

RECONSTRUCTION IN HUNTSVILLE AND MADISON COUNTY, ALABAMA, 1865 – 1869

By Sarah Etheline Bounds

The Civil War was a revolution in the life of the American people. A detailed examination of the conditions in a small section of the United States following the war may lead to a greater understanding of these drastic changes. Madison County, lying in the fertile and prosperous Tennessee Valley of north central Alabama, serves as the microcosm for the study. Madison County is not an entirely typical county, but its history shows the forces and organizations that were active during the years immediately after the Civil War.

Though the events of 1865 settled the secession and slavery issues, new and more difficult problems faced the people of the Southern States in the post-war years. Immediate and pragmatic answers were needed for dealing with the freedmen; for obtaining money to buy seeds and supplies; for paying debts and taxes; and for stimulating business. Only time and the cooperative effort of all would bring solutions to these perplexing issues.

Although the population of Madison County increased from the years 1860 to 1870, the estimated population in 1866 was below that of 1860. There were 25,531 people in 1866, a reduction of 923 but an increase of 988 whites. This was due, in part, to the influx of

northerners and to the departure of Negroes leaving to test their freedom or to join the Union army. The casualties of the war for Madison County were 147 killed, 214 dead from sickness, and twenty-eight disabled.¹

While population declined in other parts of Alabama, especially in Negroes, Madison County showed an increase in both white and Negro population between 1860 and 1870. In 1860, the white population was 11,686 and the Negro population was 14,768, a total of 26,454. The total population in 1870 was 31,267, with the whites numbering 15,527 and the Negroes 15,740.

The Huntsville city government, during and immediately following the Civil War, found it almost impossible to carry out its administrative functions. The needs of the people were numerous, and funds were lacking to supply even the basics of greater police protection, more water, and better fire control.

From May 5, 1863 to January 15, 1867 the minutes of the Huntsville city council meetings were written in a ledger other than the official book, and there is evidently no existing record of these proceedings. Mayor Robert W Coltart and eight new aldermen were elected in December, 1866, to take office on January 15, 1867. With a balance of \$34.12, these officials began the task of



bringing Huntsville out of a crucial time of suffering and hardship. The incomplete and inaccurate records and files made the first business meeting most difficult. The expenditures and receipts of the available records were not consistent. Since previous boards did not require the recording and the auditing of accounts, some entries, credits, and forfeitures do not appear or do not correspond.

Since early 1863, property damages against the city were extensive. Claims of above three thousand dollars were filed against the city within a week. The major and aldermen studied the books and found \$808.88 due for taxes in 1865, \$6,930.03 due for 1866, and \$399.50 due for city licenses. Even though money was scarce and many people were destitute, they expected 75 percent of these back taxes to be paid. Some people paid the back taxes and license fees, making the new balance \$396,01 by March 5, 1867. But on April 12, 1867, the mayor ordered the establishment of a new set of books, saying it was impossible to balance the books for 1866.

Before the war the city purchased shares of stock in the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and now it became necessary to sell some stock to pay the indebtedness from some bonds due in June, 1867. Mayor Coltart went to Philadelphia and sold sixteen hundred shares with a face value of twenty-five dollars. He was able, however, to secure only eighty-five cents on the dollar for the stock.²

The financial statement of July 31, 1867, indicated a deficit of \$2,881.35

because the council had received \$24,728.74 and spent \$27,610.09. The city had assets of \$96,631 which included railroad stock, personal property, real estate, and waterworks; its liability were \$41,461, covering city bonds, bills payable, coupons and unpaid checks. Huntsville, thus, had a liquidating value of \$55,170.

The extremely low city finances required the strictest economy in management. The new mayor and aldermen displayed much courage, patience, and energy in working with the problem. The people apparently were paying back the fees for licenses, fines, forfeitures and taxes when they were able. Yet, the financial balances at council business meetings were remaining small. Although many of the tax assessments were uncollected, the financial condition improved during 1868 until the city budget had a surplus of \$9,000.00.³

As in most other matters, there was much optimism regarding business prospects soon after the war. The hotels reopened, but were plagued by financial difficulties. Cotton merchants hung out their signs along the west side of the courthouse square. Horse and mule trading became an important business because the animals were needed to stock the farms.⁴

By the summer of 1866, actual improvements were not as great as expected. Construction consisted of two small stores in town and of a large warehouse and store near the depot. The courthouse and many private homes were repaired and painted. The newspapers made constant appeals for



the building of small cottage-like houses for mechanics and laborers. Businessmen felt people would come to Huntsville if better residences at a fair rent were available.

