17, 1867; The Daily Union Herald (Columbia), Feb. 6, 1874 and The New Orleans Times, Oct. 26, 1874.

James S. Pike, The Prostrate State, (New York, 1874) p. 79.
September 6, 1866, quoted the Columbia papers as saying that the 6th Infantry Band at Columbia delighted the citizens of that place and that large numbers of them attended its performances.

Bands played for citizens in other cities too. A concert in the form of a serenade to a visiting colonel in Mobile was said to have attracted a lot of persons who flocked to hear it and in isolated Holly Springs, Mississippi, the people were invited to visit the 3d Infantry's summer camp every evening in order to listen to the regimental band. 59

But nowhere in the South were the people so fortunate in this respect as they were in Charleston. As early as 1867 a 25 piece band, 22 of whose musicians were German, played concerts on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings at The Citadel for the garrison, its officers, and their friends. These concerts blossomed later into weekly summer concerts held on the Battery. It appears that they were often held at six o'clock in the evening, at which time the streets near the Battery were crowded with carriages and the adjoining water was dotted with boats of those who preferred to listen from that vantage point. 60

59 Mobile Daily Register April 21, 1869 and New Orleans Times, July 11, 1874.

An extra treat was the occasional moonlight concert. One of these was given on March 31, 1874, and featured, among six numbers, the overture to The Barber of Seville and selections from La Traviata. These affairs received excellent newspaper coverage both in announcements and reviews. The report of this moonlight concert noted that a large gathering at White Point Garden witnessed a "truly striking" scene.

...The well known beauty of the Battery itself, with its green lawns, its long rows of evergreens, its broad terraces and shell drives; the beautiful moon shedding a light which, ... seemed to cast an indescribable softness over the scene; the noble bay with its shipping, its fortresses, its palm crowned isles, looming upon the distant horizons; the host of beautiful faces; the dashing equipages and the rich music of the Post Band borne on the soft southwest breeze - all conspired to lend an almost magical influence to the scene....

And then The News and Courier added that

while the promenaders drank in the mellow beauty around them, the unexpressed wish over everyone must have been for an early recurrence of this most delightful recreation. The citizens owe one more debt to General Vodges and the Post Band.51

As this passage indicates, such a concert was invaluable in promoting good public relations, and the above described good relationships between the civilians and military personnel in Charleston were, no doubt, partially due to the

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51 The News and Courier, Mar. 31 and April 1, 1874. Each concert seems to have been divided into two parts. They were opened with a march which was followed in turn by an overture and either a waltz or polka. The second part then opened with a waltz or polka which was followed by a light concert selection and then the program was closed with a galop! German composers seemed to dominate the program.
good will engendered by these concerts. A more practical testimony to the appreciation of one music lover of the band's efforts appeared, however, in the form of a keg of Kleiner's Cincinnati Lager Beer "in position for immediate use," which the band received together with a note expressing the hope that another unnamed effort of other citizens to show their appreciation in a more substantial manner would be successful. 62

If invitations to participate in local events was a sign of appreciation, the regimental musicians were high in the public's esteem as music makers if not as individuals. In 1875 alone the 5th Artillery Band at Charleston was employed to serenade an entertainer by the name of Adelaide Phillips and then, a month later, ex-Confederate General Stephen D. Lee. In April it gave a highly promenade concert at a Floral Fair sponsored by the Agricultural Society of South Carolina at the Charleston College campus. 63

At the same time the 18th Infantry's bandsmen at the Post of Columbia were likewise busy. In September their string band was invited and went all the way to Augusta to furnish the Augusta Schutzen Verein with music for a moonlight picnic and dance, and, in the following month they played

62 The News and Courier, July 18, 1873.
63 Ibid., Feb. 1, Mar. 7, April 19, 1875.
for a hop given by the Richland Rifle Club. Then, in December, the band was called upon to head the academic procession at the commencement ceremonies at the University of South Carolina. The order of march as described by The News and Courier included, in succession, the band, the prep school numbering one hundred scholars, all colored, the undergrads which were nearly all colored, members of the faculty and officers of the legislature, orators, and members of the legislature. This ceremony was held in the Representatives Hall of the Capitol, the gallery of which was said to have been filled almost exclusively with Negroes. The role of the band in all of this was facetiously related by a reporter who noted that

...At the head was the band of the Eighteenth Infantry Regiment, in rank and uniform, zealously discoursing the soul-inspiring strains of "Captain Jenks," the peculiar appropriateness of which air to the occasion must ever remain a secret locked up in the recesses of the drum major’s immost consciousness.

The 18th Infantry Band continued its parading in the remaining years of Reconstruction too. In July it went all the way to Charleston at the invitation of the Rifle Clubs to parade in the centennial celebrations at Fort Moultrie and Sullivan’s Island but, for unexplained reasons, dropped out of one of their parades. However, in the following year, 1877, they marched the whole route at the

head of the procession that welcomed Wade Hampton home from his trip to Washington and his memorable conference with President Hayes that resulted in the removal of federal support to South Carolina's Radical politicians.

Memorial Day also provided a bond for both soldiers and citizens in the latter days of Reconstruction. Soldiers decorated graves immediately after the War, but apparently these efforts were directed toward those found in national cemeteries which, of course, were graves of Union dead. A large procession of civilians in carriages and on foot wended its way toward the national cemetery in Little Rock where the civilians placed flowers on the graves. The procession was led by Company K, 19th Infantry, which was said to have presented a fine appearance and elicited much commendation for its appearance.

