

Southern Women in the Civil War

General Discussion Questions

- What were Southern women's political positions?
- What are the connections between women's political positions and the material conditions of their lives, their hopes for the future, and their expectations of how society should operate?
- Why did women have such strong political opinions when they did not have rights and could not vote?
- What do women's politics tell us about women's identity as women and their position in society?

Part I: How did Southern women shape the conduct and outcome of the Civil War?

The Slaveholding Elite: Support

Elite Confederate women left detailed accounts of their thoughts and experiences in diaries. The fact that they left diaries reveals important, distinguishing elements about their lives. They were well educated, in a region where illiteracy was common, particularly among women. They also had the leisure time to write, when most southern women spent their days working. Education and leisure spoke to their families' economic resources which, in turn, rested on the institution of slavery. Not surprisingly, these elite southern women tended to identify closely with the Confederacy, which they saw as a movement to defend their way of life. They also experienced the upheaval of the war in emotional, highly personal ways, because the war effort was so closely bound up with their own lives and identities as women.

Kate Carney's journal is particularly compelling, because Carney lived in the midst of a military campaign. Born in 1842, she was unmarried and living at home with her father, a prominent merchant and Confederate, in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, a town in the middle of the state that saw repeated military action between 1862 and 1864. Carney followed the action closely, making it possible to match all the various battles and troop movements with her diary entries. During this time, the Union Army slowly took over all of the state, except for the far eastern portion. When the diary entries begin, in 1862, Nashville, the state capital, has fallen into Union hands. The Union army took over Memphis soon after that, in June, 1862. Despite a short-lived Confederate victory in Murfreesboro, in July 1862, the Union had solidified its hold by January, 1863. Carney lived through the battles, longing for news and hoping for victory, while living amidst Union soldiers and troop movements. One of the interesting elements of the journal is the difficulty people had obtaining accurate information about the war when they were in the midst of it.

Union General Benjamin Franklin Butler's Order Number 28, illustrates how effective and annoying Confederate women like Carney were in their resistance to Union occupation. The emotional tenor of those interactions is belied by the photo of the women seated in front of a house by the second battle of Bull Run. The sense of calm in the photo reflects, in part, the limits of technology: action shots were impossible because subjects had to sit still for some time for a successful exposure. Still, the image suggests the war's proximity to women's lives.

Discussion Questions for Readings on Slaveholding Elite Women

- How does Kate Carney obtain news about the war?
- What is her attitude toward the Union and Union soldiers?
- What is her attitude toward the men in Tennessee?
- The diary mixes information about daily life with news of the war. The photo also puts the war in women's domestic lives. What does that mix tell you about elite Confederate women's relationship to the war?

- Do you get any clues about why Carney and other women like her support the Confederacy?
- What does Carney's interest in the war and its political dynamics tell you about women's relationship to the war?
- What does General Butler's order say about women's role in the war?

Kate Carney's journal, occupation of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, 1862

May 7th 1862

A lovely day has passed, but unappreciated, our minds being in such a disturbed state. We expected Finie Burton & Kate Marchbanks out to see us probably to spend the day, but were disappointed in both, as they failed to come. We also looked for Tommie Jones. He may have left, as he did not call. I suppose he found an opportunity of slipping away in the great excitement of today, & went. Bettie had several letters to send to Clarksville by him, & shall have to mail them now. Yesterday evening he called on Bettie, & afterwards asked for me, it was the first time I ever saw him, & as much as I can judge, liked him very well, indeed found nothing to dislike about him & still nothing very striking.

It was while he was here, I heard for the first time of Will Rucker & Will Wilkinson taking the oath, which I must acknowledge was no little surprise to me, or as some would express it, I was thunder struck, for I thought their pride would have revolted at anything so base & cowardly. Bettie & I, had made two handsome bouquets to send them, but were prevented which I am thankful, as they are so detestable as to take that oath.

This morning Ma was going to take our boys that are prisoners their breakfast but, thinking so many would send provisions, and as she sent them good many nice things yesterday. The first strawberries we had were taken to them. I would give up my share any time for our poor soldiers, nothing would be considered too great a sacrifice on my part for their good, or comfort.

