

BETWEEN THE RIVERS: THE WAR FROM THE TENNESSEE TO THE MISSISSIPPI

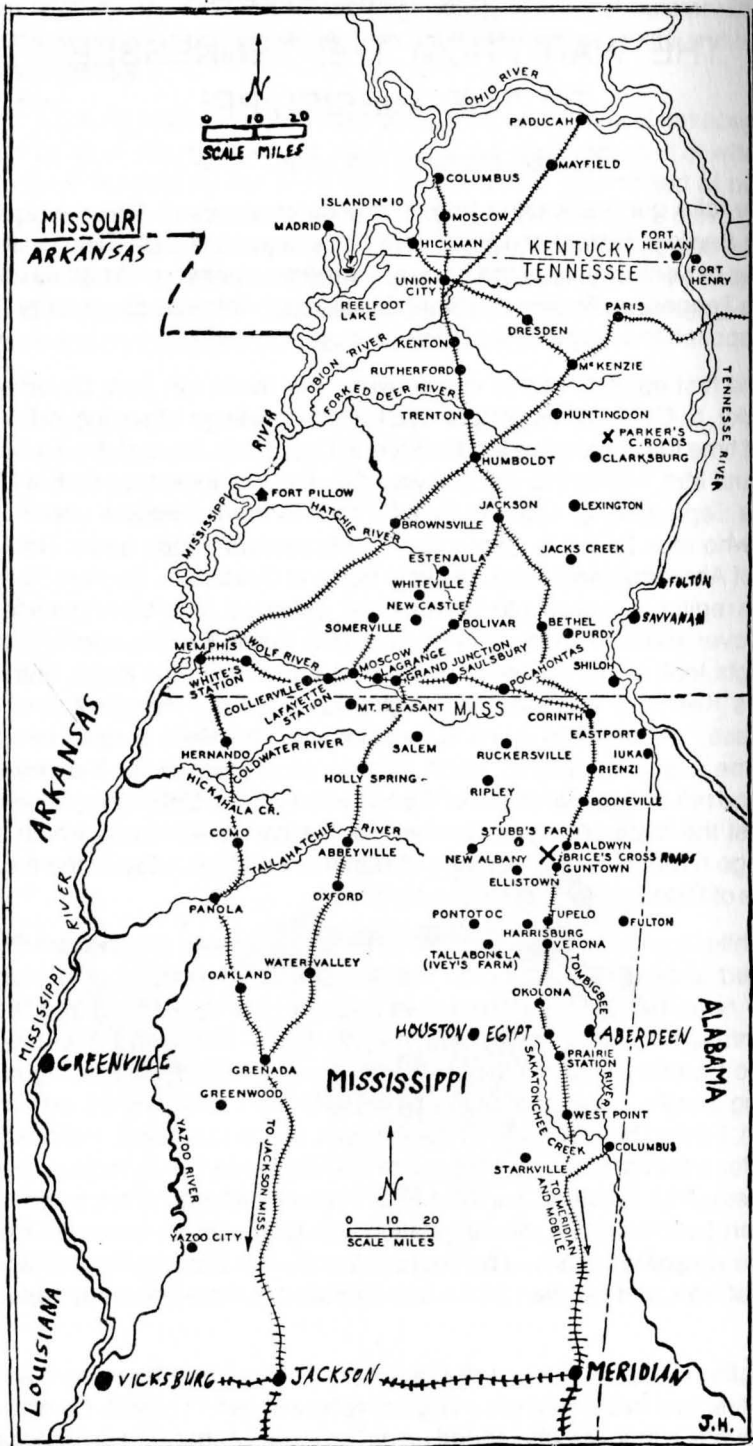
Charles Granville Hamilton, Ph.D.

We take our text tonight from the inspiring words of Andrew Nelson Lytle in *Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company*, page 244: "The western counties of Kentucky, all of the State of Tennessee between the Mississippi and the Tennessee Rivers, and North Mississippi - this was the country Forrest proposed to occupy for the Confederacy."