A large celebration was also held in Yorkville, South Carolina, in 1874. The suggestion of a joint celebration came, in part at least, from members of the Yorkville garrison and Lieutenant Hiram H. Benner served on the arrangements committee and was one of the parade marshals. The stores of Yorkville closed at 5 P.M. on

65 The Union Herald (Columbia) July 1, 1876; The News and Courier, April 7, 1877.
66 RMHP 448, Post of Little Rock, p. 266, NA.
May 30th and civilians, cadets of Kings Mountain Military School, and soldiers assembled in a grove near the town's Methodist Church. There was singing by the choir of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, prayers and a short speech by a Major James F. Hart who highlighted his talk by quoting the lyrics of the Civil War ballad Somebody's Darling. After these ceremonies, graves of the dead of both armies were decorated, and the whole assemblage united to place flowers on the grave of a Revolutionary War veteran, James B. Fulton.

That this joint service was a pioneer effort is evidenced by an incident that almost destroyed it. Lieutenant Frederick F. Whitehead, the post commander, had refused to take part in the ceremonies but had permitted the garrison to do so and had allowed Lieutenant Benner to be one of the key men in its planning. But then, as the troops and Lieutenant Benner, escorted by the cadets, marched down the street toward the Methodist Church, Lieutenant Whitehead stopped the procession and placed Benner under arrest. In explaining this, Whitehead stated that he had understood that there were to be no formalities and that the arrest was dictated by military necessity. 67

Joint services on national holidays, band concerts

67 Yorkville Enquirer, June 4, 1874 and The News and Courier, June 5, 1874.
and the numerous instances of friendship described above were only symptomatic of a growth in good will. There was still much to be accomplished. A description of Army life in the South printed in the Army and Navy Journal, April 30, 1870, related that the soldiers in the South were confused because they were dealt with in the spirit of enemies by persons who demanded the consideration of friends. Exceptions to the rule were some of the Confederate veterans who appreciated the soldiers' position and feelings. There were people who had opened their doors to the military by this time but they were exceptions and, though many more might have been friendly, they were unwilling to display friendship for fear of censure from their neighbors. In comment on this article an officer in the South, in a letter printed in the next month's issue, said that Army people were generally repelled from the social circle and observed that, though Generals Pope and Meade had been responsible for the most brilliant social seasons experienced by Atlanta society, there were still social barriers there that the officers of the Atlanta garrison could not break through.68

Four years later the editor of the Army and Navy Journal received another letter from an officer of the 16th

68 Army and Navy Journal, May 7, 1870.
Infantry at Colfax, Louisiana, which described life in the South as he saw it. According to this officer, the only social relations to be had were with a few northerners, but, because of the way in which the Army had performed its duties, he felt that the southern people had respect for the honesty and justice of Army personnel and preferred military government to many of those in power in the South.69

Aside from the lingering dislike for the blue uniform which had been engendered by the War, the federal Army's support of the Radical government and the persons it represented was most responsible for their lack of acceptance in southern society. These Radicals were able to maintain their dominance only while they were supported by the federal government as represented by the military and, therefore, sought to maintain the alliance as long as possible. Little can be found that describes any great amount of personal friendliness between the troops and carpetbag and scalawag elements, but it may be assumed that there was some during the early years of Reconstruction. Writing of the Charleston scene early in the period, Jocelyn noted that

69 Ibid., Oct. 10, 1874.
The northern element here, which is composed of the military, business men and temporary sojourners, has quite a little society of its own, so that one does not associate with the late rebels unless by choice, and sometimes not even then, for the "chivalry" is not disposed to laud the "mudsills" overmuch. 70

Though the private social intercourse between the military and Radical white elements is not a matter of record, they were seen together at public functions. On Memorial Day, 1869, for instance, the personnel of the Post of Columbia were excused from duty to join with the local members of the Grand Army of the Republic in ceremonies in honor of "our comrades who perished in suppressing the rebellion." It can also be suspected that, despite the Raleigh Standard's report of deserted streets and shops in Fayetteville at the time of the dedication of a new flag pole, and an accompanying reception at the post headquarters, only those persons of rather radical persuasion were on hand. Two ladies, a Mrs. M. A. Baker and Mrs. James Smith, hoisted the flag to the top of the pole amid "...shouts of admiration, and for the first time since the breaking out of the rebellion our country's banner was swung to the breeze. Many a silent tear was seen to start, and the smile of satisfaction was seen on the faces of all." After the affair had ended, the Holden paper

70 Jocelyn, op. cit., p. 75.
reported that "...all returned home to thank kind Providence that they had been spared to see that day."\(^71\)

The Army, as the Radicals' shield and buckler, received much favorable comment from the Republican press even unto the last days of Reconstruction. In editorializing the end of military government in Georgia, Atlanta's *The Daily New Era*, July 26, 1868, remarked as to the difficulty of the task the soldiers had performed and then noted that the military had discharged its duties in a wise, liberal, humane, and kind manner. They had acted under orders for which they were not responsible except as to the manner in which they were discharged. The editor then went on to say that, in his dealings with officers in Georgia, he had found them to be in "sympathetic sentiment" with the southern people and had an earnest desire to help them. In concluding this wise editorial, he reminded his readers that the Army would remain in Alabama and urged the people to get to know them better.

The Republican organs, being allied with the party in power and interested in preserving the *status quo*, found it easy to be on the side of law and order.

\(^71\) Cir., Hq., Post of Columbia, May 27, 1869, LB 411, Dept. of the South, p. 58, NA and *The Tri Weekly Standard*, (Raleigh), June 15, 1867.
Consequently, their reporting reflects much surface wisdom. Speaking of the aid given by troops to the Radical state governments, they could say quite logically that troops were in the South to aid in maintaining law and order and, therefore, all good citizens should be happy to have them around. A facetious article on the use of troops in Aiken is illustrative of this point. The Union Herald's staff wept bloody tears as they contemplated the fate of Aiken when the troops swooped down upon it.