Before I had eaten my breakfast, Mrs. Mollie Crockett sent out for me to send some flowers, for a young lady to send to Tom Morgan, brother of John Morgan, as he is among our prisoners at the jail. I had quite a handsome one made, but I am afraid he had not the pleasure of receiving it, as they are not going to allow our men to receive such demonstrations of sympathy as were expressed by the ladies of Murfreesboro. Ma took them up some comforts and bedding last evening. Poor fellows. They were things left here, that belonged to the hospital. She also took some clothes up to Tom Morgan, as she understood he was in need of some. She carried Bettie's & my bouquets up to some of the boys.

When old Capt. Frost (who by the way comes out quite frequently since Pa, arrest which was three weeks last Tuesday). He is ever a welcome visitor as he is better than any newspaper and seems so disturbed about Pa. He brought a message from Mr. Crossman (who is a Union man, though we think a very clever one and is staying for protection, which we are very glad to have him do, as he carries letters to Pa, or any thing else, or getting a pass for Ma, to have hauled wood from the Quarter to have sold. It is a mutual accommodation, & satisfies all parties. Bettie & I give him some hard cuts though, about people taking the oath). Well to return to the message he sent Ma, that she must neither send or carry anything to the prisoners today, for, if she did the Yankees might insult her. She and cousin Ann would not take them when they first went up, but afterwards sent back after some clothes, said she could have them sent in secretly. When they came back they brought the same old tale, that we must prepare for a battle, as one was expected here before night. It seems as if it was always "bad news."

So without more ado about the matter, I went upstairs and began packing my trunk, but before I finished dinner came on, & with it Mr. Crossman, but brought no news. He is afraid of committing himself to us, for fear our secession tongues would get us into trouble, as he is of the opinion that we talk too much. Scarcely had we gotten up from the table, when we saw Mrs. Kittie Reeves & her grandson Levi coming, at the same time heard the band of music coming, played by rogues (as that is what I call the Yankees, more appropriate than any thing else). We saw also about 2 thousand Yankees tramping down the Lebanon pike, & to my astonishment stopped in the grove opposite our house (owned by Uncle Wm. Lytle).

Thinking they had come down to drill I went in and slammed the door, & had every blind in the house shut, [that] they might know I would not condescend to see them drill. I also called all servants and children in, & said sufficiently loud for them to hear, that I didn't want anyone to see them, but to our astonishment they stacked arms and seemed to be waiting for something, on enquiry found they were expecting prisoners from Lebanon.

Soon our yard was filling with Yankees, asking for flowers, to all Ma said help yourselves (well knowing they were going to do it), which I guess was the best way, but I should have refused. Scarcely had they begun, when they heard that the other men with our men prisoners were coming, but I had enough flowers to tie up three bouquets. Bettie Gillespie had gotten some also we did not have to wait long after getting down to the fence, on the pike, before we saw our poor boys being brought along with as much pomp & show as possible. There were about 5,000 to guard less than a hundred of our men. Our men looked so noble, & had such a manly bearing, that they looked less like prisoners than those that had them in charge. I forgot I was before so many men, especially when I began to see my old friends among them. I told them never to take the oath & they answered "that had played out", and a great many other things, that enraged the Yankees very much.

After I saw Jessie Sikes, George Ridley & Mr. Roberts I scarcely knew what I did do. I know when I screamed a whole camp hissed at me, but what I cared for that. I was perfectly insensible to any feeling save sympathy for our prisoners. An officer ordered us to the house, but contrary to military rules & regulations, we did not go until we got ready. Good many cursed us when we hurrahed! for "Jeff Davis", John Morgan, & Beauregard, but we heard very little of it until an old man that wanted to pick up our flowers that we had thrown to our soldiers & when we said he must not have them because they were confederate flowers he cursed me, & kicked them, & I have since been sketching him for Bettie's benefit, and for our entertainment tonight, as we are sitting up until three or four o'clock, as they have threatened to burn our house tonight, but seeing no prospect of a fire, went to bed & slept very comfortably.

An officer rode up and offered to buy one of my bouquets, (I suppose as an insult) I told him he could never get one for any consideration, but if he had been a Confederate soldier he would be welcome. So the chap rode off. Charley Marchbanks, & Col. Wood were also in the lot of prisoners. I was so much excited [I] did not recognize them. They were sent off on the train this afternoon. Mrs. Kittie Reeves left shortly after we came up to the house. Mrs. Edwards came over & staid awhile this afternoon. Cousin Ann & Ma went to town in the buggy, but did not get to see any of the prisoners.

