

# REIGN OF TERROR IN WEST KENTUCKY? PART II

By Dieter C. Ullrich and Berry Craig

▲ *Brigadier General Eleazar Arthur Paine (1815-1882). Library of Congress*

In part one of our coverage of General E. A. Paine's command of the District of Western Kentucky (*North & South*, Series 2, #4), we recounted how Union forces under his command made dramatic inroads in countering guerrilla atrocities in the Jackson Purchase and fortifying the center of partisan resistance at Mayfield. After thirty days in command, Paine was at the pinnacle of his brief tenure in Western Kentucky. He had greatly curtailed illicit trade, removed subversive Southern sympathizers from his military district, and driven a Confederate force out from Union County. He had further developed and enforced policies to support the emancipation of slaves, halted the persecution of Unionists by roving guerrilla bands, and improved troop morale to its highest level since the beginning of the war. Yet dark clouds were on the horizon for General Paine as his political adversaries in Frankfort and

Washington began a campaign to discredit and remove him from command.

In part two, we return to the occupation of Mayfield where Colonel Waters W. McChesney had done little to maintain discipline or build defenses about the city. With the arrival of the 136<sup>th</sup> Illinois and a detachment of the 8<sup>th</sup> United States Colored Heavy Artillery on August 13, confusion escalated as housing the existing troops had already become a major problem. Not having been issued tents the men set up camp and slept anywhere they could find space. A soldier in the 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois wrote in his diary that his company slept on the brick pavement on the court square. The seemingly incurable illness which the Colonel contracted at Columbus left him bedridden and incapable of addressing the need for lodging soldiers or initiating construction plans for the fortifications. McChesney did follow Paine's advice to send

out scouting parties each day to scour the area for guerrillas. After receiving reports that the town of Feliciana had harbored and protected rebels, McChesney sent a company of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Illinois Cavalry to burn the community to the ground. The company engaged a small rebel force outside of town on August 14 and after a minor skirmish the enemy escaped south to Tennessee with two wounded. Captain Robert H. Carnahan, the officer in charge of the detachment, chose not to torch the town and left Feliciana for Mayfield with a single prisoner late that afternoon.<sup>1</sup>

The arrival of Congressman Lucian Anderson to his hometown stirred up interest among the local Unionists and on August 15 he organized a rally on the courthouse square. An Illinois soldier wrote in his diary that there was a "big crowd" before the courthouse steps which included, by the diarist's estimates, "many prominent guerrillas."

*“very sorry to see so much confiscating going on.”*

Anderson and John Bolinger, a prominent Unionist businessman from Mayfield, made radical political speeches that advocated President Lincoln’s management of the war and the emancipation of slaves in the “strongest term.” Bolinger began the rally by defining General Paine’s policy in the district. He declared that “one hundred rebel families must be banished” from the United States and citizens of Graves County found not loyal to the Union cause “must pay \$250,000.” He also warned the audience that they best submit peaceably or necessary force would be applied until they obeyed. Bolinger concluded that all able blacks must join the Army to assist in the war effort. Anderson’s presentation, in a less boisterous tone, reiterated Bolinger’s stand that people conform to Paine’s control of the district and support the Federal Government.<sup>2</sup>

McChesney health seemed to be on the mend on August 16 when he appointed Major John A. Wilson and Captain Samuel L. Andrews of the 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois to coordinate the construction of fortifications about the courthouse. Wilson was not well liked by some of his men in his regiment and was considered a “very mean man” and one who “likes to show his authority.” The first day citizens were employed to clean the streets in preparation of construction. The next day the doors and windows of the courthouse were planked up with heavy oak scathing, the walls punctured with loopholes for muskets and staging built for the men to shoot from. The laborers also commenced piling up earthworks at the north door entrance. After a few days of constructing fortifications Private Thomas W.