...Chickens, eggs, watermelons, sweet potatoes, and onions have advanced in price. Not a barkeeper in town but must hereafter get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to provide the invigorating cocktail for the insolent stranger. There is a sudden inquiry for soap and starch by the dusky washerwoman whose secret joy in the arrival of the invaders may be discerned in her open countenance. The lately quiet stores of this village are occasionally stirred by the advent of the hateful uniform, the owner of which inquires for the "best five center" with a freedom of manner galling to the high souled grocer. As the cracker drives his oxcart along the sandy road he will be surrounded by these minions of tyranny in regard to the prices of peaches and watermelons....

and so it went as the horrors of federal occupation were described.72

But there was criticism of certain officers, too. One of the most prominent targets for their sniping was none other than Major General Winfield Scott Hancock. Hancock worried Henry C. Warmoth because Warmoth feared

72 The Union Herald (Columbia), July 18, 24, 1876.
that Hancock was too conservative and might appoint conservatives to the Louisiana Board of Registration which would supervise the election of officials to the state's constitutional convention. Behind Hancock was his wife who, according to Warmoth, was "...an open spoken rebel. Says openly in his parlor in the presence of many people - that while her husband was fighting rebels she was fighting him. Now I suppose he congratulates hisself that there is peace in the family."73

This unpopularity cropped out in the press in other ways. Instead of being criticized for his opinions, General Hancock was criticized for other things. The Radicals apparently did not approve of his habit of walking about the streets in mufti and also disliked the manner in which he walked. He did not strut enough.74

There was another general that displeased the Radical press. The Alabama State Journal, June 18, 1871, spoke disparagingly of an unnamed general officer who passed through Montgomery as "a good coach but a slow one." His genius was likened to an old lady's spoiled eggs that never hatched any chickens. They feared that the Republican harness had never fitted easily to his shoulders.75

73 Ltr., Henry C. Warmoth to Sen. Wilson, New Orleans, La., Mar. 6, 1868, Henry C. Warmoth Papers, LC.
75 Alabama State Journal, Montgomery, Ala., June 18, 1871.
Like Hancock and the other general, some of the enlisted men also disliked the Radicals. Among their antagonists were the members of the Tennessee militia, mustered by Tennessee's Republican administration to combat the Ku Klux. Apparently a militia camp was located near the Post of Nashville and, as a result, there were frequent collisions between members of the two forces. The race of the Tennessee unit was not indicated, but it may have been composed in part of Negroes. Two years later the troops came into contact with North Carolina militiamen—Negro troops dubbed "Kirk's Lambs." One of the Lambs shot a soldier which action, according to reports, incensed the soldiers with the result that it was said to have required some doing on the part of officials to keep the soldiers from "gobbling up" the Lambs.76

The attitude of certain soldiers toward the Radicals is described in the writings of Randolph Shotwell, a North Carolina conservative and office holder in the Ku Klux Klan. He noted first that when a detachment of troops was sent into Alamance County in March 1870 after Governor Holden had declared it to be in a state of insurrection,

the troops greatly enraged the governor by fraternizing with the citizens and being unwilling to act as the governor wished.77

Shotwell again came into contact with troops when a party of them accompanied some law enforcement officers who arrested him. As they were taking the Klan leader in, some of the soldiers told him that they would not shoot him if he attempted an escape, but Shotwell did not make the effort and was jailed. While locked up he was visited by some enlisted men who smuggled liquor to him. He noted here that all but one or two of the officers that he saw were not in sympathy with Holden's government, an exception being a Lieutenant Greene, alleged grandson of Nathaniel Greene.78

At a later date Shotwell made a further observation regarding the relationship between soldiers and the Radical law enforcement officers they were required to support. He noted that, when escorting these "mongrels", the troops rode together "as if ashamed to be seen with such creatures."

At this time, July 1876, he was told that nearly all of them were in sympathy with the people.79

78 Ibid., pp. 470, 471, 526, 527.
79 Ibid., p. 536.
The people who received little sympathy from the soldiers at this stage of Reconstruction were the freedmen. At War's end the attitude of the soldier toward the Negro had varied from dislike and contempt to one of utmost affection and sympathy which, in a few instances, had culminated in marriage. By the time the Regulars had taken over the duties of occupation, however, most of the ardent abolitionists had left the Army, leaving their mantle to the Freedmen's Bureau, which had a few officers and men actuated by a sincere belief in the equality of the Negro.

The deeds of some officers who worked hand in glove with the Radicals can possibly be taken as evidence of their favorable attitude toward the Negro. Among this number might be included William H. Emory and Adelbert Ames. Few of them, however, held the black man in such high esteem as Archibald B. Campbell, post surgeon at Ringgold Barracks, who, in his sanitary report of 1874, wrote that when properly drilled, Negroes excelled white men in the qualities that made for good peacetime soldiers. Furthermore, he believed that they would so far excel the Zouave, the Uhlan, and Cossack that one regiment of colored men could whip a regiment made up of the best of all three combined. He was also sure that at a future day the Negro "will be as proud of the name 'nigger' as the Friend is of Quaker." But even Campbell was not so enthusiastic over
the qualities of the Negro that he could not see that
the women around their camps were a nuisance that might
be better dispensed with. 80

The Negro women proved attractive to some white
soldiers as well as to the Negro troops. This spelled
trouble, especially when the soldiers attempted to attend
Negro dances at which they were not welcomed by the Negro
men. Brenham, Texas, was set afire by soldiers in revenge
for the shooting of one of their number in a brawl that
began in a Negro dance hall. A sergeant of the 5th
Artillery was also shot by a Negro in another melee that
resulted after a party of troops had tried to attend a
colored dance in Little Rock. Soldiers at colored dances
spelled trouble. 81

Negro women and soldiers met other places too. The
Charleston Daily News, August 28, 1869, reported that
troops from The Citadel's garrison had been in the habit
of meeting Negro women in a square on Ann Street nearly
every night making themselves obnoxious to everyone, espe-
cially the Negro men who one night bombarded the merrymakers
with brickbats. The same sort of thing had gone on a

80 RMHP 721, Ringgold Barracks, pp. 75-77, NA.
81 Rept., E. O. Townsend to P. A. Sheridan, New Orleans, Sept.
  7, 1866, Phillip A. Sheridan Letters, LC and Daily
  Arkansas Gazette, Nov. 28, 1866.
couple of years before in Chester, where one irate citizen complained that she was disturbed nightly by soldiers and "a parcel of lazy Freed-Women." There were dancing, cursing, and firing of pistols every night all through the night, and the good folk of Chester were much disturbed. The lady complained to Major Daniel D. Lynn, the post commander, who initiated an investigation into a matter with which he should have been thoroughly familiar if he had been doing his job.  