The first episode of this war between the rivers ran from Columbus, Kentucky, to Corinth, Mississippi. We had the privilege of seeing today for the first time the impressive fortifications at Columbus, through the courtesy of Dr. and Mrs. Hunter Hancock of your Society. Confederates entered Columbus September 3, 1861, to forestall the Northern invaders under U.S. Grant who took Paducah September 6. Mississippi troops under Reuben Davis of Aberdeen were later added to those at Columbus. Bedford Forrest with his regiment was sent to Hopkinsville, defeated John McArthur's force near Dover and won a victory at Sacramento, losing 5 to the enemy's 100. We might look a little eastward of the rivers and note how Roger Hanson with his Kentucky brigade, "thoroughbreds from the Pennyryle and the Bluegrass," broke the blue line at Fort Donelson but were ordered back by the same stupid leadership which mistook picket fences for Yankee soldiers and refused to march out of the fort with Forrest. Defensive delusions also lost the force on Island Number 10, the part of Kentucky which one had to go through Tennessee and Missouri to enter because of the meanderings of Old Man River. All this led to Shiloh.

While Grant was asleep down the Tennessee River and William Sherman had just wired Washington that there was no sign of battle and no enemy near, Confederates smashed through Sherman's lines and drove the confused bluecoats to the river's edge. P.G.T. Beauregard refused to listen to Forrest's warning that victory had to be completed that night. By morning Buell's army had saved Grant and the Confederates retired to Corinth, Forrest holding off Sherman's attack on the rearguard. Halleck prepared for a formal siege and the much outnumbered Confederates retired to Tupelo. Phil Sheridan pursued to Booneville, where he retreated suddenly and set fire to the railroad station with Confederate wounded inside it. The area again became a battleground in the fall. Sterling Price attacked Grant at luka and his men broke into Corinth but were unable to take the town.

Nathan Bedford Forrest displayed his genius for independent action on his first raid into Tennessee beginning November 11, 1862. He was the only private in this war who ended up as lieutenant general. "He continually grew in power to the last and was ever greater than his opportunities." He



WESTERN TENNESSEE AND NORTHERN MISSISSIPPI

had been in favor of union and against secession but he went along with his state. He told his slaves he would free them at the end of the war. Fearing he might be killed, 18 months before the end of the war, when he saw the South was going to lose, he gave them their papers of freedom. Although he was profane, he was not vulgar or obscene, was very respectful of ladies and did not drink, smoke, or chew. He had a large plantation in Coahoma, Mississippi, a smaller one in Tunica County, and a home in Memphis.

On November 18 he crossed the supposedly carefully guarded Tennessee River at Clifton and captured Robert G. Ingersoll, an expert con man as ignorant of war as of religion. Forrest captured Carroll Station, Humboldt and Trenton with enormous amounts of shells, ammunition and supplies. From captured oilcloth his men constructed shebangs, the ancestor of the modern pup tents. Several Union forces outnumbering his were mystified, countermarched or hid, blockheads in blockhouses. Forrest went as far as Moscow, Kentucky, near Columbus. The Yankee commanders thought they had him trapped between their garrisons and the river. At Parker's Crossroads, Forrest had just defeated the troops of Cyrus Dunham on the north when he was attacked by the force of John W. Fuller on the south. He urged his men to charge both ways and routed both blue forces. His men had begun the campaign with many of them unarmed; they returned all well armed. He had inflicted 1,500 casualties while losing 500 and he took out more men than he carried in and they came out soldiers. Forrest remarked, "Whenever I met one of those fellows that fought by note, I usually whipped him before he got his tune pitched."