Monday May 12th 1862

The sky above is cloudless, but our even "tenor of our way" has been some what interrupted by the arrest of some of our best, and most worthy citizens. Messrs. Dromgoole (our Mayor), Jas. Avent, Jno. A. Crockett, Tom Robber-son, Wm. Ransom, Maj. Childress, Rev. G. T. Henderson, Maj. Maney, & to get Dr. Baskett, and there is no knowing who will be next, for it seems though most polite are the first arrested, & I verily believe, if a person did not open his mouth, they would have them taken up on suspicion of his having looked contrary to his established rules.

Poor Maj. Maney, [see the Kimberly letters for more on the Maney family in occupied Tennessee] walked home with Pa, partook of a social class, little dreaming that he would be among the number taken so soon. He with the rest of those gentlemen were in the store congratulating Pa on his safe arrival home, little thinking that in a few hours they would be in a like situation, & this is called "a land of freedom". It is sacreligious to call this oppress, and down trodden nation a land of liberty, where tyranny stalks in open day, & private grudges of years standing are brought to light, & revenge is considered sweet. It seems strange that when a certain man (for I shall not term him a gentleman) sees fit to go to Nashville, a number of our good men are taken away. Surely justice will over take him yet, though it may be slow, for our Father that watches over us in secret will not let a wicked man prosper, & if he fails to be punished in this world, he will one day stand before the Great Tribunal, & there receive his reward.

We scarcely have a thought, much more open our mouths, for fear Pa will again be sent to prison, for he & Mr. Wendel are both bound over \$10,000 each, & though I'm not inclined to anticipate evil I feel quite confident

that he will have it to pay, for I think there are tools low enough for any work, & they would be willing to swear falsely, if gold could be gotten by so doing, & as Bill Spence has a quantity of money that he has gotten by robbing the widows, orphans, & poor, even to the servants he will not lack means to pay his workman should they agree to do the dirty work of swearing falsely, especially if his conscience hurts him, & he would like some means of getting rid of his ill gotten gains.

In the papers it is stated that Jeff Davis has appointed the 16th of this month for prayer, for the protection of our army & the Southern Confederacy, but I have no idea it will be allowed to be noticed here, but we can pray all the more at home. They can't deprive us of our thoughts, though I have no doubt they would, if they could. We will certainly know how to appreciate freedom when we have it once more restored.

Bettie and I got a scolding for our long tongues just before supper, & at that meal we were as quiet as "little mice", though we got no praise for our uncommon nice behavior, & conversation was a drag & they looked as if they wished us to say something, though we kept provokingly quiet and seemed intent on enjoying our strawberries, and soon after it was over came to our room to chat to ourselves, without interruption from our dear prudent parents with some of their sage advice. Ma was up town this morning, brought the news that Sister Amanda had a little daughter born last Thursday, so I have a little niece, & a little nephew also, that I have not seen yet. We heard the Yankees were going to take in their pickets, if that be true, I can go out to see them both, but I think it must have been a false report. It has been, that they entertained such an idea, but hearing that Kentucky was rebelling & coming to join the South since the emancipation law has been passed in Congress, & that we were fighting in "Cumberland Gap", that John Morgan had captured two trains of cars, one containing a safe with much money supposed to be in it. I hope the day is breaking for us at last.

Capt. Frost & Mr. Pricket were both out here awhile this evening. Little Laura Davis & Laura Ledbetter came out this evening after a piece or two of music for Kate Marchbanks & Addie Ledbetter. It is growing late & Cousin Ann I know is getting anxious for me to extinguish the light. So I will prepare for bed, hoping to sleep, the sleep of the innocent, while the moon with its broad face keeps a good humored watch over me.

Saturday May 17th 1862

Rather warm today. I feel some better today. Bettie & I grew very much excited at a remark made by Mr. Crossman about our President Jeff Davis. He is nothing but an old Union man anyway. Promised if we would write letters South, he would try and get them through, though should I write as I feel he would not send them, & if I wrote otherwise they would be little satisfaction either to those written to, or myself.

Capt. Frost was out a little while this evening, & told us a good deal of news. Said our men had cut a bridge near Huntsville, just so that it would stay up, and a large body of Yankees went to cross & was precipitated into the river. Hope the last one was killed. He also said that we had 75,000 men in 40 miles of this place, too good to be true. We are so often disappointed now. Mrs. Tom Johnson & several of her children were here awhile this evening.

Tuesday May 20th 1862

Trimmed the children's hats today. Don't feel very well tonight. Ma went up town this evening. This evening took a careful list of those Union men. Heard that Mr. Butler said they put his name to it without his agreeing to it. I hope it is a mistake about his being a Union man. Heard it was a mistake about the "Merrimac" either being taken, or burnt, or sunk. Was quite sick for a while, just before I retired.