As may be suspected, there were troops who visited Negro women in their homes or in brothels. A fight occurred when Private Reuben Smith of the colored 9th Cavalry met some members of the 26th Infantry in the house of a colored woman named Jones. Smith went to his barracks, got a gun and shot and killed one of the white soldiers. A month later another soldier was killed by the proprietress of a colored brothel after he had raised a fuss in her establishment. A third man deserted from Crittenden Barracks in Louisville, after he had fired into a house wounding two Negroes. He had stopped there earlier in the evening to see a Negro woman and had been angered

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82 Ltr., S. McAfee to CO, Post of Chester, Chester S.C., May 6, 1867 Misc. LR, 2d Mil. Dist., 1867, NA.
when the people in the house would not let him in. Since only those occasions of the type which
resulted in some sort of trouble were reported, it must
be reluctantly assumed that prior to 1870 there was a
sizeable amount of interracial fraternization between
freedwomen and at least a segment of the white troops.
This was not always condoned, though written condemnation
of it is scarce. The commander at Camp Hamilton, Virginia,
was more outspoken than many other post commanders for he
published a circular which announced

When a soldier so far forgets his position as to
place himself on Social equality with Negroes his
comrades should out of respect to themselves, treat
him with the Contempt which his conduct deserves.

He therefore ordered his troops to have nothing to do
with them.

In spite of their being in the South to preserve
order and protect the freedmen, it was not uncommon for
troops to brawl with Negroes. Two assaults on the Negro
population were reported in the Augusta Constitutionalist
of September 12, 1867. One described an incident reported

Rept., Board of Inquiry, Brownsville, Texas, Feb. 9,
1868 LR T 4G7 5th Mil. Dist., 1868; Ltr., AAG, Post of
Natchez to AAG, 4th Mil. Dist., Natchez, Miss., May 30,
1868, LR N 12, 4th Mil. Dist., 1868 and Ltr., CO, Post
of Louisville to AAG, Dept. of Ky., Louisville, Sept. 4,
1868, LR, Dept. of Ky., 1868, NA.

Cir. 1, Hq., Camp Hamilton, Va., Mar. 17, 1868, NA.
in the Atlanta Opinion wherein some troops raided a
Negro settlement, breaking in doors, and knocking the
inhabitants about until they were forced from the area
by a body of Negroes headed by Lieutenant Murphy of the
Atlanta police force. In the same issue of the Constitutionalist the editor asked why the Augusta police
allowed soldiers in that town to molest Negroes, saying
that they were being subjected to a type of treatment
which they had not suffered in the days of the Confederacy.
Apparently a colored barber had just been beaten by some
soldiers and the colored population was quite incensed.

The bad situation in Augusta continued on into the
following week for, according to the Constitutionalist of
September 17, 1867, some troops assaulted a colored man
who fought back and cut two of his assailants. Another
fight occurred on the following night of which the
Constitutionalist had no details.

Riots involving shooting were reported to have taken
place in Goldsboro and Sumter. The first occurred on
October 25, 1867. An estimated 75 shots were fired and one
Negro and a soldier were wounded. The Negroes were beaten
back after three fights. In the Sumter brawl in August 1871,
a soldier was shot in the leg.85

85Daily Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 28, 1869 and RMHP 283,
Post of Sumter, p. 87, NA.
The troops did not confine their attacks to black civilians but skirmished with the police as well. Negro police, newly appointed to the Vicksburg force at the suggestion of Adelbert Ames, were driven from their beats by soldiers on the evenings of July 5 and 6, 1869. The same sort of thing happened in Baton Rouge in September: when some soldiers out on a spree met a policeman and knocked him down with a "Democratic bottle." The policeman then fired on them. All soldiers found out of the post were placed under arrest by the post commander.

These brawls were not always started by the soldiers. The Constitutionalist of August 27, 1867, reported yet another incident. A Private Maguire of the 6th Infantry was assailed by a crowd of Negroes near the wharves in Charleston, robbed and beaten. In the following year at Brownsville, Tennessee, two hundred Negroes were said to have attacked 12 soldiers with brickbats and firearms. This riot was supposed to have been started by Radicals in revenge for the troops' not taking active part in the 1868 election there. Writing of some disorders which took place in Lewinsville, South Carolina, earlier in the year, the commander of the Post of Columbia noted that they

Ltr., City Marshal to CO, Post of Vicksburg, Vicksburg, Miss., July 7, 1869, LB 56, Dist. of Miss., LS 22, NA and New Orleans Republican, Sept. 17, 1875, NA.
were caused by "...the degraded elements of the negroes' nature influenced by corrupt and mischievous teachings aggravated by idleness and social disorganization." 87

April 4, 1868, was the date of yet another riot in Warrenton, Virginia. On this occasion some drunken Negroes called a detail of soldiers names, and a fight started when a Negro struck a sergeant. Another colored man drew a knife and for doing so was hit with a brick. Bricks and stones flew thick and fast. The Negroes gave ground. Learning of the melee the troops' commander raced to the scene and ordered his men to the barracks. His men ceased their stoning and obeyed, but, as they were leaving, the Negroes opened fire again. The officer then sent for reinforcements and ordered the drummer to beat "Assembly." The reinforcements arrived bearing arms, the troops formed a skirmish line and loaded their pieces. The crowd then dispersed. 88

Officers were not usually drawn into this sort of thing apparently, but one rather rare incident did take place in Columbia which reflected the type of relationship

87 The Louisville Daily Journal, Nov. 3, 1868; Ltr., CO, Post of Columbia to AAG, 2d Mil. Dist., Columbia, Jan. 20, 1868, LR, 2d Mil. Dist., 1868, NA.