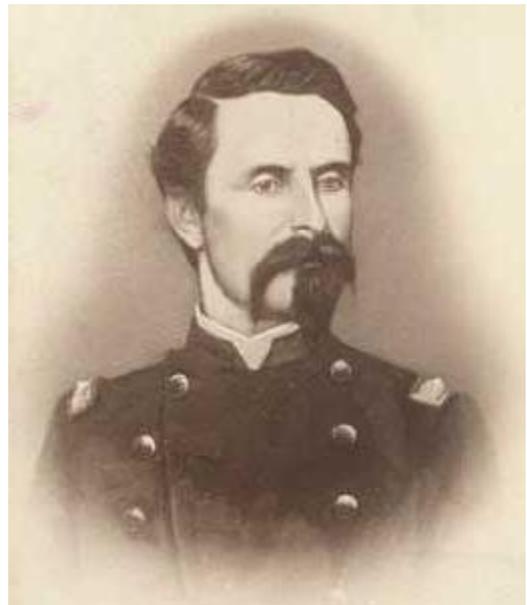
Business was generally stagnant. The only town people who were busy were the lawyers and the loafers. The country people were busy on their farms. Business could not really be active until the people had something to sell. The only brisk period of trade was in the fall after the gathering of the wheat and cotton crops and the people were preparing for the winter. At this time of year the country people came to town on Saturdays in wagons and buggies, making the courthouse square a popular place to trade, to meet friends, and to get news.⁵

The merchants and citizens protested the presence of transient traders and petitioned the city to have them taxed. They secured the passage of an ordinance which required the traveling merchant or trader to pay one percent of their sales to the city. To ensure payment, the city took as collateral two satisfactory securities, personally owned items or property deeds. The transient doctor or physician had to pay fifteen dollars for a license or ten dollars each day without a license. The merchants also obtained a prohibition against the open sale of bacon on the courthouse square, since the price was far below that charged by regular merchants.⁶

Since very little money was in circulation, the transaction of banking and all other business was difficult. The Northern Bank of Alabama was in liquidation. The National Bank of Huntsville, chartered by the state legislature in July, 1865, had more than three-fourths of its capital stock of \$100,000 furnished by money from New York.⁷ Rison Banking, a private concern with a capital stock of \$40,000, made its appearance in March, 1866. Its organizers were W. R. Rison, who was previously in the mercantile business in Aberdeen, Mississippi, and Captain Samuel W. Fordyce, a Federal officer stationed in Huntsville during the war.⁸

*Colonel John B. Callis
Superintendent
Freedmen's Bureau in North
Alabama*

The first Alabama branch of the Freedmen's Savings Bank opened in Huntsville in December, 1865. These banks, serving only Negroes, were not a part of, but were usually allied with, the



Freedmen's Bureau. Bureau agents were often in charge of the bank branches.⁹ In 1868, the Huntsville branch had \$5,097 in deposits and \$38.02 in interest on long-term deposits.¹⁰ In only five months, deposits increased to \$17,603.29. By March 31, 1870, five hundred depositors had a total of \$89,445.10.¹¹ As indicated by these figures, deposits increased rapidly and the bank continued to prosper for several years. The Huntsville and Mobile branches of the Freedmen's Savings Bank were the largest and most prominent in the state. Nevertheless, only those Negroes in and around these cities became depositors. Those in more remote sections of the country lived in ignorance of the bank.

Another aid to the Negroes were the rations provided by the Freedmen's Bureau under the supervision of Colonel John B. Callis, Superintendent of the Bureau in North Alabama. These rations usually consisted of white corn and bacon. The newspapers most often read by the Negroes carried items on the issuing of the rations.