E. Belden, a trained civil engineer and graduate of Yale University, was detailed to lay out extensive earthworks about the courthouse. As the fortifications expanded more laborers were required for the job and Wilson was given the task of locating men to do the work.<sup>3</sup>

McChesney provided names of known rebels in Graves County to Captain Gregory and ordered him to organize a band of cavalry to locate and confiscate all property that could be used by roving guerrillas. Gregory formed a group of men from the Home Guard and a few dozen members of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Illinois Cavalry to raid the farms and homes of the families on McChesney’s list and any others found to be Southern sympathizers. His gang primarily commandeered horses and mules but they also carted away “hay, oats, hogs, apples, chickens, bacon, sweet potatoes, barley and grain.” Within weeks after receiving the order, Gregory’s band had stripped the surrounding communities of most livestock and fodder. A resident of Mayfield remarked later that McChesney’s troops had “ravaged the whole

country, drove off and slaughtered nearly all the cattle and hogs within reach of town, both Union men and others, killing those unfit for beef for the hides [and] tore down nearly every log stable and house and barn in the town, burned rails for wood, destroyed the growing crop near town [and] cut down almost every shade tree in the village.” McChesney’s lack of military discipline led to other abuses as soldiers, openly and without regard, stole chickens from coops, bayoneted pigs in backyards and shot and slaughtered cows in pastures. An officer in the 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois wrote to his mother that “anything the men want they take” and that he was “very sorry to see so much confiscating going on.” The troops became more brazen and uncontrollable each day they remained at Mayfield.<sup>4</sup>

On the morning of August 21, Privates John Hatfield and Aaron Abner from Company C of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Illinois Cavalry ventured about a mile beyond the picket lines to a farm in search of buttermilk. While taking the milk they were ambushed by

▼ *Soldiers of the 134th Illinois Infantry. Library of Congress*



## *“what we wished with him” and “expect to be avenged.”*

six guerrillas who shot and killed Abner and fired several shots at Hatfield before he ran to safety. When Hatfield returned to his post and reported the incident, every available man in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Illinois went out in pursuit but failed to locate the perpetrators. Abner’s body was found stripped and riddled with bullet holes. The body was brought to Mayfield and buried that afternoon. The men in his company vowed that his death would be avenged.<sup>5</sup>

Paranoia, frustration and indignation flourished among the ranks toward their surroundings, the inhabitants, and McChesney’s truant behavior. Their diaries and letters sent home to relatives described the deteriorating conditions and the constant fear of being targeted by guerrillas while on picket duty or out on patrol. Lieutenant Andrew Hunt, of the 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry Regiment wrote to his mother on August 23 that “this is a miserable place to live in, we can’t buy anything, no amusement [and] no water” and there is “nothing to do, nothing to read [and] can’t sleep.” The severe drought that ravaged the region brought about water restrictions as the four wells on the courthouse square were dug deeper. The water from the wells was muddy and the troops were eventually forbidden to use water for washing purposes. The numbers of sick men reached alarming rates from lack of clean water and proper diet. In the same letter to his mother, Hunt also expressed his fears of being in a hostile environment. He wrote “we

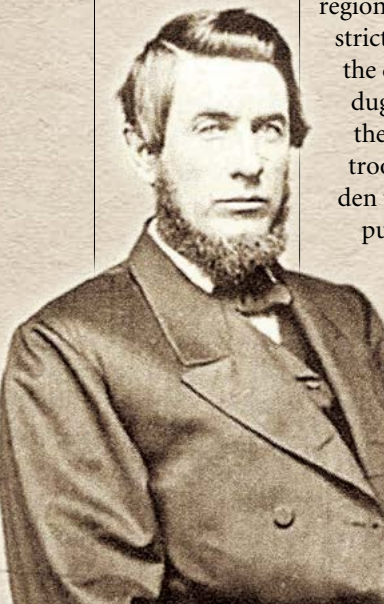
are surrounded by rebels” and that the picket was “fired upon four times last night.” The following evening Private Hawley V. Needham of the 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry Regiment jotted down in his diary that “there was firing near the pickets” and horses stolen from the post’s corral. The nightly guerrilla raids upon the city’s outposts remained persistent. As morale sank, McChesney remained reclusive. Hunt declared “I have seen Colonel McChesney but once since I came here.”<sup>6</sup>