The major campaign of the war was probably Vicksburg. Grant made six failures in this campaign, which would have ended the career of any general without his political connections. Grant's attempt to take the town by naval strength failed. Forrest's campaign in Tennessee delayed him for a month. Forrest's men stayed around Grenada, which was their destination so often that they called it "our Methodist circuit." Earl Van Dorn's men destroyed the immense array of stores Grant had at Holly Springs and blocked this route. Sherman made a rash attack on Chickasaw Bayou and was repulsed with heavy loss. General John Gregg was credited with winning the battle.

Grant then planned to send an army on transports with gunboats through Yazoo Pass at the flood tide to the Tallahatchie and to the rear of Vicksburg. *The Star of the West*, at which the first shot of the war had been fired off Charleston, was sunk by Confederates to block the river at Fort Pemberton near where my wife's family cemetery is now. Most of you have been in our home and have seen the paddle her grandfather made from the ship. Fort Pemberton was held against landing parties for another Grant fiasco.

An attempt to get to the Yazoo River by Steele's Bayou resulted in Confederates felling trees behind the gunboats, which barely got back. A canal

to move the river from Vicksburg also failed. B.H. Grierson made a cavalry raid through central Mississippi which was more destructive than military but diverted some Confederate attention.

After six failures, Lincoln arranged to set up a replacement for Grant. Disunity of Confederate command, a frequent phenomenon among these prima donnas, kept John C. Pemberton and Joseph E. Johnston from uniting their forces, which could have prevented Grant from crossing the river. His passage was unopposed. Grant's army of 20,000 was held for one day at Raymond by John Gregg with 4,000 but the next day blue reinforcements won the battle of Champion Hill and divided the Confederate armies. The Confederate high command lost armies by trying to keep cities. Pemberton could have taken his troops out of the city to join Johnston but did not. A number of years ago I heard John C. Pemberton III discuss with Ulysses Grant III the Vicksburg campaign. Pemberton ended with a telling point: "They say my grandfather was a poor general because Grant defeated him; was everyone whom Grant defeated a poor general?"

The Confederate victory of Chickamauga, which could have counteracted Vicksburg if it had been followed up, was wasted by Braxton Bragg. Forrest refused to serve any longer under him and was sent with 279 men to fight for the territory between the rivers. Forrest made another raid into Tennessee and soon had 5,000 men. He was to cover West Tennessee and Mississippi above Columbus and Grenada. His force was primarily of Tennesseans and Mississippians, with the 12th Kentucky under W.W. Faulkner, the 2d Missouri, Texas and Arkansas battalions.

Okolona was his debut to victory. Sooy Smith, who had ranked 6th at West Point in the class in which Sheridan was 34th and John B. Hood 44th, was sent by Sherman to go to Pontotoc, Okolona, Mobile and Selma. His cavalry was commanded by Grierson, who before the war had taught piano, cornet, guitar, clarinet and voice in an Illinois college. The Okolona campaign ran from February 10 to 24, 1864.

Sooy Smith's men burned homes, barns and fences, and plundered, actions which had not been seen in this section. Men were aroused to avenge the wrongs done to old men, women, and children. Sherman was beginning his Meridian expedition "leaving a swath of desolation across the state which the present generation will not forget." In the first year of the war Sherman had been removed from a command for insanity; had he ever gotten over it? Colonel George E. Waring wrote of "the marvelous prairie region of northeast Mississippi; interminable, fertile, rolling prairie stretching before us in every direction. We were plagued by 3,000 contrabands who brought mules, horses and wagons and set fires to mansions, stables, cotton gins and black quarters, leaving only fire and destitution behind them. The sky was red with flame of burning corn and cotton. "Hundreds of bins filled by farmers for the Confederate armies at fixed time with corn, bacon, meal white beans, went up in flames. The army marched by fire at night, by smoke in the day.

Forrest's advance skirmished with the blue at Houston February 17. Smith's men went to Okolona and turned south to West Point. Scouting parties of 100 men of both sides came near each other west of Aberdeen without firing. The blue commander proposed each side select one man for a saber duel rather than all fight. He picked a German, the gray picked a Pole, who won. Then both rode away. At Gibson, J.H. Jarman, a planter, shot one Yankee and captured two but was shot himself. His body was carried to Aberdeen in a wagon with a pitiful little procession to the cemetery.