Rations from the government were to end in the fall of 1867, except for hospitals, orphan homes, and very extreme cases.¹² Nevertheless, Huntsville continued to obtain rations and a soup house opened in February 1868. The time and the place of the establishment of this soup house and others over the state, seem to indicate they had a political objective of influencing the Negro vote. Anyone could receive soup and bread by merely appearing at the barracks near the depot. After a short operation of several

months, the soup house was discontinued.¹³

To assist the ever-increasing number and demands of both negro and white destitutes, the city and county established an Alms House and Hospital in December, 1866.¹⁴ It was located on the farm of Robert C. Brickell, south of Huntsville, and was under the supervision of Dr. Henry W. Bassett.¹⁵

The small, insufficient crops of 1865 were among the factors creating a more destitute condition. A lack of farm laborers resulted in scarcely any cotton being planted. This failure made it impossible for thousands of residents to grow crops the following year without assistance.¹⁶ In addition to all the man-made troubles of the farmer, such as a lack of implements and labor, nature also worked against him in unfavorable weather, rotten seeds, and insects. The newspapers described 1866 as "the wettest winter and spring and the hottest and driest summer and the worst year for farming we have had in North Alabama for a great while".¹⁷

Despite these difficulties the estimated cotton crop for the year was 5,000 bales, but this was not half an average crop. At this time, the winter of 1866-67, cotton was selling at twenty-four cents per pound the highest price during Reconstruction.

By the end of 1867, the advice to the farmers was not to depend heavily on cotton. Cotton prices were low and continued to drop to about ten cents. Wheat was the advisable crop to plant because it brought a good price and could be used to support the needs of the people. The suggested proportion of



food crops to cotton crops was three-fourths to one-fourth.¹⁸ The objective was to strive for self-sufficiency and then to sell the remaining crops for money and necessary goods not obtainable by individual efforts.



South side of Courthouse Square in 1867.
James Record Picture Collection,
Huntsville Public Library

Mortgage sales on the courthouse square occurred by the hundreds. There was a general exodus of people toward the western states for several years after 1869.¹⁹ Before hard times struck, however, land deeds were secured quickly by the actual settlers under the Homestead Law of 1862. People from Madison and other counties crowded daily into the United States Land Office in Huntsville. They wanted to save their land registered under the secession state government. The Office entered 545 farms or over 4,000 acres in April and May of 1867, only one entry had been by a Negro, a woman from Morgan County.²⁰

The lack of transportation facilities was a serious hindrance to the rebuilding of Alabama. Fortunately, Madison County had the advantage of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad

that extended across the entire northern part of the state. At the railroad stockholders meeting in Huntsville on August 29, 1866, the statement of the total loss due to the war was \$1,195,000. A second mortgage of one million dollars was made for the improvement of the railroad and for a line from North Alabama to Atlanta. Since the value of the road and equipment was \$9,549,115 and the total liabilities were only \$4,348,304,



the **General Włodzimierz
Bonawentura Krzyżanowski
Sixth Division in Alabama**

railroad hoped to pay a dividend in he fall of 1867 and every six months thereafter. Considering the general economic circumstances of North



Alabama, the financial condition of the company seemed excellent.²¹ Instead of paying the promised dividend, however, the stock continually dropped in value until it reached only forty-four per cent of its face value in January 1869. The projected connection to Atlanta did not materialize either.²² Another means of transportation was the Tennessee River. Wagons hauled goods to and from the river by the Whitesburg Pike. Stage coach lines ran between Huntsville and the river and the smaller communities, but on an irregular schedule.²³

A profound influence in Huntsville during and after the war was the almost constant presence of Federal forces in the city after April 11, 1862, when General O. M. Mitchell captured the city. Shortly after the war ended, the twelve counties of North Alabama were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the assistant commissioner for Tennessee, General Clinton B. Fiske, to become the sixth division in Alabama under the command of General Waldimir "Kriz" Kryzjanwski.²⁴

The United States government-built barracks, a quartermaster office, and a commissary store at the railroad depot in 1866. Until the completion of the barracks, the homes of Huntsville citizens served as quarters for the troops, with the Calhoun house and the building on the corner of the square and Eustice Street as the office of the quartermaster.

The officers and soldiers stationed in Huntsville after the war were of the 33rd Regiment of the United States Infantry. After the Negro troops left, feelings between the citizens and the troops

improved. Citizen and soldier baseball teams often played near the depot. The soldiers showed an interest in community affairs, by contributing to the Catholic building fund, by helping to put out fires on numerous occasions, and by having the military band play for fancy balls.

In 1868, General Thomas H. Ruger, the former Military Governor of Georgia, took command of Alabama, with headquarters in Huntsville. The Huntsville Advocate described Ruger as an officer of character, ability, and fairness, with an accurate knowledge of the political status of the state and of its individuals. When two companies of troops arrived in September 1868, there was a total of eight companies or about five hundred men in Huntsville. Most of the troops camped on the Whitesburg Pike, while General Ruger maintained his headquarters in the Calhoun house.²⁵

Unfortunately, lawlessness was a common occurrence during and immediately after the war. The Federals held Madison County for almost three years of the war, except for two short intervals when the Federal forces were flanked and forced to retire. Since the Federal occupation entirely destroyed the civil government of the town, anarchy generally reigned in the absence of military control.