Tensions were very high when Gregory’s scouts brought in a guerrilla named Walters, most likely Robert A. Walters, on August 24. The prisoner was caught about twenty miles south of the city. Soldiers in Gregory’s Home Guard declared Walters a “notorious bushwhacker” and responsible for firing upon Union picket lines. The following afternoon Lieutenant Colonel John C. Bigelow, second in command at Mayfield, Lieutenant Hunt, and Amos K. Tullis, the regimental chaplain of the 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry, interviewed the prisoner at the county jail. They interrogated Walters for an hour and a half. The three men found him to be “a most ignorant person” with a very “surly and impudent” frame of mind. Before the interrogation concluded Walters confessed that he was at the Battle of Fort Pillow, where he killed a black soldier, and had fired upon the picket lines at Paducah two weeks earlier. He steadfastly denied being a guerrilla and pronounced himself to be a Confederate soldier. His neighbors and members of the Home Guard testified otherwise. The three interrogators reported to McChesney, who telegraphed Paine at Paducah with their find-

ings. Paine ordered Walters to be executed the next day. That evening Lieutenant Hunt and Chaplain Tullis told Walters of his impending execution and encouraged him to seek the Lord’s forgiveness. Walters replied that his captors could do “what we wished with him” and “expect to be avenged.”<sup>7</sup>

At eight o’clock the following morning, Lieutenant Colonel Bigelow marched the entire regiment of the 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois beyond the picket lines to a field between a brick warehouse and the railroad tracks. There centered in the field was a six by three hole with a coffin placed by its side. The regiment formed a wide hollow box about the empty grave. The men working on the fortifications were ordered to stop construction and form a line a few paces in front of the Union soldiers. The cavalry was placed behind the 134<sup>th</sup> to prevent anyone leaving. The prisoner was brought to the field by a dozen of Gregory’s men. Lieutenant Hunt noted that Walters “walked with a firm step” as he was positioned in front of the awaiting crowd. The chaplain stepped up to Walters and said a brief prayer before one of Gregory’s lieutenants tied his legs and blindfolded him. Before they could tie his hands he reached to the skies with both arms and cried for mercy. Two more men stepped up and forcibly tied his hands. Once they were secured, Colonel McChesney nodded to Lieutenant Charles E. Sinclair, who had been given the duty of supervising the firing squad. Sinclair lined up Gregory’s men fifteen paces from the groaning man and commanded them to fire. At roughly 11:00 a.m. ten shots burrowed into Walters’ chest and he dropped immediate-

▼ *Congressman Lucien Anderson (1824-1898), Paine’s best friend. National Archives*



ly to the ground. The regiment's physician walked up, knelt over the body, and pronounced him dead. Colonel McChesney then ordered the men who worked on the fortification to step forward and view the body. As they gazed at the corpse, McChesney said to them "men you have been brought out here to see a guerrilla shot—this shall be your fate if you are ever caught harboring guerrillas or bushwhackers or if any of you know of the approach or whereabouts of guerrillas and do not inform the Federal troops." Four of the workers were selected to place the body in the coffin and lower it into the grave. As they shoveled dirt upon the wooden box, the rest of the workers were led back to the courthouse and the soldiers returned to their duties.<sup>8</sup>

That same day, Paine ordered the execution of two rebel spies, Richard Taylor and E. W. S. Matheny, captured five days earlier in Union County. At 9:00 a.m. sixteen members of the 8<sup>th</sup> U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery, under the command of Captain Harlow B. Norton, marched the men under guard north of Fort Anderson along the banks of the Ohio River. Once at the shore both men were blindfolded and their hands fastened behind their backs. The soldiers were lined up before the prisoners and issued cartridges. Norton informed them that half were blanks and half were live rounds. Eight were directed to fire at Taylor and the others at Matheny. As they loaded their muskets, Chaplin Liston H. Pierce of the 132<sup>nd</sup> Illinois Infantry Regiment walked up to the prisoners and offered last rites. Both confessed their guilt but proclaimed to the preacher they were unprepared for death.

Pierce provided what absolution he could and left the men alone with their heads bowed. Captain Norton then cried out, "Ready, Aim...Fire." The shots echoed out across the river to the Illinois side as the men fell lifelessly to the ground.<sup>9</sup>

Reports of another Confederate raid into the Purchase came to the attention of Paine a few days after the executions. Colonel James N. McArthur, the post commander at Columbus, wrote to Paine that a spy employed by the Federal government had overheard a conversation between Generals Nathan Bedford Forrest and Abraham Buford, concerning a combined assault into west Kentucky with the point of attack directed at Mayfield. Unlike his predecessors, Paine chose not to recall his troops to Paducah but to further reinforce the city. He ordered the 34<sup>th</sup> New Jersey Infantry Regiment from Columbus and two companies of the 7<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Cavalry Regiment from Moscow to assist in the defense of city. He boarded a train to Mayfield the next day to inspect the troops and examine the fortifications. Before his departure, he issued General Order No. 11 which required the captains of all boats that landed in the district to report to District Headquarters prior to setting off. He also ordered that any soldiers, or the wives and families of soldiers, seeking transportation on steamers within his district should be charged half fare. While at Mayfield he consulted with McChesney and his staff on the conditions in and about the city. He was told that the fortifications about the courthouse were almost complete and that the firing on the pickets had declined significantly since Greg-

ory's men had captured and imprisoned three known guerrillas in recent days. Paine stayed the evening with McChesney and his staff, telling stories stories and singing songs late into the night.<sup>10</sup>