Friday May 23rd 1862

This morning two Yankees came here [and] asked for Pa & some flowers. Ma gave them flowers, but Pa not being here, they did not see him. They spoke of Lincoln calling out one hundred thousand more men. Ma says, do you suppose you will get them? "o yes," they replied, "we can get them from Tenn. & Ky." I suppose they anticipated drafting those that have taken the oath & I hope they will place in the front ranks every one of the traitors that have taken the oath.

All those gentlemen that were arrested returned home today, with the exception of Maj. Ledbetter & Col. Ready. Mr. Dromgoole said the latter was looking badly. I did not see any of them that returned. Ma & Cousin Ann saw Mr. Henderson. They went up to the College to see our prisoners, and to their astonishment found that one had taken the oath and gone home. Just to think he was one of Morgan's men too. I felt so badly about it, but heard his wife was at the point of death, & like it was that, that forced him to take it. The Yankees no doubt will publish that not less than a dozen took the oath in place of Mr. Handley. Oh! I hope the other poor fellow will not [do] such a thing. I felt so wretched when I have placed confidence in any one, & it is betrayed by taking that awful oath.

Bettie & I went to see Finie Burton, but she was not at home, talked a while to her mother. She spoke of trying to get a pass to go out, but old Rounds said he had charged the pickets to let no one out, but to permit the country people to come & go. We think it is a Yankee trick, to get them in to take the oath. He said they were stricter every day. I hope his glory will soon be over, for he has already done enough meanness.

We went to Mrs. Keeble's, did not find Miss Sue Brady, but saw Mrs. Nattie Keeble & Mrs. Brady. While sitting there talking saw old Rounds ride by on Mr. Menefee's horse he had stolen, just riding it about in open day. Puts on airs as if he was somebody at home, but the way he treats ladies, everybody knows he is nothing. Called at Mrs. Dromgoole's on herself. Helen (her daughter), Mrs. Mooney, and Mrs. Staley (our Methodist minister's wife) after going away from there passed Miss Helen McVain's house (the Old Academy) & saw Lilly Brown sitting out talking to a Yankee Officer.

Mrs. Settle, children & baggage left town, & got beyond the line's without the Yankees finding it out until too late to stop her. Hope she will make her way safe, expect Mr. Settle was some where near. Ma received a note from Sister Maria, & she said when she heard from Bro. Will, he was sick & down at Sister Mary's. Every body is expecting a fight here in town.

Sunday May 25 1862

A bright & beautiful day. I accompanied Cousin Ann & Bettie to the Presbyterian church, before we got to church met Jimmie Leiper, who said one of their Regt's had been ordered off. Just after service began, the Yanks got up and left. I was glad Mr. Eagleton reprov'd them, though I've heard since they received marching orders & had to leave all the churches. Just as we got to the corner met their band in full blast, escorting Andy Johnson to the depot (that craven hearted villain). I deliberately turned my back and would not look at him, although there were officers standing very near. Mrs. Leiper was standing out at her corner, and said a short time before she was badly frightened, thought we were going to have a battle here, but learned all the fuss was about that old traitor.

We met Cousin Tabitha Morgan & Lucy Leiper and chatted with them, they dropped in at Aunt Nancy's to see how she was, & to hear the news, but did not sit down. I wanted to tell the good news I heard last night, but feared it might cause the arrest of Mr. Camp. Kate Marchbanks stopped to talk with us, and related a funny instance that happened there the day before. A drunken Yankee called to one of her servants and said, "are you for the South, or North", she said South. Laura Davis asked her why she didn't say for Jeff Davis, which so enraged the drunken Yankee he jumped over the fence, rushed in the house saying he considered the ladies under arrest, but Mrs. Anderson said she did not so consider herself and sent off after a guard, & when he found it was coming, he said he would withdraw if Mrs. Anderson would take back what the children had said, & say she was for the Union, (which she refused to do) he would withdraw himself, the guards coming carried off the individual to jail.