The relaxation of military discipline after the war resulted in a deterioration of law and order. Many Huntsville citizens suffered robbery, murder, and arson from the soldiers and other civilians. The local traffic in whiskey was enormous. Drunken soldiers, who



frequently became violent, crowded the streets. Ladies of easy virtue were also present.²⁶



Efforts to correct these evils included arresting lewd women, fining them as much as twenty dollars and moving them outside the city limits. Captain Robert Harrison, commander of the Huntsville post, requested an ordinance prohibiting the selling or giving of liquors to enlisted men. Such an ordinance passed, being amended to include minors and providing a penalty of twenty-five dollars for each offense.²⁷

In view of the prevailing disrespect for the law, Provisional Governor Lewis E. Parson received authorization to call out the militia in each county if necessary. In addition, the mayors of Huntsville, Athens, and Florence had special police power to suppress violence. Because the lawless element was especially strong in Madison County, the Huntsville mayor

apparently was in the greatest need of this power.²⁸

Huntsville was one of only three cities in Alabama to have Freedmen's courts for freedmen to secure a fair and unprejudiced trial. The state courts actually became the Freedmen's courts early in 1866.²⁹ A military commission at Huntsville rendered decisions in questions of property title.³⁰

While the county experienced limited economic growth, the courts had more business than ever. Both civil and criminal cases crowded the court dockets. The circuit court in September, 1866 had over seven hundred new suits.³¹ But despite the number of the legal transactions, the newspapers gave detailed accounts on them.

During the post-Civil War period, Huntsville had three newspapers, a Radical paper supported by the Federal government and two Democratic papers. The Radical, or Republican, paper was the Huntsville Advocate, known as the Southern Advocate before the war. This paper was a semi-weekly, published every Tuesday and Friday, with yearly subscriptions at four dollars. The Advocate was entitled "The Official Journal of the United States Government for the Northern District of Alabama", serving the counties of Madison, Marshall, Jackson, DeKalb, Blount, Marion, Walker, Fayette and entirely supported by Republican campaign funds and by appropriations from the government for printing the laws passed by the United States Congress. All bankruptcy, judicial, and legal notices for the above counties appeared in the Advocate.³²



William Bibb Figures was the editor of the Advocate before the war and until his death in 1872. Figures was quite active in local politics, serving as mayor of Huntsville before the war and for two terms after the war, chairman of the Fifth District Executive Committee of the Union Republican Party, justice of the peace, and registrar in chancery. Of the old whig school, he approved of the provisional government during the first term of President Grant. Figures had the reputation of being a competent editor, who reported every happening carefully and accurately.

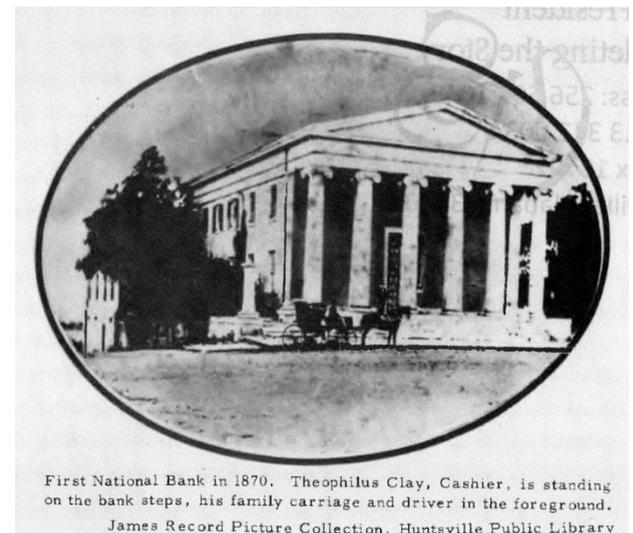
One of the Democratic papers was the Huntsville Weekly Democrat, previously entitled the Daily Huntsville Confederate. Its editor was John Withers Clay, son of former Governor Clement Comer Clay and the brother of former United States Senator Clement Claiborne Clay. Forced to publish in secret during the war, the Democrat came out of hiding after the war and changed from a daily to a weekly paper.³³