The next morning Paine returned to Paducah. As night fell on August 29, shots were heard from near the Union picket line and the entire post was aroused from their sleep to man the fortifications. After an hour the men were ordered to return to their make-shift barracks in hotels, churches, and warehouses. A few hours later they were again called to the fort but the alarm proved to be but a few partisan rebels firing at patrols a short distance from the city. At noon the next day, Captain Gregory's men brought in a prisoner captured the day before following a skirmish with sixteen guerrillas. The Home Guard killed one and captured one, but the rest escaped into the night. The man they caught was Henry Bascom Hicks, known to many in town as "Bud," a seventeen-year-old boy from Farmington in Graves County. He was interrogated by McChesney, Gregory and several of the staff. Hicks confessed that he was a guerrilla but had belonged to the band for only two weeks. It was also known that his older brother David was an officer in the Confederate Army. McChesney without hesitation ordered Hicks to be shot at 3 o'clock. Hicks replied that "they had him in their own hands and they could dispose of them as they pleased—he was man enough to face the music." He was taken to the county jail to



▲ Colonel Waters W. McChesney. Library of Congress



▲ Gravestone of Henry Bascomb Hicks. Photograph by Berry Craig

await his fate.<sup>11</sup>

At the appointed time, Hicks was removed from his cell and marched under guard to the edge of town. Unflinchingly and without a word he was led in front of a shallow grave. Before him were a group of off-duty soldiers, curious civilians and a line of eight men with carbines. One of Gregory's officers read aloud the offences Hicks had committed and the sentence to be imposed. He acknowledged the officer with a nod but calmly requested not to have his hands bound or to be blindfolded. His second plea was ignored and a man tied a handkerchief over his eyes. He beseeched the man not to tie it too tightly. Standing erect and head held high, Hicks awaited his fate. A short time after three o'clock the order was given to aim and fire. Shots rang out and a cloud of dust arose as he fell to the earth. The young lad was dropped into the hole without a coffin and his hat placed over his face. A few minutes later, a man who worked on the fortifications was directed to cover the

body with dirt. No marker was to be placed at his grave. A soldier who witnessed the event wrote in his diary, that Hicks was "game to the last" and "his bearing was worthy of one who was to die in a better cause."<sup>12</sup>

September of 1864 began with increased cavalry patrols to warn against possible invasions and to locate, pursue, and capture the remaining guerrillas in the district. On the first of the month, a scouting party of forty five men under Lieutenant Samuel T. Lucas surprised fifteen guerillas near the Tennessee border. The guerillas hastily retreated after a brief gunfight which wounded two of Lucas' men. The rebels left behind five rifles and eleven horses and mules that were brought back to Mayfield. The next day Paine sent out a circular requesting that all 100-day troops serving in his district remain for an additional fifteen days beyond their expiration time. He promised each man would receive a medal for their service with extra pay. With less than three weeks before their service expired and repeated rumors of Forrest's intentions to raid West Kentucky, Paine was pressed to solicit them to stay longer. The troops at Cairo, Columbus, and Paducah voted to remain the extra fifteen days but those at Mayfield overwhelmingly voted down the request. Paine responded by sending a special messenger to Mayfield on September 4 to ask if the men would stay for an additional seven days. Again they voted no. Private Needham of the 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois scribbled in his diary that "someone is making money in the place and to stay here without water with a heavy sick list and more becoming so every day" was justification enough to reject Paine's final appeal to stay on.<sup>13</sup>

Colonel McChesney and Lieutenant Colonel Bigelow took the train to Paducah to convey the news to Paine. While en route McChesney became gravely ill. His health, which had recently shown signs of getting better, now took a dramatic turn for the worse. After he delivered the results of the regiment's vote, McChesney's surgeon, Dr. Danforth, acquired a pass for him to return to Chicago.