88 Ltr., Lt. Wm. Richard to AAG, 1st. Mil. Dist., Warrenton, Va., April 5, 1868, LR 4 134, 1st Mil. Dist., Vol. 2, 1868, NA.
which existed between officers and Negro politicians in Columbia toward the end of Reconstruction. Some officers of the 13th Infantry were standing at the bar of Columbia's Wheeler House when Representative Hayne, colored, and John Barre, a colored Statehouse official, approached the bar. One of the officers, said to have been Colonel Henry M. Black, commander of the post, made a remark about Negroes drinking at the bar which was overheard by the Negroes and taken as a reflection on their color and some sort of an abridgement of their rights. Barre made a threatening advance toward Colonel Black but stopped when Lieutenant Carroll H. Potter intervened. Some blows were exchanged and, though Hayne drew a pistol, the Negroes were forced into the street where they remained for some time swearing vengeance on the Yankees. A large crowd gathered out of curiosity because it was said to have been the first interracial conflict in a long time.

And so it was. As Reconstruction progressed the officers and enlisted men of the Army developed a sympathy for the southern white population. In return they were increasingly accepted by these people as friends instead of as members of an alien occupying force. At the same time the chores of Reconstruction became more and more

89 The News and Courier, Sept. 23, 25, 1875.
distasteful for them and relations with Radical politicians less close. The Negro, once the Army's ward, ceased to be an object of sympathy and concern. By 1877 the naturally conservative Army and the southern people were beginning to reassume their traditionally friendly relationship with one another.
Although the Army had performed its disliked duties in a generally creditable fashion, there can be little doubt but that its efficiency and prestige in the South were impaired by certain of its poor policies and practices. Foremost among these was a personnel policy which permitted the South to be garrisoned initially by Volunteer units, whose members resented their extended service in the section, and by the controversial United States Colored Troops. Steps were taken, of course, to replace these men with Regulars as soon as possible, and this was finally done. However, the Regular units had been hurriedly recruited, were staffed with officers and noncommissioned officers with little experience in the problems of peacetime soldiering, and contained an over abundance of poor personnel who needed nothing so much as close supervision and thorough training. These necessities were but slowly acquired for the troops, undisciplined and untrained, were spread thinly over the South in small posts, often of one company or less, entirely removed from the supervision of experienced field officers and kept so busy with Reconstruction duties and necessary fatigue chores that they had little time and opportunity for being taught
to be good soldiers. The results were inevitable - there were continued breaches of discipline and desertions; there was much drunkenness and bad behavior that reflected poorly on the Army and handicapped it in the performance of its mission. Not until four or five years had passed and non-military duties had declined in number and not until the Army was reduced in strength so that it could stress quality rather than quantity in its recruiting were conditions markedly bettered.

The Army can hardly be criticized for these fumbling personnel practices, for planning ahead was not yet deemed a military necessity, and, after all, soldiers were not really expected to amount to much. It does seem odd though that the Army's experience in occupied Mexico twenty years before had not warned its top officers of what might have been expected of undisciplined troops in the South, but, beyond merely prejudicing old Regulars against Volunteers, the lesson seems to have been lost. But then, if the Army's commanders in that dark age should be criticized for not learning from their experiences and for having poorly selected and disciplined troops in the South after the Civil War, what can be said for the Army's modern commanders when one recalls the troops stationed in Europe after World War II?
The Army's task in the South was complicated also by the lack of what now, perhaps, would be called a troop orientation program. The War Department made no attempt to assist soldiers to develop opinions that were favorable to the government's policies and so, left on their own, the troops became acquainted with the area's people and factions, read its newspapers, and formed their own views. The limited number of soldier writings now available would indicate, for instance, that initially many believed that they were in the section to punish Confederates for their secession and to prevent another rebellion. And then later, as passions cooled, they could easily see that they were in the section principally to support carpetbag governments. There is no reason for believing that a large percentage were especially in accord with this later mission, in fact, only a few were in agreement with it. Although the soldier may be congratulated on the wisdom of his individual views, a system that would permit such a situation to occur must be deplored. Certainly soldiers can give devoted service only when they believe in what they are doing, and soldiers who sympathize with their enemies more than with their allies can hardly serve with the enthusiasm that promises victory.

This lack of enthusiasm was expressed by Army people in their recollections of their service in the South. During the period itself, the Army and Navy Journal, speaking
of the South, commented that no location could be more unpleasant for troops because there they were subordinated to a civil authority which neither respected nor appreciated their services. Furthermore, they had to perform duties there for which civilians were paid.

Four years later members of the 16th Infantry wrote that their life in Louisiana was "tedious and excessively disagreeable having neither the pleasures found in civil life nor the fascination of a purely military life." They spoke then of the limited social opportunities, the unhealthy conditions under which they served and concluded with the observation that they would leave for the West with no regret.

The passage of time did not dull these opinions. Mrs. Roe, wife of an officer of the 3d Infantry Regiment, recalled that life in the South had been distasteful for Army officers there because they were called upon to protect carpetbaggers. In the same vein, a historian of the 5th Artillery wrote that the officers of that regiment had their "share of the onerous duties of that disagreeable time" and that in 1869 they left the South for New England "with a sense of relief."

1 Army and Navy Journal, April 30, 1870.
2 Ibid., Oct. 10, 1874.
4 James C. Bush, A Short History of the Fifth Regiment, U.S. Artillery, (Governor's Osland, 1895) p. 44.
No regiment had more duty in the South during the Reconstruction period than did the 2d Infantry Regiment. Describing its activities, a historian remarked that in Georgia it was "injected into the terrible drama of 'Reconstruction'." This meant that it had to sustain the "carpet-bag and negro government" in the Southern states, a duty which was "probably the most disagreeable job that ever fell to the lot of any army." Apart from the support given the carpetbag government it grouped as "arduous and disagreeable" the aid given federal marshals and revenue officers and the duty of enforcing election laws and other laws pertaining to Reconstruction.  