Edited by J. J. Dew and John W. Young, the Huntsville Independent was a weekly paper established in 1855. The Radicals, its powerful opponents, said its editors were poor and unskilled and complained about the Independent being an inadequate and inferior paper.³⁴

Because of the intense political hatred between Radical and Democratic papers, harsh and insulting remarks appeared in the newspapers about the other papers and their editors. Some of the leading enemies of the Advocate were the Huntsville Independent, the

Montgomery Mail, and the Moulton Advertiser. The Montgomery Mail referred to the Advocate as “the Black Republican organ of Huntsville – a bogus Union paper”.³⁵ On one occasion Figures sought revenge by advocating the erection of a statue of John Withers Clay fleeing from Huntsville as the 4th Ohio Calvary came into the city in 1862. Clay should be mounted on Jack Esslinger’s mule, said Figures, and carry a black flag in one hand and a white flag in the other.³⁶

The newspapers usually consisted of four pages. The second page contained the editorial and the third page was mostly notes or comments on local business, farming or society. The publication of the laws of the United States, bankrupt notices, assignee sales, and other legal notices were on the last page or the third page. The remainder of the paper consisted of



First National Bank in 1870. Theophilus Clay, Cashier, is standing on the bank steps, his family carriage and driver in the foreground.
James Record Picture Collection, Huntsville Public Library

reprints from other newspapers, letters, poems, advertisements, and notices of educational institutions.



Private schools for white boys and girls and the Huntsville Female College reopened in the fall of 1865. The buildings of Green Academy, destroyed during the war, were not restored and the school was closed permanently.

Among the private schools which reopened for day and boarding students was the Huntsville Female Seminary, with the Presbyterian minister, Reverend H. R. Smith, as principal. Half of the tuition for the five month term was paid in advance. Board with tuition was \$130 with ten to thirty dollars more for additional courses in ancient or modern languages, drawing, painting, or music.

The Huntsville High School, or Male High School, also had two terms of five months each. The tuition, due in advance, varied from twenty to forty-five dollars a term, depending on the class. Board with private families in Huntsville was a hundred dollars per term. W. A. Slaymaker, the principal, said the school was inferior to none in the South and was entirely free from any sectarian bias.

The Huntsville Female College had similar terms and tuition as the Huntsville Female Seminary and the Huntsville High School. Although board and tuition were due in advance, supplies were taken for payments. Revered J. G. Wilson, the president, stated that the school offered courses in music, oil painting, German, French, English, and other useful and ornamental branches of female education.

Other schools included the Mathematical and Classical School

directed by Dr. C. G. Smith; a second school which met in the rear of the Baptist Church and applied the fourteen dollars tuition toward the completion of the church building; and another school at the Catholic Church which taught English, piano, and guitar to boys and girls. Major General O. O. Howard, chief of the Bureau for Freedmen and Refugees, announced arrangements for an elementary and an advanced education at a school on Lookout Mountain, Tennessee. The program, unfortunately, was available only to white boys and girls who were the children of Union soldiers.³⁷

Many parents, mostly farmers and tenant, were unable to send their children to school because of the high tuition. Although some parents tried to teach their children at home when they had time from their work, many children of educated parents grew up in ignorance.³⁸

Before the war ended only three or four Negro schools were established in Alabama. One of these was in Huntsville on Townsend Street and another was at the Negro colony on the Plantation of former Governor Reuben Chapman, a few miles north of Huntsville. Northern societies sent teachers and missionaries to the South as the Federal Occupation continued. The Pittsburgh Freedmen's Aid Society supported eleven schools in Huntsville, Athens, and Stevenson by the end of 1865. While the society provided the teachers and the supplies, the Freedmen's Bureau aided these schools by furnishing the buildings, the rent, and the repairs. Under the terms of the original Freedmen Bureau Act,



money to equip these schools came from northern donations and from the seizure and sale of cotton in the area of the school. After the passage of the Bureau Act of July, 1866, the sale of Confederate property became another source of support.³⁹ It was reported that five hundred Negro children attended various Huntsville schools in December, 1866. The total average attendance per day for the preceding month, however, was only three hundred.⁴⁰

At first only Northern white teachers were employed in Huntsville's schools. Since the Southern whites refused to offer them board, these teachers usually stayed with Negro families. Soon qualified Negro teachers were secured. In late 1866, there were five white teachers from the North and three Negro assistants from Huntsville, Thomas Townsend, Charles Henley, and S. L. Carter.⁴¹

For religious instruction, the Negroes attended churches with the whites immediately after the war, and white pastors and teachers chosen by the Negroes attended to their religious welfare and education.⁴² Nevertheless, the work of the Northern missionaries and political leaders soon caused the separation of the races. The whites feared the majority of Negroes would take advantage of the democratic church government and control the administration of the churches under the direction of the Northerners. Encouragement and assistance was therefore given to the Negroes to form separate congregations.