Aberdeen saw its only enemy troops February 19, as Grierson sent the 9th Illinois Cavalry, which rode through the street at 2 a.m., destroyed food and machinery and set on fire a building with Confederate supplies on Commerce Street between Meridian and Maple Streets. J.W. Walker, a merchant, gave a Masonic sign to Col. Henry B. Burgh; he was given 50 men to use the fire engine to extinguish the fire and officers prevented men from starting other fires. Later in the day Grierson's division came in town with one black regiment and almost finished a bridge across the river. A detachment sent to seize Cotton Gin ferry was called back. Samuel J. Gholson's state troops fought from Egypt to James D. Randle's cotton plantation near Muldon. Jeffrey Forrest also skirmished with the blue all day, reaching West Point at 2 a.m. on the 20th. They fell back fighting into Tibbee bottom, where most of the little army was, near Ellis Bridge, three miles southwest of West Point. A blue attack at Siloam four miles north was repulsed. Smith sent a rearguard to attack while he began to retreat, sending ahead wagons, stock and contrabands. The grays began driving the blues across the 30 yard bridge and through West Point. Barteau's brigade which had been sent to Columbus the day before came to Waverly and attacked the Union right flank all day.

The blue attempted to make a stand four miles northeast of West Point on a narrow causeway and bridge in post oak timber but were driven north in confusion. They made another stand two miles farther at the end of two open fields lining the sides of a lane, with heavy woods in the rear. They were driven from the Watkins place to the cotton gin on the Evans place, where a full regiment made a stand. H. A. Tyler with Kentucky and Mississippi troops flushed them out of their position and they raced for the mouth of Randle's Lane not half a mile away. The 4,000 Yankees withdrew; the 1,000 Southerners who followed them till dark enjoyed at Egypt a Northern camp full of fodder, food, burning fires and firewood. In the pursuit some Confederates mistook Forrest's escort and shot one of them and put a bullet through Forrest's clothes.

Barteau marched his men at 3 a.m. on February 22d and was in position 600 yards southeast of the railroad at Okolona when Forrest arrived at 5 a.m. "We can't hold them but we can run them," shouted Bedford and the gray charged. The 2d Tennessee Confederate Cavalry was followed in flight by the 4th Regulars and 3d Tennessee, leaving 6 cannon. McCulloch and Barteau dashed into Okolona on two different streets. Jef-

frey Forrest pursued up the Pontotoc road and died while being held tenderly in the arms of his brother, calling him by name. There was silence on the part of all.

Jeffrey Forrest had married Sally Dyche, daughter of an early mayor of Aberdeen, and his body rested at the house of a sister-in-law on Commerce Street before an impressive funeral in the Oddfellows Cemetery in Aberdeen the day after the battle.

Then pursuit was resumed. Waring held momentarily at Prairie Mount on a ridge sloping down, into Talabonela Swamp, but was routed again. Forrest broke three blue lines 10 miles from Pontotoc. McCulloch, who had been wounded, came back waving his bloody bandage as a battle flag. Forrest stopped to help a wounded Yankee and to place a terrified mother and her brood from behind a log house to safety. Forrest's men kept on fighting for 50 miles and Gholsón's men took over the pursuit.

Kentucky was ripe for Confederate troops in 1864. Like Missouri, it became more Confederate the longer the war lasted. "Lincoln's promises of slaves and of union were only promises; their slaves were gone and the union they had cherished was not the one he was fighting for." Forrest's army occupied Western Kentucky and West Tennessee from February 26 to April 10. He had been given the three small regiments of the 3d, 7th and 8th Kentucky Infantry of the "Orphan Brigade" to be mounted as cavalry on horses to be found in Kentucky. Abraham Buford, a jolly and reliable West Point graduate and Kentucky horse trader before the war, was to command under Forrest these regiments plus the 12th Kentucky, an Alabama regiment and Tyree Bell's Tennessee brigade. James R. Chalmer's division, consisting of R. V. Richardson's Tennessee brigade, the 7th Tennessee and Robert McCulloch's brigade of Missourians, Mississippians, and Tennesseans, was left in Mississippi to threaten Northern forces, to protect civilians, to punish bandits and to destroy distilleries.

