

End Notes: In the Crosshairs

1. James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, p. 151.

I am well aware that those historians, professional and amateur, who are monocausalists (one cause for the war, i.e., slavery) will disagree with the content of this section of the article. I am also aware that the historiography of the war has changed over time and will continue to do so. A generation of historians ago multicausalism (many causes for the war) dominated the writing of Civil War history. No theory of historiography has proven to be permanent.

2. O.R., Series , Vol. 23, Part i . Pp 323-24

Pamphlet, "Dedication of Grave Marker for Pvt. Charles Kimble and Comrade." Author's collection.

3. *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. X, p. 214.

4. John Beatty, *Memoirs of a Volunteer, 1861-63. Entry for May 2, 1862.*

Mark Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*, pp. 79-80

5. George Bradley and Richard Dahlen, *From Conciliation to Conquest*, pp 109ff

O.R., Vol. 10, Pt. ii, p. 204.

O.R., Vol. 16, Pt. ii, p. 40.

O.R., Vol. 16, Pt. ii, p. 155.

6. Donald H. Steenburn, *The Man Called Gurley*, pp 106ff.

Montgomery *Advertiser*, August 17, 1902.

New York *Tribune*, February 10, 865.

Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 119.

7. Larry Daniel, *Days of Glory: The Army of the Cumberland*, p. 106

Benjamin Franklin Cooling, *Fort Donelson's Legacy: War and Society in Kentucky and Tennessee, 1862-63*, pp 94-95.

8. Stewart County History Archives, Public Library, Dover, Tennessee.

O.R., Vol. 17, Pt.i, pp. 145-48; 870.

9. O.R. Vol. 11, Part ii, p. 51.

10. Willis Danforth, "General Paine's Plan of Federal Salvation," *War Papers Being Read Before the Commandery of the State of Wisconsin, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States*, Vol. 1. pp 324ff.

Walter Durham, *Rebellion Revisited: A History of Sumner County, Tennessee, from 1861 to 1870*. pp. 112-13, 164.

Arthur H. DeRosier, ed. *Through the Sough with a Union Soldier*, p. 56ff.

11. Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, pp 189-90.

Diary of Alice Williamson, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

“Testamony of Major Henry Bartling, 8th Ken. Cavalry, U.S.” Document #11-27-00 in Tennessee State Library and Archives.

12. O.R. Vol. 32, Part ii, pp. 90-91, 103, 292.

13.

J. R. Trousdale, “The Reign of Terror in Tennessee,” *Southern Bivouac*, May 1886, pp 665ff.

See also, Durham, *Rebellion Revisited*, p. 187.

14. Shirley Farris Jones, “Calvin C. Lowe: From Farming to Fighting.” Rutherford County, Tennessee, Historical Society Papers.
O.R. Vol. 20, Part ii, p. 318.

15. *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. 19, p. 308; Vol. 21, p. 407; Vol.25, p.358.

See also, Michael Bradley, *Nathan Bedford Forrest’s Escort and Staff*, p. 39.

O.R. Vol. 23, pp521, 525-27.

See also, Michael R. Bradley, *Tullahoma: The 1863 Campaign for Control of Middle Tennessee*, p. 90.

16. Diary of Sergeant Robert Williams, 2nd Indiana Cavalry, Civil War Research Center.

17. Union Provost Marshal Records (U.P.M), Record Group 416, Roll 46. Moses Pittman reported 58 of his neighbors as being “disloyal.” The list he provided the local Provost included the names of every other distiller in the 4th Civil District of Franklin County, Tennessee. Without investigation the Provost ordered that all the families on the list have their homes burned, including all the furniture and food; eight men were ordered to be killed. Moses Pittman also established a monopoly on distilling in his area.

18. Michael Bradley, *With Blood and Fire: Life Behind Union Lines in Middle Tennessee, 1863-65*. pp 112-13.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 9. See also, Milroy’s Letters, Milroy to Mary Milroy, May 5, 1865. These letters are found at www.cwrc.org

20. Private Papers of Captain W. H. Nelson, in possession of the author.

Diary of Sergeant W. E. T. Milburn, in possession of the author.

U. P. M., Record Group 416, Roll 50. This is one example of the standard orders. There are many other instances in which they appear. It is noteworthy that paragraph 8 of the orders say that goods which may be useful to the U. S. troops “militarily or *otherwise*” may be seized.

21. U. P. M., Record Group 416, Roll 130.

22. U. P. M., Record Group 416, Roll 58.

23. O. R. Vol. 32, June 14 to Sept. 13, 1864. On-line edition. Much of this correspondence concerns Fort Pillow but some of it refers to Fielding Hurst.

Baggett, James A. *The Scalawags: Southern Dissension in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 85ff.

McCann, John D. *Hursts Worst: Colonel Fielding Hurst and the 6th Tennessee Cavalry, U. S. A.*, p. 103ff.

Crook, W. Clay. *Hurst!* at hurstnation.com

24. Nolensville.gov “A History of Nolensville”

U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Stones River Battlefield, Regimental Files--Ohio

John Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy*, pp 147ff.

25. O. R. Vol. 32, Part 2, pp 37-38.

26. U. P. M., Record Group 345, roll 131.

27. Milo M. Quaife, *From the Cannon's Mouth*, p. 297.

In 2005 a 1776 copy of the Declaration of Independence was returned to the State of North Carolina. It had been looted from the state archives by a United States soldier during Sherman's March. National Public Radio noted that the document had “been acquired” by a Union soldier. This comment was broadcast at the same time that U. S. soldiers were being harshly punished for bringing home “souvenirs” from Iraq. Obviously, there is still an unwillingness to admit that U. S. soldiers looted in the South.

28. O. R. Vol. 39, Part 2, Sherman to Burbridge, July 16, 1864.
Sherman to Stanton, June 21, 1864.

Those who argue that Sherman did not mean what he said about exterminating an entire class of pro-Confederate Southerners have to ignore what Sherman said about Native Americans: “. . . the more I see of the Indians the more convinced I become that they must either all be killed or maintained as a species of pauper.” Sherman seems consistent in his attitude that some groups of people deserved to die.

29. *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XIX, p. 527; Vol. XXX, p. 312; Vol. IX, p. 220.

Louisville Journal, August 25, 1864.

“Victims of Burbridge the Butcher,” johnhuntmorgan.scv.org/martyrs
Bryan Bush has a book on Burbridge to be published this fall, *Butcher Burbridge*.

30. Persons documented killed by U. S. soldiers

Paine	368	168 while at Gallatin, 200 at Tullahoma
Milroy	500	Actual number is between 450 and 500
Brixey	66	
Hurst	86	
Burbridge	50	
Total	1070	

I have not included in this total the miscellaneous deaths inflicted by scattered units which have been discussed in this article.

31. Every biography of Forrest discusses Fort Pillow as do books such as *River Run Red* and *An Unerring Fire*. The treatment of Fort Pillow in the biographies varies greatly depending on the point of view of the author. *River Run Red* and *An Unerring Fire* are so virulently anti-Forrest as to be no more dependable than some of the fawning biographies.

John Cimprich, “Fort Pillow During the Civil War,” *North & South*, Vol.. 9, #6, presents a reasonably balanced account of Fort Pillow, although he wants to require history to provide positive proof that Forrest was innocent of ordering a massacre instead of requiring positive proof that Forrest did issue such an order before holding him guilty. This is an unusual standard of proof for the analysis of history and is quite different from the requirements one would face any court of law.

History does provide positive proof that United States authorities ordered and condoned the killing of Southern civilians and prisoners of war. The evidence as to those guilty of these actions is not in debate. Signed orders exist.