One of the Northern missionaries who created ill feeling between the races was

Reverend A. S. Lakin from Indiana. He was sent to Huntsville in 1866 to organize the Northern Methodist Church. Lakin tried to crush the Negro attempts to form their own churches, and he took over Southern Methodist church buildings for his group. Even his own congregation finally complained, charging they paid for their own lot and church but the deed was in Lakin's name.⁴³ He was so universally hated that an attempted assassination was made on him and his family in 1868.⁴⁴

Federal forces occupied many of the churches of Huntsville during the war. Frequently, fires made in Church basements for the soldiers to cook their food were carelessly tended. Only two days after a protest to the military authorities about fire hazards, the Methodist Church was completely destroyed by fire.⁴⁵ The rebuilding of the Church was typical of several congregations during the post-war days.

Although the Methodists had no definite place to worship, the Reverend A. L. P. Green came from Nashville in July, 1866, to assist in a series of meetings. With the use of Presbyterian buildings, the Methodists were hosts to 175 ministers attending the Tennessee Conference in the fall of 1866.

Immediately following these revival services, the members began active planning to erect their church within a year. Raising the necessary money required many and varied approaches. The building fund received the proceeds of the Grove Spring Tournament, the annual summer social event in Huntsville. The pastor, Reverend Thomas L. Moody, solicited funds in the



surrounding states and obtained \$4,500. Within two weeks after his return, rubbish was cleaned from the church lot on Randolph Street and construction began on July 15, 1867. Church services, as well as Sunday School and social events, were held in the basement of the church for several years while the sanctuary was being built. During these years the women of the church increased the building fund by giving suppers, fairs, and tableaux.⁴⁶

All the churches, of course, provided many social activities for the people such as picnics, ice cream parties, suppers, and fairs. Most of these events raised money to pay church debts or to build and repair the buildings. During the summer months barbecues, picnics, and fish fries were held on the banks of the Tennessee River and at many springs near Huntsville. These events were often attended by both races, with the Negroes usually in large numbers. Good feeling and order prevailed.

Huntsville had two annual festivals. The Flower Queen Festival, enacted by the children under the direction of their parents, was held in the spring. The summer event the Huntsville Tournament Association or the Grove Spring Tournament, was a colorful two-day celebration at the amphitheater on Monte Sano Mountain. The pageant involved knights from the county who competed for the honor of selecting the Queen of Love and Beauty and her court. The proceeds went to some charitable project, such as the building fund of the Methodist Church. The annual circus was another event that the children anxiously awaited.

The Huntsville Hotel was the scene of Fancy Dress Soirees or balls. Only the socially elite attended, but the receipts had a charitable purpose, such as raising money for the Mason's Widow and Orphan Fund of Madison. Either the Band of the 33rd Infantry or the Spring City Brass Band provided the music for such affairs.

The two bands also gave concerts, and the pupils of various teachers performed in recitals. The students were from music teacher Professor Habick, dancing instructor Professor McDonald, or the Huntsville Female Seminary. The Opera House offered entertainment by traveling theatrical troupes and the Huntsville Thespians. Local plays were apparently well liked, with the group giving several repeat performances.⁴⁷

Despite the gloom and despondency associated with much of Reconstruction, there was considerable activity which brought enjoyment to the local citizenry during the period of 1865-69. The new status of Negroes, along with other social and economic changes, of course, affected the customs, manners, reactions industries agriculture, and population of the area. But along with change came new opportunities for citizens to participate in and contribute to the progress of their community. In time, recovery was affected and Huntsville returned again to its former position as a leader in the development of Alabama and, indeed, the South.