Buford's division, accompanied by itinerant Tennessee Governor Isham Harris, captured Union City March 24, aided by logs masquerading as cannon. The Seventh Confederate Tennessee Cavalry captured the 7th Union Tennessee Cavalry, relieving them of \$60,000 pay just received. Making 100 miles in 50 hours despite the mud, the division entered Paducah the next day. A.P. Thompson's 400 Kentuckians could not be restrained from attacking the fort; he was killed almost in sight of his home. Forrest held the place 10 hours, burned a transport and took many supplies and horses. Buford returned a few days later to return private horses and replace them with 140 Union horses hidden in an old foundry. The fort and gunboat shelled the town to punish civilians. The men from around Mayfield were allowed to go home for a few days. The Kentucky brigade which had begun the campaign with 1,000, mostly unmounted, now had 1,700 mounted. Forrest held the interior of the area and secured the men, horses, and supplies for which he went.

Fort Pillow, on the First Chickasaw Bluff 80 miles north of Memphis by river, was easily captured. The white Tennesseans in it, regarded by Confederates as "renegades and Tories," were hated for their pillage and outrages. Many of the garrison were drunk, declared the Union post surgeon, later an Iowa congressman. Whiskey and beer were in barrels with dippers attached; Confederate officers kicked them over and emptied them on the ground. Union gunboats kept firing after Forrest had ordered Confederate firing to cease. Of the 295 white and 262 black, 168 and 58, respectively, were captured, 120 were wounded and taken away by gunboats, 231 killed. It has been said that the white casualties were higher. But 40,000 copies of a Congressional report of falsehoods were sent out on the "massacre" for the 1864 political campaign.

Sherman was afraid Forrest would sever his line of communications, so he sent Samuel D. Sturgis, a classmate of "Stonewall" Jackson and George B. McClellan, to defeat Forrest. Braxton Bragg refused to let Forrest attack the lines, took 653 men from him and sent half his small force to Alabama. Forrest started to the Tennessee River with 2,000 men but at Russellville was ordered to return to stop Sturgis. The Northern expedition was another raid of plunder and senseless destruction. Rev. Samuel Agnew noted near Brice's Crossroads that "Yankee soldiers white and black stole all the food and most clothes from whites and slaves, vandalized everything and cut the ropes of the wells, which they wished they had not when they returned."

Sturgis brought 3,300 cavalry, 9,000 infantry and 22 guns, almost three times what Forrest could muster. The night before the battle Forrest ordered to Brice's Crossroads Hylan B. Lyons' 800 and William A. Johnson's 500 from Baldwyn, Edmund W. Rucker's 700 from Booneville, with John Morgan's artillery, Tyree Bell's 2,800 from Rienzi, where Sturgis had been thought to be moving. Forrest noted "Sturgis is stretched out seven miles on a road and I can whip him as fast as he can get his man up. The country is densely wooded and the undergrowth is so heavy that when we strike them they will not know how few men we have." He could defeat the cavalry before the infantry could come up.

On the morning of June 10, 1864, Waring's 1,400 blue cavalry encountered two Kentucky companies under H.A. Tyler, the only Confederates on the field. Lyon's brigade came up speedily and for an hour the 3d, 7th and 8th Kentucky were the only reinforcements to Tyler's men. Then in rushed Rucker's Mississippi and Tennessee troops after an 18 mile hike. Soon Johnson's 500 Alabamians were added. The leaves were motionless in the breathless, scorching air but water from recent rains was plentiful in the rills. Forrest fought most of the battle in his shirtsleeves, his major general's coat across his saddle.