In spite of the dislike of their duties, the 2d believed that it had done all that was demanded of it and done it well. Not only did its members believe themselves above criticism but quoted General William T. Sherman to support their view. Sherman, they said, had lauded them in the following terms:

I have tried to save our Army and officers from the dirty work imposed upon them. While this was not always possible and there were some few elements in the Army that were in sympathy with conditions, no such stigma rests upon the Second Infantry, as far as can be determined. In fact the reverse is the case.  

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5 Shaw, op. cit., pp. 332, 337.
6 Ibid., p. 332.
Sherman was right. The military occupation of the South had been dirty work and most of the troops involved had not cared for it. However, the duty had been assigned and, in keeping with the better traditions of the Army, the good soldiers saw it through. The Army may well hope never to have such domestic duty again.
APPENDIX A

Military Geography

By War Department General Order No. 118 of June 27, 1865, the United States was divided into five military divisions which, in turn, were subdivided into 19 departments. Four of these divisions included states of the former Confederacy, and each of the erstwhile Confederate states coincided with a department (Fig. 2).¹

¹ A military division normally constituted the largest administrative field command in this period and in the chain of command rested immediately below the headquarters of the Army. Divisions generally included two or more departments and were commanded by the highest ranking general officers in the Army.

Military departments were regional commands and usually were composed of two or more states. Although they were customarily located within military divisions, it was not unusual for them to be organized as separate entities directly responsible to the headquarters of the Army.

The military divisions and departments associated with the South under this order and the general officers commanding them were as follows:

**Military Division of the Atlantic, George G. Meade**
- Virginia, Alfred H. Terry
- North Carolina, Thomas H. Ruger
- South Carolina, Quincey A. Gillmore and Daniel E. Sickles

**Military Division of the Tennessee, George H. Thomas**
- Kentucky, John H. Palmer
- Tennessee, George Stoneman
- Alabama, Charles R. Woods
- Georgia, James B. Steedman, James H. Wilson, and
These divisional boundaries were in effect only until October 7, 1865, when the Department of Mississippi was transferred from the Military Division of the Gulf to the Military Division of the Tennessee. No further changes were made until the divisional organizations in the South were abolished in August 1866 (Fig. 3).

Departmental boundaries were not changed until May 1866, when Alabama and Georgia were merged into the Department of the South, General Charles R. Woods commanding, and the Carolinas were united into the Department of the Carolinas commanded by General Daniel A. Sickles.

John L. Brannan


Military Division of the Mississippi, William T. Sherman Arkansas, Joseph J. Reynolds

2 WDGO 142, Oct. 7, 1865.
3 WDGO 59, Aug. 6, 1866.
4 WDGO 32, May 19, 1865. Each of these states constituted a military command within the department and was commanded by a brevet major general.
Kentucky and Tennessee were combined in the following month into the Department of the Cumberland, headed by General George Stoneman. Division boundaries remained unchanged (Fig. 4).

Two months later new changes in command were forthcoming. The United States was divided into 13 departments, six of which were included in two Military divisions. The South was organized into five departments: the Department of the Potomac, (General Stoneman), contained the states of Virginia and West Virginia, the Department of the South (General Sickles) embraced the Carolinas; the Department of the Tennessee (General Thomas) included Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi; the Department of the Gulf (General Sheridan) was composed of Florida, Louisiana, and Texas and the state of Arkansas and Indian Territory were combined into General Edward O. C. Ord's Department of the Arkansas which, in turn, was included in the Military Division of the Missouri (Fig. 5).

The next change in the military map resulted not from military but from political requirements. On March 2, 1867, Congress passed the Reconstruction Act which declared

5 WDGO 36, June 5, 1866.
6 WDGO 59, Aug. 6, 1866.
that no legal state governments existed in the "...rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas and Arkansas," and directed that they should be formed into five military districts commanded by general officers designated by the President until such time when they would be judged worthy to re-enter the fellowship of the Union. The President complied with this act, which had been passed over his veto, and directed that the following assignments be made:

1st Military District, Virginia, to be commanded by General John M. Schofield.

2nd Military District, North and South Carolina, to be commanded by General Daniel E. Sickles.

3rd Military District, Georgia, Florida and Alabama, to be commanded by General George H. Thomas.

4th Military District, Mississippi and Arkansas, to be commanded by General Edward O. C. Ord.

5th Military District, Louisiana and Texas, to be commanded by General Philip H. Sheridan.

The remaining southern states: Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia were formed into the Department of the Cumberland, commanded by General John Pope from Louisville, Kentucky (Fig. 6).

This command arrangement remained in effect while

\[7\] WDGO 10, Mar. 11, 1867 and WDGO 14, Mar. 12, 1867.
the states of the five districts were forming acceptable Radical governments. In July 1868, upon the readmission of the two Carolinas, Georgia, Arkansas, Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida into the fellowship of states, their districts were abolished and the southern commands were again revised.