As Paine contemplated how to replace McChesney and the 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois at Mayfield, a coup to remove the General from command was set in motion at Frankfort. After a number of reports and verbal complaints from Paine's critics and political enemies, Governor Bramlette sent Lieutenant Colonel Jesse J. Craddock of the 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment Capital Guards on a clandestine mission to Paducah to look into the charges. Craddock returned a few days later and reported his findings directly to Bramlette. The governor wrote President Lincoln on September 2 that the "citizens of Western Kentucky have for a long while been the subjects of insult, oppression and plunder by officers who have been placed to defend and protect them." He declared that the people of Kentucky were "not willing to sacrifice a single life or imperil the smallest right of free white men for the sake of a negro." With the presidential election a little more than a month away and his second term far from certain, Lincoln consulted General Grant on how to resolve Bramlette's grievances regarding Paine. Grant recalled numerous difficulties with Paine earlier in the war and after reading Craddock's report recommended his immediate removal from com-

## *"I will write no more I am too damn mad."*

mand. The next day, Grant telegraphed General Halleck to remove Paine and commented that "he is not fit to have a command where there is a solitary family within his reach favorable to the Government." Halleck directed General Burbridge to relieve Paine on September 5. Burbridge telegraphed Paine the following evening to turn over command of the District of West Kentucky to General Meredith at Cairo. The dispatch was received at Paducah on September 7 but was not read by Paine until the morning of the eighth.<sup>14</sup>

Congressman Anderson was at Mayfield when the news arrived of Paine's dismissal. He was taken aback by the news, for the President had told him a few weeks earlier in Washington that Paine would remain in command. He boarded the first train to Paducah, determined to reverse the events of the past few days. Paine was confined to his bed, after suffering another relapse, when Anderson met with him on the morning of September 9. The General's feeble condition left him physically incapable of mounting a defense for himself. Anderson took up the cause and telegraphed Secretary of War Stanton to revoke Grant's order immediately or the "Union men in this end of the State will all leave." He concluded the missive that if Paine is removed "all is lost." Anderson also sent telegrams and mailed letters to his political allies in Washington to implore Lincoln to reverse his decision. He encouraged his friend Green Adams, a former congressman from Kentucky and auditor for the United States Treasury Department, to meet with the President and tell him to revoke the order. Green hand delivered

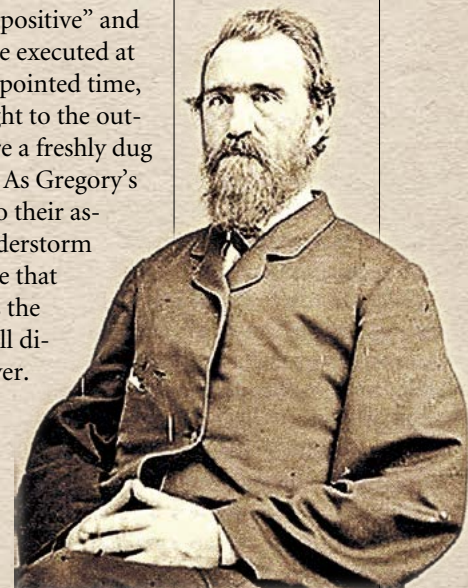
a dispatch to Lincoln from Anderson that questioned Paine's removal and the dramatic impact it would have upon the Unionist cause if not recalled. His final appeal to Lincoln was to retain Paine in command at least until after the elections in November. Neither the President nor the Secretary of War responded to Anderson's pleas. His efforts having failed, Anderson wrote to Green "I will write no more I am too damn mad."<sup>15</sup>

Two days before Paine was notified of his removal from command, he ordered the execution of a prisoner named Hess. He had been apprehended weeks earlier for conducting guerrilla activities in Paine's military district. On the morning of September 6 a squad of soldiers from the 8<sup>th</sup> United States Colored Heavy Artillery, led by Lieutenant Richard Schofield, forcibly dragged Hess to the banks of the Ohio River below Fort Anderson. Once in place his legs were tied together, his wrists bound before him, and he was blindfolded. Schofield's men then lined up, leveled their muskets and discharged them upon the trembling Hess. Unfortunately, their aim was low and he fell wounded upon the sandy shore. Still conscious Hess lifted himself upon his elbows, pulled the blindfold from his eyes and begged for mercy. A private from the 132<sup>nd</sup> Illinois Infantry Regiment who witnessed the event recalled that after "seeing the squad of negroes reloading their muskets [he] begged them for God's sake not to shoot him again but to take him to the hospital, declaring that he was innocent." His desperate appeals were disregarded as Schofield ordered four members of his squad to step forward to complete the

coup de grace. Hess would be the last man executed in Paducah under Paine's command.<sup>16</sup>