Sturgis was five miles back at the head of the infantry when he learned of the fighting. By the time he arrived at the front, Grierson's cavalry brigades were rapidly giving way, exhausted and out of ammunition. Only

the Union side had cannon until Morton's battery charged up at 1:30 and relentlessly rained shell on the Union cavalry, artillery and wagon train in confusion. Bell's Tennesseans arrived at the same time and with William L. Duff's Mississippi regiment and Tyler's Kentuckians attacked on the extreme left of the blue line and threw it into more confusion. Barteau's men were sent on a wide sweep to the enemy's left rear, while the 2d Tennessee attacked the other end. Grierson had asked to withdraw his men when Sturgis came up and most of them had fled. Wagons turned over, blocking bridges and roads. Blue artillery in the rear forced others out of the way in headlong flight, with teamsters who had cut loose their wagons and mounted their horses. Sturgis, who had several drinks that day, announced early in the evening, "The artillery and the wagon trains have already gone to hell." Sturgis got well in front of the retreat.

The battle was over by five o'clock; the pursuit continued night and day. Many threw away their arms and ammunition. Forrest went to sleep during the pursuit and so did his horse, but both were awakened by running into a tree. Edward Bouton's black brigade had as many killed and wounded as the five white brigades together. Whites were afraid to be captured with blacks and blacks were afraid to be captured without whites. Bouton asked Sturgis for a white regiment to help lift up his wagons but Sturgis refused, saying "If Forrest will leave me alone, I'll leave him alone."

Forrest's men marched 18 to 25 miles that day, fought 5 to 7 hours and pursued 5 hours more at once. They were refreshed by the fresh, crisp hardtack and lean bacon they found. In Hatchie bottom they captured the rest of the artillery and wagons. Yankees were on every log, eager to surrender, more Yankees than logs; 16 surrendered to 1 Confederate at Ripley. On the warm, showery night blue soldiers began a headlong flight for 90 hours without rest or much food. Bell's brigade marched 25 miles over miserable roads, fought hard for 5 hours and pursued for 55 miles. Norton's artillerymen rode 18 miles, fought 5 hours and pursued 43 miles, all in 43 hours in the blazing heat. Sturgis lost 223 killed, 394 wounded, 1,618 captured. Forrest lost 140 killed and 500 wounded. He took 173 six-horse wagons, 18 cannons, 20 caissons, 39 ambulances, 10 days' rations, enormous supplies. Sturgis was never given another command. Divisions on their way to join Sherman were recalled, while Confederates rested from the battle at Aberdeen and Verona.

Brice's Crossroads was the high watermark of victory between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers. Marshall Ferdinand Foch used to lecture on it at Chaumont. British Field Marshall Garnet Wolseley called it "a most remarkable victory, well worth the attention of military students." Never again were Forrest's men to know a victory so complete, so overwhelming, so smashing.

At Harrisburg another invasion was repelled, even though it won a temporary triumph. Sherman urged his generals to "punish the land and the people, to follow Forrest to the death if it costs 10,000 lives and bankrupts

the Treasury." Sherman promised Joseph Mower a major generalship if he killed Forrest. He got it, though he did not get near Forrest.

Joseph E. Johnston, William Hardee and Leonidas Polk, in his last dispatch, urged President Jefferson Davis to send Forrest into Tennessee to break Sherman's communications, as did Senator Ben Hill and Governor Joe Brown. Howell Cobb wrote "If Sherman's communications were cut, in 10 days his army would be destroyed, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi saved and Tennessee recovered." Blockheaded Bragg blocked this and even tried to take away from Forrest some of his small force. Forrest with 9,000 men could have wrecked the communications, saved Atlanta, elected McClellan president.