This revision reflected the approaching end of the military commander's political authority in the reconstructed states. The 2d and 3d Districts were combined into the Department of the South, commanded from Atlanta, Georgia, by General George C. Meade. Arkansas was taken from the 4th District and joined with Louisiana into General Lovell H. Rousseau's Department of Louisiana with headquarters at New Orleans. Unreconstructed Texas became the 5th Military District and was commanded by General John J. Reynolds; Mississippi, commanded by General Alvin C. Gillem, became the 4th District and Virginia became the 1st District. The Department of the Cumberland experienced no change (Fig. 7).³

No revision was made in this structure in 1869, but divisional commands were interposed between the southern departments and districts and the Army's headquarters

³ WDGO 55, July 28, 1868.
in Washington. The 1st Military District was added to the Military Division of the Atlantic which had been created of Middle Atlantic and New England states in 1868. The remainder of the southern commands, the 5th Military District excepted, were grouped under the new Military Division of the South, commanded by General Henry W. Halleck with headquarters at Louisville, Kentucky (Fig. 8).9

Several significant changes occurred in 1870. Virginia's representatives were admitted to both houses of Congress and in January the 1st Military District was abolished. Virginia, with West Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, was then placed within the newly created Department of Virginia commanded by General Canby.10

Virginia's redemption was followed shortly by Mississippi's and in the following month the 4th Military District was discontinued and Mississippi was added to the Department of the Cumberland.11 The 5th District ceased to exist on March 31, 1870, after Texas was restored to the Union. In accordance with this political development the

9 WDGO 18, Mar. 16, 1869. The portion of this order abolishing the Department of the Cumberland was later revoked.

10 WDGO 11, Jan. 29, 1870.

11 WDGO 25, Feb. 26, 1870.
SOUTHERN MILITARY DIVISIONS
Fifth Military District
March 16, 1869

Figure 8

SOUTHERN MILITARY DIVISIONS AND DEPARTMENTS
March 31, 1870

Figure 9
Department of Louisiana was broken up, Louisiana was grouped with Texas into the Department of Texas and Arkansas was added to the Department of Missouri.\footnote{WDO 35, Mar. 31, 1870. The Department of Texas was commanded by General John J. Reynolds and was placed in the Military Division of the South.} Direct political control of the South by the federal government through the Army was ended (Fig. 9).

Further boundary changes in 1870 seem to have conformed only with the general trend toward the enlargement of military commands. The Department of the Cumberland, a three-state command, was absorbed by the Department of the South which then became a seven-state command. The Department of Virginia was abolished and the states within it were added to the Department of the East. By June 1870, the military geography of the United States reflected the end of military reconstruction (Fig. 10).\footnote{WDO 41, Apr. 15, 1870.}

The southern military boundaries remained unchanged until the publication of War Department General Order No. 66, dated November 1, 1871. This order seems to reflect the growing concern with Ku Klux activities and the preoccupation of the forces in Texas with Indian affairs. By it North Carolina was removed from the Depart-
ment of the East and added to the Department of the South. The Department of the South was made smaller by the creation of the Department of the Gulf from the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, and the Gulf posts of Mobile, Fort Barrancas, Fort Jefferson, and Key West. Texas was combined with Indian Territory in the Department of Texas which was assigned to the Military Division of the Missouri. The Department of the Gulf was united with the Department of the South into the Military Division of the South (Fig. 11).

The Military Division of the South, after a three-year existence, was abolished in January 1872. Its commander, General Henry Halleck, died on January 9th and, instead of a commander being appointed to replace him, the division was abolished. Since the commanders of the Departments of the South and Gulf were not reassigned and their commanders were ordered to report to the Headquarters of the Army, it may be assumed that the War Department wished to have immediate control over the troubled southern departments and not be bothered by an intermediate command. The Military Division was reestablished in the following November under the command of General Irving McDowell.14

14 WDGO 4, Jan. 15, 1872 and WDGO 100, Nov. 25, 1872.
The remaining boundary changes reflect the complete integration of the southern states into the national military command. Virginia already had been transferred to the immediate control of the Division of the Atlantic after the abolishment of the Department of the East in 1873. However, no significance can be attached to this reassignment for the Old Dominion had been assigned to a northern command since 1870.\textsuperscript{15}

The Military Division of the South, a symbol of the executive branch's preoccupation with southern affairs, began to pass from the picture for the last time in January 1875 when the Department of the Gulf was transferred to the Military Division of the Missouri (Fig. 12).\textsuperscript{16} The Division, then composed of only the Department of the South, was finally discontinued in June 1876. The Department of the South, which consisted of Georgia, Florida, the Carolinas, West Virginia, and those portions of Kentucky and Tennessee east of the Tennessee River, was then annexed to the Military Division of the Atlantic. (Fig. 13).\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{15} WDGO 106, Oct. 29, 1873.
\textsuperscript{16} Thian, op. cit., p. 66.
\textsuperscript{17} WDGO 50, June 26, 1876.
Figure 12

Figure 13
On May 1, 1877 the Department of the Gulf was also assigned to the Division of the Atlantic. As the Reconstruction period ended the country was divided into three Military Divisions whose boundaries ran from North to South. The Military Division of the Atlantic included all of the Confederate states except Arkansas and Texas and all of the northern states which had fought the Confederacy west to and including Indiana and Wisconsin.18

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18 WDGO 42, May 1, 1877.
APENDIX B
Army Pay

The pay of officers and enlisted men of the United States Army is indicated on the following tables:

TABLE 8
Monthly Base Pay of Infantry Officers, 1865-1877

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>1865</th>
<th>1877</th>
<th>1870</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colonel</td>
<td>$95.00</td>
<td>$126.66</td>
<td>$291.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt. Col.</td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>106.66</td>
<td>250.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td>70.00</td>
<td>93.33</td>
<td>208.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capt.</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>150.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Lt.</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>66.66</td>
<td>125.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d Lt.</td>
<td>45.00</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>116.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 9
Monthly Base Pay of Infantry Enlisted Men, 1865-1877

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>1865</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1872</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st Enl.</td>
<td>2d Enl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgt. Maj.</td>
<td>$26.00</td>
<td>$23.00</td>
<td>$23.00</td>
<td>$26.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com. &amp; Q.M.</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>23.00</td>
<td>23.00</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgt.</td>
<td>24.00</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>24.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Sgt.</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>17.00</td>
<td>17.00</td>
<td>19.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgt.</td>
<td>18.00</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>17.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corp.</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>13.00</td>
<td>13.00</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pvt.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The amounts shown in the 1865 columns were established by an act of June 20, 1864. They were continued for enlisted men until June 30, 1871, when they were allowed to revert back to the scale established by an act of August 6, 1861. However, it will be noticed that officers received a flat 33 1/3 per cent increase in 1867 and a further increase in 1870 while the pay of the enlisted men remained at the level established in 1864. It will be noted further that officers' pay established in 1870 permitted an increase of 10 per cent each five years not to exceed 40 per cent of the base pay of the grade for officers below the grade of colonel, and the pay of a lieutenant colonel could not exceed four thousand dollars.