9 or 10 Yankees came here, & Pa gave them as many cherries as they wanted to eat. Mr. Crossman came up from Nashville today. No news of course, with him. This afternoon we were lying down, when we saw Ma come tip-ping upstairs with mysterious air which I could not make out. I rushed out on the back porch, (as I was undressed) and saw Ma pass through with a (what proved afterwards a confederate) soldier. She seemed greatly excited. He was one of our soldiers that had escaped jail, just half an hour ago & Ma was trying to disguise him so as to let him escape. He changed his clothes [and] shaved off his whiskers, (Ma giving him some of Pa's clothes) making him look like quite a different man. Ma carried him up something to eat, he would not eat much said he had been to

dinner, & would not take any more money, he had plenty. I hope he will get safely back to Starn's Cavalry. He said we had 5,000 men just above here, had had a fight, & we killed 30 or 40 Yankees, & it was that night he was taken prisoner. That was the first time we had heard of the engagement. They always keep a defeat such a secret.

This soldier came very near being discovered. There were three Yanks in the front hall who said they had come up to make Ma's acquaintance, as they heard Ma fed their prisoners when Morgan captured them, & when our escaped prisoner asked for the master of the house, the servant asked him in to the front hall, & lo! & behold there sat the man that had captured him a few nights before, and not having any suspicions, they took no notice of him, & he asked Ma for some water and then told his story, so Ma had to play a double game, make herself agreeable to the Yankees whilst getting our soldier off, & I felt vastly relieved when he got off safe.

Ma went up town this evening & Kate Avent returned with her home. Cousin William Tilford, wife & daughter stopped by & made a visit awhile this afternoon. An old sick Yankee came here this evening late, & Pa had his sympathies aroused [and] consented to let him stay all night, made me so angry I cried until bedtime & would not eat any supper. He was put into poor Legrand's room to sleep, just to think, he may be lying out on the wet ground, wet hungry and sick & then for his enemy enjoying his room. I didn't like [it] one bit.

Saturday June 7th 1862

Cousin Ann & I rode up to see Mrs. Winship this morning, while up town heard good news that a hundred Yankees went out to Readyville & were all either captured, or killed except eleven. We came by the store, they had heard the same story. Aunt Nancy seeing the buggy had to come, & tell us the good news. Every body is rejoicing.

Called by to see Belle Boles & her mother, they told us a good deal of news, had a pleasant little visit. She said Kate Marchbanks had received a letter from her brother, & he said all the boys fell in love with Bettie & I for talking so bravely to the Yankees as we climbed up on the fence the day they were prisoners. It had just the opposite effect from what I expected. I was afraid they would think us quite silly.

We hope Andy Johnson will be cut off as he returns to Shelbyville, where there was a Union meeting today. Cousin Henry Tilford, wife & children (three, two twins) took dinner here. We like his wife very much. Her oldest little boy is very much like Bro. Jno's little Legrand. Eliza Nelson came out & spent nearly the whole afternoon, told us a secret, said Uncle Ephe & men were very near here, that Jno. Morgan also. The Yankees are expecting an attack, & are fortifying out near their camps. Ma was up town this evening, Cousin Ann is spending the night with Mrs. Winship. Kate Avent spent the day here. Rosa is spending the night with her.

Wednesday June 11th 1862

No news in the paper. Bettie & I ran over a few minutes to see Mrs. Maney to hear the news. She said a letter had been received in Nashville saying we had gained three grand victories in Va. & for us not to believe anything that Yankees had to say, for it was impossible for us to hear any good news from our army through them.

Aunt Nancy Avent was here when we returned, & we walked up as far as Mrs. Pritchett's with her. Aunt Nancy asked Mrs. Pritchett if it was true about her son taking letters from here, to our boys to come home & take the oath. She said she did not know what the letters contained, but old Ashburn & Dr. Wheeler employed him to go, & promised him \$25 & now would now pay him because he failed to bring a reply, & Tom Pritchett was in danger of his life while away, for our men were about hanging him as a spy.

After we came back Bettie was taken quite ill & had to send for Dr. Bob Wendle. I think she was considerably frightened.

Sunday 15th 1862

This morning Mrs. Wilson (mother of Dr. Wilson) came in expecting to see Ma, & was quite disappointed that she did not. She spent the day & returned this evening to her brother's. Sister Amanda, hearing that Bro. Jno. was going to pass on the train, came in, in company with Mrs. Klirk, Mrs. W— & myself also, went over to the depot,

but Bro. did not pass, the train being so late, I persuaded Sister A— & Mrs. K— to take dinner with us. Mr. Duffer went over to the train with them, & while we were in Mr. Stevenson's parlor he came in dressed as fine as any dandy, & did not look at all like a widower of few weeks standing. He is in for marrying, to judge from his looks, & I must say was not at all favorably impressed. It might have been the conversation he struck up about taking the oath. I said very little, but my remarks were pointed. He had too much Yankee about him for me. When I began to denounce old Capt. Rounds, Mr. Duffer said I must not say a word against him, as he had taken several out riding yesterday (he among the number). I told him I would consider it a great disgrace to be seen with him. I can't bear to see men so willing to knuckle to such low down scoundrels after being insulted & trampled upon as they have been. It seems that the last drop of courage with the men of Rutherford Co. has died out, or else left for parts unknown, or taken up its abode in women kind.