The executions at Mayfield had continued until official word of Paine's removal reached the post on September 12. The same day that Hess was shot in Paducah, scouts of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Illinois Cavalry skirmished with over forty guerrillas near Boydsville. A two-and-a-half-mile chase near the border with Tennessee ensued, in which one guerrilla was killed and one captured. The cavalrymen returned with the prisoner named John Johnson to Mayfield early that afternoon. Upon arrival he was brought before Colonel William H. Lawrence of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Illinois Cavalry, post commander since McChesney's departure, who interrogated the man. Johnson maintained he was a soldier in the Confederate Army and was with General Forrest when he attacked Paducah. Captain Gregory, along with members of the community who claimed to know Johnson, declared that he may have been a rebel soldier but was presently a guerrilla. With the evidence available Lawrence concluded that the "proof was too positive" and sentenced him to be executed at 4:00 p.m. At the appointed time, Johnson was brought to the outskirts of town where a freshly dug grave awaited him. As Gregory's men prepared to do their assigned task, a thunderstorm broke out and those that gathered to witness the event scattered in all directions to find cover. Gregory called for a postponement until the lightning and heavy rain ceased. Within a few hours the

▼ Governor Thomas E. Bramlette (1817-1875): "[the people of Kentucky are] not willing to sacrifice a single life or imperil the smallest right of free white men for the sake of a negro." National Archives



dark clouds dissipated and Johnson was once again placed into position before the foot of his grave.<sup>17</sup>

Johnson moaned and murmured a prayer as his feet sank slowly in the mud. As Gregory's men blindfolded him and bound his wrists and ankles, he broke out into a loud outburst and screamed to the heavens for mercy. Private Needham wrote in his diary that Johnson "broke out into the wildest lamentations, prayers and ejaculations [and] with his last breath denied being guilty." The firing squad of twelve men, as it had done so effectively in the past, zeroed in on his chest and fired. He buckled and fell instantly to the ground. Needham reflected later that I "never wish to see another execution similar to this." The last of the executions at Mayfield was over but the Union occupation of the town endured for several more weeks.<sup>18</sup>

The very next day a squad of Gregory's men located and shot two other guerrillas while on a scouting mission. With the departure of Colonel McClesney, Gregory and his men became even more emboldened and uncontrollable. Needham wrote in his diary on September 10 that "Gregory's men shot two more guerrillas—four less than a week ago." Sergeant Hardie N. Revelle of the 34<sup>th</sup> New Jersey Infantry wrote his brother from Mayfield that "Gregory and [his] men have enlisted under the black flag [and] they ask no quarters and give none." Vicious acts of revenge, family feuds, and disputes among neighbors ignited the violence, but the unleashing of Gregory and his men escalated the savagery to its highest point during the entire conflict.<sup>19</sup>

Paine's health deteriorated further after being removed from command. His surgeon, Dr. Robert F. Baker of the 132<sup>nd</sup> Illinois Infantry, found him

incapable of performing his duties and recommended his discharge from the service. His diagnosis was "dyspepsia or chronic gastritis of long standing which is now rapidly increasing in severity and accompanied with frequent and excruciating paroxysms of neuralgia of the stomach bowels and intestinal muscles resulting in nutritional anemia and general debility of the nervous system threatening complete destruction of health." Baker concluded after his examination on September 10 that Paine's "degree of disability was total" and he was not fit enough for even the veteran reserve corps. Two days later, Paine tendered his resignation to Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas and enclosed the surgeon's recommendation. He requested that it be made effective on October 13, the date he accepted President Lincoln's appointment as Brigadier General three years earlier. He proudly declared that "I have always served my country with the earnest desire to destroy its enemies." Thomas received his resignation but offered no reply.<sup>20</sup>