A.J. Smith marched from LaGrande July 5. He burned churches, schools, courthouses and homes at Ripley, "leaving a swath of desolation 10 miles wide." Smith did not dare attack Forrest on the Pontotoc road but moved to Tupelo, burning Harrisburg. His cavalry lost a skirmish at Camargo July 13. James Hancock in one of Rucker's Tennessee regiments heard Stephen Lee take over command from Forrest.

Fighting with the Kentucky brigade were 106 of John Morgan's men, whom William Campbell had led from Cynthiana, Kentucky, then captured Bardstown and met Forrest's men at Corinth. They lost one-third at Harrisburg. Lee refused to let Norton mass his 20 guns. With Gholson's troops added, the Confederates had only 5,500 rifles against 15,000 in a strong hill position. Edward Crossland's Kentuckians felt invincible because Forrest was there and officers could not keep the 888 from charging 15,000. Lee lost control of the battle and brigades attacked in turn. Of the 3,000 who attacked, 1,308 or 41% were casualties. Every field officer in seven regiments of Buford's division was a casualty. The 2d Tennessee ended with a second lieutenant commanding. Col. Isham Harrison of the 6th Mississippi lay with many of his men about him. Forrest told Lee after it, "If I knew as much about West Point tactics as you do, the Yankees would whip me every day." Smith retreated at once, claiming lack of bread, although in the greatest granary of foodstuffs in the Confederacy.

By a raid on Memphis which took the enemy completely by surprise, Forrest was able to get another invasion recalled before it had advanced far. This frightened the enemy so much that north Mississippi enjoyed a period of peace. Forrest's men enjoyed feasting in the prairie "by Gunn's church in the rich country fields of green corn; if you tickle the soil with a hoe, it will laugh with a harvest." For the first time Forrest was able to take his men by railroad to near the Tennessee River. The army had US on blankets, shoes, rifles, ammunition, artillery with 8 horses to the gun, wagons with 6 mules, ambulances with 4 horses and the best equipment and supplies ever.

Forrest breakfasted on meal and molasses as his 4,500 men began another raid into Tennessee, with 400 trudging along on foot hopefully waiting for horses to be captured. The raid ended with a victory at Eastport, Mis-

Mississippi. In 500 miles in 23 days the army inflicted 3,000 casualties at a loss of 47 killed and 293 wounded and added 1,800 to the army. It captured 4 cannon, 3,000 stands of arms, 100 wagons, 600 beef cattle, plenty of ordnance, medical and commissary supplies, with plenty of sugar and coffee. It had destroyed 100 miles of railroad, 6 large trestle bridges, 2 locomotives, 50 freight cars, a sawmill, 5,000 cords of wood and 10 blockhouses.

Confederate strategy from Richmond had been too little and too late. Sherman had won his Georgia campaign by losing five campaigns in Mississippi; one of the strangest anomalies of the war.

Forrest began his last expedition into West Tennessee October 16, 1864. Much of the supply of Sherman's army came down the Tennessee River to Johnsonville, where it was transferred to the Northwestern Railroad which ran to Nashville. Forrest carried more artillery and wagons to gather supplies, and planned to recruit but primarily to break up the operations at Johnsonville. He was in Jackson, Tennessee, again on the 21st. Fear of attacks by him caused all Union troops in Western Kentucky to be withdrawn into the forts at Columbus and Paducah and Memphis to be more strongly fortified.