Sallie Lytle, Kate & Mattie Avent came out & spent the evening & Rosa returned & spent the night. Capt. Frost was out this evening & brought the paper, no news, only their defeat at Richmond. (the Yankees) How thankful we should be for that victory.

Mrs. Wilson thinks if Dr. Black & Mr. L. Black were arrested they would take the oath before leaving their families. If I was a wife, I would say go & die before taking that vile oath. Sister Amanda was telling me about Mary Spence telling Mary Turner to persuade her Pa to take the oath, so that she could ride around & have fun like she did, I guess she wants everybody to put themselves on equality with herself. She was bragging about having a Yankee Officer been & showed a handsome diamond ring she said he gave her. Poor goose, I wish I had never been intimate with her, but I will never be so again.

Pa & Ma came just as we finished supper. Pa quite tired, & Ma not at all well. Said Bro. John, was looking quite badly, & that Mr. Cooper, a Union man, said he would be paroled in a few days. I hope nothing will induce him to take the oath. I think it is strange that Will McFadden's mother, uncle & sister insist on his taking the oath, when it is contrary to his conscience. I should feel quite guilty, were I to do such a thing. Bro. John said he never saw such running in his life, as they did (the Yankees) as they came from East Tenn. He said they nearly run him to death. They killed a doz. horses there one night, but it made little difference, as they took any they saw belonging to other people.

Pa brought sad news to sister Maria, the death of her brother Walter. The wound on his hand healed nearly up, when he went out & took a good deal of exercise, which threw him into a fever, which caused his death. Poor fellow, I'm sorry he died away from home, but no doubt he had kind friends to attend him.

July 13th 1862

How to begin, I know not. I was aroused early this morning by firing. It has surely been an eventful day. I knew the firing must come from our own brave boys. Sprang from my bed, rushed to the window, called to cousin Ann & Bettie, we dressed hurriedly, not knowing what moment our house & yard would be full to overflowing with either our men or the frightened Yankees. The blue coats began to make a bee line through our yard & front yard, asking Pa to protect them, but he told them to push on, & acting on his advice they kept moving. It was amusing to see how frightened they were, although it was such a serious time, I prayed for victory, while I hissed the frightened Yankees on, expecting every minute to received a parting shot from some of them. Just think, only the day before they were our masters, I thought what would be our fate, if our poor fellows were whipped.

The engagement grew general in a few moments. Persons dared not venture out on the square, if they did a report & a vacant saddle would be seen as the horse would dash by, carry their fate to their comrades. Our boys, after forming behind some one story buildings, made a bold rush gaining the court house, but many fell ere they reached the door, and although the Yankees had every advantage they were forced to surrender, & our prisoners turned out to seek their families & friends. Two of them stopped on their way home out here, Mr. Peyton & Mr. Brothers. They looked so happy but who did not except the dusky forms that hovered around our front steps.

The gentlemen were afraid to venture up town, as they were firing from the houses, so much it was danger-

ous to go on the street. In the meanwhile they had attacked the camp down by the river where the battery was stationed, & on the approach of our men threw themselves into a hollow square with their artillery, pointed to resist a determined attack, and as our men had nothing but shot guns they could not get in range & were compelled to fall back three times. But later in the day a flag of truce was sent, & in a few minutes they consulted, surrendered 15,000 men including sick & wounded, including cannons, Camp equipage, which was mostly burnt, & small arms. This is one of the greatest victories of the war considering the number engaged. Gen. Forrest reports 17,000 men consisting of his men & Texas Rangers. (a number were Georgians) With a single piece of artillery besides being the attacking party, I'm sure the hand of Providence guided & directed our boys, for without a higher power that handful of men could never have succeeded against such odds. Our Great Father saw our suffering & travails.