- ¹ Huntsville Advocate, October 6, 1866.
- ² Willis Brewer, Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record and Public Men from 1540 to 1872 (Montgomery, Alabama: Barrett and Brown, 1872), 346-347.
- ³ Minutes of the City of Huntsville, Alabama, Council Meetings, Minute Book D, 16, 47, 71, 109-110, 132-133, 162, 199, 228, 257, and 399. Hereafter cited as Minute Book D.
- ⁴ Huntsville Times, September 1-17, 1955. Sesquicentennial Issue.
- ⁵ Huntsville Advocate, July 31, 1866; August 1, 1866; December 5, 1866; April 2, 1867; June 2, 1868.
- ⁶ Minute Book D, 275, 431, and 433.
- ⁷ Huntsville Times, September 11-17, 1955. Sesquicentennial Issue.
- ⁸ Memorial Record of Alabama: A Concise Account of the State's Political, Military, Professional and Industrial Process, Together with the Personal Memoirs of Many of Its People (2 vols.: Madison, Wisconsin: 1893), 470.
- ⁹ Walter L. Fleming, Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama (New York: Columbia University Press 1905), 451-452. Hereafter cited as Fleming, Civil War.
- ¹⁰ Huntsville Advocate, March 31, 1868.
- ¹¹ Fleming, Civil War, 453-454.
- ¹² Huntsville Advocate, December 1, 1866; August 2, 1867.
- ¹³ Elizabeth Bethal, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama", Journal of Southern History, 14 (February, 1948), 80. Hereafter cited as Bethal, "Freedmen's Bureau", JSH.
- ¹⁴ Minute Book D, 192.
- ¹⁵ Huntsville Advocate, December 5, 1866.
- ¹⁶ Albert B. Moore, History of Alabama (University, Alabama).
- ¹⁷ Huntsville Advocate, August 15, 1866.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., January 25, 1867; February 18, 1868.
- ¹⁹ Fleming, Civil War, 579.
- ²⁰ Huntsville Advocate, June 4, 1867; May 17, 1867.
- ²¹ Moore, History of Alabama, 458; Huntsville Advocate, September 1, 1866.
- ²² Minute Book D, 398.
- ²³ Huntsville Times, September 11-17, 1955. Sesquicentennial Issue.
- ²⁴ Fleming, Civil War, 426 and 267.
- ²⁵ Huntsville Advocate, August 8, 1866; November 26, 1867.
- ²⁶ Fleming, Civil War, 263.
- ²⁷ Huntsville Advocate, April 5, 1867; Minute Book D, 220.
- ²⁸ Fleming, Civil War, 366-367 and 266.
- ²⁹ Bethal, "Freedmen's Bureau", JSH, 53.
- ³⁰ Fleming, Civil War, 416.
- ³¹ Huntsville Advocate, September 8, 1866.
- ³² Fleming, Civil War, 534.
- ³³ Thomas McAdory Owen, History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography (4 vols., Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1921), 575 and 343.
- ³⁴ U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on the Insurrectionary States, Ku Klux Investigation in Alabama, 42d Cong., 2d Sess., 1871-1872, 836-837.



³⁵ Huntsville Advocate, January 25, 1867.

³⁶ Ibid., March 8, 1867; May 21, 1867.

³⁷ Ibid., July 31, 1868; August 13, 1867; September 1, 1866; September 11, 1868; November 22, 1867.

³⁸ Fleming, Civil War, 579.

³⁹ Ibid., 456 and 459.

⁴⁰ Huntsville Advocate, December 21, 1866.

⁴¹ Huntsville Times, September 11-17, 1955. Sesquicentennial Issue.

⁴² Huntsville Advocate, May 16, 1866.

⁴³ Fleming, Civil War, 642-643 and 637 and 638.

⁴⁴ Huntsville Advocate. November 13, 1868.

⁴⁵ Huntsville Times, September 11-17, 1955. Sesquicentennial Issue.

⁴⁶ Huntsville Advocate, July 7, 1866; December 11, 1866; October 31, 1866; December 18, 1866; June 18, 1867; July 9, 1867; July 16, 1867; February 14, 1868; February 19, 1868; January 22, 1869; January 29, 1869.

⁴⁷ Huntsville Advocate, December 7, 1866; March 26, 1867; May 12, 1868; December 21, 1866; July 7, 1866; August 13, 1867; August 20, 1867; July 10, 1868; April 23, 1867; July 7, 1866; September 15, 1866; April 9, 1867; December 28, 1866; August 18, 1868; July 12, 1866; December 24, 1866; April 21, 1868; June 16, 1868; July 21, 1866; September 19, 1866.