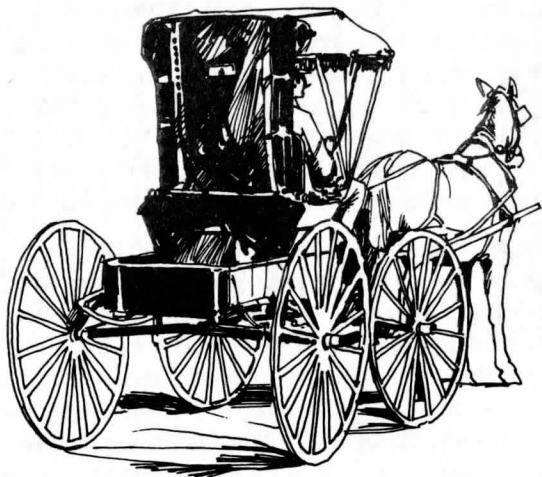
Confederate batteries were set up on the Tennessee River at Fort Heiman, across from old Fort Henry, with Lyon's Kentuckians and two 20 pounder Parrott guns from Mobile. Part of Morton's battery was nearby and also Buford's division. Bell's Tennesseans with the rest of Morton's battery were placed five miles south on the river at Paris Landing. Cannon and rifle fire forced a gunboat and a transport to surrender and these became Forrest's navy. Captain Frank M. Gracey of the 3d Kentucky, a Cumberland steamboat man before the war, commanded the gunboat *Undine*. After they were attacked by 9 Union gunboats, the Confederates had to destroy their little navy.

Guns were quietly placed across the river from Johnsonville lower than Union guns on land and higher than the range of gunboats. November 4, 10 guns opened fire and set 3 gunboats and 11 transports on fire. The 18 barges were burned and then shells set fire to the warehouses. Forrest moved 6 miles south by the glare, after destroying \$7 million of property, capturing 150 men and losing only 2 killed and 9 wounded.

Forrest's men were sent into the campaign to Franklin and Nashville and they covered the retreat back to the Tennessee River. At Egypt 9 Union cavalry regiments captured a Confederate force of 500 under Gholson December 28. Crossland's small Kentucky brigade and Mississippi troops were with Forrest at the battle of Selma, the end of fighting in the area. Forrest surrendered his command May 9 in a beautiful old home at Gainesville, Alabama, by the Tombigee River. The flag of the 7th Tennessee, which had been made from the bridal dress of Mrs. Caledonia Clay Manning of Aberdeen, and sewn as a flag by the mother of Betty and Gude Watkins, was torn in pieces for remembrances. The War between the Rivers was over.

There is no set of formal footnotes, because most of the information came from the standard lives of Forrest and can be found therein. These are *Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company* by Andrew Nelson Lytle, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1931; "*First with the Most*" *Forrest* by Robert Selph Henry, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1944; *As They Saw Forrest* edited by Robert Selph Henry, McCowat-Mercer, Jackson, Tennessee, 1946. The first book on Forrest was also studied, *The Campaigns of Lieutenant General N.B. Forrest and of Forrest's Cavalry*, by Thomas Jordan and J.P. Pryor, New Orleans, 1868. *The Army of Tennessee* by Stanley F. Horn, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1942, is a major source.

Mrs. Marianna Jordan of Aberdeen, 1836-1935, was the first of many to tell me of memories of the war in this area. The author is indebted to many, remembered and unremembered.



(17) 2166

Called Court 1st Novembe 1861.

All Cases Court began and held in and for the County of
Trigg on this the 1st day of November 1861. - Present
Grant John. R. Graves Judge

Three This day George Ashley and Lemford Ashley who are free
Negroes, Negroes & Residents of this State, the former aged 28 years
and the latter 23 years of age (both of them Males) this day
came in open Court, and with laws thereof made and
of Mrs Martha Gossum as their Mother to whom they used
to live during life; Where upon the Court appointed three
Commissioners; to wit; Sam. Gentry, James W. Giventer, and
W. D. Bicker to value said free Negroes - who used and used in
open Court to place a fair Cash Value on said Negroes
where upon said Commissioners returned their report
in Open Court fixing the Value of the said Ashley at
Eight hundred Dollars each (say for both 1600⁰⁰)
where upon said Mrs Martha Gossum paid in Cash to
the Clerk of this Court the sum of four hundred Dollars
being One fourth of said appraisement, and this Court doth
doth order said George Ashley to both during the life of said
Martha Gossum according to the law. - W. R. B. 2166