Gen. Duffield was wounded early in the engagement, & taken to Maj. Maney's. Gen. Crittenden surrendered to Mrs. Hagen, the lady with whom he was boarding. He was the man that came up to have several of our men hung tomorrow. Some say that was why the attack was hurried. Yes old Gen. Crittenden said we had not a right to the air we breathed (just yesterday). I would like to have asked him who had a right now.

Two Gen's, four Col's & ever so many Lt's, Capt's and others [were captured]. A glorious haul. Gen. Duffield was paroled with a number of others that could not be taken away on account of their wounds. When Col. Lester went up on the square, he asked where is the army that took us, & Gen. Forrest proudly answered here they are, pointing to our handful of dirty & worn down by travel boys that stood by. A nobler set never breathed than those rough looking fellows. Nobler hearts never beat.

The poor fellows that were waiting for the Yankees decision about surrendering, went fast to sleep so fatigued were they [by] forced marches & no rest. The Yankee Col. awoke our officer by saying "we surrender, we surrender." That gave the Yankees some idea how independent our boys were. We saw a Texas Ranger ride hastily over to Mrs. Laws, & Ma thinking he needed something made us run over and ask [if] we could do anything for him or any of the rest of his comrades. He was introduced as Mr. Dodd of Ky. (though now a Ranger), thanked us, [but said] he had been provided for by the kind ladies up town. Found him quite nice.

Saw a Mr. McKa come riding up kissing his hand & we all rushed out to shake his hand. Pa asked if he had ever met him before, but he said no but I'm a Confederate soldier. Very proudly he replied. We insisted so, he had to get down, come in & get breakfast, but would take nothing to drink, which made me think all the more of him. Said he never drank anything. While he was breakfasting we trimmed his hat off beautifully with flowers, not knowing then & until sometime afterwards that he was a single man. He had heard that two stray horses were here, & thought one of them might be his, but neither were, but sent us word by cousin William Tilford this afternoon that he found his, & many thanks for our kindness.

That morning as our soldiers were starting to attack the camp by Maj. Maney's, we saw two of our men coming toward our house. We insisted on them getting down & having something to eat. They said as they were about to charge the enemy they didn't have time, but finally said they would take a strong cup of coffee, & while they were drinking it the Yanks surrendered without any trouble. We had gone up into the garret to see the fight, but everything was very quiet. In the evening those two Rangers returned & ate supper with us. Lieut. Fort & AJG Robinson. When they got here not a servant was on the place, and we had to take their places until their return.

The Yankee Provost Marshall was found hid between two feather beds, in Miss Corean's bed. The cover spread up & pillows upon it. It was at Mrs. Reeves' that he was captured. Mrs. Reeves & the girl treated our men shamefully. Said they didn't permit such ragged men to come to their house. Our men permitted Col. Parkhurst to go by and tell Josephine goodbye. Our men did better than the Yankees for they never allowed our boys to say goodbye to either mother or sister, much less sweetheart. They pressed Mrs. Reeves' carriage into service to take one of the wounded soldiers off, & when it was returned they cut up considerable, said they would never again ride in it. As if the Yankees had not time & again took our carriage, horses & everything else they could lay their hands on.

Friday July 18th 1862

I sometimes find myself writing before breakfast. No prospect of a fight. The day is clear & beautiful. Ma & Cousin Ann went up town this morning. Most everyone is very much frightened. Aunt Nancy Avent & Cousin Tabitha Morgan sent a good many of their things out here, expecting the town to be burned. The Yankees came in town just before dinner & stopped all traveling, even on the streets. Ma started the servant twice, but they didn't succeed in getting Pa's dinner to him. Ephe came out & said they were searching everybody's house for brooms & guns. Can't imagine what they want with brooms.

They are concentrating their troops around the square, and as they are very wet (having rained quite hard), probably they want to exercise to keep from taking cold, or may be to keep us from cleaning up our boys any more. We saw about 12 or 14 coming, & I thought they were going to search our house too, so placed my little Southern flag in my bosom, for I had made it hoping to wave it at our dear boys as they would pass by. I hid Helen's flag also in the same place, a box of powder, & a number of union envelopes that I had as trophies. Marched up as if the place belonged to them, rung the bell with quite an air. Said they came to get horses & wagons. Ma said they should not have hers, that she would see Gen. Nelson about it. The officer said very impertinently come on boy's, we will go and see what she has got, & take them. Bettie & I heard them from our window [and] rushed downstairs into the yard, & went to where the horses were & gave them a piece of my mind. Rebuked them for running at Shiloh, Richmond, Bull's Run, &c., &c. he put on quite a bold air first but cooled down considerable before I got through. Bettie then came forward and gave them another cutting speech.