The failure of the Congress at least to maintain the pay of the enlisted men at the 1864 level, when it increased the pay of the officers, was readily apparent to the enlisted men. It resulted in a decline in morale, an increase in desertions and discouraged recruiting so that it became obvious that a remedy would have to be forthcoming. The result was an act passed on June 22, 1872, to be placed in effect on the following July 1. Although the base pay for the first enlistment remained as before, one dollar per month was added to the pay of the third year, two dollars to the pay of the fourth and three dollars to the fifth and final year of enlistment, so that
by the fifth year the private again received 16 dollars per month. Higher base pay was received during the second and succeeding enlistments. Presumably, since by 1870 many of the Regulars were at least into the third year of their first enlistment, their former pay was at least partially restored immediately.

The pay indicated on the table was not that actually received each month. Twelve and a half cents were automatically deducted from the pay of each soldier for the maintenance of the Soldier's Home. In addition it was the practice to withhold one dollar monthly from the pay of each private, prior to 1872, to be held in safe keeping for him until the end of his enlistment. This not only caused him to lose money in event he deserted but encouraged saving. After the pay raise of 1872, all pay above the base pay—the three, four, and five year bonus pay—was held by the government for all grades.¹

Further to encourage saving and to prevent desertions, soldiers were urged to bank their money in "Soldier's Deposits." This Army banking system permitted a soldier to place sums of five or more dollars with the

¹ Authority for the various rates of pay may be found in the following War Department General Orders: No. 54, Aug. 10, 1861; No. 216, June 20, 1864; No. 9, March 7, 1867; No. 38, April 21, 1864; No. 92, July 22, 1870 and No. 51, June 22, 1872.
paymaster which, when his account contained over fifty dollars, drew interest of four per cent per annum. This system was temporarily abolished as of June 30, 1871, but its value was so apparent that it was reinstated in the following year. The Deposit System was considered to be an effective deterrent to desertions, for money once deposited could not be withdrawn until the end of the enlistment and was forfeited by desertion.

It may be well to state that soldiers were supposed to have been paid on a bi-monthly basis by paymasters who visited the various posts. However, this was seldom the actual practice, for it was not uncommon for payments to be made at least a month late. Though this method of payment was considered the best to be had, its tardiness worked a hardship on soldiers with families who often exhausted their funds before the paymaster's arrival and had to borrow at high rates of interest.

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Authority for the Soldier's Deposits system may be found in AR 1863, p. 346, WDGO No. 35, Mar. 21, 1871 and WDGO 51, June 22, 1872.
APPENDIX C

Abbreviations

AAAG  ---- Acting Assistant Adjutant General
AAG   ---- Assistant Adjutant General
AAIG  ---- Acting Assistant Inspector General
AAQG  ---- Acting Assistant Quartermaster General
AC    ---- Army Corps
Adjt  ---- Adjutant
AG    ---- Adjutant General
AGO   ---- Adjutant General's Office
AIG   ---- Acting Inspector General
Arty  ---- Artillery

BRF&AL ---- Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands
Brig  ---- Brigadier or Brigade
Bvt   ---- Brevet

Capt  ---- Captain
Cav   ---- Cavalry
Cent  ---- Central
CG    ---- Commanding General
Cir   ---- Circular
Cmdg  ---- Commanding
Co    ---- Company
CO    ---- Commanding Officer
Col   ---- Colonel
Cmd   ---- Command
Comm  ---- Commissioner
Corp  ---- Corporal
C/S   ---- Chief of Staff

Dept  ---- Department
Det   ---- Detachment
Dist  ---- District
Div   ---- Division

E     ---- East or Eastern
End   ---- Endorsement

Gen   ---- General
GO    ---- General Order
Hq    ---- Headquarters
IG ..... Inspector General
Inf ..... Infantry
LB ..... Letter Book
LR ..... Letter Received
LS ..... Letter Sent
Lt ..... Lieutenant
Ltr ..... Letter
Maj. ..... Major
Mil ..... Military
N ..... North or Northern
Pvt ..... Private
Qm ..... Quartermaster
Regt ..... Regiment
Rept ..... Report
RMHP ..... Record of Medical History of Post
S ..... South or Southern
SGO ..... Surgeon General's Office
Sgt ..... Sergeant
SO ..... Special Order
Surg ..... Surgeon
Tel ..... Telegram
USCC ..... United States Colored Cavalry
USCI ..... United States Colored Infantry
USCT ..... United States Colored Troops
V ..... Veteran (used with a unit designation)
VC ..... Volunteer Cavalry (Prefaced by a state)
VI ..... Volunteer Infantry (Prefaced by a state)
Vol ..... Volunteer
W ..... West or Western
WDGO ..... War Department General Order
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Elihu B. Washburne Papers

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I, Harry Willcox Pfanz, was born in Columbus, Ohio, December 9, 1921. After receiving the degree of Bachelor of Science in education from The Ohio State University in March 1943, I entered the Army and served as a lieutenant of field artillery until February 1947. I reentered The Ohio State University in 1947 and received the degree of Master of Arts in history in 1948. I was admitted to candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1951 and served as a graduate assistant in the Department of History in 1951-1952. I was employed in Washington D.C. as a historian in the Army's Office of the Chief of Military History from April 1952 to September 1956 and have since been a historian in the National Park Service at Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.