General Meredith arrived at Paducah from Cairo to assume the command of the District of Western Kentucky on the evening of September 11. He visited the bedridden Paine, who informed him that the five regiments of one-hundred-day troops from Illinois were destined to return home soon and that only 2 heavy artillery units and 400 men of 34<sup>th</sup> New Jersey Infantry Regiment would remain to defend the entire district. He also told Meredith that the lone cavalry detachment, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Illinois stationed at Mayfield, were to be sent to Memphis on the morrow. Paine left Paducah on September 13, physically drained and emotionally defeated. Within weeks of his departure, troop morale disintegrated, illegal trade recommenced, and the

countryside dissolved into chaos as guerrillas returned unopposed to terrorize and murder loyal Unionists. Lamentably, General Paine's noble intentions to convert Western Kentucky to the Union cause would not materialize until after the war's conclusion. The summer of 1864 in Western Kentucky had ended much as it had begun.<sup>21</sup>

Five months after his removal from command, Paine was tried before a court martial on charges of improper conduct and that he disrespectfully spoke of Governor Thomas E. Bramlette. Numerous specifications were attached to the charges, which stemmed from testimonies acquired during an unauthorized investigation without Paine's knowledge. The trial lasted four weeks. The court entertained over two hundred affidavits, reviewed scores of military and financial records, and heard the testimony of seventy-seven witnesses. Paine was found innocent of all charges but one, that of denouncing a superior officer, a charge the court later recommended be remitted. But the trial that he hoped would end the mendacities and persecution was only the beginning of a lifelong defense of his military record and integrity.

After the war's conclusion, Paine's "reign of terror" surfaced during the Reconstruction Era as an example of Northern atrocities committed during the Union occupation. In the decades that followed, the myth evolved, proliferated and became deeply engrained in the history of the region. For over a century and a half, Paine has been misrepresented by historians, demonized by folklorists and reviled by generations of west Kentuckians, his legacy unjustifiably tarnished by contemporary political antagonists and propagated by proponents of the "Lost Cause."



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NOTES

1. OR, Ser. I, vol. 39, pt. 1, 463; "Excerpts from the Journal of Sergeant Eugene B. Read," Jackson Purchase Historical Society, accessed July 3, 2012, <http://www.jacksonpurchasehistory.org/jackson-purchase-during-the-civil-war/>.
2. Dieter C. Ullrich, "Civil War Diary of Private Hawley V. Needham, 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment, June 10 to October 2, 1864," *Journal of the Jackson Purchase Historical Society*, Vol. 43, 147-195; "Excerpts from the Journal of Sergeant Eugene B. Read," Jackson Purchase Historical Society, accessed July 3, 2012, <http://www.jacksonpurchasehistory.org/jackson-purchase-during-the-civil-war/>.
3. Statement of Samuel L. Andrews, *Letters*; Andrew Lucas Hunt to his brother Hamilton, 15 July 1864, and to his parents, 20 June 1864 and 19 August 1864, Andrew Lucas Hunt Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
4. Affidavits of William Enoch, James Bradshaw, E. Moore, John S. Wilkinson, Levi Wimberly, Stephen Beasley, and Mrs. Frances Morse, *Letters*; Dieter C. Ullrich, "Civil War Diary of Private Hawley V. Needham, 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment, June 10 to October 2, 1864," *Journal of the Jackson Purchase Historical Society*, Vol. 43, 147-195; Andrew Lucas Hunt to his mother, 18 August 1864 and 19 August 1864, Andrew Lucas Hunt Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Statement of W. W. Tice, *Records*.
5. "Excerpts from the Journal of Sergeant Eugene B. Read," Jackson Purchase Historical Society, accessed July 13, 2012, <http://www.jacksonpurchasehistory.org/jackson-purchase-during-the-civil-war/>; Dieter C. Ullrich, "Civil War Diary of Private Hawley V. Needham, 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment, June 10 to October 2, 1864," *Journal of the Jackson Purchase Historical Society*, Vol. 43, 147-195; "Civil War Soldiers & Sailors Database," National Park Service, accessed July 3, 2012, <http://www.nps.gov/civilwar/soldiers-and-sailors-database.htm>.
6. Andrew Lucas Hunt to his mother, 23 August 1864, Andrew Lucas Hunt Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Dieter C. Ullrich, "Civil War Diary of Private Hawley V. Needham, 134<sup>th</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment, June 10 to October 2, 1864," *Journal of the Jackson Purchase Historical Society*, Vol. 43, 147-195.
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