Some of the privates enjoyed the way we treated the officer. One told me to ask him about running at Pittsburgh Landing. I really believe that although they were all in Yankee blue, some of them were good Southern men. One said he wished all my brothers might get home safely. That he never intended to kill our boys, if he could help it. They seem to have quite a contempt for that egotistical officer they had with them. They finally said, if we would lend the cart and one horse they would pledge their word it should be brought back. To our surprise it came back in an hour's time, all right.

Ma had the buggy gotten up and went after Pa, as they would not let him come out home. They had several citizens arrested. Everybody advised her not to attempt going up in town but she did, saw one of the Officers and got Pa a permit to return home. Old Bill Spence, Ashburn, & Ned Jordan came in with the army. The citizens may expect a gay time now, as they are grand scoundrels. I wish I had known where old Ashburn was hid, I should have told on him. The Reeves, I understand, have been up since 5 o'clock, cheering the Yankees on. They ought to be run out of town after falling as low as they have. Mrs. Anderson & her sister Kate have not yet left town. Mrs. Lain was over here a few moments this evening.

Wednesday July 23rd 1862

Nearly all Yankees have left town this morning. Mr. Lillard called by, & told Uncle Tommy to hurry & go home, as they had pickets out on only a few roads. So just as soon as they had breakfasted, Uncle Tommy & Mr. Kirk & brother Will left for home.

Cousin Ann & Rosa were up town & on coming home brought good news. That Forrest had captured Genl. Nelson & command, that he had torn up the railroad from Smyrna to Nashville, burning the depot there, that he had dashed through Nashville, killing many Yankees & was now hastily crossing the river. It is believed that Genl. Beauregarde is in Ky. I was astonished to hear of Aunt Nancy Avent defending Maj. Maney for protecting old Ashburn, for he is as mean as old Bill Spence. That rascal was nearly frightened out of his wits yesterday when the flag of truce came in, & is now selling off at cost, preparing to leave here. I hope our boys will have a chance at him yet.

This evening Bettie & I put our sewing by & walked over to Mrs. Lain's, & while there saw Yankees returning into town, which we were sorry to see proved to be old Nelson & his command. Not less than 10,000 came in. We watched them until too dark to see them, then we could hear them coming, still coming. They were very much

jaded & evidently worn out, could scarcely drag one foot before the other. The ebony images were overjoyed to see them return.

While at supper one Yankee came to [buy] bread, but Pa said he had none to sell, but asked him into supper. I finished mine in a hurry & left the table. He thanked Pa when he was through, said they were in 4 miles of Nashville. Our men had destroyed the bridge, captured a number of their men, but they came upon the rear of our army retaking their men, and two of ours. Said we killed 10 of their men in the fight. The Yankee said our army did not have the cross roads down below here until 2 o'clock today. One of our old guards returned and came out tonight, was quite glad, as the Yankees are tired & hungry, & they may take it into their heads to do any mischief tonight being so disappointed.

Old Nelson, I suppose, is in one of his tantrums, & will make all Mrs. Hagan's boarders leave once again, as they returned to her house today. Our flag of truce came in on the Lebanon pike, & went out on the Woodberry pike, supposed to puzzle the Yankees. The Yankees would not let the man with the flag see Maj. Saunders (a wounded confederate at Maj. Ledbetter's). The flag that came in Sunday I understand was to see about exchange of prisoners. Col. Saunders, for a Col. our men had captured over at Lebanon. A dead body came in today, supposed to be one of their officers.

[Diary ends with the entry of July 31, 1862, although the following brief notation appears at the end:]
"1876 Have burnt the rest of my journal up, & expect some day to get courage to destroy this. I'm married now, foolishness must be laid aside. A period has been placed at the end of my old life, & a new era has begun since Feb. 3rd 1875."

General Butler's Orders, No. 28

Union Correspondence, Orders, And Returns Relating To Operations In West Florida, Southern Alabama, Southern Mississippi, And Louisiana From May 12, 1862, To May 14, 1863: And In Texas, New Mexico, And Arizona From September 20, 1862, To May 14, 1863.—#1

HDQRS. DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
New Orleans, May 15, 1862.

As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of *New Orleans* in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter when any female shall by word, gesture, or movement insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation.

By command of Major-General Butler:
GEO. C. STRONG,
Assistant Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff.